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## THE UNIVERSITY OF NANKING

American Office  
150 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N. Y.  
January 1, 1937

To the Friends of the University of Nanking:

On June 1, 1936, I wrote you from Nanking in regard to the visit to America of Dr. Y. G. Chen, President of the University of Nanking. Dr. Chen sailed from China on June 29 on the "Empress of Japan" and left America December 15 from New York on the Steamship "Bremen." He went to England, and to Europe, and will return by the Suez and India to China. He expected to sail from Marseilles, Christmas Day, on the Steamship "Corfu" of the P. and O. line which is due in Shanghai January 25.



Dr. Chen wishes to thank the many individuals and organizations who have helped to make his stay in this country a very happy and interesting one. He regrets that he has not been able to see all of his friends, and, in this letter, asked me to express his appreciation for all that has been done for him, and for the University, and to bid you good-bye until his next visit to this country.

We thought it might be of interest to you to know something of his itinerary during these five months in this country. Dr. Chen went from Vancouver, where he arrived July 15, to California, and spent the latter part of July in and near Pasadena. Dr. A. J. Bowen, President of the University from 1910 to 1927, lives in Pasadena, and there are a number of former residents of Nanking in that section of California. Dr. Chen made a number of addresses during his four weeks in southern California, speaking to the China Society of Pasadena, and before various churches and organizations interested in China.

He went to Berkeley about the tenth of August where he met with students of the University of California, and then went on for three days to the Yosemite at the time of the holding of the Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations. From the Yosemite he went east to Chicago, where he addressed the meeting of the International Club of Chicago University, the Chicago Rotary Club, and other groups, and then went to Cleveland, Ohio.

From Cleveland, Dr. Chen went to New York City, and spent several days in Lakeville, Connecticut, at the home of Dr. Robert E. Speer, President of the Board of Founders (Trustees) of the University.

On September 9, 1936, a meeting of the Promotional Committee of the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China was held in New York City, which Dr. Chen attended. Eleven of the Christian colleges and universities in China cooperate with this organization which has set up a very efficient office in New York City and serves all of these colleges and universities.

On September 24, a meeting was held of the Board of Founders (Trustees) of the University of Nanking.

From New York, Dr. Chen went to New England, where he attended, as an official delegate of the University, the Harvard Tercentenary meetings which were held in Cambridge from September 16 to 18. He addressed a number of organizations in and near Boston, including a meeting of the Chinese Students of Greater Boston, a meeting of the Friends of China Club of Boston, the East Asiatic Society of Cambridge and Boston, the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, and the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions. He was given a dinner by the members of the faculty of Boston University, many of whom were friends of Dr. John C. Ferguson, the first President of the original Nanking University. He visited Mr. Ambrose Swasey, a true friend of the University, at his summer home in New Hampshire.

Dr. Chen took part in the meetings held in Hartford in October. Then he made a quick trip to Western Pennsylvania to speak at Titusville on October 15, and spent the four weeks from October 21 to November 19 in and near New York City. During these four weeks, he spoke at a meeting of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, at the Annual Meeting of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to the Executive Staff of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Baptist Church, and at a number of Presbyterian churches, including the West End Church and the First Presbyterian Church in New York City, and the Forest Hill Church in Newark, New Jersey. During his stay in New York, Dr. Chen helped to edit a pamphlet about the University, and attended a second meeting of the Board of Founders held on November 18. His schedule on November 18 was typical of some of his days in New York. On that day, he addressed the chapel service of the students and faculty of Teachers' College, Columbia University, was given a luncheon by the Teachers' Club of the University, attended the Founders' meeting in the afternoon, and spoke in the First Presbyterian Church in the evening.

On November 13 and 14, he was in Richmond, Kentucky, where he addressed a meeting of the Conference on International Relations held under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

On November 19, Dr. Chen left for Ithaca, New York. On the twenty-first he spoke at a meeting of the Cornell-in-China Club at which President Ferrand of the University presided, and addressed a number of other student groups. On the twenty-second he spoke in the Baptist Church in the morning, alumni of the University gave him a dinner, and in the evening he spoke at the Cornell Cosmopolitan Club.

On November 23, Dr. Chen went to Cleveland and to Oberlin, where the President, Vice-President, and Deans of the University gave him a dinner.

From November 28 to December 3, Dr. Chen was in Western Pennsylvania where he spoke at the Presbyterian churches in Warren, Oil City, and Tidioute, and addressed the Rotary Club at Warren; on December 3 he went to Pittsburgh where he called on a number of friends and pastors, and on December 5 went on to Indianapolis, Indiana. In Indiana Dr. Chen attended the two sessions of the bi-monthly meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Christian Missionary Society (The Disciples Church), and spoke in several Presbyterian churches in Indianapolis, in one of the Disciples churches, and at a luncheon given by the Church Federation of Indianapolis.

On December 11, Dr. Chen returned to New York. On December 12 he spoke at a meeting at the International House sponsored by the Chinese Institute of Engineers, the Chinese Students' Club of New York City, and the Chinese Pacific Association, and in

the evening at the International House at a meeting under the auspices of the Chinese Christian Student Association and its American friends. On December 14, he attended a dinner in Riverdale-on-Hudson and spoke at a gathering of friends of China. On December 15, he was given a farewell dinner by the Ph. D. Association of Columbia University, and sailed that night on the "Bremen" for England and Europe.

During his five months in this country, Dr. Chen has won many friends for the University and for China, and I know that he will be followed on his homeward journey by the sincere good wishes of many people. He expects to reach Nanking in time for the opening of the second academic term.

\* \* \*

Dr. Chen has been President of the University for nine years. Since 1927 he has carried the double administrative load previously shouldered by Dr. A. J. Bowen and Dr. J. E. Williams who were President and Vice-President of the University from 1910 to 1927. As the friends of the University know, Dr. Williams lost his life at the hands of Communist soldiers in the so-called Nanking Incident of 1927. For several years I have been working on his biography and this book will be published this month.

There are three reasons why Dr. Williams' life and work are worthy of record and remembrance. In the first place, he played a manful and effective part in the creation and building up of the University and thus served the whole cause of the Christian Movement in China. Many regard this work to be the most valuable contribution of America to China, and Dr. Williams' place in this work is secure.

In the second place, Dr. Williams' service was not only one of great usefulness, but was one of far reaching friendship and love. "Few men touched the real note of friendship in so many lives as he did." "He had remarkable powers of sympathetic understanding. He knew how and when to rejoice, and how and when to weep. . . . His death left a veritable host of people lonely."

In the third place, his death had vicarious and sacrificial aspects that crowned his life and service with new meaning and significance. His death was the means of saving the lives of other missionaries in Nanking that day and was one of the causes of the ousting of the Communists from an active part in the National Government.

Dr. C. T. Wang, a warm friend of Dr. Williams, for many years a member of the field Board of Directors of the University, formerly Minister of Foreign Affairs in the National Government, now Chinese Ambassador to America, wrote of Dr. Williams:

"His life laid down brought about the union work in missions as exemplified by the University of Nanking.

"By his death he became instrumental in effecting the union of the distracted provinces of China. . . .

"Since it is an alien scholar like Dr. Williams who has conferred untold blessings upon our country, the Chinese people should, therefore, keep his memory ever verdant."

This biography will be published the latter part of this month by Fleming H. Revell Company with the title, "John E. Williams of Nanking."

We are happy to report that Mrs. Williams, who shared bravely and fully in her husband's twenty-eight years of service, will spend this year in China. She will go with her son-in-law and daughter, Mr. and Mrs. T. A. Bisson, and will sail with them on the "Empress of Japan" January 9 from Vancouver. They will go to Japan first and will stay there for approximately six weeks and then will go on to North China. Mrs. Williams will probably reach Nanking in April or May. Mail will reach her if addressed in care of her daughter, Mrs. Williams Cochran, American Presbyterian Mission, Paotingfu, Hopei Province, China.

Dr. and Mrs. A. J. Bowen also expect to visit China this year, sailing about the middle of February. They will probably go first to Nanking. Mail will reach them, if addressed care Miss Olive Bowen, University of Nanking, Middle School, Nanking, China. A warm and loving welcome awaits these true friends of China and of the University.

Since 1927, Dr. Y. G. Chen, as President, and other Chinese members of the faculty as Deans of the Colleges and related schools of the University, have led the institution along a path of ever-widening and deepening service to China and the Christian Church. Of the annual budget of the University of approximately \$1,200,000, Chinese currency, 63% came this last year from China, 37% from America. In other words, for every dollar from America given to the University almost two dollars are given from China.

There are, of course, many needs at the University still to be met. A total of U. S. \$100,000 is being asked for additional buildings and equipment and U. S. \$17,000 for the current budget and other current needs. A letter just received from Nanking tells of the need for a dormitory to house the Freshmen, who, according to recent Government regulations, must be placed in one building. The administration is planning to erect a dormitory for the Freshmen in which, by great compression, all the Freshmen can be accommodated. This can be done, according to present estimates, for U. S. \$9,000. The University has approximately U. S. \$3,000 available for this need. Dr. Chen and I have received during recent weeks U. S. \$2,500. We need U. S. \$3,500 to make the erection of this building possible.

The Board of Founders of the University has asked me to represent the University during the coming six months and I will be happy to do that. The American address of the University is 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City, N. Y.

Enclosed is a copy of a recently published pamphlet of the University. This goes to you with our best wishes and our thanks for your interest in the work we are trying to do for the young men and the young women of China at the national capital in the name of Christ.

Sincerely yours,

W. Reginald Whitham

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and Mr. Chu Chin-tsu is now working on pictures for educational and decorative purposes in Christian homes and churches.

Thus in its regular classroom work and in all its varied program of research and extension the Seminary is using all its resources for the spread of the Gospel, the building up of the church, and the promotion of the many forms of Christian activity through which the Church expresses itself in the life of the community.

37108. UNIVERSITY OF NANKING. The following report was received through Miss Elsie M. Priest:

The fine new library nearing completion on the campus of the University of Nanking reflects something of the history of the University itself, through its position between the original university buildings, now the Middle School, and the present group of Colleges. But the building itself is also a symbol of the place this institution holds in the life of modern China. A gift from the National Government, it is a token of appreciation for the part the University has played and still is playing in national reconstruction.

*New Buildings:* It is anticipated that the library will be ready for use in the fall of 1937. This building, having been seriously needed for a number of years, is the most noted addition to the campus. Other buildings added this year have been the new Science Laboratory Building and the Tiao-ching Dormitory.

*Enrollment:* The number making application for admission keeps increasing each year. Nearly 2,000 have been enrolled this year: 691 regular students, with 240 special, in the Colleges; 1,022 in the Middle School, and 65 in the Nurses' Training School.

*Graduates:* One hundred and twenty students were graduated from the Colleges this year, receiving either B.A. or B.S. degrees. In addition 53 students received diplomas for special courses completed. One hundred and twenty-three students were graduated from the Junior and Senior Middle Schools, and 19 from the Ginling School of Nursing. This makes a total of 315 who were awarded either degrees or diplomas at the Forty-second Annual Commencement, held June 1937.

*Tenth Anniversary Celebration of the Presidency of Dr. Y. G. Chen:* An unusual feature of this Commencement was the celebration of the Tenth Anniversary of the Presidency of Dr. Chen Yu-gwang. The ten years that have passed mark steady progress and steady growth, not only in the number of students enrolled, but in the important widening

range of studies related to the ever-enlarging interests and needs of the country. The growth of the University is impressive in extent and in its better organization, integration and service. In recognition of this event, a scholarship fund of \$1,000.00 to be known as the Chen Yungwang Scholarship was presented to Dr. Chen. This fund was subscribed by members of the Board of Directors, alumni, and staff of the University. It will be sufficient to give a tuition to a needy student each year. It is just one of the many gifts and evidences of affection and confidence sent to Dr. Chen in honor of this occasion.

*Finances:* The University is closing its fiscal year with a brighter outlook than for many years. It is expected that the year will be closed without a deficit, and for the ensuing year, the treasurer has presented a balanced budget of Ch \$1,248,448.66. During the last seven years, substantial gifts and grants have been received both from Chinese and Western sources—Chinese amounting to \$643,860.20 and Western to \$498,685.34—enabling the University to develop and carry on special projects. Last year sixty-three per cent of the total budget was received in China and less than ten per cent from the four cooperating mission boards.

*Religious Life:* Students interested in religious thought and discussion are attracted to the Students' Christian Association of the University. This group continues its regular activities from year to year, one of the most valuable being the running of a night school for servants and poor people in the neighborhood. Every Sunday morning there is a religious service in Chinese in Sage Chapel, and during the week devotional services are held in Twinem Prayer Hall. In addition to the religious courses offered in the curriculum, in which there are 170 students enrolled, there are Bible classes conducted by members of the faculty. All of these are attended by students on a purely voluntary basis.

*A Forward Look:* During the middle of March more than 200 faculty and alumni of the University of Nanking gathered together at a dinner to welcome Dr. Bowen back to China after an absence of seven years. The presence of Dr. Ferguson, Dr. Bowen, and Dr. Chen at the same table, and the words of these three presidents, showed that the University, in carrying out its mission as a Christian institution, has become in the best sense a national university, which may enter into its 50th year with the assurance that the next 50 years will demand from it yet higher service and increased pioneer work.

**SPECIAL COMMITTEE REPORTS**

37109. **NOMINATING COMMITTEE.** The report of the Nominating Committee was presented by Miss Moffet and accepted by the Executive Committee. The nominations for Mission officers were submitted to the Mission Meeting directly following the meeting of the Executive Committee, and the following officers were elected:

*Chairman*—REV. DAVID B. VAN DYCK

*Vice-chairman*—DR. J. CLAUDE THOMSON

The nominations for members on union institution boards, middle school boards, and Mission standing committees were approved by the Executive Committee, and elections made accordingly. (For list, see inside front and back covers of these minutes.)

The following nominations of a Council secretary to succeed Miss Frame were approved for presentation to Council.

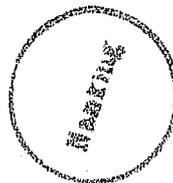
1. MISS FRAME
2. MRS. THURSTON

37110. **RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE.** The report of the Resolutions Committee was presented by Mr. Mills. The following resolutions were adopted:

(1) *Rev. and Mrs. George C. Hood.* The Executive Committee, having heard of the resignation of Rev. and Mrs. George C. Hood, desire to place again on record its regret at this severance of relations. It would express once more its appreciation of the faithful years of service of these devoted workers, and its gratitude that the connection between them and the Mission is being a real sense still maintained through Mr. Hood's service in the Madison Avenue Church, which continues its unflinching support of the Nanhsuchow work.

(2) *Rev. and Mrs. W. R. Wheeler.* The Executive Committee, having learned that for reasons of health, it is impossible for Rev. and Mrs. W. R. Wheeler to return to China, desires to express its sympathy to these friends at this unavoidable change of plans and hopes. The Committee remembers with gratitude the years of unselfish service which

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July 15, 1937

To the Friends of  
Rex and Constance Wheeler.

Our last circular letter, sent to you through the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, was written December 1, 1936, four months after our return from China. In this letter I will try to outline the experience of the past seven and a half months in America.

During the autumn months I was travelling almost constantly with Dr. Y.G. Chen, President of the University of Nanking. On December 15th Dr. Chen sailed from New York for Europe and China. Dr. Robert E. Speer, President of the Board of Founders (Trustees) of the University, wrote of Dr. Chen, "All of us who have met him have been won by his personality, his ability and devotion, and his strong Christian character." During his months in this country Dr. Chen made many friends and it was a joy to be with him.

Since December 1st, I have had the opportunity of speaking on China to churches and to various groups from St. Louis in the middle west to New York in the east. I have shown the motion pictures of Nanking and of the leaders in the National Government to a number of audiences, including the Presbyterian Foreign Board, the Conference of Foreign Mission Boards in North America, The First Presbyterian Church in New York, and many others. The dramatic capture and release of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek increased the interest in the motion pictures of him and of Madame Chiang and of others in the Orient.

In the latter part of December and in January, I finished work on the biography of Dr. John E. Williams, Vice President of the University of Nanking. The book was published early in February by Fleming H. Revell Company of New York.

During the first week of June I attended the meetings of the General Assembly of our church at Columbus, Ohio. The Centennial of the Board of Foreign Missions was celebrated at that Assembly, I flew from New York to Columbus, covering the 464 miles in two hours and thirty-eight minutes, a little less than three miles a minute for the whole trip. We flew most of the way at a height of 10,000 feet. The evening sky was clear and cloudless; the sun set in a golden glory; the stars came out, calm and bright above us, while the lights of cities and towns shone like lovely new constellations of stars below us. We were more than a mile above Pittsburgh when we passed over that city. I remembered that in 1931 we had celebrated in that city the Centennial of the Western Foreign Missionary Society, the predecessor of the Board of Foreign Missions, and we had visited the grave of Elisha P. Swift, the first secretary of that society, who is buried on a wooded hillside outside the city. The inscription on his tombstone includes a verse from Daniel: "They that are wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars forever." I thought of the fulfillment of that ancient prophecy as we flew beneath the stars of the twentieth century sky.

The sessions of the Assembly were marked by a spirit of unity, loyalty and peace. Perhaps the most impressive part of the Centennial pageant on Tuesday night was the scene which depicted the organization of the Foreign Board in 1837, with individual impersonations of the early leaders, Dr. Elisha P. Swift, Hon. Walter Lowrie and others. On the last day of the Assembly, addresses were made by Dr. Charles Leber, a newly elected secretary who has just returned from an extensive

visitation to the field, and by Dr. Robert E. Speer, whose service of forty-six years as secretary of the Foreign Board closes this September.

After the addresses, the list was read of missionaries who had died during the year. They seemed visibly present as the roll was read. The list included Rev. Melvin Fraser, who had served thirty-six years in the West Africa Mission, who was with Dr. A.C. Good, pioneer of the inland Cameroun when Dr. Good died in 1894. I had been with Dr. Fraser when I was in Africa in 1928, and remembered vividly his heroic and gracious spirit. The list included the name of Miss Jean Kenyon Mackenzie, who had served for fourteen years in West Africa, who, as Dr. Speer well said, "left upon the church both in Africa and in America the ineffable imprint of her fresh, unspoiled genius for love and truth." Included was the name of Mrs. H.C. Anderson of the Central Brazil Mission who had given twenty-seven years in service, chiefly in interior Brazil. I remember an eighty mile trip overland on muleback, in which she was in the caravan, and I recalled her courage and practical ability and steadfastness in the work. Dr. Arthur J. Brown, Secretary Emeritus of the Foreign Board, now in his eightieth year, led the Assembly in prayer in his eloquent and elevated diction, and a Japanese Christian girl, Miss Saito, sang in her beautiful voice, and in English, the hymn, "Saviour, Like a Shepherd Lead Us", with its appealing, familiar melody. Through the spoken word of the addresses, the prayer and the hymn, we were drawn into a unity that knew no barriers of time or of continent or race. We were truly one in Christ, and the memory of that gathering will not quickly fade away.

The church will be afforded opportunity to give practical expression to its allegiance to the foreign mission cause through contributions to the Centennial Fund of \$1,000,000, which it is hoped will be secured before the close of the present calendar year. Dr. William H. Foulkes, Moderator of the Assembly, is Chairman of the Fund, and Dr. Herrick Young is Secretary.

As this letter will be sent to personal friends, I am adding a word about our family. One of the joys of return to this country is the opportunity of revisiting one's American Alma Mater, whether school or college. During this furlough I have visited The Hill School, Yale and Harvard, and came away from each with "the unutterable satisfaction of old fires rekindled, old friendships renewed." Our class at The Hill School celebrated this year its thirtieth anniversary. My twin brother, Alexander Royal Wheeler, known to his intimate friends as "Jimmy", had also been a member of that class. He died on November 27, 1935, while we were in China. A tablet in his memory was unveiled in the Alumni Chapel of The Hill School during the Alumni Reunion, and I had the privilege of speaking at the dedicatory service.

The Alumni Chapel at The Hill School contains a number of memorial tablets for the old boys, among them the records of several missionaries, - Joseph Cook, '00, who died in Persia; William W. Borden, '04, who died in Egypt; Maxwell Chaplin, '09, who died in China. The inscription on Max's tablet is characteristic of them all, - "Died in missionary service.....Gentle strength and noble heart. A lover of all mankind. The children of The Hill have passed this way."

On the steamer from China last summer I began to write the biography of my brother; the work was carried on in spare moments, and was finished last month. The book will be published by Revell in October. It will be called "Jimmy, the Biography of a Brother". A foreword has been written by Dr. J.A. Lester, formerly of the Faculty of The Hill School.

Our oldest son, Rex, graduated from The Hill School this year and will enter Yale next fall. It was interesting to see, in the initiation into the "Cum Laude" society at the Hill commencement, standing second and third in the order of election from a graduating class of one hundred and twenty, - Rex and Sterling Hutcheson, both sons of former missionaries at Nanking. Alexander (Sandy) finished the first year at The Hill and will continue there next year. He has reached about as high a mark in the pole vault as Rex has in his studies. Nelson (Petie) has remained most of the year at our old home at Endeavor, Pa.

We were saddened by word received in December from the Board that for health reasons they would not approve of Mrs. Wheeler's return to the field. We have had to accept that decision for the time being but we have not given up hope of return later on. The last four years in Nanking were most interesting and happy years and we shall always be grateful for them. We are more than ever convinced that missionary service is the best work in the world; the one most full of the "durable satisfactions of life"; the work most worthy of the investment of one's money and one's life; the service that most truly and fully expresses the spirit of Christ, and is most richly blessed by Him.

I have been asked to represent the University of Nanking next year in this country as a Vice-President of its Board of Founders (Trustees). I expect to be on the Pacific coast during the autumn. Our address will continue to be in care of the American office of the University, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Sincerely,

W. Reginald Wheeler

P.S. As this letter is being finished, war clouds are gathering ominously on the Far Eastern horizon. I was in Washington on July 13th and had the privilege of seeing, at the Chinese Embassy, Dr. Z.T. Ing, Counsellor of the Embassy, whom we had known well in Nanking, and Dr. C.T. Wang, the Chinese Ambassador, whom I met first when we were both undergraduates at Yale. I saw Dr. S.K. Hornbeck, Chief of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs, in the State Department, a friend of nearly twenty years' standing. On the plane in which I flew from Washington to New York was a military attache of the Japanese Embassy. Japan has spoken much and often of the peace of the Far East; in a deeper sense than perhaps is realized, she is chiefly responsible for the maintenance of that peace. Peace will not be broken unless Japan herself breaks it. Christians everywhere should unite in earnest prayer that the peace may not be broken and that the counsels of sanity and of justice shall prevail.

W.R.W.

Confidential

University of Nanking,  
Nanking, China.  
August 4, 1937.

Dear friends:

There is a leading editorial in the newspaper tonight "Is it too late to stop this senseless war?" and it inspired me to send a few comments to some of you who are interested in the University and may be wondering what is happening on the campus and behind the scenes. There seems to be a great lull - is it merely the lull before the great storm? We are experiencing one of the heaviest typhoons I have ever seen in Nanking and we wonder if it is symbolic of what may come.

This week finds very few Western staff members on the campus. Tonight Mr. Riggs and I are the only ones with the Wilsons, Bradys, Misses Hynds and Bauer at the hospital. I expect Dr. Buck in a few days and we wired today suggesting that Dr. Thomson return. I shall be glad when they are here to help take some of the responsibility in decisions concerning western staff, contacts with the Embassy, etc.

Nanking is very quiet - on the surface everything seems as usual. The buses that were gay colors have taken on subdued gray tones, and all the red roofs are being painted black. We have nine houses with red roofs - it will cost around \$500.00 to paint them black, but we are cooperating with the order. Our house happens to have a red roof - today's typhoon took off some tile giving us a regular unsolicited shower path through two floors! Underneath the surface the city of Nanking is in panic - almost as great as any time I have seen since 1932 (Shanghai War). It is all due to an order from the various Ministries to their staffs ordering that families - women and children - be sent out of the city. Once officialdom begins to pack up and move the place takes on a serious tone. Today I was told, although I did not witness it myself, that literally thousands of people were camping on the platforms at the station and wharves with baggage waiting for trains or boats. There has been an order that all families not native to Nanking had better return to their own province. That is a bit weird also, as some of these families who claim to belong to other provinces have been here for tens of years. I am a bit annoyed with this order from officials - do they value the lives of their citizens according to the size of individual purses? The poor people cannot leave - are puzzled and distressed.

There are important and continual conferences going on, but I have no more idea than you concerning the import or content. Although there may be a few extra guards about, especially near Ho Ying Ching's house and such places, the city appears as usual. Movies are open and the one time lately I have been, quite crowded. Actually I have been far too busy to venture out of our little area - University to Ginling.

Now for a word about plans at the University. We have a committee made up of the heads - administrative group - which meets every other morning, supposedly for one half hour, but usually nearer two hours! Today we formed sub-committees such as campus patrol, intelligence and information (to keep the staff informed with as reliable news as possible) National service (how can we help in the crisis?) Scientific prevention for gas etc. Aid to faculty families etc. etc. One purpose and perhaps one of the main objects was to enlist a number of staff members. They are uneasy and if they have a definite task and a part in the whole planning, it will help them as well as relieve the administrative staff. If only we can prevent every one from coming to each individual administrative member and discussing every point! That consumes hours and hours and really is rather useless. Yet how can we refuse to talk to our staff?

We are bringing up to date the photographs of important documents and will send duplicate sets out of the city. I am trying to complete the books for the last year in order to have them all in order and to date - if only these other things did not consume so many hours! We have stopped repairs that are not half finished, but completing all work that has been started. We are holding up the freshmen dormitory although the brick has been delivered or will be in a day or two. We are trying to plan intelligently for such equipment as seems possible to put away in places of safety - if such

Aug. 4, 1937.

are to be discovered. Candles, lanterns, electric torches, sand, fire buckets, etc. etc. along that line are being quietly purchased for emergency use. We shall probably buy a small quantity of rice and flour for emergency use particularly for our staff of servants. It can be disposed of later if peace reigns over the land. Notices have been sent to the American Embassy that our property belongs to the Board of Founders, it has not been officially transferred to Chinese ownership. Negotiations were started, but the field group held them up and now we are taking steps to have it recorded that it is American owned property - we do not think it will make great difference but it is legally true so seems important to send the notice.

Yesterday one of the Embassy officials advised President Wu to have her "new" people postpone their sailing for a time but we fear it is too late. Most of them have already started.

Above all these preparations and plans, is a steady and consistent plan to continue with the work as usual. We are registering students for the second entrance examination and the staff is groaning because there are so many applicants already! We had 700 or more for the first examination and fear there will be a number of hundred for this second one - we shall accept only about 180 in all, so it makes much work for the professors and staff. Most of the regular summer repairs are finished - some of the changes in Severance Hall have not been made and we are holding them up for the time being. We are proceeding to purchase the usual supplies for the new year and advising all staff that we are to open as planned on August 30th. At this moment this is the only way to plan and if within two more weeks, the situation takes a decided turn for the worst, notices will be sent through the press to students. We have about two hundred students on the campus now and are enlisting their services, largely to keep them out of mischief!

The group of administrators are all keenly aware of conditions - they are all on the campus and putting in long hours daily. We shall remember this summer as one without any chance of even a few hours holiday! There is no serious feeling of depression among the group - there is much constructive thinking and planning. If plans can be made before the place becomes too tense, we shall accomplish much in hours of anxiety. I hope the next few weeks will bring us brighter hours and that settlement may be made without great losses of life and property. Anyway, I know you will be thinking of us and will follow with interest all that happens on the campus.

Some of you will be interested to know of the safe arrival of Elizabeth Wilson on June 28th and of Ruth Eloise Steward on July 21st - both seem to be bonny babies from all reports.

Sincerely yours,

Elsie M. Priest

UNIVERSITY OF NANKING  
Nanking, China

September 14, 1937

Dr. B. A. Garside,

Dear Dr. Garside:

Your air letter dated August 24th has reached us and as finances are very difficult to manage these days, we have decided not to waste money on a cable, but to send you a letter by the China Clipper.

As far as we can tell today we expect to open the Colleges in Nanking on October 4th. We have not made the formal announcement yet but expect to do so after the Council meets on the 17th. The Ministry of Education will not object if we open, although they will take no responsibility for the date or for opening. We are hesitating a bit longer as we are now approaching the full moonlight season and everyone is apprehensive of air raids during that time. Last month the worst raids were during the moon light nights. If there should be serious raids resulting in much damage in the city, we would probably feel it was unwise to expose the students to the danger of raids every few weeks. It is impossible to say anything about enrollment at this date - we anticipate there will be around two hundred students who are willing to brave the dangers of Nanking. Many will be unable to reach Nanking as communications are very uncertain and almost impossible from some directions. As soon as we have started classwork, we will send you another letter by air so you will have the information at an early date.

The University Middle School will open for day students only on September 20th. We expect two to three hundred students. The Rural Leaders' Training School will also open in Wukiang, one of our experiment stations not far from Nanking, on the 20th with an enrollment limited to eighty students.

We have prepared dugouts and trenches on both the college and middle school campus and will assign each student to a definite place in times of raids. There has been some hesitation about opening for fear we would attract bombs inasmuch as educational institutions have suffered severely in other places. If this should be the case, we would regret running the risk of having a great tragedy on the campus. However, the students are pressing us to open and it is the opinion of the administrative group that we should try to do so.

In case we find we have great raids over these next two weeks and it seems impractical to open in Nanking, we shall try to take the upper classmen and join West China Union University for the year. Already we have made tentative arrangements with them and have been deeply grateful for the cordial invitation. They have offered us every facility and we may take advantage of it a little later in the year. Just now, it is difficult to desert our plant in Nanking and even if we left some of the staff here, it would be hard to protect it. As it is, we have been able to keep all outside agencies out of the buildings. Many people in the city feel we are in a favorable position and seek our buildings for protection. We are not sure they are correct! Another serious obstacle in moving is expense - it will cost us 60,000. to 70,000. for the round trip and we do not have the money. We felt it was wise to make inquiries in order to have a place in mind if Nanking should be seriously destroyed. We shall keep you informed. Cables are now repaired, but we shall only use them in times of need.

Sincerely yours,

Y. G. Chen

## UNIVERSITY HOSPITAL SAVES PATIENTS FROM BOMBED GOVERNMENT HOSPITAL

Saturday morning, September 25th, in Nanking dawned bright with high thin clouds, an ideal day for picnicking and air raids! Impressed by the fact that the day was just like Wednesday the 22nd when we had had such serious raids from the Japanese planes, we prepared for the worst.

Sure enough about nine o'clock the siren screamed. In about forty minutes 17 Japanese planes appeared over South City and began power diving to bomb. In the first dive one Japanese plane was hit by anti-aircraft shells and came down in flames, landing right across the street from the Y.M.C.A. Another fleet of planes swung around to Hsiakwan and all dove to bomb the electric power plant. Another Japanese plane came down in flames. The power plant was put out of commission and the city went on to emergency power service. "All clear" signals sounded about noon and University students and cars dashed to the University Hospital to care for the wounded. The ambulance squads had hardly finished bringing in the wounded, when the siren sounded again. We dashed home for lunch before the planes would arrive and then to cover. This time the National Health Administration's beautiful plant and the Central Hospital (government) was bombed. The third and fourth raids followed so closely upon this that our ambulance squads that went to the Central Broadcasting aerial station outside of the city got caught and had to make two trips to bring in wounded during the raids. All the wounded were poor people living near these "military objectives."

Newsreel cameramen from the West were on the roof of a nearby hotel and got a good view of the bombing of the electric plant in the morning. In the afternoon they went over to get the pictures of the damage done at the Health Administration and Central Hospital. While they were on the roof filming the big red cross painted there, the Japanese planes came back for the fifth raid and dropped two 1,000-pound time bombs but luckily they just missed the hospital building---with its nearly 100 helpless patients---and landed in the tennis court tearing craters 20 feet deep and 45 feet across. The camera men had already filmed the demolished kitchen and service rooms and the shattered operating rooms. These two big bombs landed between the staff's dugouts. Although the dugouts were only 50 feet from the edge of the craters and their roofs protruded above ground, no one in the dugouts was injured. But a coolie under a tree and a chauffeur who took refuge under his car were killed---the latter because his car went up in the air and came down and crushed him. A direct hit on the hospital probably would have killed most of the patients and staff on duty---the concussion knocked over the superintendent, Dr. James K. Shen,

About five o'clock just as we finished bringing in the mangled bodies of the poor people who had been wounded, Dr. Shen arrived at the University Hospital and said he wanted to move his patients and staff to our hospital that night, for fear the Japanese bombers would come back the next morning to finish the job. The University Hospital did not have enough vacant space and beds, so they asked the University of Nanking to let them use two dormitories in an adjoining compound. University faculty members living in one of them cheerfully moved out to another dormitory, students and faculty came to help in the moving, calls were sent out for cars, the University Hospital staff made all the necessary arrangements, the City loaned one large ambulance to take the place of two destroyed by bombs at Central Hospital, and by the time the moon rose fearfully over Purple Mountain---but soon to go under a peaceful blanket of clouds---all the 68 patients who cared to come instead of

going home and the resident staff were safely moved to University Hospital. It was nearly midnight and Dr. Shen gave a sigh of relief and said, "Well, I have done all I can to save them from bombing tomorrow morning. Now I can go talk to my chief about plans for the future." Later he remarked, "It touched me deeply to see the splendid way in which the superintendent of the University Hospital, Dr. James Cheng, his staff and University faculty and students responded so readily to our call for help."

But what did this mean to the University Hospital? Overnight a 160-bed hospital was jumped to 208 patients! With all the "upper class" families out of the city, there are few first and second class patients who largely pay for the operation of the hospital. The poor people can only pay a small amount that does not cover actual costs. And most of the patients from Central Hospital were free patients. What is more, on the following Monday they decided to go out of existence as an organization and for their staff to join the new military hospital that was just being organized outside of the city. That left the University Hospital not only with these patients to care for but also with the responsibility of caring for at least two-thirds of the Nanking civilian wounded in the future. (The only other hospital is a 100-bed Municipal Hospital which is bravely carrying on in South City although bombs have been dropped on three sides of it---one within thirty feet of one building and destroying one-fourth of an elementary school building adjoining.) Because of the stringent necessity for caring for thousands of wounded soldiers, the Government is not in a position to subsidize the University Hospital for this work. The care of the Central Hospital patients alone will cost us US\$2,000 and if the University Hospital has to take in 100 free patients a month (a very conservative estimate) it will cost US\$1,500 or more per month to care for them. In addition, medical supplies are almost impossible to secure in China now. Some very important drugs for wounded cases are already exhausted or only adequate for the military medical service. On the day of this raid and since, the University Hospital had six ambulance squads consisting of doctors, nurses and student volunteers, ready to go out. But only three private cars were available to take the squads to the bombed places and to bring in the wounded---hence the repeated trips and delay in getting seriously wounded people in. So the University Hospital in order to carry on its service for the civilian wounded of this city seriously needs at least one light ambulance which will carry four stretchers.

On the night of the 25th, three fine Chinese Christian leaders stood shoulder to shoulder in caring for the suffering and endangered patients of Central Hospital; the two hospital superintendents and the President of the University of Nanking, Dr. Chen Yu-gwan. Chinese and Western staff of the University Hospital have been on the job right through 52 air raids and are ready to continue to serve to the limit of their endurance. Nurses are prepared to go on 12-hour duty. Funds and critical supplies are needed to continue this aid to China's suffering poor.

University of Nanking  
Nanking, China  
October 7th, 1937

Dear Mr. Garside,

In response to Miss Griest's request to Ginling College and your cable for information, Miss Vautrin and I have been assigned to write a news letter to you every week by Clipper. Since the air mail service between here and Hankow is so indefinite we have to allow as much time as possible to get to Hongkong. This should catch Clipper one week from today. Miss Vautrin has no enclosure because she has sent a diary to Miss Griest by Clipper.

The University had registration on October 4th and 5th and opened classes yesterday. By tonight 148 students had enrolled: Arts 27; Science 40; Agriculture 81. About 40 others have written or sent telegrams that they are coming, so estimates now are we will have 200 students. Notices were very slow in getting out to students. Because of small classes we are going to experiment with tutorial system and allow professors to carry on public service work outside. Some of us Westerners will probably be drafted to teach English because of the serious shortage of teachers in that department and heavy enrollment. Bannon is flying to Hankow and then here by boat. Morale and spirit around the University is good. The first morning, yesterday, we had an air raid, and order and morale was O. K.

With regard to the Hospital, I have become sort of a publicity agent for them because of trying to stop a gap in organizing ambulance helpers and cars as a result of the Japanese Admiral's warning September 19th. Now it is spreading into a campaign for funds and supplies in order to carry on what service is needed from us in the city. At Miss Priest's suggestion I am enclosing an account of the move of Central Hospital for you to use in making appeals at home. On October 2 Miss Priest cabled you via American Embassy: "Central Hospital bombed and closed. University Hospital needs US\$1,500.00 monthly plus medical supplies and light ambulance to care destitute civilian wounded Nanking. Will you secure gifts immediately. Cable." That is based on the budget we worked out for caring for 100 wounded civilian free cases per month.

It is now very difficult to get critical medical supplies and getting many of them from America will make it more expensive than usual. We are now sending you details about those medical supplies. The more urgent ones we have cabled you for today as follows: "Send air mail 3,000 ampules prophylactic and 100 ampules therapeutic doses of Tetanus Anti-toxin. Send ordinary mail 5 pounds Iodoform. Mark "Red Cross Supplies." Appeal Lobenstine help raise funds and supplies. Send supplies on Red Cross transport marked for University Hospital. Air letter enroute." (This is the air letter!) We are herewith enclosing list of medical supplies for caring for 200 patients for three months. There are two lists because today the Hospital found additional needs not noted before. These supplies should be sent as soon as possible but probably the best way is to send it on the next Red Cross transport ship. Ambassador Johnson here suggested that. If it is marked definitely for the University Hospital, University of Nanking, Nanking we will have no difficulty getting it. But you had better ship to "Associated Mission Treasurers" in Shanghai and then we will arrange with them for trans shipment in Shanghai. For this purpose please pack the drugs in a separate case so if necessary it can be sent through to Nanking first. China Travel express service now limits packages to 50 kilos. The heavier stuff we can get through later, probably will have to hire a truck for it.

The Hospital is also cabling you tomorrow for an additional list mainly for epidemic work. On check this afternoon found they were out and could not get it in China: "5,000 vials Smallpox Vaccine, 100 ampules of 5,000 units and 100 ampules of 10,000 units of Diphtheria Anti-toxin; 500 c.c. Alum Precipitate Diphtheria Toxoid. Send air mail."

We checked up with Ambassador Johnson about possibility of getting supplies from the shipment of Red Cross supplies on the way from Transport. He said we would have to make an appeal to a new committee to be made in Shanghai and trust our luck. So we are not counting on that. If we get that then we will hold off in future orders. This will protect us against getting caught without any supplies. Most of these will go to Chinese Red Cross which is entirely military. And other supplies have now been completely commandeered by the military. We are making our appeal through the National Christian Council in Shanghai which has organized a new "National Christian War Relief Committee" so will be co-ordinating relief appeals. Col. C. de Watteville of International Red Cross who is here, told us that he is cabling Geneva for urgent epidemic supplies so later we may be able to count on those. But they go to the Government first.

I should add that we hope that you can raise special funds for getting these supplies or can get medical supply companies to give the supplies directly. One suggestion is that the Lake Erie Chemical Works have sold so many bombs and shells in the Far East that they should contribute to salvage the human wreckage caused! (Plainsville, Ohio, or Cleveland) If you cannot get special funds for these supplies you might hold up on the sheets and night shirts, as we can substitute here but not so well as cotton yarn is becoming scarce.

Oh, the ambulance, we hope you can cable! That is get an auto company there to give it then cable their agency in Shanghai to remodel a car on hand and send to Nanking ---- have someone drive it through.

In order to speed up appeal for funds and supplies, Miss Priest today cabled Dr. Daniels: "Central Hospital bombed and closed. Must have help Nanking wounded civilians. Secure funds and supplies. Send supplies Red Cross Transport marked University Hospital, Nanking. Consult New York Office." And to Dr. Walter G. Hiltner, 4215 East 33rd Street, Seattle: "Appeal help secure funds and medical supplies civilian relief University Hospital. Government hospital bombed and closed. Chief responsibility Nanking civilians on University Hospital. Send supplies Red Cross transport marked University Hospital, Nanking. Details follow by air mail." (These all by the Embassy.) Miss Priest has sent a covering letter to Dr. Hiltner today inclosing the article about moving Central Hospital and the first list. But "additional list" has just been made up so not in his letter.

Air raids cut in on time more than anything else. We have been working in our houses until the planes come near our section of the city, then retreat to basement or dugout. Then come out as soon as planes go away. Bates, Brady and I are living in Marx house and even can read in our basement under cement porch. Japs have raided here nearly every shining hour since September 21st. Have had much cloudy weather though unusual for this time of year.

I sent a long account of situation in Nanking and at the University

and the Hospital to the China Mission News Letter which goes by Clipper on this same plane to UCMS in Indianapolis for them to mimeograph and distribute. Send to them for a copy.

J. Heng Liu is working with W. P. Mills to appeal to a number of mission hospitals to take wounded soldiers on the basis of \$1.00 Chinese per day. And also to help in the case of new army hospitals organized near them by sending medical squad to care for cases and if necessary take to mission hospitals more serious cases. Our costs and at Wuhu, if you except any first class fees, are about \$2.00 per day per patient. So we do not see how mission hospitals can take any more wounded soldiers than their first class fees or outside funds would care for. We think Red Cross should send personnel in the form of "operating room units" that is surgeon, assistants, and nurses that could all work together. Then those units could work in a hospital with a Chinese staff of ordinary doctors and nurses. Also advising de Watteville to ask League of Nations to send such units and also epidemiologists for key centers to direct epidemic control. Epidemics are our chief fear for the future.

Well, mail closes in a few minutes so must sign off. Guess I have got in everything. Will write again next week.

Cordially yours,

Lewis Smythe

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UNIVERSITY OF NANKING  
NANKING, CHINA

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 ASSISTANT TREASURER

October 9, 1937

To Members of the Board of Founders

Dear Friends:-

We have this morning received the following two cablegrams via the U. S. Department of State:-

TELEGRAM FROM EMBASSY NANKING TRANSMITS FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM MISS ELSIE PRIEST FOR YOU: "CENTRAL HOSPITAL BOMBED AND CLOSED. UNIVERSITY HOSPITAL NEEDS US \$1,500.00 MONTHLY PLUS MEDICAL SUPPLIES AND LIGHT AMBULANCE TO CARE DESTITUTE CIVILIAN WOUNDED NANKING. WILL YOU SECURE GIFTS IMMEDIATELY, CABLE?" IN TRANSMITTING THIS MESSAGE THE AMBASSADOR STATES THAT THE UNIVERSITY HOSPITAL IS THE ONLY LARGE HOSPITAL NOW OPERATING IN NANKING AND IS DOING EXCELLENT WORK.

CORDELL HULL, SECRETARY OF STATE

TELEGRAM FROM EMBASSY NANKING OCTOBER 7TH TRANSMITS AT REQUEST UNIVERSITY OF NANKING FOLLOWING MESSAGE FOR YOU: "SEND AIR MAIL THREE THOUSAND AMPULES PROPHYLACTIC AND ONE HUNDRED AMPULES THERAPEUTIC DOSES OF TETANUS ANTITOXIN PLUS ONE THOUSAND AMPULES PROPHYLACTIC DOSES GASES BACILLUS ANTITOXIN SEND ORDINARY MAIL FIVE POUNDS IODOFORM MARK RED CROSS SUPPLIES APPEAL LOBENSTINE HELP RAISE FUNDS AND SUPPLIES SEND SUPPLIES ON RED CROSS TRANSPORT MARKED FOR UNIVERSITY HOSPITAL AIR LETTER ENROUTE." THE AMBASSADOR ADDS THAT UNIVERSITY STATES THIS MESSAGE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE AS THEY ARE EXPERIENCING DIFFICULTY BECAUSE THE TETANUS ANTITOXIN HAS BEEN EXHAUSTED.

CORDELL HULL, SECRETARY OF STATE

It is obvious that the University Hospital is in the most urgent need of emergency assistance. We should seek a meeting of the Board of Founders or at least of the Executive Committee at the earliest possible date, to consider the steps which can be taken.

Very sincerely yours,

  
 Secretary

BAG:VW

## THE UNIVERSITY OF NANKING

American Office  
150 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N. Y.  
October 10, 1937

To the Friends of The University of Nanking:

On October 5th a note was sent to you accompanying a bulletin containing news of the Christian Colleges in China. I am writing now to summarize the developments of special interest at The University of Nanking in the nine months since our last printed letter to you dated January 1st, and to give you the latest word from and about Nanking.

We are also enclosing a map of the city of Nanking, which we hope will be of help to you in interpreting news dispatches about that city.



Since the National Government of China was established in Nanking, the city has grown amazingly, and the opportunities for service and influence of the University have expanded to an extraordinary degree. In the eyes of the Chinese, the capital of the country becomes not only the political, but the educational, center as well. In the decade since the establishment of the Central Government there, the city has more than tripled its population, increasing from three hundred thousand to over a million inhabitants. Students have flocked to the capital, and it has taken the most strenuous efforts on the part of the administrative staff to keep down the enrollment of the University. Only one out of every six students who take the entrance examination is admitted. The enrollment during the last spring term was the largest in the history of the University, the total for the college, junior college, and preparatory departments being 2,018 students. The University of Nanking led all the other Christian universities in China not only in total enrollment but in the number of students of college and junior college grade.

Three factors apparently have been responsible for this growth: first, the location of the University in the capital city, as already indicated; second, the fact that the University and its constituent Colleges have had a record of nearly fifty years of efficient and honorable service (the original Nanking University was founded in 1888) and certain Colleges and Departments of the University—such as the College of Agriculture and the Department of Agricultural Economics—have a nation-wide reputation for efficiency and service; and third, the University has gone further than most of the other institutions of higher learning established by Americans, in turning over the administration to Chinese leadership, the President, the Deans, and a great majority of the faculty being Chinese.

The first six months of 1937 saw the University forging steadily ahead on its path of service to the community, to the nation, and to the Church. The Chinese showed their interest in the institution and their loyalty to it by their financial grants made by Provincial Assemblies, by the Central Government and by individual gifts. Sixty-three per cent of the budget of over \$1,200,000 Chinese Currency (\$1.00 U. S. normally = \$3.30 Chinese) came from China; thirty-seven per cent from abroad; that is to say, the Chinese gave two dollars for every one dollar received from America and England. In a statement by the President to the Board of Directors in March, 1937, Dr. Chen reported the total of the gifts and grants from Chinese sources in China, for current expenses of special projects from 1930 to July, 1936, was, Chinese Currency, \$643,860.20; for capital purposes, Chinese \$309,479.16, making a total of Chinese \$953,339.36 from Chinese sources for special projects and capital purposes.

Dr. Chen returned to China early in the year after a most successful and worth-while trip to America. The staff were happy to welcome also Dr. A. J. Bowen, President of the University from 1910 to 1927. The welcoming address by Mr. T. C. Woo, President of the Board of Directors, indicates something of the spirit of that reception, of the enduring contribution made by Dr. Bowen and other Americans to the University, and the problems it has had to solve to attain its influential position. Mr. Woo said:

"I am sure that every one here joins me in welcoming most heartily our former President, Dr. A. J. Bowen, to Nanking where he has spent the best part of his life in educating Chinese youths and in promoting the Christian ideas and ideals on which the University is founded. There is absolutely no doubt that he and his predecessors, Dr. J. C. Ferguson and Dr. G. A. Stuart, and his associates, Dr. J. E. Williams and Mr. F. E. Meigs, have done a wonderful piece of work, which will go down in history as a fitting testimony of their lives, lived most unselfishly and altogether devoted to promotion of the Christian cause. We always look up to Dr. Bowen as a source of inspiration and of encouragement to carry on the work of which he has so well laid the foundation. There is as yet no limit, we are happy to say, to the University's continuous progress and increasing importance as an educational institution—indeed as a Christian institution of learning, brought up quite in line with our national aspirations. It is no small honor to the University to be the first Christian institution registered with the National Government. We have been receiving from the Central Government, as well as from different

provinces and the general public, no mere lip blessings but actual support in dollars and cents, which amounts to hundreds of thousands according to the latest report of President Chen to the Board of Founders. As time goes on, I have no doubt that such help will keep coming more and more, provided we live up to their expectations and prove ourselves worthy of their unrestricted and generous support and assistance.

"We must not lose sight of Dr. Bowen's character and personality which may be described in the sentence: 'Actions speak louder than words.' Only those who were near him appreciated how hard he worked and how little he talked as the Chief Executive of the University. His reserve as against conservatism, his modesty opposed to false pride, and his sincerity of purpose have helped put the work of the University on a very solid foundation. His faith in God and in men made him so big-hearted and far-sighted that he did not make any terms or conditions in his resignation. It seems to me as if it were only yesterday—although it was about ten years ago — when, during the dark days of the Nanking Incident, 1927, our University buildings and properties were damaged and looted, our Vice-President, Dr. J. E. Williams, was killed, and the Bowens and the Wilsons and other faculty members with their families had all come down to Shanghai and were making preparations to return to the States. Dr. Bowen did not tell us what to do and what not to do—either to myself as Chairman of this Board, or to Dr. Chen as President of the University. He had absolute confidence in us and in others entrusted with the great responsibility of carrying on the work before us. At that time, and during the years afterwards, we had one hundred and one things to attend to—re-organization and registration of the Board of Directors; the clearing of the middle school compound of soldiers; the taking back of the University Hospital; also the handling of the student body, full of sentiments and emotions—any of which situations might have led to developments equally serious with the political condition then existing. On top of all this, we had financial difficulties in balancing our budgets and lack of sufficient teaching help. Those stormy days we have lived through.

"Now, on his return, after long absence, Dr. Bowen must have noticed a different atmosphere, not only on the College Campus, but also throughout the entire City of Nanking. As for the physical changes, he will find old buildings repaired and new ones put up and the student enrollment increased. But, on looking further into the inner life of the University, he will see the unity of administration, the spontaneous development of religious activities, and the eagerness of the student body for learning and preparing itself for useful work as its members go out into society. As for Nanking itself, he will observe, as we all do, that it will remain as the new capital of China, all united. During the ten years he has been absent, many changes, all for the better, have taken place in almost every line of work in China. We are glad indeed he is back with us to continue giving us help and advice in the work we are doing, in which we have a common interest and a mutual expectation that it will keep on growing to the glory of God and benefit of men."

A loving welcome was given later in the spring to Mrs. John E. Williams, who visited Nanking where her husband as Vice-President of the University, had rendered such brave and enduring service, and where he had laid down his life ten years before. After her visit, Mrs. Williams wrote:

"Nothing real has been lost, but I can see in the life of the city and of the University great gain."

This was the situation which the University faced at the close of the spring term in June, 1937, in a spirit of deep gratitude for the past and of courageous hope for the future.

\* \* \* \* \*

This happy and hopeful picture was obliterated by the war, undeclared, but none the less savage and destructive, which began with the incident at the Marco Polo Bridge on the night of July 7, 1937, which was the forerunner of a Japanese attack in the area south of Peiping. Another incident some weeks later on the borders of Shanghai was followed by an invasion of that section by the Japanese Naval Force. Since then, Japan has poured into China nearly two-thirds of its regular army. Several provinces in the north have been overrun. The Japanese Army has announced as one of its objectives the destruction of Nanking and of the Chinese Army between Shanghai and Nanking. Cities along the coast, and as far inland as Hankow, six hundred miles up the Yangtze River, have been bombed, with little regard for the safety of non-combatants or of civilians. The Chinese Air Force, although much smaller than the Japanese, has rendered a good account of itself. The Chinese soldiers with inferior equipment and artillery have put up a battle which has called forth words of admiration even from their Japanese opponents.

We have been cut off from regular mail from Nanking, but have received letters written August 4, 1937, and August 21, by Miss Elsie M. Priest, Field Treasurer of the University, one written September 14 by President Chen, and on October 1 a cable transmitted through the State Department. The letters and cable give a restrained, though none the less dramatic, description of the progress of events in Nanking.

August 4, 1937

"Nanking is very quiet; on the surface everything seems as usual. The buses that were gay with colors have taken on subdued gray tones, and all the red roofs are being painted black. We have

nine houses with red roofs; it will cost around \$500.00 (Chinese Currency) to paint them black, but we are cooperating with the order. Underneath the surface the city of Nanking is in a panic—almost as great as any I have seen since 1932 (Shanghai War). It is all due to an order from the various Ministries to their staffs ordering that families—women and children—be sent out of the city. Once officialdom begins to pack up and move, the place takes on a serious tone. Today I was told, although I did not witness it myself, that literally thousands of people were camping on the platforms at the station and wharves with baggage waiting for trains or boats. There has been an order that all families not native to Nanking had better return to their own province. Some of these families who claim to belong to other provinces have been here for tens of years. The poor people cannot leave, and are puzzled and distressed.

"We are bringing up to date the photographs of important documents and will send duplicate sets out of the city. We have stopped repairs that are not half finished, but are completing all work that has been started. Candles, lanterns, electric torches, sand, fire buckets, and equipment along that line are being quietly purchased for emergency use. We shall probably buy a small quantity of rice and flour, particularly for our staff of servants. Notices have been sent to the American Embassy that our property belongs to the Board of Founders; it has not been officially transferred to Chinese ownership. Negotiations were started, but the field group held them up and now we are taking steps to have it recorded that it is American owned property.

"There is no serious feeling of depression among the group; there is much constructive thinking and planning. If plans can be made before the place becomes too tense, we shall accomplish much in hours of anxiety. I hope the next few weeks will bring us brighter hours and that settlement may be made without great losses of life and property. Anyway, I know you will be thinking of us and will follow with interest all that happens on the campus.

"Some of you will be interested to know of the safe arrival of Elizabeth Wilson (daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Robert Wilson, of the University Hospital Staff) on June 28th, and of Ruth Eloise Steward (daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Albert Steward, of the University Faculty) on July 21st; both seem to be bonnie babies from all reports."

August 21, 1937

"There is a chance to send a note out by a friend (Mr. Hanson Lowe) who hopes to go through the lines in Shanghai on his way to England. I will send a brief note.

"We have just finished the third air raid today. For a week now—first one Sunday 15th—there have been at least three air raids daily. The city is well protected and only three times have bombers crashed through the line. We were filled with terror two nights ago when bombs fell on Central University (government) one-half mile from us. We shook badly but believe the buildings will stand it unless on our heads! We have dugouts; ours is large enough for Hilda (Miss Hilda Anderson), our cook, his son, and myself—all the people on our place now. The University has loaned Hilda to the American Embassy for the present. I am glad selfishly she is here. She got in just in time—last train through.

"Mr. Lowe is waiting so I will only say keep our families informed if you have news."

A letter from Dr. Wu Yi-Fang, President of Ginling College, written August 27, 1937, sent by the "China Clipper," received in New York on September 16, concluded with the following words:

"I remember writing you in my last letter that the decision depended upon Japan. But that was before fighting started in Shanghai. Now I am afraid the situation is like that described by the Chinese phrase, 'riding the tiger,' and that it is difficult for either side to initiate the stopping."

A letter written by President Chen on September 14, sent on the "China Clipper," reached the American office of the University in New York on September 30, 1937. Dr. Chen wrote:

"As far as we can tell today, we expect to open the Colleges in Nanking on October 4th. We have not made the formal announcement yet but expect to do so after the Council meets on the 17th. The Ministry of Education will not object if we open, although they will take no responsibility for the date or for opening. We are hesitating a bit longer as we are now approaching the season of full moonlight and everyone is apprehensive of air raids during that time. Last month the worst raids were during the moon-lit nights. If there should be serious raids resulting in much damage in the city, we would probably feel it was unwise to expose the students to the danger of raids every few weeks. It is impossible to say anything about enrollment at this date; we anticipate there will be around two hundred students who are willing to brave the dangers of Nanking. Many will be unable to reach Nanking as communications are very uncertain and almost impossible from some directions. As soon as we have started classwork, we will send you another letter by air so you will have the information at an early date.

"The University Middle School will open for day students only, on September 20th. We expect two to three hundred students. The Rural Leaders' Training School will also open in Wukiang, one of our experiment stations not far from Nanking, on the 20th with an enrollment limited to eighty students.

"We have prepared dugouts and trenches on both the college and middle school campus and will assign each student to a definite place in times of raids. There has been some hesitation about opening for fear we would attract bombs, inasmuch as educational institutions have suffered severely in other places. If this should be the case, we would regret running the risk of having a great tragedy on the campus. However, the students are pressing us to open and it is the opinion of the administrative group that we should try to do so."

A message was sent through the Department of State to The University of Nanking from the Executive Committee of the Board of Founders in New York with an inquiry as to the plans of the University. On October 1 a telegram was received in New York from the Secretary of State in Washington, containing the following cabled word from Nanking:

"Telegram from American Embassy, Nanking, Sept. 30, transmits following message for you from Miss Elsie Priest: Quote University plans to open October Fourth in Nanking. Middle school opened with seventy-five day students. All staff, property safe, present time. President Chen and Staff send greetings to Founders. Americans still remaining in Nanking are Searle Bates, Lewis Smythe, Elsie Priest, with Oliver Caldwell arriving October Third. Americans at hospital are Clifford Trimmer, Richard Brady, Robert Wilson, Iva Hynds, Grace Bauer. End Quote. Cordell Hull, Secy. of State."

A dispatch to the "New York Times," printed October 5, reported that The University of Nanking had opened on the preceding day with an enrollment of fifty students, and another fifty were expected.

\* \* \* \*

The addresses of American members of the University and Hospital Staff who are now in the United States are: Dr. and Mrs. J. H. Daniels, 3103 Portland Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.; Dr. and Mrs. J. T. Illick, 2128 Hillcrest Drive, Los Angeles, California; Francis P. Jones, 600 West 122nd St., New York City; Mrs. Francis P. Jones and family, 2103 Monroe St., Madison, Wis.; Dr. William P. Fenn, Harvard University Graduate School, Cambridge, Mass.; Mrs. William P. Fenn and family, Berea College, Berea, Ky.

We call your attention to the following informational material available to the friends of the University in America: (1) an illustrated pamphlet called "A Christian University at the Heart of New China;" (two) motion picture reels (16 M.M.); one of the city of Nanking, the other of "Some Famous Visitors" including pictures of Lin Sen, Sun Fo, H. H. Kung, Feng Yu Hsiang, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, photographed by Mr. Wheeler.

The Ginling College office in New York has a three-reel film (16M.M.), which includes scenes at the University, entitled "It Happened at Ginling." The continuity of this picture was written by Eva Spicer and A. Hoffsommer of the Ginling College Faculty, and the photographing was done by Z. H. Pan and W. R. Wheeler of The University of Nanking.

A biography of Dr. John E. Williams, Vice-President of the University from 1910 to 1927, written by Mr. Wheeler, was published last winter by Fleming H. Revell Co. of New York, under the title, "John E. Williams of Nanking." The book can be purchased in New York or through your local book store. Pamphlets may be ordered from the University office. The motion pictures will be sent from New York upon payment of mailing charges and insurance. The address of both the Ginling College and The University of Nanking office is: 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City

The Founders (Trustees) of The University of Nanking have elected new officers for the coming year. Dr. Robert E. Speer, who for twenty-five years has been President of the Board, is now Honorary President. Dr. John W. Decker takes Dr. Speer's place as President. Other officers of the Board are: Mrs. F. J. McConnell, Theodore C. Speers, and W. Reginald Wheeler, Vice-Presidents; Robert C. Morris, Treasurer; B. A. Garside, Secretary and Assistant Treasurer; C. A. Evans, Assistant Secretary and Assistant Treasurer; and Dr. E. C. Lobenstine, Chairman of the Promotional Committee. Dr. Ralph Diffendorfer, one of the original trustees, is now also President of the Associated Boards of Christian Colleges in China.

Whatever the outcome of the war, the Christian movement in China will continue. There will still be the need, intensified by the strain and destruction and misery of the conflict, for the training and strengthening of Christian men and women for service to their country and to the Church. In meeting this need, we are counting upon your steadfast interest and support.

Sincerely yours,

W. Reginald Wheeler

University of Nanking  
Nanking, China  
October 16, 1937

Dear Mr. Garside,

Since writing you on October 7th by Clipper we have had quite a quiet time in spite of a number of raids. The raids have taken quite a lot of time but have not meant any damage within the city. Those of us who could stay at home and work with a dugout or basement handy to retreat to when the planes passed over our section of the city have been able to work through most of the time of all the raids. The chief complaint of students is the time the raids take. The rule has been for them to retire to their self-chosen basement room with sandbagged windows or a dugout at the latest when the "Urgent" or second alarm is sounded. They are expected to stay there until the "All Clear" is sounded. So they lose much more time than we do. But there is talk now of working out some way of giving them more leeway so they can study during that time. Classes are successfully continuing until the second alarm and thereby save much time on false alarms. This is safe enough because the students can retire to the basement of the building they are in, excepting for Swazy (Science, which has wooden floors).

Hurrah, we will get some light now. I got started on this just as the sun was setting after getting the list from Dr. Cheng. The air raid alarm, second today, sounded just before I got home to do this. So when the sun set while typing the accompanying lists, I had to resort to one candle. (Typewriter is sticking and no repair man in town. )

At the University we now have, yesterday, 187 students enrolled. The proportion in the three colleges remains about the same as reported last week. Agriculture with 1/2 and Arts and Science with each 1/4 of the students. A few girl students who have families in the city have been enrolled. Morale of staff and students very good.

The enclosed list of Hospital Supplies is to inform you what it is best--- lights on---to send in case you do not get all the supplies requested in our letter of October 7th given to you at once.

It is also a good thing that we started independent appeals. Since writing you last week we have learned from Shanghai that the Red Cross supplies on the U. S. Transport now en route to China are for a unit caring for 500 wounded soldiers and therefore, there is no chance of mission hospitals getting any of those supplies. We are told that that will be true of future supplies so shipped. They are all consigned to the Chinese Red Cross which is working entirely for wounded soldiers. That is a good cause and we would not want to cut in on it at all. But civilians need to be taken care of as well! We have asked Ambassador Johnson for funds from the Red Cross funds sent but he has again referred us to the committee in Shanghai. And they say their funds are allocated to the Chinese Red Cross. So there seems at present to be no opening for securing any of the funds or supplies for our work. (Lights off again! )

We had appealed to Bills Motors (Ford Agency) in Shanghai for them to cable Detroit for gift of ambulance. This week they replied Ford Co. could not deliver now if they were giving or sold a car to us in Shanghai they could not deliver before January 1938, even if the war stopped tomorrow. So we are investigating fixing up a second-hand car here for an ambulance. Buying the car and remodeling it will cost us US\$250.00. We will try to raise it here but if you can get it there, please cable. We see by papers that the newsreels of the bombing of Central Hospital are in New York this week. I can confirm them by word of Dr. James K. Shen, Knickerbocker, and George Fitch---who talked with the cameramen after they got to Shanghai, and Dr. Shen was at the hospital at the time. UCMS mission letter watered down my account, but sent my account extra. Hospital yesterday had 170 patients: 31% free but 75% all are third class: 55 soldiers 16 wounded civilians.

Lewis Smytho.

The University of Nanking  
Nanking, China  
October 17, 1937  
(Received November 15, 1937)

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Dear Friends:

Today has been a beautiful day, cloudless, clear skies and lovely sun, but best of all no air raid. Last night brought us the 64th raid since August 15th, and I am sure most people shared with me the relief that we felt on this lovely Sunday that could be really a day of rest. At church this morning President Chen made an announcement, "In case of a raid..." and this afternoon, again the speaker made a similar announcement, so you will know we expect to hear the planes any hour of the day or night.

In spite of the continual air raids the University of Nanking has opened classes both in the Middle School and in the Colleges. The Middle School has 117 students, while there are 194 enrolled so far in the Colleges, but registration does not close until tomorrow evening, so a few more may drift in. More than one-half of the students are in the College of Agriculture. We have opened the Rural Leaders Training School in Wukiang, one of our stations 100 li (30 miles) from Nanking. There are about 100 enrolled and this work goes on normally with organizations for farmers, for country fairs, clinics, etc. Although near Nanking, they are in a small country district, so we do not feel there can be great danger of bombs.

With the exception of the Theological Seminary which has opened with about 20 students, the University of Nanking is the only institution that has opened in Nanking, either for college or middle school work. At first primary schools and middle schools planned to open, but the severe raids at the end of September made them change their plans. We went steadily forward although it was not at all clear for some days that we would have any students who would feel they could risk coming to Nanking. We have made tentative plans to move to other centers if life in Nanking proves impossible; I can assure you it is no easy task to carry on class-work with raids every few hours. We are trying to arrange the classrooms so the students will be either in the basements or at least on the first floor, and then they can stay in their class until the danger signal; sometimes it is a few minutes after the first warning, sometimes as much as a half hour later. If the guns are near us, it is impossible to concentrate on any work, but Nanking is such a huge city that often the bombs and planes are miles away from the University.

Just a word about Nanking. It is estimated that nearly 3/4 of the entire population of the city of about a million has left for other places. Shops are all boarded up, and only a few have their doors open for business. Theatres, clubs, and all gathering places have been closed for weeks, while everywhere you see dugouts erected by private concerns or individuals or by the city. Someone has said there are more than 6,000 dugouts in the city. So far the section near the University and Ginling has not been bombed. There have been bullets, shrapnel has rained down on the roofs and even penetrated the windows, some windows have been broken by the bombing in nearby districts, but we can honestly say there has been no real damage to any of the buildings or property owned by the University or Ginling - or any of the Missions for that matter.

The sections that have suffered heavily are the Southern and Eastern parts of the city with some damage in Hsiakwan and Pukow. Central Hospital was bombed on the famous Saturday - 25th of September - when there were about 100 planes over the city much of the day. The main building at Central Hospital was not badly injured,

October 17, 1937

but the service buildings have been ruined and the Hospital has been closed. That terrible night after the "all clear" signal sounded, Dr. Shen, Superintendent of Central Hospital, asked the University Hospital and the University to help him with his patients. Everyone helped, first to clear out the Y.M.C.A. building by moving all staff to some other place, then by preparing it for a hospital. The last patient and nurse were moved to the University by midnight, none of them having had any food since early morning. Dr. Shen is now managing the hospital for wounded soldiers at the orphanage outside the city, and our hospital is trying to care for the civilians wounded in the city. Many are destitute, having lost their homes, often their families, and are seriously wounded besides. It is not very hopeful for them, and we are trying to secure some funds to help care for them. The first gifts go to the soldiers, but these hundreds of poor people need help also.

Central University was bombed a number of times and has now moved to Chungking. The buildings that are standing have been converted into a Red Cross hospital with a huge red cross painted on the dome of the library which still stands.

While there has been loss of property, especially of poor homes, and loss of civilian lives, the military loss has been practically nothing. Lights were out for a day or two but were speedily repaired; the broadcasting was promptly moved to another center and never disrupted for an hour and is now repaired; holes are made hourly in the air fields, but a few men fill them quickly so within an hour after heavy bombing, the fields are ready for use. China has lost heavily but Japan has paid a heavy penalty for her bombing if you count merely the dollars she has spent for equipment and bombs. One of the military advisers has estimated that the loss to Nanking, including all property (not lives), has been less than one-half of the cost to Japan to inflict the damage. Communications have been injured, of course, and are often slow, but have never been stopped between here and Shanghai. Trains run daily, even although frequently bombed, bus service goes through now, and the post office does its best to keep mail moving. We have had Shanghai papers quite regularly lately, receiving them the morning following date of issue. We can send air letters to Hongkong, and if we manage to catch the planes on the right day, it takes only three days. But there is no question that it is war time! Freight and parcels are held up for days - freight is not coming in at all. Now we can bring parcels weighing 50 kilos in so that will help on hospital supplies.

Just a personal word. I have moved to Ginling and am living with Dr. Wu and two other staff members in the South Hill house. My own house was much too lonely and costly for me to maintain alone. I hated to leave it especially as the garden was so lovely. I admire the gay flowers and keep some in the house although I spend only a few moments there each day. My cook makes me a cup of tea every afternoon at four - unless we have a raid on. I think I managed two cups during the whole of last week! I went to Wuhu for one week from September 21st to 28th, as I had not been out of Nanking for five months and felt I had to get away from bombs for a few days at least. It was a great help as I caught up some sleep and came back feeling the bombs were not quite so loud as before! Actually last night we had the heaviest bombs ever dropped on the city; fortunately they landed in rice fields and did no serious damage. We had half ton bombs previously; the bombs shock us even although we were about ten miles from the place being bombed.

You may be interested to know something about the Western staff members. Dr. and Mrs. Bowen and Olive, Mr. and Mrs. Slocum, Mrs. Riggs and four children all sailed from Kobe for the U.S.A. on October 11th. The Stewards and Margaret Arms sailed from Hongkong on October 1st and Eda Caldwell and baby leave in a day or two from Shanghai. The two Turners and Mr. and Mrs. Curtiss are in Hongkong; Imogene Ward is in Chengtu; Hilda Anderson is in Hankow. The families of Dr. Trimmer, Dr. Thomson, Dr. Smythe, and Dr. Brady are in Kuling. Mrs. Wilson and baby sailed from Hongkong the end of September. In Nanking, living in the Buck house (Lossing, by the way, returned to Washington early in October) are Searle Bates (his family is in

October 17, 1937

Japan still), Lewis Smythe, Claude Thomson, Plummer Mills, Oliver Caldwell, Bob Wilson and Peter Bannon, the new Professor for English. We brought him in from Hongkong by air as we did not wish to subject a new man to the experiences of coming through the lines from Shanghai. Mr. Riggs is living in his house, Dr. Trimmer is in his house but is taking his meals with Grace Bauer, and Dr. Brady is living with Mr. Marx and Mr. McCallum. On Ginling campus, Minnie Vautrin is the only Westerner.

I know you are all following the news and probably know sooner than we do what is happening in China. It seemed unwise for Ginling to open in Nanking, but they are trying to cooperate in two centers, Wuchang and Shanghai, with Ruth Chester and Florence Kirk in Shanghai, and Eva Spicer and Catherine Sutherland in Wuchang. The students are actually enrolled in other institutions but Ginling hopes to keep them together by having members of the faculty there. There are grave problems ahead and both institutions have had to cut salaries to about 50%. The ones on the campus working receive 70%, at the University, 60% at Ginling, while those not working and not in Nanking receive only 40%. We are all sharing in the cut.

We do not know how long we may be able to continue, but we are standing by our "first line of defense," ready to move with the least possible loss if a retreat is necessary. We shall not sacrifice our staff or students if the Japanese forces make such progress that Nanking is in serious danger. Just now it seems a long time before they can advance this far - but things happen so strangely in times of war. We are counting heavily on world help and shall be bitterly disappointed if the conference of the Nine-Power Pact amounts to nothing. It must stop this mad massacre.

If I do not have a chance to send you a greeting for Christmas, please accept this message as my Christmas message to you all. Pray for peace and that this terrible war will end long before that time. I cannot describe to you the desolate homes, the sadness and sorrow. We have not a single family of the University huge staff left in the city. I have been through wars, evacuations, etc. in Nanking before, but this is much more serious, and the city is very quiet. I usually read and go to bed early - there is nothing else to do!

With personal greetings to everyone,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Elsie M. Priest

THE UNIVERSITY OF NANKING  
Office of the President  
Nanking, China

October 18, 1937  
(Received in New York  
November 15, 1937)

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

The past two months have brought us such sadness that we have not been able to write frequently to our friends. You will be interested to know something of the events in Nanking, particularly as they have affected the work of the University.

On Sunday afternoon, August 15th, the first Japanese bombing planes came into Nanking. Although plans had been made and warnings were given to the people, the first raid came as a shock to everyone. From that day there were continual raids, often four or five, at all hours of the day and night, until the end of August. Two days stand out in our memory - 19th and 26th - when serious damage was done and many civilians lost their lives.

The first three weeks of September were free of raids and the city made extensive preparations for air protection. Dugouts were constructed by individuals and the city while many families moved to places of greater safety. On the campus, dugouts were constructed, fire protection was provided and every effort made to protect both property and lives during raids. The University equipment and books were scattered among the buildings in an effort to give the maximum amount of protection.

The first order from the Ministry of Education advised that all schools should postpone the opening date until September 20th. Notices were sent to staff and students that the University would open on this date. On August 30th a second notice was received, stating that it seemed wise to postpone indefinitely the opening of all schools and to scatter the students who were then living on the various campuses. There were about one hundred students on the college campus and one hundred and fifty on the Middle School campus. The Middle School students were all sent to their homes, some being as far away as the South Seas. The men on the college campus were reduced to about fifty who had special permission to remain. It seemed best to plan to open the University at some other center, and inquiries were made to see if we could join West China Union University at Chengtu Szechuen. A cordial response was received from the authorities at West China. The most serious problem was one of expense. Upon investigation it was found it would cost around Ch. sixty thousand dollars for the round trip to West China, and this presented a serious obstacle. We did not have the money.

The University Council gave very careful consideration to the proposal to move the institution or to open in Nanking, and on September 17th decided to open the Colleges in Nanking on October 4th. The Minister of Education gave permission, and was impressed with the willingness of the group to attempt to carry on work on the campus. Notices were sent to all staff and students that classes would be opened on October 4th and the necessary preparations were made to begin the school year.

On September 19th after comparative freedom from raids for three weeks, the Japanese planes came into the city, and did considerable damage. For the first time power diving was used to locate their targets. Late that evening the various Embassies in Nanking received warning that Nanking was to be destroyed, and they would have until twelve o'clock noon on September 21st to send their nationals out of the city. Because of this note, it was felt that perhaps Monday the 20th would be free from raids, but that did not prove to be the case, for planes came into the

Letter to Mr. Wheeler  
From President Chen

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October 18, 1937

city three times that day, with loss of a great many civilian lives. The 21st passed without a raid, but the 22nd had serious raids all day and then the day that will always stay in our minds as a day of horror was the 25th, with nearly one hundred planes dropping their deadly bombs in many parts of the city. This was the day Central Hospital and the Central Health Bureau were bombed, the electric light plant was injured, and the Central Broadcasting station was damaged. Hundreds of civilians were killed or wounded and many residences were destroyed. In spite of this day of terrible destruction, the streets were lighted that night, and a new broadcasting station was hastily arranged so the news from Nanking was never interrupted. Although there was great loss of lives and property, from a military point of view, the damage done was not serious.

As soon as the "all clear" signal was sounded, the Superintendent from Central Hospital came to the University Hospital and University to seek aid to care for his patients and staff, still in the main building of the Central Hospital which fortunately was not damaged seriously. It was decided quickly that the University would loan to our Hospital for emergency use the faculty dormitory known as the Y.M.C.A. hall, and immediately the staff members living there were moved to another building, the rooms were converted into a hospital, and the patients were moved over. It was about midnight when the last patient and nurse reached our campus - none of them having had any food since early morning.

This was not a very hopeful time to open the University, but we went steadily on with plans for opening. The Middle School had opened for day students on September 21st and were holding classes daily. They have 117 students and 21 teachers on the campus at the present time. October 4th proved to be a rainy day and registration commenced on time, but October 5th and 6th brought the planes into the city and interrupted registration and the organization of classwork. As soon as the "all clear" signals sounded, both students and staff would rush back to the classrooms and try to carry on their work. For five days, from the 7th until the 11th, rain and heavy clouds kept the city free from planes and classes were organized. Since that time we have had two to four raids each day and it has been difficult to do any consecutive work. Today the number enrolled is 204 with a few more still to come. More than one-half are in the College of Agriculture. The Rural Leaders Training School opened in Wukiang, one of our nearby stations, with about 100 students. They are continuing in a normal way and we feel will not be in danger of being bombed.

The Agricultural Economics Department has moved part of its staff to Hankow where they are working on a project and the Institute of Chinese Cultural Studies has gone to Tunchi, where the China Inland Mission has kindly loaned a building for their use.

The spirit and morale of the group of students and staff have been excellent and we are trying to maintain normal activities on the campus. Our funds are insufficient and we have been obliged to cut all salaries but have found a very splendid response from the staff as they made their plans to manage on a reduced salary. I am glad to say that the Ministry of Education, the British Boxer Indemnity fund, the China Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and some other grants of this kind are to be continued. These grants are for designated use, but will enable us to continue our projects without serious interruptions. We depend largely on student fees which will be much reduced this year and are trying to plan the work so we shall not have a serious deficit at the end of the year. There have been a good many extraordinary expenses for dugouts, gas masks, fire protection on a fairly large scale. The great need will be to secure some additional funds for current expenses to make up for the loss that will be sustained from field funds.

VW

Letter to Mr. Wheeler  
from President Chen

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October 18, 1937

The Theological Seminary has opened with about twenty students, but with  
with one exception, the University of Nanking is the only institution to continue  
the school work in Nanking. Some of the middle schools and primary schools  
attempted to open but the severe raids at the end of September discouraged them.  
We do not know how long we may be able to continue here but have plans made to move  
if it becomes necessary. In the meantime, we are standing by "the first line of  
defense," but will retreat whenever it seems the wise thing to do.

With personal greetings both to yourself and Mrs. Wheeler, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Y. G. Chen

VW

October 25, 1937  
(Received in N.Y. Nov. 15, 1937)

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

FROM SHANGHAI TO NANKING

Mr. Oliver J. Caldwell, a member of the Faculty of The University of Nanking, in the English Department, thus described a recent trip by train from Shanghai to Nanking:

"Three months ago the Shanghai-Nanking express made its run in less than seven hours. Three days ago it required nearly forty-four hours to make the trip, and it had become an adventure. For eighty days the Japanese had been making every effort to cut the railroad. They had rained thousands of bombs on bridges and stations, had machine-gunned trains, and taken thousands of lives, but they had not been able to overcome the railway crews, who repaired the tracks as soon as they were damaged and always kept the trains running.

"It was five o'clock when I reached the West Station. This is now the only station in regular use in the Shanghai area, the others all having been bombed. There are British troops stationed in the neighborhood, which perhaps accounts for the immunity so far of Shanghai West. Already there were probably two thousand refugees lined up, although the train would not be in for more than an hour. The organization was excellent. The passengers were kept as far as possible from the station building in order to save them in case of an attack. There was no disorder of any kind, nor any victimizing or profiteering.

"There was a pillar of smoke rising above the Commercial Press which looked like a volcano in action. In several directions, bombing was going on, but no planes came near us. Mr. Wang, the traffic manager, introduced himself, and made an effort to relieve the tedium. When the train pulled in a little after six, he let the few foreigners waiting go ahead of the rest.

"It was night when we started at six-thirty, with a full moon which was almost as bright as day. It was perfect for bombing, and some of us were a bit nervous. However, we had good luck at first. The stations we passed were all more or less in ruins, but business was going on as usual. In this connection, a missionary in Hangchow reports that when the station there was gunned, passenger trains were dispatched from it before the fire was out.

"After we left Kashing the going was slower. Owing to troops ahead, we were obliged to wait on a siding from one o'clock until daylight. We had barely started again before there was a shout of "fei chi" (an airplane) and the train came to a sudden stop. We piled out through doors and windows, and sure enough, there were four planes coming towards us down the track. The ditches on either side of the embankment were filled with water, so there was nowhere to go. I found myself holding my breath as the planes drew near. It was a helpless situation. There was nothing to do but wait for the worst. They must have been out of ammunition, for they left after inspecting us without so much as firing a machine gun. It was not until they were out of sight that I noticed <sup>were</sup> that three freight cars with their contents were burning on the next track. There <sup>were</sup> cans of white paint, iron cots, bales of burlap, and military underwear scattered all over the premises. We were luckier than the previous train had been.

"We stayed at this place for thirteen hours. From time to time there were alarms, but the planes were too busy bombing Soochow eight miles ahead to pay any attention to us. There was no food or water to be had on the train, and my lunch was running low. I crossed the Grand Canal, which ran parallel to the tracks, and found some shops in a country town where I got some hot sesame cakes. Then I drank tea in the shade of an old ferry landing above the canal. The water in the canal was clear and green and restful. I was getting sleepy when the keeper of the shop began to ask

me questions about myself. When I told him I was an American, the crowd expressed its approval. One old farmer said, 'We, too, are men with a country now'.

"It was nearly seven when we finally got under way again. We had to wait at various places while the tracks were repaired after the dozen or more raids of the day. In the moonlight, steel freight cars were strangely twisted and torn. Several had been blown bodily some distance from the tracks. The fact that trains were still running at all was a victory of skill and courage over airplanes and bombs.

"Thirty hours after leaving Shanghai we arrived in Soochow. There was little light in the station for fear of more raids. Here seven cars loaded with wounded were attached to our already heavy train, and hundreds of convalescents climbed through the windows, and wedged themselves into every cranny of the packed cars. I suppose there were hundreds of people there as tired as I was, and many of them were women and children. Their cheerfulness and patience were greater than my own.

"From Soochow to Nanking we made much better time. The stations had almost all been bombed, and some were in bad shape. The area around the tracks had suffered severely. At Changchow there were two passenger coaches which had recently been bombed. They had been almost entirely destroyed, and the neighboring platform was a mess of charred wood, bloody cotton, and other things I did not investigate. There were some severely wounded civilians, but they had already received good care and were ready to continue their journey.

"There were a few more alarms, but nothing serious, before we reached Nanking. I stood for a while watching the unloading of the wounded. They constituted the largest mass of suffering humanity I have ever seen. There was no groaning or complaining, even from the stretcher cases which were borne past me by tired boy scouts. From beginning to end, this trip was a lesson in determination and courage."

Oliver J. Caldwell

## NEWS FLASHES FROM NANKING

American Office  
150 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N. Y.  
November 10, 1937

To the Friends of The University of Nanking:

Our last letter to you was dated October 10. We are sending to you in this letter copies of recent cables received through the State Department in Washington, and extracts from letters received by China Clipper mail from Nanking.

On October 9 the following two cables were received from Washington, signed by Cordell Hull, Secretary of State:

"Telegram from Embassy Nanking transmits following message from Miss Elsie Priest for you: 'Central Hospital bombed and closed. University Hospital needs US \$1,500.00 monthly plus medical supplies and light ambulance to care destitute civilian wounded Nanking. Will you secure gifts immediately, cable?' In transmitting this message the Ambassador states that the University Hospital is the only large hospital now operating in Nanking and is doing excellent work."



"Telegram from Embassy Nanking October 7th transmits at request University of Nanking following message for you: 'Send air mail three thousand ampules prophylactic and one hundred ampules therapeutic doses of tetanus antitoxin plus one thousand ampules prophylactic doses gases bacillus antitoxin. Send ordinary mail five pounds iodoform. Mark Red Cross supplies. . . . Send supplies on Red Cross transport marked for University Hospital. Air letter enroute.' The Ambassador adds that University states this message of great importance as they are experiencing difficulty because the tetanus antitoxin has been exhausted."

On October 11 another cable was received:

"Telegram from Embassy Nanking reports following further from University of Nanking for you: 'Send by air mail five thousand vials smallpox vaccine, one hundred ampules diphtheria antitoxin five thousand units, one hundred ampules diphtheria antitoxin ten thousand units. Send ordinary mail five hundred cc alum precipitated diphtheria toxoid.'"

The Central (Government) Hospital in Nanking is the largest hospital there. It had accommodations for 320 patients. The building which was of modern construction cost nearly a million dollars Chinese. Motion pictures of the bombing of the hospital September 25 were contained in the News Reel releases in this country, and you may have seen them. A description of the attack and of the transfer of the patients is contained in a letter written by D. Lewis Smythe, of the University Faculty, forwarded by China Clipper mail.

"Saturday morning, September 25th, in Nanking dawned bright with high, thin clouds, an ideal day for picnicking and air raids! Impressed by the fact that the day was just like Wednesday, the 22nd, when we had had such serious raids from the Japanese planes, we prepared for the worst.

"About nine o'clock the siren screamed. In about forty minutes 17 Japanese planes appeared over South City and began power-diving to bomb. In the first dive, one Japanese plane was hit by anti-aircraft shells and came down in flames, landing right across the street from the Y.M.C.A. Another fleet of planes swung around to Hsiakwan and all dove to bomb the electric power plant. Another Japanese plane came down in flames. The power plant was put out of commission and the city went on to emergency power service. 'All clear' signals sounded about noon and University students and cars dashed to the University Hospital to care for the wounded. The ambulance squads had hardly finished bringing in the wounded, when the siren sounded again. We raced home for lunch before the planes would arrive and then to cover. This time the National Health Administration's beautiful plant and the Central Hospital (government) were bombed. The third and fourth raids followed so closely upon this that our ambulance squads that went to the Central Broadcasting Station outside of the city were caught and had to make two trips to bring in wounded during the raids. All the wounded were poor people living near these 'military objectives.'

"Newsreel cameramen from the West were on the roof of a nearby hotel and had a good view of the bombing of the electric plant in the morning. In the afternoon they went over to get the pictures of the damage done at the Health Administration and Central Hospital. While they were on the roof filming the big red cross painted there, the Japanese planes came back for the fifth raid and dropped two 1,000-pound time bombs, but luckily they just missed the hospital building—with its nearly 100 helpless patients—the bombs landing in the tennis court, tearing craters 20 feet deep and 45 feet across. The camera men had already filmed the demolished kitchen and service rooms and the shattered operating rooms. These two big bombs landed between the staff's dugouts. Although the dugouts were only 50 feet from the edge of the craters and their roofs protruded above ground, no one in the dugouts was injured. But a coolie under a tree and a chauffeur who took refuge under his car were killed—the latter because his car went up in the air and came down and crushed him. A direct hit on the hospital probably would have killed most of the patients and staff on duty—the concussion knocked over the superintendent, Dr. James K. Shen.

"About five o'clock just as we finished bringing in the poor people who had been wounded, Dr. Shen arrived at the University Hospital and said he wanted to move his patients and staff to our hospital that night, for fear the Japanese bombers would come back the next morning to finish the job. The University Hospital did not have enough vacant space and beds, so they asked the University of Nanking to let them use two dormitories in an adjoining compound. University faculty members living in one of them cheerfully moved out to another dormitory, students and faculty came to help in the moving, calls were sent out for cars, the University Hospital staff made all the necessary arrangements, the City loaned one large ambulance to take the place of two destroyed by bombs at Central Hospital, and by the time the moon rose fearfully over Purple Mountain—but soon to go under a peaceful blanket of clouds—all the 68 patients who cared to come instead of going home and the resident staff were safely moved to University Hospital. It was nearly midnight and Dr. Shen gave a sigh of relief and said, "Well, I have done all I can to save them from bombing tomorrow morning. Now I can go talk to my chief about plans for the future." Later he remarked, "It touched me deeply to see the splendid way in which the Superintendent of the University Hospital, Dr. James Cheng, his staff and the University faculty and students responded so readily to our call for help."

"But what did this mean to the University Hospital? Overnight a 160-bed hospital was jumped to 208 patients! With all the "upper class" families out of the city, there are few first and second class patients who largely pay for the operation of the hospital. The poor people can only pay a small amount that does not cover actual costs. And most of the patients from Central Hospital were free patients. What is more, on the following Monday the Central Hospital decided to go out of existence as an organization and their staff joined the new military hospital that was just being organized outside of the city. That left the University Hospital not only with these patients to care for but also with the responsibility of caring for at least two-thirds of the Nanking civilian wounded in the future. (The only other hospital is a 100-bed Municipal Hospital which is bravely carrying on in South City although bombs have been dropped on three sides of it—one within thirty feet of one building which destroyed one-fourth of an elementary school building adjoining.) Because of the necessity for caring for thousands of wounded soldiers, the Government is not in a position to subsidize the University Hospital for its work. The care of the Central Hospital patients alone will cost us US \$2,000 and if the University Hospital has to take in 100 free patients a month (a very conservative estimate), it will cost US\$1,500 or more per month to care for them. In addition, medical supplies are almost impossible to secure in China now. Some very important drugs for wounded cases are already exhausted or only adequate for the military medical service. On the day of this raid and since, the University Hospital had six ambulance squads consisting of doctors, nurses and student volunteers, ready to go out. But only three private cars were available to take the squads to the bombed places and to bring in the wounded—hence the repeated trips and delay in getting seriously wounded people in. So the University Hospital, in order to carry on its service for the civilian wounded of this city, needs at least one light ambulance which will carry four stretchers. (This can be made out of a second-hand car: cost \$250.00.)

"On the night of the 25th, three fine Chinese Christian leaders stood shoulder to shoulder in caring for the suffering and endangered patients of Central Hospital: the two Hospital Superintendents and the President of the University of Nanking, Dr. Chen Yu-gwan. The Chinese and Western staff of the University Hospital have been on the job right through 52 air raids and are ready to continue to serve to the limit of their endurance. Nurses are prepared to go on 12-hour duty. Funds are medical supplies are needed to continue this aid to China's suffering poor."

The Executive and Finance Committees of the Board of Founders (Trustees) of the University met October 15, and considered the situation which they were facing. The cost of the tetanus anti-toxin and other medicine requested amounted to \$4,941.24. An appropriation of \$1,500 a month for the Hospital for three months would add \$4,500 to the budget. The University finances are already under strain due to reduction in income on the field on account of the war. The very fact that The University of Nanking has made such great progress in securing Chinese support, so that that two-thirds of its budget has come from Chinese sources, throws an additional burden upon its finances when war cuts into those local sources. The Faculty have accepted a radical reduction in their salaries, and are going forward in a brave spirit. Under the circumstances, the Founders felt they could not do otherwise than to take the responsibility of ordering the supplies needed, and approved of the action of the Administrative Officers in forwarding the medical supplies requested, a portion of the tetanus anti-toxin being sent by China Clipper. The Founders also agreed to be responsible for \$1,500 a month for three months for the Hospital needs, in addition to the regular budget. This means an addition to the Founders budget of \$9,441.24, which must be secured from the Red Cross or from friends in America. Already about \$2500.00 has been received toward this end.

Two letters forwarded by China Clipper dated October 7 and October 16 have been received. Extracts from the letters follow:

October 7, 1937

"The University had registration on October 4th and 5th and opened classes yesterday. By tonight 148 students had enrolled: Arts 27; Science 40; Agriculture 81. About 40 others have written or sent telegrams that they are coming, so estimates now are we will have 200 students. Notices were very slow in getting out to students. Because of small classes we are going to experiment with tutorial system and allow professors to carry on public service work outside. Some of us Westerners will probably be drafted to teach English because of the serious shortage of teachers in that department and heavy enrollment. Bannon is flying to Hankow and then here by boat. Morale and spirit around the University are good. The first morning, yesterday, we had an air raid, and order and morale were O. K."

October 16, 1937

"Since writing you on October 7th by Clipper we have had quite a quiet time in spite of a number of raids. The raids interrupted our work but have not meant any damage within the city. Those of us who could stay at home and work with a dugout or basement handy to retreat to when the planes passed over our section of the city have been able to work through most of the time of all the raids. The chief complaint of students is the time the raids take. The rule has been for them to retire to their self-chosen basement room with sandbagged windows or a dugout at the latest when the "Urgent" or second alarm is sounded. They are expected to stay there until the "All Clear" is sounded. So they lose much more time than we do. But there is talk now of working out some way of giving them more freedom so they can study during that time. Classes are successfully continuing until the second alarm, thereby saving much time on false alarms. This is safe enough because the students can retire to the basement of the building they are in, excepting for Swasey Hall, which has wooden floors.

"I started on this just as the sun was setting. The air raid alarm, second today, sounded just before I reached home. So when the sun set while typing the accompanying lists, I had to resort to one candle."

A letter from Dr. Chen and Miss Priest dated October 22 came by China Clipper, arriving in New York on November 4. Extracts from that letter follows:

"The enrollment today is 222 with 116 in the College of Agriculture. The Middle School has 137 and the Rural Leaders Training School has 100, making a total of 459 students in all (less than half the usual enrollment). Practically all the staff members are in Nanking, a few not having returned or else having been advised to remain away for various reasons. We have had air raids almost continually since the opening of the University on October 4th—often as many as four or five a day. They come any hour of the day or night and last from thirty minutes to four hours. Our plan is to continue classes until the "danger" warning, at which time staff and students scatter to various dugouts and basements until the raid is over. The spirit and morale on the campus have been excellent in spite of the strain and inconvenience. Practically all of our staff families have left Nanking and many of the staff are living together or else have moved into the dormitories. It is our plan to continue in Nanking as long as possible."

The University of Nanking is the only University now open in that city. The staff are showing great courage in their determination to carry on.

Latest reports indicate that the foreign staff of the University is located as follows:

**At The University of Nanking:**—Mr. Peter Bannon, Dr. M. Searle Bates, Mr. Oliver J. Caldwell, Miss Elsie M. Priest, Mr. C. H. Riggs, Dr. L. S. C. Smythe, Dr. Claude J. Thomson.

**At The University Hospital:**—Miss Grace Bauer, Dr. Richard F. Brady, Miss Iva M. Hynds, Dr. C. S. Trimmer, Dr. Robert O. Wilson.

**At Hankow:**—With the Department of Agriculture economics research staff, Miss Hilda Anderson, and Mr. John R. Raeburn.

**In United States on Regular Furlough:**—Miss Olive Bowen, 167½ S Avenue 49, Los Angeles, California; Dr. J. Horton Daniels and family, 3616 Park Avenue, Minneapolis, Minn.; Dr. William P. Fenn, 13 Cleveland Street, Cambridge, Mass.; Mrs. Fenn and family, Berea College, Berea, Ky.; Mr. and Mrs. B. A. Slocum, 1335 Virginia Road, San Marino, Calif.; Dr. and Mrs. A. N. Steward, Route 1, Box 136-A, Brooks, Oregon; Dr. and Mrs. J. T. Illick, 2128 Hillcrest Drive, Los Angeles, California; Francis P. Jones, 600 W. 122nd St., New York City.; Mrs. Jones, 2103 Monroe St., Madison, Wisconsin.

**In Hong Kong:**—Dr. and Mrs. W. Marshall Curtiss, Miss E. M. Turner, Miss Margaret Turner.

**In Japan:**—Mrs. M. Searle Bates and family.

**In the United States for Emergency Reasons:** — Miss Margaret Arms, 732 Saint Mark Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.; Dr. J. Lossing Buck, (Will return to China November 17); Mrs. C. H. Riggs and children, 204 First St., Scotia, N. Y.; Mrs. Robert O. Wilson and daughter, 1105 Amsterdam Ave., New York City.; Miss Imogene Ward, (in transit).

During this time of anxiety and strain, we have received cheering and steadying comments on the enduring value of the work of the Christian Colleges in China. In closing this letter I wish to quote three of these statements. The first was made by the Honorable H. H. Kung, Minister of Finance and Vice-Premier in the National Government of China. The statement was made at a reception held in his honor in New York last June. Dr. Kung said:

“With every dollar you put in this work (of Christian education in China) you are creating material for the upbuilding of a country which in some way may influence the whole world. As we are on the eve of developing our country into a modern state materially, we need not only material assistance; our chief need is for men with character, men who love God, obey God, and are willing to sacrifice themselves in order to make the world a better place . . . Above all material advances, what we want still more is men with sterling character, filled with the loving spirit of Christ.”—Dr. H. H. Kung, Minister of Finance and Vice-Premier in the National Government of China, June 25, New York City.

The Honorable C. T. Wang, Chinese Ambassador at Washington, wrote on October 11:

“It is very encouraging to know that the work of Christian higher education in China is being carried forward in spite of all the difficulties arising from the present disturbed conditions.

“We all sincerely admire the courage, foresight, and living example of Christian service of the missionary educators in the field and of our friends in America who are making this educational program possible.”

Dr. Cleland B. McAfee has expressed the sentiment of many American Christians in a letter just received. He wrote on November 1st:

“The Christian Colleges have in them the leadership and hope of the future. They must be kept going and increased in power and fitness for their great task. Lessons of patience and generosity will be needed as never before if we are to avoid a harvest of hate. There is no soil so favorable for the planting of better seed as the college campuses of China.”

Sincerely yours,

W. Reginald Wheeler

UNIVERSITY OF NANKING

Hankow, China  
December 4, 1937

Dr. B. A. Garside,  
Board of Founders, New York City

Dear Dr. Garside:

I do not need to give you details of recent events concerning the war as the Japanese army has made the drive on Nanking. Anything that I write will be out of date before this letter could reach you. It is enough to say we were forced to close the University and send our staff and students to places of safety.

We maintained the school quietly during the weeks since we opened the first of October, and were prepared to continue the institution in Nanking, tiding over the emergency situation as well as possible. It was our hope that we might be able to finish this semester without great disturbance. The change came about the middle of November when the capital decided to move westward and in a short time nearly all public and private organizations started to pack for removal to other centers. The Ministry of Education sent us an order to close the school and scatter the staff and students as quickly as possible. We closed class work on November 19th, and made plans to send all staff and students to other places.

After most careful consideration we decided to attempt to keep the group together, and to try and find a place where we could complete the work of this semester. It was the earnest wish of all the administrators to continue the University without a break in the continuity of classes. There was a very serious shortage of transportation for the great crowds that were trying to leave Nanking and the cities east of Nanking. The University had around 500 persons to send up the river, including students, staff and staff families. In addition to all the personal luggage, we tried to take some of the equipment in case we could open the colleges. We tried to charter a boat, to hire launches and tug lighters but with no success. Finally we appealed to one of the British firms who agreed to take us and our boxes on three different boats. There was a great shortage of men to handle the baggage, but our students took over this task efficiently and willingly. Because of the great crowds who were trying to secure passage, the boats dared not dock at the wharves, but were in mid-stream so people and baggage had to be put on lighters and loaded over the side of the boat - it was no easy task, but students and staff worked together and our group was loaded without mishap. We sent 240 persons on the first boat - in the hold of one of the smaller boats, but they claimed they were quite comfortable and it was the only available space. The second lot of around 200 were more comfortable and the final group, which was much smaller, went up on one of the last boats. In this group were the staff members who had worked hard to send off boxes as well as staff and students. You may be interested to know that among the group were Dr. Thomson, Dr. Brady, Mr. Caldwell, Mr. Bannon, Miss Priest, Dr. Ni, Dr. Cheng of the hospital, and myself. In all we have taken 480 boxes of equipment and tried to divide the boxes so every department would have their most valuable things sent out. There are over 200 boxes packed but we had to leave them in Nanking. Mr. Gee will pack them away and try to protect the things from possible looting.

You will know from our cable that we are leaving a small group in Nanking. There are about 35 staff members who decided to remain in Nanking, some of them volunteering to stay on the campus. From this group we have chosen an emergency committee made up of the following persons: Dr. M.S. Bates, chairman, Dr. Lewis S.C. Smythe, Mr. Charles H. Riggs, Dr. C.S. Trimmer, Mr. C.T. Gee, Mr. Chen Yung, Mr. T.R. Ku and Dr. J. T. Cheng. They will try to take care of the building and property

questions that are bound to come up during this time. We were all pleased to have so many of our senior staff members express their willingness to remain in Nanking during this critical period. I have tried to impress upon everyone that we do not wish them to run personal risk for the safety of the buildings, and enclose a copy of the letter we sent to Dr. Bates, with similar ones to each member. I wish you all to know that the spirit of this group has been a great assistance and help to us as we planned for the next step. Everyone is anxious to do all they can to keep the University of Nanking open and continuing to serve the country as in the past. Our task at the moment seems to be to hold the staff and students together, ready to open if at all possible, and to give the greatest possible protection to the plant in Nanking. The field group considers the Board of Founders has given them a sacred trust in maintaining the University, and every effort will be made to continue the task.

Our staff members, particularly Dr. Bates and Dr. Smythe, have been among the chief promoters of a safety zone in Nanking. Although the Japanese military officials have not yet given definite assurance they will respect this zone, plans are being made to maintain a refugee or safety zone for the period that Nanking is under siege. All of our property, with the exception of a dormitory and a few residences belonging to the hospital, will be within the zone area, and we are hoping it may mean that not only will our staff have a place of safety, but that all the property will be protected.

Last week the hospital staff became very nervous, and the majority left for Hankow where they hope to find a chance to help in base hospitals. We sent the student nurses to other hospitals and hope to have them all placed in a short time. In Nanking Dr. Trimmer, Dr. Wilson, Miss Hynds, and Miss Bauer, with a skeleton Chinese staff, are trying to keep the hospital open for emergencies, especially for civilians. With the exception of twenty seriously wounded soldiers, we hope all soldiers will be moved before the city gates are closed. If the safety zone is accepted, we cannot care for wounded soldiers in the hospital, but can do so in the dormitory across the street. The plan is to keep the hospital open as long as possible.

I cannot today give you any definite word of our future plans. We hope to find some place in the neighborhood of Hankow where it may be possible to continue the work of this semester. As soon as possible I will go to Chengtu and investigate possibilities there in cooperation with West China Union University. There are two possibilities: one in Wanhsien, midway between Hankow and Chungking, and the other is Chengtu. We have a committee working on Wanhsien, and if feasible we may go there as the cost for transportation will be less than to go to Chengtu. On the other hand it is on the river, and may not be as safe as Chengtu, and we must make plans so we will not move again. Just as soon as our plans are definite we will let you know. We shall maintain an office in Hankow - 12B Dahlia Building, and Miss Priest will remain there with some of the staff members to carry on the necessary negotiations with Nanking and other centers. Under any circumstances this move will cost us a great deal of money, part of which will be unavoidable and will have to be raised in some way, but the other part may be met by a further cut in the salaries of the staff. They are all carrying heavy burdens now but are all ready to help in meeting this emergency and will accept a still greater cut in salaries. In this way we hope to keep the group together and to give them at least enough to cover the bare living costs during these days. It will be a hardship especially for those who have large families to support.

It was not easy to leave Nanking. From a physical standpoint it was most difficult. As the Japanese lines were nearer, the air raids were more frequent and came without much warning. There were 107 from August until the day we left Nan-

king. There were no taxis for days, few rickshas, and it was almost impossible to secure trucks. Finally our friends in the city, especially the Standard Oil Co., Asiatic Petroleum Co., Texas Oil Co., Siemens & Co., etc., came to the rescue and loaned us their trucks for a few hours each day so we were able to transport our staff and students to the river front - five miles from the campus. Up until the day we left, water, electricity, and telephone service had been maintained, but it was only a matter of days when it might be discontinued. There was a report that all the city gates would be closed and fortified - already a good many had been blocked - so the only possible way to leave the city would be either by airplane or over the wall with ropes. There were very few laborers left in the city and it was most difficult to secure men to move the boxes or to help with the protection of the buildings. We are using American flags on all the residences and campus property which has been entrusted to our care - and have received posters from the garrison commander prohibiting soldiers from entering our grounds. Every effort has been made to protect the buildings. I mention these things just to give you some idea of the difficulties of the past few weeks. I fear Hankow may present even more serious problems as we try to find places for our group to live, as thousands have fled to Hankow, hoping to find protection from bombs and bullets for a time at least.

This has been written on the boat on our way to Hankow - we shall try to add a word from there after we talk with the group who went up a week ago.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Y.G. CHEN

P.S. Hankow, December 6, 1937 - We arrived in Hankow on Sunday morning, December 5th, and it proved to be the last boat to come from Nanking for the present. Two British boats were bombed in Wuhu yesterday so we have been completely cut off from Nanking.

We found that Hua Chung College had been kind enough to take our students into their buildings, allowing the boys to sleep on the floor of the gymnasium. They also took in a number of our staff members temporarily, and then helped them find places. The London Miss. Soc. has loaned one house, without rent, for our staff to live in Wuchang, and others are scattered around the Wuhan district. Hankow and Wuchang are very crowded, but our group is in good spirits and not objecting to sleeping on the floor.

We are trying to secure transportation immediately so we can start for West China. The Agricultural Economics group will go on Friday of this week, and are now packed. But it is only possible for about thirty persons to go in one week, so it may take a long time unless we can secure a boat that can go on to Chungking. Water is low at this time of year. We are thinking of going to Wanhsien if at all possible, as it will be far less costly than Chengtu. I have a reservation to fly to Chungking on Saturday, where we will make plans for transportation through to Chengtu. It is this long trip that is very hard to manage both physically and financially.

We have been very much impressed by the cordial response from all our friends - Hua Chung, the American Church Mission, the Methodist group at Chungking, our own Szechuen Alumni group, who have wired that they will provide temporary quarters for our party, up to 300, at Chungking. Then the government institution at Chungking has offered us quarters during our time of waiting for further boats and cars at Chungking.

We will keep you informed of the next step. It is not clear yet what we should do but we are trying to continue all the departments as early as possible. Wuhan is not a very satisfactory center and is so crowded that we feel it is unwise to try to continue classes here for the present.

Y. G. C.

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

EXCERPTS FROM THE LETTERS OF AN AMERICAN DOCTOR IN CHINA

December 15, 1937

It would be interesting to see what is in the headlines of your papers. We received confirmation today of the sinking, by Japanese bombing, of the U.S.S. Panay on which we all were supposed to be. You undoubtedly have fuller information than we have. Our story says that an Italian newspaper correspondent and an American captain of one of the Socony river steamers were killed and a number wounded including Hall Paxton. The group were taken directly to Shanghai by the U. S. S. Oahu so that we have not seen any of them.

The hospital gets busier every day. We are about up to our normal capacity as far as patients go. There were about thirty admissions today and no discharges. We can't discharge any patients because they have no place to go. About ten of the hundred and fifty cases are medical and obstetrical and the rest are surgical. Neither of our Chinese doctors have the ability to care for them except under careful supervision so that keeps me humping. Yesterday I wrote that I had eleven operations. Today I had ten operations in addition to seeing patients in the ward. I got up early and made ward rounds on one ward before coming home to breakfast. After breakfast I spent the morning seeing the other wards and then started operation after lunch.

The first case was a policeman who had had a bomb injury to his forearm shattering the radius and severing about three-fourths of the muscles. He had had a tourniquet on for about seven hours and any attempt to stop the hemorrhage would have completely shut off the remainder of the circulation to the hand. There was nothing to do but an amputation. The next case was a poor fellow who had a large piece of metal enter his cheek and break off a portion of the lower jaw. The metal was extracted as well as several teeth imbedded in the broken off portion of the jaw. Then came a series of cases under the flouroscope with T---'s assistance. One fellow had a piece of shrapnel in his parotid gland, it having severed his facial nerve. Another had a bullet in his side. It had entered his epigastrium and gone straight through his stomach. He vomited a large quantity of blood and then felt better. His condition is excellent and I don't believe I will have to do a laparotomy on him at all. I got the bullet out of the side without difficulty. Another case had his foot blown off four days ago. He was very toxic and I did an open flap amputation of his lower leg. Another case was that of a barber bayonnetted by Japanese soldiers. The bayonet had cut the back of his neck severing all the muscles right down to the spinal canal, through the interspinous ligaments. He was in shock and will probably die. He is the only survivor of the eight in the shop, the rest having all been killed.

The slaughter of civilians is appalling. I could go on for pages telling of cases of rape and brutality almost beyond belief. Two bayonnetted cases are the only survivors of seven street cleaners who were sitting in their headquarters when Japanese soldiers came in without warning or reason killed five or six of their number and wounded the two that found their way to the hospital. I wonder when it will stop and we will be able to catch up with ourselves again.

Saturday, December 18

Today marks the sixth day of the modern Dante's Inferno, written in huge letters with blood and rape. Murder by the wholesale and rape by the thousands of cases. There seems to be no stop to the ferocity, lust and atavism of the brutes.

At first I tried to be pleasant to them to avoid arousing their ire but the smile has gradually worn off and my stare is fully as cool and fishy as theirs.

Tonight as I came back from supper to stay here for the night I found three soldiers had ransacked the place. Miss H--- had accompanied them to the back gate. Two of them arrived and the other had disappeared. He must be hiding somewhere around the place. I motioned to the others outside stating in no uncertain terms that this was a Beikoku Byoyen. How do you like that? The two that were there allowed themselves to be led out. They had taken Miss H---'s watch and several other watches and fountain pens as well.

Let me recount some instances occurring in the last two days. Last night the house of one of the Chinese staff members of the university was broken into and two of his women relatives raped. Two girls about 16, were raped to death in one of the refugee camps. In the ----School where there are 8,000 people the Japs came in ten times last night, over the wall, stole food, clothing, and raped until they were satisfied. They bayoneted one little boy, killing him, and I spent an hour and a half this morning patching up another little boy of eight who had five bayonet wounds including one that penetrated his stomach, a portion of omentum was outside the abdomen. I think he will live.

I just took time out because the third soldier had been found. He was on the fourth floor of the nurses' dormitory where there were fifteen nurses. They were scared within an inch of their lives. I don't know how much he had done before I arrived but he didn't do anything afterwards. He had a watch or two and was starting off with one of the girls' cameras. I motioned for him to give it back to her and to my surprise he obeyed. I then accompanied him to the front door and bade him a fond farewell. Unfortunately he didn't get the swift kick that I mentally aimed at him. One of the earlier ones was toying around with a rather formidable looking pistol which I'm thankful he didn't use.

One man I treated today had three bullet holes. He is the solo survivor of a group of eighty including an eleven year old boy who were led out of two buildings within the so-called Safety Zone and taken into the hills west of Tibet Road and there slaughtered. He came to after they had left and found the other seventy-nine dead about him. His three bullet wounds are not serious. To do the Japs justice there were in the eighty a few ex-soldiers.

One girl I have is a half-wit with some sort of birth injury, I believe. She didn't have any more sense than to claw at a Japanese soldier who was taking away her only bedding. Her reward was a bayonet thrust that cut half the muscles of one side of her neck.

Another girl of seventeen has a terrific gash in her neck and is the only survivor of her family, the rest of whom were finished off. She was employed by the International Export Company.

As I left the hospital for supper after finishing my rounds on the 150 cases now under my care, the full moon was rising over the mountains and was indescribably beautiful, and yet it looked down on a city that was more desolate than it has been since the Tai Ping Rebellion. Nine-tenths of the city are totally deserted by Chinese and contain only roving bands of plundering Japanese. The remaining tenth contains almost two hundred thousand terrified citizens,

Last night M---, S---, and F--- went over in F---'s car to escort M--- to G---. M--- holds the fort there with several thousand women. When they got to the front gate they were held up by a patrol of Japanese soldiers under command of a pugnacious, impudent lieutenant. He lined the men on one side and M---, Mrs. C--- and Mrs. T--- on the other side. He snatched the hats off the men and ordered everyone off the place including the women. F--- told him he didn't have a place for them to stay but he insisted. They just got into the car, when he order-

ed them back again and again harangued them for some minutes finally sending the men back where they came from. Later we learned that while this was going on some Japanese soldiers had climbed over the wall and helped themselves to sixteen women.

The population faces famine in the near future and there is no provision for winter's fuel. It is not a pleasant winter that we look forward to. It is too bad that the newspaper reporters left on the day they did instead of two days or so later when they could have been more detailed in their reports of the Reign of Terror!

Another interruption to usher two Japanese soldiers off the premises.

As I probably won't get much sleep tonight I had better turn in, dressed, to get what I can.

### December 19

I guess it's Sunday. After writing last night's installment the night passed peacefully. I came home this morning to listen to a dozen or more tales of plunder and rape. After writing an account of last night's visitation to the hospital I went with B---, S--- and F--- to the Japanese Embassy, (they still call it that), and we talked with Mr. T---, one of the secretaries of the Embassy. He read over the account and listened to many other tales. He himself is sympathetic but has no control over the military and can only make representations like we do. There seems to be a very small glimmer of light but it is very faint and today was one of the worst days so far.

Practically every American house in the city was broken into. I dropped in at D---'s on my way home. Three Japanese soldiers were there when I got there. As I have said, my smiles have ceased and I ordered the soldiers out in no uncertain terms. They had broken into our locked room in the attic and everything in our big trunk was strewn all over the floor. One soldier had broken the lock on my microscope and was trying to look into it. Somewhat to my surprise, they actually ran down the stairs and out of doors. Probably they came back when I had gone but I couldn't stay there all day. The second floor is sacked clean. How thankful I am that M--- managed to get as much of my stuff away as she did, and that most of my useful clothing is over here.

Just as I came home to supper the B--'s cook and Mr. C--- who live where we were last summer had come in to get someone to go there and interfere with the raping of all their women. B---, S--- and F--- went over, caught three soldiers at it in the basement of the house and B--- sent them packing. Again, they will probably return as soon as all is clear. The Japanese are swarming all over the place and I fully believe that the hospital is the only building in town except the one we are in where someone has not been raped and I'm not sure that there wasn't some done at the hospital before I located the fellow on the fourth floor.

Another stunt today seems to be a big burning tear. Yesterday there were a number of fires but today several large blocks near ---- Road were ablaze about supper time and one house about two hundred yards from us here burned. From the hospital it looked as if this house was going up in flames and I didn't feel comfortable about it until I had finished my rounds and come home to find it still intact. I made rounds on two wards this morning starting late because of the visit to the Embassy. This afternoon I took out the third eye I have operated on lately and did five other smaller operations, adding two pieces to my museum. Another day has passed without an amputation. At least four American flags have been torn down lately. Today at H---- the flags were taken down and a woman raped and then bayoneted in the basement. A pool of blood was on the floor when M--- took a con-

sular policeman from the Embassy there this evening. The woman apparently is still alive and has been taken to the hospital where T--- will see her as he is on call tonight. I will see her in the morning.

All the food is being stolen from the poor people and they are in a state of terror-stricken, hysterical panic. When will it stop!

December 21.

This is the shortest day in the year but it still contains twenty-four hours of this hell on earth. We heard yesterday that the Japanese news agency, Domei, reported the population returning to their homes, business going on as usual and the population welcoming their Japanese visitors, or words to that effect. If that is all the news that is going out of the city it is due for a big shake up when the real news breaks.

Huge fires are set in every business section. Our bunch has actually seen them set the fires in several instances. Yesterday before going home to supper I counted twelve fires. Tonight at the same time I counted eight. Several of them include whole blocks of buildings. Most of the shops of our vicinity have been burned. The populace is crowding into the refugee camps even from the private residences within the zone as the degree of safety is slightly greater though there is no guarantee anywhere. If it were not for the way the Committee had gathered rice beforehand and done what they could to protect the population there would be a first class famine already and the slaughter would have been considerably greater.

Several more stories of the slaughter keep coming in. One man came to M--- today with the tale of what happened to one thousand men led away from a place of supposed safety within the zone. The bunch contained perhaps one hundred ex-soldiers that had given up their arms and donned civilian clothes. The thousand were marched to the banks of the Yangtze, lined up two deep and then machine-gunned. He was in the back row, fell with the rest and played dead until, several hours later, the Japs had gone and he sneaked back to the city.

As we have seen a good many similar round-ups in this part of the city with no returns we presume the same has happened to all of them.

Yesterday a seventeen year old girl came to the hospital in the morning with her baby. She had been raped by Japanese soldiers the night before at seven-thirty, the labor pains had begun at nine o'clock, and the baby, her first was born at twelve. Naturally at night she dared not come out to the hospital so she came in the morning with the baby who miraculously seemed to be safe and healthy.

This afternoon I put a cast on a lovely little girl of 13. When the Japanese came to the city on the 13th she and her father and mother were standing at the entrance of their dugout watching them approach. A soldier stepped up, bayoneted the father, shot the mother and slashed open the elbow of the little girl giving her a compound fracture. She has no relatives and was not brought to the hospital for a week. She is already wondering what to do when she has to leave. Both the father and mother were killed.

Day before yesterday at H---- a young girl of nineteen who was six and a half months pregnant attempted to resist rape by two Japanese soldiers.

She received eighteen cuts about the face, several in the legs and a deep gash in the abdomen. This morning at the hospital I could not hear the fetal heart and she will probably have an abortion. (Next morning: she did last night at midnight. Technically a miscarriage.)

Yesterday at lunch some Chinese mechanics who live a few doors away from us asked what they could do with two young women at their place who were in danger. We suggested taking them to the University where they have finally established military police at night, and said that we would pick them up and take them ourselves. F--- and I started for them after lunch and had not got out of the door before the mechanics rushed up to say that the Japs were already there. We went to the place, L---, S---, and M--- coming along. On arrival, the terrified Chinese round about pointed to the gate house of which the door was shut. We yelled and pushed the door open to find three soldiers fully armed but only partially clothed at the time and the two women also dishevelled but fortunately still intact. One of the soldiers was extremely angry but it didn't come to anything and we took the girls away. The mechanics were afraid to stay there any longer when we left and so slept in our garage last night.

This noon I went over with the cook, whose things were thoroughly looted yesterday. We picked up a few odds and ends, such as my cornet and the two or three pieces left of our silver. That in the hospital is intact. My microscope went yesterday. The little caps given us by Mr. N--- had only half disappeared. How thankful I am for every kori full of stuff that we got out in September.

The Americans composed a telegram yesterday asking for the immediate return of an American diplomatic representative. The Japanese military refused to send it in spite of the fact that they had said before that they would send messages. Today the entire American community and several Germans went to the Embassy to put in protests. I was too busy to go.

We have every bed filled. There are only about four nurses out of our staff of twenty or so that have ever had any training, as far as I can gather. We have three male nurses on one of my wards and I'm sure that they are nurses only because they say so and think it is the safest profession at present. I have a very sick case there with a through and through wound of the chest wall. The chart naively told me that his temperature was 99, his pulse 80, and his respiration 24. Realizing that all was not well I retook them myself and found a pulse of 120, temperature 102.6 and respiration 48. The little discrepancy is typical of the nursing on the floor.

This noon I came as near being shot as I ever hope to be. On my way home the police in front of a girls' dormitory at the University told me that a Japanese soldier was inside and begged me to see to it. As that is getting to be an old story now I barged in and ordered him out in no uncertain terms. He was having them pump up one of their own bicycles for him to ride but I put a stop to that and kept urging him out. He also wanted to take a ricksha and bicycle pump along and I roughly objected to that. But that is where I overplayed my hand as he had brought the ricksha along himself with a poor coolie in tow. We were now no longer friends and he proceeded calmly to load his rifle and play around with it a little. The Chinese then told me that he had brought the ricksha and pump so I told him to take them and get along, which he did. He then went outside and as I passed loaded several more cartridges in his rifle. I fully expected to be shot in the back as I went beyond him towards our house. He must have lost his nerve.

### Christmas Eve

This seems like anything but Christmas Eve. It is sort of tough to sit in a small X-ray room to keep Japanese soldiers from looting a hospital in the center of what was a few weeks ago a great city while the rest of the family is scattered all over the globe. My baby will be six months old in four days and I have seen her for seven weeks of the time.

The burning seems almost over. Only a half a dozen fires were started today to finish up the job of wiping out the shops on both sides of all the main streets. The looting continues. They carried off the D---'s rugs today, one of them requiring four men to take. The poor people who stay in the house can of course do nothing about it and can only tell about it later. B--- has no idea how extremely lucky he is to date. His house, by virtue of the fact that there are eight Americans in it, has so far been spared the ravages of looters. Y---'s house next door has also been left untouched. The remaining houses are mere shells.

This morning T--- and I went over to rescue some eatables from the G--- house. There were some preserves and some fruit which are most welcome. Our larder is getting low with no prospect of replenishment. We also looked in at the B---'s. Both houses have been pretty thoroughly sacked. I took the opportunity of dropping in at the --- where I rescued my Chinese dress suit along with a half a dozen others. They had been through and broken most of the doors and windows and taken off a few things.

Tonight we invited T--- and five Germans in town to Christmas Eve dinner. Mr. R---, head of the International Committee, didn't feel he could come and leave the 600 refugees that are crowding every corner of his house and yard. Every time he leaves they are looted. He is well up in Nazi circles and after coming into such close contact with him as we have for the past few weeks and discovered what a splendid man he is and what a tremendous heart he has it is hard to reconcile his personality with his adulation for Der Fuehrer. He has labored incessantly for the thousands of poor people that have crowded into the Zone. The other two Germans, K--- and S---, have given themselves wholeheartedly to the work of the committee and its attempts to save some of these poor people. No one will ever know how many have been ruthlessly slaughtered.

One man who just got in today says he was a stretcher bearer and was one of four thousand to be marched to the banks of the Yangtze and machine-gunned. He had a bullet wound through his shoulder and dares not talk about a whisper and then only after carefully peering about to see if he is going to be overheard. One of the two burned wretches died this morning but the other is still hanging on for a while. B--- went over this afternoon to a place described as the scene of the burning and found the charred bodies of the poor devils. And now they tell us that there are twenty thousand soldiers still in the Zone, (where they get their figures no one knows), and that they are going to hunt them out and shoot them all. That will mean every able-bodied male between the ages of 18 and 50 that is now in the city. How can they ever look anybody in the face again?

S--- was back in the city today with some more horror tales. He says that the big trenches that the Chinese built for tank traps along the way were filled with the bodies of dead and wounded soldiers and when there weren't enough bodies to fill the trench so the tanks could pass they shot the people

living around there indiscriminately to fill up the trenches. He borrowed a camera to go back and take some pictures to bear out his statement.

Good night and Merry Christmas!

December 26, Sunday

Since writing on Christmas Eve I have been primarily an obstetrician. After finishing the installment I went to bed only to be called at eleven and again at three-thirty to preside at the inauguration ceremonies of two little Chinese. It was like being back on the obstetrics service at the medical school with the slight difference that no matter what happened I was still the ultimate medical authority.

Yesterday I managed to make complete rounds on all wards before dinner and went home to a Christmas dinner with the eight members of our immediate family and four guests. This time we had B--, V--, and two Chinese girls, B-- and P--. Miss H--- refused our most urgent entreaties. Miss B--- had supplied the two Christmas geese from ---- and in addition made us a present of a dozen fresh eggs, our first in several weeks.

I had postponed any operations possible that afternoon and took the afternoon off catching up a little on some sleep and reading a rather engaging book written by an adventuresome rascal named Negley Farson, an autobiography entitled, "The Way of a Transgressor".

This morning we found T--- struggling with a temperature of 102 and feeling pretty miserable. We put him to bed in B---'s house, where he would get a little better food than at the hospital and he is feeling some better tonight but will probably be out of things for a couple of days.

My rounds this morning were broken up by two birthday parties, (babies) one at ten-thirty and another at eleven-thirty. After a run of girls one of these turned out to be a boy.

This afternoon I started off with another amputation and had a few cases. The amputation was that of a leg I had been trying to save for a couple of weeks. The patient was going downhill steadily and it seemed to be a choice between his leg and his life. The outcome is not by any means settled yet, as he may well lose both. After finishing the operations there were still twenty patients yet to see on two wards as yet unvisited.

Shortly after seven the day's work seemed to be done and I went over to B---'s for supper and to pay T--- another visit. We had a semi-official visit from some Japanese officers this morning who looked over the place very carefully. They are now engaged in registering in the most inefficient manner possible all the residents of the city, all of whom are now cooped up in the Safety Zone. They have given us all arm bands which are a sort of pass within the city and told us to be sure and wear them.

R--- was held up by one of the officers of the registration group yesterday and slapped about a good deal. I don't know what my reaction would be to that sort of treatment but the temptation to give the Japanese a vicious uppercut to the jaw would be all but insurmountable. I hope that if that time comes I will be able to keep my hands in my pockets as he did.

Except for the rather sketchy news from S--- we have had none and we are sure that no real news from the city has escaped for the past two weeks. When it does get out, feeling will probably have simmered down so

that it will come as a sort of anticlimax. We would all like to see some light ahead, but as yet there doesn't seem to be even a glimmer.

December 28, Tuesday

E--- is six months old today.. How I wish I could be with her and M--- today to celebrate it! Just to think that she is probably cutting teeth now and doing all sorts of things that I have not seen her do. We managed to spend seven weeks of those six months together and there seems to be no immediate indication that matters will settle down here for some time to come.

T--- is feeling much better and was around to see the medical cases today. Last night I had one obstetrics case at nine-thirty and had one more today at noon. The latter was a twenty year old primipara and her little son refused to start breathing for about ten minutes. It was some relief to see him start. Including babies, I have had one hundred and seventy five cases while T--- has been sick. He will relieve me of about twenty of them.

It is almost a day's work just to make rounds on them all. Yesterday we had one case which will have to go down in the black book if this story is true. He was a worker in the H--- telephone building, refugeeing at ----. He had gone down the street to find a friend, was seized by some Japanese soldiers and led to a place where there were several hundred other men. These turned out to be also from the ----. When they had registered them they made some pretty speeches, stating that they were frankly looking for ex-soldiers. If, they said, anyone would come forward and admit that they had been soldiers their lives would be spared and they would be formed into a military labor corps. This was repeated several times in the presence of everyone including Mr.S---, B---, and R---. Two hundred men stepped forward and admitted that they had been soldiers.

According to our case's story these several hundred men were led into the hills in the west of the city and used for bayonet practice. He has no idea how many survived. He had five bayonet wounds himself including one that perforated his peritoneum. He will probably recover unless the peritonitis is too severe.

The Japanese are apparently sincerely trying to cut down the lawlessness. There are quite a few gendarmes and when they are present the looting stops. After they have passed there is still some going on. Only one or two big fires a day now remind us that there are still a few unburned buildings. Groups of soldiers and coolies are now busy cleaning up the streets which are littered with every kind of rubbish. They are making a lot of bonfires also in the streets, using the contents of stores as material. Near ---- the ---Music Shop had all its music and musical instruments piled up in the middle of the street and set afire. It seems so senseless. I suppose the idea is to destroy everything and then load up on cheap Japanese goods. The people are so completely robbed now that they won't even be able to buy the cheap Japanese wares .

T--- was at the hospital this afternoon and we did some fluoroscopies. One man had a through and through bullet wound from sacrum to right lower quadrant and apparently had developed a traumatic arterovenous aneurysm of the right common iliac artery and vein. I'm afraid he is doomed. After we finished the fluoroscopies we turned on his little radio and in time to

get some outside news. We heard of the fall of Tsinan and that the Panay incident was declared closed and that diplomatic representatives were expected back in the city soon. We will be glad to see them.

December 30, Thursday

The year is fast drawing to a close. It would be pleasant to close the year with some sort of a brighter outlook for the next but we seem to closing on a note of deepest gloom without a glimmer of light ahead. The only consolation is that it can't be worse. They can't kill as many people as there are not any more to kill. I can't get any further away from my family if I try. The hospital can't possibly get back on a self-supporting basis as none of the patients have any more money.

The gendarmerie are busy all right. Tonight coming home from the hospital M--- and I were challenged by fixed bayonets on two occasions. Night before last the sentry at the ---- asked for a woman among the refugees. None was forthcoming so last night he raped one without permission. Today some poor fool who was annoyed at the man in charge of one of the refugee camps in the ---- building brought some Japanese soldiers around and showed them where a half a dozen rifles had been buried on the grounds. There was an unholy row and four men were taken away one being charged with the heinous crime of being a colonel in the Chinese army. We don't have to wonder whether he is still alive.

This morning a fairly well dressed Chinese business man ventured outside the Safety Zone to inspect the remains of his home and business. He was walking past --- Church with three companions when some Japanese soldiers fired on them for a reason as yet undiscovered. One man was killed and they brought our subject to the hospital with four feet of small intestine hanging out of a gaping wound in his abdomen. The bullet had entered the left side of the abdomen and emerged through the right. It was still in his trousers and has been added to my collection.

T--- is back on full time again and has taken over my obstetrics cases. The little seventeen year old girl who was raped at seven-thirty one evening before starting her labor pains at nine, has now developed a rip-roaring case of acute gonorrhoea. She runs a temperature of 105 part of the time and the outlook is not too bright. We are giving her baby temporarily to the girl who lost hers prematurely when she was stuck in the abdomen with a bayonet in the basement of ----. She has plenty of milk.

We listened to the radio tonight at the same time and learned to our disgust that the only station broadcasting news at this time, when we have our little machine running, was Tokyo. They mentioned all the Americans being evacuated from Kuling and taken to Hankow but we don't know whether to believe it or not. The only paper in town now is a Japanese one printed in Chinese. When I learned in the first few lines that they had destroyed 23 Chinese planes on Poyang Lake and 17 Russian planes at Lanchow I was ready to tear up the paper. Again the only consolation was that we heard a similar report over the radio when we were on the other side of the line and knew just how much to discount.

January 1,

The world must begin to think it strange that no direct word has come from the city for over two weeks. The diplomatic representatives have not yet

been allowed to return and no newspaper correspondents have come back although they hoped when they left on the 15th to be back in 48 hours. The Japanese Domei and other reporters are of course hopelessly inaccurate.

The Japanese put over a typical ceremony today when they had representatives from the refugee camps come to ---- where they raised the old five bar flag and had a few speeches, supposedly inaugurating an autonomous government. One of the chief men has been working in a rather subordinate capacity under the International Committee and has a long record with many connections with the city underworld, and other undersirable characteristics. He is by business an auctioneer. The others hold various positions with the Red Swastika Society and most of them have been working for the Committee. It certainly is a second-hand crowd, but then there aren't any first classers in town.

A three day holiday was declared though no one knew just what to do about it. There aren't any shops to close. They apparently imported or resurrected countless firecrackers that have been popping off all day. The soldiers feel that it is the time to get drunk and go on rampages. After several days of comparative quiet the raping broke out afresh. In the house of Dr. W---, religious director of ----, three soldiers broke in, one standing guard outside and the others enjoying a helpless girl inside.

We had a New Year's dinner this noon with four guests, Mrs. T---, Mrs. C--- Mr. G--- and Mr. ---. It was the first time the latter two had left their place together since the trouble started. They have about 250 refugees in their place. We had just finished dinner when someone arrived to call them away and they arrived just too late to prevent the raping of one girl and the beating up of another because she resisted too strenuously.

A nun was brought in this afternoon with a compound fracture of the femur of two weeks duration. She had been in a dugout with three others when the Japanese had entered the city. They came to the dugout and one soldier opened fire from each end of the dugout. The other three were killed. Her wound is badly infected and her prognosis grave.

Another pathetic case came in this afternoon. A woman of 29 who had six children, of whom the oldest was 12, lived in a small village south of the city. The Chinese soldiers burned the village in their retreat and she took her five children (one died earlier) and headed for the city. Before evening an airplane dove around spraying machine gun bullets, one of which went through her right eye and came out her neck. She was unconscious until next morning when she came to and found her five children crying and cold beside her. The youngest was three months old and, of course, breast fed. She was in a pool of blood and very weak. She was too weak to carry the baby and had to leave it behind in an empty house. With the remaining four she somehow struggled to the city and into the refugee zone where she finally got them settled and found her way to the hospital.

With this sort of thing as a steady diet it is hard to go around and wish people a happy new year.

January 3

Day before yesterday I contrived to drop a four pound iron weight on my big toe and so have been limping around the hospital for a couple of days.

Yesterday being Sunday I made a complete set of rounds in the morning and then rested in the afternoon with the result that the toe is almost well by now.

Three rather interesting cases turned up today. One boy of seventeen came in with the tale of about ten thousand Chinese men between the ages of 15 and 30 who were led out of the city on the 14th to the river bank near the ferry wharf. There the Japanese opened up on them with field guns, hand grenades and machine guns. Most of them were then pushed into the river, some were burned in huge piles, and three managed to escape. Of the ten thousand the boy figured that there were about six thousand ex-soldiers and four thousand civilians. He has a bullet wound in the chest which is not serious.

A woman of forty or so came in with the tale of having been taken from one of the refugee camps on December 31, ostensibly for the purpose of washing clothes for some of the officers. Six women were taken. During the days they washed clothes and during the nights they were raped. Five of them had from ten to twenty visits a night, but the sixth was young and good looking so she had about forty. On the third day two soldiers took our patient away from the place where they all were and went to some isolated spot where they tried to cut off her head. One tried to do so with four blows but only succeeded in cutting all the muscles of the back of the neck down to the vertebral column. She also had six other bayonet thrusts in her back, face and arms. She will probably recover. While she was lying in this condition, another Japanese (!) soldier found her and had her brought to a place of safety.

The third case was a young girl of fourteen who wasn't yet built for rape and will have to have considerable surgical repair.

I have had five operations this afternoon, including the extraction of two more bullets which are in my collection. I wrote last time that the young mother of six had a bullet pass through her eye socket and come out her neck, but the bullet hadn't come out and I extracted it this afternoon. I am getting discouraged over the cases of compound, comminuted fractures of the upper end of the femur. They just don't do well at all. One of my cases of that kind died today after six weeks in the hospital.

One Japanese officer who has spent four years in America is very solicitous about our welfare and comes every day to inquire what we need. Today he brought us a whole sack of beans and some fresh meat. I wish there were more like him.

Yesterday we had a church service at our house and T---, Mrs. T--- and Miss B--- were here in addition to our family. M--- led the service with the sermon which he prepared for the service four weeks ago and which had been postponed week by week. He had to revise it a bit.

Thursday, January 6

Three more busy days have passed with some new developments but beyond the gradual quieting down of the troops there is little to report. This morning three members of the American diplomatic service returned. Mr. A--- who

has been a guest here since we took up residence in the B--- house, is now the American consul. He has with him two younger men, E---, and M---. We had them for lunch today and tonight they are the guests of the Japanese Embassy.

They brought some mail, mostly from the families in Kuling. It will probably be quite some time before any regular mail comes through from the States. They also brought news that the Americans in Kuling had evacuated to Hongkong, via Hankow, on December 30th. So it seems we did the right thing in the first place as there wasn't likely to be much baggage on this trip.

The Japanese are heading north on the Tientsin-Pukow Railway and are intending to take Hsuehchow, the junction of that line and the Lunghai Railway. They have already taken Tsinan and Taian, and are heading for Hsuehchow also from the north. The main Chinese forces are preparing themselves farther to the west and the struggle apparently shows no sign of ending.

At the hospital our out-patient department is picking up again and keeps our Chinese doctors busy most of the day. We are going on regular schedule for surgical and medical clinics, starting next Monday.

The Japanese have not yet allowed the British or German diplomats to return but are going to let them in on the tenth. We don't know when they will allow reporters.

#### Saturday, January 8

When I got home this noon I found a message from the Embassy marked "Important, Urgent". It turned out to be the Christmas and anniversary greetings from M--- sent through Brigadier-General B---. A--- had forgotten all about having it when he was here for lunch the other day and had brought letters to everyone else. It was certainly a grand and glorious feeling to get it. Where they are and what they are doing and when we will get together again are three questions that are continually on my mind. E---'s first teeth must be in by now and she is trying them out on various things.

With the hospital electricity now going for most of the time we have been able to get in touch again with the world by radio and it is good to have daily news. The news, however, doesn't particularly add to our peace of mind. Both countries are apparently settling down to a protracted struggle. The Japanese do not seem to have advanced much since they captured Nanking.

The city is continually filled with wild rumors which we are able to check by our radio connections.

Today the gendarmes bound and took away a young lad who has been living in the ---- School and who speaks Japanese. He has been acting as interpreter there much against his will. B--- went to their headquarters to see what he could do and was roughly pushed out with no satisfaction. The people are rightly afraid to go back to their homes in spite of the apparent wish of the Japanese authorities for them to do so. As soon as they get out of the Safety Zone, and even to a lesser extent within it, they are subject to all kinds of indignities, the men being led off as carriers and the women being raped.

Another Chinese air raid came this morning and they apparently made a direct hit on an ammunition store in the eastern portion of the city. A huge fire raged all morning with continual popping of ammunition. The fires continue every day to the sum of twenty or more. Last night coming home from the hospital for supper I didn't see one for the first night I could say that for three weeks. However, the record was kept up when, as I went back to sleep at the hospital there were several fires going. When I got there the Chinese police at the gates were all excited and said that a bunch of Japanese soldiers had pounded on the gate and tried to get in but they kept them out by pretending not to hear. It turned out today that they were some of the officers who were sent to tell us not to have so many lights burning. They came today to tell us, and then apparently emphasized their request by the simple method of turning off all the lights at about six-thirty just as two obstetrics cases were in labor. It is T---'s night on so he will attend to them. There were none during my night last night.

Tomorrow the British and German Embassy representatives are expected, a day earlier than previously reported. We hope to have the three British here to lunch but do not know whether they will arrive in time. Some word from the city is now escaping through the U.S. Embassy so you will have news.

#### Sunday January 9

At last there is an opportunity to get out some mail with a fair chance of escaping Japanese censorship. It is to be sent down on the American tug-boat that has been up river salvaging the Panay. They are to put it in the hands of Mr. W--- of the ---- Mission who is to get it aboard an American boat so that it will not reach regular mails until it reaches America.

Today was Sunday and after having breakfasted a little later than usual I made most of my rounds and then found M--- and his movie camera ready to finish up some pictures that he hadn't taken on his previous trips. This morning we took pictures of an elderly man with two long gashes in his neck. He had been asked to procure women for some soldiers and his crime was not being able to produce them. The next one we took was the policeman who had eighteen (no, it was twenty-two) bayonet wounds of the back, chest and arms. There were no accusations against him. The third was the woman I wrote of the other day who was taken with five others and made to wash clothes in the day time and to entertain at night. Her neck is gradually healing and she has avoided the pneumonia which I thought she was getting. We then took pictures of the nun with the fractured hip and her little apprentice nun who was stabbed in the back. While we were taking the pictures I told M--- that at a solemn conclave at our house last night he had been unanimously selected to preach to us also at our house this afternoon. I also told him that if he came early he could have a bath, his first in sixteen weeks. With the promise of the latter he gladly consented to the former, and we had a pleasant and helpful service with fourteen present, including E--- of the Embassy and four Chinese friends.

Just before the service, F---, S---, M--- and I went down to the British Embassy to welcome Mr. P--- and Colonel L---. They had arrived too late for dinner today so they are coming tomorrow. They gave us more details of the attacking of British boats on the river particularly the bombing of the Ladybird at Wuhu. It was the first time I had been down towards the north part of the city and it was most depressing. The Japanese have finally

cleaned up the streets pretty well but there is a lot of litter along the sides and the district outside of the Zone is practically deserted.

P--- went down to the south city to the --- compound where 1500 refugees have stayed and found that a woman had been raped there three times this afternoon. K---, one of the Germans, witnessed an execution in the Zone this morning where they forced a poor coolie out to his waist in an icy pond, with his arms tied behind him and then shot him. The soldier shot at the command of an officer and took three shots to finish his victim.

January 28

Such a feast of mail as we have all had today. It was E---'s seventh month anniversary and I got two letters from M---, and two long letters from C---.

The A--- also brought us a much needed list of groceries. We had just used our last sugar and our coffee was running low so that we are now fixed up again for at least a month.

The news which you are getting at the present time is fairly accurate about the city as a good many of our uncensored dispatches are getting through. A--- certainly managed to get in for some publicity. The Japanese apparently tried to beat him to the publicity to get in their side of it first. The incident has been written up in detail by B--- and furnishes interesting reading. I will relate it in brief. A--- had requested that all cases of illegal entry into American property be reported to him. Accordingly when three Japanese gendarmes entered the ---- at eleven o'clock one night, took a woman to their headquarters and raped her there three times before returning her, it was reported to A---. Before that B--- and R--- had gone with the woman and identified the place to which she had been taken. A--- and R--- then went with several Japanese consular police to the place where both received some rough handling for no apparent reason. The Japanese had some fancy explanation about a gendarme doing his duty which is of course pure twaddle. The police then took the woman to the Japanese Embassy for questioning, A--- making the Consul, F---, personally responsible for her safety. (The last similar case, that of a boy in the Middle School, ended in the complete disappearance of the boy and his certain death.) Instead of the promised two hours she was kept for thirty and apparently was a little too smart for them. They brought her back to our house at about ten o'clock last night and listed five points of error in her story. These pertained to the color of the walls, the number of steps she went up, the position of the lamp in the room and the time of her abduction. As to the main points of the story there seemed to be no division of opinion. By bringing out the errors they saved their face, the woman was returned and I guess the incident is closed.

Another incident happened yesterday to M---. It was just before I went back to the hospital after lunch. He found two Japanese soldiers in the rear compound of the hospital. They had just torn down a door from the nurses' residence. He escorted them out, scolding them along the way, and at the back entrance pointed to the American flag and the Japanese proclamation forbidding their entrance. One of them took hold of his arm and wanted him to come along with them. He was quite agreeable, as he wanted to follow it up to identify them. They proceeded about a hundred feet when on further reflection they thought it wasn't such a good idea and ordered him back. The Chinese all thought he was being carried off and rushed the news to T---. One of the soldiers who wanted to show off a little pulled out his bayonet and made a pass at M---'s midriff. Finding no evidence of fear he then pricked him in the neck. M---

jerked his head back and that seemed to satisfy him, so they sauntered off. Just then two of the more amenable consular police happened by and M--- took them along and overtook the soldiers, who were then lectured by the consular police. The consular police have been buzzing around since, but I guess the incident is closed.

The Japanese are now ordering the people back into their homes, if any, by February 4th. The portion of the city, nine-tenths, outside the safety zone is still relatively deserted, and those who have followed instructions and go back have been subjected to all the violences of the earlier weeks. Only yesterday a 53 year old woman went back to her home and within an hour a soldier tried to rape her. She went on her knees and wept and wailed so that he contented himself with beating her up a little. She immediately came back to the zone. The Japanese are doing everything in their power to discredit the International Committee but they allow the Autonomous Government so little leeway that they cannot possibly feed and care for the people. The International Committee therefore has its hands full in spite of the Japanese. The Japanese will not allow the Committee to sell any rice and have had the "Autos" set up a rice shop far outside the zone, near the K--- Church ruins. During the first few days almost everyone who tried to go down and buy rice was robbed of all his money on the way down. They now purchase tickets within the zone, and then go down there for their rice.

Two days ago I had a case come in of a 22 year old girl who had been married four years. She and her husband came into the zone on the day the Japanese entered. Her husband was taken off that same evening, and hasn't been seen since. She was also seized that evening and taken to some quarters in south city where she was raped about a dozen times daily for 38 days.

The Oahu is due to go to Shanghai about Wednesday so that this will get out fairly promptly. One interesting thing about the news of the last few days is that we are now getting copies of the January magazines, such as Current Affairs, Oriental Affairs, Time, the Christian Century, and others which are beginning to have some material sent out from Nanking. Detailed accounts of the Panay incident, with pictures, came in. Details of the state of affairs in Nanking and along the whole way from Shanghai to Nanking have not yet been published, but from the radio news we get it seems that it will be published soon.

Timperley, correspondent of the Manchester Guardian, has had several dispatches censored in Shanghai. He got some accurate material from here and the Japanese refused to let it go through. We are branded as a lot of liars. The Japanese Embassy people tell people that everything we say is imaginative. That might be a lot truer if I were not a surgeon and have to patch up the results of their excesses.

Only yesterday Mr. R--- actually lifted a soldier off from on top of a woman not far from here. Two days ago a truck was going about the streets collecting women. One they collected was the wife of the murdered L-- of the --- School of whom I have written. She was taken to some Japanese quarters and was advised by a Chinese on the side to stick her finger down her throat in the midst of their meal. It worked, and they kicked her out in a hurry and she lost no time returning to the --- School at two A.M. The populace is panic-stricken at this order to return to their homes, if any. They have not the slightest assurance of safety. Again two days ago three Chinese were murdered in cold blood in one of the two new bath houses started by the Autonomous Government.

The countryside from here to Shanghai must present a bleak picture. B--- who drove up in a car says that for miles at a time there were no people at all, and all the farm houses were burned. The cities are laid waste and the people have either been killed or have disappeared. And this district was once the most populous in the world. How can such a slaughter possibly be condoned? It makes one ill, just to contemplate it.

Nanking Looting by Japanese

1937

McCallum

Not for Publication.

Excerpts from letters from Prof. Lewis C. Smythe,  
University of Nanking,  
Dec. 20th, 1937.

Dearest Mardie, Chicks, and Folks:-

I had better go back to Saturday morning, Dec. 11th. My last written press release was on the night of the 10th in which I gave the telegrams sent on the night of the 9th asking both sides to agree to a three days truce for the turnover of the city. That Saturday was a day of heavy gunfire and at noon we were all worrying about Bob with his many wounded cases at the Hospital. Small shells landed in front of Foochong Hotel, ~~killed and wounded about 20 people. -- That~~ (slightly wounded Mr. Sperling's hand) but one landing back of Foochang Hotel killed and wounded about 20 people. That forenoon 9 shells landed from there west to the alleyway by Mr. Flopper's house. So that had been a hot afternoon. That was in the Southern border of our Zone and the first day artillery had reached us, so we were anxious to see how well the Japanese gunners would live up to their telegram! Well Bob came in late and remarked, "It looks like the Fourth of July! Never saw so many American flags in my life around here!" Charlie replied, "And it sounds like it too!" That afternoon we had no more shells land and the press conference was an informal affair. We had worked hard all day to get T'ang's men to get soldiers out of the Zone, especially around Wutaishan. ---

Sunday morning, Dec. 12th, gunfire was still heavy though there was a lull towards morning. We went to headquarters at 5 Ninghai Road and a little later Col. Lung and Mr. Chow came from Gen. T'ang's office and asked if we would take over the wounded soldiers. We replied that we could not give any safety to anyone else the Chinese soldiers were gotten out of the area. If they would do that, we would do what we could about the wounded soldiers. So while they went to convey that message, we talked over and decided we would have to organize an International Red Cross, which Magee had been working on for three weeks. To our surprise they came back 11 and 12 and said that Gen. T'ang wanted us to send ~~out~~ a man out between the fighting lines to propose the three-day truce to the Japanese directly! We worked around on that with details of how it should be done! Sperling was to go out with a white flag and white sign saying "Please stop firing, we have a message for you." Also we were to telegraph the Ambassador in Hankow and the Japanese in Shanghai. We worked out the message carefully and got their agreement. It was nearly three before it was all fixed up, - guess they left about two, thought Mills got some bed sheets from the house and we had the message printed on one of them. We worked in the greatest secrecy, because after the word had been sent to T'ang, we decided we might be involved in treason, because they were not anxious for us to send word to Chiang Kai-shek. But we worked up the message to Johnson afterwards and decided to insist on his being told to notify \* both the Chinese and the Japanese authorities that this was proceeding. Well, they did not come back. Nor did we get any lunch. Most of the fighting that afternoon was off to the south, and we at headquarters heard very little of it until some Chinese big guns west of us opened up. But in our concentration on these internal (inside the office problems) we did not notice it. So when we went down to the press conference, on the night of the 12th, we remarked that it had been quieter! We found that McDaniel and other press men had found the Japanese laying down a regular barrage right along Chung Shan Tung Lu and Kuo Fu Lu ( so they said). But by that time we knew that the jiggs were about up, because at 4:30 there was a ~~sea~~ dash out in front, and a preaching squad, lead by Dean Tang, we had sent out the day before also

to explain to the soldiers in hopes of getting them away from Wutai Shan (so as not to involve anti-foreign feeling on the Zone) came in with word that retreating Chinese troops had tried to commandeer their car. The retreating straggling troops were going right through the Zone. There was great excitement. We had feared the retreat of the troops as the worse of all events we had to face. I insisted on sitting down before staff conference at 5:00 and jotting down what we would do. One was to let the troops go thru the Zone if they would disarm. We had a brief staff conference and then a brief press conference, and decided to let people get home early. On the way home, we found whole regiments of Chinese troops marching through Shanghai and Ninghai Roads. They were in full equipment. Searle remarked when we got home that when that night was over we would probably be past the worst. I was glad the Chinese troops were on their way out in good season because we knew the plan to keep them here to fight in the walled city was like keeping them in a rat-trap. Shell fire continued through the night and machine gun fire. But we slept in our regular beds still. During the night about 3, machine-gun fire sounded close, but there was nothing I could do about it. However I was conscience stricken that we were not out on the perimeter to stop the Japanese from fighting into the Zone. About 6:00 I thought the machine-gun fire was at Shanghai Road, so I decided to get up and investigate. I went down Ping Tsang Hsiang and met a policeman moving his stuff in. He had come from beyond Sing Kai Ko and said there was no Japanese there yet.

Monday morning, Dec. 13th.

As I went down the road on the morning of the 13th, I saw people with their bedding headed out of the Zone. So I told them they could find places in the Supreme Court farther north. They looked at me in amazement that the common people could live in the Supreme Court! We had not given out final announcement of public buildings because the papers stopped -- Central News went out the night of the ninth and we had been releasing through them. Our "Safety Measures" warning people to take cover got out Saturday morning, but did not get in print for distribution as handbills. I found people on the road looking for food, so I went over to Wutaishan to see if the soup kitchen was ready to open there. They had not opened the day before because so many Chinese soldiers were stationed there and would eat their rice. Officers had up to about that time held them up on construction because they said they were in a fortified area. I found a number of banners in the wrong place down there and was full of gusto in getting them down, explaining to the crowds that gathered where the boundaries were and it would confuse the Japanese when they came if they were inside the Zone. I went on down to the corner of Hang Chung Lu and Shanghai Road. On the way only saw a very few straggling Chinese soldiers in retreat, and they were peaceably buying things from vanders along the way. There had been no apparent disorder in the Zone during the night, but retreating troops had discarded various forms of equipment. I came back and went along Kwangchow Lu to see if any soldiers were still there. Found the encampment at the foot of Wutaishan cleared out and a fairly good Nash left. We had been getting in all the things we could, so determined to send Hatz down to salvage that car. Went over to Ninghai Road by Ginling and found our flags out of place and told people about it. Found several discarded uniforms in the road, so told people and police to carry them out of the Zone. I did not realize it was 8:15! The gang were thru breakfast, but I ate. They were glad to know it was so peaceful out. After eating, George took me over much the same road to see some things and we checked up on the Nash, then to Ginling College.

At the office we learned that Col. Lung had left Mr. Rabe \$30,000 for the Red Cross and I was terribly anxious to get that committee before organized before

ten o'clock. Well we got hold of John Magee and Forster and I practically dictated a committee and its chairman, sec., etc. He was for going right out to pick up the wounded first. Then I suggested that he as chairman and Forster as secretary go to the three places designated and see if the staff there would cooperate. I set to work with Mills and others to get out instructions to be lithographed pronto to the people as to what to do at the "critical moment." Rabe thought the Japanese would machine-gun the streets, so we told the people to take cover. Word was to go out through the our housing organization and later by handbill. Well on our way home at one we found that the Japanese had reached Kwangchow Road. We drove down there and met a small detachment of about six Japanese soldiers, our first -- but far from our last! (At the corner of Shanghai Road and Kwangchow Road, they were searching a bus, but not harming the people).

So at lunch we tried to spot the Japanese flags over the city. No Japanese flags on the Japanese Embassy yet. As we started back to the office in the car with Pitch, he wanted to also see the Japanese, so we turned down Shanghai Road. As we did so, we saw a small detachment of Chinese soldiers, about 20, marching southwards. Hatz came sizzling down the road and told them the Japanese were just over the hill. So they marched northward again, led by their brave young officer. Two men came to our office, Chinese lower officers, and asked for protection. One they were able to give citizen's clothes, but the other left. He was the young officer leading this detachment. We drove down, saw the Japanese, and came back to warn them to disarm and go away. But they despairingly said they had no civilian clothes. At the office we decided Rabe and I must contact the Japanese at once. So we got Cola, who could speak some Japanese, and started out to explain three things to them - as high an officer as we could find: The Zone, the new Red Cross Committee, and the fact there were some disarmed soldiers that had entered the Zone. Magee and Forster had found only a staff at the Chuinchengpu, and staffs at both other places gone. But they were willing to help. So he was keen to organize and decided to set up first at the Waichiaopu and get that going. Fighting was going on further north. We went down Shanghai Road and found no Japanese soldiers on Kwangchow Road. Near the Seminary we found a number of dead civilians, about 20, whom we later learned had been killed by the Japanese because they ran. That was the terrible tale that day, any one who ran was shot, and either killed or wounded. Our instructions were off, but had not reached the people! But along that street we found a Japanese soldier, riding nonchalantly along on a bicycle with rifle strapped over his back. We hailed him, and he told us we would find an officer on the Circle. Sure enough we found a detachment of about 100 men sitting on the south side of the road, and a large group of Chinese civilians on the opposite side looking at them. We tried to explain to the officer the Zone and drew it on his map of Nanking, (Note it was not ~~on~~ on his map). He said the Hospital would be all right if there was no one in there that shot at the Japanese. About the disarmed soldiers he could not say. So we took what we thought was the cheerful news to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs building and found they had already disarmed the extra man there. Then we took John and were going to the other places to disarm all there. Mills advised against it because of fighting in north city where some Chinese soldiers still held on. Sh Chung Shan Road was strewn with stuff thrown away by retreating soldiers. As we approached Shansi Road Circle, a sight startled us; a crowd of men in motley attire crowded around an auto were coming around the corner. We soon found it was Riggs in a car leading a group of disarmed soldiers to the Law College. They hugged that car! At the circle we met a detachment of soldiers in arms. We told them to disarm and some of them did. Yates McDaniel was there to help in the process and had been helping Riggs. Then a man came down Shansi Road riding on a horse and shooting his rifle in the air. We jumped in our car because we thought it was a Japanese and there would be a fight right there! But it turned out to be a Chinese

and Hatz took his rifle away from him! At headquarters we found a mob of men outside that Sperling and others had been disarming. The place was becoming an arsenal! They were marched into the Police headquarters near us. About 1300 in all, and some still in soldiers clothes. We argued the Japanese would not shoot disarmed men. That disarmed soldier problem was our most serious one for the first three days, but it was soon solved, because the Japanese shot all of them -- at least we will not believe otherwise until more of them turn up again. They marched out all of them finally and finished them. We all put up a terrific fight - in words only - to save those 1300 Wednesday afternoon, and the officer promised to leave them till the next day if we would divide them up then. So we went to staff conference th quite relieved. In half an hour we were called that they had come back for them. Sure enough there they were with 200 soldiers and were roping them up. We, Rabe and I, sped to Fukuda, or anyone, and got him. He politely assured us they would not shoot them, but not firmly w enough for us to believe it. Riggs and Kroeger stayed and watched, but the soldiers drove them away. We got back in time to see the last of them march out to their fate.

Thursday noon (Dec. 16th) Charlie came home crying. "They have taken them all out and shot them." He struggled all morning at the Ministry of Justice (ironically enough) to keep the officer from taking a group of civilians along with the 4 soldiers. The officer insisted on taking all of them and the police stationed there, 50. Forty police from another place were taken on the same charge of harboring soldiers. To date (12/22/37) about half of the police have returned.

Monday night, 13th, Miss Vautrim came to report that soldiers had camped on their rice for the soup kitchen, so it could not open the next morning. We went to Rabe's to have one of his men draw up a letter in Japanese to present to the guard the next morning. On the way home we ran on a detachment of soldiers at the corner of Nankow Road and Ping Tsang Hsiang. They were very gruff and told us to "Hurry home." When we got there we found Riggs, Gee and Ku. When they came out of Illick's house after supper, Gee went down to the Univ. gate to see what was going on. He called back excitedly to Riggs, so Riggs went down - first tossing a pistol he had saved from the disarming into the hedge. Found the soldiers had shot a civilian passing by, and were examining Gee very suspiciously because of his University badge. Ag After many attempts, Riggs got them to believe Gee and Ku were his personal servants, so they let them come home with him. They all slept here that night and until we opened the University to protest women about Thursday or Friday.

Tuesday morning, the 14th, we all got up and felt the fighting was over. There had been a lot of shooting during the night, but we put that down as caused by the fact the Japanese soldiers were "jittery" their first night in town. Now the Japanese were here; would set up an orderly regime and things would be rosy. I typed out a letter to explain our Zone to the Japanese High Command before breakfast and we got Rabe's men to translate it into Japanese. So Rabe, Forster to represent our Red Cross Committee, and I started out to find them with a Japanese interpreter from the Red Swastika. We ran on to Fukuda at Sing & Kai Ko. He is Attache to the Japanese Embassy. He had left here on August 16th. Almost his second sentence was: "The Army wants to make it hard for Nanking, but we are going to try to moderate them." (When we discovered the Army systematically burning the city we at last believed his words.) He sent us to the Central Hotel to see an officer. We went up through broken glass and sand to a bedroom and this officer received us in half dress and a bad beard and a face of iron. He merely replied that the High officer had not come. They had made many sacrifices getting to Nanking and the Chinese had shot their people. That was that! As some one said later. "Holy smoke, these Japanese believe their own propaganda!"

Forster wanted to see the American Church Mission property, so we went down Taiping Road. Soldiers in 2's and 3's were going from shop to shop breaking in doors or plate glass windows and taking whatever they wanted, chiefly liquor then. The ACM house parish house had one shell hole in it. The church was intact. Then to Peh Hsia Road and found McCallum's house had been f gone through. I picked up three photo albums in the yard. We found two soldiers in the next house at the time. Kiesseling and Bader's had been broken into that morning and also Hempel's Hotel. Hempel today (Dec. 22) swore that there was no looting there by Chinese soldiers before they left. A few Chinese Hotels opened up to let people drink of their liquor, but soldiers kept people from robbing ordinary shops. And all the shell fire had done comparatively little damage in South City.

As we came back we found 50 men led off roped on Hankow Road just above our house. We argued with the soldiers. Finally Forster stayed with them. I went back to get Rabe and started to Central Hotel. When we got there the officer was too busy to see us; then to Sing Kai Ko and the officers there had no interest. One important sentence from the man at Nanking Hotel: "We fight the Chinese soldiers; but we love the common people." -- we wanted to throw his words back in his mouth! ---  
Back up Chung Shen Road and found the men had reached the corner of Kwangchow Road, across from S. C. & S. Bank. We argued some more and an officer came by in a car and stopped. He took us to Sing Kai Ko again to see another officer who had just arrived. But he said "Wait till tomorrow when the head man arrives." We showed all these men our letter in Japanese in which we explained the Zone, the disarmed soldiers and the Red Cross. All they saw was the disarmed soldiers! That was our letter of Dec. 14th, which along with the others you may see some day. So all we wrote on the 15th was a simple letter further pleading for the welfare of the disarmed soldiers.

Wednesday morning, Dec. 15th, armed with that new appeal for the disarmed soldiers on the basis of humanity and recognizing the laws of war (both ways!) we were going to see the high man when he came. But before the letter was finished, Fukuda called at our Headquarters to find out what the Zone was! We gave him copies of all the documents and answered his questions about population, food a supply, etc. Then Mr. K. Sekiguchi came with cards from the Captain and Officers of S. Seta. He was glad to cooperate and would help in starting the power plant. He had had a sailor shot by a sniper, so warned us they had to be careful to get all the soldiers cleaned out. But he was much more dapper than the army men and more congenial. Offered any of us a trip to Shanghai and told us about the Panay and how sorry they were all about it. Meanwhile, Swen, our interpreter from the Red Swastika, a 60 year old former secretary in the Japanese Embassy here, had arranged for us to meet the head of the Special Service Corps who was to arrive that day, at noon. So we dashed down there, and Fukuda was with him to translate.

The Chief of the Special Service Corps told us they must search the city for Chinese soldiers; would post guards at entrances to Zone; people should return home as soon as possible; trust humanitarian attitude of Japanese Army to care for the disarmed Chinese soldiers; police might patrol within the Zone is armed only with batons; 10,000 tan of rice we had stored in the Zone could be used for us by us for refugees; telephone, telegraph, and water must be repaired; so he would go with Rabe to inspect; asked us to assist in getting 100-200 workers for the next day - will pay; will inspect rice location and guard ... The only things actually carried out were to put the disarmed soldiers out of their misery; allow police; call on us daily for help in starting electricity, water and telephone, but at the same time shoot the electricity workers; and so far not interfere with our use of the rice we had stored excepting that soldiers took bags and workers from rice shops, so they all closed for nearly a week.

Yesterday they were opening in the garage of this g house. The way the situation looks now, most of our rice will go out for soup kitchens, for practically free distribution. We had hoped to sell a large part of it and use the proceeds to buy more, so as to use it as a rotating fund for feeding the refugees through the winter. If we do not sell much, we hope later private traders will start getting rice in - if the Japanese Military will ever make up to the fact that normal economic life on even a restricted scale must get started if people are not to starve. At present we are pretty much in the commandeering stage similar to the early days of the Soviet Revolution in Russia - and yet the Japanese Army is fighting ~~the~~ Communism!

When we got back from that interview, we ran into the officer taking the 13,000 men in the police headquarters, which I have already told you about. We were all much depressed that evening about the shooting of disarmed soldiers and the increasing amount of looting and raping by Japanese soldiers ~~er~~. The thing many had feared, either looting by retreating Chinese ~~and~~ soldiers or disorders amongst the civilian population, did not occur at all! The one thing we did not expect: raping, robbery, and killing by Japanese soldiers did occur and continues.

Dec. 16th - As a result of the terrible situation we are facing, the next morning, Thursday, before breakfast I drew up a letter which was criticized at the breakfast table and added to. Besides presenting a list of 15 cases of disorder, (the beginning of our file of cases which now reaches 147), we asked for searching to be done by squads under a responsible officer, guards at the entrances of the Zone at night to keep stray soldiers out, and passes for windshields of cars and trucks - our trucks were at a standstill. So that morning foreigners started trucking. Zial did this well for a few days, and then was seized in a car by Japanese soldiers and lost his nerve, and would not go on the road. So I think it was Friday or Saturday that Plummer began conveying a truck ~~and~~ coolies! It was at noon, Thursday, that Riggs came home crying. He had been hit twice by an officer. That night Miss Vautrin asked for foreign men to come over. We thought it was to stand watch, so three of us went to take turns, Bates, Riggs, and I. I slept in the little house by the gate where Mr. Chen stays. The other two up at the new faculty house, empty though. Nothing happened but a soldier brought in a half tan of rice late in the evening!

Friday, Dec. 17th. We got out our letter of the 17th, a copy of which is at the Embassy having duplicates made by typists there. That letter was presented to Mr. Fukui about 3:00 and since they could not get regular patrols as asked for, he agreed to our verbal suggestion that guards be stationed that night at eight places where there were mostly ~~wee~~ women. To our surprise at 5:30 he came to our Headquarters with the head of military police and asked us to show them the eight places, with a truck-load of gendarmes. Only 17 in the city! We took him to Ginling, etc., - We thought action had begun, but after supper we decided to go to Ginling anyway, and Bates to the U. N. ~~he~~ cause, he said, "I will believe the Military Police are coming when I see them." So Fitch drove Bates to UN, and Riggs home and one man to the Univ. Hospital. Then came back for us. Mills was going, but I decided to go along, so as to see what the situation was, and to be with George on the way back. At night then, we travelled at least two together and in a car with American flag. We drove up to Ginling gate and blithely called, "Kai men." The gate opened and Japanese soldiers with bayonets shoved Mills and me into the roadway ~~outside~~ inside, another poked Fitch out of the car, and took the ~~the~~ keys. They lined us up on the east side of the road, and Miss Vautrin, Mrs. Chen and Mrs. Twinem, with a number of stooping servants were on the west side in front of the little gate-house. Good thing Minie at once told us to be careful as they were very rough. The sergeant gruffly made us take off our hats and searched us for pistols. It turned out he spoke French, ~~but it was hesitating enough, to create suspicion.~~

and one of his soldiers a little English and Chinese. George tried to revive his French, but it was hesitating enough to create suspicion. We were there for over an hour. We showed our passports. George had none, but had a card. They started to let us go twice, then called us back, at first insisting the women all go with us. Finally they let us go at 9:15. We hated to leave the women, but our presence seemed to cause trouble. They declared they must search the place that night for soldiers. We tried to get them to wait till morning. Later learned that they kept the women at the gate till after 10:00, and thenafter the patrol had left, the women did not dare move. The soldiers took Mr. Chen, business manager, with them. They saw forms moving out the back gate, so knew soldiers were probably taking women. In the dormitories they found Blanche Wu, and she said they had taken women. They went to the Practice School where Miss Vautrin lives and found Mr. Chen back drinking tea. The soldiers had released him at Kangchow Road. They took twelve girls in all, while the searching party was at the gate. So it is thought to have been a put-up job. Our sudden arrival disturbed the proceedings! Well, that took away my gumption for chasing Japanese soldiers!

Saturday, Dec. 18th. We drew up our famous and most comprehensive letter asking for the restoration of order by all military means, assuring them there were no large groups of soldiers left, and asking that searching be more careful, would they take over our police in a regular police system? 3rd. point: return 90 police and 45 voluntary police taken. We emphasized we wanted no political power. We got that over to Tank Tanaka in the afternoon, and he calmly said he would take it up with the Military. Well during the day the situation got much worse. The place was alive with Japanese soldiers robbing and raping. So Rabe and I decided to go as representatives to the German and American communities and demand action. We did so at 5:30, and found only Okasaki in, so had to take talk to him. Rabe went the limit on the fact he was a German Nazi and recipient of the highest award in Germany, the badge of a political leader. I emphasized that we were merely interested in the humanitarian welfare of the people. Okasaki said he had sent Mr. Fukuda that afternoon to consult the Military. Outside we met Tanaka who had just come back from the military, and said they would place guards at the University and Ginling. He said that was all they could do. Luckily Tanaka had been at our office and taken out a number of cases that afternoon, as had Fukuda. An officer from the Special Service Corps came down to see Rabe about starting the Electric plant, was called to chase soldiers out of Rabe's place, learned of robbing his sub-manager, Mr. Han, and also a case of rape near-by, where the officer caught a man in the act and cuffed him, and then told Rabe he was convinced the what we had been saying was right. It was this actual seeing of the cases that convinced the Japanese Embassy people. That night we took Mills to Ginling with trepidation, and got there just as the Military police were stationing a guard and a Consul police, am there. One Consular police also came to UN and was very good.

That night we took Mills over there to sleep, lest guard would not arrive. After the night before, Mills was shaky about it. I decided to go along again as escort. But we found the Military and Consular police there stationing a guard, so all was happy. But Mills stayed.

December, 19th. On the morning of the 19th, the night had been so bad, that Bates, Wilson, Fitch and I went to the J. Embassy right after breakfast. Wilson reported the attempted raping in the Nurses' Dormitory during the night. From there we went to take Bates to Univ. MS., and found they had had trouble during the night, three women raped. On the way out we met Miss Pearl Wu coming in with soldiers following her. We took her in the car over the objections of the soldiers, and went back to the J. Embassy to ask where she would be safe in the city? Started to take her to Ginling, but saw many soldiers at the gate, so brought her on to here. Here she wrote out summaries of 2 cases for me till 2:00. (Sp Sorry job for a Phi Beta Kappa girl from U. S.!) And then to our house for

dinner, and to Hospital to help Miss Hynds. Not much help there, but safer for her. She had been living by herself on Wutaishan and excepting for being forced into a porcelain shop one day by J soldiers whom she said were anything but nice, had gotten by.

Dec. 20th, 1937,  
8:15 P. M.

Dearest Mardie and Chicks:-

Ten days ago tonight I wrote that I hoped the Chinese would not fire South City before they left. This evening abou after 5:00 George Fitch and I g drove through South City and found the Japanese systematically burning it! We went down Pao Tai Chieh and saw a soldier entering George's back door, in spite of Japanese Embassy proclamation on it. (Place has already been looted badly by the Japanese soldiers, as has nearly every foreign house in the city since they came. And most of them we had checked up that they were O. K. when the Chinese left.) The last two days Mr. Tanaka of the J. Embassy has been anxious to get Japanese proclamations up on foreign property. With tonight's burning, we are more in a mood to accept the statement the writer made to Gee's man when he was making the proclamations at the University: They are to prevent the soldiers burning foreign property when they burn the city! Also the statement to Gee yesterday by the Embassy man, "Another day may be too late."

We did not find Tanaka at the Embassy, George suggested we that we drive around. It was just after five and getting dark, the first we have gotten w away from the office before dark. We left our letter filing cases of dis- order, 71-96, and went down Pao Tai Sh Chieh and south over to Taiping Lu. When we crossed the creek on that back road, we ran on to a fire in poor Chinese shops. On Taiping Lu large sections were already burned out, probably the big fires we d saw last night. We went south to the Peh Hsia Road and found fires on both sides of the road. Groups of 15 or 20 soldiers were cleaning out such things as looters had left and then building fires in the middle of the shops. We had to turn back because the road farther south was jammed from curb to curb with J. motor trucks and cars getting some stuff out. No fires further south then. We went over on Peh Hsia Lu to Chung Hwa Road and there found the Y.M.C.A. had just gotten under way, with northern half in a sheet of flames from the inside. No fire on either side of it, so it was an inside job. Fires on both sides of the road south of us, so we turned back. Kuo Fu Road was nearly all burned out last night. So far as we could see, there had been no firing west of Chung Hwa Raod, or west of Chung Shan Road, as we came farther north. On Tai Ping Road we found a few civilians getting out with their bedding. It was a very depressing sight to see all this destruction, and it means we are in for here this winter, but I was glad I went. A week ago tomorrow, Dec. 14th, forenoon. I was through that same area with Rabe and Forster and the area was in tact, excepting for damage done by shell fire. So I can swear before the world that the Chinese did not burn it out, and now the Japanese are burning it out!

we  
There is probably little/can do about it, but we will work out some form of protest tomorrow ..... The first outside news we have had in all that time, or rather since Sunday night, Dec. 12th, because we had electricity at head- quarters up till that time. Telephones worked till the morning of the 13th! ..... A Mr. Sindberg, a young man who is watching the Kiangnan Cement Works at Tsi Tsaishan Came into the office today. He had walked in the twenty miles today. He got into the city by catching a J. motor lorry. No foreigners are supposed to be allowed to enter - or even re-enter the city now. But he has his own Delco radio out there and has been getting the news. He says the Panay incident is much more than we had heard. We got that through the Japanese Naval people, who arrived in Hsiakwan on the morning of Dec. 15th, last Wed. An American

is making quite a fuss about it, asking the Emperor himself to apologize. Things are also hot around Hongkong, and British ships were involved, - he even said the Cricket had been hit by bombs. The Panay was also machine gunned and boarded, etc. It was enlightening to know something was happening outside of Nanking.

Dec. 21, 1937 - 8:30 P. M.

Today Rabe answered a note from Dr. Rosen on the Bee and gave a list of all 22 foreigners here and said we were all well. Luckily we are! But how much longer it is going to be healthy for us we do not know! But we have plenty of food with all the "loot" each fellow has brought in from his own house, and the fact that people who are killing their pigs to keep the Japanese soldiers from stealing them know we pay for our meat. The cook has not been on the street since the Japanese got here a week ago yesterday! ....

Rabe's reply to Rosen was the high light of the day. We went to the Embassy to present an appeal to the Japanese authorities in the name of the total foreign population community, 22 signatures, asking that the burning of the city be stopped, disorder amongst their troops be stopped now that it had gone on a full week, and that ordinary civilian life be restored so food could come in: housing, security and food. When we got there, they handed Rabe a note from Rosen asking if we were all well, and if German property was all right! Rabe was a spokesman, and after Tanaka read the petition and replied they would do the best they could in a few days, Rabe told him about Rosen's letter and said that he would have to reply that all German houses but two had been damaged by the Japanese! This petition idea was one we had had in mind for several days but held it in reserve. When they started systematically burning the city the last two nights, we decided it was time to use it. At least I decided during the night and drew up the letter this morning before breakfast - our meal times are our most representative committee meetings - 8 of us. In these hard times it is certainly a life-saver to be in a gang. While we get terribly discouraged, we at least can cheer one another up and even make fun over the tragedies. It is the most difficult situation I have ever had to face and last week the and through Sunday we were about sunk. But conditions are improving a wee bit now, excepting the burning of the city. But order is somewhat better. Whether that is because Military orders or because we have the women and children largely concentrated in big refugee camps, 25 in public and institutional buildings, with a total of 68,000 people. Ginling College had nearly 8,000 today! The place is covered with women and their bedding. But the moving in from other places practically stopped today. Ginling jumped 2,000 yesterday! But this concentration cuts down on the percentage of women raped: ~~2~~ 2 or 3 out of 4 to 8,000, instead of 2 in one family household of 30 to 40 people. With guards at some places, that helps. If things clear up soon enough, our reserve of rice will carry us through along with the private supplies any one with means brought into the Zone. With all the looting by Japanese soldiers, it is surprising how much has survived!

I did not finish Rabe's letter! He used very flowery German to tell Rosen that he was delighted to say that two German houses in the city positively had not been damaged, that Rosen's car, along with many other German cars, was rendering excellent service for the Japanese Military, and that he hoped he would be here for Christmas Eve because by then we hoped to have water, electricity and telephone going! Then added list of foreigners and said all were well. That was a masterpiece! The note had to go open for courtesy's sake through the Japanese Embassy. And when they had turned down the telegram we Americans tried to send yesterday asking our Embassy people to get a diplomatic representative here as quickly as possible, Rabe knew he had to be careful to get anything through. He was much more tactful than we were! We got up with blood in our eyes yesterday morning and had to write the telegram 6 times before we could get it toned down enough at breakfast table to dare send it.

Then they turned it down because we said "Situation daily more urgent." because they claimed it was getting better. There had been enough threatening us by Japanese soldiers that we ~~cases~~ chased away from women they were about to rape in gatehouses and basements and bedrooms to make us feel feeling was rising against Americans in particular. The flags had been torn down in four places and property was all looted excepting Thomson's and this place.

When Bates talked to Fukuda this morning, he said the situation was better, and for us to let them know of any cases today. So I stayed at the office till six getting out copies of cases reported up to 4:30 this afternoon. That is the sorriest job I ever had in my life! Finished typing up case 113, and most of those are compound cases, and that is not a drop in the bucket of what had been going on. At the peak of the disorder Saturday and Sunday we estimated there must have been over 1000 women raped every night and on those two days, probably as many by day, in the Safety Zone! Any young women and a few old women were susceptible if caught. Pastor's wives, instructor's wives, any one without distinction of person, only that the prettier ones were preferred. The highest record is that no woman was raped by 17 soldiers in order at the Seminary! In America people used to mention "rape" in a whisper. It is our daily bread here almost! Stories pour in so rapidly and are so hard to keep up with, that I began taking them down in short-hand at the table.

The thing about the whole situation that startles us all, and we wonder how long the miracle is going to last, is how we unarmed handful of foreigners can go around here and chase the Japanese soldiers out of rooms in school buildings, rooms in foreign houses, out of gate-houses and rooms in Chinese homes, and still no one get hurt! The soldiers often actually run away; part of it is pure bluff. If we batted an eye, we would be done for! Sperling is regular policeman over at headquarters and is on call all day for the service in almost any home in the area. The Japanese soldiers now run when they ~~seem~~ see him coming. The soldiers are all armed. This is especially a miracle when they bayonet or shoot any Chinese that dares to say a word or even runs for help. Saturday and Sunday I expected the charm to break at any moment, and the few threatening ones showed us that we may have to let up on chasing them out of Chinese homes, but pressure from the Military seems to be weakening the nerve of the soldiers too. Although one of three, that four of us chased out of a gate-house, where they were stripping two girls there at the turn of the road on Ping Tsang Hsiang was hard enough boiled and mean enough to make us realize that it would not take much to make him shoot! But we stood around and said nothing till he finally walked off. I have gotten in for much less of this than others. Searle was driven wild on Sunday with it at the Univ. Charlie had been on it several days, too, but yesterday got to trucking rice and coal, and he feels much better because he can see something accomplished a by night. It is taking some trucking to keep up with the rice and fuel needs of those big refugee camps! And no Chinese dares go on the street with a truck. Even Plummer was trucking rice and coal on Friday and Saturday, while Charlie was busy chasing out Japanese soldiers. They not ~~h~~ only have to ride the trucks, but they have to go to a house at Kulou where Red Swastika coolies are living, escort them to the Univ., watch them and the truck while it is loaded, ride w the truck back on its rounds making deliveries to keep Japanese soldiers from grabbing it, bring the truck back, and then escort the coolies home! Even then it is a fight to keep ~~K~~ Japanese soldiers from taking the coolies or truck.

Today Charlie showed a ray of light to a Japanese officer; He came to the University to demand 15 workers. Charlie said he could get all he wanted for him

if he would give them an arm-band that would protect them and promise them regular pay and food. He said he could do that. So Charlie said he could get him a thousand. The officer had thought only of commandeering them! We offered a week ago tomorrow to open an employment bureau for the Japanese where we could control the terms of employment and give the men some protection, but they did not take us up on it. We may suggest it again.

\*\*\*\*\*

men

The Japanese are calling in such business/as there are in town tomorrow for a conference. That is one sign of an attempt by them to return to normal. But the burning of the city is certainly a contradiction of it. So Searle in his letter this afternoon reporting cases said, "Let us know whether you intend to restore normal conditions or merely want to destroy the city. Then we can act accordingly, but please don't kid us!"

Well, if we last long enough, we may wear the Japanese out first! We have gotten away with telling them much more than we thought we could a week ago, and the Embassy people are awake to the problem, but the Military either will not, or are too inefficient.

Dec. 22, '37. Bates and Mills took over a letter this afternoon asking the Japanese Embassy to ask the Army to forward our telegram, but leave out two words "daily more" in the sentence: "Situation daily more urgent." This was Mills thought for the day at breakfast this morning. He drew up the letter for explaining why we had a right to have a diplomatic representative here. But I fear our approach has not been as happy as that by Rabe in his humorous letter. Of course, he had a better opening than we did. Well, they were not very happy about it, and will let us know what the army says. So that queers somewhat our asking them to send a personal message. Some gave them a long one about his family at Mokanshan asking someone in Shanghai to get them out of there. And that has not been sent yet. We do think that if we can contact the Navy directly, they will send a personal message without question. But they are in Hsiakwan!

The special service corps of the Military Police were up to see Rabethis morning, to say they were going to register all the population. He thought it also included a committee they have for the Safety Zone. We so we had some hopes it might mean the beginning of their assuming some administrative responsibility for the city. But so far only orders for registration of "peaceful citizens" and thereafter you can only continue to live in Nanking if you have your registration card! The good old Japanese system!

The new development on the bad side is that now the Chinese who are becoming cronies of the Japanese soldiers are appearing. Last night a Chinese came the second time to the Univ. for girls for a certain detachment of soldiers. "Pimps." Searle had to judge his case. The police wanted to strangle him, but Searle persuaded them to put him in safe keeping. This afternoon we found one leading soldiers to girls opposite headquarters. The Chinese were about to tear him up, but Fitch persuaded them to put him in safe-keeping in the basement over night. What then? At the Univ. the police feared to let the man go, for fear he would bring back the soldiers who would clean out the bunch. So these scalliwags who are developing forbode no good!

The other thing is that the systematic burning of the city continued today and tonight. They have burned most of the east side of Chung Shan Road up as far as Huang Li Kang. The house back of Marx's went this afternoon. And there are indications they are now starting on houses now that they have finished the

main shops, big and small, along the Main Streets. So far no burning that I know of on this side of Chung Shan Road so we hope they may spare most of the Safety Zone. But it looks as though outside of that, excepting the foreign property, is marked for destruction.

Poor Rabe has been very anxious to get the electric plant started as a demonstration of willingness to cooperate. But today when they went down to get the workers, they found that of the 54, only 11 could be found. The Japanese had shot the other 43 several days ago! They were at Hoge, and when the Japanese asked if all the people in the compound were Hoge workers, the care-taker said there were 54 electric plant workers. They said, "Well, that is a govt. institution, so they will have to be shot." The care-taker then said that 11 were men that had helped at fixing the Hoge electric equipment, so they spared them. The others were led out to the river bank, and machine gunned. What a pitiless and senseless brutality! And now it proves to have been cutting off their noses to spite their faces! Bodies are beginning to rise in ponds around town now.

Today robbery and rape continued almost as bad as ever. Yesterday most of the large concentrations reported almost no cases, but last night and today the raids on them began again. The Univ. last night was favored with a raid in autos! High class now! But the Consular policeman sleeping at the gate-house was finally able to talk them out of taking girls. Today near headquarters Kroger and Hatz were trying to save a house from rape and robbery by a drunken soldier. The man turned on Kroger and was going to tie him up and lead him off to shoot him! A Chinese boy ran to headquarters to get Fitch, who took Rabe with him and dashed to the rescue. By a miracle, Tanaka and a general were touring the Zone and passed the place and heard the trouble and went in. The General first asked the soldier, who said Kroger had attacked him! Then the general asked Kroger, and told him he merely politely asked him to leave - luckily it was one time Hatz had not biffed the man on the chin! So the General cuffed and kicked the man severely, but let him go! A cuff or a requirement of salute is all they do to stop rape, robbery and shooting! And none of the soldiers have any identification on them, so there is no way of recording it against them! This man was actually threatening Kroger with a bayonet too. We are glad it was a German! But I agree with Rabe that we have got to stop trying to get them out of Chinese houses. They only admit our right to do it on foreign property. As Mills said yesterday, they are firmly and sincerely convinced that it is all right to do anything to a Chinese, from the top down! Bates drove Fukuda in a corner on the burning yesterday afternoon and showed he knew it was intentional. Fukuda said that he wished he were out of this mess and back in Tokyo. We think the Embassy people do not like it, but the army does.

As Mills asked last tonight, what do we do next? We have about shot our bolts. We have protested up to the point where the Japanese Embassy people admit they can hardly go to the Military about protests anymore. ~~Se-I-think-we-will-have-to follow-Rabe~~

So we can only go ahead with out pudding; trucking rice and coal to refugee camps, filing cases of disorders, etc. If there does not develop something more serious to protest about tomorrow, as usually does, we may politely ask for a reply to our petition yesterday.

Another miracle - Sindberg got in from Tsitsachi today again in the car Rabe loaned him. Picked up a soldier on the way who talked him in at the gate! Brought us two pigs and three bags of sweet potatoes. And Ginling gave us two geese today. So Christmas looks better ....

Dec. 23, '37. .. There was some improvement today. Whether it is because of more guards in various places, or because it began to drizzle today, I can't tell. At least there are less soldiers on the streets and much fewer calls

for help. However Sons on his trucking has had trouble. Some Japanese soldiers were pulling down the American flag at Stanley Smith's house. That is the ninth case. It was the special investigation squad for the Zone! They were putting up their banner. After a hard time when they pushed him out in the street, he signed a statement loaning them the house for two weeks, but they put up the flag and put the banner on the gate. Bates says it should be reported to the Embassy in the morning....

The L. J. took 200 men out of the camp at the Rural Leaders' Training School and shot them. Some of them were probably soldiers, but people there say over half of them were civilians. We were in hopes the fury of the Japanese Army had been vented and we would have no more shooting. One man came back to tell the tale. He was wounded and partly burned. Another man came in today with his face all burned and probably his eyes burned out. His report was that 140 of them had been bunched together and then gasoline thrown on them and then set on fire! Horrible! Whether they are the same group or not we do not know. The group that were shot were reported to have been covered with gasoline and the bodies burned. The man that escaped was down underneath and later got away ....

Bob has those two burned men at the hospital but doubts whether they will live. The one with his eyes gone, it is a question whether it would be a benefit to him if he did live. But how he survived to walk to our headquarters is more than I can tell. A man was kind enough to guide him there. But the report Bates got is that it was only 70 that were taken from RLTS - but that is enough for such business. Kao Ping-san was at the Headquarters first thing today about it. Some relatives of one of the weavers was taken. So they all wanted our arm-bands. Arm-bands are more popular here now than Easter hats! Ours spread all over the place in no time and still have considerable popularity. Those with the rising sun have about displaced us though. Now today, we foreigners were all issued arm-bands by the J. Embassy that gives us freedom of the city - inside!.. Charlie arranged to put the weavers on at the Red Swastika soup kitchen at the Univ., as their arm-bands seem to have the most magic with the Japanese.

We have a ray of hope. The new soldiers that are replacing those that have given us so much trouble are to arrive in a day or two. They will be instructed that any one caught in any misconduct will be shot. We say we will believe it when they have all been shot! The refugees are much more worried over the registration of the whole population that is to start tomorrow, supposedly. A card index of the population. Then if you lose your card, out you go. That will be a new threat soldiers can hold over their heads. Little shops along side the sides of the road were more in evidence yesterday and this morning. So things are somewhat better. As Searle says, it will probably just gradually get better.

This morning Rabe came in with word that the Consular Police wanted a list of all the foreign houses in the city that had been looted by 2:00 today. So that was about all we got done. But of course we gave only very general indications to degree of looting and reserved right to file claims (indirectly) later through American Embassy. Germans have had 38 out of 47 houses they know of looted; Americans 158 out of 174 known houses. In this case it means the house has been completely ransacked, and any locked doors or chests broken into and stuff dumped out. The soldiers are after small personal articles or valuables, not furniture. They destroy more than they take. The city has the appearance of destruction now. I have not been to see the burned sections again, -

Where  
it is one on this side of Chung Shan Road tonight at Kanhoyen. When it will stop no one knows. If it rains hard for a week, that may stop it! Each bunch of shops has to be set, so it is pretty consistent work. But rain would be hard on the refugees. Mills and Riggs this afternoon tried to move some from Sericulture that were sleeping out of doors to Hwei Wen, but the plan fell through. We thought moving into Hwei Wen, Chung Hwa and Ming Beh Schools would relieve the pressure in crowded places and start the trek back into areas outside the Zone.

Dec. 24th. Bob Wilson helped out some of our house last night. He got home early, about 5:00 for the first time in two weeks, so he went to the Univ. Gardens and bought six big poinsettias and put them around our living room. Then he dug out some red cut-outs and pasted them around the living and dining room. So we look like Christmas anyway. We will not have any tree. No one has had time or chance to buy any Christmas presents, and as there are no children in the house, probably no Santa will come. But today Mr. Rabe gave us all a diary book for next year. It is in German. He is coming to our house tonight for a Christmas dinner on Christmas Eve. Isn't that funny! The Germans think more of Christmas Eve than we do, so we invited three of them for that time. Providence had certainly given Nanking the proper weather: rain and clouds during air-raiding time, sunshine and warm weather for this time of the year during all the "Safety Zone" time until the last rain yesterday and last night. More soldiers moving in today, but Bob says not as many as previous days. Less soldiers around. Searle had a quiet night at the Univ. and less trouble all around today. But soldiers came and ran off with the policeman and I think 12 other men at the UN a early this morning. That is hard on morale which had begun to build up. I am going to offer to go over tonight to give Searle a break. The only trouble last night was on the American front. I told you about Some's case, and so far it is not straightened out yet. This morning the same outfit took over Hillcrest School, but when Mills went there and explained, the soldiers decamped. The worst case was the looting of the American Embassy, both the east and west compounds and taking away several cars and trucks from there. Tanaka was much concerned about that, and will station a guard there. Mills is filing those cases so I do not have more than a page today for today's! The shooting cases we cannot report yet, because so far we have conflicting evidence, and there is no use exposing the soldiers (supposed to be) that escaped. The man with his eyes burned out mercifully died this morning at the hospital. But another came in with a machine-gun wound in his right shoulder. He claims he was one of a group of about 4000 that were shot on the bank of the Yangtze on the 16th. About 30 survived. Ominously this afternoon as we came by the Embassy to talk over problems with Tanaka, he told Fitch a former Chinese Army officer had reported to them he knew of many former Chinese soldiers in the Zone, many of whom were armed with pistols still. We don't know of any such! It looks like a dastardly deed on the Chinese officer's part to help himself, but at the cost of terrible danger to many civilians. If they find one man in a place with a pistol, they will probably shoot 200! Up until yesterday we hoped we had passed the stage of shooting disarmed soldiers. If there are any left, they are scattered individuals and will give no trouble. There has been no ship sniping in the Zone even on the 13th or since. However, Tanaka remarked, "You will have less refugees in your camps in a few days." Whether he meant because of soldiers that would be shot, or that young men are to be pressed into labor squads, or they are going to order the people to move to their own homes, some of which are now burned!

Today the registration process is on. The one station we have seen here on Shansi Road has soldiers with bayonets driving or leading people from houses and camps to register! Everything at the point of the bayonet! This afternoon while I was waiting for Fitch outside at the J. Embassy, a Consular police came in, driving a horse, carriage and three or four servants, hauling charcoal. If they would work on a commercial basis, they could have the coal delivered without troubling to send a Consular policeman after it! But everything is on the commandeering basis. Consequently, no merchant is interested in stocking up, if he could, and everyone is getting rid of everything they can. So there will be a famine, especially of meat before long. As we pointed in our petition from the foreign community, the situation is leading automatically and rapidly towards a serious famine. Bob says we can have guests tonight and tomorrow, but after that no more! Our canned goods won't last forever. If we are looted like most places, it won't last that long. We have miraculously escaped so far, and so has Claude's place. About the registration, some of the Chinese claim they

are leading all those between 20 and 35 into trucks and taking them away. But we did not see that. Only in a few places has it been noticed.

This morning the coal man on Hankow Road from whom we have bought all his coal for the soup kitchens came to say the soldiers had commandeered it. We appealed to Wanka Tanaka when he was here and he said he could do nothing. But at noon when Fitch and I came home, we found Riggs loading coal out of the yard next to "26". He had talked them out of it and all they wanted was charcoal! Fuel is our chief weakness.

Today at the J. Embassy Cola told us that Zial, who is repairing Embassy cars there, may be sent to Shanghai to get necessary parts. They burned out the bearings on one of their beautiful cars - the soldiers especially ruin every car they get inside two or three days, so the streets are lined with broken-down cars and trucks, and dead bodies still on the streets. No one hand lifted to clean things up and make it look like a town. Well, if Zial goes, Cola thought we could send some letters by him.

Mr. Hsu, Housing Commissioner, was just in. The Red Swastika group are working with the Japanese to try to get houses of prostitution started so as to satisfy the Japanese soldiers and officers without endangering private homes! Well, Searle suggested last night that last Saturday in all seriousness and Charlie gasped! Mr. Hsu says they plan two quarters, one north of Kuleo RR Station for the common soldiers and one south of Sing Kai Kou for officers. And it will be on a commercial basis. He further says that Mr. Wang, whom we took on as business manager, formerly an auctioneer on Pao Tai Chieh, has many connections with the underworld in Nanking! He has been one of our most active men. What a group we got into this adhoc organization! The Germans we have found are sterling men. Since the Japanese came, Rabe has been our veritable salvation. He can push his black swastika out and demand attention! I took the opportunity to explain to Mr. Shu our policy regarding rice. He told Fitch day before yesterday that Fukuda in a confidential moment said, "Why do these foreigners sell their rice instead of giving it to the poor people?" I explained that we were giving at the soup kitchens (or I believe for most people a few coppers as has been the custom in Nanking), and to some we sell in hopes of getting funds from those who can afford to buy, with which to buy future supplies of rice. Thereby we can rotate our resources and maybe carry the very poor through the winter. If we give to all now, it will last less than two weeks. He understood and said he had told the Japanese the same. I also said that we must get normal business activity going because the Japanese Army's commandeering system is so inefficient that they will, even if unintentionally, starve the population. Any line of business we can get going will help, but more particularly rice and fuel. He is also trying to get them to have the Shanghai and the Wuhu RR running. Then we can get rice from Wuhu. And he says there are a number of fairly good business men in hiding, and they will come out as soon as there is any security at all. The boys laugh: Searle advocating houses of prostitution; I advocating capitalism!

Sunday, Dec. 26, 1937. 10:00 A. M. at office.

~~Christmas-time-has-come-and-passed~~ -----

During the afternoon Fitch and I talked with Mr. Lowe of Metropolitan about business revival. He thinks we are past the worst. But has no assurance that business men will start yet. We are anxious to get rice moving as soon as possible. Our food people estimate that private stores, with what we have on hand, will carry the population a month. But we do not have fuel for more than ten days.

Fitch and I left here about 5:00 and drove to British Embassy to see how the

men there were getting along. Some sections of north Chung Shan Lu have been cleared of the mass of stuff left by the retreating Chinese soldiers on the night of the 12th. But many blocks still remain, as do the many cars and trucks in front of the burned Ministry of Communications. Ministry of Railways is intact and evidently used by Japanese Military officers. 11 cars have been taken from the British Embassy - so the gang cheered for this equality! Buildings not entered tho. We came back the old carriage road and found the road still a mess. Small groups of soldiers billeted in houses along the way and using furniture, etc., for firewood for camp fires. Many small shops had been burned out, and we found some burning, one set right in front of British Embassy. But in general the burning has stopped. They seem to have burned the shops they have looted. But only a few private residences not connected with shops have been burned.

Mr. Lowe yesterday said a Japanese officer who is a friend of his, says the 9th division which has been here and given us so much trouble, leaves this morning, the last 3,000 were to start for Changhsu this morning at 9:00. The 16th that is replacing them is better equipped - / We hope so because the 9th destroyed all the trucks and cars they got their hands on and we hope the 16th will not do the same with what few remain - and while not so good fighters are better men. We hope so. And the Military police are putting up the appearance of trying to take drastic action with the soldier who raped an officer girl at the Hankow Road Primary school on the afternoon of the 23rd. They took her to the bank of Communications and have kept her there till now "to identify the soldier when they catch him." But they say he has gone to Wuhu! Mills has been trying to work an informal habeas corpus to get her out, but failed yesterday. They said today, "At 10 or 2:00." They claim they will shoot the soldier if they catch him. But three other cases of raping occurred at the same place the same afternoon! So I am thinking, especially since a group of 7 soldiers seem to be returning on raping parties to BTTs each night, that we will put in a special request again for military police at these two places and try to catch this gang. On the whole, though, conditions are much better and we hope will continue to improve. Our rice shop here at 5 Ninghai Road had a good day yesterday, and was after more rice this morning. And yesterday and this morning we found about as many people on the streets as were there on the 11th and 12th. If we can only get rice and coal to moving into the city soon, we will be out of the worst of it.

I must not forget to add that Riggs was hit and slapped by an Inspection Officer in front of Marx's old place yesterday afternoon when he was escorting a woman home he had rescued from Japanese soldiers. We entered formal protest on that. Also on the looting of the American Embassy on the night of the 23rd. Wish those Embassy people would come back to do their own work!

Dec. 27th, 1937 - 3:50 P. M. 5 Ninghai Road.

Well, after two weeks of Japanese occupation, this sorry mess still continues. It is discouraging to the best of spirits. We had begun to hope a better day was arriving, but 3 women were raped at the U of N and one carried off last night, 27 were raped at the B. T. T. S., a man taken from duty at the UN to carry things for an officer, flag taken down at RLTS, and today they wanted to carry off our iron-roofed wool building. Rabe this noon got to Sing Kai K'o just in time to see them setting fire to the Mutual Co., that good store east of the Circle, found the new market in ruins and the State Theatre also burned. Now they are clearing out the stores on the West side of the street north of Sing Kai K'o preparatory to burning them. During the registration process at UN yesterday, they had over 200 men volunteer that they had either been soldiers or military laborers (terms used not clearly distinguished for forced civilian labor) on the promise that if they volunteered they would be allowed to work, instead of being shot as they would if they did not confess. This morning a man came to the University with five bayonet wounds and said the group of them were marched out to Ku Ling Sze and there used for bayonet practice by 130 Japanese soldiers. He fainted from his wounds, and when he awoke the Japanese had left, so he made his way back. Wilson

thinks one wound is so serious he will not live. That was our diet for lunch this noon when we all reported! Some we had already had for breakfast!

On one ~~hadst~~ hand they talk of restoring order, and on the other they destroy and intimidate the people so that nearly nothing can be done. Rabe is sitting at home to protect his property most of the time, as well as his 600 refugees; Kroger is protecting his property; Magee is protecting his household of refugees as is Forster. Minie and Mrs. Twinem do not dare leave Ginling together, and one foreigner has to be on duty at the UN all the time night and day. The same is practically true of the UN, where they call Bates during the day if he is away. So he spends his days chasing here and there to run off Japanese soldiers. Riggs and Sone are the only ones that have any feeling of accomplishment these days; they are trucking. By escorting coolies around and watching their truck alertly, they get rice and coal moved and so people are fed, but they are barely able to keep up from day to day with needs. Trucks and cars are gradually disappearing, and yet the Japanese Embassy has the nerve to ask us to loan them cars, and send them ~~machines--~~ mechanics to fix their cars!

My thought for the day was: to get a definite request to the J. Embassy for rice, flour, and coal. When we turned in cases last night, I made an appointment with Fukui for Mr. Rabe at 11 today. Then this morning went by Rabe's house, and talked it out, and he came down here. I drafted a letter and he signed it, and we went over. Fukui responded very well, but how much he can do with the Military we do not know. Our gang at the house decided we should just assume we had the right to the remainder of the 30,000 tan of rice, and 10,000 bags of flour, given us by the city govt. That means to get 20,000 tan of rice and 9,000 bags of flour (Now Mr. Han tells me that the 1,000 bags of flour we got are not from that order at all). We were not given the coal, but we asked the Japanese for opportunity to get coal, because we are shorter of that, only enough to run our kitchens for a week now. We may have to buy it, but can do that. Mr. Fukui was very favorable as I said. That is a start, and we hope by a week's negotiations, etc., we may work out a way to get these supplies before dire need sets in. This afternoon Charlie is out looking up coal yards that have not been sealed by the military, to reply to Fukui's request if we knew of places we could get coal. To play a safe we are reporting half of them, and trying to go ahead on our own, to buy coal at the other half of the 6 we have heard about!

It was nice and sunny this morning, but has clouded up today, so fear it may snow. Hope not, though! Last fall we prayed for rain; now we pray for fair and mild weather. People are anxious to return to their homes after the registration, but unless order improves, we fear they may have a hard time. However we are encouraging them to try it cautiously. But with shops burned and burning ~~continually~~ continually, and girls grabbed on the way, it is discouraging to them. However, we hope some will find a way and gradually eke out a way of living in places that have not been burned, etc. The number of girls at Ginling has declined rapidly in the last three days, fell from 10,000 to 8,000, as some order reappeared in the Zone. They went to their families living at other places in the Zone. We hope to get moving pictures of these camps before they break up. Ginling has now cleared their run-ways, which were filled with women's beds a few days ago.

Our request for guards at BTTS last night was not acted on quickly enough. Today Fukui said they were placing guards at these places and UN as well. If I go there tonight, I hope they do have a guard, so I don't have to face the soldiers alone! They have now placed guards at all the Embassies - after the horse was stolen - and as Bates says, "That is kindergarden work, these guards should have been placed there the afternoon of the 13th!" This afternoon the Consular police were here, and wanted to go to German property to investigate,

and are going to inspect and place guard at all foreign property! We can only get them interested in foreign property, but not in lives and honor of women! Rabe says that is because they will have to pay for this.

Dec. 29th, 1937. 5 Ninghai Road - 4:30 P. M.

Gradually things get better. We ~~are~~ were just over to see Fukui about a number of matters, but mainly coal and rice, and he told us that now orders have been issued that soldiers should not enter the Zone and sentries are posted at the main entries. That is what we intimated we wanted on Dec. 14th and specified more in detail in our letter of Dec. 17th. I am going to begin checking off the things we have asked them to do that they have done! That on the 17th or 18th would have stopped all the trouble at once, but that division evidently had been given the right to do as they please. And it was only when the new division took their place and were put to work cleaning up the city that the authorities were able to make even an appearance of controlling the soldiers.

A Military man, Colonel Okay, just arrived from ~~Shanghai~~ Shanghai with the idea that he must protect foreigners in Nanking, so he wanted all Germans concentrated in one place and all Americans in another. Then he would post a guard. I was glad Rabe was along and we headed it off. Rabe rose to the occasion when I was dragged into a rebuttal argument about there being no more Chinese soldiers in the Zone - Okay said our only danger was fighting in case Chinese soldiers fired on Japanese soldiers! Rabe said: "When I assumed chairmanship of the International Committee, I told the world I would protect these Chinese civilians as well as I could. I am not going to leave them or retire into a protected place." Later Okay asked him to sign that he absolved them of all responsibility for protecting him. Rabe rose again: "I will sign that I will feel safe when you have protected the Chinese." The German authorities in Shanghai had evidently brought pressure to bear for protection of German lives and property. Not so clear, but probably also the American. Another good news is that Fukui told us an American representative is coming soon.

Day before yesterday, 27th, we presented a letter asking for the right to get the remainder of the rice and flour assigned to us. We also stated our urgent need for more coal, which we were willing to buy from Chinese coal yards if the Japanese Army would let us. We had gone back yesterday afternoon to see if there was an answer. Fukui did not have an answer from the military yet, in fact, he had not seen them. Okay ran in on us. Today we were back again and he said the high commander here, General A Sarati, was investigating the coal yards we had listed as available - Charlie dug them up definitely the afternoon of the 27th because Fukui asked if we knew the places. So we have some hopes of getting coal, if they do not take it themselves! Rice they prefer to handle through the new Autonomous Committee. But we have now decided to press that on the commercial basis, to be sold to Chinese merchants, and then we reserve our rice for relief work only.

Dec. 31, 1937 - New Year's Eve - 6:15 P. M. 3 Ping Tsang Hsiang --

Rabe had a bright idea this week. He had been wondering what ~~the~~ to do for the Japanese for New Years. So he had some of his practically idle workers make up new year cards with the symbol of the Safety Zone on the front, and on the back leaf made places for all 22 westerners to autograph. He had enough copies made to give Mr. Fukui and the staff of the Japanese Embassy, and the Major General Sarati in charge of Nanking one, each with a good porcelain pot of flowers. He debated about doing it tomorrow, for fear it would appear we would were assuming diplomatic status! So he solved that by going around personally today with it. We have had to do a lot of complaining about the actions of the Japanese Army here, but these Embassy men have been excellent sports about it. They could have told us it was none of our business. And they have made some impression on the military. The army seems now to be really

making an effort to clean up the situation, as well as an effort to white-wash it too! So we have nothing but good-will for the men now involved.

Rabe and I went back day before yesterday in the afternoon to see what result Fukui had on coal and rice. He was very friendly with us, and we had a good hours conversation. He said the Army preferred to handle the rice through the Autonomous Committee, and we agreed, just so it is quick enough. He offered to help on coal, and had had the Consular Police investigating that morning, and expected a reply from the high command. He asked about disarming soldiers for their free time at New Years so as to prevent trouble, and he said they had the day before issued orders that the soldiers were to stay out of the Zone, and had put sentries at the entrances to keep them out. There are now a number of military police in the area either as guards at places or on patrol. So this afternoon there were very few soldiers roaming in the Zone. Rabe said this noon they put up a fence across Kwangchow Road at his place, and would not let him on to Chung Shan Road. So they are making a real effort to keep soldiers out. At the same time we reported trouble with the guard at BTTs and last night they were changed. We had eight at the UN and Searle suggested one was enough. So that was all there was this afternoon. Ginling got rid of their eight guards and gets along now with a Consular police sleeping near the gate nights. As we see it, ~~everything~~ everything hangs now on getting commercial rice and coal moving into the area. In fact, we need coal for soup-kitchens before a couple of days are over. Charlie was going to try to get some at certain yards out of the Zone this afternoon without military permission, where we knew the owners. Have not yet heard his results. Hope he succeeded. Rice is not so urgent. But private stocks are running out, and people are anxious to buy. So our shop at 5 Minghai Road, the only place the man considers safe, is doing a rushing business with a rice line morning and afternoon. Besides, that some is sold at the large camps to those who can buy, and we make some private deliveries. This latter has increased so much in the last few days, that this morning we decided to charge \$1.00 per bag for delivery (1.25 tan) and as we are still selling for \$9.00 per tan, that leaves it less than \$10.00 per tan. We will charge \$.50 per bag of flour for delivery, selling at \$5.00 per bag now. This we hope will check calls for delivery from us and will help check hording. We only allow one tao to be purchased at a time at the regular shop. If we can get the Japanese Army to allow Chinese rice merchants to buy some of the 100,000 tan of rice they took from the Chinese Army, we will be over the rice crisis. We are asking them to reserve 20,000 bags for such purposes, and 10,000 for later relief work in case we need it. Likewise 10,000 and 5,000 bags of flour. As soon as we can get commercial rice moving in, we will stop selling and reserve our supplies for relief. Red Swastika was fortunate enough through a Japanese monk to get 3,000 bags stored south of Han Chung Lu assigned to them, and they are now trucking it in for soupkitchens. That brings our rice stores about back to where we started! Not bad.

The most serious aspect of the situation, and one for which we can see no adequate solution quickly is, that there is no economic basis of life for this community of 200,000. If they go buying rice from the Japanese Army, then the money in the community will be drained out, and no return. The only return service is the food which most of the coolies that go out to work for Japanese Army men, not in great numbers yet, the very few that get any pay, and the few men now employed at the Water and Electric Light Works. The only other income will be what farmers can raise from the ground. Or what people can find or loot from other areas in the city! As Charlie puts it, we will have a bunch of grubbers for several months! But as Sone says, the Chinese have a wonderful comeback, and if left alone they will find a way to maintain themselves. So as we have insisted since the 16th, order is the first requisite of any form of normal life. I used to laugh at the British respect for "Law and Order" but now I realize how fundamental it is to normal living. Nothing moves in state of disorder. If they will only let the farmers alone in the city and outside the city, there will be a comeback at least of the means of existence. But now the

farmers are in the process of killing all their livestock, and either eating it themselves or selling it. So we have the commandeering period which is very much like - similar to the early days of the Russian Revolution and the Five Year Plan. Every commercial enterprise we can get started will help to change that situation, to one of trade instead of commandeering. You gain a healthy respect for the various ramifications of organized life when you see how hard under these conditions it is to operate such a simple thing as an exchange shop, and a rice shop! However, it is remarkable how well the little street vendors along the road keep at it. Little to risk, all to gain, so they daily ply their trade. And what a variety of stuff. We now suspect some of it is looted from areas outside the Zone where burning has been going on, but anything the people can get in now is all to the good! As one man here remarked, "I think now Chung Shan Lu is no longer the main street: Shanghai and Ninghai Roads are the main streets!" They are thronged with people now with the return of order, and both sides of each lined with little street vendors. Hankow Road down here (above our place) is a vegetable market as crowded every morning as Peh Men Chiao used to be. The rest of the city is practically deserted by civilians except south of (?) the Zone.

Bates went to the EMB. this afternoon and found Takatama (Consular Police that is going around investigating foreign property) and Fukuda there in Atcheson's office with Tung. Fukuda told Searle the Army had instructed them to pay all claims promptly! Later Searle went back and found they had settled claims with the Chinese staff in full excepting bicycles which they will replace with new ones, and a car of his friends that they had some question about. Number 2: Mc investigated the stream of people pouring down the Peh Men Chiao today, bringing back rice, and found that some Japanese soldiers had opened up a rice supply, and were just letting the people help themselves. Well, that helps the people that much, but probably it is merely an irregular procedure and will not continue! Number 3: Our chief looter No. 1 went to the Central Univ. Agric. School this afternoon and hauled away 3 tons of coal. A Red Cross coolie at the Ginling soup-kitchen went there to see about getting some more kettles and found the pile of coal, so told Charlie. On this trip the coolies got some clothes left there, and while they were loading the coal, some Japanese soldiers came in, and Charlie thought the game was up. But it turned out there were looking for evergreen trees for New Years! So either honor among looters, or specialization helps. Well, these New Year Eve stories are better than what we had for Christmas Eve!

Jan. 1, 1938 - 8:45 P. M. New Year's Day.

Well, today has been the noisiest unhappy New Year I ever saw. Firecrackers began early this morning. But the barber was an hour late for his eight o'clock appointment and apologized by saying that he had to go out to fire firecrackers for the Japanese! At 1:00 the ceremony was held at Kuleo for inaugurating the new "Tze Chih We Yuan Hwei" (Self Government Association). (Note new name, no. 3)

Wang, our office manager, was to raise the flag. He is the famous "Jimmy". So Charlie remarked "That is very fitting for a second-hand government." At 2:00 when we looked over there, sure enough, the five-bar flag was flying over Kuleo. Gee said that while the Japanese were talking to them about cooperation, two new fires went up in the city. One was the Soviet Embassy. Later we went up to the University Tower and saw the ruins of the Soviet Embassy. Searle had seen it intact on the 13th with the flag flying. ~~Later-in-the-afternoon-other-fires-east-of-here-sent-clouds-of-smoke-~~ Today its flag was down from its big pole in the yard and the fine building in smouldering ruins. Later in the afternoon other fires east of here sent clouds of smoke to the heavens. Love for the Chinese by clouds of smoke by day and pillars of fire by night! However Mc's estimate on a tour of South City today and our view from the tower agreed that only about 10% of the buildings of the city have been burned, luckily! But most of the business fronts on the main streets have been burned out. Like 1932 in Shanghai, it seems to be mainly a war on Chinese business (Our old wool cloth at Hanse either went up in smoke a week ago, or went away in a Japanese army looting truck).

Thursday after lunch, the 30th, word came there was trouble with Japanese soldiers at the Sericulture Building. So Searle and Charlie dashed over. Later they came to the office to report that the military police had come to take the housing head there, who admitted he had been a former military officer in the Chinese Army here! But they took four men with him, two Univ. servants, and two refugees, because they had helped bury some arms back of the W. C. So Searle and Charlie drafted a summary of findings pointing out that the chief man involved was not a University employee, but that they would guarantee the two servants and others would guarantee the refugees, one of whom turned out to be a nephew of a contract Charlie dealt with. We took that to, the Embassy and they thought we were objecting to the search, but we said we did not. Yesterday morning I got Dr. Hsu, our Housing Commissioner, to investigate the matter to see how we got the man, and at a conference yesterday afternoon with Searle, it developed the chief man was only a Police Inspector! But we do not have definite evidence to prove it. Since Hsu is advisor also to the Self-government association, we had him go directly to the Japanese Embassy about the matter. Then this morning he and Charlie got out the requisite affidavits for the four men, and one was released because his guarantor went for him. So they are to take the guarantors of the others tomorrow morning. It is encouraging to find that now they keep some of these men alive over a day or two while they investigate the case!

Searle and I took a walk back of Ginling to see if we could find any of the heaps of bodies of men shot this week. We went over by that temple "Kuling Sze" ... down through the valleys to the south, searched every pond, but did not find any bodies except the charred ones back of Ginling that Searle found a few days ago - after the burning incident. We found the garden plots over there less than half used up, but every farm house was deserted. Not a house outside of the Zone was occupied, not even  $\frac{1}{2}$  on the west side of Sikang Road. Then we went on South by Tsing Lian Shan and on to the new gate at Hansimen. Between Tsing Lian Shan and the new gate we saw three civilians! And that section used to be crowded. A few Japanese soldiers were wondering about, but not even many of them. Every farm house and every house we passed had been broken into and a few burned. A shop at Kangchow Road had been broken into and was deserted, but the incense sticks had not been taken! Maybe because the nearby temple is deserted, as was Ku Ling Sze. On the way up Shanghai Road we noted three houses that might have been the scene of the burning incident, but did not explore that late in the afternoon. The net result of our tour was that the situation regarding piles of bodies is less serious and therefore a more favorable result. As far as opportunities for people to go to their homes outside the Zone, the outlook is still very dark. (Half of the houses were burned outside Hansimen.) We went up on the wall there and looked down on the ruins, that done by the Chinese before the Japanese entered the city.

The city water was turned on today. However, not much pressure until they can check and repair the leaks, etc. So no water here from that. Charlie however reported that the Japanese are going to assign what was 550 tons of coal at Han Chung Lu to the Tze X Chih Wei Kuan Hwei, then they can give 50 tons to us and 500 tons to the soup kitchens. Which means it all goes for the work of relief we are doing. Since the Military are still trucking  $\frac{1}{2}$  from the pile, we may only get 300 tons, but that will carry us through January. Charlie is going to get two or three trucks on the job tomorrow morning. Dr. Hsu and his friend who is head of the Red Swastika and chairman of the new government (Tze Chih ---), Mr. T'ao, arranged this. Rather the Japanese said they preferred to do it this way to giving it to the International Committee. We must decrease, they must increase. But so long as the work gets done, we should worry! One knotty problem is that this is confiscated coal! We may arrange to pay the dealer on the side. But the coal is a big relief to me!

It is only cold weather that has saved us from more disease. With no baths and crowding in as close together as they can lie down in most rooms for

sleeping, it is only the lack of communications that probably keeps us clear of typhus. With only two doctors, if we get an epidemic we are finished! We hope that city water and the gradual de-concentration of the big camps may help on this matters.

We had Mrs. Twinem, Mrs. Chen, Magee and Forster here for New Year's dinner at noon. It was only by strong urging that last minute that George and John to come. Then just as we got up from the table, two Chinese came from his house to say 2 or 3 Japanese soldiers had come and were demanding women. George dashed them back in the car, but one woman had been raped before they got there, and another severely beaten because she resisted. John will never forgive us, because they have not left their Christmas from Hsiakwan and others in their two or three houses alone a single minute since the 16th! That is, without some foreigner there. The beaten-up woman was taken to the Univ. Hospital and a Japanese "inspector" came to pay a New Year's call, so Miss Hynds showed them this girl and told them about the raping. He was indignant and said to report to Army Headquarters and they would have the man shot! But the men have no identification marks on them (like Chinese soldiers do) and so there is no way of catching the man unless a military police happens by. One or two women were also raped this afternoon in Wang Po-chih's house and one at Tzing Teh. So we are in for some more trouble for a few days probably. ....

We verified it today that the Soviet Embassy was fired just the time the celebration at Kyleo took place. We wonder what it means: is it an insult to the Soviet and that will lead to complications, or does it mean that Soviet Russia has already decided-war declared war on Japan?

Our trip to the Japanese Embassy just now was to report four tape cases yesterday afternoon and to urge them to make stronger efforts to keep soldiers out of the Zone. Fukuda received us in the hall because the new government group were there -- they are there most of the time now -- but they say listening to the Japanese -- and told us that Gen. Sasaki himself was inspecting the Zone to see that order was kept and the gendarmerie had been strengthened. So we hope it will not get worse. But the remainder of the city is full of soldiers and many of them have to leave today.

Jan. 5, 1938 5 9:20 P. M. 3 Ping Tsang Hsiang

All our letters sent by Japanese Embassy have to be "open letters" -- Searle asked the gang here if they would take Stanley Jones' open letter -- and I thought I had a letter that would not be censored. Plummer had to take one of his letters over after I had taken the bunch yesterday noon; he found Fukuda, Tanaka and Fukui busy reading our letters! They ran on to a statement in mine that they said they would have to prevent my sending. So Plummer suggested they cut it out and he brought the slip home. It was a very casual reference to an insignificant air raid here! But it was "military information"! Anyway we found out the sort of thing they are censoring.

Fukui came to tell us that Allison of the American consulate consulate was due tomorrow morning at ten. He was former at Tsinan where Mills knew him quite well, and here a while and was in Tokyo so knows the Japanese. He is a very good man. They do not know who the others are. Rosen of the German Embassy will be here the 10th and by that time a Secretary of the British Embassy will be here and their military observer, Lovett-Fraser, will come. We had had some expectation of the Americans getting here today but when I went over at noon to inquire Fukui told me they would not be here for a few days. So we thought they were stalling. So we had decided that since we had taken care of ourselves through the worst of it, we could do so now. But representatives of all three countries getting in here will open a new stage in the situation. As Plummer says, the Japanese will have to behave themselves. And increasing the foreign community, especially as this will probably open the way for other

missionaries and for business people to return, will add to the "neutral observers" and will also relieve us of the necessity of protesting. As I told Plummer we can go to work with the Tze Chih Wei Yuan Hwei. I am glad that some of the consular and diplomatic representatives are those who were here up till December 10th because they will remember the good condition of the city was in then and a superficial drive around the city now will show them the difference. And our little paper on the burning of the city drawn up and signed by a host of us Dec. 21st will be very strategic. Rea Rabe said today that we had better reserve a bed in the hospital for Rosen, he will be so shocked! And these representatives will open up their means of communication with the outside world so I may get some word to and from you, though we will have to be circumspect in what we report out, or we will have to get out! Although now the pressure is free to keep us here -- to all intents and purposes we have been prisoners with freedom of the inside of the city.

Last night Charlie told us the Tze Chih had appointed a good food commissioner after the pattern of our organization. He had asked the Japanese for 2,000 tan of rice a day. A good estimate for 200,000 people. He would handle this both commercially and free distribution and let stores stand as a reserve. But he would like to have our food commissioner and associate, Mr. Han and Sone, work with him and for us to help in the trucking.

But since the Japanese army supply man had offered to sell rice and flour to Sperling, I suggested he try again to see him. Kroger also knew the man so he volunteered to go. So they both went this morning and met the man but he was busy and told them to come back tomorrow morning at the same time, 8:00 at the Nanking Hotel. I hope we can either act as an introducer for Wang or arrange to buy directly enough rice to replace what we have sold with the money we have collected. Right now we would rather hold rice than money. Oh, Monday afternoon we took over the account of the 6 girls taken to what appeared to be a Japanese military hospital where they washed clothes by day and were raped by night, 10 to 40 times according to their beauty. Finally one girl was taken out and her head nearly cut off with bayonets. She got to the UH and Bob patched up her neck and thinks she will live but have a stiff neck. Rabe and I went with a brief letter asking them to follow it up and try to rescue the other 5 girls. When they read of the case, Fukuda and Tanaka had nothing to say, except Fukuda's remark. "The Army is very mad because they say it is the first time in history that an army has had to conquer a place with neutral observers on hand." Quite a false view, but we felt it was no time to argue so did not. But it made us feel more thankful than ever that we had been there.

This noon Plummer struck off a spark that we have all been feeling: that we are being driven to work through the Tze Chih instead of directly with the Japanese Embassy on a number of questions. The Japanese are anxious for the International Commission to decline rapidly and turn over its responsibilities to the Tze Chih. So Plummer suggested we work on that basis definitely and put things up to the Tze Chih and strengthen their courage to demand things from the Japanese. Two items for a starter: restoration of order in other parts of the city so people could return and stop the burning of the city. (There are a number of fires in different parts of the city every day, though not as many as the first few days after the 19th!) So when I got back to the office I started working out a brief for these two points. Then had Rabe, Kroger, Mills and Bates criticize it so it is growing into a pretty fair statement. I got the idea of doing it section by section. That way we can have a better chance of a good restoration of order before the people return to the areas in question and we can observe its operation better. And it is an indirect way of crowding the soldiers out of large sections of the city, which could not be done at one stroke for the whole city! It simply applies the method that has worked partly successfully in the Zone to the rest of the city piece by piece, probably starting with the corner, so the southwest corner, which has been least destroyed and has some people living there.

January 9, 1938.

When the American representatives got here on the 6th we felt like a burden had been lifted off us. Not that they themselves can do so much or can do anything directly for the Zone, etc., but their very presence we felt would be a deterrent on the Japanese army and it is already having that effect. They are making some effort to straighten up the town -- the man in charge has been recalled to Tokyo. And now today the British and German representatives landed so we feel w quite reinforced -- like a besieged party when relief comes. True we had about made up our minds that we could take care of ourselves because the representatives were so long coming and the Japanese kept saying "a few days more," and we had gotten along fairly well. But now we realize there are a lot of things that can be done with them here that could not before. And one thing they take off our hands the burden of protesting about American property. Reports of damages to business properties in Hsiakwan were beginning to come into us and as much for the protection of the caretakers in charge as anything, we had to do something about it, without the liberty to go to Hsiakwan to check up. We had no intention originally making much effort to defend American property, but when the Japanese Embassy people got here we soon learned that they were only interested in doing something -- worfully little at that -- in protecting foreign property but not interested in doing a thing for the Chinese as such. So we worked that game to the limit because we had a large proportion of the concentrations of refugees in American institutional property. Expecially when the raping season was on -- open season -- we threw open Ginling and the University to women who were streaming the streets morning panic stricken to find any place that was safer than where they were the night before. And by getting guards -- graud gradually -- at some of those places we were able to give them some protection. But the very mass, 12,000 at Ginling, 15,000 at the Middle School, over 10,000 at the University proper (nearer 12,000) cut down the percentage raped. And we also found that it was only the magic of a westerner with some courage that could stand up to the individual Japanese soldier. We had to use that magic to the limit to the point where we feared they would turn on us. So we felt we had to stand on every effort through the Japanese Embassy to secure respect for us as Americans that we were entitled to. Somehow the miracle there continued to work and we 22 Westerners policed the Japanese army that had captured the city while the Japanese only had 17 military police there and they very ineffective at first. The situation did not clear up a great deal until about Dec. 29th when they issued orders that the soldiers were not to enter the Zone and stationed guards at the entrances to keep them out and military police to patrol the Zone. That has not kept all of them out but on the 18th and 19th they were all over the place hopping walls, busting in gates, crawling in cellars, reminding you of some pictures of brownies all over a town. Robbing, raping, looting right fown the street night and day. Whew! And that after the high command had arrived on the 15th and a Japanese general toured the Zone with us.

Well, that is a nightmare that is passed now. As we told the British representatives when we visited them this afternoon: in reply to their statement, "You must have had a bad time," we said, "No we dād not have a bad time and have kept fairly comfortable, but it hurt us so to see the Chinese population suffering so." Prideaux-Brune and Col. Lovett-Fraser also had a tale ef to tell in connection with the bombing and shelling of British boats on the 12th, the same day the Panay was sunk.

Well, the other letters will tell all the story and an epilogue can better be written later. Magee came very close to summarizing the spiritual experience this afternoon in church service here in read ng from Psalms 124, 125, 126:

If it had not been the Lord who was on our side,  
When men rose up against us:

Then they had swallowed us up alive,  
 When their wrath was kindled against us:  
 Then the waters had overwhelmed us,  
 The proud waters had gone over our soul,  
 Blessed be the Lord,  
 Who hath not given us as a prey to their teeth.

and the concluding hymn: "A mighty fortress is our God." As Searle said one day when one of the fellows kidded him, "Are you still a pacifist, Bates?" quick came the reply, "Yes, and I'm getting to be more of one every day." Never in my life have I had such a demonstration of the value of moral courage and what could be done by just purely being on the right side, standing for what was decent and right, without lifting a single hand to use force. It was only that way we could chase out armed Japanese soldiers. One appeal to force or arms, and we would have been finished and our work left undone.

Well, to bring the story up to date. As soon as the policing job let up a little, I decided we must begin to work to get food moving into the Zone for the civilian population. We were trucking our rice to refugee camps and to our rice shop at an ever increasing rate and as private stores ran out that demand would ~~insees~~ increase, as it has. So the morning of the 27th I began a sampaign to get rice from the Japanese. Our shop was then selling 10 bags a day, now it is selling 150 bags a day, with a "rice line" of 700-800 people every day. And we only allow each person to purchase a hou. Besides that we are using up 100 bags a £ day in free distribution and soup kitchens besides about 40-50 bags that the Red Swastika are using from stores they got from the Japanese, 3,000 bags through a Japanese priest. We appealed to the Japanese Embassy but they said the Army preferred to do it through the Tze Chih Wei Yuan Hwei but they would get us coal, our urgent need. We were promised 500 tons through the Tze Chih Wei Yuan Hwei but it dwindled to 100 tons by army hauling, but it has carried us to date and since it was Tze Chih Charlie was able to get consular police to convey the trucks and get ~~maddes-fer~~ passes for the coolies. While we were pressing the Embassy about rice, Sperling was talking to the Army supply head and he said he could sell us any amount of rice and flour. So I set Sperling on his trail but he did not contact him again till this week, with the help of Kroger. Now we have an order in for 3,000 bags of rice at \$13.00 per bag of 1.25 tan and 5,000 bags of flour at \$3.00. But no definite word as to full acceptance but terms included delivery to University "warehouse" by the Army. ("Warehouse"- Chapel)

Meanwhile "Jimmy" Wang was appointed food commissioner under the Tze Chih at the suggestion of the Japanese because we were pressing them on the rice question. He asked for 100,000 tan free and 100,000 purchased. The Army turned that down. Friday he reported the case was hopeless so we closed our order at a higher price ~~point-of-view-but-since-then~~ than we cared to pay for rice, though not too high from the market price point of view, but since the community is entirely on a consuming basis we want to husband their resources, both in supplies and cash. Yesterday he said they would give him 5,000 bags for free distribution outside the Zone. To bribe the people ~~the~~ to go home to their destroyed homes. And sell him 10,000 at a cheap price. Today it was 1,250 for free distribution and 10,000 to sell to him at \$4-5 which he was to sell for less than the International Committee was selling. That tickled us. So he is to buy at about \$5 per bag and sell for \$8 per tan. We are to do the trucking for them! But they will pay us for rice hauled for sale and we will haul the rice for free distribution free. Charlie spent today organizing the trucks, after getting them in running condition yesterday. The Japanese refused to sign up coolies that would be willing to work under the Tze Chih insignia. Charlie is promoted from truck convoy to chief despatcher of 5 trucks. One step in advance is the Tze Chih in putting one of her police which they are now taking over 160 from our police saved from the city police,

to accompany the trucks along with the Japanese consular police. Two police for five trucks. Tomorrow morning Kroger is to see the supply man. If he agrees to deliver our rice, we will take it in spite of the high price as an insurance against a break down on this scheme.

"Jimmy" came in this afternoon forenoon to tell me the arrangements. So we threshed it all over together with Fitch, Rabe and Kroger. He said the Japanese wanted to close our shop by force. So I told him that we were anxious to close our shop. Yesterday morning I got up with the idea of forcibly closing it ourselves Monday morning to see if it would push the Japanese and the Tze Chih into getting commercial rice going. Our supplies at the present rate of consumption of 250 bags a day would only last two weeks, 4,000 bags. Whereas for free rice only, 100 bags a day, it would last 40 days. So I told Jimmy that since we had one store open today and rice would be moving this afternoon or tomorrow, we would close tomorrow morning. And he could go back and tell the Japanese that he had gotten the I C to close its rice shop on his order! So tomorrow we are out of the rice business but the merchant who was handling it on a small commission refuses to work under the Tze Chih, and just closes up. Small sales will continue at the refugee camps a day or two until more stores can be opened, and then we will stop that and make them go out to buy rice. We started this when things were so bad people did not dare go out to buy rice and in fact no rice shop was open. Our only shop at headquarters -- no other place had enough protection, was at the northern end of the zone. Well, after two weeks of wiggling and haggling and dreaming nights, we have gotten a trickle of commercial rice started. Since it only has to be hauled from Kuo Fu Road it will move in 500-600 bags today. But coal supply is temporarily stopped, but no negotiations are proceeding along the same two lines for more, Tze Chih and the supply master.

Yesterday morning, realizing that if we were to pay out \$50,000 for rice and flour we should replace those resources against trouble later. So as Fong Sec had wired Fitch for needs, I started a telegram asking for \$50,000 and for him to arrange to ship beans, peanuts or oil, green vegetables or substitutes from Shanghai. We are now feeding 50,000 per day on free rice. Many of them can still get greens, etc., but that is going fast and no more in sight till spring. (Our chief own diet here is settling down to rice, sometimes with tomato juice, pei tsai and Luchowfu peaches. But we have bread, a butter, the hospital makes from the skum off boiled milk, and plenty of jam. Carrots occasionally. Other supplies are also difficult to get. So we may not be able to get much. But we hope to get by on local rice here as the Chinese army has such big stores and the Japanese are importing their own now.

Allison and Espy are going to help us get supplies up from Shanghai on whatever boat comes up. So we are getting up an order tonight to go down on this boat for hams, (no meat to be had here -- not even for our British friends whom we invited to lunch today, accepted for tomorrow since they did not land till 2:00) dried fruits, coffee, sugar, etc. Will combine with them for Kuleo Cooperative Buying Club. Will try to get part of our shipment of powdered milk.

All the University and Ginling buildings are intact. In fact no mission property has been destroyed excepting the buildings above mentioned having been burned. A shell hit the ACM parish building, one hit Drum Tower church, one a University dormitory, and one unexploded hit Steward's basement, the last three on the afternoon of the 13th when we thought the fighting was over.

Excepting the first, none did serious damage and no one was injured. In fact one Chinese girl was hiding in the tower of the ACM church at Taiping Road when that shell must have passed it by inches. We had one library worker at our refugee camp at the new library building, bayoneted in the neck one night for not helping Japanese soldiers get women, but not seriously. No others have been injured. But a number of wives of staff men here and women in their families were raped.

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Confidential

Diary notes written by  
J. H. McCallum from  
Nanking

Nanking Incident

Dec., 19, 1937

It has been just one week now since the collapse of the Chinese army in its Nanking defence. Japanese soldiers came marching down Chung Shan Road past the Hospital on Monday and Japanese flags began to appear here and there. We all breathed a sigh of relief thinking now order would be restored after the panic and stampede caused by the retreating Chinese army. Airplanes would fly over our heads without causing apprehension or tension. But a week has passed and it has been a hell on earth.

It is a horrible story to try to relate; I know not where to begin nor to end. Never have I heard or read of such brutality. Rape! Rape! Rape! We estimate at least 1,000 cases a night and many by day. In case of resistance or anything that seems like disapproval there is a bayonet stab or a bullet. We could write up hundreds of cases a day; people are hysterical; they get down on their knees and "kotow" any time we foreigners appear; they beg for aid. Those who are suspected of being soldiers as well as others, have been led outside the city and shot down by the hundreds -- yes, thousands. Three times has ~~the~~ the staff of our hospital been robbed of fountain pens, watches and money. Even the poor refugees in certain centers have been robbed again and again until the last cent, almost the last garment and last piece of bedding only remains and these may go ere long. Women are being carried off every morning, afternoon and evening. The whole Japanese army seems to be free to go and come anywhere it pleases and to do what it pleases. American flags have frequently been torn down from Ginling and the University and Hillcrest school. At the seminary, B.T.T.S. (Bible Teachers' Training School), University, Ginling, University Middle School, sericulture buildings, Library and scores of other places, there are cases of rape, robbery, shooting and bayonetting every night. Foreigners, when present, have been able in some cases to prevent this. But fifteen or twenty of us available can not be in every building all the time.

Dec. 29, 1937

Have been so busy every day and five nights of the week that I've had no time to write. A foreigner must be on duty 24 hours here at the hospital in order to deal with the Japanese visitors. It is snowing and bitterly cold; our hearts ache for the thousands who have poor shelter and who are cooped up in such close quarters. Our hospital is full and the lighter cases fill the University dormitory building. Some we cannot dismiss for they have no place to go. Have had fifteen or twenty babies within the last week; six on Christmas Day. It is easy to find Miss Hynds; she is always in the nursery mothering the whole crowd of babies.

Thought of you all on Christmas Day and hoped it was a happy time for you. We presumed you were still in Kuling though rumors are reaching us that Kuling may be evacuated. We have been completely out of touch with the rest of the world. No one can get into Nanking and it seems very difficult to get out. We have talked of sending some one of our group out to carry the news of the terrible things that have been and still are happening here, but know that person would never get back if he once left.

I have been living with Mills, Fitch, Smythe, Sone, Wilson, Bates and Riggs here in the Buck house. All of us have been doing double duty. We scarcely sit down to our meals without someone coming in every other five minutes or so to call for help. Food is swallowed whole and hurried exits are made to a truck from being stolen or more often to protect women from soldiers... do we all sit down to eat at the same time. We dare not go out alone after dark but go in twos or threes.

Every day or two I have gone out for an inspection of our mission property. I have found visitors in our house at Peh Hsia Road every time I have gone there. Every foreign house is a sight to behold; untouched until the Japanese army arrived, nothing untouched since. Every lock has been broken, every trunk ransacked. Their search for money and valuables has led them to the flues and inside pianos.

Our phonograph records are all broken; the dishes are in a broken mass on the floor along with anything else that was discarded after each looting.

The front of the piano was removed and all the hammers struck with something heavy. Our house being outside the Safety Zone, this was not be unexpected but houses within the Zone have shared a like fate. Two of our boys' school buildings were set fire to, one a complete loss. Nanking presents a dismal appearance. At the time the Japanese army entered the city little harm had been done to buildings. Since then the stores have been stripped of their wares and most of them burned. Taiping, Chung Hwa and practically every other main business road in the city is a mass of ruins. In south city much of the area back of the main street was also burned. We see new fires every day and wonder when such beastly destruction will cease.

But far worse is what has been happening to the people. They have been in terror and no wonder. Many of them have nothing left now but a single garment around their shoulders. Helpless and unarmed, they have been at the mercy of the soldiers, who have been permitted to roam about at will wherever they pleased; there is no discipline whatever and many of them are drunk. By day they go into the buildings in our Safety Zone centers, looking for desirable women, then at night they return to get them. If they have been hidden away, the responsible men are bayoneted on the spot. Girls of 11 and 12 and women of fifty have not escaped. Resistance is fatal. The worst cases come to the hospital. A woman six months pregnant, who resisted, came to us with 16 knife wounds on her face and body, one piercing the abdomen. She lost her baby but her life will be spared. Men who gave themselves up to the mercy of the Japanese when they were promised their lives would be spared -- a very few of them returned to the Safety Zone in a bad way. One of them declared they were used for bayonet practise and his body certainly looked it. Another group was taken out near Kulingsz; one who somehow returned, lived long enough to tell the fate of that group. He claims they threw gasoline over their heads, and then set fire to them. This man bore no other wounds but was burned so terribly around the neck and head that one could scarcely believe he was a human being. The same day another, whose body had been half burned over, came into the hospital. He had also been shot. It is altogether likely that the bunch of them had been machine-gunned their bodies then piled together and then burned. We could not get the details, but he evidently crawled out and managed to get to the hospital for help. Both of these died. And so I could relate such horrible stories that you'd have no appetite for days. It is absolutely unbelievable but thousands have been butchered in cold blood -- how many it is hard to guess -- some believe it would approach the 10,000 mark.

We have met some very pleasant Japanese who have treated us with courtesy and respect. Others have been very fierce and threatened us, striking or slapping some. Mr. Riggs has suffered most at their hands. Occasionally have I seen a Japanese helping some Chinese or pick up a Chinese baby and play with it. More than one Japanese soldier has told me he did not like war and wished he were back home. But soldiers with a conscience are few and far between. Although the Japanese Embassy staff has been cordial and tried to help us out, they have been helpless.

~~Biw ut us tune ti naje tge riybds if tge gisoutak,~~ /  
Now it is time to make the rounds of the hospital. There are a hundred on the staff. When we have water and lights again it will be much easier for with lamps to look after and water to pump each day increases our labor considerably.

Dec. 30, 1937

Glorious weather. It feels so good to get out into the air. It is more peaceful but far from good. A man came into the hospital today shot through the intestines with about four feet of them hanging out. He has a chance in a thousand of recovery. Bob Wilson spent the better part of the morning trying to patch him up. Before dinner a 12 year old girl was abducted by two Japanese soldiers who drove up in a yellow taxi. Several men were forcibly carried away from Ginling, Magee's place as well as other places, accused of being soldiers. The men had friends among the group who could identify them as civilians but because they had calouses on their hands, they were branded without further investigation as soldiers in spite of the protests voiced. Many ricksha and sam-pan men as well as other laborers have been shot simply because they have the marks of honest toil upon their hands. An old caretaker in a German residence near the Kiang An bus station is reported to have been killed yesterday. Soldiers found no young men on the place to conscript for labor and he protested about going himself. And

I said this had been a fairly peaceful day! Can you imagine what was happening when I did not have time to stop and write?

Been busy getting in supplies of rice for the hospital and those Chinese Christians housed in the Drum Tower Church. Moved 50 big bags -- about 65 tan

The Japanese are beginning to tighten up on the police, on the Chinese and and a suggestion of further restrictions for the foreigners. It was suggested by Mr. Oki that we Americans be concentrated in one place under guard. Just how much freedom would be allowed in such a case we do not know but we are a bit suspicious. The registration is proceeding and those Chinese who do not have a certificate of registration are being restricted for free movement within the Safety Zone and are refused exit from the Zone.

Now I must close. I must take some patients home in the ambulance. Everyone who leaves the hospital must be accompanied by a foreigner. I am the official bodyguard for even the police! We are so crowded that we are glad to get some out. So many have no place to go and no money and no clothing that it is quite a problem. We cannot heal them and then kick them out to die of neglect or starvation, or to be killed or reinjured. Most of them have come in from bayonet or bullet wounds since the city was captured.

Dec. 31, 1937

This is the last day of the year. Great preparations are being made to celebrate the New Year. It must be one holiday our Japanese friends like. A three day holiday has been announced. We dread what may take place with more freedom allowed. There is some indication of things for the better. Today I saw crowds of people flocking across Chung Shan Road out of the Zone. They came back later carrying rice which was being distributed by the Japanese from the Examination Yuan.

There were some happy people today. We have so many babies in the hospital and the mothers and babies are always happy to be leaving even though they have no decent place to go -- only over-crowded concentration camps with hundreds in a room. The grandmother and three other children had come to ~~me~~ escort the new baby 'home' as they called it, so I bundled them all into the ambulance and took them over to the University where they are 'at home' among the 20,000 refugees there. The brother insisted on holding his little baby brother and they were all smiles over the fine though brief auto ride. But what have they to be happy over? Well, I hand it to them, they've succeeded in rising above the circumstances in a noble way. Another servant from the American Embassy came in for his final examination and to have the stitches removed from a bullet wound -- and he was all smiles.

Registration with the Japanese is under way at the B.T.T.S. Spent part of the morning trying to get some of our hospital staff registered but there was such a jam that we could not get near. Our folks are anxious to get registered fearing the time limit will expire and death if they do not comply. Our busy bunch can not stand in line day after day waiting when they have so much work to do. The rest of the morning was spent in trying to get something to eat for our family of three hundred. They surely eat up a lot every day and food is hard to get. We went way into the southwest part of the city near the wall and had a hard time getting there as some of the fires had caused so much debris to be scattered into the streets one could hardly get by in spots. The food problem will be very serious soon unless something is done to get some in from the outside.

Another woman with a new baby insists on leaving the hospital though she has no place to go, no money, no friends and no provision for her baby. Her husband was taken away days ago and has never returned and probably never will. She wants to get out to seek him, going around from place to place in her search. She has no strength and how can she possibly do it? I have given her name out to several of the camps trying to trace friends or neighbors all to no avail. MY! what misery <sup>we</sup> witness.

We expect the new government to be inaugurated in Nanking tomorrow -- a celebration due near Kulou in the afternoon. The former five-color flag has been revived and they say 60,000 have been made to order that they may be flown along with the Japanese flag.

Jan. 1, 1938

The day and the year started gloriously. Firecrackers going full blast woke me and I opened my eyes to wonder what was going on. It was a perfectly clear beautiful day with the sun a big red ball of fire in the sky. Later Purple Mountain was a lovely blue like the Cascades often are. It was very obviously a holiday. Firecrackers -- loads of them had been distributed to the Chinese free -- and who would refuse the indulgence of making a good noise to relieve the spirit! We learned that yesterday they gave away several hundred of thousands of 200 lb bags of rice. The usual New Years greetings were exchanged.

Night before last we were invited to the home of Herr John Rabe where we found a beautiful Christmas tree lighted with many candles. Everything was perfect except the absence of our wives and children -- a big lack. We have been worrying about you. We heard one brief sentence over the radio from Tokyo that all American were being evacuated from Kuling. I sometimes wish you were all safe in America.

We had a New Year's dinner with Mrs. Twinem, Mr. Magee, Mr. Forster and Mrs. Cheng of Binling as guests. We ate our last goose. About the time we finished dinner our day began to be spoiled. Two men came running from Magee's place (he has three places full of refugees) saying that two Japanese soldiers had entered and were after the women. We got a car ready and Fitch took Magee and Forster over. Later he brought in two of the women to the hospital. One had been raped and the other badly beaten, had managed with the aid of her father to break away but had been injured as she jumped from a window. They were hysterical. Then a nun from a temple in the south-eastern part of the city was brought to us. She had been wounded on the 14th of December. Five of them had sought safety in a dug-out but the Japanese soldiers shot into the dugout from each end killing three of the five, wounding the other two. These two, the nun and a little apprentice girl of ten later saved their lives by hiding under the dead bodies of their friends. Eighteen days without medical attention and five days without food! A man in the neighborhood managed to get the badly wounded nun to the hospital. She told us of the little girl who had been stabbed in the back -- so I took the ambulance down to get her. Her wound had healed; all she needed was food, a bath and comfortable surroundings. The people who live in the south-east section of the city are a terrified lot -- surrounded by Japanese soldiers. They gathered around us as we waited for the little girl -- quite a decently behaved group of soldiers. But as we stood there a drunk soldier came by bullying two old Chinese men. The Chinese men were so frightened that they came up to me and begged for my help. I must confess I am afraid of an armed drunken soldier but with the aid of a few of the sober soldiers who helped by diverting the attention of the drunk, the old men had an opportunity to escape and how they took to their heels! The drunken soldier evidently cursed me for one of the other soldiers angered, took a club to him. As I started back to the ambulance I discovered another bunch of soldiers had taken off my orderly; rather, one of them. It was the cook, who urged by curiosity had begged to be allowed to accompany us. His Red Cross sleeve band had been taken off; he was scared and thought sure he was about to be shot. I rescued him and by this time I began to fear our ambulance might have been taken, but we hurried back to find the decent bunch of soldiers still surrounding it so we left them with smiles. The last few days we have had to go into the extreme parts of the city where few people dare to venture but we have come back safely each time with our load of food or patients.

Tried today to estimate the extent of destruction of property. From the hospital to Chung Chen and Peh Hsia Roads about 30%; about half on Peh Hsia Road; on Chung Hwa Road to Chein Kan Road about 80% -- beyond there, less and not a great deal burned out in the extreme southern part. Off from S. Kulou towards the east wall about 20 or 30% concentrated in certain areas.

Another woman came into the hospital this afternoon who had been wounded before the fall of Nanking. Her home was in a village south of Nanking. She had left home with her five children -- the youngest three months and the oldest twelve. Japanese planes flew overhead spraying machine-gun bullets. One hit her in the eye coming out near the throat. She tried to struggle on with her baby but finally had to give up and lay unconscious most of one night with her children gathered near her. In the morning she realized she could not continue with the weight of her baby so she left it in a deserted house, and struggled along until she came to some villagers.

who helped her into one of the refugee camps. After eighteen days she reached us and medical aid!!

Tonght at dusk I counted five good sized fires in different parts of the city -- and so the burning and looting and raping continues. In the Safety Zone it is much better although the soldiers still come in. However in contrast to those days when we were trying to stop them at several places at once day and night, X it is comparatively peaceful and quiet. At least we have time to write.

Jan. 3, 1938

Succeeded in getting half of the hospital staff registered today.

I must report a good deed done by some Japanese. Recently several very nice Japanese have visited the hospital. We told them of our lack of food supplies for the patients. Today they brought in 100 ching of beans along with some beef. We have had no meat at the hospital for a month and these gifts were mighty welcome. They asked what else we would like to have.

But each day has a long list of bad reports. A man was killed near the relief headquarters yesterday afternoon. In the afternoon a Japanese soldier attempted to rape a woman; her husband interferred and helped her resist. But in the afternoon the soldier returned to shoot the husband.

This morning came another woman in a sad plight and with a horrible story. She was one of five women whom the Japanese soldiers had taken to one of their medical units, to wash their clothes by day, to be raped by night. Two of them were forced to satisfy from 15 to 20 men and the prettiest one as many as 40 each night. This one who came to us had been called off by three soldiers into an isolated place where they attempted to cut off her head. The muscles of the neck had been cut but they failed to sever the spinal cord. She feigned death but dragged herself to the hospital -- another of the many to bear witness to the brutality of soldiers.

Dr. Wilson is trying to patch her up and thinks she may have a chance to live. Day after day our group has made its report to the authorities of these terrible conditions. They have tightened up and issued orders; still each day brings its atrocities. Up early this morning to see twelve Japanese planes flying overhead. It is still clear but terribly cold for these poor people who have to live out in the open or in tents. I failed to note Monday that we had a real air raid from the Chinese. Had almost forgotten what a raid was like! It gave the Japanese a surprise and they were quite unready for it. Finally Japanese planes did rise to the occasion and flew like mad in hot pursuit.

I have no idea how to reach you by mail. Your last letter was dated Nov. 25th. I have pictured you as a happy group in the school with the boys having plenty of fun in the snow. Hope you have all kept well. Our life grows awfully monotonous. We are more than fed up with all this cruelty and suffering which is so senseless and unnecessary. Our whole time in the hospital is spent in trying to patch up and save the victims of Japanese guns and bayonets; all innocent, simple Chinese for whom the Japanese have come to help! When they made their fine speeches on New Year's Day telling us the Kuomintang had no regard for the needs of the common people, I could not help but think of our whole hospital full of their victims. There is little doubt too but that foreign help and support in Chinese affairs will be spurned.

Jan. 5, 1938

A perfect morning and a gorgeous view of the sunrise from my attic room in the Buck house. Fixed up a radio in the X-ray room at the hospital with stray equipment picked up here and there and it came in good last night -- so communications are again established.

Made a trip to South City in the ambulance to get behtsai for our big family. Saw many large fires burning.

Jan. 6, 1938

A red letter day! Mr. Fukuyi of the Japanese Embassy informs us that three American Embassy men will arrive in Nanking today. They have been making promises for ten days but apparently had some difficulty in getting army permission. We tried to send a message through the Japanese asking for their return but they refused to send it. They would like to have us all out of

Nanking but now that we have stayed so long and know so much we are not allowed to leave -- we are virtually prisoners.

My radio does not work so well after all. We have secured a second radio but cannot get the short wave to work. We get English reports from Tokyo, Manila and Shanghai and there is some good music, but I spent some hours at the radio yesterday and from all sources I got the same record so often that I could sing it for our household.

"I'm Pop-eye the sailor man, I'm Pop-eye the sailor man,  
I fight to the finish for I eat my spinach,  
I'm Pop-eye the sailor man."

Have a new job. Been delivering babies. O yes, Trim and Wilson DELIVER them but I take them home, to some crowded refugee camp. Nearly every other day I take the ambulance out to get pehtsai, rice and other food stuffs. A foreigner must go along to guarantee delivery. Salvaged three cows recently and Mrs. Changh is making some butter for us. Our bachelor group has gone through with about 26 dozen tins of Luchowfu peaches and for the past month we have had them every day. We are eating more rice and there is plenty of pehtsai. I understand the Japanese are selling apples in limited quantities, at ten cents apiece. A few other things are coming in.

Jan. 6, 1938

The biggest news of the day has just come. The American consular representatives told us that the families of McCallum, Trimmer, Mills and Smythe left Hankow for Hongkong on the 30th. He also delivered some letters of yours written the last of November. It's the first news or mail we've received for more than a month and how welcome it was! I'm hoping ~~for~~ you had a comfortable trip although I feel sure you must have been exposed to a lot of inconveniences and possible dangers. I shall be relieved when I hear where you are and what your next move will be. I have concluded in my own mind that if you are permitted to come to Shanghai that you will do so and place the children in the American School there for the rest of the school year. I'm hoping for that move for it means I might be able to see you before so very long -- although we as yet have no assurance that we would be permitted to leave.

I am glad I stayed. Although there were only 20 of us foreigners we have been able to help considerably in the various concentration points in the Safety Zone. Had there been a hundred of us to guard against the 50,000 soldiers that much more could have been accomplished. Ginling has housed as high as 12,000, the University buildings about 25,000, the Seminary and B.T.T.S. 2,000-3,000 each and every house in the vicinity crammed full. Some of the men are engaged now in trucking coal and rice; we do not dare leave a truck or car out of our sight.

Jan. 7., 1938

There is still a corpse in our compound at Peh Hsia Road another on the first floor of our South Gate Women's Building, and one in the Plopper's compound -- all having met their fate about the 13th. In the Price's yard is a little baby about six months old. It cried while a soldier was raping its mother. The soldier smothered it by putting his hands over its nose and mouth. Permits to bury have not been obtainable. I have buried more than 38 bodies myself in our hospital dugouts; gathering them off the streets nearby most of them being soldiers. The loss of life has been appalling. Men, women and children of all ages have paid a terrible price. Why does war have to be so beastly?

Japanese talk of getting the people back to their homes, starting up business again and of bringing in a lot of Japanese goods. The diplomatic group want to set up a city government; the army will not allow it. They want the people to go back to their homes; the army continues to terrify them so that they dare not leave the concentration camps. They want business started again; the army has taken away all stocks and burned the stores. They want them to start some trade; but the army ~~has~~ has robbed the people of their money. They want them to produce; but the army has killed all the chickens and pigs and cows, every living thing. The irony of it!

Jan. 9, 1938

Some newspaper men came to the entrance of a concentration camp and distributed cakes, and apples and handed out a few coins to the refugees. And moving pictures were taken of this kind act. At the same time a bunch of soldiers climbed over the back wall of the compound and raped a dozen or so of the women. There were no pictures taken out back!

The constructive group want to restore electricity and water. The day before the final arrangements were made through Rabe to get the workmen back on the job, a military detachment headed by a non-commissioned officer went to the British Export Co.'s factory and picking out a group of Electric Light Company employees, 43 of them, lined them up and machine-gunned them. The light company was a private corporation. The soldiers without investigation claimed they were government employees. That is the general condition after a month's time and there is little hope of improvement.

Now the Japanese are trying to discredit our efforts in the Safety Zone. They threaten and intimidate the poor Chinese into repudiating what we have said. Some of the Chinese are even ready to prove that the looting, raping and burning was done by the Chinese and not the Japanese. I feel sometimes that we have been dealing with maniacs and idiots and I marvel that all of us foreigners have come through this ordeal alive.

We do not know when we will be permitted to leave Nanking. With so few of us we do not want to leave until some more men are allowed to come in. We have been living fairly normally in our bachelor quarters and it has been a grand bunch to be with. All of us have gotten into many amusing situations as well as serious ones and we have jolly times relating them to each other. We could welcome a change from Luchowfu peaches and Chinese cabbage for a diet. How good butter and eggs would taste! But we have plenty of flour, rice and our gardens are still yielding lettuce and carrots and beets. If it is made available by the military there should be enough rice in the city to feed the 200,000 people through the winter. But the economic outlook is pitiful to contemplate. There is no production; only consumption.

Just heard the family had arrived in Hongkong safely. Praise be! Now where?

Jan. 11, 1938

Had the American Embassy men in for dinner two days ago and today had the British Embassy men as well as those from the German Embassy. It has been a real treat. Not having seen anyone from the outside for over a month, and having so much to say ourselves we had a real talkfest. We hung onto every word spoken by them and still have many questions we'd like to ask.

Hospital affairs have gotten past the emergency state. We now have electricity and therefore radio reception which makes us feel closer to the rest of the world. When we can secure more hospital supplies we will feel close to normal again.

We are not finished with raping and robbing but it has become such an old story that mere repetition will add nothing of value. There are threats and bribes now -- attempts to undermine the present relief organization. Others are now engaged in providing fuel and food. The International Committee has been selling rice for \$11.25 a bag of 1 1/4 tan. The Self-Governing Committee has been selling rice for \$10.00 a bag. They buy it from the Japanese for \$4.00 a bag, but it cost the Japanese nothing -- spoils of war!

I was offered four more cows today. If I had a place to keep them I'd take them gladly for we could use the milk. Feed for the cows we have already salvaged is a problem.

One of the choicest bits of information today concerned Tanaka, one of the Consular policemen. He has been taking us around as we looked over our looted foreign property. He had been seen on various occasions to pick up some little thing from this place and that but yesterday Mr. Sperling met him coming out of one of the fine German homes with two ricksha loads of lovely curios which he no doubt had very much admired.

At last we hear you are to arrive in Shanghai today. That answers a lot of questions and I presume you are headed directly for the American

Jan. 12, 1938

School. I hope you will be able to get some letters in to us now. The British, German and American embassy staffs are very accommodating if you can hear when any of them will be coming through. The Japanese newspapermen have brought us in a few missives but they were of course unsealed. I suppose you were able to bring but little out with you and I'm not very optimistic about what you may have had to leave behind. We need Dr. Brady badly and hope there will be a way to get him in. We need helpers. Minnie is especially in need of single women helpers. But anyone coming through should bring his own supplies, food as well as bedding. Aside from furniture in our homes, nothing can be depended upon.

We have been too busy to look after property. Have gone frequently to the places close to the hospital, but it doesn't do much good. Both Japanese and American Embassy seals were broken and completely ignored by the soldiers the first few days of their entry into the city and each place has been looted time and again. It does not do good to try to clean up the mess until there is some way to keep them out. There have been but one or two places where one could move things with any assurance of safety. I have been unable to get workmen to repair walls, door, locks and windows or to put caretakers on the place. They would not be safe for so far no proclamation or letter from the Japanese Embassy has been respected by the soldiers. Any Chinese whether on foreign property or not is subject to seizure and robbery and a possible thrust from the bayonet. We have in some cases secured a Japanese guard. But they demand charcoal, a stove, and food and a bed which they may take off with them. If they are cold they burn up the furniture on the place to keep them warm. The American Embassy staff employed Japanese guards but fired them the second day.

Jan. 13, 1938

Hurrah! Hurrah! A note from you written in Shanghai. Now I can write to you there confident ~~xx~~ you will receive it if I put it in care of our Embassy folks. And you can do likewise.

It has been a busy day. Went out early this morning to Ho Ping Men to get some cow feed -- the place had been burned the day before. Then we went to a place near Lotus Lake; here we secured half a load. At another place we got a load of cotton seed cakes. Our ambulance is doing double duty these days. Will go back again for another load. Then I secured a coffin for John Magee for one of their Episcopal Evangelists from Tan Shan, I believe, who committed suicide as a protest against the present conditions. Then I secured a big cask of bean oil -- 380 ching. We now have a three months supply on hand. I would worry about this business of supplies if I had time. Yesterday I picked up 15 bags of rice (100 ching each) from the coolies at the B.A.T. Most of this was for our Chinese Christians who are at the Drum Tower Church. Four or five of our faithful South Gate men are sheltered there and they have not been bothered at all. There are no evangelistic workers or other workers employed by our mission in Nanking; only about one or two of the city pastors here.

I decided to accept the four other cows; that make eight cows, two calves. These four cows had been shut up for a month in a single shed the condition of which was terrible so I rounded them out along with two calves, a goat and a kid and led the procession back to the hospital. There was plenty of bawling and some of them went under protest but we marched them along and parked them in the front garage. That means an additional supply of milk for our patients. And we needed it for we can not get bean milk which we ordinarily would use.

I go out and get pehtsai by the ambulance loads. The people cannot bring it to us, so some one has to go after it. We found another good nurse today -- a graduate of the Wuhu hospital. About 10 of our 50 nurses are real ones.

Had the American Embassy men over for dinner this evening and Trimmer as he had not met them. The Embassy men are not having such a glorious time of it. They have not been able to get heat, light or water and it is difficult setting up housekeeping and getting supplies. And of course they do not have the interests and activities the rest of us do and with no newspapers or outside activities of any sort whatsoever, with only problems to handle, life seems a bit dull for them. One is shut in and I must admit the atmosphere is extremely gloomy and dull.

We are all anxious to get to Shanghai now to see our families.

Jan. 15, 1938

One of the British Embassy men is going to Shanghai tonight and has promised to take any letter we might want to send. I am sending you the letters I have written but could not mail -- quite a stack by now.

Conditions have improved but horrible things still go on. Two days ago I went into the dispensary and saw a fifteen year old boy on the table with a part of his stomach and some of his intestines protruding. The wound was two days old. He lives out near the Wu Ting Meng Gate. The soldiers had taken him as a laborer to carry vegetables. When he had finished his work they went through his clothing and robbed him of the sixty cents which they found, then stuck him several times with bayonets.

Our British Embassy friends have had a difficult time hearing our stories. They are too raw for them to take so we have had to tone them down considerably. But they have been bumping into some pretty terrible things on their own and getting it first hand. They went on a tour of inspection of the British property and near the A.P.C. at Ho Ping Men they found the body of a woman who had had a golf club forced up internally; a part of it was protruding. Now you know why the people are still in the refugee camps and why they are still terrified. We have been able to protect them on American property when we have been present but what we have been able to do has been a mere drop in the bucket.

Spent a good share of the day getting hay and cotton seed cakes to feed our dairy cows. Next week I shall have to rustle rice and coal. I was out with one ambulance today; Grace Bauer took the other one to get some pehtsai. She went away out Tung Si Men for her load and got back safely. It is wonderful the limits to which we foreigners can go without mishap. Some of the diplomatic people who have recently arrived wonder that we have not all been lined up and shot for we have gotten by with a lot.

I am glad you are in Shanghai and the boys in school, etc. etc.

J. H. McC.

(3)

Not for Publication

Diary notes written by  
J. H. McCallum,  
Christian Mission (Disciples)

Nanking,  
Dec., 19, 1937.

It has been just one week now since the collapse of the Chinese army in its Nanking defence. Japanese soldiers came marching down Chung Shan Road past the Hospital on Monday and Japanese flags began to appear here and there. We all breathed a sigh of relief thinking now order would be restored after the panic and stampede caused by the retreating Chinese army. Airplanes would fly over our heads without causing apprehension or tension. But a week has passed and it has been a hell on earth.

It is a horrible story to try to relate; I know w not where to begin nor to end. Never have I heard or read of such brutality. Rape! Rape! Rape! We estimate that at least 1,000 cases at night and many by day. In case of resistance or anything that seems like disapproval there is a bayonet stab or a bullet. We could write up hundreds of cases a day; people are hysterical; they get down on their knees and "kotow" any time we foreigners appear; they beg for aid. Those who are suspected of being soldiers as well as others, have been led outside the city and shot down by the hundreds -- yes, thousands. Three times has the staff of our hospital been robbed of fountain pens, watches and money. Even the poor refugees in certain centers have been robbed again and again until the last cent, almost the last garment and last piece of bedding only remains and these may go ere long. Women are being carried off every morning, afternoon and evening. The whole Japanese army seems to be free to go and come anywhere it pleases and to do what it pleases. American flags have frequently been torn down from Ginling and the University and Hillcrest school. At the Seminary, B. T. T. S (Bible Teachers' Training School), University, Ginling, University Middle School, sericulture buildings, Library and acres of other places, there are cases of rape, robbery, shooting and bayonetting every night. Foreigners, when present, have been able in some cases to prevent this. But fifteen or twenty of us available can not be in every building all the time.

Dec. 29, 1937.

Have been so busy every day a five nights of the week that I've had no time to write. A foreigner must be on duty 24 hours here at the hospital in order to deal with the Japanese visitors. It is snowing and bitterly cold; our hearts ache for the thousands who have poor shelter and who are cooped up in such close quarters. Our hospital is full and the lighter cases fill the University dormitory building. Some we cannot dismiss for they have no place to go. Have had fifteen or twenty babies within the last week; six in Christmas Day. It is easy to find Miss Hynds; she is always in the nursery mothering the whole crowd of babies.

We have been completely out of touch with the rest of the world. No one can get into Nanking and it seems very difficult to get out. We have talked of sending some one of our group out to carry the news of the terrible things that have been and still are happening here, but know that person would never get back if he once left.

I have been living with Mills, Fitch, Smythe, Sone, Wilson, Bates and Riggs here in the Buck home. All of us have been doing double duty. We scarcely sit down to our meals without someone coming in every other five minutes or so

to call for help. Food is swallowed whole and hurried exits are made to save a truck from being stolen or more often to protect women from soldiers ... Seldom do we all sit down to eat at the same time. We dare not go out alone after dark but go in twos or threes.

Every day or two I have gone out for an inspection of our mission property. I have found visitors in our house at Peh Hsia Road every time I have gone there. Every foreign house is a sight to behold; untouched until the Japanese army arrived, nothing untouched since. Every lock has been broken, every trunk ransacked. Their search for money and valuables has led them to the flues and inside pianos.

Our phonograph records are all broken; the dishes are in a broken mass on the floor along with anything else that was discarded after each looting.

The front of the piano was removed and all the hammers ~~tr~~ struck with something heavy. Our house being outside the Safety Zone, this was not unexpected but houses within the Zone have shared a like fate. Two of our boys' school buildings were set fire to, one a complete loss. Nanking represents a dismal appearance. At the time the Japanese army entered the city little harm had been done to the buildings. Since then the stores have been stripped of their wares and most of them burned. Taiping, Chung Hwa and practically every other main business road in the city is a mass of ruins. In south city much of the area back of the main street was also burned. We see new fires every day and wonder when such beastly destruction will cease.

But far worse is what has been happening to the people. They have been in terror and no wonder. Many of them have nothing left now but a single garment around their shoulders. Helpless and unarmed, they have been at the mercy of the soldiers, who have been permitted to roam about at will where ever they pleased; there is no discipline whatever and many of them are drunk. By day they go into buildings in our Safety Zone centers, looking for desirable women, they return at night to get them. If they have been hidden away, the responsible men are bayoneted on the spot. Girls of 11 and 12 and women of fifty have not escaped. Resistance is fatal. The worse cases come to the hospital. A woman six months pregnant, who resisted, came to us with sixteen knife wounds on her face and body, one per piercing the abdomen. She lost her baby but her life will be spared. Men who gave themselves up to the mercy of the Japanese when they were promised their lives would be spared -- a very few of them returned to the Safety Zone in a bad way. One of them declared they were used for bayonet practice and his body certainly looked it. Another group was taken out near Kulingsz; one who somehow returned, lived long enough to tell the fate of that group. He claims they threw gasoline over their heads, and then set fire to them. This man bore no other wounds but was burned so terribly around the neck and head that one could scarcely believe he was a human being. The same day another, whose body had been half burned over, came into the hospital. He had also been shot. It is altogether likely that the bunch of them had been machine-gunned, their bodies then piled together and then burned. We could not get the details, but he evidently crawled out and managed to get to the hospital for help. Both of these died. And so I could relate such horrible stories that you'd have no appetite for days. It is absolutely unbelievable but thousands have been butchered in cold blood -- how many it is hard to guess -- some believe it would approach the 10,000 mark.

We have met some very pleasant Japanese who have treated us with courtesy and respect. Others have been very fierce and threatened us, striking or slapping one some. Mr. Riggs has suffered most at their hands. Occasionally have I seen a Japanese helping some Chinese or pick up a Chinese baby and play with it. More

than one Japanese soldier has told me he did not like war and wished he were back home. But soldiers with a conscience are few and far between. Although the Japanese Embassy staff has been cordial and tried to help us out, they have been helpless.

Now it is time to make the rounds of the hospital. There are a hundred on the staff. When we have water and lights again it will be much easier for with lamps to look after and water to pump each day increases our labor considerably.

Dec. 30, 1937.

Glorious weather. It feels so good to get out into the air. It is more peaceful but far from good. A man came into the hospital today shot through the intestines with about four feet of them hanging out. He has a chance in a thousand of recovery. Bob Wilson spent the better part of the morning trying to patch him up. Before dinner a 12 year old girl was abducted by two Japanese soldiers who drove up in a yellow taxi. Several men were forcibly carried away from Ginling, Magee's place as well as other places, accused of being soldiers. The men had friends among the group who could identify them as civilians but because they had calouses on their hands, they were branded without further investigation as soldiers in spite of the protests voiced. Many ricksha and sam-pan men as well as other laborers have been shot simply because they have the marks of honest toil upon their hands. An old caretaker in a German residence near the Kiang An bus station is reported to have been killed yesterday. Soldiers found no young men on the place to conscript for labor and he protested about going himself. And I said this had been a fairly peaceful day! Can you imagine what was happening when I did not have time to stop and write?

Busy getting in supplies of rice for the hospital and those Chinese Christians housed in the Drum Tower Church. Moved 50 big bags -- about 65 tons.

The Japanese are beginning to tighten up on the police, on the Chinese and a suggestion of further restrictions for the foreigners. It was suggested by Mr. Oki that we Americans be concentrated in one place under guard. Just how much freedom would be allowed in such a case we do not know but we are a bit suspicious. The registration is proceeding and those Chinese who do not have a certificate of registration are being restricted for free movement within the Safety Zone and are refused exit from the Zone.

Now I must close. I must take some patients home in the ambulance. Everyone who leaves the hospital must be accompanied by a foreigner. I am glad the official bodyguard for even the police! We are so crowded that we are glad to get some out. So many have no place to go and no money and no clothing that it is quite a problem. We cannot heal them and then kick them out to die of neglect or starvation, or to be killed or be reinjured. Most of them have come in from bayonet or bullet wounds since the city was captured.

Dec. 31, 1937.

This is the last day of the year. Great preparations are being made to celebrate the New Year. It must be one holiday our Japanese friends like. A three day holiday has been announced. We dread what may take place with more freedom allowed. There is some indication of things for the better. Today I saw crowds of people flocking across Chung Shan Road out of the Zone. They came back later carrying rice which was being distributed by the Japanese from the Examination Yuan.

There were some happy people today. We have so many babies in the hospital and the mothers and babies are always happy to be leaving even though they have no decent place to go -- only over-crowded concentration camps with hundreds in a room. The grandmother and three other children had come to escort the new baby "home" as they called it, so I bundled them all into the ambulance and took them over to the University where they are 'at home' among the 20,000 refugees there. The brother insisted on holding his little baby brother and they were all smiles over the fine though brief auto ride. But what have they to be happy over? Well, I hand it to them, they've succeeded in rising above the circumstances in a noble way. Another servant from the American Embassy came in for his final examination and to have the stitches removed from a bullet wound -- and he was all smiles.

Registration with the Japanese is under way at the B. T. T. S. Spent part of the morning trying to get some of our hospital staff registered but there was such a jam that we could not get near. Our folks are anxious to get registered fearing that time limit will expire and death if they do not comply. Our busy bunch can not stand in line day after day waiting when they have so much work to do. The rest of the morning was spent in trying to get something to eat for our family of three hundred. They surely eat up a lot every day and food is hard to get. We went way into the southwest part of the city near the wall and had a hard time getting there as some of the fires had caused so much debris to be scattered into the streets one could hardly get by in spots. The food problem will be very serious soon unless something is done to get some in from the outside.

Another woman with a new baby insists on leaving the hospital though she has no place to go, no money, no friends and no provision for the baby. Her husband was taken away two days ago and has never returned and probably never will. She wants to get out to seek him, & going around from place to place in her search. She has no strength and how can she possibly do it? I have given her name out to several of the camps trying to trace friends or neighbors all to no avail. MY! what misery we witness!

We expect the new government to be inaugurated in Nanking tomorrow -- a celebration due near Kulou in the afternoon. The former five-color flag has been revived and they say 60,000 have been made to order that they may be flown along with the Japanese flag.

Jan 1, 1938.

The day and the year started gloriously. Firecrackers going full blast woke me and I opened my eyes to wonder what was going on. It was a perfectly clear beautiful day with the sun a big red ball of fire in the sky. Later Purple Mountaun was a lovely blue like the Cascades often are. It was very obviously a holiday. Firecrackers -- loads of them had been distributed to the Chinese free -- and who would refuse the indulgence of making a good noise to relieve the spirit! We learned that yesterday they gave away several hundred of thousands of 200 lb. bags of rice. The usual New Year's greetings were exchanged.

Night before last we were invited to the home of Herr John Rabe where we found a beautiful Christmas tree lighted with many candles. Everything was perfect except the absence of our wives and children -- a big lack.

We had a New Year's dinner with Mrs. Twinem, Mr. Magee, Mr. Forster and Mrs. Cheng of Ginling as guests. We ate our last goose. About the time we

finished dinner our day began w to be spoiled. Two men came running from Magee's place (he has three places full of refugees) saying that two Japanese soldiers had entered and were after the women. We got a car ready and Fitch took Magee and Forster over. Later we brought in two of the women to the hospital. One had been raped and the other badly beaten, had managed with the aid of her father to break away but had been injured as she jumped from a window. They were hysterical. Then a nun from a temple in the south-eastern part of the city was brought to us. She had been wounded on the 14th of December. Five of them had sought safety in a dug-out but the Japanese soldiers shot into the dug-out from each end killing three of the five, wounding the other two. These two, the nun and a little apprentice girl of ten later saved their lives by hiding under the dead bodies of their friends. Eighteen days without medical attention and five days without food! A man in the neighborhood managed to get the badly wounded nun to the hospital. She told us of the little girl who had been stabbed in the back -- so I took the ambulance down to get her. Her wound had healed; all she needed was food, a bath and comfortable surroundings. The people who live in the south-east section of the city are a terrified lot -- surrounded by Japanese soldiers. They gathered around us as we waited for the little girl -- quite a decently behaved group of soldiers. But as we stood there a drunk soldier came by bullying two old Chinese men. The Chinese men were so frightened that they came up to me and begged for my help. I must confess I am afraid of an armed drunken soldier but with the aid of a few of the sober soldiers who helped by diverting the attention of the drunk, the old man had an opportunity to escape and how they took to their heels! The drunken soldier evidently cursed me for one of the other soldiers angered, took a club to him. As I started back to the ambulance I discovered another bunch of soldiers had taken off my orderly; rather, one of them. It was the cook, who urged by curiosity had begged to be allowed to accompany us. His Red Cross sleeve band had been taken; ~~but we hurried back to find the decent bunch of soldiers~~ he was scared and thought sure he was about to be shot. I rescued him and by this time I began to fear our ambulance might have been taken, but we hurried back to find the decent bunch of soldiers still surrounding it so we left them with smiles. The last few days we have had to go into the extreme parts of the city where few people dare to venture but we have come back safely each time with our load of food or patients.

Tried today to estimate the extent of destruction of property. From the hospital to Chung Chen and Peh Hsia Roads about 30%; about half on Peh Hsia Road; on Chung Hwa Road to Chekiang Road about 60% -- beyond there, less and not a great deal burned out in the extreme southern portion. Off from S. Kulou towards the east wall about 20 or 30% concentrated in certain areas.

Another woman came into the hospital this afternoon who had been wounded before the fall of Nanking. Her home was in a village south of Nanking. She had left home with her five children -- the youngest three months and the oldest twelve. Japanese planes flew overhead spraying machine-gun bullets. One hit her in the eye coming out near the throat. She tried to struggle on with her baby but finally had to give up and lay unconscious most of one night with her children gathered near her. In the morning she realized she could not continue with the weight of her baby, so she left it in a deserted house, and struggled along until she came to some villagers who helped her into one of the refugee camps. After eighteen days she reached us and medical aid!

Tonight at dusk I counted five good size fires in different parts of the city -- and so the burning and looting and raping continues. In the Safety Zone it is much better although the soldiers still come in. However in contrast to those days when we were trying to stop them at several places at once day and night. It is comparatively peaceful and quiet. At least we have time to write.

Jan. 3, 1938.

Succeeded in getting half of the hospital staff registered today.

I must report a good deed done by some Japanese. Recently several very nice Japanese have visited the hospital. We told them of our lack of food supplies for the patients. Today they brought us a- in 100 ching of beans along with some beef. We have had no meat at the hospital for a month and these gifts were mighty welcome. They asked what else we would like to have.

But each say has a long list of bad reports. A man was killed near the relief headquarters yesterday afternoon. In the afternoon a Japanese soldier attempted to rape a woman; her husband interferred and helped her resist. But in the afternoon the soldier returned to shoot the husband.

This morning came another woman in a sad plight and with a horrible story. She was one of five women whom the Japanese soldiers had taken to one of their medical units, to wash their clothes by day, to be raped at night. Two of them were forced to satisfy from 15 to 20 men and the prettiest one as many as 40 each night. This one who came to us had been called off by three soldiers into an isolated place where they attempted to cut off her head. The muscles of the neck had been cut but they failed to sever the spinal cord. She feigned death but dragged herself to the hospital -- another of the many to bear witness to the brutality of soldiers.

Dr. Wilson is trying to patch her up and thinks she may have a chance to live. Day after day our group has made its report to the authorities of these terrible conditions. They have tightened up and issued orders; still each day brings its atrocotoes. Up early this morning to see twelve Japanese planes flying overhead. It is still clear but terribly cold for these poor people who have to live out in the open or in tents. I failed to note Monday that we had a real air raid from the Chinese. Had almost forgotten what a raid was like! It gave the Japanese a start- surprise and they were quite unready for it. Finally Japanese planes did rise to the occasion and flew like mad in hot pursuit.

Our life grows awfully monotonous. We are j more than fed up with all this cruelty and suffering which is so senseless and unnecessary. Our whole time in the hospital is spent in trying to patch up and save the victims of Japanese guns and bayonets; all innocent, simple Chinese for whom the Japanese have come to help! When they made their fine speeches on New Year's Day telling us the Kuomintang had no regard for the needs of the common people, I could not help but think of our whole hospital full of their victims. There is little doubt too but that foreign help and support in Chinese affairs will be spurned.

Jan. 5, 1938.

A perfect morning and a gorgeous view of the sunrise from my attic room in the Buck house. Fixed up a radio in the X-ray room at the hospital with stray equipment picked up here and there and it came in good last night -- so communications are again being established.

Made a trip to South City in the ambulance to get behtsai for our big family. Saw many large fires burning.

Jan. 6, 1938.

A red letter day! Mr. Fukuyi of the Japanese Embassy informs us that three

American Embassy men will arrive in Nanking today. They have been making promises but ten days but apparently had some difficulty in getting army permission. We tried to send a message through the Japanese asking for their return but they refused to send it. They would like to have us all out of Nanking but now that we have stayed so long and know so much we are not allowed to leave -- we are virtually prisoners.

My radio does not work so well after all. We have secured a second radio but cannot get the short wave to work. We get English reports from Tokyo, Manila and Shanghai and there is some good music, but I spent some hours at the radio yesterday and from all sources I got the same record so often that I could sing it for our household.

"I'm Pop-eye the sailor man, I'm Pop-eye the sailor man,  
I fight to the finish for I eat my spinach,  
I'm Pop-eye the sailor man."

Have a new job. Been delivering babies. O yes, Trim and Wilson DELIVER them but I take them home, to some crowded refugee camp. Nearly every other day I take the ambulance out to get pehtsai, rice and other food stuffs. A foreigner must go along to guarantee safety delivery. Salvaged three cows recently and Mrs. Ghangh is making some butter for us. Our bachelor group has gone through with about 26 dozen tins of Luchowfu peaches and for the past month we have had them every day. We are eating more rice and there is plenty of pehtsai. I understand the Japanese are selling apples in limited quantities, at ten cents apiece. A few other things are coming in.

Jan. 6, 1938.

The biggest news of the day has just come. The American consular representatives told us that the families of McCallum, Trimmer, Mills and Smythe left Hankow for Hongkong on the 30th. He also delivered some letters of yours written the last of November. It's the first news or mail we've received for more than a month and how welcome it was! I'm hoping you had a comfortable trip although I feel sure you must have been exposed to a lot of inconvenience and possible dangers. I shall be relieved when I hear where you are and what your next move will be. I have concluded in my own mind that if you are permitted to come to Shanghai that you will do so and place the children in the American School there for the rest of the school year. I'm hoping for that move for it means I might be able to see you before so very long -- although we as yet have no assurance that we would be permitted to leave.

I am glad I stayed. Although there were only 20 of us foreigners we have been able to help considerably in the various concentration points in the Safety Zone. Had there been a hundred of us to guard against the 50,000 soldiers that much more could have been accomplished. Ginling has housed as high as 12,000, the University buildings about 25,000, the Seminary and B. T. S. 2,000-3,000 each and every house in the vicinity crammed full. Some of the men are engaged now in trucking coal and rice; we do not dare leave a truck or car out of our sight.

Jan. 7, 1938.

There is still a corpse in our compound at Peh Hsia Road another on the first floor of our South Gate Women's Building, and one in the Plopper's compound -- all having met their fate about the 13th. In the Price's yard is a little baby about six months old. It cried while a soldier was raping its mother. The soldier smothered it by putting his hands over its nose and

mouth. Permits to bury have not been obtainable. I have buried more than 38 bodies myself in our hospital dug-outs; gathering them off the streets nearly most of them being soldiers. The loss of life has been appalling. Men, women and children of all ages have paid a terrible price. Why does war have to be so beastly?

Japanese talk of getting the people back to their homes, starting up business again and of bringing in a lot of Japanese goods. The diplomatic group want to set up a city government; the army will not allow it. They want the people to go back to their homes; the army continues to terrify them so that they dare not leave the concentration camps. They want business started again; the army has taken away all stocks and burned the stores. They want them to start some trade; but the army has robbed the people of their money. They want them to produce; but the army has killed all the chickens and pigs and cows, everything living. The irony of it!

Jan. 9, 1938.

Some newspapermen came to the entrance of a concentration camp and distributed cakes, and apples and handed out a few coins to the refugees. And moving pictures were taken of this kind act. At the same time a bunch of soldiers climbed over the back wall of the compound and raped a dozen or so of the women. There were no pictures taken out back!

The constructive group want to restore electricity and water. The day before the final arrangements were made through Rabe to get the workmen back on the job, a military detachment headed by a non-commissioned officer went to the British Export Co.'s factory and picking out a group of Electric Light Company employees, 43 of them, lined them up and machine-gunned them. The light company was a private corporation. The soldiers without investigation claimed they were government employees. That is the general condition after a month's time and there is little hope of improvement.

Now the Japanese are trying to discredit our efforts in the Safety Zone. They threaten and intimidate the poor Chinese into repudiating what we have said. Some of the Chinese are even ready to prove that the looting, raping and burning was done by the Chinese and not the Japanese. I feel sometimes that we have been dealing with maniacs and idiots and I marvel that all of us foreigners have come through this ordeal alive.

We do not know when we will be permitted to leave Nanking. With so few of us we do not want to leave until some more men are allowed to come in. We have been living fairly normally in our bachelor quarters and it has been a grand bunch to be with. All of us have gotten into many amusing situations as well as serious ones and we have jolly times relating them to each other. We could welcome a change from Luchowfu peaches and Chinese cabbage for a diet. How good butter and eggs would taste! But we have plenty of flour, rice and our gardens are still yielding lettuce and carrots and beets. If it is made available by the military there should be enough rice in the city to feed the 200,000 people through the winter. But the economic outlook is pitiful to contemplate. There is no production; only consumption.

Just heard my family had arrived in Hongkong safely. Praise be! Now where?

Jan. 11, 1938.

Had the American Embassy men in for sinner two days ago and today had the British Embassy men as well as those from the German Embassy. It has been a real treat. Not having seen anyone from the outside for over a month, and having so much to say ourselves we had a real talkfest. We hung onto every

word spoken by them and still have many questions we'd like to ask.

Hospital affairs have gotten past the emergency state. We now have electricity and therefore radio reception which makes us feel closer to the rest of the world. When we can secure more hospital supplies we will feel close to normal again.

We are not finished with raping and robbing but it has become such an old story that mere repetition will add nothing of value. There are threats and bribes now -- attempts to undermine the present relief ~~situation~~ organization. Others are now engaged in providing fuel and food. The International Committee has been selling rice for \$11.25 a bag of 1½ tan. The Self-Governing Committee has been selling rice for \$10.00 a bag. They buy it from the Japanese for \$4.00 a bag, but it cost the Japanese nothing -- spoils of war!

I was offered four more cows today. If I had a place to keep them I'd take them gladly for we could use the milk. Feed for the cows we have already salvaged is a problem.

One of the choicest bits of information today concerned Tanaka, one of the Consular policeman. He has been taking us around as we looked over our looted foreign property. He had been seen on various occasions to pick up some little thing from this place and that but yesterday Mr. Sperling met him coming out of one of the fine German houses with two ricksha loads of lovely curios which he had no doubt had very ~~by~~ much admired.

Jan. 12, 1938.

I hope you will be able to get some letter in to us now. The British, German and American embassy staffs are very accomodating if you can hear when any of them will be coming through.

We have been too busy to look after property. Have gone frequently to the places close to the hospital, but it doesn't do much good. Both Japanese and ~~the~~ American Embassy seals were broken and completely ignored by the soldiers the first few days of their entry into the city and each place has been looted time and again. It does no good to try and clean up the mess until there is some way to keep them out. There have been but one or two places where one could move things with any assurance of safety. I have been unable to get workmen to repair the walls, door, locks and windows or to put caretakers on the place. They would not be safe for so far no proclamation or letter from the Japanese Embassy has been respected by the soldiers. Any Chinese whether <sup>or</sup> foreign property or not is subject to seizure and robbery and a possible thrust from the bayonet. We have in some cases secured a Japanese guard. But they demand charcoal, a stove, and food and a bed which they may take off with them. If they ~~w-~~ are cold they burn up the furniture on the place to keep them warm. The American Embassy staff employed Japanese guards but fired them the second day.

Jan. 13, 1938.

It has been a busy day. Went out early this morning to Ho Ping Men to get some cow feed -- the place had been burned the day before. Then we went to a place near Lotus Lake; here we secured half a load. At another place we got a load of cotton seed cakes. Our ambulance is doing souble duty these days. Will go back again for another load. Then I secured a coffin for John Magee for one of their Episcopal Evangelists from Tang Shan, I believe, who committed suicide as a protest against the present conditions. Then I secured a big cask of bean oil -- 380 ching. We now have a three months

supply on hand. I would worry about this business of supplies if I had time. Yesterday I picked up 15 bags of rice (100chng each) from the coolies at the B. A. T. Most of this was a for our Chinese Christians who are at the Drum Tower Church. Four or five of our faithful South Gate men are sheltered there and they have not been bothered at all. There are no evangelistic workers or other workers employed by our mission in Nanking; only about one or two of the city pastors here.

I decided to accept the four other cows; that makes eight cows, two calves. These four cows had been shut up for a month in a single shed the condition of which was terrible so I rounded them out along with two calves, a goat and a j kid and led the procession back to the hospital. There was plenty of bawling and some of them went under protest but we marched them along and parked them in the front garage. That means an additional supply of milk for our patients. And we needed it for we can not get bean milk which we ordinarily would use.

I go out and get pehtsai by the ambulance loads. The people cannot bring it to us, so some one has to go after it. We found another good nurse today -- a graduate of the Wuhu hospital. About 10 of our 50 nurses are real ones.

Had the American Embassy men over for dinner this evening and Trimmer as he had not met them. The Embassy men are not having such a glorious time of it. They have not been able to get heat, light or water and it is difficult setting up housekeeping and getting supplies. And of course they do not have the interests and activities the rest of us do and with no newspapers or outside activities of any sort whatsoever, with only problems to handle, life seems a bit dull for them. One is shut in and I must admit the atmosphere is extremely f gloomy and dull.

We are all anxious to get to Shanghai now to see our families.

Jan. 15, 1938.

One of the British Embassy men is going to Shanghai tonight and has promised to take any letter we might want to send. I am sending you the letter I have written but could not mail -- quite a stack by now.

Conditions have improved by but horrible things still go on. Two days ago I went into the dispensary and saw a fifteen year old boy on the table with a part of his stomach and some of his intestines protruding. The wound was two days old. He lives out near the Wu Ting Meng Gate. The soldiers had taken him as a laborer to carry vegetables. When he had finished his work they went through his clothing and robbed him of the sixty cents which they found, then stuck him several times with bayonets.

Our British Embassy friends have had a difficult time hearing our stories. They are too raw for them to take so we have had to tone them down considerably. But they have been bumping into some pretty terrible things on their own and getting it first hand. They went on a tour of inspection of the British property and near the A. P. C. at Ho Ping Men they found the body of a woman who had had a golf club forced up internally; a part of it was protruding. Now you know why the people are still terrified.--We-have-been in the refugee camps and why they are still terrified. We have been able to protest them on American property when we have been present but what we have been able to do has been a mere drop in the bucket.

Spent a good share of the day getting hay and cotton & seed cakes to feed our dairy cows. Next week I shall have to rustle rice and coal. I was out with one ambulance today; Grace Bauer took the other one to get some pentsai. She went away out Tung Si Men for her load and got back & safely. It is wonderful the limits to which we foreigners can go without mishap. Some of the diplomatic people who have recently arrived wonder that we have not all been lines up and shot for we have gotten by with a lot.

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Nanking, Dec. 20th 1937

SMTH

~~Harold~~ ~~Hardie~~, ~~Chicks~~, and ~~POIs~~: ...

I will regret to the end of time that I did not get to write up each day's events and each day's reactions to them for the last ten days. They may not have shaken the world, but they have shaken us! ... But I have been either too busy to write or else too tired and discouraged to write or too bewildered to even think connectedly evening or else had my typewriter left at the office.....

I had better go back to Saturday morning, Dec. 11th, by last written press release was on the night of the 10th in which I gave the telegrams sent on the night of the 9th asking both sides to agree to a three day truce for the turnover of the city. That Saturday was a day of heavy gunfire and at noon we were all worrying about Bob with his many wounded cases at the Hospital. Small shells landed in front of Poochayng Hotel (slightly wounding Mr. Sperling's hand) but one landing back of Poochong Hotel killed and wounded about 20 people. That forenoon 9 shells landed from there west to the alleyway by Flopper's house, so that had been a hot afternoon. That was in the southern border of our Zone and the first day artillery had reached us, so we were anxious to see how well the Japanese gunners would live up to their telegram! Well Bob came in late and remarked, "It looks like the Fourth of July! Never saw so many American flags in my life around here!" Charlie replied, "And it sounds like it too!" That afternoon we had no more shells land and the press conference was an informal affair. We had worked hard all day to get T'ang's men to get soldiers out of the Zone, especially around Mutai-shan. Mr. Nelson ping to clear the Zone promised the day before did not materialize. So we did not have much to say at the press conference. But we had an informal snafu with the press men and stated that we thought the Zone as a place of relative safety rather than a place that had been formally declared in effect. T'ang's men asked that day if we had heard about the truce from the Japanese. That night the gunfire was much heavier. Shells were landing in around Teiping Lu. One counted the seconds between the flashes and reported that the report and it was 6 or 7 seconds. So we went to bed feeling that the shells were landing about a mile and a half away. Mills slept in the basement, but we went to our regular beds! The barrage did not come closer so we slept fairly well.

Sunday Morning, Dec. 12th, gunfire was still heavy though there was a lull towards

morning. We went to headquarters at 5 Hinghai Road and a little later Col. Lung and Mr. Chow came from Gen. T'ang's office and asked if we would take over the wounded soldiers. We replied that we could not give any safety to anyone unless the Chinese soldiers were gotten out of the area. If they would do that, we would do what we could about the wounded soldiers. So while they went to convey that message, we talked over and decided we would have to organize an International Red Cross, which Nagge had been working on for three weeks, pronto. To our surprise they came back between 11 and 12 and said that Gen. T'ang wanted us to send a man out between the fighting lines to propose the three-day truce to the Japanese directly! We worked around on that with details of how it should be done. Sperling was to go out with a white flag and white sign saying "Please stop firing, we have a message for you." Also we were to telegraph the Ambassador in Hankow and the Japanese in Shanghai. We worked out the message carefully and got their agreement. It was nearly 3 before it was all fixed up, - guess they left about two, though. Mills got some bed sheets from the house and we had the message painted on one of them. We worked in the greatest secrecy, because after the word had been sent to T'ang, we decided we might be involved in treason, because they were not anxious for us to send word to Chiang Kai-shek. (But we worked up the message to Johnson afterwards and decided to insist on his being told to notify both the Chinese and the Japanese authorities that this was proceeding. Well, they did not come back. Nor did we get any lunch. Most of the fighting that afternoon was off to the south, and we at headquarters heard very little of it until some Chinese big guns west of us opened up. But in any concentration on these internal (inside the office problems) we did not notice it. So when we went down to the press conference, yes, on the night of the 12th, we remarked that it had been quieter! McDaniel snorted. We found that he and other press men had found the Japanese laying down a regular barrage right along Chung Shan Tung Lu and Kuo Fu Lu (so they said). But by that time we knew the jig was up, because at 4:30 there was a dash out in front, and a preaching squad led by Huan Tang we had sent out the day before also to explain to the soldiers in hopes of getting them away from Mutai-shan (so as not to involve anti-foreign feeling on the Zone) came in with word that retreating Chinese troops had tried to commandeer their car. The retreating, straggling troops were going right through the Zone. There was great excitement. We had feared the retreat of the troops was the worst of all events we had to face. I insisted on sitting down before staff conference at 8:00 and jotting down what we would do. One was to let the troops go thru the Zone if

they would disarm! We had a brief staff conference and then a brief press conference, and decided to let people get home early. On the way home, we found whole regiments of Chinese troops marching through Shanghai and Ninghai Roads, so we kidded George about his announcement at the Press Conference that we would disarm them! They were in full equipment. Searle remarked when we got home that when that night was over we would probably be past the worst. I was glad the Chinese troops were on their way out in good season because we knew the plan to keep them here to fight in the walled city was like keeping them in a rat-trap. Shell fire continued through the night and machine gun fire. But we slept in our regular beds still. During the night about 3, machine-gun fire sounded close, but there was nothing I could do about it. However I was conscience stricken that we were not out on the perimeter to stop the Japanese from fighting into the Zone. About 6:00 I thought the machine-gun fire was at Shanghai Road, so I decided to get up and investigate. I went down Ping Tsang Hsiang and met a policeman moving his stuff in. He had come from beyond Sing Kai Ko and said there were no Japanese there yet.

(Pardon me, I squeezed over into the 13th. But there were no shells that landed in our Zone on the 12th, so my spot map for that day was clear. That was one reason we slept so peacefully with shellfire going on all night! We trusted the Japanese gunners implicitly not to shell the Zone.)

#### Monday morning, Dec. 13th

As I went down the road on the morning of the 13th, I saw people with their bedding headed out of the Zone. So I told them they could find places in the Supreme Court farther north. They looked at me in amazement that the lao peh sing could live in the Supreme Court! We had not given out a final announcement of public buildings because the papers stopped -- Central News went out the night of the ninth and we had been releasing through them. Our "Safety Measures" warning people to take cover got out Saturday morning, but did not get in print for distribution as handbills. I found people on the road looking for food, so I went over to Wutaishan to see if the soup kitchen was ready to open there. They had not opened the day before because so many Chinese soldiers were stationed there and would eat their rice. Officers had up to about that time held them up on construction because they said they were in a fortified area. I found a number of banners in the wrong place down there and was full of gusto in getting them down, explaining to the crowds that gathered where the boundaries were and it would confuse the Japanese when they came if they were inside the Zone. I went on down to the corner of Hang Chung Lu and Shanghai Road. On the way only saw a very few straggling Chinese soldiers in retreat, and they were peaceably buying things from vendors along the way. There had been no apparent disorder in the Zone during the night, but retreating troops had discarded various forms of equipment. I came back and went along Kwangchow Lu to see if any soldiers were still there. Found the encampment at the foot of Wutaishan cleared out and a fairly good hash left. We had been getting in all the things we could, so determined to send Hatz down to salvage that car. Went over to Ninghai Road by Ginling and found our flags out of place and told people about it. Found several discarded uniforms in the road, so told people and police to carry them out of the Zone. Then back up through Tao Ku Tsuen home. I did not realize it was 8:15! The gang were thru breakfast, but I ate. They were glad to know it was so peaceful out. After eating, George took me over much the same road to see some things and we checked up on the hash, then to Ginling to consult Minnie. She asked me why I looked so weary, but I told her I was enjoying it!

At the office we learned that Col. Lung had left Mr. Rabe \$50,000 for the Red Cross and I was terribly anxious to get that committee organized before ten o'clock. Well we got hold of John Magee and Forster and I practically dictated a committee and its chairman and sec., etc. He was for going right out to pick up the wounded first. Then I suggested that he as chairman and Forster as secretary go the the three places designated and see if the staff there would cooperate: Waichiaopu, T'entaopu and Chuinchengpu. I set to work with Mills and others to get out instructions to be lithographed pronto to the people as to what to do at the "critical moment". Rabe thought the Japanese would machine-gun the streets, so we told the people to take cover. Word was to go out through our housing organization and later by handbill. Well on our way home at one we found that the Japanese had reached Kwangchow Road. We drove down there and met a small detachment of about six Japanese soldiers, our first---but far from our last! (At the corner of Shanghai Road and Kwangchow Road, they were searching a bus, but not harming the people.)

So at lunch we tried to spot the Japanese flags over the city. Even though the five on Drum Tower, top and each corner, were Japanese flags, but later learned they were still Zone flags. No Japanese flag on the Japanese Embassy yet. As we started back to the office in the car with Fitch, he wanted to also see the Japanese, so we turned down Shanghai Road. As we did so, we saw a small detachment of Chinese soldiers, about 20, marching southwards. Hatz came sizzling down the road and told them the Japanese were just over the hill. So they marched northward again, led by their brave young officer. That reminds me, we did see them before lunch. Two men came to our office, Chinese lower officers, and asked for protection. One they were able to give citizen's clothes, but the other left. He was the young officer leading this detachment. We drove down, saw the Japanese, and came back to warn them to disarm and get away. But they despairingly said they had no "pian ih". At the office we decided Rabe and I must contact the Japanese at once. So we got Cola, who could speak some Japanese, and started out to explain three things to them - as high an officer as we could find: The Zone, the new Red Cross Committee, and the fact there were some disarmed soldiers that had entered the Zone. Magee and Forster had found only a staff at the Chuinchengpu, and staffs at both other places gone. But they were willing to help. So he was keen to organize and decided to set up first at the Waichiaopu and get that going. Fighting was going on further north, so did not know how much he could do. We went down Shanghai Road and found no Japanese soldiers on Kwangchow Road. Near the Seminary we found a number of dead civilians, about 20, whom we later learned had been killed by the Japanese because they ran. That was the terrible tale that day, any one who ran was shot, and either killed or wounded. Our instructions were off, but had not reached the people! But along that street we found a Japanese soldier, riding nonchalantly along on a bicycle with rifle strapped over his back. We hailed him, and he told us we would find an officer on Han Chung Lu near Sing Kao Ko. Sure enough we found a detachment of about 100 men sitting on the south side of the road, and a large group of Chinese civilians on the opposite side looking at them. We tried to explain to the officer the Zone and drew it on his map of Nanking, note it was not on his map. He said the Hospital would be all right if there was no one in there that shot at the Japanese. About the disarmed soldiers he could not say. So we took what we thought was the cheerful news to the Waichiaopu and found they had already disarmed the extra men there. Then we took John and were going to T'ehchiaopu and Chuinchengpu to disarm all there. Mills advised against it because of fighting in north city where some Chinese soldiers still held on. Chung Shan Road was strewn with stuff thrown away by retreating soldiers. As we approached Shansi Road Circle, a sight startled us; a crowd of men in motley attire crowded around an auto were coming around the corner. We soon found it was Charlie in a car leading a group of disarmed soldiers to the Law College. They hugged that car! At the circle we met a detachment of soldiers in arms. We told them to disarm and some of them did. Yates McDaniel was there to help in the process and had been helping Charlie. Then a man came down Shansi Road riding on a horse and shooting his rifle in the air. We jumped in our car because we thought it was a Japanese and there would be a fight right there! But it turned out to be a Chinese and Hatz took his rifle away from him! At headquarters, nearly 4:00, Mills decided against going on, but John went to disarm the Tehtaopu and Chuinchengpu with Cola's assistance. At headquarters we found a mob of men outside that Sperling and others had been disarming. The place was becoming an arsenal! They were marched into the Police headquarters near us. About 1300 in all, and some still in soldiers clothes. (Written Dec.22, '37) We argued the Japanese would not shoot disarmed men. That disarmed soldier problem was our most serious one for the first three days, but it was soon solved, because the Japanese shot all of them -- at least we will not believe otherwise until more of them turn up again. They marched out all of them finally and finished them. We all put up a terrific fight - in words only - to save those 1300 Wednesday afternoon, and the officer promised to leave them till the next day if we would divide them up then. So we went to staff conference quite relieved. In half an hour we were called that they had come back for them. Sure enough there they were with 200 soldiers and were roping them up. We, Rabe and I, sped to Fukuda, or anyone, and got him. He politely assured us they would not shoot them, but not firmly enough for us to believe it. Riggs and Kroger stayed to watch, but the soldiers drove them away. We got back in time to see the last of them march out to their fate.

(In spite of my intention to make this a temporal sequence, it is falling into topical) Thursday noon (Dec.16th) Charlie came home crying. "They have taken them all out and shot them." He struggled all morning at the Ministry of Justice (ironically enough) to keep the officer from taking a group of civilians along with the soldiers. The officer

L.S. Dec 13th.

(Dec 16th cont.) insisted on taking all of them and the police stationed there, 50. Forty police from another place were taken on the same charge of harboring soldiers. To date (12/22/37) about half of the police have returned.

Monday night, 13th Minnie came to report that soldiers had camped on their rice for the soup kitchen, so it could not open the next morning. We went to Rabe's to have one of his men draw up a letter in Japanese to present to the guard the next morning. On the way home we ran on a detachment of soldiers at the corner of Hankow Road and Ping Tsang Hsiang. They were very gruff and told us to "Hurry home." When we got there we found Charlie, Gee and Ku. When they came out of Illick's house after supper, Gee went down to the Univ. gate to see what was going on. He called back excitedly to Charlie, so Charlie went down - first tossing a pistol he had saved from the disarming into the hedge. Found the soldiers had shot a civilian passing by, and were examining Gee very suspiciously because of his University badge. After many attempts, Charlie got them to believe Gee and Ku were his personal servants, so they let them come home with him. They all slept here that night and until we opened the University to protect women about Thursday or Friday.

Tuesday morning, the 14th we all got up and felt the fighting was over. There had been a lot of shooting during the night, but we put that down as caused by the fact the Japanese soldiers were "jittery" their first night in town. Now the Japanese were here; would set up an orderly regime and things would be rosy. I typed out a letter to explain our Zone to the Japanese High Command before breakfast and we got Rabe's man to translate it into Japanese. So Rabe, Forster to represent our Red Cross Committee, and I started out to find them with a Japanese interpreter from the Red Swastika. We ran on to Fukuda at Sing Kai Ko. He is Attache to the Japanese Embassy. He had left here on August 16th. Almost his second sentence was: "The Army wants to make it hard for Nanking, but we are going to try to moderate them." (When we discovered the Army systematically burning the city night before last (written Dec. 22nd) we at last believed his words!) He sent us to the Chung Yang Fang Tien to see an officer. We went up through broken glass and sand to a bedroom and this officer received us in a half dress and a bad beard and a face of iron. He merely replied that the High officer had not come. They had made many sacrifices getting to Nanking and the Chinese had shot their people. That was that! As some one said later, "Holy smoke, these Japanese believe their own propaganda!"

Forster wanted to see the ACM property, so we went down Taiping Lu. As on Chung Shan Tung Lu, soldiers in 2's and 3's were going from shop to shop breaking in doors or plate glass windows and taking whatever they wanted, chiefly liquor then. The ACM parish house had one shell hole in it. The church was in tact. Then to Peh Hsia Lu and found Me's house had been gone through. I picked up three photo albums in the yard. We found two soldiers in the next house at the time. Kiessling and Bader's had been broken into that morning and also Hempel's Hotel. Hempel today (Dec. 22) swore that there was no looting there by Chinese soldiers before they left. A few Chinese hotels opened up to let people drink of their liquor, but soldiers kept people from robbing ordinary shops. And all the shell fire had done comparatively little damage in South City.

As we came back, we found 50 men being led off roped on Hankow Road just above our house. We argued with the soldiers. Finally Forster stayed with them. I went back to get Rabe and started to Chung Yang Fang Tien. When we got there the officer was too busy to see us; then to Sing Kai Ko, and the officers there had no interest. Back up - oh, I forgot one important sentence from the man at Nanking Hotel: "We fight the Chinese soldiers; but we love the common people." ---we wanted to throw his words back in his mouth! --- Back up Chung Shan Lu and found the men had reached the corner of Kwangchow Road, across from S.C.A.S. Bank. We argued some more and an officer came by in a car and stopped. He took us to Sing Kai Ko again to see another officer who had just arrived. But he said "Wait till tomorrow when the head man arrives." We showed all these men our letter in Japanese in which we explained the Zone, the disarmed soldiers and the Red Cross. All they saw was the disarmed soldiers! That was our letter of Dec. 14th, which along with the other you may see some day. So all we wrote on the 15th was a simple letter further pleading for the welfare of the disarmed soldiers.

Wednesday morning, Dec. 15th, armed with that new appeal for the disarmed soldiers on the basis of humanity and recognizing the laws of war (both ways!) we were going to see the high man when he came. But before the letter was finished, Fukuda called at our Headquarters to find out what the Zone was! We gave him copies of all the documents and answered his questions about population, food supply, etc. Then Mr. K. Sekiguchi came with cards from

Dec. 15th (written Dec. 22, '37)

the Captain and Officers of J.I.J M. S. Seta. He was glad to cooperate and would help in starting the power plant. He had had a sailor shot by a sniper, so warned us they had to be careful to get all the soldiers cleaned out. But he was much more happier than the army men and more congenial. Offered any of us a trip to Shanghai and told us about the ransy and how sorry they were about it all. Meanwhile, Swan, our interpreter from the Red Sw. strike, a 60 year old former secretary in the Japanese Embassy here, had arranged for us to meet the head of the Special Service Corps who was to arrive that day, at noon. So we dashed down there, and Fukuda was with him to translate. The Chief  
(Written Dec. 24th, '37) Back to the interview (ed. noon, Dec. 15th) -

The Chief of the Special Service Corps told us they must search the city for Chinese soldiers; would post guards at entrances to Zone; people should return home as soon as possible; trust humanitarian attitude of Japanese Army to care for the disarmed Chinese soldiers; police might patrol within the Zone if armed only with batons; 10,000 fan of rice we had stored in the Zone could be used by us for refugees; telephone, telegraph, and water must be repaired, so he would go with Habe to inspect; asked us to assist in getting 100-200 workers for the next day-will pay; will inspect rice locations and guard... The only things actually carried out were to put the disarmed soldiers out of their misery; allow police; call on us daily for help in starting electricity, water and telephone, but at the same time shoot the electricity workers; and so far not interfere with our use of the rice we had stored excepting that soldiers took bags and workers from rice shops, so they all closed for nearly a week. Yesterday they were opening in the garage of this house. The way the situation looks now, most of our rice will go out for soup kitchens, for practically free distribution. We had hoped to sell a large part of it and use the proceeds to buy more; so as to use it as a rotating fund for feeding the refugees through the winter. If we do not sell much, we hope later private traders will start getting rice in- if the Japanese military will ever make up to the fact that normal economic life on even a restricted scale must get started if people are not to starve. At present we are pretty much in the commandeering stage, similar to the early days of the Soviet Revolution in Russia- and yet the Japanese Army is fighting Communism!

When we got back from that interview, we ran into the officer taking off the 13,000 men in the police headquarters, which I have already told you about. We were all much depressed that evening about the shooting of disarmed soldiers and the increasing amount of looting and raping by Japanese soldiers. The thing many had feared, either looting by retreating Chinese soldiers or disorders amongst the civilian population, did not occur at all! The one thing we did not expect: raping, robbery, and killing by Japanese soldiers did occur and continues through with decreasing intensity since Sunday.

Dec. 16th - As a result of the terrible situation we are facing, the next morning, Thursday, before breakfast I drew up a letter which was criticized at the breakfast table and added to. Besides presenting a list of 15 cases of disorder (the beginning of our file of cases which now reaches 147), we asked for searching to be done by squads under a responsible officer, guards at the entrances to the Zone at night to keep stray soldiers out, and plates for windshields of cars and trucks- our trucks were at a standstill. So that morning foreigners started trucking. Zial did this well for a few days, but then was seized in a car by Japanese soldiers and lost his nerve, and would not go on the road. So I think it was Friday or Saturday that Plummer began conveying a truck. It was that noon, Thursday, that Charlie came home crying. He had been hit twice by an officer. That night Minnie asked for foreign men to come over. We thought it was to stand watch, so three of us went to take turns, Searle, Charlie, and I. I slept in the little house near the gate where Mr. Chen stays. The other two up at the new faculty house, empty though. Nothing happened but a soldier brought in a half fan of rice late in the evening!

Friday, Dec. 17th we got out our letter of the 17th, copy of which we at the Embassy, having duplicates made by typists there. That letter was presented to Mr. Fukui about 3:00 and since they could not get regular patrols as asked for, he agreed to our verbal suggestion that guards be stationed that night at eight places where there were mostly women. To our surprise at 5:30 he came to our Headquarters with the head of military police and asked us to show them the eight places, with a truck-load of gendarmes. Only 17 in the city! We took him to Ginling, etc. - We thought action had begun. But after supper we decided to go to Ginling anyway, and Searle to the U.N. because, he said, "I will believe the Military Police are coming when I see them." So Fitch drove back to Mr. and Riggs home and one man to the Univ. Hospital. Then came back for us. Minnie was going, but I decided to go along, so as to see what the situation was, and to be with

L.S. Friday, Dec. 17th (cont.)

George on the way back. At nights then, we travelled at least two together and in a car with American flag. We drove up to Ginling gate and blithely called, "Kai men". The gate opened and Japanese soldiers with bayonets shoved Mills and me into the roadway inside, another poked Fitch out of the car, and took the keys. They lined us up on the east side of the road, and Minnie, Mrs. Chen and Mrs. Twinem, with a number of stooping servants were on the west side in front of the little gate-house. Good thing Minnie at once told us to be careful as they were very rough. The sergeant gruffly made us take off our hats and searched us for pistols. It turned out he spoke French and one of his soldiers a little English and Chinese. George tried to revive his French, but it was hesitating enough to create suspicion. We were there for over an hour. We showed our passports. George had none, but had a card. They started to let us go twice, then called us back, at first insisting the women all go with us. Finally they let us go at 9:15. We hated to leave the women, but our presence seemed to cause trouble. They declared they must search the place that night for soldiers. We tried to get them to wait till morning. Later we learned that they kept the women at the gate until after 10:00, and then after the patrol had left, the women did not dare to move. The soldiers took Mr. Chen, business manager, with them. They saw forms moving out the back gate, so knew soldiers were probably taking women. In the dormitories they found Blanche Wu, and she said they had taken women. They went to the Practice School where Minnie lives and found Mr. Chen back drinking tea. The soldiers had released him at Kangchow Road. They took twelve girls in all, while the searching party was at the gate. So it is thought to have been a put-up job. Our sudden arrival disturbed proceedings! Well, that took away my gumption for chasing Japanese soldiers! (Oh, Consul General Okazaki called at the office P.M. 17th - or was his visit on the 16th? - see letters 17th and 18th - and said could not recognize us, but would treat us as though had.)

Saturday, Dec. 18th We drew up our famous and most comprehensive letter asking for the restoration of order by all military means possible, assuring them there were no large groups of soldiers left, and would searching be more careful, including that they take over our police in a regular police system. 3rd point: return 90 police and 45 voluntary police taken. We emphasized we wanted no political power. We got that over to Tanaka in the afternoon, and he calmly said he would take it up with the Military. Well during the day the situation got much worse. The place was alive with Japanese soldiers robbing and raping. So Rabe and I decided to go as representatives to the German and American communities and demand action. We did so at 5:30, and found only Okazaki in, so had to talk to him. Rabe went the limit on the fact he was a German Nazi and a recipient of the highest award in Germany, the badge of a political leader. I emphasized that we were merely interested in the humanitarian welfare of the people. Okasaki said he had sent Mr. Fukuda that afternoon to consult the Military. Outside we met Tanaka who had just come back from the military, and said they would place guards at the University and Ginling. We asked what about the rest, - Oh, I believe it was the eight places, but we had increased that request to 18 refugee centers. He said that was all they could do. Luckily Tanaka had been at our office and taken out on a number of cases that afternoon, as had Fukuda. An officer from the Special Service Corps came down to see Rabe about starting the Electric plant, was called to chase soldiers out of Rabe's place, learned of robbing his sub-manager, Mr. Han, and also a case of rape near-by, where the officer caught the man in the act and cuffed him, and then told Rabe he was convinced what we had been saying was right. It was this actual seeing of the cases that convinced the Embassy people. That night we took Mills to Ginling with trepidation, and got there just as the Military police were stationing a guard and a Consul policeman there. One Consular police also came to UN and was very good. After that Minnie said she did not need anyone to come to Ginling until last night, (written Dec. 26th), when they yesterday removed the guard. However, a Consular police was there again last night, too.

That night we took Mills over there to sleep, lest guard would not arrive. After the night before, Mills was shaky about it. I decided to go along again as escort, But we found the Military and Consular police there stationing a guard, so all was happy. But Mills stayed.

December 19th On the morning of the 19th, the night had been so bad, that Bates, Wilson, Fitch and I went to the J. Embassy right after breakfast. Wilson reported the attempted raping in the Nurses' Dormitory, during the night, Bates at the Univ., and George the difficulty of carrying on our work. From there we went to take Searle to Univ. MS., and found they had had trouble during the night, three women raped. On the way out we met Miss Pearl Wu coming in with soldiers following her. We took her in the car over the objections of the soldiers, and went back to the J. Embassy to ask where she would be safe in the city? Started to take her to Ginling, but saw many soldiers at the gate, so brought her on to here. Here she wrote out summaries of cases for me till 2:00. (Sorry job for a Bhi Beta Kappa girl from U.S.!)

Dec. 19th (cont.)

And then to our house for dinner, and for UH to help Miss Hynds. Not much help there, but safer for her. She had been living by herself on Wataishan and excepting for being forced into a porcelain shop one day by J soldiers whom she said were anything but nice, had gotten by.

Dec. 20th, 1937  
8:15 P.M.

Dearest Mardie and Chicks:

Well, it is quite evident now that I am not going to get to spend Christmas with you. Nor is anyone else here going to get home for Christmas. And I fear it is going to be the most dismal Christmas we ever saw in this city or any other, but we hope to be doing the most for a large number of people that we ever were in our lives. In the tremendous human problem we are facing here these days, we cannot think about our own wishes. But nevertheless, I wish I could be with you all for a happy Christmas in Kuling.

Ten days ago tonight I wrote to you that I hoped the Chinese would not fire South City before they left. This evening after 5:00 George Fitch and I drove through South City and found the Japanese systematically burning it! We went down Pao Tai Chieh and saw a soldier entering George's back door, in spite of Japanese Embassy proclamation on it. (Place has already been looted badly by the Japanese soldiers, as has nearly every foreign house in the city since they came. And most of them we had checked up that they were O.K. when the Chinese left.) The last two days Mr. Tanaka of the J. Embassy has been anxious to get Japanese proclamations up on foreign property. With tonight's burning, we are none in a mood to accept the statement the writer made to Gee's man when he was making the proclamations at the University: They are to prevent the soldiers burning foreign property when they burn the city! Also the statement to Gee yesterday by the Embassy man, "Another day may be too late."

When we did not find Tanaka at the Embassy, George suggested that we drive around. It was just after five and getting dark, the first we have gotten away from the office before dark. We left our letter filing cases of disorder, 71-96, and went down Pao Tai Chieh and south over to Taiping Lu. When we crossed the creek on that back road, we ran on to a fire in poor Chinese shops. On Taiping Lu large sections were already burned out, probably the big fires we saw last night. We went south of Peh Hsia Lu and found fires on both sides of the road. Groups of 15 or 20 soldiers were cleaning out such things as looters had left and then building fires in the middle of the shops. We had to turn back because the road farther south was jammed from curb to curb with J. motor trucks and cars getting some stuff out. No fires further south then. We went over on Peh Hsia Lu to Chung Hwa Road and there found the Y.M.C.A. had just gotten under way, with northern half in a sheet of flames from the inside. No fire on either side of it, so it was an inside job. Fires on both sides of the road south of us, so we turned back. Kuo Fu Lu was nearly all burned out last night. So far as we could see, there had been no firing west of Chung Hwa Lu, or west of Chung Shan Lu, as we came farther north. On Tai Ping Road we found a few civilians getting out with their bedding. It was a very depressing sight to see all this destruction, and what it means we are in for here this winter, but I was glad I wrote you a week ago tomorrow, Dec 14th, forenoon, I was through that same area with Halsey and the area was intact, excepting for damage done by shell fire. So I was under before the world that the Chinese did not burn it out, and now the Japanese are burning it out!

There is probably little we can do about it, but we will work out some form of protest tomorrow. T... The first outside news we have had in all that time, or rather since Sunday night, Dec. 12th, because we had electricity at headquarters up till that time. Telephones worked till the morning of the 15th!... Well for the news today. A Mr. Sindberg, a young man who is watching the Kiangnan Cement works at Hsi-Tai-Ie-Han Tai Tsaishan came into the office today. He had walked in the twenty miles today. He got into the city by catching a J. motor lorry. No foreigners are supposed to be allowed to enter or even reenter the city now. But he has his own DeLoo radio out there and has been getting the news. He says the Panay incident is much more than we had heard. We got that through the Japanese Naval people, who arrived in Hsiakwan on the morning of Dec. 15th, last Wed. And Amer. is making quite a fuss about it, making the Emperor himself to apologize. Things are also hot around Hongkong, and British ships were involved, - he even said the Cricket had been hit by bombs. The Panay was also machine gunned and boarded, etc. It was enlightening to know something was happening outside of Kuling.

Dec. 21, 1937 - 8:30 P.M.

Today have answered a note from Dr. Rosen on the Bee and gave a list of all 22

L.S. Dec. 21, 1937 (Cont.)

foreigners here and said we were all well. Luckily we are! But how much longer it is going to be healthy for us we do not know! But we have plenty of food with all the "loot" each fellow has brought in from his house, and the fact people who are killing their pigs to keep the Japanese soldiers from stealing them know we pay for our meat. The cook has not been on the street since the Japanese got here a week ago yesterday!...

Rabe's reply to Rosen was the high light of the day. We went to the Embassy to present an appeal to the Japanese authorities in the name of the total foreign community, 22 signatures, asking that the burning of the city be stopped, disorder amongst their troops be stopped now that it had gone on a full week, and that ordinary civilian life be restored so food could come in: housing, security and food. When we got there, they handed Rabe a note from Rosen asking if we were all well, and if German property was all right! Rabe was spokesman, and after Tanaka read the petition and replied they would do the best they could in a few days, Rabe told him about Rosen's letter and said that he would have to reply that all German houses but two had been damaged by the Japanese! This petition idea was one we had had in mind for several days but held it in reserve. When they started systematically burning the city the last two nights, we decided it was time to use it. At least I so decided during the night and drew up the letter this morning before breakfast- our meal times are our most representative committee meetings - 8 of us with Charlie who is eating here now: Bob, Searle, Charlie, Mc., Plummer, Sone, Fitch and I. In these hard times it is certainly a life-saver to be in a gang. While we get terribly discouraged, we at least can cheer one another up and even make fun over the tragedies. It is the most difficult situation I have ever had to face and last week and through Sunday we were about sunk. But conditions are improving a wee bit now, excepting for the burning of the city. But order is somewhat better. Whether that is because of military orders or because we have the women and children largely concentrated in big refugee camps, 25 in public and institutional buildings, with a total of 68,000 people. Ginling College had nearly 8,000 today! The place is covered with women and their bedding! But the moving in from other places practically stopped today. Ginling jumped 2,000 yesterday! But this concentration cuts down on the percentage of women raped: 2 or 3 out of 4 to 8,000, instead of 2 in one family household of 30 to 40 people. With guards at some places, that helps. If things clear up soon enough, our reserve of rice will carry us through along with the private supplies any one with any means brought into the Zone. With all the looting by Japanese soldiers, it is surprising how much has survived!

I did not finish Rabe's letter! He used very flowery German to tell Rosen that he was delighted to say that two German houses in the city positively had not been damaged, that Rosen's car, along with many other German cars, was rendering excellent service for the Japanese Military, and that he hoped he would be here for Christmas Eve because by then we hoped to have water, electricity and telephone going! Then added list of foreigners and said all were well. That was a masterpiece! The note had to go open for courtesy's sake through the Japanese Embassy. And when they had turned down the telegram we Americans tried to send yesterday asking our Embassy people to get a diplomatic representative here as quickly as possible, Rabe knew he had to be careful to get anything through. He was much more tactful than we were! He got up with blood in our eyes yesterday morning and had to write the telegram 6 times before we could get it toned down enough at breakfast table to dare send it. Then they turned it down because we said "Situation daily more urgent." because they claimed it was getting better. There had been enough threatening us by Japanese soldiers that we chased away from women they were about to rape in gatehouses and basements and bedrooms to make us feel feelings was rising against Americans in particular. The flags had been torn down in four places and property was all looted excepting Claude's ~~own-down-in~~ four-places-and-property and this place. (Charlie says our house at 25 has escaped looting at least in any bad way so far, because the wall is hard to get over and there are so many people in it!) However in most of the American houses they have only looked for little things and have not taken a great deal in most places. With us the things they want are in kulling: bedding, cloths, food and money. I just have enough cash to pay my two weeks' board bill. But Bob is in no hurry to get that! He wants to keep money scattered. But if I need money, there is some mission money Searle has I can draw on.

When Bates talked to Fukuda this morning, he said the situation was better, and for us to let them know of any cases today. So I stayed at the office till six getting out copies of cases reported up to 4:30 this afternoon. That is the sorriest job I ever had in my life! Finished typing up case 113, and most of those are compound cases, and that is not a drop in the bucket of what has been going on. At the peak of the disorder Saturday and Sunday we estimated there must have been over 1000 women raped every night and on those two days, probably as many by day, in the Safety Zone! Any young women and a few old women were

susceptible if caught, Pastors wives, univ. instructor's wives, any one with no distinction of person, only that the prettier ones were preferred. The highest record is that one woman was raped by 17 soldiers in order at the Seminary! In America people used to mention "rape" in a whisper. It is our daily bread here almost! Stories pore in so rapidly and so hard to keep up with, that I began taking them down in short-hand at the table. If I waited till I could persuade people to write them out, they were too old for the Embassy, which wanted reports on the daily situation. So now I take them in shorthand wherever I am.

The thing about the whole situation that startles us all, and we wonder how long the miracle is going to last, is how we unarmed handful of foreigners can go around here and chase the Japanese soldiers out of rooms in school buildings, rooms in foreign houses, out of gate-houses and rooms in Chinese homes, and still no one get hurt. The soldiers often actually run away. part of it is pure bluff. If we batted an eye, we would be done for! Sperling is regular policeman over at headquarters and is on call all day for that service in almost any home in the area. The Japanese soldiers now run when they see him coming. The soldiers are all armed. This is especially a miracle when they bayonet or shoot any Chinese that dares to say a word or even runs for help. Saturday and Sunday I expected the charm to break at any moment, and the few threatening ones showed us that we may have to let up on chasing them out of Chinese homes, but pressure from the Military seems to be weakening the nerve of the soldiers too, so they are not so "li hai". Although one of three, that four of us (I was detailed for that job and picked up Fitch, Bob and Me on the way, I am glad to say) chased out of a gate-house, where they were stripping two girls there at the turn of the road on Ping Tsang Hsiang, was hard enough boiled and mean enough to make us realize that it would not take much to make him shoot! But we stood around and said nothing till he finally walked off. I have gotten in for much less of this than others. Searle was driven wild on Sunday with it at the Univ. Charlie had been on it several days too, but yesterday got to trucking rice and coal, and he feels much better because he can see something accomplished by night. It is taking some trucking to keep up with the rice and fuel needs of these big refugee camps! And no Chinese dares go on the street with a truck. Even Plummer was trucking rice and coal on Friday and Saturday, while Charlie was busy chasing out Japanese soldiers. They not only have to ride the trucks, but they have to go to a house at Kulou where Red Swastika coolies are living, escort them to the Univ., watch them and the truck while it is loaded, ride the truck on its rounds making deliveries to keep Japanese soldiers from grabbing it, bring the truck back, and then escort the coolies home! Even then it is a fight to keep Japanese soldiers from taking the coolies or truck.

Today Charlie showed a ray of light to a Japanese officer. He came to the Univ. to demand 15 workers. Charlie said he could get all he wanted for him if he would give them an arm-band that would protect them and promise them regular pay and food. He said he could do that. So Charlie said he could get him a thousand. The officer had thought only of commandeering them! We offered a week ago tomorrow to open an employment bureau for the Japanese where we could control the terms of employment and give the men some protection, but they did not take us up on it. We may suggest it again. ...

The Japanese are calling in such business men as there are in town tomorrow for a conference. That is one sign of an attempt by them to return to normal. But the burning of the city is certainly a contradiction of it. So Searle in his letter this afternoon reporting cases- He has a thought for the day just as I do\* said "Let us know whether you intend to restore normal conditions or merely want to destroy the city. Then we can act accordingly, but please don't kid us!"

Well, if we last long enough, we may wear the Japanese out first! We have gotten away with telling them much more than we thought we could a week ago, and the Embassy people are awake to the problem, but the Military either will not, or are too inefficient.

Dec 22, '37 Well, it gets closer to Christmas, and I have found no way of communicating with you. Babe and Mills took over a letter this afternoon asking the Japanese Embassy to ask the Army to forward our telegram, but leave out two words "daily more" in the sentence. "Situation daily more urgent." This was Mills thought for the day at breakfast this morning. He drew up the letter for explaining why we had a right to have a diplomatic representative here. But I fear our approach has not been as happy as that by Babe in his humorous letter. Of course, he had a better opening than we did. Well, they were not very happy about it, and will let us know what the Army says. So that queers somewhat our asking them to send a personal message. Some gave them a long one about his family at Bokanshan asking someone in Shanghai to get them out of there. And that had not been sent yet. We do think that if we contact the Navy directly, they will send a personal message without question. But they

Dec 22, 1937 (cont.) are in Hsiakwan!

10.

Plummer's move is the only strategical move we made today, the special service corps of the Military Police were up to see Rabe this morning, to say they were going to register all the population. He thought it also included a committee they have for the Safety Zone. So we had some hopes it might mean the beginning of their assuming some administrative responsibility for the city. But so far only orders for registration of "peaceful citizens" and thereafter you can only continue to live in Hanking if you have your registration card! The good old Japanese system!

The new development on the bad side is that now the Chinese who are becoming cronies of the Japanese soldiers are appearing. Last night a Chinese came the second time to the Univ. for girls for a certain detachment of soldiers. "Pimps", Searle had to judge his case. The police wanted to strangle him, but Searle persuaded them to put him in safe keeping. This afternoon we found one leading soldiers to girls opposite headquarters. The Chinese were about to tear him up, for Fitch persuaded them to put him in safe-keeping in the basement over night. What then? At the Univ. the police feared to let the man go, for fear he would bring back the soldiers who would clean out the bunch. So these scalliwags who are developing forbode no good!

The other thing is that the systematic burning of the city continued today and tonight. They have burned most of the east side of Chung Shan Lu up as far as Huang Li Kan. The house back of Marx's went this afternoon, and there are indications they are now starting on houses now that they have finished the main shops, big and small, along the main streets. So far no burning that we know of on this side of Chung Shan Lu so we hope they may spare most of the Safety Zone. But it looks as though outside of that, excepting foreign property, is marked for destruction.

Poor Rabe has been very anxious to get the electric plant started as a demonstration of willingness to cooperate. But today when they went down to get the workers, they found that of the 54, only 11 could be found. The Japanese had shot the other 43 several days ago! They were at Hoge. and when the Japanese asked there if all the people in the compound were Hoge workers. The care-taker said there were 54 electric plant workers. They said, "Well, that is a govt. institution, so they will have to be shot." The care-taker then said that 11 were men that had helped at fixing the Hoge electric equipment, so they spared them. The others were led out to the river bank, and machine-gunned. What a pitiless and senseless brutality! And now it proves to have been cutting off their nose to spite their face! Bodies are beginning to rise in ponds around town now. And individuals are coming back that have miraculously escaped from groups of 30 to 100 or more who were lined up and shot. Nuff said!

Today robbery and rape continued almost as bad as ever. Yesterday most of the large concentrations reported almost no cases, but last night and today the raids on them began again. The Univ. last night was favored with a raid ~~of~~ in autos! High class now! But the Consular policeman sleeping at the gate-house was finally able to talk them out of taking girls. Today near headquarters Kroger and Hatz were trying to save a house from rape and robbery by a drunken soldier. The man turned on Kroger and was going to tie him up and lead him off to shoot him! A Chinese boy ran to Headquarters to get Fitch, who took Rabe with him and dashed to the rescue. By a miracle, Tanaka and a general were touring the Zone and passed the place and somewhat heard the trouble and went in. The General first asked the soldier, who said Kroger had attacked him! Then the General asked Kroger, who told him he merely politely asked him to leave - luckily it was one time Hatz had not biffed the man on the chin! So the General cuffed and kicked the man severely, but let him go! A cuff or a requirement of salute is all they do to stop rape, robbery and shooting! And none of the soldiers have any identification mark on them, so there is no way of recording it against them. This man was actually threatening Kroger with a bayonet too. We are glad it was a German! But I agree with Rabe that we have got to stop trying to get them out of Chinese houses. They only admit our right to do it on foreign property. As Mills said yesterday, they are firmly and sincerely convinced that it is all right to do anything to a Chinese, from the top down! Well, not quite that bad. Bates drove Fukuda in a corner on the burning yesterday afternoon and showed he knew it was intentional. Fukuda said that he wished he were out of this mess and back in Tokyo. We think the Embassy people do not like it, but the army does!

As Mills asked tonight, what do we do next? We have about shot our bolts. We have protested up to the point where the Embassy people admit they can hardly go to the Military about protests any more. So I think we will have to follow Rabe's tactics ~~of leaving off for~~

a day or two. Nearly every day since the 14th we have had an ingenious new protest to them, a complaint from the Univ. with all its ramifications from Bates, and a file of cases of

University of Michigan (Ann Arbor, Mich.)

the University of Michigan has been the recipient of a large number of complaints from the public and the press since the 14th of the month. These complaints have been of a very general nature, and have been directed against the administration of the University, and particularly against the Board of Regents. The complaints have been of a very general nature, and have been directed against the administration of the University, and particularly against the Board of Regents.

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Dec. 22, '37 (cont.) disorders by soldiers, with a little covering letter with a jab or two in it! Besides that, Minnie calls on them every day and some of us are over there two or three times. That is a great load. And it is not doing much good.

So we can only go ahead with our pudding: trucking rice and coal to refugee camps, filing cases of disorders, etc. If there does not develop something more serious to protest about tomorrow, as usually does, we may politely ask for a reply to our petition yesterday.

Another miracle - Lindberg got in from Tsifssachi today again in the car Rabe loaned him. Picked up a soldier on the way who talked him in at the gate! Brought us two pigs and three bags of sweet potatoes. And Cinling gave us 2 geese today. So Christmas looks better....

Dec 23, '37 ... There was some improvement today. Whether it is because of more guards in various places, or because it began to drizzle today, I can't tell. At least there are less soldiers on the streets and such fewer calls for help. However some on his trucking has had trouble. Some Japanese soldiers were pulling down the American flag at Stanley Smith's house. That is the ninth case. It was the special investigation squad for the Zone! They were putting up their banner. After a hard time when they pushed him out in the street, he signed a statement loaning them the house for two weeks, but they put up the flag and put the banner on the gate. Bates says it should be reported to the Embassy in the morning. ...

The J. took 200 men out of the camp at the RLTS and shot them. Some of them were probably soldiers, but people there say over half of them were civilians. We were in hopes the fury of the Japanese Army had been vented and we would have no more shooting. One man came back to tell the tale. He was wounded and partly burned. We have not been able to clear up whether that was the same as another report or not. But another man came in today with his face all burned and probably his eyes burned out. His report was that 140 of them had been bunched together and then gasoline thrown on them and then set on fire! Horrible! Whether they are the same group or not we do not know. The group that were shot were reported to have been covered with gasoline and the bodies burned. The man that escaped was down underneath and later got away....

We have invited Rabe, Sperling and Kroger to supper tomorrow night for Christmas Eve. And are having Minnie, Mrs. Twinen, Blanch Wu and Pearl Wu - Bromley over to dinner Christmas noon.

Fukuda is going to Shanghai by plane tomorrow and has offered to take any personal messages. So, since they are subject to his inspection(!) we will send you a brief telegram to this effect: "Merry Christmas. We are all well and hope you are the same." Hope the American Consulate-General in Shanghai gets it through all right. Mc, Mills, Trim and I will join on it.

Lindberg got back in the city today... He has offered to try to get word to the E.L.S. Bee laying off Hsiakwan if it becomes urgent enough.

Bob has those two burned men at the hospital but doubts whether they will live. The one with his eyes gone, it is a question whether it would be a benefit to him if he did live. But how he survived to walk to our headquarters is more than I can tell. A man was kind enough to guide him there. But the report Bates got is that it was only 70 that were taken from RLTS; but that is enough for such business. Kao Ting-san was at the Headquarters first thing today about it. Some relative of one of the weavers was taken. So they all wanted our arm-bands. Arm-bands are more popular here now than Easter hats! Ours spread all over the place in no time ~~at~~ and still have considerable popularity. Those with the rising sun have about displaced us though. Now today, we foreigners were all issued arm-bands by the J. Embassy that gives us freedom of the city - inside! .. Charlie arranged to put the weavers on at the Red Swastika soup kitchen at the Univ, as their arm-bands seem to have the most magic with the Japanese.

We have a ray of hope. The new soldiers that are replacing those that have given us so much trouble are to arrive in a day or two. They will be instructed that any one caught in any misconduct will be shot. We say we will believe it when they have all been shot! The refugees are much more worried over the registration of the whole population that is to start tomorrow, supposedly. A card index of the population. Then if you lose your card, out you go. That will be a new threat soldiers can hold over their heads. Little shops along the sides of the road were more in evidence yesterday and this morning. So things are somewhat better. As Searle says, it will probably just gradually get better.

This morning Rabe came in with word that the Consular Police wanted a list of all the foreign houses in the city that had been looted by 2:00 today. So that was about all we got done. But of course we gave only very general indications to degree of looting and reserved right to file claims (indirectly) later through American Embassy. Germans have had 38 out of 47 houses they knew of looted; Americans 158 out of 174 known houses. However, the looting

L.S. Dec 23, '37 (cont.) this time which the Germans put down as "completely looted" is nothing like 1927. Then they took the very doors out. In this case it means the house has been completely ransacked, and any locked doors or chests broken into and stuff dumped out. The soldiers are after small personal articles or valuables, not furniture. They destroy more than they take. The city has the appearance of destruction now. I have not been down to see the burned sections again, - it is on this side of Chung Shan Lu tonight at Kanhoen. Where it will stop no one knows. If it rains hard for a week, that may stop it! Each bunch of shops has to be set, so it is pretty consistent deliberate work. But rain would be hard on the refugees. Mills and Riggs this afternoon tried to move some from Sericulture that were sleeping out of doors to Hwei Wen, but something fell through on it. We thought moving in to Hwei Wen, Chung Hwa and Ming Deh would relieve the pressure in crowded places and start the trek back into areas outside the Zone.

Dec. 24th Bob Wilson helped out some of our house last night. He got home early, about 5:00 for the first time in two weeks, so he went to the Univ. Gardens and bought six big poinsettias and put them around our living room. Then he dug out some red cut-outs and pasted them around the living and dining room. So we look like Christmas anyway. No, we will not have any tree. No one has had time or chance to buy any Christmas presents, and as there are no children in the house, probably no Santa will come. But today Mr. Habs gave us all a diary book for next year. Siemens. It is in German, but very pretty and very useful with cash book and address sections, besides alot of useful information. He is coming to our house tonight for a Christmas dinner on Christmas Eve. Isn't that funny! The Germans think more of Christmas Eve than we do, so we invited three of them for that time. Aunt Linnie and probably Aunt Grace are coming to Christmas dinner tomorrow. So you see we are having two Christmas dinners. .... Providence has certainly given Hanking the proper weather: rain and clouds during air-raiding time, sunshine and warm weather for this time of year during all the "Safety Zone" time until the light rain yesterday and last night. More soldiers moving in today, but Bob says not as many as previous days. Less soldiers around. Searle had a quiet night at the Univ. and less trouble all around today. But soldiers came and ran off with the police man and I think 12 other men at the UN early this morning. That is hard on morale which had begun to build up. I am going to offer to go over tonight to give Searle a break.

The only trouble last night was on the American front. I told you about Sone's case, and so far it is not straightened up yet. This morning the same outfit took over Hillcrest, but when Mills went there and explained, the soldiers decamped. The worst case was the looting of the Amer. Embassy, both the east and west compounds and taking away several cars and trucks from there. Tanaka was much concerned about that, and will station a guard there. Mills is filing those cases, so I do not have more than a page for today! The shooting cases we cannot report yet, because so far we have conflicting evidence, and there is no use exposing the soldiers (supposed to be) that escaped. The man with his eyes burned out mercifully died this morning at the hospital. But another came in with a machine-gun wound in his right shoulder. He claims he was one of a group of about 4000 that were shot on the bank of the Yangtze on the 16th. About 50 survived. Ominously this afternoon as we came by the Embassy to talk over problems with Tanaka, he told Fitch a former Chinese Army officer had reported to them he knew of many former Chinese soldiers in the Zone, many of whom were armed with pistols still. We don't know of any such! It looks like a dastardly deed on the Chinese officer's part to help himself, but at the cost of terrible danger to many civilians. If they find one man in a place with a pistol, they will probably shoot 200! Up until yesterday we hoped we had passed the stage of shooting disarmed soldiers. If there are any left, they are scattered individuals and will give no trouble. There has been no shipping in the Zone even on the 13th or since. However, Tanaka remarked, "You will have less refugees in your camps in a few days." Whether he meant because of soldiers that would be shot, or that young men are to be pressed into labor squads, or they are going to order the people to move to their own homes, some of which are now burned!

Today the registration process is on. The one station we have seen here on Shansi Road has soldiers with bayonets driving or leading people from houses and camps to register! Everything at the point of the bayonet! This afternoon while I was waiting for Fitch outside at the J. Embassy, a Consular police came in, driving a horse-carrage and three or four servants with arm-bands, just like we have, only we have lower numberst) hawling charcoal. If they would work on a commercial basis, they could have the coal delivered without troubling to send a Consular policeman after it! But everything is on the commandeering basis. Consequently, no merchant is interested in stocking up, if he could, and everyone is getting rid of everything they can. So there will be a famine, especially of meat before long. As we pointed in our petition from the foreign community, the situation is leading automatically and rapidly towards a serious famine. Bob says we can have guests tonight and tomorrow, but after that no more! Our canned goods won't last forever. If we are looted like most places, it won't be that long. We have miraculously escaped so far, and so has Claude's place. About the registration, some of the Chinese claim they are leading all those between

20 and 35 into trucks and taking them away, I mean the men. But we did not see that. Only in a few places has it been noticed.

Hwei Wen move last night was not so successful because Embassy and soldiers got their wires crossed. Embassy said not many women; soldiers said no men! So it took Charlie and Mills two hours to straighten it out and finally they let the 100 people in. But meanwhile the guard had burned all the firewood the gateman had and started on his furniture until Mills stopped them. So that move is now held over until tomorrow. Will need to make cooking arrangements there, etc.

This morning the coal man on Hankow Road from whom we have bought all his coal for the soup kitchens came to say the soldiers had commandeered it. He appealed to Tanaka when he was here and he said he could do nothing. But at noon when Fitch and I came home, we found Riggs loading coal out of the yard next to 26! He had talked them out of it and all they wanted was charcoal! Fuel is our chief weakness.

This morning Fukuda was going to Shanghai by air and offered to take any messages. So we gave him our group telegram and I wrote a hasty one page letter to you. ... Searle sent a cable for Bees to send his family. Charlie sent a Christmas card to Grace. Others sent letters to families. Plumer wrote his twice so you may learn more from it. ...

Sindberg was in again this noon, probably has not been home yet. Says he can take a message to the Bee if we will guarantee him the salary he gets for staying at the Cement Works, in case he is detained either by Bee or Japanese. Bates thinks it would be a dangerous thing to attempt and probably would not get there. Better wait until he can get word to some passing foreign boat at Tsitsashan.

Today at the J. Embassy Cola told us that Zial, who is repairing embassy cars there, may be sent to Shanghai to get necessary parts. They burned out the bearings on one of their beautiful cars - the soldiers especially ruin every car they get inside two or three days, so the streets are lined with broken-down cars and trucks, and dead bodies still on the streets. No one hand lifted to clean things up and make it look like a town. Well, if Zial goes, Cola thought we could send some letters by him. Oh I may get further word off to you.

Mr. Hsu, Housing Commissioner, was just in. The Red Swastika group are working with the Japanese to try to get houses of prostitution started so as to satisfy the Japanese soldiers and officers without endangering private homes! Well, Searle suggested that last Saturday in all seriousness and Charlie gasped! Mr. Hsu says they plan two quarters, one north of Kulee R R Station for the common soldiers and one south of Sing Kai Kou for officers. And it will be on a commercial basis. He further says that Mr. Wang, whom we took over as business manager, formerly auctioneer on Pao Tai Chieh, has many connections with the underworld in Nanking! He has been one of our most active men. What a group we got into this adhoc organization! The Germans we have found are sterling men. Since the Japanese came, Rabe has been our veritable salvation. He can push his black swastika out and demand attention! I took the opportunity to explain to Mr. Hsu our policy regarding rice. He told Fitch day before yesterday that Fukuda in a confidential moment said, "Why do these foreigners sell their rice instead of giving it to the poor people?" I explained that we were giving at the soup kitchens (or I believe for most people a few coppers as has been the custom in Nanking.) and to some we sell in hopes of getting funds from those who can afford to buy, with which to buy future supplies of rice. Thereby we can rotate our resources and maybe carry the very poor through the winter. If we give to all now, it would last less than two weeks. He understood and said he had told the Japanese the same. I also said that we must get normal business activity going because the Japanese Army's commandeering system is so inefficient that they will, even if unintentionally, starve the population. Any line of business we can get going will help, but more particularly rice and fuel. He is also trying to get them to have the Shanghai and the Wuhu RR running. Then we can get rice from Wuhu. And he says there are a number of fairly good business men in hiding, and they will come out as soon as there is any security at all. The boys laugh! Searle advocating houses of prostitution; I advocating capitalism!

Sunday, Dec. 26, 1947 10:00 A.M. at office.

Christmas has come and passed and I did not get home to be with you, I am very sorry to say. ... We are sewed up in this situation so much now that it is hard to see any chance of leaving for several weeks. We may have to see this refugee population through the winter.

Friday night Christmas eve, Kroger and Sperling came for dinner along with Trim.

Dec 26th (cont.)

Mr. Rabe felt he had to stay at home to protect his house and 600 refugees in his yard. But after dinner Mills went to stay at Rabe's house while Mr. Rabe came over for a while. Mr. Rabe gave us all good diary books for 1938 Siemens Co. Bob opened one of his bottles of wine given him by the members of the German Embassy for his German guests! Before Bob went to the hospital for the night, he played some Christmas carols and we sat around and sang rather glumly. Kroger has quite an interest in music. Bearle again insisted on going to the University.

Yesterday morning the 4 weavers we have left, 3 old-timers and 1 new student, came to the house to see me for Christmas greetings and to ask for special work. Charlie had arranged for them to help at the Red Swastika soup kitchen at the University, but Mac failed to carry through on it, two days previously. But they were content with that. I should have had dollar bills ready for them or just handed to them. Rabe did not come to the office because of protecting his place, so about 11 I went by there to talk over Scollie hire shop, exchange shop (found from Kroger that small change is piling up from the soup-kitchens, so we want to get it back in circulation as fast as possible) and about methods for encouraging private merchants to bring in rice, because it is evident the Japanese are not going to assign the I.C. any rice. Rabe thought the coolie hire shops should be started by the Yz Chih Hwai which has been meeting with the Japanese for nearly a week. (Autonomous Governing Society). It is composed of a number of small business men, but headed by the fine old man at the head of the Red Swastika. Dr. Hsu, our Housing Commissioner and a fine man with a Ph. D. is on it, and also our Mr. Wang, who has extensive connections with the underworld. (Really a group of business men, who first met on Dec. 22nd to formally organize Jan. 1st.) On the way home I stopped at 25 for the first time in over two weeks, first since the refugees moved in, and gave Chu Sao-Tze a dollar and each of the children a silver dime from the \$5.00 worth of dimes I got from Kroger the first small change excepting two dimes I have had since three weeks ago! When I see the weavers, I will give them each a dollar, too. Was going to get some things from my study, but Riggs could not lock it, so he took out the knob! Not broken into a door, though the Japanese soldiers have been through the house several times. Chu Sao-tze and the children were well, and we had no serious bad treatment by the Japanese soldiers, and have rice for either another month, or the remainder of this. She did not want any more money yet.

At noon we had <sup>Blanch</sup> Blanch Ma, Grace, and Pearl to dinner for goose that Blanch Ma had given us. With all our canned goods, we were able to put up quite a dinner, but with the cook not going on the street, our canned goods are going fast. But with the daily danger of looting, it is hard to get Bob to hold up on the cook. So later we may be down to rice! Our women guests suggested that we invite the other half of our staff at Ginling and the Hospital for New Years! Mrs. Twinn, Mrs. Chen and Miss Rynds. We will. Dinner was interrupted as usual with calls to get soldiers out of Sericulture, stop them taking trucks at the University etc. After dinner when I went out to go to the office, there was a young man with a baby in his arms. He said he was a relative of old Lao Sze. I did not recognize him. He wanted me to "sian fa Tze" to help him pass the Japanese registration, because he had no relatives here. I could think of no plan then, so told him to return in the evening when I thought Riggs could work out a scheme. He is living in a straw mat near Ginling. At the office I arranged to give him a letter saying he was the son of my gardener, but last night he did not show up and had not this morning. How often an opportunity for service is let slip in our confounded rush. Gee listed all the servants in UN houses yesterday afternoon, and all the refugees, over 10,000! Bates said that if we got him in first thing this morning we could put him at 25. But if he does not come in time, he will have to take his chances at his hut. I told him to try to pass as a member of the family who gave him the baby to carry. I left the letter and a letter for Gee with our cook this morning, in case he comes this forenoon. But today is the day for registering the University staff and refugees, so he may be too late, or rather, I was too late in thinking of what to do. I did not recognize him at first, but he is the boy that used to live at our place with Lao Sze. I hope it works out all right. I may later go up and walk around the Ginling area and see if he comes to me.

During the afternoon there was not a great deal to do at the office. Trucks were interfered with because coolies could not until registered and I suppose the same will be true today. But after people once pass the bugbear of registration they feel much relieved. So far reports of any large numbers being taken off as soldiers, about 20 from the Middle School. Fitch was told yesterday that ever soldiers would be pardoned if they had families here to guarantee them and those who had not, would be taken for work corps, not shot. But the officer that took the 20 from the MS said they were to be shot. He certainly hope that will be kept to a minimum.

During the afternoon Fitch and I talked with Mr. Lowe of Metropolitan about business revival. He thinks we are passed the worst, but has no assurances that business men will start yet. He is anxious to get rice moving as soon as possible. Our food people estimate that private stores, with what we have on hand, will carry the population a month. But we

L.S. Dec. 26, 1937 (cont.)

but we do not have fuel for more than 10 days.

Fitch and I left here about 5:00 and drove to British Embassy to see how the men there were getting along. Some sections of North Chung Shan Lu have been cleared of the mass of stuff left by the retreating Chinese soldiers on the night of the 12th. But many blocks still remain, as do the many cars and trucks in front of the burned Ministry of Communications. Ministry of Railways is intact and evidently used by Japanese Military officers. 11 cars have been taken from the British Embassy - so the gang cheered for this equality! Buildings not entered tho. We came back the old carriage road and found the road still a mess. Small groups of soldiers billeted in houses along the way and using furniture, etc., for firewood for camp fires. Many small shops had been burned out, and we found some burning, one set right in front of British Embassy. But in general the burning has stopped. They seem to have burned the shops they have looted! But only a few private residences not connected with shops have been burned.

Mr. Lowe yesterday said a Japanese officer who is a friend of his, says the 9th Division which has been here and given us so much trouble, leaves this morning, the last 3,000 were to start for Changsu this morning at 9:00. The 16th that is replacing them is better equipped - We hope so, because the 9th destroyed all the cars and trucks they got their hands on and we hope the 16th will not do the same with what few remain - and while not so good fighters are better men. We hope so. And the Military Police are putting up the appearance of trying to take drastic action with the soldier who raped an officer girl at the Hankow Road Primary School on the afternoon of the 23rd. They took her to the Bank of Communications and have kept her there till now "to identify the soldier when they catch him." But they say he has gone to Wuhu! Mills has been trying to work an informal habeas corpus to get her out, but failed yesterday. They said today "At 10 or 2:00." They claim they will shoot the soldier if they catch him. But 3 other cases of raping occurred at the same place the same afternoon! So I am thinking, especially since a group of 7 soldiers seem to be returning on raping parties to BPTS each night, that we will put in a special request again for military police at these two places and try to catch this gang. On the whole, though, conditions are much better and we hope will continue to improve. Our rice shop here at 5 Ninghai Road had a good day yesterday, and was after more rice this morning. And Yesterday and this morning we found about as many people on the streets as were there on the 11th and 12th. If we can only get rice and coal to moving into the city soon, we will be out of the worst of it.

Searle went back to the University last night and Mills slept at Ginling. Both reported a quiet night. I definitely arranged with Searle, though, this morning, that I will go to the Univ. tonight. He said he would go with me and introduce me around. He has a cot set up in the Treasurer's office, and has a regular guard system worked out for all night. Gee sleeps in the basement of the same building and is chief of the guard. The consular police has not come the last two nights. I will have to take a lesson in Japanese from Searle too! After this I plan to take alternate nights with Searle. Should have done that from the first, but he was much better at working out the organization with the men there, as they had such great confidence in him.

I must not forget to add that Riggs was hit and slapped by an Inspection Officer in front of Marx's old place yesterday forenoon when he was escorting a woman home he had rescued from Japanese soldiers. We entered formal protest on that. Also on the looting of the American Embassy on the night of the 23rd. Wish those Embassy people would come back to do their own work!

Dec. 27th, 1937 - 3:50 P.M. 5 Ninghai Road

Well, after two weeks of Japanese occupation, this sorry mess still continues. It is discouraging to the best of spirits. We had begun to hope a better day was arriving. But 3 women were raped at the U. of N. and one carried off last night, 27 were raped at the B.T.T.S., a man taken from duty at the UH to carry things for an officer, flag taken down at RLTS, and today they wanted to carry off our iron-roofed wool building. Rabe this noon got to Sing Kai K'o just in time to see them setting fire to the Mutual Co., that good store east of the Circle, found the new Market in ruins and the State Theatre also burned. Now they are clearing out the stores on the West side of the street north of Sing Kai K'o preparatory to burning them. During the registration process at UN yesterday, they had over 200 men volunteer that they had either been soldiers or military laborers (terms used not clearly distinguished for forced civilian labor) on the promise that if they volunteered they would be allowed to work, instead of being shot as they would if they did not confess. This morning a man came to the University with five bayonet wounds and said the group of them were marched out to Ku Ling Sze and there used for bayonet practice by 130 Japanese

L.S. Dec. 27th (Cont.)

soldiers. He fainted from his wounds, and when he awoke the Japanese had left, so he made his way back. Wilson thinks one wound is so serious he will not live. That was our diet for lunch this noon when we all reported! Some we had already had for breakfast!

On one hand they talk of restoring order, and on the other they destroy and intimidate the people so that nearly nothing can be done. Rabe is sitting at home to protect his property most of the time, as well as his 600 refugees; Kroger is protecting his property; Magee is protecting his household of refugees as is Forster. Minnie and Mrs. Twinem do not dare leave Ginling together, and one foreigner has to be on duty at the UN all the time night and day. The same is practically true of the UN, where they call Bates during the day if he is away. So he spends his days chasing here and there to run off Japanese soldiers. Riggs and Sone are the only ones that have any feeling of accomplishment these days: they are trucking. By escorting coolies around and watching their truck alertly, they get rice and coal moved and so people are fed, but they are barely able to keep up from day to day with the needs. Trucks and cars are gradually disappearing, and yet the Japanese Embassy has the nerve to ask us to loan them cars, and send them mechanics to fix their cars!

No I did not go to the UN last night as planned. At supper Searle said he had better stay with it until the registration was finished. They did the men yesterday: first by volunteer process above, then herding them around and asking if anyone would guarantee this man, and all passed but one. Then Searle and Sone guaranteed him. Today were registering the women more rapidly, and tomorrow will get to private houses. Lao Sze's boy has not shown up, and I have not been able to see him any time I go to Ginling.

My thought for the day was: to get a definite request to the J. Embassy for rice, flour, and coal. When we turned in cases last night, I made an appointment with Fukui for Mr. Rabi at 11 today. Then this morning went by Rabi's house, and talked it out, and he came down here. I drafted a letter and he signed it, and we went over. Fukui responded very well, but how much he can do with the Military we do not know. Our gang at the house decided we should just assume we had a right to the remainder of the 30,000 tan of rice, and 10,000 bags of flour, given us by the city govt. That means to get 20,000 tan of rice and 9,000 bags of flour. (Now Mr. Han tells me that the 1,000 bags of flour we got are not from that order at all.) We were not given coal, but we asked the Japanese for opportunity to get coal, because we are shorter of that, only enough to run our kitchens a week now. We may have to buy it, but can do that. Mr. Fukui was very favorable as I said. That is a start, and we hope by a week's negotiations, etc., we may work out a way to get these supplies before dire need sets in. This afternoon Charlie is out looking up coal yards that have not been sealed by the military, to reply to Fukui's request if we knew of places we could get coal. To play safe we are reporting half of them, and trying to go ahead on our own, to buy coal at the other half of the 6 we have heard about!

It was nice and sunny this morning, but has clouded up today, so fear it may snow. Hope not though! Last fall we prayed for rain; now we pray for fair and mild weather. People are anxious to return to their homes after the registration, but unless order improves, we fear they may have a hard time. However, we are encouraging them to try it cautiously. But with shops burned and burning continually, and girls grabbed on the way, it is discouraging to them. However, we hope some will find a way and gradually sike out a way of living in places that have not been burned, etc. The number of girls at Ginling has declined rapidly in the last three days, fell from 10,000 to 8,000, as some order reappeared in the Zone. They went to their families living at other places in the Zone. We hope to get moving pictures of these camps before they break up. Ginling has now cleared their ~~paths~~ ways, which were filled with women's beds a few days ago.

Our request for guards at BTTS last night was not acted on quickly enough. Today Fukui said they were placing guards at these places and UN as well. If I go there tonight, I hope they do have a guard, so I don't have to face the soldiers alone! They have now placed guards at all the Embassies - after the horse was stolen\* and as Bates says that "That is kindergarten work, those guards should have been placed there the afternoon of the 13th!" This afternoon the Consular police were here, and wanted to go to German property to investigate, and are going to inspect and place guard at all foreign property! We can only get them interested in foreign property, but not in lives and honor of women! Rabe says that is because they will have to pay for this.

Dec. 29th, 1937 5 Ninghai Road - 4:30 P.M.

Gradually things get better. We were just over to see Fukui about a number of matters, but mainly coal and rice, and he told us that new orders have been issued that soldiers should

L.S. Dec. 29th (cont.)

not enter the Zone and sentries are posted at the main entries. That is what we intimated we wanted on Dec. 14th and specified more in detail in our letter of Dec. 17th. I am going to begin checking off the things we have asked them to do that they have done! That on the 17th or 18th would have stopped all the trouble at once, but that division evidently had been given the right to do as they please. And it was only when the new division took their place and were put to work cleaning up the city that the authorities were able to make even an appearance of controlling the soldiers.

I did not get to write yesterday. Got home early, too, but was tired from two hours talk with a Japanese Military man - and lay down. Riggs came in in five minutes and soon after Searle, and so we had a good old-fashioned chin in which Searle pumped Charlie about his serious sicknesses, etc. So I did not get anything done before supper and afterwards - was too tired! Once you start to loaf, you have no pep for anything. Searle went to the Univ. I had a quiet night there the night before, and he did last night. I will go tonight. It seems funny to be undressing in Elsie's office!

The Military man was a Colonel Okay, just arrived from Shanghai with the idea that he must protect foreigners in Nanking, so he wanted all Germans concentrated in one place and all Americans in another. Then he would post a guard. I was glad Rabe was along and we headed it off. Rabe rose to the occasion when I was dragged into a rebuttal argument about there being no more Chinese soldiers in the Zone - Okay said our only danger was fighting in case Chinese soldiers fired on Japanese soldiers! Rabe said: "When I assumed chairmanship of the International Committee, I told the world I would protect these Chinese civilians as well as I could. I am not going to leave them or retire into a protected place." Later, Okay asked him to sign that he absolved them of all responsibility for protecting him. Rabe rose again: "I will sign that I will feel safe when you have protected the Chinese." The German authorities in Shanghai had evidently brought pressure to bear for protection of German lives and property. Not so clear, but probably also the American. Another good news is that Fukui told us an American representative is coming soon.

Day before yesterday, 27th, we presented a letter asking for the right to get the remainder of the rice and flour assigned to us. We also stated our urgent need for more coal, which we were willing to buy from Chinese coal yards if the Japanese Army would let us. We had gone back yesterday afternoon to see if there was an answer. Fukui did not have an answer from the military yet, in fact, had not seen them. Okay ran in on us. Today we were back again and he said the high commander here, General Sarati, was investigating the coal yards we had listed as available - Charlie dug them up definitely the afternoon of the 27th because Fukui asked if we knew the places. So we have some hopes of getting coal, if they do not take it themselves! Rice they prefer to handle through the new Autonomous Committee. But we have now decided to press that on the commercial basis, to be sold to Chinese merchants, and then we reserve our rice for relief work only.

Dec. 31, 1937 New Year's Eve - 6:15 P.M. 3 Ping Tsang Hsiang .....

Rabe had a bright idea this week. He had been wondering what to do for the Japanese for New Years. So he had some of his practically idle workers make up new year cards with the symbol of the Safety Zone on the front, and on the back leaf made places for all 22 westerners to autograph. He had enough copies made to give Mr. Fukui and the staff of the Japanese Embassy, and the Major General Sasaki in charge of Nanking one, each with a good porcelain pot of flowers. He debated about doing it tomorrow, for fear it would appear we were assuming diplomatic status! So he solved that by going around personally today with it. We have had to do a lot of complaining about the actions of the Japanese Army here, but these Embassy men have been excellent sports about it. They could have told us it was none of our business. And they have made some impression on the military. The army seems now to be really making an effort to clean up the situation, as well as an effort to white-wash it too! So we have nothing but good-will for the men now involved.

Rabe and I went back day before yesterday in the afternoon to see what result Fukui had on coal and rice. He was very friendly with us, and we had a good hour's conversation. He said the Army preferred to handle the rice through the Autonomous Committee, and we agreed, just so it is quick enough. He offered to help on coal, and had had the Consular Police investigate that morning, and expected a reply from the high command. We asked about disarming soldiers for their free time at New Years so as to prevent trouble, and he said they had the day before issued orders that the soldiers were to stay out of the Zone, and had put sentries at the entrances to keep them out. There are now a number of military police in the area either as guards at places or on patrol. So this afternoon there were very

L. S. Dea. 31st. (cont.)

few soldiers roaming in the Zone. Rabe said this noon they put up a fence across Kwangchow Road at his place, and would not let him on to Chung Shan Road. So they are making a real effort to keep soldiers out. At the same time we reported trouble with the guard at BITS and last night they were changed. We had eight at the UN and Searle suggested one was enough. So that was all there was this afternoon. Ginling got rid of their eight guards and gets along now with a Consular police sleeping near the gate nights. As we see it, everything hangs now on getting commercial rice and coal moving into the area. In fact, we need coal for soup-kitchens before a couple of days are over. Charlie was going to try to get some at certain yards out of the Zone this afternoon without military permission, where we knew the owners. Have not yet heard his results. Hope he succeeded. Rice is not so urgent. But private stocks are running out, and people are anxious to buy. So our shop at 5 Wanghai Road, the only place the man considers safe, is doing a rushing business with a rice line morning and afternoon. Besides that, some is sold at the large camps to those who can buy, and we make some private deliveries. This latter has increased so much in the last few days, that this morning we decided to charge \$1.00 per bag for delivery (1.25 tan) and as we are still selling for \$9.00 per tan, that leaves it less than \$10.00 per tan. We will charge \$.50 per bag of flour for delivery, selling at \$5.00 per bag now. This we hope will check calls for delivery from us and will help check hoarding. We only allow one tao to be purchased at a time at the regular shop. If we can get the Japanese army to allow Chinese rice merchants to buy some of the 100,000 tan of rice they took from the Chinese Army, we will be over the rice crisis. We are asking them to reserve 20,000 bags for such purposes, and 10,000 for later relief work in case we need it. Likewise 10,000 and 5,000 bags of flour. As soon as we can get commercial rice moving in, we will stop selling and reserve our supplies for relief. Red Swastika was fortunate enough through a Japanese monk to get 3,000 bags stored south of Man Chang Lu assigned to them, and they are now trucking it in for soup-kitchens. That brings our rice stores about back to where we started! Not bad.

The most serious aspect of the situation, and one for which we can see no adequate solution quickly, is that there is no economic basis of life for this community of 200,000. If they go buying rice from the Japanese Army, then the money in the community will be drained out, and no return. The only return service is the food which most of the coolies that go out to work for Japanese Army men, not in great numbers yet, the very few that get any pay, and the few men now employed at the Water and Electric Light Works. The only other income will be what farmers can raise from the ground. Or what people can find or loot from other areas in the city! As Charlie puts it, we will have a bunch of grubbers for several months! But as Sene says, the Chinese have a wonderful comeback, and if left alone they will find a way to maintain themselves. So as we have insisted since the 16th, order is the first requisite of any form of normal life. I used to laugh at the British respect for "Law and Order" but now I realize how fundamental it is to normal living. Nothing moves in state of disorder. If they will only let the farmers alone in the city and outside the city, there will be a comeback at least of the means of existence. But now the farmers are in the process of killing all their livestock, and either eating it themselves or selling it. So we have the commandeering period which is very similar to the early days of the Russian Revolution and the Five Year Plan. Every commercial enterprise we can get started will help to change that situation, to one of trade instead of commandeering. You gain a healthy respect for the various ramifications of organized life when you see how hard under these conditions it is to operate such a simple thing as an exchange shop, and a rice shop. However, it is remarkable how well the little street vendors along the road keep at it. Little to risk, all to gain, so they daily ply their trade. And what a variety of stuff. We now suspect some of it is looted from areas outside of the Zone where burning has been going on, but anything the people can get in now is all to the good! As one man here remarked, Mills, "I think now Chung Shan Lu is no longer the main street: Shanghai and Wanghai Roads are the main streets!" They are thronged with people now with the return of order, and both sides of each lined with little street vendors. Hankow Road down here (above our place) is a vegetable market as crowded every morning as Peh Men Chiao used to be. The rest of the city is practically deserted, by civilians except south of (?). (The Zone?) ...

Well, I was quite the cork of the walk at supper with my hair-cut! All the fellows wanted to know where I got it. Mills arranged for the man, our "rolly-polly" to come at eight tomorrow morning, so the gang are laying for him. He left his outfit here, and will be glad to get the business, as he has had practically none! His place is so full of people, he does not have room to cut hair. Even he was smart enough to note that with so many buildings and supplies burned or looted, that it was going to be very hard for the people to make a living. We had two, rather three miracle suppers at supper.

AM.

Eben went to the EMB this afternoon and found Takatama (Consular Police that is going around investigating foreign property) and Fukuda there in Atcheson's office with Tung.

L.S. Dec. 31st. (cont.)

Fukuda told Searle the Army had instructed them to pay all claims promptly! Later Searle went back and found they had settled all claims with the Chinese staff in full excepting bicycles which they will replace with new ones, and a car of his friend that they had some question about. Number 2; Mc investigated the stream of people pouring down Peh Men Chiao today, bringing back rice, and found that some Japanese soldiers had opened up a rice supply, and were just letting the people help themselves. Well, that helps the lap peh sing that much, but probably it is merely an irregular procedure and will not continue! Number 3: Our chief looter No.1 went to the Central Univ. Agric. School this afternoon and hauled away 3 tons of coal. A Red Cross coolie at the Ginling soup-kitchen went there to see about getting some more kettles and found the pile of coal, so told Charlie. On this trip the coolie got some clothes left there, and while they were loading t the coal, some Japanese soldiers came in, and Charlie thought the game was up. But it turned out they were looking for evergreen trees for New Years! So either honor among looters, or specialization helps. Well, These New Year Eve stories are better than what we had for Christmas Eve!

Rabe is having open house this evening so we may go down for awhile. Bob and I will have to get on to our sleeping-places before nine preferably. But bridge is started downstairs, so I do not think we will get to Rabe's in time. The others can go later. Mrs. Twinem delivered our two geese from Blanch Wu today. We had some of her geese for Christmas, two more this week, and now two for tomorrow. The first were gifts, the others we have bought. Tonight was the first night we have not had meat for supper. I think it is part of the economy program we put into effect this morning. We have been having meat noon and night and canned fruit three times a day. Bob's cook believes in using up what he has! Bob claims we have fruit enough though to last us through. But we cut it to once a day and canned fruit juice one time, and pastry the third, as tonight. Bob told us the bad news tonight, board bill was \$3.10 per day for Dec. on account of coal, and \$5.00 tip to all the servants. So mine was \$96.10 from which I deduced \$9.00 for 18 jars of fruit I put in last Oct., since others have charged in theirs at economical rates. I drew \$100.00 from Mc on account so as to pay that. Have about \$40.00 on hand. Thought I had better not get caught with no cash on hand.

On top of this extravagance, Sone brought in a pot in which he had cooked a day's ration of free raw rice. The bottom of a cereal double cooker about 2/3 full, thought there was not enough water. Our ration is 250 persons per tan This was 284 to the bag. ....

Jan. 1, 1938- 8:45 P.M. New Year's Day

Well, today has been the noisiest unhappy New Year I ever saw. Firecrackers began early this morning. But the barber was an hour late for his eight o'clock appointment and apologized by saying that he had to go out to fire firecrackers for the Japanese! Well, anyway the children had a grand time firing the crackers given out by the Japanese! At 1:00 the ceremony was held at Kuleo for inaugurating the new "Tze Chih We Yuan Hwei" (note new name, no.3). Wang, our office manager, was to raise the flag. He is the famous "Jimmy". So Charlie remarked, "That is very fitting for a second-hand government." At 2:00 when we looked over there, sure enough, the five-bar flag was flying over Kuleo. Gee said that while the Japanese were talking to them about cooperation, two new fires went up in the city. One was the Soviet Embassy. Later we went up to the University tower and saw the ruins of the Soviet Embassy. Searle had seen it intact on the 13th with the flag flying. Today its flag was down from its big pole in the yard and the fine building smoldering ruins. Later in the afternoon other fires east of here sent clouds of smoke to the heavens. Love for the Chinese by clouds of smoke by day and pillars of fire by night! However Mc's estimate on a tour of South City today and our view from the tower agreed that only about 10% of the buildings of the city have been burned, luckily! but most of the business fronts on the main streets have been burned out. Like 1932 in Shanghai, it seems to be mainly a war on Chinese business (Our old wool cloth at Hansen's either went up in smoke a week ago, or went away in a Japanese army looting truck.)

Last evening at 8:30 I went with the fellows in George's car to Rabe's, and had a pleasant visit with him. He lighted the Christmas tree for us, the only one in Nanking (except a small one up stairs at Ginling, that none of us saw.) Tell the Chicks, they had a model of the stable with the shepherds outside, and then sheep and cattle in the yard, around the base of the tree. We chatted there until ten, then they took me to the University gate and waited until I called "All right." after getting past the military police who were getting ready for bed in the gate-house, Had a fair sleep till 5:30, but no trouble. Gee gave us a New Year's gift today of a real bed instead of the camp-cot. So that will help a lot.

I went to the office this forenoon, but there was not much to do but catch up on making additional copies of documents for my triplicate files. (My old game!) Sone and Charlie had

L.S. Jan. 1, 1938 (cont.)

caught up, or rather gained a day on rice and coal, so did not haul today. We all took the afternoon off. That is my first since we started. We opened the office there the afternoon of Dec. 1st. So I can say "thirty-one days at Minghai Road", because I have not missed a day, Sunday or holiday since, until this afternoon. Charlie spent the forenoon helping check up on a serious case I neglected to mention the other day.

Thursday after lunch, the 30th, word came there was trouble with Japanese soldiers at the Sericulture Buldg. So Searle and Charlie dashed over. Later they came to the office to report that the military police had come to take the housing head there, who admitted he had been a former military officer in the Chinese Army here! But they took four men with him, two Univ. servants, and two refugees, because they had helped bury some arms back of the W.C. So Searle and Charlie drafted a summary of findings pointing out that the chief man involved was not a University employee, but that they would guarantee the ~~two~~ servants and others would guarantee the refugees, one of whom turned out to be a nephew of a contract Charlie dealt with. We took that to the Embassy and they thought we were objecting to the search, but we said we did not. Yesterday morning I got Dr. Hsu, our Housing Commissioner, to investigate the matter to see how we got the man, and at a conference yesterday afternoon with Searle, it developed the chief man was only a Police Inspector! But we do not have definite evidence to prove it. Since Hsu is advisor also to the Tze Chih Wei Yuan Hwei, we had him go directly to the Japanese Embassy about the matter. Then this morning he and Charlie got out the requisite affidavits for the four men, and one was released because his guarantor went for him. So they are to take the guarantors of the others tomorrow morning. It is encouraging to find that now they keep some of these men alive over a day or two while they investigate the case!

After our tower expedition and noting the way the refugees were enjoying the warm sunny day, boys turning cartwheels on the Univ. campus, etc., Searle and I took a walk back of Ginling to see if we could find any of the heaps of bodies of men shot this week. We went ever by that temple "Kuling Sze" ... down through the valleys to the south, searched every pond, but did not find any bodies except the charred ones back of Ginling that Searle found a few days ago - after the burning incident. We found the garden plots over there less than half used up, but every farm house was deserted. Only a few were back loading up pei Tsai to carry over and sell. Not a house outside of the Zone was occupied, not even on the west side of Sikang Road. Then we went on south by Tsing Lian Shan and on to the new gate at Hansimen. Between Tsing Lian Shan and the new gate we only saw three civilians! And that section used to be crowded. A few Japanese soldiers were wandering about, but not even many of them. Every farm house and every house we passed had been broken into and a few burned. A shop at Kwangchow Road had been broken into and was deserted, but the incense sticks had not been taken! Maybe because the nearby temple is deserted, as was Ku Ling Sze. At the gate, we found a young boy coming in from outside the city. He seemed glad to join up with us after successfully passing the guard. (We noted the piles of kangas there with only a few broken!) He had been outside Shuisimen, to his old home. His father and mother had tried to stay there but the Japanese soldiers were too rough: beating up the men, shooting others and raping the women and robbing the people, so he brought them into the Nan Min Chu - which he told us about as something we had not heard about! It was the only place a person dared to live, he said! At Shanghai Road we rescued 6 Red Swastika coolies who were bringing in pei Tsai from Moh Tsou Lu and had been stopped by the guard on the corner. They could not make the Chinese understand the Japanese word for "hu chao" and when the coolies produced them, they let them pass. On the way up Shanghai Road we noted three houses that might have been the scene of the burning incident, but did not explore that late in the afternoon. The net result of our tour was that the situation regarding piles of bodies is less serious and therefore a more favorable result. As far as opportunities for people to go to their homes outside of the Zone, the outlook is still very dark. (Half of the houses were burned outside Hansimen. We went up on the wall there and looked down on the ruins. That done by the Chinese before the Japanese entered the city.

A little good news, some more bad, and then I must turn in because I am sleepy after my first walk in over a month, or maybe because of my bath this noon! Sperling failed to find the man about rice at the Nanking Hotel this morning. But he reported to us that the city water was turned on today. However, not much pressure until they can check and repair the leaks, etc. So no water here from that. Charlie however reported that the Japanese are going to assign what was 500 tons of coal at Han Chung Lu to the Tze Chih Wei Yuan Hwei, then they can give 50 tons to us and 500 tons to the soup kitchens. Which means it all goes for the work of relief we are doing. Since the military are still trucking from the pile, we may only get 300 tons, but that will carry us through January. Charlie is going to get two or three trucks on the job tomorrow morning. Dr. Hsu and his friend who is head of the Red Swastika and chairman of the

L.S. Jan 1, 1938 (cont.)

new government (Tze Chih---), Mr. T'ao, arranged this. Rather the Japanese said they preferred to do it this way to giving it to the International Committee. We must decrease, they must increase. But so long as the work gets done, we should worry! One knotty problem is that this is confiscated coal! We may arrange to pay the dealer on the side. But the coal is a big relief to me! Then Charlie fessed up that he knew of 150 tons at the German Club all the time, rather the Inspection Committee discovered it this morning. Charlie had been keeping that under his hat because it is on German property! So we have that for a last ditch emergency!

I did not get it in last night, but many cases of diarrhea have appeared at the Univ. and the old Ministry of Communications. But Trim could not find definite cases today, so we are not sure it is dysentery yet. We think it is not. But that is the opposite effect to a shi fang diet. But some of the people are so poor they are really living on shi fang. With no city water, they have been dependent on the well, and some of them are too lazy to pump, so they go to a nearby dirty pond where toilet buckets, etc. are washed. It is only cold weather that has saved us from more disease. With no baths and crowding in as close together as they can lie down in most rooms for sleeping, it is only the lack of communications that probably keeps us clear of typhus. With only two doctors, if we get an epidemic we are finished! We hope that city water and the gradual de-concentration of the big camps may help on this matter.

We had Mrs. Twinn, Mrs. Chen, Magee and Forster here for New Year's Dinner at noon. It was only by strong urging the last minute that George got John to come. Then just as we got up from the table, two Chinese came from his house to say 2 or 3 Japanese soldiers had come and were demanding women. George dashed them back in the car, but one woman had been raped before they got there, and another severely beaten because she resisted. John will never forgive us, because they have not left their Christians from Hsiakwan and others in their two or three houses alone a single minute since the 16th! That is, without some foreigner there. The beaten-up woman was taken to the Univ. Hospital and a Japanese "inspector" came to pay a New Year's call, so Miss Hynds showed them this girl and told them about the raping. He was indignant and said to report to Army Headquarters and they would have the man shot! But the men have no identification marks on them (like Chinese soldiers do) so there is no way of catching the man unless a military police happens by. One or two women were also raped this afternoon in Wang Po-chih's house and one at Tzing Teh. So we are in for some more trouble for a few days probably. ...

January 2, 1938, Sunday 3:40 P.M. 3 Ping Tsang Hsiang

Dearest Mardie and Chick:

Sunday afternoon at home! What a luxury! But at that I had to write up some cases, two letters, and then take them to the Japanese Embassy. Just got back. Church service is at 4:30 so I will get some written before dark. Candle or lamp light is not so good. And I have to go to the University tonight.

This will be the first church service since Dec. 5th, I believe. The last one I had a chance to attend was on Nov. 20th. He has been ready for three weeks, but could get no congregation. So we promised him half the crowd today! Charlie is racing with the Japanese military on hauling coal from Han Chung Lu and did not come home for lunch, so probably will not be here for church. I hope nothing has happened to him. Fitch went back to the office for a short while this afternoon.

Well, we got it going and coming! This morning at 5:00 and again about 2:00 this afternoon, Chinese planes came and bombed. This noon they were fired at by a number of anti-aircraft guns, but not so many as the Chinese used to have in operation here.

In my write-up last night I forgot one or two things. The new government for the city was celebrated yesterday by delegates from our 25 refugee camps. That is the first time I have heard of a government founded on such representation! And last Sunday I neglected to tell you that the latter part of the forenoon was taken with hauling in \$282.00 worth of coppers from Linking College - Mills, Fitch and I. Mills from his experience in Hankow flood relief work, knew they weighed two tons to the \$1,000! Well, our exchange shop got going this week, and is putting them out now. Kroger has a great time handling the coppers put up in packs of 100 each.

We verified it today that the Soviet Embassy was fired just the time the celebration at Ruling took place. No wonder what it means: is it an insult to the Soviet that will lead to complications, or does it mean that Soviet Russia has already declared war on Japan?

L. S. Jan. 2, 1938 (cont.)

Our trip to the Japanese Embassy just now was to report four rape cases yesterday afternoon and to urge them to make stronger efforts to keep soldiers out of the Zone. Fukuda received us in the hall because the new government group were there -- they are there most of the time now, but they say listening to the Japanese -- and told us that Gen. Sasaki himself was inspecting the Zone to see that order was kept and the gendarmerie had been strengthened. So we hope it will not get worse. But the remainder of the city is full of soldiers and many of them have to leave today.

Bates was surprised this week to have Gee ask that a Bible class be started at the University today, and Chen Yung started one this morning at 9:00. Searle was to go with Takatama to see University property at 8:30 but for the third time he postponed it when Searle got there! Gee also told Searle yesterday that the crowd was searched before the meeting began and kept well distributed! 120 refugees went from the University and about 50 from Rabe's place.

Jan. 5, 1938      9:20 PM      3 Ping Tsang Hsiang

Well it was fun to get a letter off to you yesterday by Mr. Tanaka and via air mail from Hongkong to Hankow. I know the chances of that air mail still operating are slim, but it is worth the chance. All our letters sent by Japanese Embassy have to be "open letters" -- Searle asked the gang here if they would take Stanley Jones' open letter -- and I thought I had a letter that would not be censored. Plumer had to take one of his letters over after I had taken the bunch yesterday noon; he found Fukuda, Tanaka and Fukui busy reading our letters! They ran on to a statement in mine that they said they would have to prevent my sending. So Plumer suggested they cut it out and he brought the slip home. It was a very casual reference to an insignificant air raid here! But it was "military information"! Anyway we found out the sort of thing they are censoring.

In the excitement over actually getting a letter off to you, I have neglected these diary letters since the first. But I guess I can cover the four days easily. Bob showed in one of his letters that what he was sending was not all by marking it "page 50."

Sunday, the 2nd, we worked about as much as ever until noon. But we decided that it was time to have church again and give Me a chance to preach the sermon he had prepared four weeks before. I stayed home that afternoon but worked on getting documents straightened out up until nearly church time. Word came in just before church that the military police had thrown a cordon around the 6th housing office but Searle said we had better not interfere -- down at 55 Ying Yang Ying. Charlie had not shown up for lunch and since he was out trying to get coal from south of Han Chung Lu we feared foul play. So Plumer said he knew the location of the yard and he started off with George but met Charlie at the gate. He had lunch at the Red Swastika. So with bobing around church got under way with Mrs. Twinem at the piano, Me leading, Grace, Searle, Plumer, George, Sone, Trimmer and I. He preached on "Hope." He said four weeks ago "hope" was what had pulled the Safety Zone through. Now I begin to think it was ignorance -- ignorance of that was in store for us. But none of us would have had us turn back on it as we look back now. Just as church broke up in came Dr. C Y Hsu and Mr. Chen of the I C office. Japanese soldiers had entered a house back of our headquarters and killed a man and others were moving into a house back of our place, so the women staying in the yard would be in danger of soldiers coming over

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the wall to rape them. Since the man was dead we felt there was little we could do ~~now~~ there so we concentrated in getting a foreigner to stay at headquarters that night. As it was better to be a German and partly arranged we went to see Rabe about getting Sperling. Rabe agreed. So I went back to go tell Sperling with George and met Charlie at the gate. Magee had come with full details of the murder. So Magee and Rabe went to the Japanese Embassy to present the case which was weakened by the fact the man killed had slapped the soldier, while George and I drove to Sperling's to get him to cover 5 Ninghai Road that night. I found him eating supper upstairs with Chinese women all over the place -- since learned many of them are actors -- but he said he would be over in 10 minutes. We found Ninghai Road all quiet so went on home for supper. I had a quiet night at the University but was glad to have George take us in a car and Searle go with me to see the lay of the land.

Plumer came in in his bathrobe just now to tell me that the caller that Lao Kua had come up to announce was no other than Fukui! Bob said when the dogs raised a howl that it was probably a Jap soldier! And best of all Fukui came to tell us that Allison of the American consulate was due tomorrow morning at ten. He was formerly at Tsinan where Mills knew him quite well, and here a while and was in Tokyo so knows the Japanese. He is a very good man. They do not know who the others are. Rosen of the German Embassy will be here the 10th and by that time a Secretary of the British Embassy will be here and their military observer, Lovett-Fraser, will come. We had had some expectation of the Amer cans getting here today but when I went over at noon to inquire Fukui told me they would not be here for a few days. So we thought they were stalling. So we had decided that since we had taken care of ourselves through the worst of it, we could do so now. But representatives of all three countries getting in here will open a new stage in this situation. As Plumer says, the Japanese will have to behave themselves. And increasing the foreign community, especially as this will probably open the way for other missionaries and for business people to return, will add to the "neutral observers" and will also relieve us of the necessity of protesting. As I told Plumer we can go to work with the Tze Chih Wei Yuan Hwei. I am glad that some of the consular and diplomatic representatives are those who were here up till December 10th because they will remember the good condition the city was in then and a superficial drive around the city now will show them the difference. And our little paper on the burning of the city drawn up and signed by a host of us Dec. 21st will be very strategic. Rabe said today that we had better reserve a bed in the hospital for Rosen, he will be so shocked! And these representatives will open up our means of communication with the outside world so I may get some word to and from you, though we will have to be circumspect in what we report out, or we will have to get out! Although now the pressure is to keep us here -- to all intents and purposes we have been prisoners with freedom of the inside of the city.

Well, now after that account of the quietest Sunday we have had in four weeks, no six weeks, I will move on to Monday. Sunday Rabe was so panicky about the Japanese having the Tse Chih Wei Yuan Hwei ~~take~~ over the I C and all its resources, that Monday morning I told Searle I thought I had better work out a brief of our position vis-a-vis the Tze Chih Wei Yuan Hwei, i.e. that we were a private relief organization and expected to continue as such. Rabe came back in higher spirits Monday and agreed. Monday Charlie succeeded in hauling coal all night from Han Chung Lu. But Tuesday more trouble developed. On Monday when the consular policeman that was travelling with the truck as guard asked the head man at the Red Swastika soup kitchen on Wutai-shan who was sending them coal and the man replied, the Kuo Tsi Wei Yuan Hwei, the consular policeman slapped his face and said, "No, it is the Tze Chih

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Wei Yuan Hwei!" The same scene was repeated with the man at the University soup kitchen Tuesday. And since there was some question about the coal going to the I C, we ~~decided~~ decided to let the Tze Chih man who was working on the truck supervise the trucking and Charlie confine his work to organizing the trucks. Then a foreigner would not be so obvious and we asked the chairman of the Tze Chih to give the driver a written order to deliver coal to these places. Talked this all out with Dr. Hsu yesterday. He is very good. Also approached him about rice, saying "What I say unto you I say unto all, RICE." He said the Tze Chih had been asked by the Japanese to organize a committee to handle that matter.

Last night Charlie told us the Tze Chih had appointed a food commissioner after the pattern of our organization. He had asked the Japanese for 2,000 tan of rice a day. A good estimate for 200,000 people. He would handle this both commercially and free distribution and let our stores stand as a reserve. But he would like to have our food commissioner and associate, Mr. Han and Sone, work with him and for us to help in the trucking. Who was he? Jimmy! They all snorted and Searle said, "Well, rice must be going to be the most paying proposition." But I remarked, "Well, he is the one man in the outfit that may get some rice moving before March first." So they all agreed and that we should cooperate in every way we could.

But since the Japanese army supply man had offered to sell rice and flour to Sperling, I suggested he try again to see him. Kroger also knew the man so he volunteered to go. So they both went this morning and met the man but he was busy and told them to come back tomorrow morning at the same time, 8:00 at the Nanking Hotel. I hope we can either act as an introducer for Wang or arrange to buy directly enough rice to replace what we have sold with the money we have collected. Right now we would rather hold rice than money. Besides these developments, I have put in considerable of my time getting my triplicate files worked out and classified. Will have a set ready for the American representatives when they get here. They will probably be astounded at the directness and forcefulness of our protests to the Japanese Embassy, but we were in a situation that made us feel much more strongly than we wrote. The documents are merely historical now, but they will show clearly the stand the I C has taken in the whole matter. Oh, it was Monday afternoon that we took over the account of the 6 girls taken to what appeared to be a Japanese military hospital where they washed clothes by day and were raped by night, 10 to 40 times according to their beauty. Finally one girl was taken out and her head nearly cut off with bayonets. She got to the UH and Bob patched up her neck and thinks she will live but have a stiff neck. Rabe and I went with a brief letter asking them to follow it up and try to rescue the other 5 girls. When they read of the case, Fukuda and Tanaka had nothing to say, except, Fukuda's remark: "The Army is very mad because they say it is the first time in history that an army has had to conquer a place with neutral observers on hand." Quite a false view, but we felt it was no time to argue so did not. But it made us all feel more thankful than ever that we had been here

Out of six appointments, Takatama of the consular police has kept one of them with Searle to see the University property in the last six days. Today Searle found trouble at the Middle School and went down to learn that a staff man there, Su, and a refugee who speaks Japanese had been put under great pressure by the consular police to join them in their work. The first assignment for the refugee was to point out the amah of the Soviet Embassy. What for, no one knows yet. And Takatama was the man who searched Su's house last night -- no wonder he had "insomnia" today. What is more Takatama showed up at the Middle School while Searle was talking the case out with the man in charge who has done a remarkable job of baring for 12,000 go 15,000 refu-

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gees down there, Chiang, and Su and the refugee! He took his surprise out in lecturing Su that he should not drink so much and accepting ~~his~~ verbal guarantee from Searle that Su had been connected with our staff, so was not a police detective as charged. The plot thickens! But just one piece in the jigsaw puzzle that is shaping up into a feudal society; men seeking protection under military conquerors.

I should add that Monday noon the 3rd, we got radio news, but as usual not so much news. Bob got more at the hospital last night. Juice was off at 5 Ninghai Road yesterday and today -- well it came on last evening and we got London at 6:00 and Kroger got the other places later in the evening. Today I let Bob take my set to the hospital but still they could not get the short wave stations. But a little news of the outside world gave us a new orientation after four weeks completely cut off.

This noon Plumer struck off a spark that we have all been feeling: that we are being driven to work through the Tze Chih instead of directly with the Japanese Embassy on a number of questions. The Japanese are anxious for the I C to decline rapidly and turn over its responsibilities to the Tze Chih. So Plumer suggested we work on that basis definitely and put things up to the Tze Chih and strengthen their courage to demand things from the Japanese. Two items for a starter: restoration of order in other parts of the city so people could return and stop the burning of the city. (There are a number of fires in different parts of the city every day, though now as many as the first few days after the 19th.) So when I got back to the office I started working out a brief for these two points. Then had Rabe, Kroger, Mills and Bates criticise it so it is growing into a pretty fair statement. I got the idea of doing it section by section. That way we can have a better chance of a good restoration of order before the people return to the areas in question and we can observe its operation better. And it is an indirect way of crowding the soldiers out of large sections of the city, which could not be done at one stroke for the whole city! It simply applies the method that has worked partly successfully in the Zone to the rest of the city piece by piece, probably starting with the corner, the southwest corner, which has been least destroyed and has some people living there.

January 9, 1938      Sunday, 8:15 PM      3 Ping Tsang Hsiang

When the American representatives got here on the 6th we felt like a burden had been lifted off us. Not that they themselves can do so much or can do anything directly for the Zone, etc., but their very presence we felt would be a deterrent on the Japanese army and it is already having that effect. They are making some effort to straighten up the town -- the man in charge has been recalled to Tokyo. And now today the British and German representatives landed so we feel quite reinforced -- like a besieged party when relief comes. True we had about made up our minds that we could take care of ourselves because the representatives were so long coming and the Japanese kept saying "a few days more", and we had gotten along fairly well. But now we realize there are a lot of things that can be done with them here that could not before. And one thing they take off our hands the burden of protesting about American property. Reports of damages to business properties in Hsiakwan were beginning to come into us and as much for the protection of the caretakers in charge as anything, we had to do something about it, without the liberty to go to Hsiakwan to check up. We had no intention originally making much effort to defend American property, but when the Japanese Embassy people got here we soon learned that they were only interested in doing something -- woefully little at that -- in protecting foreign property but not interested in doing a thing for the Chinese as such. So we worked that game to the limit because we had a large proportion of the concentrations of refu-

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gees in American institutional property. Especially when the raping season was on -- open season -- we threw open Ginling and the University to women who were streaming the streets mornings, panic stricken to find any place that was safer than where they were the night before. And by getting guards -- gradually -- at some of those places we were able to give them some protection. But the very mass, 12,000 at Ginling, 12,000 at the Middle School, over 10,000 at the University proper (nearer 12,000) cut down the percentage raped. And we also found that it was only the magic of a westerner with some courage that could stand up to the individual Japanese soldier. We had to use that magic to the limit to the point where we feared they would turn on us. So we felt we had to stand on every effort through the Japanese Embassy to secure respect for us as Americans that we were entitled to. Somehow the miracle continued to work and we 22 Westerners policed the Japanese army that had captured the city while the Japanese only had 17 military police there and they very ineffective at first. The situation did not clear up a great deal until about Dec. 29th when they issued orders that the soldiers were not to enter the Zone and stationed guards at the entrances to keep them out and military police to patrol the Zone. That has not kept all of them out but on the 18th and 19th they were all over the place hopping walls, busting in gates, crawling in cellars, reminding you of some pictures of brownies all over town. Robbing, raping, looting right down the street night and day. Whew! And that after the high command had arrived on the 15th and a Japanese general toured the Zone with us.

Well, that is a nightmare that is passed now. As we told the British representatives when we visited them this afternoon: in reply to their statement, "You ~~xxxx~~ must have had a bad time," we said, "No we did not have a bad time and have kept fairly comfortable, but it hurt us so to see the Chinese population suffering so." Frideaux-Brune and Col Lovett-Fraser also had a tale to tell in connection with the bombing and shelling of British boats on the 12th, the same day the Panay was sunk.

Well, the other letters will tell all the story and an epilogue can better be written later. Magee came very close to summarizing the spiritual experience this afternoon in church service here in reading from Psalms 124, 125, 126:

If it had not been the Lord who was on our side,  
When men rose up against us:  
Then they had swallowed us up alive,  
When their wrath was kindled against us:  
Then the waters had overwhelmed us,  
The proud waters had gone over our soul.  
Blessed by the Lord,  
Who hath not given us as a prey to their teeth.

and the concluding hymn: "A mighty fortress is our God." His sermon was on the contrast between Jesus and Pilate (with the whole Roman Empire behind him.) As Searle said one day when one of the fellows kidded him, "Are you still a pacifist, Bates?" quick came the reply, "Yes, and I'm getting to be more of one every day." Never in my life have I had such a demonstration of the value of moral courage and what could be done by just purely being on the right side, standing for what was decent and right, without lifting a single hand to use force. It was only that way we could chase out armed Japanese soldiers. One appeal to force or arms, and we would have been finished and our work left undone.

Well, to bring the story up to date. As soon as the policing job let up a little, I decided we must begin to work to get food moving into the Zone for the civilian population. We were trucking our rice to refugee camps and to our rice shop at an ever increasing rate and as private stores ran out

that demand would increase, as it has. So the morning of the 27th I began a campaign to get rice from the Japanese. Our shop was then selling 10 bags a day, now it is selling 150 bags a day, with a "rice line" of 700 -800 people every day. And we only allow each person to purchase a ton. Besides that we are using up 100 bags a day in free distribution and soup kitchens besides about 40-50 bags that the Red Swastika are using from stores they got from the Japanese, 3,000 bags through a Japanese priest. We appealed to the Japanese Embassy but they said the Army preferred to do it through the Tze Chih Wei Yuan Hwei but they would get us coal, our urgent need. We were promised 500 tons through the Tze Chih Wei Yuan Hwei but it dwindled to 100 tons by army hauling, but it has carried us to date and since it was Tze Chih Charlie was able to get consular police to convoy the trucks and get passes for the coolies. While we were pressing the Embassy about rice, Sperling was talking to the Army supply head and he said he could sell us any amount of rice and flour. So I set Sperling on his trail but he did not contact him again until this week, with the help of Kroger. Now we have an order in for 3,000 bags of rice at \$13.00 per bag of 1.25 tan and 5,000 bags of flour at \$3.00. But no definite word as to full acceptance but terms included delivery to University "warehouse" by the Army. ("Warehouse"-chapel.)

Meanwhile "Jimmy" Wang was appointed food commissioner under the Tze Chih at the suggestion of the Japanese because we were pressing them on the rice question. He asked for 100,000 tan free and 100,000 purchased. The Army turned that down. Friday he reported the case was hopeless so we closed our order at a higher price than we cared to pay for rice, though not too high from the market price point of view, but since the community is entirely on a consuming basis we want to husband their resources, both in supplies and cash. Yesterday he said they would give him 5,000 bags for free distribution outside of the Zone. To bribe the people to go home to their destroyed homes. And sell him 100,000 at a cheap price. Today it was 1,250 for free distribution and 10,000 to sell to him at \$4-5 which he was to sell for less than the International Committee was selling. That tickled us. So he is to buy about \$5 per bag and sell for \$8 per tan. We are to do the trucking for them! But they will pay us for rice hauled for sale and we will haul the rice for free distribution free. Charlie spent today organizing the trucks, ~~fix~~ after getting them in running condition yesterday. The Japanese refused today, this morning, to use coolies wearing I C insignias. So Charlie had to sign up coolies that would be willing to work under the Tze Chih insignia and they demanded Rabe's consent because they were Siemen's coolies. Then the chauffeurs, who are in the hire of the private owners of the trucks, said they would not drive unless it was their own coolies, so this afternoon Charlie had to repeat the process and get coolies from the lao pan of each truck. By night he had it all talked out, six coolies ~~accompany~~ accompany each truck and we pay the lao pan \$2.00 per trip. The Tze Chih will pay that on all hauls and will pay us for gas and oil for the commercial rice. So Charlie is promoted from truck convoy to chief despatcher of 5 trucks. One step in advance is the Tze Chih is putting one of their police, which they are now taking over 160 from our police saved from the city police, to accompany the trucks along with the Japanese consular police. Two police for 5 trucks. Tomorrow morning Kroger is to see the supply man. If he agrees to deliver our rice, we will take it in spite of the high price as an insurance against a break down on this scheme.

"Jimmy" came in this forenoon to tell me the arrangements. So we threshed it all over together with Fitch, Rabe and Kroger. He said the Japanese wanted to close our shop by force. So I told him that we were anxious to close our shop. Yesterday morning I got up with the idea of forcibly closing it ourselves Monday morning to see if it would push the Japanese and the Tze Chih into getting commercial rice going. Our supplies at the present rate of consumption of 250 bags a day would only last two weeks, 4,000 bags. Whereas for free rice only, 100 bags a day, it would last 40 days. So

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I told Jimmy that since we had one store open today and rice would be moving this afternoon or tomorrow, we would close tomorrow morning. And he could go back and tell the Japanese that he had gotten the I C to close its rice shop on his order! So tomorrow we are out of the rice business but the merchant who was handling it on a small commission refuses to work under the Tze Chih, and just closes up. Small sales will continue at the refugee camps a day or two until more stores can be opened, and then we will stop that and make them go out to buy rice. We started this when things were so bad people did not dare go out to buy rice and in fact no rice shop was open. Our only shop at headquarters -- no other place other place had enough protection, was at the northern end of the Zone. Well, after two weeks of wiggling and haggling and dreaming nights, we have gotten a trickle of commercial rice started. Since it only has to be hauled from Kuo Fu Road it will move in 500-600 bags a day. But coal supply is temporarily stopped, but negotiations are proceeding along the same two lines for more, Tze Chih and the supply master.

Yesterday morning, realizing that if we were to pay out \$50,000 for rice and flour we should replace those resources against trouble later. So as Fong Sec had wired Fitch for needs, I started a telegram asking for \$50,000 and for him to arrange to ship beans, peanuts or oil, green vegetables or substitutes from Shanghai. We can't keep the people on shui all winter. We are now feeding 50,000 per day on free rice. Many of them can still get pei tsai, etc., but that is going fast and no more in sight till spring. (Our own diet here is settling down to rice, sometimes with tomato juice, pei tsai and Luchowfu peaches. But we have bread, a butter the hospital makes from the skum off boiled milk, and plenty of jam. Carrots occasionally. But today after Church Espy told us that rice was \$20 per tan a while in Shanghai and was now down to \$17. Other supplies are also difficult to get. So we may not be able to get much. But we hope to get by on local rice here as the Chinese army has such big stores and the Japanese are importing their own now.

Allison and Espy are going to help us get supplies up from Shanghai on whatever boat comes up. So we are getting up an order tonight to go down on this boat for hams, (no meat to be had here -- not even for our British friends whom we invited to lunched today, accepted for tomorrow since they did not land till 2:00) dried fruits, coffee, sugar, etc. Will combine with them for Kuleo Cooperative Buying Club. Will try to get part of our shipment of powdered milk.

Yes, we have been food tropic for two weeks. But we have visions of other things. In our telegram to Fong Sec we asked for two foreign doctors and two foreign nurses. We want to start more public health work and a travelling clinic to the camps. Minnie wants to ~~rehabilitate~~ start a home for widows and orphans at Ginling. We have organized a rehabilitation committee to help people get back home. We want to push things on to work relief as soon as order permits.

Boy, this house is popping tonight. I went down to get the Hymnal to look up those ~~Psalms~~ Psalms and the living room was dark. Every man in his room pounding a typewriter. Poor Searle and Mc drew tonight to sleep at the University and Hospital respectively. Espy told us after church that this tug boat instead of going down river the 12th night go tomorrow.

If you see the Turner's, tell them Searle and I checked up on their house this morning and found it just as they had left it with dresses, etc., hanging in the closets. It has not been touched. So they were much luckier than Elmien which has been turned topsy-turvy time and again. I think I have said that looting by the Japs is nothing like by the law peh sing. It

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is only petting looting in most cases but they turned everything upside down. Daniels rugs were taken though and some beds, I believe from Elmian, to make some officer comfortable in a city they have destroyed. Did I tell you that Ishida, the supply man, when he had Kroger out to lunch the other day remarked, "Nanking is the capital of China. Why don't they have any nice comfortable places to go and eat and visit?" Kroger was taken back, but had to reply, "There were plenty until your army destroyed and burned the city." Plumer and I went down to the Shuang Tang Church this afternoon to take them their rice -- 1500 people refugeed there instead of in the Zone -- and a lumber merchant refugeeing from Shanghai has taken charge of the camp and handled it excellently. A woman there with a baby in arms had just been raped before we arrived by three Japanese soldiers. The shops are all burned out and the Chiang Tang Kai church is a burned ruins. In South Gate two older school buildings in the west compound were also burned. Other buildings intact ex looting.

Will have to stop soon for the 10:10 broadcast from Shanghai. But must tell how we got the lights. The electricity came on a week ago tomorrow for the first time, I believe. But the Japns went around and cut off all the houses at the poles excepting those for Japanese offices and the hospital. Rabe got light by sending a fitter up a pole to connect it. Kroger got it by talking a local Japanese officer into doing it then tipping the fitters \$5.00. Fitch today talked to the Chinese engineer we supplied -- tonight we have lights. All a part of living in a feudalistic society that is growing up around us. And after we had spent part of the day digging up scattered cans of kerosene to keep our -- some looted -- lamps going.

We laughed today after being told by Prideaux-Brune, as Allison had told us about some earlier, that most of the people who were here until Dec. 10th have gone to various places for a vacation after the strain. SO someday we may be due a brief vacation. But not until we see this population out of this hole. That is some regular food supply in sight, at least.

But you need not worry about me here. The worst is probably over now. Having direct and immediate contact with the outside world by radio is a big help, I mean naval wireless. And with some boat contact we will be able to get adequate supplies. With a continuance of good weather, water supply and possibly some supplementary foods and more doctors we hope we should be over by the first of March, but you never can tell. We thought the worst was over the morning of December 14th. Instead it was just ahead of us.

For the Folks, I will add what I said in the former letter, all the University and Ginling buildings are intact. In fact no mission property has been destroyed excepting the buildings above mentioned having been burned. A shell hit the ACM parish building, one hit Drum Tower church, one a University dormitory, and one unexploded hit Steward's basement, the last three on the afternoon of the 13th when we thought the fighting was over. Excepting the first, none did serious damage and no one injured. In fact one Chinese girl was hiding in the tower of the ACM church at Taiping Road when that shell must have passed it by inches. We had one library worker at our refugee camp at the new library building bayoneted in the neck one night for not helping Japanese soldiers get women, but not seriously. No others have been injured. But a number of wives of staff men here and women in their families were raped.

Where is <sup>our</sup> wool? Buried. Our cloth did not get off, along with 400 University boxes. Kao had 7 rolls of undyed uniform cloth at the wool place and so far no looting of it. Many refugees in that compound and women more attractive to Japs than wool. Though they took all Searle's wool cloth and bedding at his house.

L.C.S.S.

## THE UNIVERSITY OF NANKING

American Office  
150 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N. Y.  
December 24, 1937.

To the Friends of The University of Nanking:

On November 10, we wrote of the life and work of the University and University Hospital in Nanking during the preceding month. All through that month there were air raids upon the city at all hours of the day and night. In spite of the attacks of bombing planes and repeated efforts to cut the Shanghai-Nanking Railway, the railroad to the capital had remained open. Mr. Oliver J. Caldwell, a member of the English Department of the University, on October 25, wrote a graphic description of a trip by rail from Shanghai to Nanking:—



“Three months ago the Shanghai-Nanking express made its run in less than seven hours. Three days ago it required nearly forty-four hours to make the trip, and it had become an adventure. For eighty days the Japanese had been making every effort to cut the railroad. They had rained thousands of bombs on bridges and stations, had machine-gunned trains, and taken thousands of lives, but they had not been able to overcome the railway crews, who repaired the tracks as soon as they were damaged and always kept the trains running.

“It was five o'clock when I reached the West Station. This is now the only station in regular use in the Shanghai area, the others all having been bombed. There are British troops stationed in the neighborhood, which perhaps accounts for the immunity so far of Shanghai West. Already there were probably two thousand refugees lined up, although the train would not be in for more than an hour. The organization was excellent. The passengers were kept as far as possible from the station building in order to save them in case of an attack. There was no disorder of any kind, nor any victimizing or profiteering.

“There was a pillar of smoke rising above the Commercial Press which looked like a volcano in action. In several directions, bombing was going on, but no planes came near us. The traffic manager introduced himself, and made an effort to relieve the tedium.

When the train pulled in a little after six, he let the few foreigners waiting go ahead of the rest.

“We started at six-thirty, with a full moon which was almost as bright as day. It was perfect for bombing, and some of us were a bit nervous. However we had good luck at first. The stations we passed were all more or less in ruins, but business was going on as usual. In this connection a missionary in Hangchow reports that when the station there was gunned, passenger trains were dispatched from it before the fire was out.

“After we left Kashing the going was slower. Owing to troops ahead, we were obliged to wait on a siding from one o'clock until daylight. We had barely started again before there was a shout of “fei chi” (“airplanes”) and the train came to a sudden stop. We piled out through doors and windows, and sure enough, there were four planes coming towards us down the track. The ditches on either side of the embankment were filled with water, so there was nowhere to go. I found myself holding my breath as the planes drew near. It was a helpless situation. There was nothing to do but wait for the worst. They must have been out of ammunition, for they left, after inspecting us, without so much as firing a machine gun. It was not until they were out of sight that I noticed that three freight cars with their contents were burning on the next track. There were cans of white paint, iron cots, bales of burlap, and military underwear scattered all over the premises. We were luckier than the previous train had been.

“We stayed at this place for thirteen hours. From time to time there were alarms, but the planes were too busy bombing Soochow eight miles ahead to pay any attention to us. There was no food or water to be had on the train, and my lunch was running low. I crossed the Grand Canal, which ran parallel to the tracks, and found some shops in a country town where I bought some hot sesame cakes. Then I drank tea in the shade of an old ferry landing above the canal. The water in the canal was clear and green and restful. I was getting sleepy when the keeper of the shop began to ask me questions about my-

self. When I told him I was an American, the crowd expressed its approval. One old farmer said, 'We, too, are men with a country now.'

"It was nearly seven when we finally got under way again. We had to wait at various places while the tracks were repaired after the dozen or more raids of the day. In the moonlight, steel freight cars were strangely twisted and torn. Several had been blown bodily some distance from the tracks. The fact that trains were still running at all was a victory of skill and courage over airplanes and bombs.

"Thirty hours after leaving Shanghai we arrived in Soochow. There was little light in the station for fear of more raids. Here seven cars loaded with wounded were attached to our already heavy train, and hundreds of convalescents climbed through the windows, and wedged themselves into every cranny of the packed cars. I suppose there were hundreds of people there as tired as I was, and many of them were women and children. Their cheerfulness and patience were greater than my own.

"From Soochow to Nanking we made much better time. The stations had almost all been bombed, and some were in bad shape. The area around the tracks had suffered severely. At Changchow there were two passenger coaches which had recently been bombed. They had been almost entirely destroyed, and the neighboring platform was a mess of charred wood, bloody cotton, and other things I did not investigate. There were some severely wounded civilians, but they had already received good care and were ready to continue their journey.

"There were a few more alarms, but nothing serious, before we reached Nanking. I stood for a while watching the unloading of the wounded. They constituted the largest mass of suffering humanity I have ever seen. There was no groaning or complaining, even from the stretcher cases which were borne past me by tired boy scouts. From beginning to end, this trip was a lesson in determination and courage."

For three months since the outbreak of hostilities in the Shanghai area on August 13, the Chinese armies had held the lines around Shanghai. In November, the armies began to withdraw toward the north. The University and Nanking Theological Seminary were the only educational institutions, large or small, that attempted to keep open in the city of Nanking. In the latter part of November, the decision was reached to transfer the faculty and students of the University up the Yangtze River to Hankow. A small group of American members of the faculty and hospital staff volunteered to stay in Nanking during its siege and probable capture. They were: Dr. M. Searle Bates, Mr. C. H. Riggs, and Dr. Lewis S. C. Smythe of the faculty; Miss Grace Bauer, Miss Iva Hynds, Dr. Clifford S. Trimmer and Dr. Robert O. Wilson of the hospital staff; Miss Minnie Vautrin, of Ginling College, also remained.

There was the danger that, if the defense of the city were prolonged, the attacking army would bombard the city both with planes and with artillery, and there would be widespread destruction of property and a tragic loss of life. On December 13, the city of Nanking was captured. For several days no word was received concerning the Americans who had stayed in the city, or concerning the University and Ginling College property. On December 18, the American papers carried dispatches, telling of the safety of all the Americans in the city and of the courageous service they had rendered in helping to set up a zone of refuge for Chinese civilians and in caring for the wounded.

Several of the University faculty and hospital staff and other missionaries in the city, had gone through the Nanking Incident of 1927 and they knew exactly what they faced by remaining in the city. Their brave spirit and their willingness to give their lives if necessary in the performance of their duty, were in line with the highest traditions of the University and of previous missionary service in China.

The American newspapers on December 18 and 19, carried appreciative accounts of the action of these Americans. We are quoting herewith extracts from the account in the New York Sun of December 18, written by A. T. Steele, Correspondent Chicago Daily News in New York Sun:-

### **CHINESE SAVED BY AMERICANS**

#### **Missionaries Intervened to Rescue Many Civilians**

"Shanghai, Dec. 18—The fall of Nanking would have been infinitely more frightful if not for the courageous efforts of a handful of American missionaries and German businessmen, who stayed throughout the siege.

"Working solely for the welfare of 100,000 civilians remaining in the stricken city, these foreigners ran risks which came close to costing their lives.

"The intervention of American missionaries on behalf of Chinese civilians known to be innocent, saved many lives. The only foreigner wounded in the Nanking siege was a German who was cut by flying glass when a shell exploded outside his window, but all the sixteen Americans who saw the thing through could tell stories of hair-raising escapes. None of them went through a more trying ordeal than two American doctors, C. S. Trimmer and Robert Wilson, who took in all seriously wounded Chinese civilians who were brought to the doors of their Christian hospital.

"Amputations were an hourly routine. A shell burst in the hospital yard while Dr. Wilson was performing a delicate operation, shattering the windows and spattering the operating room with shrapnel, but the work went on.

"Other Americans braved shrapnel and bombs to go after food supplies for the destitute thousands concentrated within the so-called safety zone. Among the most active was Lewis Smythe, formerly of the University of Chicago, now of the University of Nanking, who showed complete disregard for his own safety.

"Miss Minnie Vautrin of Secor, Ill., who was in charge of 1,000 destitute Chinese women and children seeking shelter in the Ginling College, had a hectic time when Japanese shells burst dangerously close. Few, if any, missionary institutions escaped without some scars of warfare.

"The safety zone, created in the heart of fortified Nanking by the Committee of Foreigners, was built on a foundation of colossal nerve, for from the first, it was evident that neither side would respect it fully. Nevertheless, while a score of shells fell inside the zone, and the area was occasionally sprayed by stray bullets and shrapnel, it was probably safer than other parts of the capital."

Other press dispatches sent from Shanghai at about this same time praised highly the courage and coolness of this group of American throughout the siege of Nanking and during the tragic days of its final capture. Special commendation was given to the services on the safety zone committee rendered by Professor Lewis S. C. Smythe, Dr. M. S. Bates, Rev. W. P. Mills, and Professor Charles H. Riggs. There were warm tributes, too, to the work of the University Hospital through his period.

A cablegram has been received from Miss Priest in Hankow dated December 16, which was forwarded through the American Embassy, as follows:-

"IVA HYNDS, GRACE BAUER, SEARLE BATES, LEWIS SMYTHE, CHARLES RIGGS, CLIFFORD TRIMMER, ROBERT WILSON, OF UNIVERSITY STAFF, AND MINNIE VAUTRIN OF GINLING STAFF ARE SAFE IN NANKING. NOTIFY FAMILIES. NO REPORT YET REGARDING PROPERTY. HILDA ANDERSON, OLIVER CALDWELL, PETER BANNON, ELSIE PRIEST IN HANKOW; CLAUDE THOMSON, RICHARD BRADY IN KULING; LOSSING BUCK IN HONG KONG. MAJORITY STAFF ENROUTE TO CHENGTU; REMAINDER LEAVE IN TEN DAYS."

We judge from this cable that the University plans to move to Chengtu, Szechwan, in West China. The West China Union University is located in that city and is extending facilities to the University of Nanking and to other colleges, which are moving to the far west. We will send further information when it is available.

The University is appealing, together with the other Christian Colleges in China, for gifts for the Emergency Fund for these colleges. A total of \$250,000.00 is being sought. A fine group of American leaders have become members of local and national committees supporting this appeal.

A luncheon was held November 19 at the Down Town Association at which Dr. C. T. Wang, Chinese Ambassador to America, spoke to a group of friends of the Christian Colleges. Mr. Paul D. Cravath, Chairman of the National Emergency Committee of the Colleges presided.

On December 7, a luncheon was held in the Jade Room of the Waldorf Astoria, which was attended by friends of the China Colleges. Mr. Arthur V. Davis, Chairman of the Eastern Division China Emergency Fund, presided. Miss Shih Pao-chen of Ginling and Mr. Lin Chi-wu, of Yenching University, spoke, as did Dr. Hu Shih and Dr. Leonard Hsu.

Of the total \$250,000.00 being sought, approximately \$100,000.00 in cash and pledges has been received. There is appealing need for funds for the University Hospital for surgical and medical supplies, and there is special need for additional gifts to cover the cost of transfer of the faculty and students who go to Cheng-tu.

Checks should be made to George W. Davison, National Treasurer and sent to Room 903, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

This letter is being written the day before Christmas. One of the most vivid memories of our life in Nanking, is that of listening to the familiar and appealing melodies of the Christmas Carols sung by the students of the University and of Ginling College on Christmas Eve and Christmas morning. The students have been scattered and dispersed — there will be no singing of Christmas Carols by those students in Nanking this evening, or tomorrow morning. This will not be a Merry Christmas for many, many Chinese Christians. But, in the new location of the University and of Ginling College, outside of the war zone and throughout China, Christmas will be celebrated and the life and work of both institutions and other Christian colleges, will go on.

The Chinese spirit is not broken. The Chinese with whom I have spoken in this country and those who have recently come from China, are confident of the ultimate outcome of this conflict. And the Christians have a source of strength and inner peace that cannot be destroyed. Miss Mary Chen, a graduate of Ginling College, and a sister of Dr. Y. G. Chen, President of the University, has written from Nanking: "We are trying in every way possible to help the needy and sufferers. We learn to make bandages, cotton balls (medical) and sewings. What a blessing to be Christians — the 'Given Peace' in our hearts, though physically we are the same as others, greatly bothered by the air raids and the hostility done unto the innocents. Our hearts ache to see the scenes and ears hate to hear the bombs. It is altogether unbearable and pitiful to see people trembling with fear, never knowing God is their refuge and shelter during the air raids. Of course, we never know what is God's will; we might be bombed as others; but the 'Peace' inside is such a blessed comfort and protection from the necessary fears."

Sincerely yours,

W. Reginald Wheeler

University of Nanking

Temporary headquarters:  
12B Dahlia Buildings,  
Hankow

December 28, 1937

To the members of the Board of Directors:

There have been very drastic changes in our plans since I sent the last letter to you. When it became necessary to leave Nanking there was not time to consult with members of the Board of Directors. The work on the campus was proceeding as usual until the 14th of November when the retreat from the Shanghai area made all cities near Nanking in grave danger. The Administration Committee decided it was time to be prepared for quick action.

Maintaining continuity: The University has staff members who have given their lives to the institution - some having been on the staff for many years. It seemed of great value to the future of the work to keep the group together just as far as was possible. Also, having opened the institution in Nanking in order to preserve the continuity of classwork throughout the years, we hesitated to suspend staff and students and accept defeat at this stage. Some staff members, who felt it was impossible for them to go to West China, were given two months salary and allowed to return to their homes. In the face of great danger, it was difficult for most staff and students to return to their homes. We tried to give them such protection as the group could afford, feeling that once the staff was scattered, it would be a very difficult task to build up a strong faculty again.

Order from the Ministry of Education: On November 15th the Ministry of Education sent definite orders that the University must close and send all students and staff members to places of safety. Classes were continued until the 19th, after which time arrangements were made to send the group to Hankow. Preliminary plans had been made to provide adequate facilities in Kuling or in West China for the continuance of the work of the University. After careful consideration it was decided unwise to take the group to Kuling, but to plan to move to West China as quickly as possible.

Transportation from Nanking: Naturally the University was not the only institution or group that was attempting to leave the area around Nanking. The decision of the Central Government to move all government bureaux and offices taxed all boats on the river to capacity and for some days it did not look very hopeful for us. Many attempts were made to charter a boat for the whole institution, but after repeated failures it was abandoned. Through the courtesy of one of the British firms, our entire staff with their families and the students were taken to Hankow on three boats. The first group of more than 200 were assigned the hold of one of the small steamers, and the others came up in similar ways. The last group, including a number of the administrative staff, left Nanking on December 3d.

More than seven hundred boxes of equipment were packed and an attempt was made to send all up river. Finally 481 boxes were loaded on the steamers, but the rest had to be left on the campus as the gates of the city were being closed and the steamship companies could not take anymore freight. It was arranged so every department had an opportunity to include their most valuable and necessary equipment in the freight that was sent up river. The rest was packed away in the buildings and every effort was made to give as great protection as was possible. No word has come concerning the fate of the buildings and equipment in Nanking.

Upon the registration of staff and students in Wuhan, it was found that 144 staff members and 151 students had arrived safely. Among the staff were 48 families with a total number of about 350 persons. Therefore, our entire group was nearly six hundred persons. It was no small task to find living accommodations for them but with the help of our friends in the various missions, especially Hwa Chung College, the London Mission Society, and the American Church Mission, they were all given shelter for the days they had to remain in the Wuhan district.

Emergency Committee in Nanking: About thirty-five staff members decided to remain in Nanking and from this number an Emergency Committee was chosen as follows: Messrs. M.S. Bates (chairman), Lewis S.C. Smythe, Charles H. Riggs, C.S. Trimmer, C.T. Gee, Chen Yung, and T.R. Ku. To this committee was left the task of caring for all affairs of the institution in Nanking. The willingness of this group to remain in Nanking at a time when the Japanese army was approaching rapidly, air raids were occurring continually, and even the members of the American Embassy were on a gun-boat, showed a spirit which is worthy of the greatest admiration. Before leaving Nanking I tried to impress upon the committee that we wanted them to take every precaution and not to run any unnecessary personal risk for the sake of protection of the buildings. At best the risk was very great. Word has been received through the American Embassy that all Americans are safe in Nanking and we are hoping our entire staff has escaped personal injury.

You may know that members of our staff were very active in planning and carrying out the safety zone. While we have no direct word concerning its value, we feel that it must have rendered a very important service to hundreds of people who were unable to leave the city of Nanking.

University Hospital: Practically the entire hospital staff left Nanking and are now in or around Hankow, some having found work in other hospitals. In order to keep the hospital open for emergency needs, especially to serve the wounded civilians, Drs. Trimmer and Wilson, Misses Hynds and Bauer, with a small number of Chinese staff, remained in Nanking.

Future plans for the hospital are very indefinite and no steps are being made at this time to have the staff return to Nanking. All staff were given salary for two months but told definitely that there was little hope of continuance of allowances. We have read from the press report of the looting of the hospital in Nanking, but have no details yet of the damage or the safety of staff and patients.

University Middle School: The work of the Middle School was closed at the same time as the colleges and a few staff members joined us when we came to Hankow. There are now five families and nine single staff members here. One staff member and ten servants remained in Nanking. Although plans are still very tentative, it is possible that the Middle School may attempt to open in Wansien.

Rural Leaders' Training School: The school opened in Wukiang this fall with 98 students and were carrying on a normal program, especially in connection with the farmers of that area. Fortunately they decided to join the colleges and arrived in Hankow a few days after the University groups. Recently Wukiang has been one of the battle fields so we are glad to have these students with us. It is possible that the school will move to Wansien and share some buildings with the Middle School, but plans are not completed as yet.

Institute of Chinese Cultural Studies: After careful consideration the Institute staff moved to Tungchi, Anhwei to continue research work in a quiet place. Five staff members were established there with the necessary equipment and about 80 cases of our most valuable Chinese books. We have received a telegram stating the group were leaving Tungchi for Hunan but have heard nothing since the 14th. We fear they have experienced great difficulty in securing transportation and most likely were forced to leave the equipment behind in Tungchi.

Colleges: An attempt was made to continue classes in this district, but proved to be impossible due to various reasons. In the 1st place, the people in Wuhan are nervous and many students have left the colleges here; and secondly, every place was crowded so it was difficult to find rooms where classes could be held or where the students could study. Hwa Chung was very kind to us and allowed the students to live in their gymnasium while staff members were given shelter on the campus. After many conferences we registered all students who came here, gave assignments as far as was possible to be carried under the tutorial system, and suspended all thought of regular classwork.

I have just returned from a trip by air to Chengtu where I found everyone most cordial and sympathetic. We are assured of a very warm welcome in West China. The Provincial Government of Szechuen has given us \$20,000 for the construction of temporary buildings to house our staff and students. West China Union University is providing from their own emergency funds US\$5,500. to construct a dormitory which will be loaned to us for our students. The cost of living is much lower than in Nanking, and while the cost of transportation is very costly, it was the unanimous opinion of our administrative committee to keep the nucleus of the University together and preserve the continuity of classes just as far as was possible. The experience of other universities in occupied areas has been most appalling and we feel it will not be possible for us to take our group and return to Nanking for some time. This move will mean we shall have a comparatively quiet region for work and we hope to be able to make some contribution to West China.

We plan to open the second semester on the campus of West China Union University on or about March 1st. We shall try to have the dates coincide with the opening of the University in Chengtu. Already most of the staff and students, who cared to go with us, have started for Chengtu although they may have to wait some weeks in Ichang due to low water. Our equipment has been shipped to Ichang to wait there for high water before sending on to Chungking.

Headquarters: We had planned at first to have an office in Hankow. I think everyone will agree that Hankow is bound to become a storm center in the near future, and we may find it is cut off from Chengtu. Just lately we have felt it may be wiser to take the entire group to Chengtu and have our headquarters there, especially as we find it is just as convenient to negotiate Shanghai funds as Hankow funds. This office will be continued for the time being, but may be closed within a few weeks. All mail should be addressed to us in care of West China Union University, Chengtu, Szechuen.

It is impossible to call a meeting of the Board of Directors at this time but we shall welcome your advice and letters. We wish it was possible to have your help in making these decisions, and trust you will give us your hearty support as we try to continue the work of the institution.

Sincerely yours,

Y.G. Chen

Excerpts from letters by Elsie M. Priest dated  
December 30 and December 31, 1937; January 3,  
and January 11, 1938.

"The word that is coming to us from Nanking fills us with horror and deep concern for the lives of many of our friends left in the city. Today one of the Western friends, who remained in Nanking until the evening of the 15th, brings us the first direct word of actual conditions in the city. We have no definite word since that date although we know the 16th and 17th were both terrible days with many people paying the supreme penalty. Mr. Smith tells us that up until the 15th all our property was unharmed and our staff was safe although some had most harrowing experiences. Two of our Chinese staff members were being taken to be shot when rescued by three Americans, but we do not know what may have taken place the following days.

"The safety zone was observed as far as firing and shelling was concerned. Some shells fell in the southwest corner (the Nanking Theological Seminary campus) but the damage was not great. Just as soon as the soldiers entered the city they violated all laws on international law and order and killed every person in sight until the streets were piled with the bodies of innocent civilians who had the misfortune to have remained in Nanking. About three hundred of the best policemen in the city were left to guard the safety zone and every one was lined up and shot - a number of hundred Chinese soldiers surrendered arms and uniforms and gave themselves up as prisoners of war only to be shot in groups even after Mr. Fitch (who was director of the zone) had pled with leaders to use the usual methods of taking them as prisoners. Since that date we have heard indirectly of the looting of the hospital and houses - we have no details as yet. It is all too barbarous to understand in this century and will be to the everlasting shame of the honor of Japan.

"Although we have no facts yet concerning the wounded in our own hospital, it has been confirmed that wounded men and women were killed in hospital beds and all medical attendants shot down.

"We believe all our American staff who remained are safe although they must be under a terrific strain. Some of us have been hoping that the way might open so some of us could go back into Nanking and relieve the ones who have remained through these terrible days but it is most difficult at present and we are quite definitely cut off from all communications. The Japanese are trying to keep the diplomatic representatives out of the city - we have not heard whether any have yet been able to enter but we can well understand that they may wish to dispose of the thousands of bodies in the streets before any foreign diplomats arrive.

"Having had this happen in Nanking we are not willing to leave any of our young men in Hankow for fear the same thing may be repeated. In that case we shall probably not maintain this office for more than a few weeks. You should send all letters to us in care of West China Union University, Chengtu, Szechuen. I presume you are still sending us letters! We have had no word from anyone in the office or our families since early in November. No letters have reached us in Hankow - one cable came through on the 24th but that is the only word we have had. I shall remain here for some few weeks longer especially as Mr. Bannon is ill in the hospital. They are now quite sure he has not tuberculosis as was feared, but has an infection of pneumonia germs, which might develop into pneumonia rather easily unless controlled. We shall keep him in the hospital for three or four weeks, after which time we hope that it will be possible for him to go with us westward. Otherwise we shall have to send him to Hongkong and I suppose back to America. He is very loath to accept this plan and for the present we are counting on taking him up to West China with us.

Excerpts from letters by Elsie M.  
Priest dated December 30 and 31, 1937;  
January 3, and 11, 1938.

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"Today the following families left for Hongkong and perhaps Shanghai eventually: J.C. Thomson and family, R.F. Brady and family, Mrs. C.S. Trimmer and two children, Mrs. Lewis S.C. Smythe and two children. Mrs. Trimmer and Mrs. Smythe hope to join their husbands sometime in the not too distant future - both men remained in Nanking. I will keep you informed as to all the final plans for our staff members. Mr. Caldwell will start for Chengtu next week. The only Westerners who will go to Chengtu are: Miss Hilda Anderson, Mr. Oliver Caldwell, probably Mr. Peter Bannon and most likely myself.

"The future is not very clear - we fear this war may last for a long period and while we are making every effort to maintain the nucleus and keep the classes continued, it is not very promising. We hope you are all able to give us some material support during these days."

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"This morning we have said farewell to some of our graduates who are leaving to serve in the base hospitals at the front. We have lost a number of our alumni who were in the air service - it seems such a pity to send these young men to be mowed down by machine guns. But I know that unless the educated class takes a very vital part in this terrible war, there is no hope of maintaining morale with the main army made up of masses of peasants - and with morale too weak to stand long strain. It does not make it any easier to see these boys leave!

"I may stay in Hankow after all! Our minds are changed every half hour these days and now the group feels it will be a great pity to have everyone go to Chengtu and thus cut off all chance of relieving the Nanking crowd. Pres. Chen would rather like me to stay around this part of China and see if I can link together the news from both centers - I may land in Shanghai! For the present I am waiting to see what develops, and it is clear we are sending our young staff on to West China. I cannot keep them here for fear the same fate will befall people in Hankow as did in Nanking. I wish it was easier to make decisions! Anyway we will keep you informed and if I am to remain in Hankow after all will send you a cable.

"Plans for the next few months are very foggy and our eyes are dimmed with tears as we hear of the tragedies of Nanking. We have no definite word since the night of the 15th - I went into some detail in one of the letters so will not repeat again. This morning we have word of looting of Ginling faculty houses, the hospital, our houses, but to what extent we have no news. I did not expect to see any of our material possessions again - even if we were not thoroughly looted at this time, they would disappear rapidly with the houses full of refugees and soldiers.

"I think it is quite definitely established that all our property is safe as far as bombs and shells are concerned. Nothing was injured in any way either on our various campuses or at Ginling from the siege. Looting is another tale.

"I hope we may hear from some of you and our families soon. Some letters came through from America yesterday dated December 10th. Nothing for us. We have no word since the first of November."

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"President Wu of Ginling expected to leave by plane today but for some reason no planes arrived today, so she did not get away. We shall hope she can go tomorrow. She will go to Chengtu for the present.

Excerpts from letters by Elsie M.  
Priest dated December 30 and 31, 1937;  
January 3, and 11, 1938.

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"President Chen and the rest of the administrators, excepting myself, will start for Chengtu within the week. I shall wait for a few weeks, close this office, wait for Mr. Bannan to recover sufficiently to go with us or be sent to Hongkong, and then probably go westward myself. We are trying to discover whether there is any value in remaining in Hankow - there seems little use at this stage.

"Dr. and Mrs. Thomson, Dr. and Mrs. Brady, Mrs. Lewis Smythe and children, Mrs. C. S. Trimmer and children with other Nanking friends, went through here last Thursday, 30th, enroute for Hongkong and eventually Shanghai. They have left Kuling - the American school has been closed and nearly everyone has left the mountain. I will try to keep you in touch with the movements of all staff members and hope they may soon become settled somewhere in China."

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"Before I start for West China I will try to prepare and send to someone a new revised emergency budget. Conditions change hourly so budgets have lost their value, but we still figure them out."

True record of Nanking. The  
public should know of these things.

Gladys Little Hawkins and this  
winter of 1938

Mr. Fitch's account

NANKING, CHINA

X'mas Eve, 1937.

What I am about to relate is anything but a pleasant story; in fact, it is so very unpleasant that I cannot recommend anyone without a strong stomach to read it. For it is a story of such crime and horror as to be almost unbelievable, the story of the depredations of a horde of degraded criminals of incredible bestiality, who have been, and now are, working their will, unrestrained, on a peaceful, kindly, law-abiding people. Yet it is a story which I feel must be told, even if it is seen by only a few. I cannot rest until I have told it, and perhaps fortunately, I am one of a very few who are in a position to tell it. It is not complete,--only a small part of the whole; and God alone knows when it will be finished. I pray it may be soon--but I am afraid it is going to go on for many months to come, not just here but in other parts of China. I believe it has no parallel in modern history.

It is now X'mas Eve. I shall start with say December 10th. In these two short weeks we here in Nanking have been through a siege; the Chinese army has left, defeated, and the Japanese has come in. On that day Nanking was still the beautiful city we were so proud of, with law and order still prevailing; today it is a city laid waste, ravaged, completely looted, much of it burned. Complete anarchy has reigned for ten days--it has been a hell on earth. Not that my life has been in serious danger at any time; though turning lust-mad, sometimes drunken soldiers out of houses where they were raping the women is not, perhaps, altogether a safe occupation; nor does one feel too sure of himself when he finds a bayonet at his chest or a revolver at his head and knows it is handled by someone who heartily wishes him out of the way. For the Japanese Army is anything but pleased at our being here after having advised all foreigners to get out. They wanted no observers. But to have to stand by while even the very poor are having their last possession taken from them--their last coin, their last bit of bedding (and it is freezing weather), the poor ricksha man his ricksha; while thousands of disarmed soldiers who had sought sanctuary with you together with many hundreds of innocent civilians are taken out before your eyes to be shot or used for bayonet practice and you have to listen to the sound of the guns that are killing them; while a thousand women kneel before you crying hysterically, begging you to save them from the beasts who are praying on them; to stand by and do nothing while your flag is taken down and insulted, not once but a dozen times, and your own home is being looted; and then to watch the city you have come to love and the institution to which you had planned to devote your best year deliberately and systematically burned by fire,--this is a hell I had never before envisaged.

We keep asking ourselves "How long can this last?" Day by day we are assured by the officials that things will be better soon, that "we will do our best,"--but each day has been worse than the day before. And now we are told that a new division of 20,000 men

are arriving. Will they have to have their fill of flesh and loot, of murder and rape? There will be little left to rob, for the city has been wellnigh stripped clean. For the past week the soldiers have been busy loading their trunks with what they wanted from the stores and then setting fire to the buildings. And then there is the harrowing realization that we have only enough rice and flour for the 200,000 refugees for another three weeks and coal for ten days. Do you wonder that one awakes in the night in a cold sweat of fear, and sleep for the rest of the night is gone? Even if we had food enough for three months, how are they going to be fed after that? And with their homes burned, where are they going to live? They cannot continue much longer in their present terribly crowded condition; disease and pestilence must soon follow if they do.

Every day we call at the Japanese Embassy and present our protests, our appeals, our lists of authenticated reports of violence and crime. We are met with suave Japanese courtesy, but actually the officials there are powerless. The victorious army must have its rewards--and these rewards are to plunder, murder, rape, at will, to commit acts of unbelievable brutality and savagery on the very people whom they have come to protect and befriend, as they have so loudly proclaimed to the world. In all modern history surely there is no page that will stand so black as that of the rape of Nanking.

To tell the whole story of these past ten days would take too long. The tragic thing is that by the time the truth gets out to the rest of the world it will be cold--it will no longer be "news". Anyway, the Japanese have undoubtedly been proclaiming abroad that they have established law and order in a city that had already been looted and burned, and that the downtrodden population had received their benevolent army with open arms and a great flag-waving welcome. However, I am going to record some of the more important events of this period as I have jotted them down in my little diary, for they will at least be of interest to some of my friends and I shall have the satisfaction of having a permanent record of these unhappy days. It will probably extend beyond the date of this letter, for I do not anticipate being able to get this off for some considerable time. The Japanese censorship will see to that! Our own embassy officials and those of other countries together with some of the business men who went aboard the ill-fated "Fanay" and the Standard oil boats and other ships just before the capture of Nanking, confidently expecting to return within a week when they left, are still cooling their heels (those who haven't been killed or wounded by Japanese bombs and machine guns) out on the river or perhaps in one of the ports. We think it will be another fortnight before any of them is permitted to return, and longer than that before any of us is permitted to leave Nanking. We are virtually prisoners here.

You will recall, those of you who have read earlier letters of mine, that our International Committee for Nanking Safety Zone had been negotiating with both the Chinese and Japanese for the recognition of a certain area in the city which would be kept free of

soldiers and all military offices and which would not be bombed or shelled, a place where the remaining two hundred thousand of Nanking's population could take refuge when things became too hot, for it had put up for so long at Shanghai was now broken and their morale largely gone. The terrific punishment which they had taken from the superior artillery, tanks and air forces could not be endured forever and the successful landing of Japanese troops on Hangchow Bay, attacking their flank and rear, was the crowning event in their undoing. It seemed inevitable that Nanking must soon fall.

On Dec. 1 Mayor Ma virtually turned over to us the administrative responsibilities for the Zone together with a police force of 450 men, 30,000 piculs (2,000 tons) of rice, 10,000 bags of flour, and some salt, also a promise of a hundred thousand dollars in cash, 80,000 of which was subsequently received. Gen. Tang, recently executed we have been told, charged with the defence of the city, cooperated splendidly on the whole in the very difficult task of clearing the Zone of the military and anti-aircraft, and a most commendable degree of order was preserved right up to the very last moment when the Japanese began, on Sunday the 12th, to enter the walls. There was no looting save in a small way by soldiers who were in need of provisions, and foreign property throughout the city was respected. We had city water until the 10th, electricity until the following day, and telephone service actually up to the date the Japanese entered the city. At no time did we feel any serious sense of danger, for the Japanese seemed to be avoiding the Zone with their air bombs and shells, and Nanking was a heaven of order and safety as compared with the hell it has been ever since the Japanese came. It is true that we had some difficulty with our trucking--the rice was stored outside the city and some of our drivers did not relish going out where the shells were falling. One lost an eye with a splinter of shrapnel, and two of our trucks were seized by the military, but that was as nothing compared with the difficulties we have since faced.

On Dec. 10, the refugees were streaming into the Zone. We had already filled most of the institutional buildings--Ginling College, the War College and other schools, and now had to requisition the Supreme Court, the Law College and the overseas buildings, forcing doors where they were locked and appointing our own caretakers. Two Japanese blimps were visible just beyond Purple Mountain, probably to direct artillery fire. Heavy guns were pounding the south wall, and shells were dropping into the city. Several shells landed just within the Zone to the south the following morning, killing about forty near the Bible Teachers Training School and the Foo Chong Hotel. Mr. Sperling, our Inspector, a German, was slightly injured at the latter place where he has living. The U.S.S. "Panay" moved up river, but before it left I had a 'phone call (the last city gate had been closed and we had forfeited our right to go aboard the gunboat) from Paxton of our embassy giving me the last two navy radiograms to reach Nanking. He was 'phoning from outside the city, of course: the messages were from Wilbur and Brynton. Earlier that

day I had received another message saying that Marion was to be married Dec. 18 in Hudson, Ohio, but it came to me second-hand and I did not get further details.

We were now a community of 27,-18 Americans, 5 Germans, 1 Englishman, 1 Austrian and 2 Russians. Out on the river was the "Panay" with the two remaining embassy men, Atcheson and Paxton, and half a dozen others; the Standard Oil and Asiatic Petroleum motor ships with many more a hulk which had been fitted out as sort of a floating hotel and towed upstream with some 20 foreigners including Dr. Rosen of the German Embassy and some 400 Chinese, and other craft. All were looking forward to an early return to the city. How many of them have met their fate we do not know, but it will be a long time before any of them get back now. And what a Nanking they will see!

On Sunday the 12th I was busy at my desk as director of the Safety Zone all day long. We were using the former residence of Gen. Chang Chun, recently Minister of Foreign Affairs, as headquarters, so were very comfortably fixed, and incidentally had one of the best bomb-proof dugouts in all Nanking.

Airplanes had been over us almost constantly for the past two days, but no one heeded them now, and the shellfire had been terrific. The wall had been breached and the damage in the southern part of the city was tremendous. No one will ever know what the Chinese casualties were but they must have been enormous. The Japanese say they themselves lost forty thousand men taking Nanking. The general rout must have started early that afternoon. Soldiers streamed through the city from the south, many of them passing through the Zone, but they were well-behaved and orderly. Gen. Tang asked our assistance in arranging a truce with the Japanese and Mr. Sperling agreed to take a flag and message--but it was already too late. He fled that evening, and as soon as the news got out disorganization became general. There was panic as they made for the gate to Hsiakwan and the river. The road for miles was strewn with the equipment they cast away--rifles, ammunition, belts, uniforms, cars, trucks,--everything in the way of army impediments. Trucks and cars jammed, were overturned, caught fire; at the gate more cars jammed and were burned--a terrible holocaust,--and the dead lay feet deep. The gate blocked, terror mad soldiers scaled the wall and let themselves down on the other side with ropes, putties and belts tied together, clothing torn to strips. Many fell and were killed. But at the river was perhaps the most appalling scene of all. A fleet of junks was there. It was totally inadequate for the horde that was now in a frenzy to cross to the north side. The overcrowded junks capsized, then sank; thousands drowned. Other thousands tried to make rafts of the lumber on the river front, only to suffer the same fate. Other thousands must have succeeded in getting away, but many of these were probably bombed by Japanese planes a day or two later.

One small detail of three companies rallied under their officers, crossed the San Chia Ho, three miles up river, and tried to attack the Japanese forces that were coming in from that direction, but were outnumbered and practically decimated. Only one seems to have succeeded in getting back. He happened to be the brother of a friend of mine and appeared in my office the next morning to report the story. A fellow officer had drowned while the two of them were trying to swim the small tributary to the Yangtze which they had crossed before on rafts, and before daylight he had managed to scale the wall and slip in unobserved.

So ended the happy, peaceful, well-ordered, progressive regime which we had been enjoying here in Nanking and on which we had built our hopes for still better days. For the Japanese were already in the city, and with them came terror and destruction and death. They were first reported in the Zone at 11 o'clock that morning, the 13th. I drove down with two of our committee members to meet them, just a small detachment at the southern entrance to the Zone. They showed no hostility, though a few moments later they killed twenty refugees who were frightened by their presence and ran from them. For it seems to be the rule here, as it was in Shanghai in '32, that any one who runs must be shot or bayoneted.

Meanwhile we were busy at headquarters disarming soldiers who had been unable to escape and had come into the Zone for protection. We assured them that if they gave up their equipment their lives would be spared by the Japanese. But it was a vain promise. All would have preferred to die fighting than to be taken out and shot or sabred or used for bayonet practice, as they all were later on.

There was still some shellfire that day but very little that landed in the Zone. We discovered some fragments of shrapnel in our yard that evening; Dr. Wilson had a narrow escape from shrapnel bits that came through the window of his operating room while he was operating; and a shell passed through one of the new University dormitories; but there were no casualties. The Communications building, the most beautiful in all Nanking, with its superb ceremonial ball, was in flames, but whether from shellfire or started by the retreating Chinese we do not know.

On Tuesday the 14th the Japanese were pouring into the city-- tanks, artillery, infantry, trucks. The reign of terror commenced, and it was to increase in severity and horror with each of the succeeding ten days. They were the conquerors of China's capital, the seat of the hated Chiang Kai Shek government, and they were given free reign to do as they pleased. The proclamation on the handbills which airplanes scattered over the city saying that the Japanese were the only real friends of the Chinese and would protect the good, of course meant no more than most of their statements. And to show their "sincerity" they raped, looted and killed at will. Men were taken from our refugee camps in droves, as we supposed at the time for labor--but they have never been heard from again, nor

will they be. A colonel and his staff called at my office and spent an hour trying to learn where the "six thousand disarmed soldiers" were. Four times that day Japanese soldiers came and tried to take our cars away. Others in the meantime succeeded in stealing three of our cars that were elsewhere. On some's they tore off the American flag, and threw it on the ground, broke a window and managed to get away all within the five minutes he had gone into Dr. Thomson's house. They tried to steal our trucks--did succeed in getting two,--so ever since it has been necessary for two Americans to spend most of their time riding trucks as they delivered rice and coal. Their experiences in dealing daily with these Japanese car thieves would make an interesting story in itself. And at the University Hospital they took the watches and fountain pens from the nurses.

Durbin, of the New York Times, started for Shanghai by motor that day, though none of us had much faith that he would get through. I hurriedly wrote a letter for him to take, but he was turned back at Kuyung. Steele, of the Chicago News, managed to get out to the river and reported that a number of Japanese destroyers had just arrived. A lieutenant gave him the news of the sinking of the "Panay" but had no details, nor did he mention the other ships that were sunk. After all their efforts to have us go aboard, finally leaving us with a couple of lengths of rope by which we could get down over the wall and to the river--it was ironical indeed that the "Panay" should be bombed and we still safe.

Mr. Rabe our Chairman, head of Siemens China Co., and Smythe our secretary, called at military headquarters in the hope of seeing the commanding officer and stopping the intolerable disorders but had to wait until the next day as he had not yet entered the city. Their calls were quite useless anyway.

On Wednesday I drove around to my house, which is just outside the Zone, to see if everything was all right. Yesterday the gates were intact, but today the side gate was broken in and the south door open. I had no time to investigate but asked a friendly-looking major who had just moved in across the street to keep an eye on the place, which he promised to do. A staff officer from the Navy was waiting for me. He expressed his deep concern over the loss of the "Panay", but he too could give no details. The Navy would be glad to send a destroyer to Shanghai with any of the members of the American community who wished to go, also to send radio messages of purely a personal nature. He seemed somewhat disappointed in the brevity of the message I wrote out: "Wilbur, National Committee YMCA, Shanghai: All foreigners Nanking safe and well. Please inform interested parties".--also when I told him that with the exception of a couple of newspaper men the rest of us wished to stay in Nanking.

I offered to drive him back to his ship--he had been obliged to walk the four miles in,--but half way we were stopped by an army

major who told us that no civilians were allowed further north as they were still rounding up some Chinese soldiers and it was unsafe. We happened to be beside the Ministry of War at the time and it was all too evident that an execution was going on, hundreds of poor disarmed soldiers with many innocent civilians among them,--the real reason for his not wanting me to go further. So Mr. Sekiguchi of E.I.J.M.S. "Seta" had to walk the rest of the way. But that afternoon I stole a march on the surely major: I went to Hsiakwan by back roads. At the gate I was stopped, but I had Smith of Batters and Steele with me who were leaving on that destroyer, so we were finally allowed to pass. I have already described the conditions at that gate--we actually had to drive over masses of dead bodies to get through. But the scene beggars description. I shall never forget that ride.

At the jetty we found Durdin of the Times and Art Menken of Paramount Films, with whom I had just made that trip to the Northwest, to Shansi and Sian, already there, for they were going too, and I had promised to drive Durdin's car back to the American embassy for him. Mr. Okamura of the Japanese Embassy, just arrived from Shanghai was also there and gave us the names of the killed and wounded on the "Panay" and the Standard oil boats, so I offered him a lift back to the city. But at the gate we were stopped again, and this time the guard positively refused to let me enter. No foreigners were allowed to enter Nanking, and the fact that I had just come from there made no difference. Even Mr. Okamura's appeals were in vain--the embassy cuts no ice with the army in Japan. The only thing to do was to wait while Okamura took one of the cars to military headquarters and sent back a special pass. It took an hour and a half; but I had the November Reader's Digest, the last piece of mail to reach me from the outside, with me so that time passed quickly. But the stench at the gate was awful--and here and there dogs were gnawing at the corpses.

At our staff conference that evening word came that soldiers were taking all 1,300 men in one of our camps near headquarters to shoot them. We knew there were a number of ex-soldiers among them, but Rabe had been promised by an officer that very afternoon that their lives would be spared. It was now all too obvious what they were going to do. The men were lined up and roped together in groups of about a hundred by soldiers with bayonets fixed; those who had them roughly torn off and thrown on the ground,--and then by the light of our headlights we watched them marched away to their doom. Not a whimper came from that entire throng. Our own hearts were lead. Were those four lads from Canton who had trudged all the way up from the south and yesterday had reluctantly give me their arms among them, I wondered; or that tall, strapping sergeant from the North whose disillusioned eyes as he made the fatal decision still haunt me? How foolish I had been to tell them the Japanese would spare their lives! We had confidently expected that they would live up to their promises, at least in some degree, and that order

would be established with their arrival. Little did we dream that we should see such brutality and savagery as has probably not been equaled in modern times. Far worse days were yet to come.

The problem of transportation became acute on the 16th, with the Japanese still stealing our trucks and cars. I went over to the American embassy where the Chinese staff was still standing by, and borrowed Mr. Atcheson's car for Mills to deliver coal. For our big concentrations of refugees and our three big rice kitchens, had to have fuel as well as rice. We now had twenty five camps, ranging from 200 to 12,000 people in them. In the University buildings along there were nearly 30,000 and in Ginling College which was reserved for women and children the 3,000 were rapidly increased to over 9,000. In the latter place even the covered passageways between buildings were crowded, while within every foot of space was taken. We had figured on sixteen square feet to a person, but actually they were crowded in much closer than that. For while no place was safe, we did manage to preserve a fair degree of safety at Ginling, to a lesser degree in the University. Miss. Vautrin, Mrs. Twinom and Mrs. Chen were heroic in their care and protection of the women.

That morning the cases of rape began to be reported. Over a hundred women that we knew of were taken away by soldiers, seven of them from the University library; but there must have been many times that number who were raped in their homes. Hundreds were on the streets trying to find a place of safety. At tiffin time Riggs, who was associate commissioner of housing, came in crying. The Japanese had emptied the Law College and Supreme Court and taken away practically all the men, to a fate we could only guess. Fifty of our policemen had been taken with them. Riggs had protested, only to be roughly handled by the soldiers and twice struck by an officer. Refugees were searched for money and anything they had on them was taken away, often to their last bit of bedding. At our staff conference at four we could hear the shots of the execution squad near by. It was a day of unspeakable terror for the poor refugees and horror for us.

I dashed over to my house for a few minutes on the way to tiffin at Prof. Buck's where I was living with six others. The two American flags were still flying and the proclamations by the Embassy still on the gates and front door; but the side gate had been smashed and the door broken open. Within was confusion. Every drawer and closet and trunk had been opened, locks smashed. The attic was littered ankle deep. I could not stop to see what was taken but most of the bedding was gone and some clothing and food-stuffs. A carved teak screen had been stripped of its embroidered panels, a gift of Dr. C. T. Wang, and a heavy oak buffet battered in. Yates McDaniel of the Associated Press, the last of our newspaper men, left in the afternoon by another destroyer for Shanghai. With him I sent another short letter which I hope

got through.

Friday, Dec. 17. Robbery, murder, rape continue unabated. A rough estimate would be at least a thousand women raped last night and during the day. One poor woman was raped thirty seven times. Another had her five months infant deliberately smothered by the brute to stop its crying while he raped her. Resistance means the bayonet. And the hospital is rapidly filling up with the victims of Japanese cruelty and barbarity. Bob Wilson, our only surgeon, has his hands more than full and has to work into the night. Rickshas, cattle, pigs, donkeys, often the sole means of livelihood of the people, are taken from them. Our rice kitchens and rice shop are interfered with. We have had to close the latter.

After dinner I took Bates to the University and McCallum to the hospital where they will spend the night, then Mills and Smythe to Ginling for one of our group has been sleeping there each night. At the gate of the latter place we were stopped by what seemed to be a searching party. We were roughly pulled from the car at the point of the bayonet, my car keys taken from me, lined up and frisked for arms, but hats jerked off, electric torches held to our faces, our passports and purpose in coming demanded. Opposite us were Miss. Vautrin, Mrs. Twinem and Mrs. Chen, with a score of refugee women kneeling on the ground. The sergeant, who spoke a little French (about as much as I do), insisted there were soldiers concealed there. I maintained that aside from about fifty domestics and other members of their staff there were no men on the place. This he said he did not believe and said he would shoot all he found beyond that number. He then demanded that we all leave, including the ladies, and when Miss. Vautrin refused she was roughly hustled to the car. Then he changed his mind; the ladies were told to stay and we to go. We tried to insist that one of us should stay too, but this he would not permit. Altogether we were kept standing there for over an hour before we were released. The next day we learned that this gang had abducted twelve girls from the school.

Saturday the 18th. Marion's wedding day. At breakfast Riggs, who lives in the Zone a block away but has his meals with us, reported that two women, one a cousin of Wong Ding, our YMCA secretary, were raped in his house while he was having dinner with us. Wilson reported a boy of five years of age brought to the hospital after having been stabbed with a bayonet five times, once through his abdomen; a man with eighteen bayonet wounds, a woman with seventeen cuts on her face and several on her legs. Between four and five hundred terrorized women poured into our headquarters compound in the afternoon and spent the night in the open.

Sunday the 19th. A day of complete anarchy. Several big fires raging today, started by the soldiers, and more are promised. The American flag was torn down in a number of places. At the American School it was trampled on and the caretaker told he would be killed if he put it up again. The proclamations placed on all American

and other foreign properties by the Japanese embassy are flouted by their soldiers, sometimes deliberately torn off. Some houses are entered from five to ten times in one day and the poor people looted and robbed and the women raped. Several were killed in cold blood, for no apparent reason whatever. Six out of seven of our sanitation squad in one district were slaughtered; the seventh escaped, wounded, to tell the tale. Towards evening today two of us rushed to Dr. Brdy's house (he is away) and chased four would-be rapers out and took all the women there to the University. Sperling is busy at this game all day. I also went to the house of Douglas Jenkins, of our Embassy. The flag was still there; but in the garage his house boy lay dead, another servant, dead, was under a bad both brutally killed. The house was in utter confusion. There are still many corpses on the streets, all of them civilians as far as we can see. The Red Swastika Society would bury them, but their truck has been stolen, their coffins used for bonfires, and several of their workers bearing their insignia have been marched away.

Smythe and I called again at the Japanese embassy with a list of 55 additional cases of violence, all authenticated, and told Messrs. Tanaka and Fukui that today was the worst so far. We were assured that they would "do their best" and hoped that things would be better "soon", but it is quite obvious that they have little or no influence with the military whatever, and the military have no control over the soldiers. We were also told that seventeen military police had recently arrived who would help in restoring order. Seventeen for an army of criminals of the most derailed type of perhaps fifty thousand! Yet we rather like the three men of the embassy. They are probably doing their best. But I had to smile when they asked my help in getting cars and a machanic for them after no many of ours had been stolen. I felt like referring them to their own military--but instead I took them around to the American embassy and borrowed our Ambassador's and two others for them and later sent them our Russian repair man.

Monday, Dec. 20. Vandalian and violence continue absolutely unchecked. Whole sections of the city are being systematically burned. At 5 p.m. Smythe and I went for a drive. All Taiping Road, the most important shopping street in the city, was in flames. We drove through showers of sparks and over burning embers. Further south we could see the soldiers inside the shops setting fire to them and still further they were loading the loot into army trucks. Next, to the YMCA--and it was in flames, evidently fired only an hour or so ago. The surrounding buildings were as yet untouched. I hadn't the heart to watch it, so we hurried on. That night I counted fourteen fires from my window, some of them covering considerable areas.

Our group here at the house drafted a message to the American consulate-general in Shanghai asking that diplomatic representatives be sent here immediately as the situation was urgent, then asked the Japanese embassy to send it via navy radio. Needless to say it was never sent!

Dec. 21. Fourteen of us called on Tanaka at 2.30 and presented a letter signed by all 22 foreigners protesting the burning of the city and continued disorders. More promises! Rabe fears for his house, for buildings are burning across the street from him. He has over 400 refugees living in matsheds in his garden. The problem of feeding is becoming serious--some refugees, hungry, started rioting in the University. Our coal will soon be finished, but Riggs is acouting for more. The Japanese have sealed all supplies of coal and rice. Soldiers come into our place today, over the wall, and tried to take our cars while we were all out, and at another time they nearly got Sone's truck from him. Rabe had a letter today from Mr. Rosen, of the German Embassy, through Mr. Tanaka, saying he was on the H.M.S. "Bee" at Hsiakwan but not allowed to land and asking about German properties. Rabe replied that he was glad to be able to inform him that two houses were not looted, the Ambassador's and his own, and that two cars were still left! (There are over fifty German residences in Nanking).

Dec. 22. Firing squad at work very near us at 5 a.m. today. Counted over a hundred shots. The University was entered twice during the night, the policeman at the gate held up at the point of a bayonet, and a door broken down. The Japanese military police recently appointed to duty there was asleep! Representatives of the new Japanese police force called and promised order by January 1st. They also asked for the loan of motor cars and trucks. Went with Sperling to see 50 corpses in some ponds quarter of a mile east of headquarters. All obviously civilians, hands bound behind backs, one with the top half of his head cut completely off. Were they used for sabre practice? On the way home for tiffin stopped to help the father of our YMCA writer who was being threatened by a drunken soldier with his bayonet, the poor mother frantic with fear, and before sitting down had to run over with two of our fellows to chase soldiers out of Geo's and Daniel's houses where they were just about to rape the women. We had to laugh to see those brave soldiers trying to get over a barbed-wire fence as we chased them! Bates and Riggs had to leave before they were through tiffin to chase soldiers out of the Sericulture building--several drunk. And on my arrival at office there was an S.C.S. call, which Rabe and I answered, from Sperling and Kroeger who were seriously threatened by a drunk with a bayonet. By fortunate chance Tanaka of the embassy together with some general arrived at the same moment. The soldier had his face soundly slapped a couple of times by the general but I don't suppose he get any more than that. We have heard of no cases of discipline so far. If a soldier is caught by an officer or M.P. he is very politely told that he shouldn't do that again. In the evening I walked home with Riggs after dinner -- a woman of 54 had been raped in his house just before our arrival. It's cruel to leave the woman to their fate, but of course it is impassible for us to spend all our time protecting them. Mr. Wu, engineer in the power plant which is located in Hsiakwan, brought us the amazing news that 43 of the 54 employees who had so heroically kept the plant going to the very last

day and had finally been obliged to seek refuge in the International Export Co., a British factory on the river front, had been taken out and shot on the grounds that the power company was a government concern--which it is not. Japanese officials have been at my office daily trying to get hold of these very men so they could start the turbines and have electricity. It was small comfort to be able to tell them that their own military had murdered most of them.

Thursday, Dec. 23. Sons was the one to get manhandled today. At Stanley Smith's house he found an officer and soldier who had just removed the American flag, also the Japanese proclamation, forced the refugees living there out, and said they must use the place as a registration center. He must have had a pretty uncomfortable time of it, for he was finally forced to sign a paper giving them the right to use the place for two weeks. And Sons is not a man to take things lying down! A protest to the embassy finally got the soldiers out of the place. Seventy were taken from our camp at the Rural Leaders Training School and shot. No system--soldiers sieze any they suspect. Calluses on hands are proof that the man was a soldier, a sure death warrant. Ricksha coolies, carpenters and other laborers are frequently taken. At noon a man was led to headquarters with head burned cinder black--eyes and ears gone, nose partly,--a ghastly sight. I took him to the hospital in my car where he died a few hours later. His story was that he was one of a gang of some hundred who had been tied together, then gasoline thrown over them and set afire. He happened to be on the outer edge so got the gas only over his head. Later another similar case was brought to the hospital with more extensive burns. He also died. It seems probable that they were first machine-gunned but not all killed. The first man had no wounds but the second did. Still later I saw a third with similar head and arm burns lying dead on the corner of the road to my house, opposite the Drum Tower. Evidently he had managed to struggle that far before dying. Incredible brutality!

Friday, 24th. Mr. Tong, of the U.S. Embassy, reports that the Chinese staff and their relatives, living in the embassy, were all robbed last night by an officer and his men; Paxton's office door was bayoneted, 3 cars stolen from the compound and two more this morning. Later I had the pleasure of telling Tanaka that Menken's car, which I had promised him the use of yesterday, was among those stolen. Registration of Chinese started today. The military say there are still 20,000 soldiers in the Zone and that they must get rid of these "monsters." I question if there are a hundred left. Anyway, many more innocent must suffer and all are fearful and nervous. The Chinese Self-Government committee, formed day before yesterday at the invitation of Tanaka, may be helpful in this; but there are spies already at work. We caught one here. I just saved him from a bad beating, so locked him up in our basement and later turned him over to the Chinese police. What will they do to him? Strangle him, I suppose--but I have told them to be careful! Constant interference from the Japanese today; more of our sanitary squad taken, also the policeman at the University gate, and they are constantly trying to get our trucks. They also sealed <sup>up</sup> one of our coal

depots but Riggs finally managed to talk them out of that.

X'mas Eve: Kroeger, Sperling and Dr. Trimmer in for dinner with us, -- a good dinner, too, with roast pig and sweet potatoes. Rabe did not dare to leave his house as Japanese soldiers come over his wall many times a day. He always makes them leave by the way they came instead of by the gate, and when any of them object he thrusts his Nazi armband in their face and points to his Nazi decoration, the highest in the country, and asks them if they know what that means. It always works! He joined us later in the evening and gave each of us a beautiful leather-bound Siemens diary. We sang X'mas songs with Wilson at the piano.

X'mas Day: A perfect day too, as far as weather is concerned. And conditions also seem slightly better. There were crowds on the streets with quite a number of stalls selling things. But at five o'clock, while we were sitting at roast goose, with Miss. Vautrin, Miss. Bauer, Miss Blance Wu and Miss. Pearl Bromley Wu as our guests, we had to answer three calls for help and turn soldiers out of Fenn's and the Chinese faculty houses and the Sericulture building. That day, too, the American flag was taken from the Hural Leaders Training School; seven soldiers spent that night and the night before in the Bible Teachers Training School and raped the women; a girl of 12 was raped by three soldiers almost next door to us and another of 13, before we could send relief. There were also more bayonet cases: Wilson reports that of the 240 cases in the hospital three quarters are due to Japanese violence since the occupation. At the University, registration commenced. The people were told that if any ex-soldiers were there and would step out, they would be used in the labor corps and their lives would be saved. About 240 stepped out. They were herded together and taken away. Two or three lived to tell the tale and by feigning death after they were wounded escaped and came to the hospital. One group was machinegunned, another was surrounded by soldiers and used for bayonet practice. We have had quite a number of cases where men have faced the execution squad, escaped with only a wound or two, perhaps lying all day and into the night covered by the corpses of their comrades to escape detection, and then getting to the hospital or to friends. A rash bit of carelessness on the part of the Japanese!

Dec. 27. The third week of Japanese occupation begins and is celebrated with the arrival of a Nisshin Kissen Kaisha ship from Shanghai. Four representatives of the company call at my office and promise that a regular service will soon be established on the river. A number of ladies are in the party and are taken on a sight-seeing trip of the city. They distribute a few sweets to some children and seem tremendously pleased with themselves, also with Japan's wonderful victory, but of course they hear nothing of the real truth, nor does the rest of the world, I suppose. The soldiers are still completely out of control, and there is no cooperation between the Army and the embassy. The Army even refuse to recognize the new

Self-Government Committee which was called into being by the embassy, and its members are deliberately slighted. They are told they are a conquered people and should expect no favors. Our list of instances of disorder and cruelty keeps mounting and those we never hear of must be many, many times what are reported or observed. A few of today's: A boy of 13, taken by the Japanese nearly two weeks ago, beaten with an iron rod and then bayoneted because he didn't do his work satisfactorily. A car with an officer and two soldiers came to the University last night, raped three women on the premises and took away one with them. The Bible Teachers Training School was entered many times; people were robbed and 20 women raped. The Hospital night superintendent was taken by soldiers in spite of Miss. Bauer's protests. The burning of the city continues, and today two of the Christian Mission school buildings in the south part of the city were fired, also Kiesling & Bader's (German). But Takatami, chief of the embassy police, calls and now promises protection for all foreign buildings and starts out with Sperling to inspect German properties. Personally I think he is promising far more than he can deliver. What a list of claims Japan will have presented to her--and it all seems so utterly needless,--for there are hundreds of foreign properties in Nanking almost all of which have been looted by her soldiers. And the cars that have been stolen. I think I forgot to mention that yesterday Smythe and I called at the British Embassy which is in the far north-western part of the city, out of the Zone. All the cars, eleven of them, had been taken by soldiers, also a couple of trucks, but fortunately the servants had fared fairly well. Every block or so one now sees abandoned cars--and batteries and anything else useful and left where they are, usually overturned.

There was one bright spot today, though, and that was the arrival by the N.K.K. boat, through the Japanese embassy, of a letter to me from Dr. Fong Sec,--the first and only letter to come to any of us in all these past three or four weeks. He wanted to know if we might not be in need of funds for our relief work and offered to hold some of the money that was coming in response to our appeal through Rotary International. That's Fong all over! And we'll need additional funds all right--many, many thousands. I have a nightmare everytime I think of what we'll soon be needing; for where are we going to get it?

Dec. 28. What we had feared--bad weather. A steady drizzle and then snow. The poor refugees living in huts, many no larger than a pup-tent, will have a miserable time of it, for most of these huts are not rainproof. And then there is the sticky mud. But we have certainly been fortunate in having had ideal weather up to this. I inspected some of our camps today. The crowding in most of them is terrible and of course it is impossible to keep them clean. Our camp managers and their assistants, all volunteer workers, are doing a splendid job on the whole in maintaining discipline, feeding the people and keeping things fairly sanitary. But how long must we maintain these camps? When are the people going to be permitted

to return to their homes -- those who have any homes left? When will order ever be established?

I went over to our U.M.C.A. School today for the first time. It is located not far beyond my residence. Everything had been turned upside down and many of the instruments in the physics laboratory deliberately smashed. On the athletic field was a dead cow, half eaten by the dogs. The embassy proclamation had been torn from the gate.

Dec. 29. Weather better today, fortunately, Registration continues, most inefficiently, and the people are given no information as to where and when to appear. More taken as ex-soldiers. Women and old men come kneeling and crying, begging our help in getting back their husbands and sons. In a few cases we have been successful, but the military resent any interference from us. Word comes through from Hsiakwan by a representative of the Chinese Red Cross Society that there are approximately twenty thousand refugees along the river front. The supply of rice we let them have before the Japanese arrived is nearly exhausted and there is great suffering. They ask to come into the Safety Zone, but we are already too crowded. Anyway, the Japanese wouldn't permit it, nor will they permit us to go out there and render help. For the time being will have to get along as best they can.

Guards are at last posted at the various foreign embassies. But why wasn't it done two weeks ago? Our homes are still left unprotected; and the few guards posted at some of our camps are often more of a nuisance than a help. They demand fire and food, beds, and often other things of the people.

Dec. 30. I called in the Y.M.C.A. servants today, 18 of them, paid them up to the 15th of next month and told them that they must now try to find other work. It was a hard job. Some of them have been with the Association for many years and are fine, faithful fellows. Wong Ding and I hope it may be possible to start something in a small way in the old school buildings if and when we get order established, but few of our members are left and it will be a difficult matter to build up a new constituency from the material that is now in Nanking. Wong Ding has done a splendid job as assistant housing commissioner and so has Y.S. Chang as one of the camp superintendents, while our servants have all been doing their bit in one way or another.

When I called at the Japanese embassy this afternoon they were busy giving instructions to about sixty Chinese, most of them our camp managers, on how New Year's was to be celebrated. The old five-barred flag is to replace the Nationalist flag, and they were told to make a thousand of these and also a thousand Japanese flags for that event. Camps of over a thousand must have twenty representatives present, smaller camps ten. At one o'clock New Year's day

the five-barred flag is to be raised above the Drum Tower, there will be "suitable" speeches and "music" (according to the program)-- and of course moving pictures will be taken of the happy people, waving flags and welcoming the new regime. In the meantime the burning of the city continues, three cases of girls of 12 to 13 of age being raped or abducted are reported; Sperling has a busy time chasing soldiers out of houses in the immediate vicinity of headquarters; the Sericulture building (a part of Nanking University - American property) has a cordon thrown around it while soldiers engage in a man-hunt, etc., etc.

Dec. 31. A comparatively quiet day. For the first time no cases of violence were reported for the night. The Japanese are busy with their New Year preparations. Two days of holiday are announced. We dread them, for it means more drunken soldiers. Refugees are advised to stay indoors. Rabe invited our household to his house after dinner and lighted his X'mas tree for us, and each of us received a New Year's card with our Zone emblem--a circle with a cross within it in red--signed by all 22 of the foreign community in Nanking. He also entertained us with stories of some of his experiences in South Africa. On his walls hang some magnificent trophies of his hunts.

New Year's Eve! Thoughts of home and loved ones come crowding in. What wouldn't one give for a letter from "home!" My last from Mrs. Fitch was dated October 29 as she was about to sail from Yokohama; from Marion the same day but written just before she had joined up with Mrs. ~~xxxx~~ on the President Hoover; from Albert and Edith Long before that. Kempton, of course, I saw on that airplane trip of mine back from Sian the latter part of November, and I suppose he is still in Changsha. Evidently we are going to have to exercise patience a while longer, for the Japanese embassy tells us that it will still be weeks before the postal services are reestablished here. They also tell us that it will be a month at least before any of us is allowed to leave the city on a visit to Shanghai. We are virtually prisoners here!

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There is perhaps no purpose to be served by going further with this story and telling of acts of horror that have been committed since. It is now the 11th of January, and while conditions are vastly improved there has not been a day that has not had its atrocities, some of them of a most revolting nature. With the arrival on the 6th of three representatives of the American Embassy and on the 9th of three of both the British and German Embassies we feel a little more assurance that conditions will still further improve. But only last night I drove past four new fires that had just been started and saw soldiers within a shop just starting a fifth. There has not been a day since Dec. 19 that fires have not been started by Japanese soldiers. And Kroeger, who managed to slip out the East Gate the other day, tells us that all the villages as



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