

bombs had been dropped, most of them of the largest variety, weighing in excess of 200 pounds. The number of bombs dropped in this area in the afternoon probably exceeded 150, making a total of 350 in a territory that could easily be observed by the naked eye. The Japanese aviators staged a veritable field day of destruction, going through most of the antics they would perform had it been a public exhibition for entertainment purposes. Squadrons of three or four planes would power-dive from high altitudes dropping missiles of great weight and explosive character upon Chinese farm-houses made of bamboo and mud-plaster with tile roofs, the whole structure probably not costing more than the equivalent of \$40 or \$50 in American currency. Fortunately most of the occupants of these farm-houses had evacuated, or had become wise in the art of dodging. But despite the precautions one observed a few wounded civilians, usually elderly women, making their way or being carried toward the Settlement. At one place on Soochow Creek some villagers were observed burying five civilians in one grave, a crater created by a Japanese bomb.

Some idea of the strength and power of the Japanese bombs was provided by the size of the craters produced by bombs dropped at the corner of Pearce and Rubicon roads. Here the bombing was of some military significance because the Chinese have a sand-bag outpost on the bank of the creek and in addition they have constructed a trench system in the vicinity. A half-dozen bombs dropped here left craters ranging from twelve to eighteen feet across and probably six or eight feet deep. But the sand-bag redoubts on the corner were missed entirely while the trenches that caved in were quickly repaired. None was injured on this occasion. The villages along this creek paid a heavy toll in earlier bombings, but now most of the villages are deserted, except for a few elderly persons. But many farmers and gardeners still hang on and continue to work in their fields, even when bombs are dropping within a few hundred yards. The foreign and Chinese populations of Shanghai can thank these farmers and gardeners for hanging on because they have kept this city from starving. The long strings of peasants with baskets of vegetables, observed along the outlying roads, tell the real story of the hardihood of the Chinese sons and daughters of earth.

The headlines over the reports of death and destruction published in the local papers tell their own stories of the tragedies which have become commonplace. For example, JAPANESE BOMB SUNGKIANG, KILL TWO HUNDRED, WOUND FOUR HUNDRED—FORTY KILLED IN ONE DUGOUT SHELTER.

The Chinese withdrawal from the Chapei sector on Wednesday afternoon provided the Japanese airmen with another opportunity for slaughtering noncombatants. The armed Chinese forces withdrew across the Soochow Creek bridges at Jessfield under cover of darkness, hence were not molested by the Japanese airmen. Thousands of Chinese civilians, chiefly women and children, packed the roads and single-track railway bridge crossing Soochow Creek on the following morning. The opportunity for slaughter was too tempting to resist apparently for a Japanese pilot repeatedly flew low over the bridges and machine-gunned the crowds of terrorized people. On one occasion he left a dozen dead and an equal number of wounded, including several women and children, lying on the bridge. Similar scenes were enacted on most of the outlying roads.

Against the charge of indiscriminate slaughter of civilians, Japanese military and diplomatic spokesmen have repeatedly reiterated that the objectives of Japanese aircraft are exclusively military. They have also asserted that press reports of their aerial activities are "much exaggerated" because of "mendacious Chinese propaganda." Can such claims be accepted? Is Japanese bombing of civilians a mere accident, something incidental to military operations?

It would be impossible to give here a comprehensive answer to the above question but the subjoined newspaper and eyewitness accounts will enable the reader to form his own opinion.

AROUND SHANGHAI

Shanghai and its environs soon felt the brunt of Japanese aerial attacks. On August 28, 1937, Japanese airplanes bombed the South Station, Shanghai, which at the time was crowded with refugees. The British-owned and edited North-China Daily News, an English-

language daily published in Shanghai, reported the tragedy in its issue of August 29, 1937, as follows:

TWO HUNDRED REFUGEES KILLED IN RAID ON SOUTH STATION

Japanese Bombers Litter Nantao Streets
with Death and Destruction

Chinese Deny any Soldiers in Area

Shanghai's civilian casualties mounted considerably yesterday when Japanese bombers raided densely populated Nantao, littering the South Railway Station area with death and destruction. According to a conservative estimate, well over two hundred persons, most of whom were refugees, were killed or wounded. The list is by no means complete, as the over-worked hospital authorities in the Chinese city, French Concession and the Settlement were checking the number of cases last night.

The death-dealing mission was composed of twelve Japanese planes at about 1:45 p.m. Leisurely circling over the South Station sector, the raiders dropped no less than eight bombs, most of which exploded.

Crowded with over one thousand refugees, most of whom were women and children, the station was worst hit. Other places where missiles exploded were Kuo Ho Road (Native Goods Road), two blocks to the north of the station; San Kuan Tang Street, and Loh Ka Pang area.

Altogether four bombs landed around the station. As the airplanes finally left the scene, dense smoke shot up high into the sky, while on the platforms and tracks were scattered charred and badly mutilated bodies.

The first bomb exploded a short distance from the station, wrecking a water tower close to the tracks. Many fell, killed by shrapnel outright or pinned down by debris. As wounded persons ran for shelter, a second one descended, tearing down an overhead bridge and damaging a section of tracks. Blood and wreckage strewn the

immediate vicinity. At the same time, terror reigned in streets close by as additional missiles exploded one after another.

The South Railway Station has been the gathering place for refugees seeking transportation to the interior ever since the outbreak of hostilities two weeks ago. Many of those killed yesterday were known to have been patiently waiting for accommodation in Hangchow-bound trains during the past two or three days.

The wall close to the booking office of the station was smeared with blood, as mutilated bodies piled up at its foot. A large number of refugees were crowding the office to secure tickets and a bigger crowd was on the platforms when the raiders appeared overhead.

Death overtook many of the refugees who attempted to push their way into the administration building, but failed owing to congestion and the narrow passage. The building itself was only slightly damaged, window panes being shattered to pieces. . . .

Scores of students stationed in the Ta Tung College played heroic parts as they rushed to the station, doing the rescue work. They were practically the first on the scene, removing debris and helping the injured on to lorries which arrived shortly after.

Many of the wounded were rushed to hospitals in the city, but a large number came to the Settlement. The Lester Chinese Hospital reported about 100 cases, mostly women and children. The operating rooms were kept busy until evening.

When a representative of the *North-China Daily News* visited the Lester Chinese Hospital in the afternoon, extra beds were seen being placed in wards. A group of the wounded were brought to the hospital by Chinese ambulances. One baby, badly wounded, was picked up from the side of its dead mother. At least two children, each aged about thirteen, lying in the hospital, lost their parents.

The hospital reported last night that two women, two men, a boy and a girl succumbed to wounds. Several deaths were also reported by Paulun Hospital.

Terrified refugees, many of whom bore tags, were transported into the Settlement by lorries supplied by charity organizations. The South Station was barricaded for repairs and other work.

The bombardment of Nantao evoked the bitterest denunciation

from the Chinese military spokesman at the daily press conference yesterday afternoon.

Japanese allegation that the station was bombed 'because it was used for the transportation of Chinese units from the south' was most emphatically refuted. The spokesman stated that not a single soldier could be found anywhere in Nantao yesterday or recently.

Nantao is a densely populated city and entirely devoid of Chinese troops or military positions, he said. It was pointless for the Japanese to justify their attack by alleged intentions to 'harass Chinese military positions.'

The spokesman was at a loss to understand the wanton destruction of Chinese civilian lives. He said it was perhaps aimed at terrorizing the Chinese populace, or else as a retaliation for the loss of Japanese lives in Hongkew during the hostilities. He emphasized that no warning of the raid had been given by the Japanese.

A foreign correspondent at the press conference also confirmed that there was not a Chinese soldier in Nantao when he toured many streets in the city only recently.

Questioned as to the problem of evacuating Nantao citizens, the spokesman said it was most difficult in view of the railway lines having been constantly disrupted by Japanese aerial bombardment. Passengers were sometimes harassed by machine-gun attacks and bombing by Japanese planes.

Rubicon Village is less than an hour's drive from the heart of the Shanghai International Settlement. The little town was bombed several times, a typical account being the following from the North-China Daily News of October 8, 1937:

OVER 15 KILLED IN AIR RAID ON RUBICON VILLAGE

Seventeen Chinese, including a number of children, were killed in Wednesday morning's air raid by Japanese bombing planes on a Chinese village situated about a quarter of a mile from the Rubicon Inn on Rubicon Road. Chinese and foreign circles yesterday were unable to account for the raid, as it is reported that no Chinese soldiers are to be found in the village. . . .

According to the villagers the raid started at about 10 o'clock in the morning, when nine Japanese bombers suddenly appeared and dropped a number of bombs; the planes, it is alleged, then returned, to dive low and spray the village with a hail of machine-gun bullets.

Between twenty and thirty villagers were injured in this, the first raid. Those killed comprised the mother and wife of one villager, the two young daughters of another, the baby son of a third, and two as yet unidentified Chinese. . . .

In almost every case, the bombing of civilians has been followed by machine-gunning from the bombing planes or from accompanying fighting planes. Many of such attacks were, for the most part, witnessed by thousands of Shanghai residents. The Shanghai English-language foreign newspapers at the time were filled with protests from foreign eye-witnesses. The unending repetition of the attacks brought severe condemnation by Admiral Harry E. Yarnell, Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Asiatic Fleet, who stayed in Shanghai throughout the hostilities there. Admiral Yarnell's statement was reported by the North-China Daily News of November 13, 1937, as follows:

CONDEMNATION OF BOMBING BY ADMIRAL YARNELL

"I have been grieved by the sight of so much destruction in and around Shanghai during the present hostilities and I wonder when mankind will realize the proper uses of aviation," said Admiral H. E. Yarnell, Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Asiatic Fleet, when he and his officers were the guests yesterday of the Royal Air Force Association of Shanghai at the Weekly luncheon in "The Dome." There were rules for warfare as much as for any other activity, he said, and it was distressing to see the wanton destruction of property and lives of noncombatants by the belligerents and to realize the helpless plight of noncombatants here in Shanghai. . . .

"Rules of warfare," he went on, "must be observed and indiscriminate bombing and shelling should be studiously avoided." . . .

No useful purpose was fulfilled by wanton destruction of the property of noncombatants, he concluded, and it was time that

the nations realized that aviation had far more uses than for the wholesale destruction its operation had affected.

Sungkiang is a peaceful city of about 100,000 clustered around age-old canals and waterways, and is typical of the countless medium-sized centers which have been bombed. A semi-industrial center, it is thirty miles south-west of Shanghai and a station on the Shanghai-Hangchow railway line. On September 9, 1937, the North-China Daily News, Shanghai, described the bombing of a refugee train at Sungkiang in the following news report:

300 CIVILIANS
KILLED IN RAID
ON SUNGKIANG

Japanese Planes Destroy
Crowded Train

Scenes of Horror

Fleeing Local Refugees Meet Sudden Death

Yet another catastrophe overtook Shanghai refugees yesterday, when Japanese airplanes bombed a Kashing-bound train, killing three hundred persons, mostly women and children, and wounding an even larger number.

The raid was carried out at Sungkiang, first important station west of Shanghai on the Shanghai-Hangchow Railway, shortly after noon. Leisurely circling over the coaches, the bombers rained death on hundreds of refugees.

It was ascertained that five coaches were completely destroyed without a single soldier among the casualties. . . .

The time of the bombing was 12:20 p.m. when the train had just reached the platform waiting for the right of way to proceed to Hangchow.

How many Japanese airplanes took part in this raid on Chinese civilians was not specified in the reports, but it was known that

they dropped scores of bombs at the station, wrecking, in addition to the five coaches, the over-head bridge, and the water-tower. . . .

Reports from railway authorities and Sungkiang officials depicted ghastly scenes at the railway station after the bombardment, with the place littered with blasted pieces of human bodies and blood-soaked debris.

The police and railway officials there were still busy in the afternoon removing the wounded to hospitals, of which there are not many in Sungkiang, while emergency burying corps were being sent for to take care of those killed.

Mr. O. K. Yui, Mayor of Greater Shanghai, who received the information of the bombing, bitterly denounced the "latest instance of Japan's complete disregard of human feelings by slaughtering Chinese civilians far behind the battle front."

"It was an undeniable fact that the train which was subjected to the most inhuman bombardment at Sungkiang was carrying refugees away from the war zone," he said. "The attack," he said, "was deliberate, and absolutely inexcusable, since the train was heading for Kashing and could not by any stretch of the imagination be considered to be carrying reinforcements to Shanghai."

The foregoing typical accounts of attacks on villages and comparatively smaller towns, by no means complete or comprehensive, have been given in some detail as they are perhaps less dramatic, although in toto far more ruthless and devastating, than simultaneous attacks on such large cities as Nanking, Canton, and Hankow which figured prominently in the world Press. The raids on Nanking continued from August 15, 1937, to the actual occupation of the capital on December 13, 1937. On December 18, 1937, the Reuter news agency reported from Tokyo that: "The Imperial Headquarters issued a communiqué today stating that the Japanese Naval Air Force visited Nanking more than 50 times and dropped more than 160 tons of bombs on Chinese troop concentrations and military establishments there from the outbreak of hostilities to the fall of the city. The communiqué also said the total number of airplanes which raided Nanking exceeded 800."

A summary covering a period of about one week consisting almost

exclusively of extracts from Reuter reports from Nanking was published in the China Weekly Review, Shanghai, of October 2, 1937. This summary follows, in part:

JAPANESE REPEATEDLY BOMB NANKING
DESPITE PROTESTS OF THE U.S.A.
BRITAIN AND FRANCE

Ignoring the protests of Great Britain, the United States and France, twenty-nine Japanese planes visited Nanking during the early hours of Sept. 25 and subjected the capital to heavy bombing. South City, the most thickly-populated section of Nanking, received the particular attention of the raiders. . . .

The head-office buildings of the Central News Agency were completely destroyed and five of its staff members were seriously wounded during the second raid. Despite the disaster, the Central News Agency quickly adjusted itself to the losses and is now carrying on as usual. Altogether three bombs landed on the buildings which were situated at Tuchiakou, only a block from the famous Banking Circle. The region is thickly inhabited and is bereft of any establishments of military importance. The destruction of the news agency, which is a cultural institution, is generally believed to have been deliberately designed and executed to ruin the largest news gathering and distribution agency in China. . . .

The civilian casualties resulting from the air raid on Nanking, Sept. 25, amounted to six hundred persons killed and wounded. About five hundred bombs were dropped by the raiders, which made a rapid succession of five attacks on the capital city between 9:30 a.m. and 4:30 p.m. The Central Hospital and the National Health Administration which are situated on the same compound were the targets of two Japanese raids in the afternoon. Fifteen bombs exploded in the compound, though none of them scored a direct hit. One of the craters caused by the bomb explosions was twenty feet deep and forty-five feet in diameter. The dormitory occupied by the doctors collapsed from the force of the explosion. The hospital kitchen was wrecked and the operating room slightly damaged.

The bombing of the hospital, according to Central News, could not have been done by mistake, as a huge red cross emblem and four

large Chinese characters equivalent to the words 'Central Hospital' were painted on the roof.

The auditorium of the National Health Administration, which has been cooperating with the League of Nations on health matters, was badly damaged. The adjoining institute for the training of health officers—an institution partially supported by Rockefeller funds—also suffered serious damages. Two Chinese servants were killed.

Among the victims of the Japanese bombardments were the Metropolitan Electric Plant and Waterworks, the Central Broadcasting Station at Kiangtungmen, the Municipal Health Station at Ssypailou, the Cantonese Hospital at Chungshan Road, and the offices of the Havas News Agency, Transocean News Agency and United Press Agency.

Bombs of 250 kilograms in weight were used in the attack on the new residential district, one making a huge crater on Chungshan Road, Nanking's main thoroughfare, at the corner of Shansi Road. Two missiles fell on a small hill at the corner of Ninghsia Road, badly shaking nearby residences, breaking window-glass and causing electric bulbs to drop from their sockets.

Bombs were also apparently aimed at the Ministry of the Interior and the Garrison Headquarters in the South City, but they missed their mark, and instead, destroyed a pawnshop. Seven residences, behind the Bank of China were also destroyed, but the occupants escaped injury, all having taken refuge in dugouts. The Telegraph Office also came in for attention, but the building was not hit, although several missiles dropped near it. . . .

A bomb was dropped inside the compound of the French Consulate on Hohui Street during the raid on Nanking by Japanese aircraft on Sept. 25. During the raid on Sept. 27, five bombs were dropped within two hundred meters from a French gunboat stationed at Sancharho, Hsiakwan.

Two raids previous to those above described were carried out by Japanese airmen on Sept. 22. An armada of over fifty planes participated in the attack, which lasted from 10:35 a.m. until noon; fifteen machines took part in the second raid, which was very brief.

An average of two or three bombs were dropped over three hundred different places, including the South City, and the new resi-

dential district, where the American, Italian, and German Embassies are located and where the residences of practically the entire local foreign population are situated. . . .¹

After only an hour's respite, ten Japanese planes staged a second raid. They came from the north-east and, when they reached a point above Pukow, circled round in single file, and, power diving, dropped bombs one after the other, aiming at the Tientsin-Pukow Railway. Then they zoomed up and disappeared towards the north-east. According to officials of the French Consulate, four bombs, weighing five hundred lbs. each, landed during the raids on Sept. 25 within a hundred yards all around the Consulate. This was the closest shave any Embassy or Consulate has had so far. . . .

Canton is the Shanghai of South China. At the apex of the populous Pearl River Delta in the southern province of Kwangtung, Canton has a peacetime population of from 1,000,000 to 1,500,000. On September 23, 1937, the city was the target of a furious air attack, the North-China Daily News of September 25, reporting the raid in the following Reuter² report:

¹ The Reuter report cited here by the *Review* also included these details:

"Although the exact number of casualties has not yet been determined, it is believed that more than one hundred refugees were killed when bombs landed on a camp at Hsiakwan, Nanking's waterfront, during the second raid. . . .

"The site of the refugee camp at Hsiakwan presented a gruesome spectacle when visited after the raids, with the twisted remains of the victims scattered over a wide area. The mat-sheds housing the thousands of refugees, set alight by the bombs, were still burning. The smoke of the flames, rising in huge columns into the sky, was visible for miles round. . . ."

² This Reuter report was criticized as being exaggerated and untrue by Japanese spokesmen, following which Reuter categorically denied the Japanese allegation, and issued another report giving further corroborative details.

THOUSANDS DIE IN CANTON WHEN PLANES ATTACK

Scenes of Horror Follow Air Raids
Over Poor Areas

No Military Buildings Hit During Day

Canton, Sept. 25—(Reuter)—Reuter's correspondent made a personal tour today of the areas devastated by Japanese planes. Whole streets of poorer dwellings in the vicinity of Tungshan, the eastern suburb of Canton, had been literally torn asunder by the explosions of bombs.

In some places the corpses were as thick as flies on fly-paper, with limbs and mutilated bodies piled in the utmost confusion. Hundreds of weeping women were scrambling in the ruins for the remains of relatives while thousands more roamed the streets terror-stricken and bewildered, their minds partially deranged by the horrors of yesterday and today.

Reuter estimates that several thousand persons must have been killed or maimed, although it will be days, maybe weeks, before an accurate check can be accomplished.

Today's casualties dwarfed those in Shanghai on Bloody Saturday.

Foreign observers are puzzled over the nature of Japanese objectives, as not one Government building or military establishment was hit.

Most of the missiles had fallen in the densely packed dwelling areas of the poorer classes reducing the buildings and their occupants to mincemeat.

One ancient Chinese woman was killed while sitting at her front door. She still remained upright, quiet in death.

A grim-faced Chinese gentleman raised a piece of matting and displayed to Reuter's correspondent a mass of mangled remnants, saying simply: "This was my wife."

A children's school in the vicinity of Tungshan was completely demolished. Fortunately, because of the holidays, the occupants were few in number.

Allowing the populace no respite, Japanese planes subjected Canton to another two raids this morning. The first occurred at four o'clock, when a lone Japanese machine dropped five bombs. While en route to and returning from its objective, the plane flew low over Shameen, particularly when over the British bridge.

The second raid began at 8:30 o'clock. At least ten heavy bombers and a number of smaller fighters participated in the attack. The sky in all directions was brimful of aerial activity. Fights, bombings and the bursting of anti-aircraft shells presented an amazing spectacle against the clear blue morning sky. . . .

In a pamphlet issued by the Canton Committee for Justice to China, Dr. F. E. Bates, an American missionary doctor in charge of a hospital in the eastern suburbs of Canton, reveals that early in the afternoon of September 22 Japanese planes dropped six bombs on a residential area, killing about three hundred persons, mostly women and children. When the bombing stopped, Dr. Bates drove a truck to the scene and brought out many wounded and dying people.

We arrived at the scene of the bombing on September 22 within 20 minutes after the explosion, Dr. Bates declared. The "all clear" signal had not yet been given, but the disaster was evidently so great that at every turn police and soldiers had to facilitate our passage through the otherwise closed streets. The smoke and dust of the explosion had not yet cleared away, and the road for some distance was heavily piled with twisted timber, broken glass, bricks, plaster, and all manner of building material. As we approached the scene of the bombing, police and soldiers on every side were calling and beckoning us to the place where the wounded lay.

As soon as it became evident that a rescue party had arrived there came from every corner and hole in the debris which had, but a few moments before, been their living quarters, the most wretched, pitiable pieces of humanity that can be readily imagined. Some were seen, with blood dripping off their faces, crawling over the demolished buildings, calling loudly to their loved ones who were buried under the fallen structures.

One old lady, past eighty years of age, holding her bleeding head, called urgently to us to rescue her children and grandchildren who

were buried in the mess beside her. Numerous children were running about in a semi-dazed way trying to find mothers who could be seen nowhere. One man, badly cut about the head and face, came out of a little hole where a bit of flooring from the upper storey had formed a triangle with the wall and floor below, carrying a little girl about ten years old. He pleaded with us to bring him back in the first load. His wife, two smaller children, and mother were buried under the houses and he seemed terribly fearful that something would happen to separate his only living child from him.

The story might be continued almost indefinitely, for the sights of those few moments, while we were filling the hospital cars with the wounded, were many indeed. We were but one of six hospitals which went to the rescue. Between groans of pains some were mourning for lost members of the family. Others whose families could all be accounted for had lost all of their worldly possessions. Where could they be able to pass the nights after leaving the hospital? Where could they get food?

The scenes of human pain and woe were almost innumerable and defy description. They were not living near a military camp, an arsenal, important railroad, or any kind of military defense works. It was one of the busy streets of this section of Canton, and yet the pitiless eye of the invader regarded not men. His was but a program of ruthless destruction and terror.

A general picture of Japanese aerial activity in South China appeared in the China Weekly Review, Shanghai, on October 30, 1937. This summary follows, in part:

HOW JAPANESE BOMBERS WREAK DESTRUCTION IN CANTON

CANTON, October 12—(Correspondence)—Villages of Kwantung Province, fishing and trading junks, the railways and industrial factories and the city of Canton, including unfortified areas of the city, are today the targets for Japanese bombing planes. . . . Those attacked . . . have no way to protect themselves from death by the Japanese fire. It is impossible to give the exact number of the Chi-

nese dead and wounded. At a conservative estimate the Japanese bombs have killed a total of eight hundred persons in and about Canton, all of them civilians, some of them women and children, who, for the most part, have been killed in areas far removed from anti-aircraft guns.

The Japanese bombers, in addition to bombing residential sections and causing death and injury to many, have tried to destroy the Chung Sang University and the Sun Yat Sen Memorial Hall. The University has a group of beautiful, newly-erected buildings which have cost millions of dollars. Japanese bombers have tried to hit these buildings. Bombs have fallen in their vicinity but so far none of them have been hit.

In all there were fifty-six air raids on Canton up to Sept. 11. Planes have just come over my head as I am writing. This means that planes have threatened the city on an average of about twice a day for the last month.

The important Wuhan industrial center, commonly known as the "Chicago of the Orient," is composed of the three cities of Hankow, Wuchang, and Hanyang. The Wuhan cities are about seven hundred miles up the Yangtze River from Shanghai, and have a peacetime population of approximately one million.

On September 26, 1937, the North-China Daily News printed a Reuter report from Hankow which follows in full:

HANKOW TERROR IS HEIGHTENED BY NIGHT RAID

Hospital Workers Operate by
Candle Light

Dreadful Carnage in Slum District

HANKOW, Sept. 25—(Reuter)—After the disastrous air-raid experienced in the afternoon, more death and destruction were caused in Hankow last night when Japanese planes revisited the city and

dropped more bombs. The second attack lasted but ten minutes but during this brief period considerable havoc was created.

Every available Chinese doctor, dresser and nurse has been rounded up by the authorities, and the sufferings of the victims have been somewhat alleviated by the marvellous work of the Chinese Red Cross and the Methodist Mission Hospital, which threw open its doors to the dying and wounded.

Scores of operations and amputations were performed by candle light owing to the electric light system failing, while the very badly wounded received morphia to ease their terrible pains.

The morning revealed that an area measuring approximately 200 by 150 feet had been entirely reduced to a shambles, three bombs having landed within this space. Rescue work was still proceeding, and the debris were being sorted in search of further victims.

The most harrowing spectacle was witnessed by Reuter's correspondent when he made a tour of Wuchingmiao, the slum section of Hankow, after the first raid had converted the area into a charnel-house.

The streets in the district, only six feet wide, were fringed with poor hovels which collapsed like a pack of cards, burying their occupants as well as passers-by. Parts of bodies were strewn everywhere, which were gathered and piled up in heaps by rescue parties. More ghastly, however, was the occasional sight of an arm or leg waving feebly from beneath masonry which was too heavy to move without adequate apparatus.

Standing at a street corner for ten minutes, Reuter saw over 120 mangled bodies carried past, some moaning terribly, others completely lifeless. Particularly pathetic was the sight of stretchers bearing infant victims. All around the area the dead mingled with the dying. The majority of the injured were bleeding from gaping wounds and completely naked.

The proportion of children killed seemed inordinately large, presumably because most of them were indoors at the time. Tiny bodies seemed to outnumber those of adults.

Police, students and volunteers worked heroically under the most trying conditions, extricating the injured and removing the dead.

Many students appeared visibly exhausted late in the night but stuck to their grim task.

The Mayor, Mr. K. C. Wu, and other prominent Chinese officials personally directed operations and prevented wholesale confusion.

Rescue work was hampered by the failure of the electric lighting system and the lamentable shortage of doctors and ambulance workers, although the few available labored unceasingly.

Some ten thousand Chinese were living in Wuchingmiao when the raid occurred. It is stated that at the time of the bombing there was no Chinese soldier for miles around, while the arsenal, presumably the objective of the Japanese planes, is at least four miles distant.

Mass hysteria seized the occupants of a nearby Chinese girls' school as a result of the bombing. Girls ran hither and thither, shocked and demented by the terrible sights they had witnessed.

Besides Hankow, Hanyang and Wuchang also suffered from the raid. One of the bombs which fell in Hanyang struck a refugee camp, killing sixty and wounding a large number.

A bomb also narrowly missed the Wesleyan hospital in Hankow caring for hundreds of wounded.

Inordinately large fires were started where bombs dropped, and at a late hour last night most of these were still burning. Altogether nine Japanese planes took part in the raid, and of the bombs dropped two fell into the Yangtze, barely two hundred yards from the British river gunboat "Aphis."

Wuchingmiao, the slum district of Hankow, which was bombed yesterday, presented an even more tragic appearance after being re-visited by Japanese bombers today.

Thousands of bewildered, homeless victims wandered through the streets, while tired relief workers were still engaged in digging out victims, both dead and alive, some so badly mangled they were better dead than alive.

Reuter's correspondent encountered a ten-year-old Chinese boy bearing the slight corpse of his mother on his shoulders. He reverently laid her at the feet of a hospital gateman and asked that she be given a proper burial while he searched for his missing brothers and sisters.

Reuter's correspondent then looked into a hut and saw three men sitting upright in natural attitudes, all quite dead. One was clutching a dead child. In one room of another dwelling was a pile of corpses, while in the next room a Chinese woman was unconcernedly cooking a meal.

Chinese reports claim that one Japanese bomber was brought down forty kilometers from Hankow by Chinese pursuit planes after yesterday's raid.

It is estimated that the raiders came over at a height of two thousand feet, and foreign observers believe, they could not fail to notice the thickly populated conditions of Wuchingmiao and the absence of any military objectives.

Meanwhile, fearing another visitation, anxious watchers scanned the skies all day long.

ORGANIZED DESTRUCTION

THE PRECEDING CHAPTERS have dealt mainly with human injuries caused directly by the action of Japanese forces during and after their occupation of conquered territory and include only brief references to deliberate and systematic destruction, mainly by burning, after Japanese occupation of the areas involved had been completed. The organized destruction of homes and property in general, however, is of such vastness as to be little realized by the world at large.

Neutral foreign observers who have had the opportunity to travel extensively in the lower Yangtze River Delta since Japanese occupation of the areas state that destruction similar to that witnessed in and near Shanghai has occurred on an almost identical scale in the larger cities, such as Nanking, Wusih, Soochow and Chinkiang, no less than in the thousands of isolated groups of farmhouses which dot the countryside. These observers emphasize that, as at Shanghai, by far the greater proportion of this destruction is not the result of direct war operations but occurred *after* Japanese occupation.

The suffering caused directly by Japanese military excesses has thus been exacerbated by the destruction of countless homes and, more important, by the almost total annihilation of the means of production and means of existence in the case of hundreds of thousands, of those fortunate enough to have escaped direct military brutalities. Less poignant, perhaps, are the effects of these "indirect" causes, but for the population at large the destruction of their means of production and existence is even more telling than the rape and murder of tens of thousands of other victims.

Comprehensive data are of course not yet available, but at least in Shanghai itself—until the midsummer of 1937 China's chief industrial center—and to a lesser extent in other cities of the

Yangtze River Delta sufficient information has been collected to make possible estimates of the ravages caused by the war and subsequent destruction. The gradual opening, to a few foreigners at least, of the Shanghai International Settlement areas still under illegal occupation¹ by Japanese military forces has permitted detailed inspection of the effects of three months' fighting at Shanghai and has belatedly brought to light activities of the Japanese which had previously been more or less hidden from the general public. These activities will be described later.

SHANGHAI AND VICINITY

Probably the most accurate estimate to date of factory destruction in the Shanghai area is contained in the reports of the Industrial Section of the Shanghai Municipal Council of the International Settlement. A preliminary report of January 7, 1937, stated that the number of factories and workshops destroyed in the northern and eastern areas of the Settlement alone was 905, which, in normal times, employed a total of some 30,868 workers. These factories, the report states, were totally destroyed by fire. An additional number of about one thousand factories and workshops, large and small, have been more or less seriously damaged. "It is not possible to state the condition of these factories and workshops, but it is known that in some of the larger mills machinery has been rendered useless and would require replacement. . . . Evidence of disturbance and looting of factory premises is common. It is therefore assumed that none of these thousand plants could recommence operation."

The losses in the Shanghai Settlement constitute a minor part of the total destruction at Shanghai, for the larger industrial sections of Shanghai are located outside the borders of the Settlement and in such Chinese-administered territory as Chapei, Pootung, Jessfield, Nantao, Lunghwa, and similar districts. Chapei has been almost completely destroyed. This thickly populated area had in 1937 hardly recovered from the Sino-Japanese hostilities of 1932, which lasted for only a month, but caused losses estimated² at

¹ March, 1938. The Japanese forces have been in illegal occupation and control of the Hongkew, Yangtzepoo, Wayside, and other districts of the Shanghai International Settlement since August 14, 1937. This area comprises more than 33 per cent of the area of the Settlement.

² By the Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce.

about £100,000,000. Nantao, the old Chinese city of Shanghai, lies south of the French Concession and is another important Chinese industrial district. Relatively little fighting occurred there and Chinese troops had completely withdrawn from this area by the end of November 1937. There followed in December, January, February, and well into March, 1938, what Shanghai papers have described as "an orgy of burning." More than 80 per cent of the buildings in Nantao have been gutted by fires, almost all of which occurred after the Japanese occupation. Literally thousands of shops and factories have been completely destroyed. The Kiangnan Dock, a governmental enterprise which built the U.S.S. "Panay," has been almost completely destroyed. In Pootung, an industrial district on the banks of the Whangpoo River opposite Shanghai proper, similar devastation has occurred, including a large governmental alcohol plant, equipped with American machinery, which enjoyed a monopoly of production in this field in Central China.

Many columns could be filled with lists of fully or partially destroyed industrial establishments in and near Shanghai. The following Shanghai Municipal Council estimate, covering the International Settlement alone, will give some indication of the general destruction:

TYPE OF ENTERPRISE	NUMBER KNOWN COMPLETELY DESTROYED	NUMBERS OF WORKERS FORMERLY EMPLOYED
Woodworking	23	792
Furniture Manufacture	2	44
Metal Industry	72	1,241
Machinery and Metal Products	410	6,219
Vehicles	3	33
Bricks, Glass	8	405
Chemicals	49	564
Textiles	136	4,687
Clothing	44	3,476
Leather, Rubber	19	556
Food, Drinks, Tobacco	40	10,278
Printing, Paper, etc.	75	1,649
Scientific and Musical Instruments	3	140
Other Industries	21	784
	<hr/> 905	<hr/> 30,868

Commenting on this estimate, the American-owned *China Weekly Review*¹ observed:

"One can only make a wild guess at the average value of these manufacturing establishments, the greater variety of which were comparatively small and employed a limited number of workers. The manager of an American machinery house in Shanghai which supplied a great many of these plants informed the writer that these factories would probably run from U.S. \$5,000 to \$1,000,000; for example, the losses of the Nanyang Tobacco Factory, which previously used large quantities of American leaf tobacco, amounted to U.S. \$660,000, covering the main factory buildings which were entirely destroyed. Then there is the matter of losses suffered by retail establishments and here again it is largely a matter of speculation. The officials of the Tax Department of the International Settlement think that a minimum of 100,000 retail shops have been destroyed and this also includes the homes and personal properties of most of the proprietors, who usually lived in rooms above the shops. Acres and acres of these little Chinese shops have either been destroyed by fire, air bombed or shelled by artillery or they were looted of their contents. One can drive through street after street in the Hongkew, Yangtzepoo, Chapei and Nantao districts and observe destruction on both sides extending for vast distances. Literally it seems that the wreckage extends for miles. In 1932 an area about a mile wide and two miles long was largely wiped out, but this time it seems that practically nothing escaped in an area estimated at more than three miles square. In many cases the destruction is practically indescribable. For example, hundreds of retail shops with living quarters above, located in the vicinity of the Administration Building of the Shanghai-Nanking-Hangchow Railway were so completely wrecked by continuous air bombardment that scarcely one brick was left standing on another.

"A Japanese visitor from Tokyo who accompanied the writer on a trip through this area was speechless with astonishment and only managed to catch his breath and exclaim: 'Just like our earthquake.' What he referred to was the devastating quake which almost wiped out Tokyo and Yokohama in 1923."

¹ *China Weekly Review*, Supplement, Shanghai, March 19, 1938.

The same issue of the *Review* also published the following estimate of losses in the Shanghai International Settlement north of Soochow Creek, the figures having been compiled by an American with a lengthy experience of trade and commercial activities in the Far East:

"Losses of industrial plant, equipment and property	yuan 350 million	
" " other property	" 200	"
" " profits on yuan 250 million of import trade dropped in last 5 months of 1937	" 12.5	"
" " profits on yuan 100 million of export trade dropped in last 5 months of 1937	" 5	"
" " on the shut-down in domestic industry and trade in the last 5 months of the year, possibly 8 times the losses of foreign trade	" 140	"
" " stocks of steel and iron and of scrap metal being taken away	" 13.4	"
" " charges and extra freights on 150,000 tons of Shanghai-bound cargo diverted to other ports and on adjustments in settlement of accounts	" 12.5	"
" " local contributions to refugee relief	" 1	"
Possible losses of goods destroyed or looted from warehouses in Hongkew and Yangtzepoo	" 50	"
Possible losses of household effects, general merchandise stocks, store fixtures, window glass, etc. etc., by looting and breakage in undestroyed properties in combat sections	" 50	"
Losses in freight haulage revenue in Shanghai shipping companies on unshipped exports abroad and on unshipped products of Shanghai industry to interior and coastal points, for five months at possibly yuan 2 million per month	" 10	"

Total yuan 844.4 "

(Equivalent to approx. \$281,466,000 in U.S. Currency.)"

The total losses up to mid-November 1937 of Greater Shanghai were estimated by foreign observers to exceed three billion Chinese dollars—almost three times the estimated losses caused by six weeks of hostilities at Shanghai in 1932.

In the table given immediately above are two items entered as "possible losses of goods destroyed or looted from warehouses in Hongkew and Yangtzepoo" and "possible losses of household effects, general merchandise . . . by looting and breakage in undestroyed properties in combat sections." These two items, totalling one hundred million Chinese dollars (about U.S. \$33,000,000) consist of losses incurred almost exclusively as a result of organized Japanese looting or destruction. As early as October 1937 one could observe at Shanghai uniformed Japanese soldiers and Chinese laborers, most of them impressed workers, removing in a wholesale manner property consisting mainly of metals. In almost every case the property was loaded on to Japanese Army trucks and taken to Japanese controlled wharves along the Whangpoo River, where it was subsequently shipped to Japan on military transports. What property escaped damage from military operations was completely looted after the battle lines had left Shanghai. To this day¹ such looting continues.

Newspapers in Shanghai were flooded with protests against such organized looting, which nevertheless continued unabated. Foreigners frequently reported finding uniformed Japanese servicemen freely looting their homes despite the fact that these bore signboards reading: "This property is under the protection of the Special Japanese Naval Landing Party."

On January 31, 1937, the *Shanghai Evening Post* and the *North-China Daily News* published accounts of the wholesale theft of metal or "scrap-iron" from the Hongkew and Yangtzepoo districts which was shipped to Japan by supposedly reputable firms. According to the report in the *North-China Daily News* the scrap-iron was collected by coolies who claimed to be employed by the Japanese Residents' Association, but when a reporter for the paper attempted to photograph one of the dumps where the iron was being collected, he was attacked by Japanese "ronin" wearing semi-military uniforms. According to the *Evening Post* the Japanese removal of metal from

¹ March, 1938.

the areas controlled by the Japanese military forces began with the removal of sheet-iron from Chinese retail and wholesale iron shops along North Soochow Road. Later the Japanese iron collectors extended their activities to Chinese factories, where the machinery stocks were completely looted, including those of factories which had been burned. Still later the metal collectors began entering private homes or ruins of residences which had been burned and all pieces of metal, even hinges and locks of doors, were taken out. The article claimed that the machinery and other metals had been removed from some 1,000 Chinese factories large and small, one of the largest being the Nanyang Brothers cigarette plant on Yangtzepoo Road, which was struck by a shell and burned early in the war.

As already mentioned, the removal of machinery and metals from manufacturing establishments has been so extensive that complete replacements will be necessary before these concerns can resume operations. The amount of metal which the Japanese have removed from foreign and Chinese premises in the Shanghai areas alone can only be estimated, but it is thought to exceed greatly the figure of eighty thousand tons published in the Tokyo *Asahi*. Foreign merchants at Shanghai familiar with the metal trades claim that the scrap-iron which the Japanese have removed from the city or are in the process of removing, probably exceeds 100,000 tons.

In an editorial entitled "To What End?" in its issue of February 4, 1938, the *North-China Daily News* stated:

"The systematic removal of metals from the areas north of the Soochow Creek to which reference has already been made in the columns of this journal is giving rise to very considerable anxiety in the minds of neutral observers. The word 'systematic' is used advisedly, for gangs of Chinese coolies under a Chinese foreman, and controlled by Japanese, have for weeks past been making house-to-house, factory-to-factory visits on Chinese property removing not only metal which might be rightly termed scrap, but all types of metal fabrication from boilers down to small motors. The process which is going on hardly comes within the ordinary definition of looting where marauding soldiers take off what they can carry themselves, but amounts to the careful and systematic removal of every piece of metal which can be found on Chinese property. Obviously the Jap-

anese are cleaning up the northern and eastern areas for the purpose of increasing their supply of scrap to be used for the manufacture of munitions and as a precautionary measure against any eventuality with which they may ultimately be faced. Actually compared with Japan's requirements the amount which can thus be taken away from Shanghai is not very imposing, but, in view of the hope that rehabilitation will soon be set afoot in Shanghai, the removal of essential machinery, which at no time could be put into operation, represents one of the cruelest blows which could be directed against the future prosperity of this port. Machinery costing lakhs of dollars for the manufacture of rubber goods, and for making textiles, down to the smallest motors for driving tool-making machines, steel bars weighing many tons down to the smallest pieces of metal costing but a few dollars are being taken out of Shanghai, and it is feared with every justification that Shanghai is being treated in a manner from which it will take decades to recover.

"It was recently stated on the authority of a Japanese journal that in the future Tientsin would take over many of the functions which have up to the present been carried out by Shanghai. Chinese factories which have escaped the effects of bombardment are being reduced to mere shells of brick and mortar. The ruins of those which have been destroyed are being thoroughly searched for whatever metal may still be found, and when the time comes for the Chinese to return to these areas they will find nothing with which to recommence their industrial activities. Two considerations are consequently involved. One is the often repeated assertion by the Japanese that they are conducting hostilities against the Nationalist Government and not against the Chinese people, and the other concerns the future prosperity of Shanghai. With regard to the former can it be suggested for one moment that this organized plunder of one of Shanghai's most important industrial areas can be carried out without the humble Chinese themselves suffering? The question has but to be asked to answer itself. The Chinese industrialist is being made to suffer in his pocket as so many of his nationals have suffered in their bodies. The businesses which have been laboriously built up during the past ninety years or so, are being ruthlessly destroyed, and the flourishing districts of Wayside and Yangtzepoo are being reduced

to mere shadows of their former opulence. It may be argued that shipping is the foundation of this port's fortunes. That is undoubtedly true, but the undertakings which have been created during all these years are just as necessary for Shanghai's well being as is the sea-borne trade in which she figures so largely. In face of these things how can it be said that these hostilities are not being waged against the Chinese people?

"This journal would be failing in its duty to Shanghai if it did not register the most emphatic protest possible. The matter concerns practically every neutral in Shanghai, as well as the Japanese themselves, and may be expected to have serious repercussions upon the fortunes of this great city. The organized spoliation of the areas in question must of necessity have a direct bearing upon the trade which has brought the foreign community to these shores, for without a prosperous Chinese community that trade would be impossible. The sterilization of these industrial districts will have a profound effect upon the future revenue of the municipality. And so it follows that not only are the interests of unoffending Chinese being damaged, but those foreign interests, the scrupulous respect for which has been so often promised, are being damaged to an extent which it is at present impossible to estimate. Let there be no mistake about it; it is not only mere scrap that is being removed from Wayside and Yangtzepoo; Chinese installations of machinery are being dismantled for export to Japan. The wherewithal for ultimate rehabilitation is being taken away, and when the Chinese are allowed ultimately to return to these areas of desolation they will find themselves faced with the enormous task of building their undertakings from the bare ground up again. There can be none of that failure to understand the Japanese in this manner. The facts speak for themselves, and Shanghai is entitled to ask the question with which this article is headed. What is the purpose of stripping these areas of Shanghai of all that is necessary for a portion of the rehabilitation of this port, unless it is an endeavor permanently to disable? It may be argued that it is a form of reprisals for what was done to Japanese concerns in Tsingtao. What was done there this journal just as emphatically reprobated, and the considerations which applied in that instance just as closely apply in this. So much has already been done

toward reducing these districts to mere skeletons of their original industrial proportions that considerable disaster has already been wrought. It is to be hoped that even now the Japanese authorities will hold their hands, for it must be apparent to them that a prosperous Shanghai is just as essential for them as it is for those Chinese and foreign interests which are being placed in such grave peril by a perfectly incomprehensible procedure."

The *Shanghai Evening Post* on January 24, 1938, printed this denunciation of Japanese looting at Shanghai: "Chinese properties in Hongkew and Yangtzepoo are reported by foreign observers to have been subject, over a period stretching back virtually to the commencement of hostilities and reaching to the present day, to steady and large-scale removal by Japanese.

"We wish at this time to ask how such conduct can be squared with official Japanese assurances that there is intended to be no confiscation of Chinese belongings save in certain special instances involving Chinese close to or in the Government or otherwise deemed guilty of leadership in China's resistance to Japan.

"If there is any doubt in the mind of responsible Japanese officials that things are as stated—that goods and equipment are being taken under Japanese supervision or by Japanese direct, without sanction of the proper Chinese owners, from godowns, factories and homes—that doubt, we believe, could quickly be set at rest by the most cursory of observation first-hand or inquiry among foreigners whose business connections have given them a special interest in the matter. Such ingenuous amaze as was registered at last Saturday's press conference may serve to keep spokesmen legalistically clear of commitments, but it shows no sincere desire to get at the truth. Chinese are not allowed access to their properties; foreigners, even when they see with their own eyes, and detailed lists of looted Chinese properties are kept, are reluctant to become embroiled in disputes which are not primarily theirs.

"But the facts are so widely known, and for the matter of that there are so many foreign victims of the same activities, that we doubt if they will be disputed. And if they are admitted, what justification can be brought forward?

"It has been stated that a formal authorization has been given the

Japanese Residents' Association to loot Chinese properties as partial recompense for their own individual losses. Frankly we don't know anything about that save the report, and when the report was carried to a Japanese spokesman it was denied. So we have nothing definite about how organized and authorized the removals may be. Yet we know of the removals, we know that the Japanese authorities could prevent them, and as the circumstances stand they constitute a clear and obvious violation of what we have been told concerning 'no confiscation.'

"Perhaps the statement with reference to confiscation had to do with passage of title to real estate. But the principle involved is certainly the same if a factory is handed over bodily to the Japanese, or if—as we know to be the case—damaged but still valuable machinery is removed from that factory, leaving it a useless shell. When it comes to such property of immediately marketable value as, for example, cotton from godowns, there is only one word for unauthorized seizure and removal and that word is theft.

"Foreigners are now allowed freely in Hongkew and Yangtzepoo which presumably has brought a halt to any further large-scale removal of their goods. But Chinese are not thus freely allowed in, even yet, and they are helpless even to survey the situation of their properties. To take advantage of that situation seems to us without any excuse whatever and, as stated, completely to be in violation of the expressed official Japanese position."

Such comments were apparently unheeded by the Japanese, and the *Shanghai Evening Post* on February 3, 1938, again attacked the continued pillaging in an editorial entitled "Robbing China's Poor":

"There can be no possible argument save that of a desire wholly to exterminate the people of China—an extreme view which even the most violent of Japanese spokesmen have avoided—for policies of continuously depriving those people from the means of livelihood.

"Far from enunciating such a view, General Matsui¹ and Admiral Hasegawa² have made generous personal contributions to

¹ General Iwane Matsui, then Commander-in-Chief of Japanese forces in the Yangtze Delta area.

² Admiral Hasegawa, Commander-in-Chief of Japanese Naval Forces in Chinese waters.

Chinese refugee relief in Shanghai. Other leading Japanese have repeatedly declared that Japan has no animosity toward the Chinese people.

"Yet daily in Hongkew and Yangtzepoo, observers see continued Japanese removals of machinery from Chinese factory properties, while Chinese owners and workers are alike debarred even from access to those properties.

"We do not refer, now, to the removal of damaged machinery from buildings which have been shelled and burned. Such removal is an unjustified confiscation but it is far less serious than the removal of sound machinery, in working condition. This latter act is virtually the taking of rice from the mouths of hungry workers, now unemployed and placed more or less permanently in that category through the gutting of their places of former employment.

"Of course any such unauthorized removal is plain theft. But when it entails an elimination of the means of employment until such time as Hongkew and Yangtzepoo may be freely opened once more, it is something worse, for it contributes to the starvation of innocent men, women and children.

"If there is anything that can be said for the Japanese position in this matter we shall be glad to hear of it. Does anyone doubt the facts, to begin with? And the facts granted, is Japan's need for metal a sufficient extenuation for this piratical activity which after all can hardly decide a war's issue, but which certainly has a most vital bearing on the welfare of helpless factory workers quite apart from the rights of the property-owners themselves?"

IN THE YANGTZE RIVER VALLEY

Little statistical data is available regarding destruction and looting which is known to have occurred in other areas. Some indication of its extent has already been given in earlier chapters.

According to the *China Weekly Review*,¹ "... the destruction in Shanghai has been duplicated in innumerable towns and villages of the Shanghai Delta region of which Shanghai is the chief city and metropolis. Within a radius of 100 miles from Shanghai there are no less than twelve large cities with an aggregate population of

¹ The *China Weekly Review*, Shanghai, Supplement, March 19, 1938.

5,000,000. All of these cities have suffered extensive war damage, not to mention the losses of smaller towns and villages in the area. For example, the industrial city of Wusih, located about 100 miles north-west of Shanghai, contained a population of 900,000. Its manufacturing establishments suffered heavy damages or complete destruction as a result of Japanese air-bombing operations. Losses included the destruction or serious damage to several flour mills, one cotton mill, one power-plant and a highly modernized silk filature which produced the finest grade of silk hosiery yarn for the American stocking trade. Another town, Kashing, located in the center of an important silk producing area in Chekiang province with 450,000 population, was devastated and completely evacuated. Another town, Sungkiang, about 25 miles from Shanghai, with a population of about 200,000, was almost wiped out. The city of Soochow, a rich and conservative metropolis located about fifty miles from Shanghai, suffered a drop in population from 350,000 to less than 500 people when the Japanese occupied the walled area."

The *Review* quotes part of a letter written by a foreign motorist, who had completed a trip from Shanghai to Wusih, passing through Taitsang, Changshu, Soochow, and Quinsan, to the *North-China Daily News*:

"Nearly all villages near the road are burned or destroyed by bombing. Not a single chicken, duck or goose was seen during the entire trip. Farmers were working in the fields and numerous parties of country people under Japanese military overseers were mending the roads. All destroyed bridges have been restored.

"Just before reaching Wusih, the road passes through the once busy market town of Toongding. This town shows the most appalling destruction. There is hardly a house standing. A few people were seen picking among the ruins for the salvage of such articles as had escaped fire and shell.

"At Wusih the northern suburbs for a mile were burned, as were all cotton mills excepting one. Many silk honges and warehouses suffered a similar fate. Hotels, shops, godowns and residences in the area between the railway station and city wall were destroyed. The railway station and city wall were destroyed. The railway stations

and freight godowns are in ruins. Telephone and electric wires are down.

"On entering the city the same destruction is to be noted. It is estimated that at least half the buildings in Wusih have been burned. This includes all of the shopping district from the centre of the city to the north gate and from the north gate on out to the long iron bridge which spans the Grand Canal, on the road to Weishan. The long street which runs parallel with the Grand Canal, south of the city, for a distance of a mile has been burned on both sides. This city, which was once a great manufacturing center and grain depot, lies prostrate."

Eye-witness accounts given elsewhere in this volume have attested that burning and looting were carried out by uniformed Japanese officers and soldiers and that loot was removed by Japanese army trucks. Japanese "ronin"—the equivalent in English would be, approximately, "gangster"—took up where the military left off.

"It is this type of gangster—hangers-on of the Army—who is responsible for the systematic looting of Chinese and foreign properties located in territories now under control of the Imperial Japanese Army," says the *China Weekly Review*.¹ "The published reports of murders, lootings and rapings for which uncontrolled soldiers of the Imperial Army were responsible in such places as Nanking, Soochow, Hangchow and Wuhu, have been repeated in hundreds of villages and towns by gangs of so-called ronin who have literally 'cleaned out' this section of China of everything of value which the unfortunate Chinese people were unable to carry with them when they fled en masse to points of safety in the interior of the country. . . ."

"At many points up and down the China coast, particularly in Kiangsu, Chekiang and Fukien provinces, one finds monuments which have been erected in honour of local military commanders or provincial rulers of previous decades who have been successful in defeating pirates who have ravaged the coast and in some cases seized cities and held them for heavy ransoms. There is a monument of this character standing on a hill near the town of Nantungchow, about eighty miles up the Yangtze from Shanghai. The inscription on the

¹ *China Weekly Review*, Shanghai, February 5, 1938.

Nantungchow monument states that it was erected in honor of a heroic Chinese commander who defeated a gang of pirates which had operated in the Lower Yangtze for many years. The pirate gang was composed of Japanese. Most of the other monuments of similar character that one finds up and down the coast also commemorate victories over Japanese piratical gangs. One is reminded of the similarity of the present Japanese invasion of the China coast! Despite all of the propaganda about the 'holy war,' 'pan-Asiaism,' 'economic cooperation,' 'anti-Communism,' the evidence is increasing that Japan's present expedition is not a war in the accepted 'undeclared' sense of the word, but only another pillaging and piratical expedition on a somewhat grander scale than previous adventurers of this character. If the Japanese had any idea of correcting long-standing abuses in the relations of the two nations or assisting the Chinese people to improve their political and economic status in the world as an independent nation, it is obvious that the Japanese Government would not permit its soldiery and citizens to engage in the orgies of murder, rape, looting, and incendiarism which have characterized this Japanese invasion of the China coast. These activities are not the normal manifestations of a nation of the 20th century imbued with altruistic and humanitarian ideals of helpfulness toward a weaker neighboring people. They are the actions of a nation still steeped in the traditions and barbaric conceptions of nationalistic aggrandisement as typified in European colonial policies of a by-gone age.

"The Japanese have always boasted of their knowledge of Chinese history—in fact their present belief in the Divine Origin of the Emperor is an adaptation of the political theories of the Chou kings (1100 to 300 B.C.) who succeeded the Shang dynasty. The Chou kings regarded their wars against the Shang emperor as 'Decreed by Heaven,' and their attempt to conquer the then Asiatic world as the carrying out of a Divine Command. But while the Japanese have borrowed the terminology, they have seemingly failed to comprehend the political philosophy which the Chinese developed to a high degree even in the Shang dynasty (1750 to 1100 B.C.)—that military conquest always fails where it is impossible to enlist the loyalty and cooperation of the population. World experience has

demonstrated that it is impossible to rule a hostile people permanently by means of military garrisons, yet the Japanese are following that method of procedure exactly by planning to break the country up into small principalities to be ruled by Japanese armies. Although the Japanese have, through long preparation, demonstrated their military superiority over the Chinese armies, the Japanese have been unable to prevent their victories from degenerating into looting raids comparable to the actions of the barbarous tribes of the North and North-west which used to harass the Chinese Empire. Chinese civilization and political philosophy have survived because of the widespread belief among the Chinese people that rulers were appointed by Heaven to bring about the welfare of mankind and the promotion of the public good. While the Japanese have had much to say about the holy nature of their campaign, the actions of their uncontrolled soldiery and ronin adventurers have created the impression that the whole enterprise is nothing more nor less than the machinations of the devil.

"European political control as exemplified in colonial administrations in Oriental lands persisted because European colonial administrators learned to apply, in limited measure we admit, the political philosophies of the early Chinese sages. Thus they ceased to be regarded as bands of uncouth barbarian adventurers intent upon destroying Chinese civilization and culture and in time ceased to be regarded as hateful tyrants intent only upon gorging themselves on the spoils of war and the sweat of the enslaved population. But the Japanese failure to comprehend the inwardness of Chinese civilization was matched only by their equal inability to understand the reasons for the persistence of European colonial administrations on the Asiatic coast. The result has been the inevitable degeneration of Japan's 'holy war' into a sordid pillaging expedition not greatly differing, except in extent, from the activities of piratical gangs which harassed the China coast in earlier days."

All of this deliberate destruction, looting, and burning of Chinese property from modern factory to peasant hovel is another phase of the Japanese terror in China. It is in this fashion that Japan makes war upon the "obstinate Chinese Government" and the "lawless Chinese army."

CONCLUSION

IN THE PRECEDING chapters I have confined myself largely to introducing the eye-witness accounts which, together with a few press agency and newspaper reports, form the bulk of this volume. I now add some general observations based upon this material, supplemented by personal experience gained in the course of nearly twenty years spent in the Far East.

Fragmentary accounts of the Japanese invasion of China and of the occupation of the Yangtze Delta and ultimately Nanking itself have found their way into the newspapers. It may be questioned, however, whether it was generally realized that the reports of rape and loot and general bestiality flashed over the cables could be supported by signed eye-witness accounts collected from unimpeachable sources, by authentic photographs, by films, and by official documents. All doubts as to the existence of such material should be dispelled by the publication of a selection of it in the present volume.

The wealth of evidence here given nevertheless represents only a cross-section of happenings which were an integral part of the Japanese invasion. It has been necessary to reject a great deal of similarly well documented material because of space requirements. The reader should bear in mind that the reports contained herein cover a relatively few large centers where neutral foreign observers chanced to be stationed. The happenings in rural areas of occupation as a whole, directly affecting as they did the agrarian population which constitutes more than 80 per cent of the total population of China, would fill a volume by themselves. At the same time, little mention is made in this book of such attendant factors as the systematic destruction of educational institutions such as the well-known Nankai University in Tientsin, with the evident intention of annihilating the sources of higher education in China.

Apart from vague suggestions of exaggeration, the Japanese authorities have not denied that outrages were committed at Nanking

and elsewhere by the Japanese army. In strict privacy, Japanese civilians of the better sort have admitted with deeply felt shame that the reports were substantially true. By official apologies the defense put forward appears to be (a) that these were but isolated incidents and (b) that the same sort of thing has happened in other wars. "Granted," says a recent Japanese pamphlet,¹ "that certain atrocities have been committed by Japanese troops and that certain incidents have arisen between Japanese troops and foreigners, let us say for comparison that such cases involve say 0.1 per cent, or 0.5 per cent, or even 1 per cent, of the Japanese forces on Chinese soil. Taking the highest figure of 1 per cent, does that constitute an 'enormous' percentage of 'bad characters' among the Japanese troops when such troops number several hundred thousand men? The answer is plain to all fair-minded persons."

This line of argument is reminiscent of the maid-servant who sought to excuse her baby on the ground that "it was only a little one." In view of the large number of well substantiated cases reported it is evident that considerably more than 1 per cent of the Japanese forces in China, which would mean between four thousand and five thousand men were involved. One ventures to hope that our own British High Command would be concerned over the fact that five thousand troops had run amuck to the extent revealed in the foregoing pages. And their concern would surely be heightened by the knowledge that many of the outrages took place under the observed direction of army officers.

To suggest that the widespread violence reported in these pages with a wealth of authentic detail still represents only the exception to the rule and that for this reason one should close one's eyes to the horrors of war and the proverbial brutality of the soldiery would be to deny the very foundations of justice and ethics. If cruelty is the exception then it should be all the easier to protest against what has happened and show our abhorrence of it; if it is the rule then it is all the more necessary to prevent its repetition. Indeed, it is surely the current tendency to condone monstrosities by such arguments that is one of the most dangerous influences dragging the world back

¹ "Plain Speaking on the Sino-Japanese Conflict. Shanghai 1937-38. 10.—Mountains out of Mole-Hills."

to anarchy. What we need is *unconditional* allegiance to law, decency, and morality, for their own sakes, and not allegiance to them only if the other fellow will subscribe to them too. Such allegiance is not allegiance, and certainly not morality, at all.

Those who try to explain away these facts with the threadbare excuse that all wars have yielded their crop of horrors tend to forget that Japan's primary offence against international decency is the fact that she is making war upon China at all. The calculated brutalities which have accompanied the war simply make that offence just so much the more serious.

Probably it will have occurred to some readers to question how far the outrages committed by the Japanese army in China were simply the result of troops running wild in the heat of victory or how far they may have represented a policy of deliberate terrorism on the part of the Japanese authorities. The facts of the case point to the latter conclusion. Military excesses are understandable, though still not excusable, where they occur immediately after the occupation of a city, especially when the occupation comes at the end of a wearisome campaign. But in Nanking, however, to quote an outstanding example, outrages by Japanese soldiery went on for three months after the occupation of the city and were still continuing when the writer left China early in April, 1938.

One is thus forced to conclude either that a considerable section of the Japanese army was out of control or that it was the wish of the Japanese High Command to strike terror into the hearts of the Chinese people in the hope that thereby the latter would be cowed into submission.

Either conclusion is equally painful, but there is no evading the choice. Nor does there seem reason to doubt that precisely similar treatment would be meted out to any country which the Japanese army might invade.

This age is supposed to have seen the awakening of the Japanese nation, highly civilized by its contacts with the West, yet boasting of an ancient culture. But in this very supposition lies the root of the troubles with which the Far East is now beset.

In his very able book *The Far Eastern Crisis*, the one-time American Secretary of State, Henry L. Stimson, says: "To the American

Government Japan was a friendly, powerful, and sensitive neighbor which, within a short space of a single human lifetime, had emerged from the isolation of feudal military autocracy into a modern industrialized state. Under the guidance of a very far-sighted group of elder statesmen she had assimilated with extraordinary rapidity the material elements of Western civilization. Her energetic and intelligent people had made gigantic strides in the technical arts, in manufactures, and in commerce. This industrial development was also gradually resulting in liberalism in social and political ideas. Japan had adopted a constitution with parliamentary features and she had been extending the suffrage among her people."

Thus did Japan appear not only to the American Government but also to the peoples and governments of all Western nations. Many Chinese, too, held this view. But this is a false assumption stemming from a superficial observation of the facts and upon this error rests the whole common concept of Far Eastern politics. In the pages that follow the quotation given above, Mr. Stimson adds: "The basic inheritance of the virtues and weaknesses of militarism had been only partially modified by the developing economic and social conditions of the industrial revolution and the ideas of Western democracy which had come with it, and their government still reflected these two elements, as yet imperfectly blended and each striving for mastery."

The modern industrialized state of which Mr. Stimson speaks is in cold reality only a vehicle for the feudal military autocracy which is Japan. Japan's common people, be they peasants or factory workers, have today almost as little say in the control of their destinies as at any time in the history of Japan. Japan is ruled by her militarists in alliance with the great family trusts which control the economic life of the country. The people have no democratic rights and liberties since the Diet is powerless; there is neither free speech nor a free press, and it is a criminal offence even to *think* that the Constitution—which gives absolute power to the Emperor—should be altered. Anyone who ventures to speak against the war goes to prison, as witness the arrests of hundreds of liberal professors, authors, journalists and teachers and of two Labor M.P.s in December, 1937, and February, 1938, for having "spread anti-war talk."

Wars of aggression are the time-honored remedy employed by Japan's ruling class for social discontents. So long as the myth of prosperity through easy conquest is believed, the semi-feudal land-owning-militarist caste can hope to stave off agrarian reform and preserve its economic and political power. So long as aggression is supported by the big business interests there is unity of aim amongst those who hold power. If, however, aggression became both dangerous and unprofitable; if, in particular, economic pressure were exerted by Britain and the U.S.A. upon Japan, there would almost certainly be a split between the militarists and the plutocracy which would enable the Japanese people to win their freedom and stop the war. The mass of the Japanese people have nothing to gain, and much to lose, in this war. They are dying and being wounded while their families suffer from rising prices, longer hours of labor and a growing dearth of the necessities of life. Wounded soldiers are kept from talking to their relatives by not being allowed to see them alone, and a severe censorship prevents the Japanese people from knowing that Chinese resistance is stubborn and the war likely to go on a long time. The Government is afraid that if the truth were known the morale of the civilian population would weaken.

The financiers and big industrialists who realize their vital dependence on Britain and America would want to call a halt to aggression if we cut down their profits through a boycott and made it so difficult for Japan to buy war materials that only the totalitarian economic policies of the military could enable Japan to fight at all. Big business in Japan is far from powerless but supports the war so long as it appears profitable and not dangerous to itself.

What has happened, and is still happening, in China is something which must concern us all—advocates of collective security and isolationists alike. It is my fervent hope that the story of China's present travail and especially of those noble men and women at Nanking and elsewhere whose experiences have been recounted in the foregoing pages will serve as an inspiration to all who have at heart the cause of international justice. Surely China cannot be allowed to succumb unless mankind is prepared to renounce for many generations to come its right to decide between right and wrong and is willing to risk the repetition of such unspeakable horrors as China is suffering today.

"What can we do?" is the helpless cry of our fear-ridden governing groups. Practically, and as an immediate step, we can begin to implement our oft-repeated pledges by helping China with arms or, if that is not feasible, with financial aid. But action must not be allowed to stop there. There can be no hope of peace for any of us unless we can set up and maintain some permanent system of collective security which will protect peace-loving nations against aggression. The shadow of war will not be removed until we begin to realize that, as Hendrik Willem van Loon has pointed out in one of his books, we are all of us fellow-passengers on the same planet and the weal and woe of everybody else means the weal and woe of ourselves.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CASE REPORTS COVERING CHAPTERS II AND III

THE FOLLOWING CASES of disorder, or worse, were recorded by foreign observers and reported to the Japanese authorities over roughly the same period as that covered by Chapters I and II, namely, from the entry of the Japanese on December 13 up to the end of the year.

The cases originally filed, numbering 170, were only a selection of those coming under the notice of the Zone Committee. Although probably true, the majority of the reports were not capable of ready verification and therefore were withheld. The present selection has been made with a view to avoiding wearisome repetitions of the same type of report. A similar procedure has been adopted in connection with Appendix B and Appendix C.

For the convenience of the reader the cases have been rearranged in chronological order but the original case numbers have been retained. It is to be noted that the incidents thus recorded cover only the Nanking Safety Zone, and that the rest of Nanking was practically deserted until the end of January and most of the time was without foreign observers during this whole period.

While a sufficient number of these cases were observed by foreigners to make clear what was going on, other cases were reported to these observers by Chinese co-workers, whose veracity there was no reason to doubt. For each case so reported, a written statement in Chinese was called for and a translation made into English. This accounts for the peculiar style employed in some of the case reports: the English versions had been written under such pressure that no time could be taken to polish up the text.

Case No.

5. On the night of December 14 there were many cases of Japanese soldiers entering Chinese houses and raping women or taking them away. This created a panic in the area and hundreds of women moved into the Ginling College Campus yesterday. Consequently, three American men spent the night at Ginling College last night to protect the three thousand women and children in the compound.
6. On December 14 about thirty Japanese soldiers with no apparent leader searched the University Hospital and the nurses' dormitory. The staff of the Hospital were systematically looted, the objects taken were: six fountain pens, \$180.00; four watches, two hospital bandages, two flashlights, two pairs of gloves, one sweater.
10. At noon, December 14, on Chien Ying Hsiang Road, Japanese soldiers entered a house and took four girls, raped them, and let them return in two hours.
15. On December 15, Japanese soldiers entered a Chinese house on Hankow Road and raped a young wife and took away three women. When two husbands ran after them, the soldiers shot both of them.
1. On December 15, six street sweepers of the second division of the Sanitary Commission of the Safety Zone were killed in the house they occupied at Kuleo and one seriously injured with a bayonet by Japanese soldiers. No apparent reason whatever, these men were our employees. The soldiers entered the house.
4. On the night of December 15, seven Japanese soldiers entered the University of Nanking Library building and took seven Chinese women refugees, three of whom were raped on the spot.
7. On December 15, everyone of our large refugee camps in public and institutional buildings reported that the Japanese soldiers had been there and robbed the refugees several times.
8. On December 15, the American Ambassador's residence was broken into and searched and some small personal articles taken.

The following cases were filed with the Japanese authorities under covering letters some of which are reproduced in Appendix D (Doc. Z 8 and 13):

Case No.

16. On December 15, a man came to the University Hospital with a bayonet wound and reported that six Chinese men were taken from the Safety Zone to carry ammunition to Hsiakwan and when they got there the Japanese soldiers bayoneted them all. He however survived and got back to the University of Nanking Hospital.
17. On the 15 December, at about 8:00 a.m., according to a report by a Chinese Wang Yuhwei of the (German) Ho Tzon Chi Liang Ho Kung Sze at 6 Fu Kan, some Japanese soldiers came to their place. They seized him and upon presentation of his German registration, they threw it on the ground. He also claims they tore down the German flag displayed there. He was conscripted to carry a load to the Chuin Kuan Hsieh Shao after which he was released and given the slip showing he had done work. On his way home while on Kiukiang Road he was shot twice from behind without any apparent reason by another Japanese soldier or soldiers. He is now in the University Hospital, where he may be interviewed.
18. On the night of December 15, a number of Japanese soldiers entered the University of Nanking buildings at Tao Yuen and raped thirty women on the spot, some by six men.
19. On December 15 a man came to the University Hospital. He had been carrying his 60-year-old uncle into the Safety Zone and soldiers shot his uncle and wounded himself.
20. On the night of December 16, seven Japanese soldiers broke windows; robbed refugees, wounded University staff member with bayonets because he had no watch or girls to give them; raped women on the premises.
22. On the night of December 16 Japanese soldiers beat several of the Zone policemen near the University of Nanking demanding that they provide girls for the soldiers from among the refugees.

23. On December 16, Japanese soldiers carried off fourteen Red Swastika workers at Wutaishan.
24. On December 16, Japanese soldiers took a cooking kettle from workers of the soup kitchen of the Red Swastika Society,¹ dumping the rice in the kettle on the ground.
27. On December 16, Japanese soldiers entered the residence of our chief sanitary inspector at 21 Kuling Road, and took motorcycles, one garbage bucket and five bicycles.
29. On December 16, Japanese soldiers tried to take the ambulance from University Hospital and were only prevented by prompt arrival of an American member of the Committee, the Rev. John Magee.
47. On the night of the 16th at 8 o'clock two Japanese officers and two soldiers came to No. 18 Kan Ho Yen. They drove out the men in the house. Some women neighbors ran away. Those who remained in the house (who could not get away) were raped. The vest of one of the soldiers was left in the house.
57. On December 16, seven girls (ages ranged from sixteen to twenty-one) were taken away from the home at the Military College. Five returned. Each girl was raped six or seven times daily—reported December 18. On December 17 at 11 p.m. soldiers climbed over the wall and took away two girls but they returned them in thirty minutes.
33. On December 17, Japanese soldiers went into Lo Kai Lu No. 5, raped four women, took one bicycle, bedding and other things. They disappeared quickly when Hatz and myself appeared on the spot.
37. On December 17, in a small house behind my house at Siao Tao Yuen, Can Ho Yueh, a woman was raped and stabbed. If she gets medical aid today she can probably be saved. The woman's mother was badly beaten over the head.
41. On Dec 17 near Judicial Yuan a young girl after being raped was stabbed by a bayonet in her abdomen.

¹ A Chinese charitable organization equivalent to Red Cross Societies in Europe and America.

42. On December 17 at Sian Fu Wua a woman of 40 years was taken away and raped.
45. On December 17 many women were taken away from a primary school at Wu Tai Shan and raped for the whole night and released the next morning.
46. On December 17 at the Wu Kyia home garden three men were killed, and two women were taken away and cannot be found.
48. On December 17, Wang Yu-chien, Inspector of the 4th Division of the Housing Commission, at 4 Hsu Pu Hsiang reported soldiers entered daily, robbed and looted. Wife and two boys fled to Ginling College. Mother and boy remained. Wang threatened so he had to leave.
53. At 3 p.m. on December 17, three girls at No. 10 Ta Fang Hsiang Refugee's Home were raped by Japanese soldiers in turn. Also one woman was seriously wounded by a shot.
86. On December 17, three girls belonging to Mr. Y. H. Shaw's family (Executive Secretary of the Y.M.C.A.) were taken from the Military College, where they had removed from 7 Ying Yang Ying for safety. They were taken to Kwoh Fu Road, raped, and sent back at midnight by Japanese soldiers.
94. On the night of December 17, eleven refugee women were taken from the Ginling College Campus by Japanese soldiers while an officer in charge of a searching party had the staff lined up at the front gate for over an hour. The officer tore up the letter certifying the Institution had been searched before.
95. On December 17 the daughter-in-law of a refugee family living on the Ginling College Campus was raped in her room. The daughter of one of the teachers was carried off by Japanese soldiers.
54. On December 18 about 5 p.m. some ten soldiers entered and took all the bedding and other belongings of 100 refugees and sanitary staff including our chief of staff, Mr. Ma Sen.
55. On December 18, evening, 450 terrified women fled for shelter

to our office and spent the night in our yard. Many have been raped.

56. On December 18, 4 p.m. at No. 18 I-Ho Road Japanese soldiers wanted some cigarettes and when he hesitated the soldier smashed the side of his head with a bayonet. The man is now at the University Hospital and is not expected to live.
59. On December 18, while Major Y. Nagai was kind enough to call on our Chairman, Mr. Rabe, at his house at Siao Tao Yuen, a neighbor right opposite called for help because four Japanese soldiers had entered his house and one of them was raping one of the women. Major Nagai caught the man and slapped his face and ordered him out. The other three soldiers ran when they saw the Major coming.
62. On December 18, refugee Home at Military College reports: On the 16th two hundred men were taken away and only five returned; on the 17th twenty-six men were taken away; on the 18th, thirty men were taken away. Looting: money, luggage, and one bag of rice, over four hundred sheets of hospital beddings, one man was killed (age twenty-five), one old woman was knocked down and died after twenty minutes.
74. On December 18, Dr. Bates found a Japanese soldier in the University of Nanking building at Siao Tao Yuen where his own office is located and asked him what he was doing. The soldier threatened Dr. Bates with his pistol.
63. Reported on December 18—on Ninghai Road half a tin of kerosene oil was taken away from a boy by force and the boy savagely beaten when asked to carry same. At Pin Chen Shan No. 6 one pig was taken away by Japanese soldiers. A number of ponies have been taken away by five Japanese soldiers. Several girls living in No. 12 I-Ho Road were raped after chasing all the men away who lived together with them as refugees. One tea-house master's daughter, age seventeen years, was raped by seven Japanese soldiers and she died on the 18th. Last night three Japanese soldiers raped four girls between 6 and 10 o'clock. In No. 5 Moh Kan Road one old man reported his daughter was brutally raped by several Japanese soldiers. Three girls were taken away by Japanese soldiers last night

from Girls' College and returned to No. 8 Tao Ku Sing Tsuen in bad condition this morning. In Pin An Shang, a girl was raped by three Japanese soldiers and died. Raping, robbery and searching are occurring at T Yang Ying.

64. Reported on December 18—there are about 540 refugees crowded in Nos. 83 and 85 on Canton Road. Since the 13th instant up to the 17th those houses have been searched and robbed many times a day by Japanese soldiers in groups of three to five. Today the soldiers are looting the places mentioned above continually. At present, women of younger ages are forced to go with the soldiers every night by sending motor-trucks to take them. They are released the next morning. More than thirty women and girls have been raped. The women and children are crying the whole nights through. Conditions inside the compound are worse than can be described.
60. On December 19 at 11:30 a.m., Mr. Hatz reports that he found two Japanese soldiers in a dugout at the house next door to our Headquarters on Ninghai Road, who were trying to rape some of the women. There were twenty women in the dugout. Hearing the women yelling for help, Mr. Hatz went into the dugout and chased the soldiers out.
66. On December 19 (outside Zone but observed by Director). Yesterday it was reported to me that the residence of Mr. Douglas Jenkins, Jr., Third Secretary of the U.S.A. Embassy, had been looted and one of the servants on the place killed. Today at noon I inspected the place, which is at 29 Ma Tai Chieh, and found it as stated. The house was in utter confusion, and the corpse of the servant was in one of the servants' rooms. The other servants had fled, so there is no one on the place now.
67. On December 19, Lee Wen Yuen, my chauffeur, living at 16 Lu Chia Lu (a German residence displaying the German flag and seals) together with his family of eight, was robbed by Japanese soldiers at 8:30 this morning of absolutely everything he possessed: seven boxes of clothing, two baskets of household things, six quilts, three mosquito nets, rice bowls and

- dishes, and \$50.00 in cash. The family is now destitute without even bed-covers.
69. On December 19 Meng Chai To, Chief Sanitary Inspector of our 8th Section, had the house where he is living at 59 Peiping Road entered six times yesterday and seven times today by Japanese soldiers. On the 17th two girls were raped there and again today two more were raped, one of them so brutally that she may die. Another girl was taken away from the place today. The refugees living in this house have been robbed of most of their money, watches, and other small articles.
 72. On December 19 at the Rural Leaders' Training School, part of the University of Nanking, Japanese soldiers took \$10.00 from one of our workers after having taken \$2.50 from him the day before. During the afternoon two women were raped and during the night five more women were raped on the premises by Japanese soldiers.
 73. On December 19 about 3 p.m. one Japanese soldier entered the University Hospital Compound and when Dr. McCallum and Dr. Trimmer, Superintendent, asked him to leave, the soldier fired his rifle at them. Fortunately, the shot passed to one side of Mr. McCallum.
 75. On the evening of December 19, about 4:45 p.m. Dr. Bates was called to the house at 16 Ping Tsang Hsiang where Japanese soldiers had a few days previously driven out refugees. (Viewed by Riggs, Smith and Steele.) They had just finished looting the place and started a fire on the third floor. Dr. Bates tried to put out the fire but it was too late and the whole house burned to the ground.
 76. On December 19, about 6 p.m. in the dark, six Japanese soldiers scaled the garden wall of Mr. Rabe's compound at Siao Tao Yuen. When he pointed his flashlight on one of them, he laid hand on his pistol but he soon realized that it would be bad business to shoot a German subject. Mr. Rabe ordered all six of them to go over the top of the wall back to where they came from. They tried to make him open the door for them but he strictly refused to do them the honor of passing

- out of the door because they had come in without his permission.
77. On December 19, about 6 p.m., Dr. Bates, Mr. Fitch and Dr. Smythe were called to a University of Nanking house at 19 Hankow Road where a University staff man was living, in order to escort out four Japanese soldiers who were raping the women there. They found the soldiers in the basement where the women had been hidden. After sending the soldiers out over the wall all the women and children were escorted to the University of Nanking main buildings, where there was to be one Japanese Consular guard that night.
 78. On the morning of December 20 about 7:30 when Mr. Riggs came by 28 Hankow Road he was called in and told that Japanese soldiers came during the night and because the women had been sent to the University of Nanking, the soldiers shot one man, stabbed another man seriously and three more or less seriously.
 80. On December 20 about 7 a.m. Mr. McCallum, on his way home from standing guard at the University Hospital for the night, found many women and children on the way to the University for safety. Three families from different places told him that they had been burned out during the night by Japanese soldiers.
 81. On December 20, about 3 a.m. two Japanese soldiers got into building No. 500 at Ginling Women's College and raped two women, even though a Japanese Consular policeman was at the gate on guard.
 90. December 20. Today a blind barber came into the University Hospital. He was carrying his child on the 13th in the South City, when the Japanese soldiers came and asked him for money, and he had none so they shot him through the chest.
 91. On December 20, a man who was the owner of a hat store in South City was shot in the chest when Japanese soldiers asked him for money and he gave them all he had. They asked for more and he could not produce it. He came to the University Hospital on the 20th.

92. On December 20, Japanese soldiers came into the Red Swastika Soup Kitchen at the University of Nanking, and took \$7.00 from the accountant.
96. On December 20, five faculty residences clearly marked with an American flag and with the proclamations of the American Embassy were entered and looted. One of these houses has been entered again and again and three doors have been smashed in.
98. On December 20, at 7:30 p.m., a seventeen-year-old married girl, nine months pregnant, was raped by two Japanese soldiers; at 9:00 p.m. labor pains began; baby was born at 12:00 p.m. She was brought to the University Hospital this morning, because they could not get through the streets at night. Mother is hysterical but baby is doing well.
99. On December 20, afternoon, Japanese soldiers entered 5 Hankow Road, the house of Dr. J. H. Daniels, Superintendent of the University Hospital, with a Japanese proclamation on the front gate. They broke into the room upstairs, took two women into the house and raped them and spent three hours in the house. They took three bicycles from the cellar. Dr. Wilson has been using this house in the absence of Dr. Daniels.
101. On December 20, 3 p.m. three Japanese officers went into the office of the Refugee camp in the Hankow Road Primary School. The staff talked to them with an interpreter, but the officers ordered them out of the office and in broad daylight and in the same office raped two women.
102. On December 20, in the house of Mr. Schultze-Pantin (German), a member of the Committee, where Rev. Magee is living with Mr. Podshivloff who is trying to help start the electric light plant and with Mr. Zial who is repairing cars at the Japanese Embassy, Japanese soldiers broke in and raped some of the women in front of the Chinese friends staying with Rev. Magee. (These people are good Christian families from the American Church Mission in Hsiakwan. They were aghast that any man could act in this way!)

100. On December 21, 1:15 p.m., Dr. Wilson found a soldier in the University Girls' Dormitory. He asked the soldier to leave and he threatened him with his pistol. Then, later, as Dr. Wilson passed the soldier on the road, the soldier loaded his rifle but did not fire.
105. On December 21. This afternoon Headquarters has about one hundred more women living in this immediate neighborhood who have been raped since last night and have come to the place for protection. (Women that came before have been sent to the University of Nanking.)
151. On December 22, two Japanese soldiers raped a refugee girl, aged thirteen, at the University of Nanking Sericulture Building and her mother was hurt when she tried to stop them. Another woman of twenty-eight years was also raped. On the 23rd, 4 a.m., two girls were taken by Japanese soldiers, but Japanese gendarmes met them and the Japanese soldiers fled.
146. On December 23, 3 p.m. two Japanese soldiers came to the Hankow Road Primary School Refugee Camp, searching for property and then raped a Miss Hwang of the staff. It was immediately reported to the Japanese Special Service Military Police. They sent Military Police to get the soldiers who had left, so they took the girl to their office and held her as witness. The same evening, other Japanese soldiers came and raped Mrs. Wang's daughter. About 7 p.m. three other Japanese soldiers raped two young girls, one of whom was only thirteen years old.
148. On December 25 night, seven Japanese soldiers came to the Bible Teachers' Training School Refugee Camp and stayed all night. During the day at 9 o'clock four soldiers came and at 2 o'clock three soldiers came and took clothing and money. They raped two women, one only twelve years old.
149. On December 25, 10 a.m. Mr. Riggs of the Committee was stopped on Hankow Road by an officer of the Inspection Corps who grabbed, hit and slapped Mr. Riggs.

This case was reported in detail in the following letter:

3 P'ing Ts'ang Hsiang,
Nanking,
December 25, 1937.

(Case 149)

To The Officers of the Imperial Japanese Embassy Nanking.

DEAR SIRs:

This morning about 10, Mr. Riggs found several soldiers in the house at No. 29 Hankow Road and heard a woman cry. The woman, who was about 25—30 years old, tapped herself and motioned for Mr. Riggs to come. One soldier had her in tow. Other soldiers were in the house. She grabbed Riggs' arm. The other soldiers came out of the house and all of them went on and left the woman with Mr. Riggs. She had been out to buy things and the soldiers took her. Her husband was taken four days ago and had not come back. She wanted Mr. Riggs to escort her back to the Refugee Camp at the Military College on Hankow Road. So Mr. Riggs escorted her east on Hankow Road and almost to the University Gardens and there they met an inspection officer with two soldiers and an interpreter.

The officer grabbed Mr. Riggs' hands out of his pockets and grabbed his armband, which had been issued him by the Japanese Embassy. He swatted Mr. Riggs' hands when he put them back in his pocket. As near as he could tell, the officer asked Riggs who he was, but neither could understand the other. He then hit Mr. Riggs on the chest hard. Mr. Riggs asked him what he meant and that made the officer angry. The officer motioned for his passport but Mr. Riggs did not have it with him. He wanted to know what Riggs was doing. Mr. Riggs told him he was taking this woman home. So the officer hit Mr. Riggs again. Mr. Riggs looked to see what armband the officer was wearing and the officer slapped Mr. Riggs in the face hard. The officer then pointed to the ground

and grabbed Mr. Riggs' hat so Mr. Riggs thought the officer wanted him to kowtow to him. But Mr. Riggs would not. So the officer gave Mr. Riggs another slap in the face. Then the interpreter explained that the officer wanted a card.

Mr. Riggs explained he was taking the woman home because she was afraid. The officer gave an order to the soldiers and they came to either side of Mr. Riggs with guns at attention. Then the interpreter explained that the officer wanted Mr. Riggs to bow to him. Mr. Riggs refused because he was an American. The officer finally told Mr. Riggs to go home.

Meanwhile, the woman had been so frightened when she saw Mr. Riggs so treated, she ran on down Hankow Road.

Mr. Riggs explained that he did not touch the officer and simply had his hands in his pockets (of his overcoat) walking down the road bothering no one. The woman was walking a short distance ahead of him.

We hope that there will speedily be such a restoration of order and discipline among the soldiers that foreign nationals going peacefully about the streets need no longer fear being molested.

Most respectfully yours,
(Signed) LEWIS S. C. SMYTHE.

152. On December 25, several Japanese soldiers took away the wheels of two large-type fire pump engines at 3 p.m. The Safety Zone Fire Department had four fire engines (cars) and twelve pumps. But in the last ten days nearly all have been taken by the Japanese soldiers. The pumps we have now are either destroyed or without wheels. Only one pump is usable.
154. On December 26, 4 p.m. a thirteen-year-old girl was raped by three Japanese soldiers at Chen Chia Shiai No. 6.
167. On December 27, 1 p.m. five Japanese soldiers and one servant came to Hankow Road Primary School and took away two girls. Fortunately, while these two girls were being dragged out, some Military Police came to our place for in-

spection and so they found this happening and captured the three soldiers and one servant.

169. On December 30, afternoon, two Japanese soldiers came to the residence of an official in the Italian Embassy, No. 64 Peiping Road, and took away more than \$100.00 and two girls. After our earnest request, they released one girl but they still took away the other girl, named Hsan Shi-tse, age sixteen, wearing fur-lined clothes. Three Japanese soldiers went in while two watched at the gate.

APPENDIX B

CASE REPORTS COVERING CHAPTER V

THE CASES GIVEN *below were filed with the Japanese authorities during the period from January 1 to January 12 covered by the two letters reproduced in Appendix D (Z 27 and BZ 33):*

Case No.

171. Jan. 1, 1938. 3 p.m. Mr. Sperling was walking along Ninghai Road near the corner of Kwangchow Road and an old woman came running out of a house. Mr. Sperling went in and one Japanese soldier ran away but in a bedroom Mr. Sperling found a Japanese soldier completely undressed and a Chinese girl he had just finished raping partly undressed. Mr. Sperling told him to get out but gave him time to get his clothes on.
172. Jan. 1, 9 p.m. Japanese soldiers came with a truck to Mr. Rabe's house, Siao Tao Yuen, and asked for a truck load of girls. Mr. Rabe refused them entrance so they went on to the University Middle School.
173. Jan. 1, in the afternoon three Japanese soldiers went inside the Ginling College Campus. One followed a girl into a garden where there are many bamboo trees. Miss Vautrin was called and saved the girl just in time from being raped. Miss Vautrin saw the other two Japanese soldiers who claimed they were Military Police.
174. Jan. 1, at 1:40 p.m. two Japanese soldiers entered the house in which Rev. Forster is living at 17 Lo Kai Lu and raped one girl, and beat up another who resisted their attempt to rape her. Rev. Forster was out to dinner with Mr. Fitch. Messrs. Fitch, Magee and Forster rushed to the place in a car and took the two girls to the University Hospital for treatment.

175. *Jan. 1*, at 4 p.m. in a University house (American property) at 11 Hankow Road, three Japanese soldiers raped a fourteen-year-old girl. A woman in the house went to the University gate for Military Police but they came slowly and were too late.
176. One Japanese soldier came between 10 and 11 a.m. on January 2, 1938, to the house where Liu Pan-kwen and his wife and five children were living, Ch'en Chia Hsiang No. 5. This soldier tried to investigate the house. Then he saw this woman, the wife of Liu Pan-kwen, and asked questions about the condition of the house. The woman began to answer these questions. Those who stayed in the house saw this so they hinted to the woman to leave the house because the soldier was trying to get the woman into a room. So the woman was trying to leave. At the same time her husband, Liu Pan-kwen, said some rough words to the soldiers and also slapped his face. Then the soldier left. The woman came back and started to cook rice, and her husband was trying to bring the food to eat with his five children. The soldier came back with a gun about 4 p.m. This Japanese soldier asked for the husband and the neighbors pled with him for the man's life and one man even knelt down before the Japanese soldier. The husband was hiding in the kitchen. As soon as the Japanese soldier caught sight of him, he shot him instantly through the shoulder. Dr. H. was called about 4:30 p.m. and found the man dead. Rev. John Magee came a little later and found the same situation.
178. *Jan. 3*, a woman who was taken with 5 others from No. 6 Chien Ying Hsiang ostensibly for washing clothes for Japanese officers, on December 30 came to the University Hospital. She stated that they were taken by Japanese soldiers to a house in the west central portion of the city which she thought must be a Japanese military hospital. The women washed clothes during the day and were raped throughout the night. The older ones being raped from ten to twenty times; the younger and good-looking ones as many as forty times a night. On January 2, two soldiers took our patient with them to a deserted school house and struck her ten times with a bayonet knife; four times

- on the back of the neck severing the muscles down to the vertebral column; once on wrist, once on the face, and four on the back. She will probably recover but will have a stiff neck. The soldiers left her for dead. She was found by another Japanese soldier who saw her condition and took her to some friends who brought her to the Hospital. (Actually she died of meningitis.)
179. *Jan. 3*, a fourteen-year-old girl, physically immature, was raped with disastrous results that will require considerable surgical repair.
182. *On Jan. 7* two Japanese soldiers wanted to rape a young girl. Chang Foh-hsi tried to prevent them and was stabbed at Tze Pei Hsie, No. 7.
180. *On Jan. 8* five or six Japanese soldiers after raping shot at the inmates of No. 22 Shen Chu Ren Hsiang, wounding a woman named Lee, aged thirty-two.
181. *On Jan. 8* four Japanese soldiers broke into a house of the Yuan family, at No. 45 Kao Kyia Chiu Kwang, at night and raped three women (aged 21, 25, 29). When they were slow in complying with their desires they shot at them with a pistol.
183. *On Jan. 8*, 6 p.m. three Japanese pilots raped a girl, eighteen years old, named Kao at No. 4 Kwa Chiao Road and shot at random with pistols.
184. *On Jan. 9* an old man returned to Taikoo Shan from the Safety Zone to see about his home and if he could move back. When he got there, three Japanese soldiers were at the door and without a word one of the soldiers shot the old man through both legs. He is now at the University Hospital.
185. *On the morning of Jan. 9*, Mr. Kroeger and Mr. Hatz saw a Japanese officer and soldier executing a poor man in civilian clothes in a pond inside the Safety Zone on Shansi Road, just east of the Sino-British Boxer Indemnity Building. The man was standing in the pond up to his waist in water on which the ice was broken and was wobbling around when Mr. Kroeger and Hatz arrived. The officer gave an order and the soldier lay down behind a sandbag and fired a rifle at the man and hit

him in one shoulder. He fired again and missed the man. The third shot killed him.¹

186. *On Jan. 9* about 3 p.m. Rev. Mills and Dr. Smythe went to Shuan Tang to see about conditions there with a view to learning how the situation was for people to return to that part of the southwest portion of the city. When they got there they found that a woman with a baby in her arms had just been raped by three Japanese soldiers.
187. *On the night of Jan 9*, a military policeman took a woman from Dr. Smythe's house at No. 25 Hankow Road and another from another house. He met Mr. Riggs returning to his home at No. 23 Hankow Road, and threatened him with a bayonet.
188. *Jan. 12*, this morning two men (Ma and Ying) who have been registered² returned to the home of Ma at Hansimen to see about Ma's blind mother whom a neighbor said Japanese soldiers had killed. They found the body of Ma's mother. On the way back the two men met Japanese soldiers who demanded their clothes, then stabbed them and carried the two bodies into a dugout. One of them came to and crawled out. People saw him and gave him clothes. Then he walked back to the Sericulture Building. Two friends carried him on a bed to our Headquarters. Mr. Fitch sent him with them to the University Hospital.

¹ We have no right to protest about legitimate executions by the Japanese Army, but this certainly was carried out in an inefficient and brutal way. Furthermore, it brings up a matter we have mentioned many times in private conversation with the Japanese Embassy men: this killing of people in ponds within the Zone has spoiled and thereby seriously curtailed the reserve water supply for the people in the Zone. This is very serious in this long dry spell and with the city water coming so slowly. [Note by reporter.]

² See Chapter III.

APPENDIX C

CASE REPORTS COVERING PERIOD
JANUARY 14, 1938, TO FEBRUARY 9, 1938

THE FOLLOWING SELECTION of cases reported to the Japanese authorities covers the period from January 14 to February 9 and so completes the story of the first two months of the Japanese Army's occupation of Nanking. A total of 444 cases were written up but many of the earlier ones were compound cases involving many people. Beginning with case 190 these cases show the difficulties Chinese families met in trying to return to their homes outside the Zone. The order for such return was given by the Japanese on the afternoon of January 28.

Case No.

219. Mr. John Magee has an account of a family in South City of thirteen in which eleven were killed, women raped and mutilated, on December 13-14 by Japanese soldiers. Two small children survived to tell the story.
190. Jan. 14, a family went home from the University Middle School. On the way they got their new registration paper which they were told to paste on their door and they would not be troubled by soldiers. They did this and within an hour three Japanese soldiers came in and forced out the men and raped the women five times. So on Jan. 15 they came back to the Middle School to live.
195. Jan. 17, a woman from a family in the University Middle School went home with a man of the same family. Their home is in the newly-opened southern section of the city. A Japanese soldier came in and insisted on sleeping with her. She refused and the soldier killed her with a bayonet.
198. Jan. 19, a Buddhist nun living at present in the same house with Forster and myself reports that yesterday she got word

that her uncle, a man of sixty-five years by the name of Chu had gone to buy rice in one of the places designated by the Japanese, had first been robbed by Japanese soldiers on the road and then stabbed to death. This had happened about a week before as her uncle had gone to buy the rice but had not returned and they did not know what had happened to him.

199. Jan. 20, Mr. Magee reports that the wounded Chinese soldiers in the Red Cross Hospital at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are only fed three bowls of rice per day. One man complained to a Japanese officer (or doctor?). The officer slapped him and then when the man further objected, he was taken out and bayoneted.
211. Jan. 25, afternoon, a Chinese woman came to the University Hospital. She and her husband had moved into the Safety Zone and were living in a straw hut near the Bible Teachers' Training School. On December 13 her husband was taken away by the Japanese soldiers and the wife, this woman, was taken to South City where she has been ever since. She has been raped every day from seven to ten times since but usually was given an opportunity to sleep at night. She has developed all three types of venereal disease in their most virulent forms: Syphilis, Gonorrhea, Chancroid. She was let go five days ago probably because of her diseased condition. She returned to the Zone then.
215. Jan. 28, 9:00 p.m. Japanese soldiers came into the T'ien Min Bath House at T'u Chieh K'o on Chung Shan Tung Lu (east of the Special Service Corps office and in the area assigned to soldiers), searched the workers for money and shot three of them. Two of the workers were wounded and one killed. This bathhouse was opened by the Self-Government Committee at the request of the Japanese and was supposed to have their special protection.
230. Jan. 29, a woman returned, aged twenty-two. Her husband was bayoneted by Japanese soldiers and died several days before. When she herself returned home to No. 2 Shan Pei Lu on Jan. 29, she was raped by Japanese soldiers three times.

232. Jan. 29, Chen Wang Shih, twenty-eight, returned home. On the road she and another woman were stopped by three soldiers, who asked them to follow. Despite pleadings on their knees, they were pulled into a shop. Mrs. Chen was raped three times.
337. Jan. 29, Mr. Yao returned to Chan Fu Yuan, his home, in the afternoon. Some Japanese soldiers robbed cases of matches from them that day. On the 30th some Japanese went there and stripped off the clothes from all members of his family, including an eighty-year-old woman, to find if they had money. But they had none. At the same time Mr. Zee of the next door was robbed of \$3.50. On Feb. 1 there came three Japanese soldiers searching in the same way. They intend to return to camp.
353. Jan. 29, Hwang Cheh Shih, at Tsai Er Hsiang, aged thirty-nine, was raped by Japanese soldiers over 10 times by turn.
222. Jan. 30, a family moved home from the Sericulture Building into a house at 30-25 Er Tiao Hsiang because of the order to leave the camps. That night three Japanese soldiers broke down the fence in the back, came around the house and knocked on the front door. Not being admitted they pounded the door in, turned on the light, ordered the man to get up. Then explained that they were "detectives." One man carried a sword, one a rifle, and the third was without arms. They explained very carefully that the people need not be afraid and they would not do any harm to them and for the man to lie down again and go to sleep, which he did. They searched the place for money and then the man with the sword raped a twelve-year-old girl and the other two raped an old woman. The soldiers left about midnight. So the family moved back to camp on the 31st.
224. Jan. 30, about 5 p.m. Mr. Sone was greeted by several hundred women pleading with him that they would not have to go home on February 4. They said it was no use going home they might just as well be killed for staying at the camp as to be raped, robbed or killed at home. They said, "You have saved us half-way, if you let us go now what use is there unless

- you save us the other half?" One old woman, sixty-two years, went home near Hansimen and soldiers came at night and wanted to rape her. She said she was too old. So the soldiers rammed a stick up her. But she survived to come back.
290. Jan. 30, 11 a.m. No. 19 Huang Li Hsiang Chao Tien Kung, a girl refugee of Ginling College went home to pay a visit. Suddenly there came four soldiers who raped this young girl a little over ten years of age by turn.
378. Jan. 30, Mrs. Chen went home and while she was walking on the street of Shih San Chieh, she met three Japanese soldiers who pulled her to Hen Mao Gian Yuan (a shop) and raped her by turn. When rape was finished, she was released. (Chopped by her right hand second finger.)
333. Jan. 31, at 8 p.m. two soldiers came to the home of an old woman, seventy-one years old, who lives at Mo Fan Ive, in the San Pei Lou district. They crawled to the top of her hut evidently to listen whether there were any girls inside. When the old woman heard the noise on the roof she came out and they came down. They went in and asked for girls but she said there were none, whereupon they beat her. They tried to take off her trousers but she resisted. So they hit her over the head with something they had picked up in the house.
223. Feb. 1. This morning at 6:30 a group of women gathered a second time to greet Dr. Bates when he left the University. They told him they could not go home. Among other cases one woman who feared that she would lose her bedding when the camp was sealed, took her two daughters home yesterday, to Hsi Hwa Men. Last evening Japanese soldiers came and demanded to have a chance to rape the girls. The two girls objected and the soldiers bayoneted them to death. The woman says there is no use going home. If they are going to be killed at home they might just as well be killed at the camp by soldiers attempting to drive them out.
327. Feb. 1, at 1 p.m. three Japanese soldiers came to Wu Tiao Hsiang, Drum Tower, and carried off a girl of little over ten years of age. The same family had been visited by three Japanese soldiers on Jan. 28, who raped two women.

382. Feb. 1, Wu Chang-seng returned to his home at Kwang Hwa Men (outside) and after arriving seven Japanese soldiers there brought on old woman and ordered them to make sexual connection together. The Japanese soldiers laughed by the side.
375. Feb. 3, Mrs. Ma returned home and while she was walking in front of a house on Tung Ren Chieh, she met three Japanese soldiers who dragged her to an empty house and then raped her by turn. (Chopped by her right hand 2nd finger.)
442. Feb. 2, a family was carrying vegetables into the city and was stopped by some Japanese soldiers near Chunghwamen. They forced the man to kneel in the road and asked him for "hua Ku-niang." They told him to throw away his vegetables and the man demurred whereupon the soldier took the butt of his rifle and drove it down on the man's lower leg, breaking both bones. It took him two days to get to the hospital.
426. Feb. 5. Tsao Tsen Shih lives at No. 56 Hansimen. On the forenoon one Japanese soldier came into her house and attempted to rape her. But others in the house called the Military Police. The soldier came again at 5 p.m. and used a bayonet to wound her face. She was sent to the University Hospital to have her wounds dressed. Dr. Wilson who is attending the case, says that the wounds on her face are very serious and since the woman was semi-unconscious he feared the skull had been fractured.
430. Feb. 5, a Japanese soldier came to the house of Mr. Chen at Te Chung Bridge, near Hsi Hwa Gate, and asked for a girl. As there was no girl he pulled away a young man of about seventeen or eighteen years old and committed sodomy. Obeying the original instructions, the family had sent the older men back home.
436. Feb. 5. An old woman named Chen, over sixty, at San Pai Lou, was visited by three Japanese soldiers. One was stationed outside while the other two raped the old woman by turn. One of the soldiers asked her to clean the penis by her mouth. Her grandson was stabbed twice for crying.
444. Feb. 6. The man reporting this had been taken by the Japanese and worked for them for a month outside Chung Shan

Men. They gave him three yen as a month's wages. They sent him back because that detachment left for other parts. A few days later he and some friends were taking some empty burlap sacks from Ninghai Road along Kwangchow Road. A soldier on a hilltop stopped them and motioned them to return. They turned around and had gone about forty steps when a shot from behind shattered this man's left arm below the elbow so severely that it had to be amputated. He has three dependents, was shot on the 6th. (Wilson)

428. Feb. 7, a twelve-year-old girl was raped at midnight. Her parents had just moved home to Ta Fang Hsiang the day before. Her father returned the girl to the camp. She has suffered so much that even now she cannot walk and the injured part of her body was swelled, according to her father.

APPENDIX D

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN SAFETY
ZONE COMMITTEE AND JAPANESE
AUTHORITIES, ETC.

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE for the Nanking Safety Zone had received full recognition from the Chinese authorities but from the Japanese only a statement that they would not intentionally attack the area if there were no Chinese military forces in it.

The Chinese authorities had been slow in withdrawing non-active military establishments, had failed to remove a small anti-aircraft gun installed inside the south-west boundary of the Zone, and Chinese forces retreated through the Zone on the night of December 12. But by the morning of the 13th they were out, so there was no actual contact between the two armies in the Zone. (Japanese artillery had made nine hits in the southern part of the Zone, killing about forty people.) The promoters thus hoped that, at least after the first few days of chaos resulting from the Chinese withdrawal and the Japanese occupation, normality would return of itself, even if business and cultivation could not revive at once, and the refugees would, with assistance, be able to go back to their homes and assume a semblance of ordinary existence.

The Committee approached the Japanese forces with as little delay as possible. The Chairman made contact with the Japanese advance guard on Han Chung Road on the afternoon of December 13 and tried to explain the Zone to him. The Zone was not marked on his map. On the morning of December 14 the Committee tried to present to the officer in command the following letter (Doc. No. 1) but were referred to the Chief of the T'eh Wu Chi Kwan (Special Service Organ or "Corps") who would not arrive until the next day. The latter granted the Chairman an interview at noon on December 15, after which General Harada inspected the Zone and paid a visit to the Zone Headquarters.

DOCUMENT No. 1 (Z 1)

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR NANKING SAFETY ZONE

5, Ninghai Road

December 14, 1937

Japanese Commander of Nanking.

HONORABLE SIR:

We come to thank you for the fine way your artillery spared the Safety Zone and to establish contact with you for future plans for care of Chinese civilians in the Zone.

The International Committee has taken responsibility for putting people into buildings in the area, has stored rice and flour for feeding the population temporarily, and has taken control of the police in the area.

We would respectfully request that the Committee may:

1. Be favored with a Japanese guard at entrances to the Safety Zone.
2. Be allowed to police the inside of the area with its own civilian police who are armed only with pistols.
3. Be allowed to carry on sale of rice and operate its soup kitchens in the area.
 - a. We have stores of rice in other parts of the city and would like to have free passage of trucks to secure them.
4. Be allowed to continue the present housing arrangements until the common people can return to their homes. (Even then there will be thousands of homeless poor refugees to care for.)
5. Be given the opportunity to cooperate with you in restoring telephone, electric, and water services as soon as possible.

Yesterday afternoon an unforeseen situation developed when a number of Chinese soldiers were trapped in the northern part of the city. Some of them came to our office and pleaded in the name of humanity that we save their lives. Representatives of our Committee tried to find your Headquarters but got no farther than a captain on Han Chung Lu. So we disarmed all these soldiers and put them into buildings in the Zone. We beg your merciful permission to return these men to peaceful civilian life as is now their desire.

We would further like to introduce to you the "International Red Cross Committee of Nanking" with Rev. John Magee (Ameri-

can) as Chairman. This International Red Cross Committee has taken charge of the former military hospitals at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Railways, and the Ministry of War, the Red Cross Committee yesterday disarmed all men on these places and will see that these buildings are used only for hospital purposes. If it is possible to put all the wounded in it, we suggest transferring all the Chinese wounded to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs building.

We will be glad to cooperate in any way we can in caring for the civilian population of this city.

Most respectfully yours,

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR NANKING
SAFETY ZONE

John H. D. Rabe, Chairman.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR NANKING SAFETY ZONE

5, Ninghai Road.

Telephones: 31961

32346

31641

Membership List

<i>Name</i>	<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Organization</i>
1. Mr. John H. D. Rabe, Chairman	German	Siemens Co.
2. Dr. Lewis S. C. Smythe, Secretary	American	University of Nanking
3. Mr. P. H. Munro-Faure	British	Asiatic Petroleum Co.
4. Rev. John Magee	American	American Church Mission
5. Mr. P. R. Shields	British	International Export Co.
6. Mr. J. M. Hanson	Danish	Texas Oil Co.
7. Mr. G. Schultze-Pantin	German	Shingming Trading Co.
8. Mr. Ivor Mackay	British	Butterfield and Swire
9. Mr. J. V. Pickering	American	Standard-Vac- uum Oil Co.

Membership List (Continued)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Organization</i>
10. Mr. Eduard Sperling	German	Shanghai Insurance Office
11. Dr. M. S. Bates	American	University of Nanking
12. Rev. W. P. Mills	American	Northern Presbyterian Mission
13. Mr. J. Lean	British	Asiatic Petroleum Co.
14. Dr. C. S. Trimmer	American	University Hospital
15. Mr. Charles Riggs	American	University of Nanking

INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS COMMITTEE OF NANKING

5, Ninghai Road.

Telephones: 32346

31641

31961

1. Rev. John C. Magee, Chairman
2. Mr. Li Chuin-nan, Vice-Chairman
(Chinese Red Cross Society of Nanking)
3. Mr. W. Lowe, Vice-Chairman
4. Rev. Ernest H. Forster, Secretary
5. Mr. Christian Kroeger, Treasurer
6. Mrs. Paul de Witt Twinem
7. Miss Minnie Vautrin
8. Dr. Robert O. Wilson
9. Mr. P. H. Munro-Faure
10. Dr. C. S. Trimmer
11. Rev. James McCallum
12. Dr. M. S. Bates
13. Mr. John H. D. Rabe
14. Dr. Lewis S. C. Smythe
15. Rev. W. P. Mills
16. Mr. Cola Podshivloff
17. Pastor Shen Yu-shu

Since contact could not be established with the Japanese Commander on December 14 and several groups of disarmed Chinese soldiers and civilians were tied up and marched off on that day in spite of the protests by the members of the Committee, the Committee decided that a more comprehensive statement regarding disarmed Chinese soldiers in the Zone should be made. So on the morning of December 15 the Chairman of the Committee addressed a letter to the Attaché at the Japanese Embassy (now Vice-Consul) as follows (Doc. No. 2). This letter was presented to Mr. Fukuda at the same time as Document No. 1 during the forenoon of December 15. He had come to the Zone Headquarters to inquire about the Zone. Consequently, the statement by the Chief of the Special Service Corps at noon that day was also an answer to this letter. (See Document No. 4.)

DOCUMENT No. 2 (Z 4)

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR NANKING SAFETY ZONE

5, Ninghai Road

December 15, 1937.

Mr. Tokuyasu Fukuda,
Attaché to the Japanese Embassy,
Nanking.

DEAR SIR:

The International Committee for Nanking Safety Zone is very much perplexed by the problem of soldiers who have thrown away their arms. From the beginning the Committee strove to have this Zone entirely free of Chinese soldiers and up to the afternoon of Monday, December 13, had achieved considerable success in this respect. At that time several hundred soldiers approached or entered the Zone through the northern boundary and appealed to us for help. The Committee plainly told the soldiers that it could not protect them. But we told them that if they abandoned their arms and all resistance to the Japanese, we thought the Japanese would give them merciful treatment.

In the confusion and haste of that evening, the Committee was unable to keep the disarmed soldiers separate from civilians, particularly because some of the soldiers had abandoned their military clothing.

The Committee fully recognizes that identified soldiers are lawful prisoners of war. But in dealing with these disarmed soldiers, the Committee hopes that the Japanese Army will use every precaution not to involve civilians. The Committee further hopes that the Japanese Army will in accordance with the recognized laws of war regarding prisoners and for reasons of humanity exercise mercy toward these former soldiers. They might be used to good advantage as laborers and would be glad to return to civilian life if possible.

Most respectfully yours,

JOHN D. RABE.

John H. D. Rabe, Chairman.

At the same time the International Red Cross Society asked the Attaché's assistance for their Society from the Japanese Military Authorities:

DOCUMENT No. 3 (Z 5)

INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS SOCIETY, NANKING BRANCH

5, Ninghai Road

December 15, 1937.

Tokuyasu Fukuda, Esquire,
Attaché to the Japanese Embassy,
Nanking.

SIR:

Owing to the large number of wounded soldiers and civilians in Nanking, we have organized a local branch of the International Red Cross Society to deal with the situation.

We have appealed for recognition from the International Red Cross Society in Shanghai and from the Red Cross Society of China.

We now request your good offices in securing for us permission from the Japanese Military Authorities in Nanking to carry on this humanitarian work.

We herewith enclose a list¹ of the membership of our Committee.

With kind regards, I am,

Yours cordially,

ERNEST H. FORSTER,

Secretary.

¹ See list submitted with Document No. 1.

The brief interview was granted by the Chief of the Japanese Special Service Corps to the Safety Zone Committee. This interview was merely a statement made by way of reply to the Committee's letter of December 14 (See Document No. 1 [Z 1]). Point 9 refers to rice the Committee had not been able to haul in the Zone before the entry of the Japanese troops. A rough minute of the interview follows:

DOCUMENT No. 4 (Z 6)

MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW WITH CHIEF OF SPECIAL
SERVICE CORPS

Bank of Communications, noon, December 15, 1937.

Translator: Mr. Fukuda. (The interview was a categorical statement by the Chief and no questions or discussion. It was in answer to our letter of December 14th, which had been given to Mr. Fukuda that morning and was presented to the Chief in Japanese.)

1. Must search the city for Chinese soldiers.
2. Will post guards at entrances to Zone.
3. People should return to their homes as soon as possible, therefore, we must search the Zone.
4. Trust humanitarian attitude of Japanese Army to care for the disarmed Chinese soldiers.
5. Police may patrol within the Zone if they are disarmed excepting for batons.
6. The ten thousand *tan* of rice stored by your Committee in the Zone you may use for the refugees. But Japanese soldiers need rice so in the Zone they should be allowed to buy rice. (Answer regarding our stores of rice outside of Zone not clear.)
7. Telephone, electricity, and water must be repaired, so this P.M. will go with Mr. Rabe to inspect and act accordingly.
8. We are anxious to get workers. From tomorrow will begin to clear city. Committee please assist. Will pay. Tomorrow want one hundred to two hundred workers.
9. Will inspect rice locations and guard.

(Signed) LEWIS S. C. SMYTHE,

Secretary, International Committee for Nanking Safety Zone.

Members of Committee present:

Mr. Rabe, Chairman

Dr. Smythe, Sec.

Mr. Sperling, Inspector-General.

On the 16th the Committee addressed to the Japanese Attaché the first letter requesting the restoration of order and drawing attention to the growing savagery which was occurring in the city.

DOCUMENT NO. 5 (Z 8)

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR NANKING SAFETY ZONE

5, Ninghai Road

December 16, 1937.

Mr. Tokuyasu Fukuda,
Attaché to the Japanese Embassy,
Nanking.

MY DEAR SIR:

As pointed out by the Major we interviewed with you at the Bank of Communications yesterday noon, it is advisable to have the city return to normal life as soon as possible. But yesterday the continued disorders committed by Japanese soldiers in the Safety Zone increased the state of panic among the refugees. Refugees in large buildings are afraid to even go to nearby soup kitchens to secure the cooked rice. Consequently, we are having to deliver rice to these compounds directly, thereby complicating our problem. We could not even get coolies out to load rice and coal to take to our soup kitchens and therefore this morning thousands of people had to go without their breakfast. Foreign members of the International Committee are this morning making desperate efforts to get trucks through Japanese patrols so these civilians can be fed. Yesterday foreign members of our Committee had several attempts made to take their personal cars away from them by Japanese soldiers. (A list of cases of disorder is appended.)

Until this state of panic is allayed, it is going to be impossible to get any normal activity started in the city, such as: telephone workers,

electric plant workers, probably the water plant workers, shops of all kinds, or even street cleaning.

In order to quickly improve this situation, the International Committee respectfully suggests that the Imperial Japanese Army take the following steps at once:

1. Have all searching done by regularly organized squads of soldiers under a responsible officer (Most of the trouble has come from wandering groups of three to seven soldiers without an officer.)

2. At night, and if possible also in the daytime, have the guards at the entrances of the Safety Zone (proposed by the Major yesterday) to prevent any stray Japanese soldiers from entering the Safety Zone.

3. Today, give us passes to paste on the windshields of our private cars and trucks to prevent Japanese soldiers from commandeering them. (Even under the stress of defense of the city the Chinese Army Headquarters supplied us with such passes and the cars that were taken before we got the passes were returned to the Committee within twenty-four hours after our reporting the cases. Furthermore, even in that difficult situation, the Chinese Army assigned to us three trucks to use for hauling rice for feeding civilians. Certainly, the Imperial Japanese Army in full control of the city, with no fighting going on, and with much greater amount of equipment, cannot do less for the Chinese civilians that have now come under their care and protection.)

We refrained from protesting yesterday because we thought when the High Command arrived order in the city would be restored, but last night was even worse than the night before, so we decided these matters should be called to the attention of the Imperial Japanese Army, which we are sure does not approve such actions by its soldiers.

Most respectfully yours,

(Signed) LEWIS S. C. SMYTHE,
Secretary.

John H. D. Rabe, Chairman.

At an interview on the afternoon of the 16th the Japanese Consul-General called on the Committee and informed them that they (the Japanese) had not recognized the Committee but would deal with

them as though they had been recognized. Mr. Kiyoshi Fukui was introduced at that time as the man with whom the Committee should deal. So a letter was addressed to the Japanese Embassy on the 17th explaining the anomalous situation and seeking to come to some understanding with the Japanese that would facilitate the restoration of order among their troops in the city.

DOCUMENT No. 6 (Z 9)

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR NANKING SAFETY ZONE

5, Ninghai Road

December 17, 1937.

The Imperial Japanese Embassy
Nanking.

*For the kind attention of:**Mr. Kiyoshi Fukui,**Second Secretary to the Japanese Embassy.*

DEAR SIRs:

In view of the statement of Consul-General Katsuo Okazaki yesterday afternoon that the International Committee had no legal status, some explanations of our position seem to be in order. *Vis-à-vis* your Japanese authorities we are not claiming any political status whatever. But on December 1st, Mayor Ma of the Nanking Municipality turned over to our Committee nearly all the functions of the City Government for the emergency of transitions: police, supervision of essential utilities, fire department, housing regulation, food supply, and sanitation. Consequently, when your Army victoriously arrived in the city on Monday noon, December 13, we were the only administrative authority carrying on in the city. Of course, that authority did not extend outside of the Safety Zone itself, and involved no rights of sovereignty within the Zone.

Being the only administrative authorities and having had assurances from the Japanese authorities in Shanghai that if the Safety Zone did not contain soldiers or military establishments, your troops would not intentionally attack it, we tried to establish contact with your advance guard immediately. In the afternoon of December 13, we found a captain with a group of Japanese soldiers resting on *Han Chung Lu*. We explained to him where the Zone was and marked

it on his map. We politely called his attention to the three Red Cross Hospitals and told him about the disarmed soldiers. He was reassuring so we felt that all was understood by your Army.

That night and early the next morning we drew up our letter of December 14 and had it translated into Japanese. Then, as Mr. Fukuda, Attaché to the Imperial Japanese Embassy, may tell you, Mr. Rabe, Mr. Smythe, and Rev. Forster went to find a high Japanese officer to whom we could present the letter. We talked to five different officers but they told us to wait for the arrival of the High Commander the next day.

The following morning, December 15, we were favored by calls by Mr. Tokuyasu Fukuda of the Imperial Japanese Embassy, and by Mr. Sekiguchi with cards from the Captain and Officers of the H.I.J.M.S. "Seta" at our headquarters. We presented our letter of December 14, referred to above, to Mr. Fukuda, and assured Mr. Sekiguchi that we would be glad to cooperate in starting the electricity works. At noon, we had the pleasure of meeting the Head of the T'eh Pei Kwan Chang (Special Service) at the Bank of Communications and from him received a formal oral statement in answer to our letter of December 14. In his reply, among other points, he said that they would station guards at the entrance to the Zone; that the civilian police could patrol within the Zone provided they were armed only with batons; that the Committee could use the ten thousand *tan* of rice it had stored and move in the other stores of rice assigned to it by the former City Government; and that it was essential to repair the telephone, electricity and water works as soon as possible. But no answer was given to point 4 in our letter of the 14th excepting to say that people should return to their homes as soon as possible.

On the basis of this reply, we encouraged our police to go ahead with their duties, assured the people they would be well-treated now that we had explained to the Japanese officers, and started to move rice. But since then any truck that appeared on the streets without a Westerner on it has been commandeered; the Red Swastika Society (working under our direction), which started trucks Tuesday morning to pick up dead bodies in the Zone, had its trucks either taken or attempts made to take them and now yesterday fourteen

of their workers were taken away. Our police were interfered with and yesterday fifty of them stationed at the Ministry of Justice were marched off, "to be killed" according to the Japanese officer in charge, and yesterday afternoon forty-six of our "volunteer police" were similarly marched off. (These volunteers had been organised by our Committee on December 13 when it looked as though the work to be done in the Zone was greater than the uniformed police—who were on day and night duty—could take care of. These "volunteer police" were neither uniformed nor armed in any way. They simply wore our armbands. They were more like Boy Scouts in the West who do odd jobs in helping to keep crowds in order, clean up, and render first aid, etc.) On the 14th our four fire trucks were commandeered by Japanese soldiers and used for transport.

The point we have been trying so hard to get across to your Embassy and to the Japanese Army is that we were left to carry on the City Government services for the civilian population of Nanking until the Japanese authorities could establish a new City Government or other organization to take over these functions in the city. But unfortunately your soldiers have not been willing to let us continue with our maintenance of order and services for the civilian population in the Zone. This resulted in a breaking down of our system for maintaining order and for providing necessary services which we had carried on up till the morning of December 14. In other words, on the 13th when your troops entered the city, we had nearly all the civilian population gathered in a Zone in which there had been very little destruction by stray shells and no looting by Chinese soldiers even when in full retreat. The stage was all set for you to take over that area peacefully and let the normal life therein continue undisturbed until the rest of the city could be put in order. Then the full normal life of the city could go forward. All twenty-seven Westerners in the city at that time and our Chinese population were totally surprised by the reign of robbery, rapine, and killing initiated by your soldiers on the 14th.

All that we are asking in our protests is that you restore order amongst your troops and get the normal life of the city going as soon as possible. In the latter process we are glad to cooperate in any way we can. But even last night between 8 and 9 p.m. when

five Western members of our staff and Committee toured the Zone to observe conditions, we did not find a single Japanese patrol either in the Zone or at the entrances! Yesterday's threats and marching off of our police had driven all our police from the streets. All we saw were groups of two and three Japanese soldiers wandering about the streets of the Zone and now, as I write, reports are pouring in from all parts of the Zone about the depredations of robbery and rape committed by these wondering, uncontrolled soldiers. This means that nothing has been done about our requests in our letter of yesterday, December 16, namely point 2, that stray soldiers be kept out of the Zone by guards at the entrances.

Consequently, as a first step in turning over to your authorities the maintenance of order in the Zone, we suggest:

1. That the Imperial Japanese Army set up a system of regular military police to patrol the Zone both day and night with full authority to arrest soldiers found looting, entering houses, and committing rape or carrying off women.

2. That the Japanese authorities take over the 450 Chinese police assigned to us by the former Chinese Nanking City Government and organize them to maintain peace and order among the civilian population. (This order has *never* once broken down in the Zone.)

3. In view of the number of fires in the city yesterday and last night, fortunately not in the Zone, we suggest that the Fire Department be re-organized under your authorities and the four trucks be returned by your soldiers to such service.

4. We further respectfully beg to suggest that as soon as possible you kindly bring an expert in Municipal Administration to Nanking to manage the life of the civilian population until a new city government can be formed. (There is nothing left of the former city government excepting the police and firemen in our Zone and three clerks. All others left the city. Your army has taken the physical structure of the city of Nanking and the poorer sections of its population, but most of the trained, intelligent and active people have all moved further west.)

May we again reassure you that we have no interest in continuing any semi-administrative function left to us by the former Nanking City Government. We earnestly hope that you will kindly take up

these functions as quickly as possible. Then we will become simply a relief organization.

If the depredations of the last three days continue, this relief problem is going to be multiplied rapidly. We organized the Zone on the basis that every family that could should make private arrangements for housing and food in order to reduce the administrative load suddenly placed on our *ad hoc* organization. But if the present situation continues, in a few days we are going to have large numbers of people facing starvation; their private supplies of food and fuel are running out; money, clothing, and personal articles have been taken from many of them by wandering Japanese soldiers; and little normal business or other activity can be carried on because people are afraid to either open shops or appear on the streets. On the other hand, since the morning of December 14, our supply trucks have been practically at a standstill. Before your troops entered the city we concentrated on getting supplies into the Zone and expected to carry out distribution later because the people had been urged to bring a week's supply of food with them. But in order to keep some of our camps from going without food over a day, Western members of our staff and committee have had to haul bags of rice to these places in their private cars after dark!

Besides the starvation facing the people if these services cannot be extended quickly, there is the stirring up of the people. Some families have had their houses entered, robbed, and their women raped as much as five times in one night. Is it any wonder that the next morning they move out and try to find a safer place? And yesterday afternoon while three officers of your Army Supply Department were asking us to help get the telephone service started, a small number of telephone workers wearing our insignia were turned out of their houses in the Zone and are now scattered to unknown places in the Zone. If this process of terrorism continues, it will be next to impossible to locate workers to get the essential services started. *It is hard to see how starvation may be prevented amongst many of the 200,000 Chinese civilians if order is not restored at once among the Japanese soldiers in the city.*

Assuring you that we will be glad to cooperate in any way we can in caring for the civilian population of this city, I am,

Most respectfully yours,
JOHN H. D. RABE, Chairman.

Enclosures:

Explanation in Chinese.

Regulations in Chinese.

PS. Cases of disorders in the Zone committed by Japanese soldiers since yesterday noon will be filed later.

The preceding letter is firmer, almost peremptory, compared to the extremely conciliatory tone of the others. The situation was desperate and it is surprising that the only sentence emphasized was the concluding one in which the prospect of starvation for the 200,000 Chinese in the Zone was urgently indicated.

As the result of a strong verbal protest to Mr. Fukui on the afternoon of December 17, guards had been promised at the eight refugee camps on American Mission property. They did not arrive but the fact they were expected made the first incident referred to in the following letter difficult for the Westerners involved to understand.

DOCUMENT No. 7 (Z 10, Z 11, and Z 12)

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR NANKING SAFETY ZONE

5 Ninghai Road

December 18, 1937.

The Imperial Japanese
Embassy, Nanking.

*For the kind attention of:
Mr. Kiyoshi Fukui,
Second Secretary to the Japanese Embassy.*

DEAR SIRs:

We are very sorry to trouble you again but the sufferings and needs of the 200,000 civilians for whom we are trying to care make it urgent that we try to secure action from your military authorities

to stop the present disorder among Japanese soldiers wandering through the Safety Zone.

There is no time or space here to go into the cases that are pouring in faster than we can type them out. But last night Dr. Bates of our Committee went to the University of Nanking dormitories to sleep in order to protect the one thousand women that fled there yesterday because of attacks in their homes. He found no gendarmerie on guard there nor at the new University library building. When at 8 p.m. Mr. Fitch and Dr. Smythe took Rev. W. P. Mills to Ginling College to sleep in a house near the gate (as one or more of us have been doing every night since the 14th in order to protect the three thousand women and children, yesterday augmented to four thousand by the panic), we were seized roughly by a searching squad and detained for over an hour. The officer had the two women in charge of Ginling College, Miss Minnie Vautrin and Mrs. Chen, with a friend, Mrs. Twinem, lined up at the gate and kept them there in the cold and the men pushed them around roughly. The officer insisted there were soldiers in the compound and he wanted to find them and shoot them. Finally, he let us go home but would not let Rev. Mills stay so we do not know what happened after we left.

This, combined with the marching off of the men at the Ministry of Justice on December 16 (see separate "Memorandum"), among which were several hundred civilian men to our positive knowledge and fifty of our uniformed police, has made us realize that, unless something is done to clear up this situation, the lives of all the civilian men in our Zone are at the mercy of the temperament of searching captains.

With the panic that has been created among the women who are now flocking by the thousands to our American institution for protection, the men are being left more and more alone. (For instance, there were 600 people in the old Language School at Siao T'ao Yuen up till December 15. But because so many women were raped there on the night of December 15, four hundred women and children moved to Ginling College, leaving two hundred men.) These public institutional buildings were originally listed to accommodate 35,000 people; now, because of panic among the women, this has increased

to 50,000 although two buildings have been emptied of men; the Ministry of Justice and the Supreme Court.

If this panic continues, not only will our housing problem become more serious but the food problem, and the question of finding workers will seriously increase. This morning one of your representatives, Mr. K. Kikuchi, was at our office asking for workers for the electric light plant. We had to reply that we could not even get our own workers out to do anything. We are only able to keep rice and coal supplied to these large concentrations of people by Western members of our Committee and Staff driving trucks for rice and coal. Our Food Commissioner has not dared leave his house for two days. The second man on our Housing Commission had to see two women in his family at 23 Hankow Road raped last night at supper time by Japanese soldiers. Our Associate Food Commissioner, Mr. Sone (a Theological Professor), has had to convey trucks with rice and leave the 2,500 people in families at his Nanking Theological Seminary to look out for themselves. Yesterday, in broad daylight, several women at the Seminary were raped right in the middle of a large room filled with men, women, and children! We twenty-two Westerners cannot feed 200,000 Chinese civilians and protect them night and day. That is the duty of the Japanese authorities. If you can give them protection, we can help feed them!

There is another matter that is in the minds of the Japanese officers searching the Zone: they think the place is full of "plain-clothes soldiers." We have notified you several times of the presence of soldiers who disarmed and entered the Zone on the afternoon of December 13. But now we can safely assure you that there are no groups of disarmed Chinese soldiers in the Zone. Your searching squads have cleaned out all of them and many civilians along with them.

For the good of all concerned, we would beg to make the following constructive suggestions:

I. *Control of Soldiers.*

1. We repeat our request of yesterday for patrols of gendarmerie for the Zone night and day.
2. In our letter of December 16, we asked that guards be placed at entrances to the Zone to keep out wandering soldiers at night. This

has not been done. But we hope the Japanese Army will find some way to prevent soldiers from robbing, raping, and killing the civilian population especially at night, when soldiers might be confined to their barracks.

3. Until general order can be restored among the soldiers, will you please station sentries at the entrances to our nineteen larger concentrations of refugees. These sentries should be instructed to be responsible for preventing soldiers climbing over the walls of the compounds as well. (See list of "Refugee Camps" attached.)

4. We would also respectfully request that a proclamation in Japanese be put at each of these refugee camps describing what they are and ordering Japanese soldiers not to molest these poor people.

II. *Searching.*

1. Since our refugee camps seem to be misunderstood by captains of searching squads, we suggest that today we will be glad to have a high officer of the Japanese Army accompany one of our housing men to each of the eighteen Refugee Camps and see them in daylight.

2. Since we know there are no groups of disarmed soldiers in the Zone and there has been no sniping in the Zone at any time; and since, furthermore, search of both Refugee Camps and private houses has been carried out many times and each time means robbery and rape; we would venture to suggest that the Army's desires to prevent any former Chinese soldier's hiding in the Zone can now be accomplished by the patrols by the gendarmeries mentioned above.

3. We venture to make these suggestions because we sincerely believe that if the civilian population is left alone for two or three days, they will resume their normal daily life in the Zone, food and fuel can be transported, shops will open, and workers will appear looking for work. These workers can then help start the essential services of electricity, water, and telephones.

III. *Police that have been taken away.*

Yesterday we called your attention to the fact that fifty uniformed police had been taken from the Ministry of Justice, and that forty-five "volunteer police" had also been marched off. We now must add that forty of our uniformed police stationed at the Supreme Court were also taken. The only stated charge against them was made at the Ministry of Justice where the Japanese officer said they had taken

in soldiers after the place had been searched once, and, therefore, they were to be shot. As pointed out in the accompanying "Memorandum on the Incident at the Ministry of Justice," Western members of our Committee take full responsibility for having put some civilian men and women in there because they had been driven out of other places by Japanese soldiers.

Yesterday, we requested that the 450 uniformed police assigned to the Zone be now organized into a new police force for the city under Japanese direction. At the same time, we trust the above-mentioned ninety uniformed police will be restored to their positions as policemen and that the forty-six volunteer police will either be returned to our office or we be informed their whereabouts as workers. We have on file a complete list of the 450 uniformed police assigned to the Zone so can help you in this process.

Trusting that you will pardon our venturing to make these suggestions, and assuring you of our willingness to cooperate in every way for the welfare of the civilians in the city, I am

Most respectfully yours,

JOHN H. D. RABE, Chairman.

Enclosure:

"Memorandum on Incident at Ministry of Justice"

"List of Refugee Camps in Safety Zone."

REFUGEE CAMPS IN THE NANKING SAFETY ZONE as of December 17, 1937.

<i>Name of Building</i>	<i>Number of Refugees</i>	<i>Sex</i>
1. Old Ministry of Communications	10,000 or more	Families
2. Wutaishan Primary School	1,640	Families
3. Hankow Road Primary School	1,000	Families
4. Military College	3,500	Families
5. Nanking Language School at Siao Tao Yuen	200	Men
6. Military Chemical Shops (back of Overseas Building)	4,000	Families
7. University Middle School	6,000-8,000	Families
8. Bible Teachers' Training School	3,000	Families
9. Overseas Building	2,500	Families

<i>Name of Building</i>	<i>Number of Refugees</i>	<i>Sex</i>
10. Nanking Theological Seminary	2,500	Families
11. Ministry of Justice	empty	
12. Supreme Court	empty	
13. Sericulture Building at U. of N.	4,000	Families
14. Library Building at U. of N.	2,500	Families
15. German Club	500	Families
16. Ginling College	4,000	Women and children
17. Law College	500	Families
18. Rural Leaders' Training School	1,500	Families
19. Shansi Road Primary School	1,000	Families
20. University of Nanking dormitories	1,000	Women and children
Total persons 49,340—51,340		

MEMORANDUM ON THE INCIDENT AT THE MINISTRY OF JUSTICE

On the morning of December 16, a group of Japanese soldiers under an officer came to the Ministry of Justice and insisted on marching off most of the men to be shot—at least, that is what the officer said he was going to do with them. He also marched out all the police after seriously manhandling the Police Captain. There were probably fifty because that was the assignment to that station.

Two days previously, December 14th, a Japanese officer came into the Ministry of Justice and inspected half of the group, from which they took about 200—300 whom the officer claimed were soldiers and left 350 men whom they acknowledged to be civilians. This first search of half of the men in the building was very carefully carried out. The remaining half, which the officer did not inspect that day, were quartered in a separate part of the building and he promised to come back the next day, December 15, to inspect them and remove such soldiers as they might find among them. No officer came on the 15th to sort them. But on the 16th, an officer came and declared that they had taken all the soldiers at the time of the first

search on the 14th. Because he found some soldiers in this group on the 16th (including the half which had *not* been previously inspected), the officer declared that the police and we had put soldiers in there since the first inspection.

The only persons we added to this group was a number of civilians, that had been forced out of other houses by Japanese soldiers, who were taken to the Ministry of Justice by Mr. McCallum of the University Hospital, and Dr. M. S. Bates of our Committee. The fact that they found soldiers in the group on the 16th was *not* because the Committee had added any soldiers to the group, but because the Japanese soldiers had *failed* to inspect the second half of the group on the 15th as planned.

This whole incident on the morning of December 16th was observed by Mr. James McCallum of the University Hospital and by Mr. Charles Riggs of our Committee and Associate Housing Commissioner. During the process, the officer threatened Mr. Riggs with his sword three times and finally hit him hard over the heart twice with his fist. All Mr. Riggs was trying to do was to explain to the officer the situation described above in order to prevent civilians being mistaken for former soldiers.

(Signed) LEWIS S. C. SMYTHE,

Secretary, International Committee for Nanking Safety Zone.
Nanking, December 18, 1937.

On the afternoon of the 18th members of the Japanese Embassy and Japanese officers were shown cases of disorder in process. Conditions were so bad in the Safety Zone that the Chairman and Secretary of the Zone pleaded with Consul-General Okazaki to ask the Japanese Commander to order his troops out of the Zone before night. Nothing was done.

Hence early on Sunday morning after a dreadful night, the Director (Mr. Fitch), the Secretary, Dr. Bates and Dr. Wilson called on the Japanese Embassy and were received by Mr. Tanaka. Dr. Wilson presented a letter telling what had happened at the University Hospital during the night and they all pleaded with Mr. Tanaka to impress upon the Military the seriousness of the situation. The following letter was sent with a file of cases that afternoon:

DOCUMENT No. 8 (Z 13)

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR NANKING SAFETY ZONE

5, Ninghai Road

December 19, 1937.

5 p.m.

The Imperial Japanese Embassy,
Nanking.

DEAR SIRS:

I am very sorry to have to present to you herewith a continuation of the "Cases of Disorders by Japanese Soldiers in the Safety Zone," being cases numbered sixteen to seventy. As indicated in the note, these are only a part of the cases that have come to our attention. Mr. Sperling (our Inspector-General), Mr. Kroeger, Mr. Hatz, and Mr. Riggs spend a good deal of their time escorting Japanese soldiers out of houses. These men do not have time to even dictate most of their cases.

I am also very regretful to have to report that the situation today is as bad as ever. One officer did come over in our area near Ninghai Road and cuff a large number of soldiers that were committing disorders. But that does not stop it!

Mr. Rabe asked me to apologize for his not coming this time, but he has three hundred women and children who have sought safety in his yard and felt he could not leave them.

We sincerely trust that the sentries will be placed at the eighteen Refugee Camps we listed to you yesterday and at the University Hospital, as requested by Dr. Wilson this morning. This will provide at least nineteen cases of safety in a sea of depredation and protect one-third or one-fourth of the population.

With kindest personal regards, I am,

Most respectfully yours,
(Signed) LEWIS S. C. SMYTHE,
Secretary.

Dr. Wilson's letter read as follows:

University Hospital,
Nanking.

December 19, 1937.

To the Officers of the Japanese Embassy,
Nanking.

SIRS:

I respectfully beg to call to your attention an incident occurring last night, December 18, at the University Hospital where we have over one hundred and fifty patients together with nurses, doctors and hospital staff and where in the past we have been privileged to serve various members of the staff of the Japanese Embassy with medical care.

Three soldiers entered the hospital compound by the rear door and tramped up and down the hospital corridors. This was at approximately 8 p.m., Miss Hynds, a sixty-three-year-old American nurse, met them and accompanied them. They took her watch in spite of her protestations that it was her own. They also took several (six) other watches and three fountain pens. Two of them then departed and the third disappeared without leaving.

At nine fifteen my attention was called to the fact that a Japanese soldier was in the nurse's dormitory. I went there with a lantern and found one soldier in a room with six nurses. He was partially dressed and I found that he had been in bed with three of the nurses before I arrived. All the nurses in the building were terrified beyond description.

Whereas heretofore we had considered that being a hospital we would be immune to this sort of incident and had not asked particularly for a guard at the hospital gates we would now like to place the matter in your hands with the request that such a guard be granted or other steps be taken to prevent the recurrence of any such proceeding.

Respectfully yours,
(Signed) ROBERT O. WILSON, M.D.

Numerous fires broke out in various parts of the city shortly after the Japanese took over and an investigation as to origin of these

conflagrations was undertaken by the International Committee. This investigation showed that in many cases the fires must have been started deliberately by the Japanese troops, who used chemical strips for the purpose. On December 21 the following petition, signed by twenty-two foreign residents of Nanking, was submitted to the Japanese Embassy:

DOCUMENT No. 9 (Z 15)

Nanking, China.
December 21, 1937.

The Imperial Japanese Embassy,
Nanking.

DEAR SIRs:

We come to petition in the name of humanity that the following steps be taken for the welfare of the 200,000 civilians in Nanking:

1. That the burning of large sections of the city be stopped and what remains of the city be spared from either reckless or systematic burning.
2. That the disorderly conduct of Japanese troops in the city, which has caused so much suffering to the civilian population for one week, be immediately stopped.
3. In view of the fact that the looting and burning have brought the business life of the city to a standstill and consequently reduced the whole civilian population to one vast refugee camp, and in view of the fact that the International Committee has reserve food supplies to feed these 200,000 people one week only, we most earnestly beg you to take immediate steps to restore normal conditions of civilian life in order that the food and fuel supply of the city may be replenished.

The present situation is automatically and rapidly leading to a serious famine. We plead for the bare essentials of normal life: housing, security and food.

Most respectfully submitted,
THE FOREIGN COMMUNITY OF NANKING.
(Signed by 22 Foreigners.)

DOCUMENT No. 10 (Z 17)

FINDINGS REGARDING BURNING OF NANKING CITY

December 21, 1937

Conditions on the night of December 20.

Members of the Committee investigated the fire in the Zone on the night of December 19. One house at 16 Ping Tsang Hsiang had been set on fire by Japanese soldiers. Mr. Sperling with a fire officer of the Fire Brigade of the Safety Zone went to the fire but our pumps and fire equipment had been taken away several days before by the Japanese soldiers. During the day the buildings on the corner of Chung Shan Lu and Pao Tai Chieh had been burned out. And in the evening there were observed a number of fires in direction of Kuo Fu Lu.

On the afternoon of December 20 between 5 and 6 p.m. Mr. Fitch and Dr. Smythe went down Pao Tai Chieh and around south to Taiping Lu, on which they proceeded south of Peh Hsia Lu to where the streets were crowded from curb to curb with Japanese Army trucks and autos loading out goods. Down as far as Peh Hsia Lu, beginning from the creek just south of Kiukiang Road, they found groups of fifteen or twenty Japanese soldiers apparently under lower officers on both sides of the streets watching burning buildings, or clearing goods out of stores, and in other shops soldiers were seen building bonfires on the floors.

They then went over to Chung Hwa Lu and there found the same work in progress and the northern half of the Y.M.C.A. building in flames. Quite evidently this was set from the inside because there was no fire in any other buildings right around the Y.M.C.A. building. Japanese sentries paid no attention to them.

Later in the evening of the 20, about 9 p.m. Mr. Kroeger and Mr. Hatz drove down Chung Cheng Lu to Peh Hsia Lu, then east to Chung Hwa Lu but were prevented from proceeding southward by a Japanese sentry. The Y.M.C.A. building was about burned down. They then proceeded to Taiping Lu where they turned north and found about ten fires in progress on both sides of the road. Other buildings were already in ashes. They turned west on Chung Shan Tung Lu but observed a big fire about the corner of Tung Hai Lu and Kuo Fu Lu. When they came to the corner of Chung Shan Lu

and Kiukiang Lu they observed a big fire on the north side of Kiukiang Lu. There a military patrol prevented their proceeding eastward. There were many soldiers about but none trying to stop the fire. Rather they were carrying away goods.

Signatures of observers of above conditions:

C. Kroeger	G. A. Fitch	M. S. Bates
Rupert Hatz	Eduard Sperling	Lewis S. C. Smythe

By the turn of the year the Committee apparently had lost hope of getting action on general lines and so they tackled individual cases by letter as in one of January 4:

DOCUMENT No. 11 (Z 27)

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR NANKING SAFETY ZONE

5, Ninghai Road
January 4, 1938.
11 a.m.

The Japanese Embassy,
Nanking.

DEAR SIRs:

We are sorry to trouble you about another case, but since there are five other women involved there may be a chance of rescuing them. You will note in the short list of cases herewith presented (Cases 176-179) that case No. 178 is that of six women taken from one of our refugee centers. This woman has been brought to the University Hospital and you may see her there.

Would you be willing to go with some of us to see her and, if possible, learn more carefully about the location of the other five? Then your military police might investigate and save the others.

Thanking you for your kind cooperation in these matters, I am,

Respectfully yours,

Chairman.

On the 7th January, however, they returned to the attack with courtesy and calmness:

DOCUMENT No. 12 (Z 28)

Nanking,
January 7, 1938.

Mr. Tokuyasu Fukuda,
Japanese Embassy,
Nanking.

DEAR MR. FUKUDA:

With reference to our conversation of yesterday afternoon, I wish to assure you that the International Committee desires earnestly the earliest possible restoration of order and normal conditions of life in Nanking. To this end the Committee would, I am sure, be glad to see the local Self-Government Association assume as speedily as possible all the usual functions of a local civic administration: policing, fire protection, sanitation, etc. The International Committee has, I am quite certain, no desire whatsoever to carry on any of these administrative duties which are normally assumed by competent local administrations.

Our Committee is primarily, and indeed I might say solely, a relief organization, formed for the special purpose of caring for civilians suffering from war conditions. Everywhere the lot of such people is recognized as so pitiable as to command sympathy and compassion. Several Committees with similar purpose have been formed during the present crisis, and to one of them, the Shanghai Committee, General Matsui himself made a contribution of \$10,000. thus showing the approval by the highest Japanese military authorities of the work of such Committees.

Since the funds and supplies given to our Committee were entrusted to it for the specific purpose above mentioned, it seems to me that a special obligation rests upon our Committee to discharge this trust to the best of its ability. I do not feel therefore that we should turn over our funds or supplies to any other organization. We would be glad to cooperate with other organizations in the relief work, as we are now doing with the Red Swastika and the Red Cross, but we should carry full responsibility for the use to be made of our

own resources. I am sure that you yourself will see the reasonableness of this position.

Furthermore, I may point out that our funds and supplies are very limited when compared with the need that exists. Even at best all that our Committee can do should be but a mere supplementation of a much larger and more adequate program which I personally hope the local Self-Government Association will undertake. Our Committee can do its bit, as the Red Swastika and the Red Cross are now doing, but we trust that the Self-Government Association will do much more than our own Committee or than either of those other groups. We hope also that the Japanese military authorities will cooperate, even more liberally than they are now doing, with the Self-Government Association in the provision of food and fuel for the refugees. Even so the combined efforts of all agencies will scarcely overtake the need.

In closing, let me say one thing more. It is evident that the simplest and at the same time the most effective relief measure would be the restoration of order and discipline among the soldiers. Until this is done the people cannot go back to their homes, business cannot be carried on, communications cannot be restored, nor public services such as water, lights, and telephone be resumed. Everything waits on this one matter. But in proportion as discipline is restored, the relief problem will become easier, and the re-establishment of normal conditions be made more feasible. I earnestly hope that the military authorities will make this restoration of order their first concern.

Believe me, with kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) JOHN H. D. RABE,
Chairman.

RESTORATION OF NORMAL CONDITIONS IN NANKING

1. *Necessity of order in other parts of the city outside of the Safety Zone.*

- (1) Many people want to but cannot go home under the present state of insecurity outside of the Zone.

- (2) No shops dare open in such a state of disorder. Without shops how are people to buy rice and other essentials?
- (3) Economic life in the Zone is almost entirely on the basis of consumption of previous resources. (There is no production going on, not even farming.) The longer this condition continues the more destitute people will we have on our hands. People must be given security so they can return to normal economic life of some kind.

2. *How to obtain the necessary order in other parts of the city.*

- (1) It is proposed that the population be moved back into other areas of the city, section by section. (For instance: the first section opened to the population might well be the area south of Han Chung Lu to the south wall bounded on the east by Chung Cheng Lu and Chung Hwa Lu. This is an area from which a large number of the population in the Zone came from and is an area in which there has been relatively less burning.)
- (2) Before the population is moved into a section that is to be opened for people to return to their homes and business, the following steps should be taken:
 - a. All wandering soldiers should be excluded from the new area.
 - b. A strong system of military police throughout the area should be put in operation to see that the area is clear of soldiers. Military police offices should be specified where people may safely report any disturbance by soldiers.
 - c. Arrangements should be made for important rice shops to open the morning the section is opened to the population.
 - d. City water should be turned on in the area and places made available for people to get water.
 - e. A number of civilian police should be moved into the section and organized.

3. *Restoration of economic life.*

- (1) All economic services by the local population to the Army

should be put on a definite commercial basis instead of on the present basis of commandeering.

a. To help in this process, the *Tze Chih Wei Yuan Hwei* will be glad to start coolie hire and employment agencies.

(2) As rapidly as order is restored, lines of communication for economic life in and out of the city should be opened.

a. Free communication in and out of the various gates of the city should be established.

b. Carts, trucks, and boats hauling goods or people should be able to move in perfect safety without fear of robbery or confiscation of either goods or vehicles.

c. Rickshas and carriages should be able to operate on the streets safely.

d. By the first of February, order in the farming areas near the city should be such that farmers can begin their spring work in perfect safety. (At present farmers inside the city wall do not dare to return to their homes and farm their garden patches.)

(3) In addition to these very minimum essentials listed above, banks, telephone, post office, telegraph, city railway and bus lines should be established. Railway and boat service should be started as soon as possible.

4. *Burning must stop.*

(1) It is now beyond the stage of shops—in which however many people also lived—and has been destroying houses in which people must live when they return to those areas of the city.

(2) Burning makes it more and more difficult for economic life to start or carry on. It is destroying the material resources of the community.

(3) It destroys electric wires and water pipes.

(4) Psychologically makes people feel more insecure: fear of being burned out tomorrow or the day after they move back to their old homes.

Now follow two letters on foodstuffs that show how serious the position was becoming:

DOCUMENT No. 13 (Z 37)

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR NANKING SAFETY ZONE

5 Ninghai Road,
January 13, 1938.

Mr. Fukui,
Acting Consul-General,
Nanking.

DEAR SIR:

We have concluded arrangements long under way for purchase from the Shanghai Commercial and Savings Bank of a supply of wheat and rice, as below, and would greatly appreciate your assistance in securing the necessary permits for us to take delivery, as we are in urgent need of further food-stuffs for our relief work. This grain will be used for free distribution and not for sale. We understand that the godowns in which these stocks are stored have been sealed by either the Military or Navy, but as they are private stocks, bearing the seal of the Bank, we trust there will be no difficulty in securing their release.

In Godown No. 1 San Chiao Ho:	5,000	bags of	wheat
	2,000	" "	rice
" " " 2 Hah Si Men:	4,000	" "	wheat
" " " 4 Hsiakwan:	1,000	" "	rice

Thanking you for your kind attention to this matter, I am,

Faithfully yours,

(Signed) G. A. FITCH,
Director.

DOCUMENT No. 14 (Z 35)

5 Ninghai Road,
Nanking.
January 14, 1938.

Mr. Tokuyasu Fukuda,
Japanese Embassy,
Nanking.

MY DEAR MR. FUKUDA:

On December 21 members of the foreign community called the attention of the Japanese authorities to the fact that food and fuel supplies available for the civilian population in Nanking were very inadequate and asked them to take suitable steps to cope with the situation. On December 27 I talked this matter over with Mr. Fukui, especially regarding rice and coal. Mr. Fukui replied that the Army preferred to handle the rice through the *Tze Chih Wei Yuan Hwei* but that he would help us to secure coal for soup kitchens. However, a coal yard was assigned to the *Tze Chih Wei Yuan Hwei* to use for relief purposes. This yard contained 550 tons of coal when we first investigated it on December 27. But because much of the coal had been hauled away by others in the meantime, only 100 tons was secured for soup kitchens.

At the same time that we were negotiating with Mr. Fukui, Major T. Ishida of the Army Supply Department voluntarily told Mr. Sperling that he would sell us plenty of rice and flour for relief purposes. Mr. Kroeger and Mr. Sperling approached Major Ishida on the matter and he offered us 5,000 bags of rice and 10,000 bags of flour. We gave him an order for 3,000 bags of rice and 5,000 bags of flour on January 7. He also promised to sell us 600 tons of coal for soup kitchens. Three days later when Mr. Kroeger went back to arrange delivery of the rice, Major Ishida said he could not sell us rice, flour or coal because it was to be distributed through the *Tze Chih Wei Yuan Hwei*.

On January 8, the *Tze Chih Wei Yuan Hwei* told us that they had been assigned 1,250 bags of rice for free distribution outside of the Zone and 10,000 bags of rice to sell, and asked us to help them truck it. We organized this on Sunday, the 9th, and had five trucks

on the job Monday morning. In the meantime they had secured permission to sell the 1,250 bags assigned to distribution and use a similar amount from assignment of 10,000 bags for free distribution later. The hauling of the 1,250 bags was completed in two days and sold as rapidly as it arrived. When the men supervising the trucking started to get the other 10,000 bags on the 12th, they were told that that assignment had been turned down and that now only 1,000 bags could be secured every three days. Already two days' delay had been used in negotiations about the matter. A check-up yesterday, January 13, shows that all the coal in coal yards which we had pointed out to you on December 27 as places where coal might be made available for civilian use, has either been hauled away or burned. (These seven yards on December 27 contained over 2,000 tons of coal.)

We are glad to cooperate with you and the *Tze Chih Wei Yuan Hwei* in caring for this civilian population which now has no economic basis of support. This was evidenced by closing our rice shop when the *Tze Chih Wei Yuan Hwei* asked us to on January 10 and on the same day in helping them truck the rice assigned to them—from which our soup kitchens and camps did *not* receive a single bag.

We understand that you registered 160,000 people without including children under ten years of age, and in some sections without including older women. Therefore there are probably 250,000 to 300,000 civilians in the city. To feed this population on normal rations of rice would require 2,000 *tan* of rice per day (or, 1,600 bags per day). From this it will be clear that the proposed 1,000 bags for every three days is less than one-third the amount of rice needed. Up to the present the people have gotten along very largely on their private stores of rice but that is being rapidly used up and the demand for purchasing rice has risen very rapidly since January 1st. There should immediately be made available for purchase by the people at least 1,000 bags of rice per day and that should be increased to 1,600 bags per day as soon as possible.

In addition to this there should be flour available for purchase in large quantities and 2,000 tons of coal, for one or two months' supply, as well as other fuel. Deliberate and efficient planning is necessary in order to prevent great suffering in this winter weather.