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# THE FORGOTTEN HOLOCAUST: A SECOND RAPE



**I**S THERE a child today in any part of the United States, and perhaps in many other parts of the world, who has not seen the gruesome pictures of the gas chambers at Auschwitz or read at least part of the haunting tale of the young Anne Frank? Indeed, at least in the United States, most schoolchildren are also taught about the devastating effects of the atomic bombs the United States dropped over the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. But ask most Americans—children and adults alike, including highly educated adults—about the Rape of Nanking, and you will learn that most have never been told what happened in Nanking sixty years ago. A prominent government historian admitted to me that the subject had never once come up

in all her years of graduate school. A Princeton-educated lawyer told me sheepishly that she was not even aware that China and Japan had been at war; her knowledge of the Pacific conflict of World War II had been limited to Pearl Harbor and Hiroshima. The ignorance extends even to Asian Americans in this country. One of them revealed her woeful grasp of geography and history when she asked me, "Nanking? What was that, a dynasty?"

An event that sixty years ago made front-page news in American newspapers appears to have vanished, almost without a trace. Hollywood has not produced a mainstream movie about the massacre—even though the story contains dramatic elements similar to those of *Schindler's List*. And until recently most American novelists and historians have also chosen not to write about it.

After hearing such remarks, I became terrified that the history of three hundred thousand murdered Chinese might disappear just as they themselves had disappeared under Japanese occupation and that the world might actually one day believe the Japanese politicians who have insisted that the Rape of Nanking was a hoax and a fabrication—that the massacre never happened at all. By writing this book, I forced myself to delve into not only history but historiography—to examine the forces of history and the process by which history is made. What keeps certain events in history and assigns the rest to oblivion? Exactly how does an event like the Rape of Nanking vanish from Japan's (and even the world's) collective memory?

One reason information about the Rape of Nanking has not been widely disseminated clearly lies in the postwar differences in how Germany and Japan handled their wartime crimes. Perhaps more than any other nation in history, the Germans have incorporated into their postwar political identity the concession that the wartime government itself, not just individual Nazis, was guilty of war crimes. The Japanese government, however, has never forced itself or Japanese society to do the same. As a result, although some bravely fight to force Japanese society to face the painful truth, many in Japan continue to treat the war crimes as the isolated acts of individual soldiers or even as events that simply did not occur.

In Japan competing stories of what happened during World War II continue to appear. According to a currently popular revisionist view, the country bears no responsibility for the wholesale murder of civilians anywhere during the war. The Japanese fought the war to ensure its own survival and to free Asia from the grip of Western imperialism. Indeed, in return for its noble efforts, Japan itself ended up as the ultimate victim at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

This soothing perception of history still finds its way into Japanese history textbooks, which have either ignored the massacre at Nanking altogether or put a decidedly Japanese spin on the actions of the military. At the far end of the political spectrum, Japanese ultranationalists have threatened everything from lawsuits to death, even assassination, to silence opponents who suggest that these textbooks are not telling the next generation the real story.

But it is not just fanatical fringe groups that are trying to rewrite history. In 1990 Ishihara Shintaro, a leading member of Japan's conservative Liberal Democratic Party and the author of best-selling books such as *The Japan That Can Say No*, told a *Playboy* interviewer: "People say that the Japanese made a holocaust there [in Nanking], but that is not true. It is a story made up by the Chinese. It has tarnished the image of Japan, but it is a lie."

Naturally, this statement enraged scholars and journalists around the world. One proclaimed that "Japan's denial of the rape of Nanjing would be politically the same as German denial of the Holocaust." But the denunciations failed to silence Ishihara, who responded with a furious stream of counterattacks. In his rebuttals, Ishihara, in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, asserted that the world never learned about the Nanking massacre until the International Military Tribunal of the Far East put people on trial for their role in it; that neither Japanese war correspondents nor Western reporters wrote about the massacre as it was occurring; that the *New York Times* correspondent Frank Tillman Durdin failed to witness any massacre; and that the Episcopalian minister John Magee saw only one person killed.

By the 1990s John Magee was, of course, no longer alive to defend himself, but his son, David Magee, made an effort to disprove Ishihara's statements. He gave interviews to the media and attended conferences on the Nanking massacre at which he read from his father's papers and displayed the actual camera his father used to film Japanese atrocities. Frank Tillman Durdin was alive, and he took direct action. Stepping out of retirement in San Diego to hold a press conference to refute Ishihara's remarks, Durdin explained to reporters that he had indeed written an article in 1937 that described the countryside from Shanghai to Nanking as peaceful, but that this article was written two months before the Japanese started their advance on Nanking.

Ishihara's other statements are readily refutable. Contemporaneous reports of the Rape appeared in dozens of Western newspapers, and even Japanese newspapers ran detailed stories about the massacre. As for Durdin, his articles were not only contemporaneous but published on the front pages of the *New York Times*. John Magee's letters contained descriptions like, "The raping of the women has been beyond description or imagination," and, "There were dead bodies in every street and alley in the city, so far as I could tell, and I went around quite extensively including Hsiakwan."

Not to be stopped, however, Ishihara went on to suggest that the Chinese claims of a massacre at Nanking helped influence the U.S. decision to bomb Hiroshima and Nagasaki. As each refutation of his earlier claims made it impossible for Ishihara to repeat them, he shifted his position slightly, but on one point he remained inflexible: even if the Germans had apologized for killing the Jews, that did not mean that the Japanese should do the same; under no circumstances should the Japanese ever admit they were guilty of any wrongdoing.

Ishihara's career remained intact despite the *Playboy* interview, but eventually others were not so lucky.

—One man who was sucked into the vortex of controversy was General Nagano Shigetō. In the spring of 1994, within days of his appointment to the cabinet-level position of justice minister, he gave an interview to the *Mainichi Shimbun* newspa-

per that turned out to be political suicide. "I think the Nanking Massacre and the rest was a fabrication," he told the newspaper. "I was in Nanking immediately afterwards." He went on to call the Korean comfort women "licensed prostitutes," not sex slaves, and to argue that Japan had no choice but to go to war because it was "in danger of being crushed." The violent reaction to his statements across Asia forced Nagano to resign in disgrace.

—In September 1986, Fujio Masayuki, the Japanese minister of education, sabotaged his career when he declared that the Rape of Nanking was "just a part of war." In an interview with *Bungei Shunju* magazine, Fujio defended the actions of the Japanese during the Nanking massacre and claimed that the number of dead had been exaggerated. He also said that Korea was partly to blame for its annexation by Japan in 1910, that Korea willingly accepted colonization, and that the Tokyo War Crimes Trial was "racial revenge" meant to "rob Japan of her power." Though Fujio made these comments only "to restore the Japanese spirit through history and tradition," they cost him his job. That month Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro dismissed him from his post.

—Okuno Seisuki, who had been the prefectural director of the notorious *Kempeitai* (the secret Japanese military police) during the war, rose after the war to become the Japanese minister of justice and even the minister of education. By 1988 Okuno had become the Japanese land agency chief and the third most senior member of the cabinet. But Okuno's undoing came that spring when he visited the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo (where Japanese class A war criminals are enshrined and worshipped) and revealed his true attitudes about World War II. "There was no intention of aggression," Okuno told reporters. "The white race made Asia into a colony, but only Japan has been blamed. Who was the aggressor country? It was the white race. I don't see why Japanese are called militarists and aggressors." His statements provoked an uproar across Asia, prompting Okuno to adjust his wording: "I didn't say Japan wasn't an aggressor. I said it wasn't the only aggressor." By May, Okuno had been forced to resign, but he remained

unrepentant to the end. He had stepped down, Okuno said, only under pressure from the government, not because he wished to retract his statements.

—In August 1994, Sakurai Shin, the director general of the Japanese environmental agency, remarked that Japan did not go to war with the intent to commit aggression. In response to China's angry protests (a PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman announced that "the Chinese government regrets that, once again, a Japanese cabinet minister has brazenly made remarks which distort historical facts"), Murayama Tomiichi ended up apologizing for Sakurai's remarks. He also rebuked Sakurai by calling the remarks "inappropriate" and forced the director general to hold a midnight press conference to retract his statement.

—In 1995 Hashimoto Ryutaro, the minister for international trade and industry and a powerful man in the Liberal Democratic Party (he would later become the prime minister of Japan), announced that it was Japan's intention only to fight the United States, Britain, and "others" during World War II. While Japan was aggressive toward China, he said, it really had no intention of invading other Asian countries.

The official denials continued even as this book was going to press. Kajiyama Seiroku, the Japanese chief cabinet secretary, outraged several Asian countries when he stated that the sex slaves and rape victims of the Japanese imperial army during World War II were not slaves at all but willingly engaged in prostitution. In January 1997, he proclaimed that the comfort women of the Japanese army "went for the money" and were no different from the Japanese prostitutes who were working legally in Japan at the time. Amazingly, these comments came on the eve of weekend summit talks between Japanese Prime Minister Hashimoto Ryutaro and South Korean President Kim Young-sam, both of whom expressed deep anger over Kajiyama's remarks.

Kajiyama later made a gesture to apologize, though he infuriated critics because the apology seemed insulting and insincere. The cabinet secretary regretted that his comments "caused some unpleasantness at the Japan–South Korean summit, and

misunderstanding among the South Korean people," but he refused to retract his original comments. This was not the first time Kajiyama's mouth had landed him in trouble. In 1990 he was forced to resign from his position as Japanese justice minister after comparing African Americans to prostitutes who come in and ruin a neighborhood.

### THE TEXTBOOK CONTROVERSY

Perhaps one of the most sinister aspects of the malaise in Japanese education is the deliberate obstruction of important historical information about World War II through textbook censorship.

Almost from birth, Japanese children fight for footholds in the slippery pyramid of education, striving to reach the tip, which is admission to *Todai*, or Tokyo University. There are cram elementary schools to get into the right high school, where kids study from 9:00 P.M. to 6:00 A.M.; cram preparatory kindergartens to ensure admission into the right elementary school; even exclusive maternity wards that guarantee babies a ticket into the right nursery school.

But despite the "examination hell" for which the Japanese are famous, what do their schoolchildren learn about World War II?

Very little, as it turns out. The entire Japanese education system suffers from selective amnesia, for not until 1994 were Japanese schoolchildren taught that Hirohito's army was responsible for the deaths of at least 20 million Allied soldiers and Asian civilians during World War II. In the early 1990s a newspaper article quoted a Japanese high school teacher who claimed that his students were surprised to learn that Japan had been at war with the United States. The first thing they wanted to know was who won.

How does this happen? All textbooks used in Japan's elementary and secondary schools must first be approved by the Japanese Ministry of Education. Critics in Japan note that social studies textbooks come under the heaviest scrutiny. For

example, in 1977 the Ministry of Education reduced a section on World War II within a standard history book of several hundred pages to only six pages, which consisted mainly of pictures of the American firebombing of Tokyo, a picture of the ruins of Hiroshima, and a tally of Japan's war dead. The text neglected to mention the casualties on the other side, Japanese war atrocities, or the forced evacuations of Chinese and Korean prisoners to labor camps in Japan.

Much of this censorship might have gone unchallenged had it not been for the efforts of one brave crusader. In 1965 the Japanese historian Ienaga Saburo sued the Japanese government. This lawsuit was the beginning of a legal battle that would span three decades and gain the backing of thousands of sympathetic Japanese followers.

Those who have met Ienaga are struck by his frailty. The bald octogenarian historian trembles when he walks and his voice is hardly louder than a whisper. But underneath a powerful will is at work.

The Ministry interfered with Ienaga's attempts to document the Nanking massacre for schoolchildren. For example, in his textbook manuscript Ienaga wrote: "Immediately after the occupation of Nanking, the Japanese Army killed numerous Chinese soldiers and citizens. This incident came to be known as the Nanking Massacre." The examiner commented: "Readers might interpret this description as meaning that the Japanese Army unilaterally massacred Chinese immediately after the occupation. This passage should be revised so that it is not interpreted in such a way."

Finally, over Ienaga's protests, the passage was changed to: "While battling the fierce resistance of the Chinese armed forces, the Japanese Army occupied Nanking and killed numerous Chinese soldiers and civilians. This incident came to be known as the Nanking Massacre." That statement may have satisfied textbook censors as a compromise between Ienaga's argument and the ministry's position on the massacre. Unfortunately, the statement is simply not true, because it implies that the massacre occurred in the heat of battle.

The examiner demanded that Ienaga delete his description



of the Rape itself, claiming that "the violation of women is something that has happened on every battlefield in every era of human history. This is not an issue that needs to be taken up with respect to the Japanese Army in particular."

Even the word *aggression* was deemed taboo. "*Aggression*," the censors wrote, "is a term that contains negative ethical connotations." The Ministry of Education also bristled at Ienaga's efforts to condemn Japanese wartime behavior. It took offense at the following passage: "The war was glorified as a 'holy war' and the Japanese Army's defeat and their brutal acts on the battlefield were completely concealed. As a result, the majority of the Japanese people were not able to learn the truth and they were placed in a position where they had no choice but to cooperate enthusiastically in this reckless war." The Ministry of Education deleted this passage on the grounds that the expressions "the Japanese Army's brutal acts" and "this reckless war" were "unilateral criticism of Japan's position and actions" during World War II.

In 1970, when he actually won his case (Sugimoto Ryokichi, the judge for the Tokyo district court, ruled that the screening of textbooks should not go beyond correction of factual and typographical errors), extremists fired off death threats to the plaintiff attorneys, the judge, and Ienaga himself, while thugs kept the scholar awake by banging pots and pans outside his home and screaming slogans. The police had to escort Ienaga and his counsel in and out of court through a secret door.

With the exception of an award that Ienaga received in 1948 (when, he admits, he was "politically tone deaf"), he has been consistently ignored by the official committees that dole out national prizes in history. The historian has won, nevertheless, a place in history itself. The tremendous publicity that Ienaga receives for his efforts arouses foreign protests that force change upon the highly conservative Ministry of Education. By the 1980s years of lawsuits and political activism were beginning to pay off. In 1982 the distortion of the history of the Rape of Nanking in Japanese high school history textbooks had become such a hot issue in Japan that it created an international diplomatic crisis. All four of Japan's major national

newspapers carried headlines on the subject. Chinese and Korean officials also filed formal protests, accusing the Japanese of trying to obliterate from memory the history of their aggression to lay the basis for reviving militarism in the younger generation. The Japanese textbook examination council, however, tried to defend itself by telling reporters: "It was not fair to describe the Nanking atrocity in three to five lines while mentioning Soviet or American atrocities against the Japanese in only one line or two."

In the end, the publicity from the textbook controversy accomplished two things. One was the dismissal of Japan's education minister, Fujio Masayuki, who had rigorously defended the ministry's policy of whitewashing World War II history. The second was a heightened awareness inside the ministry that the Nanking massacre was something they could no longer ignore. Before Fujio's dismissal, the National Conference for the Defense of Japan had prepared a right-wing history textbook that summed up the Nanking massacre in this manner: "The battle of Nanking was extremely severe. China has asked Japan to reflect regarding casualties on the part of the Chinese army and civilians." But after Fujio's dismissal, the Ministry of Education rewrote the passage to read: "The battle in Nanking was extremely severe. After Nanking fell, it was reported that the Japanese army killed and wounded many Chinese soldiers and civilians, thus drawing international criticism."

Of course, the issue of textbook censorship is far from over. Rather than denying the massacre outright, some officials in Japan now focus on minimizing its scale. In 1991 screeners at the ministry ordered textbook authors to eliminate all reference to the numbers of Chinese killed during the Rape of Nanking because authorities believed there was insufficient evidence to verify those numbers. Three years later the ministry even forced a textbook author to reduce the number of killings by Japanese soldiers during one day of the Nanking massacre from twenty-five thousand to fifteen thousand people. The original version of the textbook cited a diary account that twenty-five thousand captives were "put away" in a single day. But under pressure from the ministry, the textbook publisher

backed down and shortened a quotation from the diary so that it read: "The Sasaki unit disposed of 15,000 people."

### THE ACADEMIC COVER-UP

With few exceptions, the academic community in Japan has shied away from studying the Rape of Nanking. Some have argued that not enough time has gone by to render the subject worthy of historical study, or for historians to judge Japanese wrongdoing. Some even react indignantly to criticism of Japanese wartime misdeeds. ("How long must we apologize for the mistakes we have made?" one said heatedly.)

Others act as apologists for Japan and have even allied themselves with conservative Japanese ultranationalists to minimize the significance of the massacre and its death toll. One prominent revisionist who has launched his own crusade to distort the history of the Rape of Nanking and other aspects of World War II history is Fujioka Nobukatsu, a professor of education at Tokyo University. Among his incendiary statements are the assertions that far fewer people were killed in the Rape of Nanking than the Chinese claim; that most of the victims of Nanking were guerrilla soldiers, not civilians; and that the Asian sex slaves, or "comfort women," of the Japanese military were ordinary prostitutes. Fujioka equated the women's receipt of financial compensation with "hitting the lottery" and demanded that the Japanese government not only retract the apologies it has offered to these women but strike information about them from Japanese history textbooks.

In Japan serious research on the Rape of Nanking has largely been left up to the efforts of those operating outside of traditional academic communities, such as freelance authors and journalists. Ono Kenji, a factory worker, is a prime example. In 1988 he started to interview farmers in his area who had served in the Aizu Wakamatsu Battalion during the Rape of Nanking. The bachelor Ono had time to devote himself to the subject because he enjoyed thirty-six-hour breaks between long factory shifts and had no family responsibilities. Six years later

it was reported that Ono Kenji had visited some six hundred homes, interviewed two hundred people, photocopied twenty out of some thirty diaries, and videotaped interviews with seven people. Some of his findings appeared in the weekly magazine *Shukan Kinyobi* and were hailed as the first work on the Nanking massacre to be based solely on Japanese sources. In 1996, he coedited an important book on the subject of the Nanking massacre, but he continues to live under the constant shadow of possible Japanese retaliation, refusing even to be photographed for fear of falling prey to right-wing fanatics.

#### SELF-IMPOSED CENSORSHIP

In Japan censorship is practiced not only by the government when it tampers with textbooks but by the media, which police themselves. In many ways private-sector self-censorship can be more insidious than government censorship because it is subtler and harder to pinpoint.

What distributors did to a scene of the Rape of Nanking in the film *The Last Emperor* is a revealing illustration of Japanese self-censorship at work. In 1988 the Shochiku Fuji Distribution Company removed from Bernardo Bertolucci's film biography of Pu Yi a thirty-second scene depicting the Rape of Nanking. Bertolucci was furious, of course, when he found out. "Not only did the Japanese distributor cut the whole sequence of the 'Rape of Nanking' without my authorization and against my will, without even informing me, but they also declared to the press that myself and the producer, Jeremy Thomas, had made the original proposition to mutilate the movie," he announced. "This is absolutely false and revolting."

Bertolucci's outcry forced the distributors to restore the excised scene immediately. They offered a variety of excuses for their behavior. Kubotani Motoyuki, director of Shochiku Fuji, apologized for the "confusion and misunderstanding," explaining that his company thought the Nanking scene was simply "too sensational" to be shown in Japan. "Cutting the film was our voluntary decision. We had no idea that it would become

such a big issue," he said. Saito Mitsuhiro, another spokesman for Shochiku Fuji, told reporters that the scene was removed "out of respect for Japanese audiences." Nakane Takehiko, a Japanese film critic, speculated that the decision to cut the scene arose from both the distributors' pusillanimity and the threat of ultranationalist violence. "I believe the film's distributors and many theatre owners were afraid these right-wing groups might cause trouble outside the theaters," the critic told reporters. "Some of these people still believe that Japan's actions in China and during the war were part of some sacred crusade."

#### DEBATES ON THE NANKING MASSACRE

Japanese who find the courage to write books about the Rape of Nanking often face unrelenting attacks. Take the example of Hora Tomio and Honda Katsuichi. Hora, a professor of Japanese history at Waseda University, visited China in 1966 to investigate Japanese atrocities in China; he later published his research on the Nanking massacre in several books. Honda Katsuichi was a prize-winning journalist at the *Asahi Shimbun* who broke the taboo against discussing the Nanking massacre in the Japanese press by going to mainland China in the 1970s and 1980s to interview survivors. His findings, serialized first in the *Asahi Shimbun* and other journals, were later expanded into full-length books. Both Hora and Honda reached the conclusion that Japanese soldiers had killed some three hundred thousand people in Nanking between 1937 and 1938.

Both also faced a vicious backlash in Japan. One vociferous critic of Hora and Honda was the ultraconservative author Suzuki Akira, who challenged their findings in an article entitled "The Illusion of the Nanjing Massacre." Suzuki charged that some of Honda's and Hora's stories were fabricated, that insufficient primary source material existed to substantiate the massacre, and that the Rape of Nanking was an "illusion." The book that resulted from his articles won the *Bungei Shunju* Prize in nonfiction and received eulogies from literary critics as "admirable" and "courageous." When Hora published a series

of rebuttals to Suzuki, several famous Japanese writers immediately sprang to Suzuki's defense.

Another critic was Tanaka Masaaki, a man who claimed to be Matsui Iwane's protégé. In 1984 he published an anti-Honda book called *The Fabrication of the "Nanking Massacre,"* using material from Matsui's wartime diary. Accusing Honda of spreading "enemy propaganda," Tanaka argued that, unlike in Europe or China, "you won't find one instance of planned, systematic murder in the entire history of Japan." This is because, he wrote, the Japanese have "a different sense of values" from Westerners and the Chinese. Revisionists rallied behind Tanaka and joined his attacks on Honda and Hora. The right-wing author Watanabe Shoichi, who wrote a foreword to Tanaka's book, also blasted Honda for heaping guilt "not only on the Japanese officers and men of the time, but on all Japanese, indeed on our children yet to be born."

A debate soon raged between the two camps. There was the liberal "massacre faction," which consisted of Hora, Honda, and their supporters, and the conservative "illusion faction" led by Suzuki and Tanaka. The liberal camp published its findings in the *Asahi Shimbun* and other journals, while the conservatives contributed to right-wing publications like *Bungei Shunju*, *Shokun!*, and *Seiron*. The liberals demanded that the Japanese government apologize for its crimes in China, while the conservatives considered such an apology an insult to veterans and a foreign interference in Japanese internal affairs.

Ironically, attempts to disprove the Nanking massacre backfired when the revisionists themselves began to probe into the subject for ammunition against the "massacre faction." For instance, in the 1980s *Kaikosha*, a fraternity of army cadet school graduates, asked its eighteen thousand members to come forward with eyewitness accounts to discredit the Nanking massacre. To the dismay of the "illusion faction," many *Kaikosha* members confirmed the details of the Rape of Nanking and described atrocities that horrified even hard-core Japanese conservatives. A former officer under Matsui estimated that some 120,000 captives were killed under the orders of a staff officer, although later, no doubt under pressure, he changed the figure

to "no less than tens of thousands." But his testimony scuttled the entire purpose of the survey, and moved even an editor of *Kaikosha's* journal to write in the concluding part of the series that "there was no excuse for such massive illegal executions. As someone related to the old Japanese Army, I have to apologize deeply to the Chinese people."

But the most embarrassing incident was yet to come. In 1985 a popular history journal, *Rekishii to jinbutsu*, discovered as many as nine hundred errors in the newly published Matsui wartime diary. Most of them were intentional attempts to falsify primary documents, a revelation that scandalized historians across Japan. Still more disturbing, the author of these alterations was none other than Tanaka Masaaki, who had proclaimed himself a staunch critic of historical distortion.

#### INTIMIDATION

What happened to Azuma Shiro, the first Japanese veteran to admit openly his crimes in Nanking, is a spectacular example of the system of Japanese intimidation at its worst. In 1987 he created a sensation when he became the first former Japanese soldier to apologize in public for his role in the Nanking massacre. On the eve of his departure to Nanking to participate in a fifty-year memorial ceremony of the great Rape, he gave interviews to newspaper and television reporters at a press conference in Kyoto. The result was an avalanche of criticism and death threats. To protect himself, Azuma retired from his company and moved with his wife into a house in a tiny village outside Kyoto, where he kept an arsenal of weapons, such as truncheons, clubs, pepper sprays, chains, and knuckle dusters.

The troubles for Motoshima Hitoshi, the mayor of Nagasaki, began when he was asked by a Communist Party member in the city assembly what he thought of the emperor's wartime guilt. It was December 7, 1988, the forty-seventh anniversary of the attack on Pearl Harbor. Emperor Hirohito was slowly dying of cancer, and the nation was mourning the passing of the Showa era by muting the holiday festivities.

Motoshima responded that, having read accounts of the war from abroad and served as a soldier himself, he believed that the emperor bore responsibility for the war. The response to his statement was immediate. The next day enraged city legislators and the local branch of the Liberal Democratic Party demanded that the mayor retract his words. But Motoshima refused, announcing that he could not "betray his own heart."

His opponents then embarked on a violent campaign of harassment and intimidation calculated to bring the mayor to his knees. The Liberal Democrats not only dismissed him as the counsel to their organization but succeeded in convincing the prefectural governor to refuse to cooperate politically with the mayor. Right-wing groups even called for Motoshima's death. On December 19, 1988, twenty-four ultranationalist groups drove through Nagasaki on thirty loudspeaker trucks, blasting their demands for "divine retribution" through Motoshima's death. Two days later the number of groups demonstrating in Nagasaki had grown to sixty-two, and the number of loudspeaker trucks to eighty-two. Representatives from numerous conservative organizations, including the office for Shinto shrines, called for his impeachment. Less than two weeks after Hirohito's death on January 7, 1989, a right-wing fanatic shot Motoshima in the back. The bullet punctured his lungs, but miraculously, the mayor survived. The assassination attempt thrilled extremists across the nation, many of whom proclaimed the deed as nothing less than "divine punishment."



## EPILOGUE



**T**HE RAPE OF NANKING was only one incident in a long saga of Japanese barbarism during nine years of war. Before the great massacre, Japan had already earned notoriety as the first country in Asia to break the taboo and use airpower not only as a battlefield weapon but as a means of terrorizing civilian populations. Then it launched its armed forces on a campaign of slaughter that started in Shanghai, moved through Nanking, and proceeded inland.

While there was no Japanese equivalent of a "final solution" for the Chinese people, the imperial government endorsed policies that would wipe out everyone in certain regions in China. One of the deadliest was the "Three-all" policy ("Loot all, kill all, burn all") in northern China, where Communist Chinese guerrillas had fought the Japanese furiously and effectively. In his diary, a frustrated Japanese colonel reveals the cruel simplicity of this policy: "I have received orders

from my superior officer that every person in this place must be killed."

The result was a massive terrorist campaign in 1941 designed to exterminate everyone in the northern Chinese countryside. It reduced the population there from 44 million to 25 million people. At least one author on China, Jules Archer, believes that the Japanese killed most of the 19 million people who disappeared from the region, though other scholars speculate that millions must have fled to safer ground. R. J. Rummel, author of *China's Bloody Century*, points out that even if only 5 percent of the population loss consisted of murder victims, that would still amount to nearly 1 million Chinese.

The Japanese also waged ruthless experiments in biological warfare against the Chinese. Some of it was retaliatory and directed against Chinese villages suspected of helping American fliers during the April 1942 Doolittle raid of Tokyo. In areas that may have served as landing zones for the bombers, the Japanese massacred a quarter-million civilians and plowed up every Chinese airfield within an area of twenty thousand square miles. Here as well as elsewhere during the war, entire cities and regions were targeted for disease. We now know that Japanese aviators sprayed fleas carrying plague germs over metropolitan areas like Shanghai, Ningpo, and Changteh, and that flasks of disease-causing microbes—cholera, dysentery, typhoid, plague, anthrax, paratyphoid—were tossed into rivers, wells, reservoirs, and houses. The Japanese also mixed food with deadly germs to infect the Chinese civilian and military population. Cakes laced with typhoid were scattered around bivouac sites to entice hungry peasants; rolls syringed with typhoid and paratyphoid were given to thousands of Chinese prisoners of war before they were freed.

The final death count was almost incredible, between 1,578,000 and 6,325,000 people. R. J. Rummel gives a prudent estimate of 3,949,000 killed, of which all but 400,000 were civilians. But he points out that millions more perished from starvation and disease caused in large part by Japanese looting, bombing, and medical experimentation. If those deaths are added to the final count, then one can say that the Japanese

killed more than 19 million Chinese people in its war against China.

It is impossible for most people to imagine exactly what went through the minds of Japanese soldiers and officers as they committed the atrocities. But many historians, eyewitnesses, survivors, and the perpetrators themselves have theorized about what drove the naked brutality of the Japanese imperial army.

Some Japanese scholars believe that the horrors of the Rape of Nanking and other outrages of the Sino-Japanese War were caused by a phenomenon called “the transfer of oppression.” According to Tanaka Yuki, author of *Hidden Horrors: Japanese War Crimes in World War II*, the modern Japanese army had great potential for brutality from the moment of its creation for two reasons: the arbitrary and cruel treatment that the military inflicted on its own officers and soldiers, and the hierarchical nature of Japanese society, in which status was dictated by proximity to the emperor. Before the invasion of Nanking, the Japanese military had subjected its own soldiers to endless humiliation. Japanese soldiers were forced to wash the underwear of officers or stand meekly while superiors slapped them until they streamed with blood. Using Orwellian language, the routine striking of Japanese soldiers, or *bentatsu*, was termed an “act of love” by the officers, and the violent discipline of the Japanese navy through *tekken seisai*, or “the iron fist,” was often called *ai-no-muchi*, or “whip of love.”

It has often been suggested that those with the least power are often the most sadistic if given the power of life and death over people even lower on the pecking order, and the rage engendered by this rigid pecking order was suddenly given an outlet when Japanese soldiers went abroad. In foreign lands or colonized territories, the Japanese soldiers—representatives of the emperor—enjoyed tremendous power among the subjects. In China even the lowliest Japanese private was considered superior to the most powerful and distinguished native, and it is easy to see how years of suppressed anger, hatred, and fear of

authority could have erupted in uncontrollable violence at Nanking. The Japanese soldier had endured in silence whatever his superiors had chosen to deal out to him, and now the Chinese had to take whatever he chose to deal out to them.

A second factor in the atrocities, scholars believe, is the virulent contempt that many in the Japanese military reserved for Chinese people—a contempt cultivated by decades of propaganda, education, and social indoctrination. Though the Japanese and the Chinese share similar if not identical racial features (which in a distorted way may have threatened the Japanese vision of themselves as unique), there were those in the imperial army who saw the Chinese as subhuman beings whose murder would carry no greater moral weight than squashing a bug or butchering a hog. In fact, both before and during the war members of the Japanese military at all levels frequently compared the Chinese to pigs. For example, a Japanese general told a correspondent: "To be frank, your view of Chinese is totally different from mine. You regard the Chinese as human beings while I regard the Chinese as pigs." A Japanese officer in Nanking who bound Chinese captives together in groups of ten, pushed each group into a pit, and burned them excused his actions by explaining that his feelings when committing these murders were identical to those he had when he slaughtered pigs. In 1938 the Japanese soldier Azuma Shiro confided in his diary at Nanking that "a pig is more valuable now than the life of a [Chinese] human being. That's because a pig is edible."

A third factor was religion. Imbuing violence with holy meaning, the Japanese imperial army made violence a cultural imperative every bit as powerful as that which propelled Europeans during the Crusades and the Spanish Inquisition. "Every single bullet must be charged with the Imperial Way, and the end of every bayonet must have the National Virtue burnt into it," one Japanese general declared in a speech in 1933.

Few Japanese doubted the righteousness of their mission in China. Nagatomi Hakudo, a former Japanese soldier who participated in the Rape of Nanking, said he had been reared to believe that the emperor was the natural ruler of the world,

that the Japanese were racially superior to the rest of the world, and that it was the destiny of Japan to control Asia. When a local Christian priest asked him, "Who is greater, God or the emperor of Japan?" he had no doubt that "the emperor" was the correct answer.

With an entity higher than God on its side, it was not difficult for the Japanese military to take the next step—adopting the belief that the war, even the violence that came with it, would ultimately benefit not only Japan but its victims as well. Some perceived atrocity as a necessary tool to achieve a Japanese victory that would serve all and help create a better China under Japan's "Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere." This attitude echoes that of the Japanese teachers and officers who beat their students and soldiers senseless while insisting, between blows, that it was all done for their own good.

Perhaps it was General Matsui Iwane who summed up the prevailing mentality of self-delusion best when he attempted to justify Japanese oppression of China. Before he left for Shanghai in 1937, he told his supporters: "I am going to the front not to fight an enemy but in the state of mind of one who sets out to pacify his brother." Later he would say of the invasion of China:

The struggle between Japan and China was always a fight between brothers within the "Asian Family." . . . It had been my belief during all these days that we must regard this struggle as a method of making the Chinese undergo self reflection. We do not do this because we hate them, but on the contrary *we love them too much*. It is just the same as in a family when an elder brother has taken all that he can stand from his ill-behaved younger brother and has to chastise him in order to make him behave properly.

Whatever the course of postwar history, the Rape of Nanking will stand as a blemish upon the honor of human beings. But what makes the blemish particularly repugnant is that history has never written a proper end for the story. Even in 1997, the

Japanese as a nation are still trying to bury the victims of Nanking—not under the soil, as in 1937, but into historical oblivion. In a disgraceful compounding of the offense, the story of the Nanking massacre is barely known in the West because so few people have tried to document and narrate it systematically to the public.

This book started out as an attempt to rescue those victims from more degradation by Japanese revisionists and to provide my own epitaph for the hundreds upon thousands of unmarked graves in Nanking. It ended as a personal exploration into the shadow side of human nature. There are several important lessons to be learned from Nanking, and one is that civilization itself is tissue-thin. There are those who believe that the Japanese are uniquely sinister—a dangerous race of people who will never change. But after reading several file cabinets' worth of documents on Japanese war crimes as well as accounts of ancient atrocities from the pantheon of world history, I would have to conclude that Japan's behavior during World War II was less a product of dangerous people than of a dangerous government, in a vulnerable culture, in dangerous times, able to sell dangerous rationalizations to those whose human instincts told them otherwise. The Rape of Nanking should be perceived as a cautionary tale—an illustration of how easily human beings can be encouraged to allow their teenagers to be molded into efficient killing machines able to suppress their better natures.

Another lesson to be gleaned from Nanking is the role of power in genocide. Those who have studied the patterns of large-scale killings throughout history have noted that the sheer concentration of power in government is lethal—that only a sense of absolute unchecked power can make atrocities like the Rape of Nanking possible. In the 1990s R. J. Rummel, perhaps the world's greatest authority on *democide* (a term he coined to include both genocide and government mass murder), completed a systematic and quantitative study of atrocities in both the twentieth century and ancient times, an impressive body of research that he summed up with a play on the famous Lord Acton line: "Power kills, and absolute power kills absolutely." The

less restraint on power within a government, Rummel found, the more likely that government will act on the whims or psychologically generated darker impulses of its leaders to wage war on foreign governments. Japan was no exception, and atrocities such as the Rape of Nanking can be seen as a predictable if not inevitable outgrowth of ceding to an authoritarian regime, dominated by a military and imperial elite, the unchallenged power to commit an entire people to realizing the sick goals of the few with the unbridled power to set them.

And there is yet a third lesson to be learned, one that is perhaps the most distressing of all. It lies in the frightening ease with which the mind can accept genocide, turning us all into passive spectators to the unthinkable. The Rape of Nanking was front-page news across the world, and yet most of the world stood by and did nothing while an entire city was butchered. The international response to the Nanking atrocities was eerily akin to the more recent response to the atrocities in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Rwanda: while thousands have died almost unbelievably cruel deaths, the entire world has watched CNN and wrung its hands. One could argue that the United States and other countries failed to intervene earlier to prevent the Nazis from carrying out their "final solution" because the genocide was carried out in wartime secrecy and with such cold efficiency that until Allied soldiers liberated the camps and saw with their own eyes the extent of the horror, most people could not accept the reports they had been getting as literally true. But for the Rape of Nanking, or for the murders in the former Yugoslavia, there can be no such excuse. The Nanking atrocities were splashed prominently across the pages of newspapers like the *New York Times*, while the Bosnia outrages were played out daily on television in virtually every living room. Apparently some quirk in human nature allows even the most unspeakable acts of evil to become banal within minutes, provided only that they occur far enough away to pose no personal threat.

Sad to say, the world is still acting as a passive spectator to the second Japanese rape—the refusal of the Japanese to apologize for or even acknowledge their crimes at Nanking, and the

attempts by Japanese extremists to erase the event from world history. To get a better handle on the magnitude of the injustice, one only has to compare the postwar restitution that the governments of Japan and Germany have made to their wartime victims. While it is certainly true that money alone cannot give back to murder victims their lost lives or erase from memory the tortures the survivors endured, it can at least convey that what was done to the victims represented the evil of others.

As of 1997 the German government has paid at least DM 88 billion in compensation and reparations and will pay another DM 20 billion by the year 2005. If one factors in all the money the Germans have paid in compensation to individual victims, restitution for lost property, compensatory pensions, payments based on state regulations, final restitution in special cases, and money for global agreements with Israel and sixteen other nations for war damages, the total comes to almost DM 124 billion, or almost \$60 billion. The Japanese have paid close to nothing for their wartime crimes. In an era when even the Swiss have pledged billions of dollars to create a fund to replace what was stolen from Jewish bank accounts, many leading officials in Japan continue to believe (or pretend to believe) that their country did nothing that requires compensation, or even apologies, and contend that many of the worst misdeeds their government has been accused of perpetrating never happened and that evidence that they did happen was fabricated by the Chinese and other Japan bashers.

The Japanese government has taken the position that all wartime reparation issues were resolved by the 1952 San Francisco Peace Treaty. A close reading of the treaty, however, reveals that the issue was merely postponed until Japan was in a better financial situation. "It is recognized that Japan should pay reparations to the Allied Powers," the treaty states in chapter 5, article 14. "Nevertheless it is also recognized that the resources of Japan are not presently sufficient, if it is to maintain a viable economy, to make complete reparations for all such damage and suffering and at the same time meet its other obligations."



One of the greatest ironies of the cold war is that Japan not only eluded its responsibility to pay reparations but received billions of dollars in aid from the United States, which helped build its former enemy into an economic powerhouse and competitor. Now there is considerable concern in Asia about the prospect of renewed militarism among the Japanese people. During the Reagan administration the United States pushed Japan to beef up its military power—something that alarmed many who had suffered years of Japanese wartime aggression. “Those who ignore history tend to become its victims,” warned Carlos Romulo, the Philippine foreign minister and Pulitzer Prize winner who served as General Douglas MacArthur’s aide-de-camp during World War II and understood the competitive national spirit engendered by the Japanese culture. “The Japanese are a very determined people; they have brains. At the end of World War II, no one thought that Japan would become the foremost economic power in the world—but they are. If you give them the chance to become a military power—they will become a military power.”

But the cold war has ended, China is fast emerging from the chrysalis of communism, and other Asian nations that were bullied by Japan during the war may challenge it as they grow ascendant in the international economic arena. The next few years may well witness giant strides in activism regarding Japanese wartime crimes. The American public is growing demographically more Asian. And unlike their parents, whose careers were heavily concentrated in scientific fields, the younger generations of Chinese Americans and Chinese Canadians are fast gaining influence in law, politics, and journalism—professions historically underrepresented by Asians in North America.

Public awareness of the Nanking massacre increased substantially between the time I first started to research this book and the time I finished it. The 1990s saw a proliferation of novels, historical books, and newspaper articles about the Rape of Nanking, the comfort women, Japanese medical experimentation on wartime victims, and other Japanese World War II atrocities. As of 1997 the San Francisco school district plans to include the history of the Rape of Nanking in its curriculum,

and blueprints have even been drawn up among Chinese real estate developers to build a Chinese holocaust museum.

As this book neared completion, the U.S. government was starting to respond to activist demands to pressure the Japanese to confront their wartime past. On December 3, 1996, the Department of Justice established a watch list of Japanese war criminals in order to bar them from entering the country. In April 1997, former U.S. Ambassador Walter Mondale told the press that Japan needs to face history honestly and directly and expressed his wish that Japan make a full apology for its war crimes. The Rape of Nanking even made its way into a bill that will soon be introduced into the U.S. House of Representatives. Through the spring of 1997, legislators worked with human rights activists to draft a bill that will condemn Japan for the maltreatment of U.S. and other prisoners during World War II and demand an official apology and compensation for its wartime victims.

The movement to force the Japanese government to face the full truth about the legacy of its wartime government is gaining support even in Japan, where official denials of wartime atrocities have aroused considerable shame and embarrassment among those citizens who see themselves as more than simply and solely Japanese. A vocal minority is convinced that their government must acknowledge its past if it expects to command trust from its neighbors in the future. In 1997 the Japanese Fellowship of Reconciliation released the following statement:

In the past war, Japan was arrogant and pompous, behaved as aggressors in other Asian countries and brought misery to a great number of people, especially in China. For fifteen years around the 1930s, Japan continued to make war against the Chinese. War actions continued and victimized tens of millions of people. Here, we sincerely would like to apologize for Japan's past mistakes and beg your forgiveness.

The present generation in Japan faces a critical choice. They can continue to delude themselves that the war of Japanese aggression was a holy and just war that Japan happened to lose

solely because of American economic power, or they can make a clean break from their nation's legacy of horror by acknowledging the truth: that the world is a better place because Japan lost the war and was not able to impose its harsh "love" on more people than it did. If modern Japanese do nothing to protect the truth, they run the risk that history will leave them as tarnished as their wartime ancestors.

Japan carries not only the legal burden but the moral obligation to acknowledge the evil it perpetrated at Nanking. At a minimum, the Japanese government needs to issue an official apology to the victims, pay reparations to the people whose lives were destroyed in the rampage, and, most important, educate future generations of Japanese citizens about the true facts of the massacre. These long-overdue steps are crucial for Japan if it expects to deserve respect from the international community—and to achieve closure on a dark chapter that stained its history.

# EPILOGUE FOR

## THE 2011 EDITION

by Brett Douglas,  
September 23, 2011

WHEN I FIRST MET my wife, Iris Chang, in October of 1988, she was a beautiful, brilliant, charming girl who was full of life. I wouldn't have been surprised if someone had told me she would someday write a best-selling book that would be translated into 15 languages. What does surprise me is that I am now writing an epilogue to *The Rape of Nanking* seven years after her death. With the energy, passion, and drive that Iris showed at age thirty, I thought it was likely she would be writing great books well in her eighties and nineties.

When we met, neither of us had dated more than a few times, but we soon both knew we were a perfect match. We were blessed to have sixteen very happy years together. At the time of this writing, two books have been published about Iris's life: *Finding Iris Chang* by Paula Kamen and *The Woman Who Could Not Forget* by her mother, Ying-Ying Chang. These are both good works, and I encourage those

who want to learn more about Iris to read them. Iris's life ended far too soon, and because she was a private person, much of her life and death has been shrouded in some mystery. I'm grateful to Basic Books for giving me the opportunity to fill in some of the holes and to remove some of the mystery associated with Iris's life so her legacy and the legacy of her book can endure.

Ying-Ying Chang's *The Woman Who Could Not Forget* provides a detailed description of Iris's entire life, and I have no desire to try to improve upon that work. Instead, I'll focus on a few key factors I believe led to her success. Both of her parents were Harvard PhDs who spent their careers doing scientific research. Thus, Iris learned to value intellectual achievement at a very early age. She spent thousands of hours as a youth at the University of Illinois library and other local libraries learning to read and process information quickly. Iris compiled an exhaustive list of all Nobel Prize- and Pulitzer Prize-winning books and Academy Award-winning films, and she proceeded to read and watch each and every one. Her days off consisted of methodically working her way through these books and films.

Iris attended the University of Illinois's University High School, a tiny academic pressure cooker populated primarily by academically driven professors' children who had all passed a rigorous entrance exam. The high school has produced several Nobel Prize winners and many other graduates who went on to achieve extraordinary success. In 1985, Iris was one of the few women who entered the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign's competitive Math and Computer Science program. She was on track to graduate in just over three years, but she changed her major to journalism when she was a few hours short of a degree. At the time, it was relatively rare for a girl to study Math and Computer Science, it was rare for someone to complete the program that quickly, and it was extremely rare for someone who had completed the program so easily to change majors at the very end.

Most would expect someone who changed majors after almost three years to be significantly behind her peers, but Iris

soon made up the difference and won internships at *Newsweek*, the *Associated Press*, and the *Chicago Tribune*. While at the *Tribune*, she discovered her real passion was writing lengthy feature stories, so she applied and was admitted to the prestigious Writing Seminars program at Johns Hopkins University. While she was there, at the age of only twenty-two, she met her editor and later her agent, Susan Rabiner. Susan gave her a topic, and Iris started research on her first book, *The Thread of the Silkworm*.

When Iris completed her degree from Johns Hopkins, she moved to Santa Barbara, California, to live with me. Iris was always interested in film, so she took a portfolio of photos to a talent agency and was soon selected to be a dancer in an MC Hammer video. However, Iris had a MacArthur Foundation grant proposal due the very next day, so she declined their offer. We thought it was probably the first time anyone had ever turned down MC Hammer and his production company for that reason. Iris made the right decision. She won the MacArthur Foundation grant.

Iris later went on to win a National Science Foundation grant to continue her research on *The Thread of the Silkworm*. What was truly amazing was that Iris never completed a science degree, and she had no formal affiliation with any university or research institution.

Along with her beauty, her intelligence, and her education, two other factors contributed greatly to Iris's success. She was never shy about asking someone, no matter how famous, for help or advice, and she was always trying to improve herself. For instance, in 1991 Iris was very nervous about the prospect of giving a short toast in front of two hundred people at our wedding reception. Yet she consciously worked at public speaking so that by the time *The Rape of Nanking* was published in 1997, she could hold the attention of a thousand people for an hour or longer while she talked about her research and her books.

During the first ten years of our relationship, it was a true pleasure to watch Iris build herself from a sometimes shy and introverted person into "Super Iris," the famous author and historian who could write best-selling books, keep audiences

enthralled with her speeches, and win debates on national television. It was much sadder to see "Super Iris" rapidly succumb to mental illness during the summer of 2004.

There remain a number of myths and misunderstandings about the life and career of Iris Chang. Even I still have a few questions of my own. I can, however, offer information that I think will offer clarity to readers of this book. The first misunderstanding has to do with whether there was a "Eureka! Moment." Iris attended a conference in Cupertino, California, late in 1994 where she saw photos from the Rape of Nanking. There is a common myth that Iris saw the photos and decided then and there that she had to write a book on the atrocity. This is a nice story, but it is entirely contrary to the way Iris did her work. Iris maintained a meticulous file of book ideas, which grew to 400 potential projects by 2004. Iris had heard stories about the Rape of Nanking as a child from her parents and grandparents. She told me shortly after we started dating in October 1988 of her desire to write a book about the Nanking massacre. As soon as she completed the final draft of her first book *The Thread of the Silkworm*, she determined that Japan's assault on Nanking was the most promising topic for her second book, and so she started research. A month later, in the fall of 1994, she attended the conference in Cupertino where she met with the group of activists who sponsored it. She saw many photographs of victims, and she became acquainted with many people who were to become extremely helpful to her in her research. Yet, somehow the idea got started that looking at the photographs at the conference gave her the inspiration to write the book, and that myth has continued to grow. Iris never made an impulsive career decision like that. Writing *The Rape of Nanking* was something she had planned for years, and she was researching the book already when she attended the conference.

Another myth is that the subject matter of *The Rape of Nanking* and the Bataan Death March led to her breakdown and her death. Iris completed *The Rape of Nanking* in early

1997 but never showed any real signs of mental illness until 2004. While she was researching *The Rape of Nanking* and the Bataan Death March, she read through an enormous amount of information. She provided almost daily updates of her progress to me, and she also discussed the material with her parents and several close friends. My impression was that rather than upsetting her, seeing the photos and reading the material energized her and drove her to do the best job she could to tell the stories. She expressed sadness that the people of Nanking who suffered so much in 1937 and 1938 were still living in severe poverty sixty years later. She developed a close attachment to many Bataan Death March veterans who suffered at the hands of the Japanese from 1942 through 1945. Many of those Bataan veterans were small-town Midwestern boys like me and many of her childhood friends, so she identified closely with them. Most were in their mid-eighties by that time, and by 2004, many had passed away or were diagnosed with terminal illnesses. The only time I saw Iris break down and cry on a work-related issue was when she heard that one of the Bataan veterans she befriended had passed away.

There is another myth that the demands of being a working mother contributed to her mental illness. During the two years between our son's birth and her breakdown, a full-time nanny cared for Christopher and did all the household cooking, cleaning, laundry, and grocery shopping. I spent a great deal of time caring for Christopher, and both my parents and Iris's parents helped care for him. It's difficult to conceive anyone having a better support system for childcare and domestic work than Iris had.

Another myth is that the CIA and the US government were responsible for her breakdown and her death. Iris herself believed this because she was forcefully apprehended and confined against her will in a psychiatric ward in Louisville. It was a terrifying experience for her, and after going several days with very little food, water, or sleep, she believed that the US government was behind it. She related this belief to several people during the last three months of her life, but I never saw any evidence to support her belief.



The final myth is that the Japanese government was somehow responsible for Iris's eventual suicide. Iris's life experiences gave her plenty of reason to be fearful of the Japanese. Iris's parents and their families all experienced the Japanese invasion and occupation of China from 1937 to 1945, so Iris heard terrifying stories about Japanese atrocities growing up. While she researched *The Rape of Nanking*, many of the people she worked with had lived through the Japanese invasion of China. When she was on tour promoting her books many former US servicemen, as well as people from Korea, China, Taiwan, Vietnam, Thailand, Malaysia, and the Philippines would seek her out to tell her their horror stories of the Japanese occupation and their fears about the Japanese government. The Japanese press and Japanese activists attacked her in every verbal way they could. She received a good deal of hate mail during 1998 and 1999 while she was actively promoting *The Rape of Nanking*. During that time, almost everything in Iris's life was giving her reason to fear the Japanese and providing positive feedback for that fear. However, the hate mail decreased and then stopped almost entirely after she focused her attention on her next book *The Chinese in America*. During the entire thirteen years I lived with Iris, I never saw any evidence of someone from Japan threatening her physical safety or doing anything to contribute to Iris's breakdown or her suicide.

Many have speculated that Iris was mentally ill prior to 2004. Part of this perception may be due to her background, and part of it may come from her career and lifestyle choices. Iris's parents lived through the Japanese invasion of China and the civil war between Mao's Communist forces and Chiang's Nationalist forces. They told Iris many of the horrific stories that they had seen and heard. During her writing career, she researched the Armenian Genocide, the rise of the Nazis and their persecution of the Jews, multiple World War II atrocities, the Chinese Civil War, the Great Leap Forward, and the Cultural Revolution. During the last few years of her life, the US government took several actions that disturbed Iris, most notably the Bush Administration's attack on Iraq in 2003. She was also disturbed by the attack and killing of the Branch

Davidians, the Clinton Administration's bombing of multiple Middle Eastern nations during the Monica Lewinsky scandal, the "Humanitarian Bombing" in Kosovo, the Bush Administration's hostility towards China in 2001, the loss of privacy and personal liberties from the Patriot Act, and the indefinite detention of suspected terrorists without charging them with a crime. Iris saw these as a progression of changes leading the United States towards becoming a society capable of atrocities similar to those she had studied. She would often engage people in lengthy discussions on these and similar subjects and on the potentially disastrous consequences should the current trends continue. In public, Iris always kept a tight hold on emotions, but in private conversations she would often get emotional discussing a topic that was important to her. Someone who engaged in occasional private conversations with Iris might have concluded that this was manic behavior. I think it was due to the fact that she had a great deal of passion on a variety of topics, and she had the energy and intellect to aggressively discuss her point of view. I didn't see a change in that aspect of her behavior from 1988 through 2004.

Iris was a goal-oriented person rather than a relationship-oriented person, so many times she was more focused on achieving her goals than on how she would be perceived by others. This created some problems early in her career when she was expected to ingratiate herself to employers, co-workers, editors, and publishers. After *The Rape of Nanking* was published, however, she knew she would never have to work for anyone else because her writing and speaking skills would be in demand. Very few people experience that kind of freedom at the age of thirty. Working for a company or organization does a great deal to make people conform. While workers get almost constant feedback from their supervisors and co-workers, Iris got none for the last thirteen years of her life. I think what some may have perceived to be unusual behavior was not a result of any mental illness but a reflection of the fact that she had the good fortune to behave as she wished.

Book tours took a heavy toll on her. The closest analogy I can make to Iris's book tours is a rock star on tour. Most

mornings, Iris would wake up, head to the airport, fly to a new city, do the event, attend parties afterward, and then get to her hotel room late at night. At the events, people often told her their horror stories about what had happened to the Japanese's Prisoners of War and the civilians who lived in areas occupied by the Japanese during World War II. She would often repeat that same routine many days in a row. Iris lived that life for most of 1998, the first half of 1999, six weeks in 2003, and five weeks in 2004. Most of the people who met with her during the last seven years of her life did so when she was living this chaotic lifestyle.

Many have speculated about what caused Iris's breakdown. I don't know myself. Several different factors could have contributed to it. She *may* have had a genetic predisposition towards mental illness. Like Iris, one of her relatives had had a successful career until her mid-thirties when it abruptly fell apart, and she never worked again. During the first minute I met her, I thought she was a very charming lady, but she soon shifted the conversation to the people who hated her and wanted to kill her. She was tormented by the same thoughts that would plague Iris during the last three months of her life.

Iris finally stopped her one and a half years of promoting *The Rape of Nanking* in the summer of 1999. She intended to spend time at home resting and recuperating, and we tried to start a family. During the next months, Iris went through several miscarriages, causing wild hormonal swings that we later learned could hasten the onset of bipolar disorder. She was more volatile and excitable than at any other time prior to 2004. Someone meeting her then—who didn't understand her exhaustion from the travel and the hormonal swings—might have concluded she was mentally ill.

Iris also had unusual work habits. She went directly from being a college student to being a self-employed writer, so she never fell into the nine-to-five routine of most Americans. Throughout her career, she pulled frequent all-nighters to meet mostly self-imposed deadlines. Iris used a Franklin Planner to help squeeze in as much productivity as she possibly could

each day. When she would receive a request to write a blurb for a soon to be published book, she always read the book cover to cover, then produced a carefully written endorsement for the book. As a result, she would work late into the night to avoid falling behind on her own projects. These work habits undoubtedly put her under more physical and mental stress as she entered her thirties and may have contributed to her breakdown.

Iris had other medical issues such as thrombophilia and a thyroid condition that accelerated her metabolism. She once told me the thyroid condition could cause mental illness if not treated properly with medication. When Iris had her breakdown, one doctor asked me to write down all the vitamins and supplements she was taking because the overuse of unregulated herbal supplements is a frequent cause of mental illness. When I opened up the cabinet where she kept them, I couldn't believe my eyes. Along with her multivitamins, I found many different bottles full of the following ingredients:

Hymenaea Courbaril Bark, Tabebuia Impigginosa barb, Schinus Molle bark, Peiveria Alliacea whole herb, and Cassia Occidentalis leaf, Cat's Claw vine bark, Physalis Angulata whole herb, Boerhaavia Diffusa whole herb, Petiveria Alliacea whole herb, Cassia Occidentalis leaf, Smilaxsp. root, Physalis Angulata leaf and stem, Schinus Molle bark, Petiveria Alliacea leaf and stem, Mirabilis Jalapa leaf, Achyrocline Satureoides leaf, Urva Usi leaf, Jatoba bark, Hymenaea Courbaril, Chlorella, Garlic, Carageenan, L-Methionine, L-Cysteine, L-Lysine Hcl, Activated Attapulgit (clay), Sodium Alginate, EDTA Calcium Disodium, Alpha Lipic Acid, Betaine Vanadyl, Sulfate Choline, Inositol, Para-Amino-Benzoic Acid, Rutin, Lemon Bioflavonoid Complex, Hesperidin Complex, Quercetin, Milk Thistle Extract, Coenzyme Q-10, L-Glutathione, Grape Seed Extract, L-Carnitine, Artichoke Powder, Beet Juice Powder, Ginkgo Bilboa Extract, Lycopene, Chondroitin Sulfate A, Cilantro, Methyl Sulfonyl Methane, Taurine, L-Proline Hawthorne Berry Extract, Green Tea Extract, Aphanizomenon, Fresh Water Algae, Acacia Amylase, Glucomylase, Lipase, Protease, Invertase, Malt Diastase, Celulase, Bromelain, Lactase, Papain, Green Papaya, Apple Pectin, Ginger, Turmeric, Fennel, Bladderwrack, Nori, Wakame, Peppermint,

Beets, Habanero Peppers, Jalapeno Peppers, African Peppers, Chinese Peppers, Thai Peppers, Korean Peppers, Japanese Peppers, Pumpkin Seed Oil, Burdock, PeachTree Leaves, Chamomile, Jaborandi, Sage Leaves, SD Alcohol and Methyl Salicylate Iodine from Kelp, Alfalfa, Dicalcium Phosphate, Stearic Acid, Magnesium Stearate, and Bilberry Extract.

Iris started promoting *The Rape of Nanking* at age twenty-nine, and she finished at age thirty-one. During her tour, she visited at least sixty-five cities, many of them multiple times. At that age, she seemed to be able to bounce back from the stresses of travel. However, she was thirty-five and thirty-six when she was promoting *The Chinese in America*. Her travel schedule was shorter but even more intense, and she wasn't able to recover like she had six years earlier. The Iris Chang who went on book tour in March 2004 was a very different person than the Iris Chang who returned five weeks later.

I believe Iris's prolonged fear and apprehension about Japanese right-wing extremists, her genetics, her multiple miscarriages, her countless all-nighters, her strenuous book tours, and her herbal supplements all may have contributed to her breakdown in Louisville in August of 2004. Paula Kamen wrote that one form of mental illness is the inability to control one's fears. This is how Iris's fears escalated:

When our son Christopher started showing signs of autism, she discovered that many believed vaccines were the cause. She dug deeper and found that vaccines and drugs given to Gulf War veterans caused various illnesses. Around the same time, we went to see the 2004 version of *The Manchurian Candidate*, in which the government used mind control on Gulf War soldiers. The movie heightened her anxiety. She spent the next few days preparing for an upcoming business trip to Louisville to meet with Colonel Arthur Kelly and interview survivors of the Bataan Death March. Instead of sleeping, she spent the next few nights visiting web sites on autism, Gulf War Syndrome, and many conspiracy theories. We were all quite concerned about her at the time she left for Louisville, but we thought if she went on the research trip she would focus on her work and not on all the conspiracies. However, her mind

began to play tricks on her due to the lack of sleep. She believed that the government was trying to poison her, so she refused to eat or drink anything after she left our home. Her condition deteriorated rapidly due to the deprivation of food, water, and sleep. She called her mother in terrible condition, and her mother contacted Colonel Kelly. When Colonel Kelly and his wife, a retired nurse, saw her condition, they called for an ambulance. Iris had never met Colonel Kelly in person; she became convinced they were part of a conspiracy to do harm to her, so she tried to flee. Police and paramedics forced her to go to the Louisville Hospital for extensive tests. She was placed in the psychiatric ward, where, according to Iris, she was repeatedly threatened by the orderlies. By this time she was firmly convinced that they were trying to drug her or poison her, so she once again refused to eat, drink anything, or sleep while she was there. If Iris had her breakdown at home surrounded by people she loved and trusted, it would not have been nearly as traumatic for her. Instead, she concluded that the people who had tried to help her in Louisville were all part of a Bush Administration conspiracy to harm her. During the last three months of her life, we could never get her to let go of that belief.

After her parents brought her home from the Louisville hospital, we had trouble finding a good psychiatrist to treat her. To compound the problem, Iris was not a cooperative mental health patient. Iris's experience solving our fertility problems caused her to lose respect for most medical doctors. Iris would so thoroughly research the topic that she would overwhelm the doctors she met. After that experience, she had very little faith in most medical doctors. This was a time when we desperately needed to find a good psychiatrist. We even more desperately needed Iris to follow the treatment plan, but she fought it every step of the way.

Iris's parents and I thought it would be a good idea to bring her to a bipolar personality support group, so they brought her to a meeting at Stanford University. The people she saw there were not winning the battle with bipolar disorder. Almost none of them were working, and many were on five or six

medications. Iris described them as zombies, and she said she would never allow herself to be medicated like that. Shortly afterwards, her psychiatrist formally diagnosed her with bipolar personality disorder, meaning she should be treated with mood-stabilizing drugs rather than antidepressant and antipsychotic drugs. The suicide risk for mental health patients goes up during changes in medication.

After Iris's death, her mother did a lot of research on the drugs prescribed to Iris, and she discovered that Asians may be more sensitive to many of the commonly prescribed drugs. These drugs have been tested on very few Asians because they make up such a small portion of the US population, so the medications pose more risk of side effects to Asian patients. This was likely the case with Iris. The powerful antipsychotic and mood-altering drugs she took seemed to cause many side effects on her.

Two days after the diagnosis and change in medication her mother found a gun safety course brochure from Reed's Gun Shop in Iris's purse. This was the first indication we had that she had any plans to buy a gun. When we questioned her, she told us she believed the US government was out to get her, and she needed a gun to protect herself. The combination of meeting the heavily medicated bipolar personality disorder patients, Iris's formal diagnosis of bipolar personality disorder, her change of medications, and the resulting side effects all put Iris in a very unstable state. Iris's parents, her psychiatrist, and I tried to find people who were successfully coping with bipolar personality disorder to talk to Iris and to give her encouragement, but we ran out of time.

After her experience in Louisville, Iris firmly believed the Bush Administration meant to do harm to her. She was hopeful that John Kerry would defeat George Bush in the November 2004 election, but Bush's victory was announced on November 3. Her thoughts of four more years of persecution were too much for her. The police investigation after her death concluded that she purchased the first handgun on the very next day.

The last factor that I believe led to Iris's suicide was something that no one else has mentioned: Pride. In her suicide note, she wrote:

"It is far better that you remember me as I was—in my heyday as a best-selling author—than the wild-eyed wreck who returned from Louisville."

On a personal level, Iris was completely unpretentious. She drove a Geo Metro for five years. If someone had stopped by our home unannounced, they would likely find Iris wearing glasses, no makeup, a t-shirt, and a baggy pair of sweats. However if Iris made a public appearance, her hair and makeup were always perfect, she wore her contacts and a conservative business suit, and she always had a speech prepared and rehearsed. She invested a tremendous amount of time and effort into building up and maintaining her public persona. I don't believe she felt like she could maintain that after her breakdown.

Iris wrote three books in her short life. Her first book, *The Thread of the Silkworm*, was a topic chosen by her editor at Basic Books, Susan Rabiner. Her last book, *The Chinese in America*, was a topic chosen by her publisher at Viking Penguin. *The Rape of Nanking* was the only book chosen by Iris. The one book she intended to write from a very young age spent several weeks on the best-seller list and was translated into 15 languages. She was in a position where she had the financial resources and the influence in the publishing industry to write whatever she wanted for the rest of her life. It is difficult to say what she would have been able to accomplish if she had continued writing for another fifty years.

Since Iris has passed away, many people have said that she has inspired them to carry on her work. I've guided people to visit the Iris Chang collections in the Hoover Archives at Stanford University, at the University of California Santa Barbara, and at the University of Illinois. That's the only way to fully appreciate the tremendous amount of original research that went into all three of her books. The Hoover Archives contains a list



of other books she had planned to write. I encourage anyone who wants to carry on her legacy to complete one of these projects.

Iris's dream was to have her books made into documentaries and feature films. Many claim to have done films based on *The Rape of Nanking*; however as of this writing, no producer has done a documentary film or a feature film on any one of her three books. Iris was not a religious person, but if she is looking down on us, nothing would make her happier than to see this happen.

There are many unsung heroes who are truly carrying on the work of Iris Chang. When our son Christopher started to show the first signs of autism in the summer of 2004, he could have had no better mother than the Iris Chang who researched and wrote three books from 1991 through 2002. That Iris Chang would have done the research necessary to put the best possible program in place to help Christopher achieve his potential. However, the Iris Chang of 2004 was already well on her way towards a mental breakdown. When Iris committed suicide, she left Christopher as a motherless two-year-old autistic child. Several women stepped in and partially filled the void left by Iris's mental illness and death. Our neighbor, Sun-Mi Cabral, and her sister, Sunny Park, cared for Christopher like he was their own child for most of the next year. Iris's mother, Ying-Ying Chang, cooked nutritious dinners for him for the next two years. After Christopher was diagnosed with autism, my girlfriend, Jiebing Shui, quit her job, moved in with us, became his step-mother, and focused full-time on getting him to his therapy sessions. His first adaptive behavioral analysis therapist, Hanna Almeda, made tremendous progress getting Christopher to communicate verbally with other people. However after Jiebing Shui became busy with our newborn son and Hanna Almeda accepted a position with the Palo Alto public schools, Christopher started to regress.

It was then that my parents, Ken and Luann Douglas, sold their retirement home and moved to Normal, Illinois, to be near Illinois State University because it had one of the best special education programs in the United States. I moved my fam-

ily from San Jose, California, to the same community. My parents have spent their retirement years devoted to giving Christopher a chance to develop to his full potential. Melissa Watson has been Christopher's adaptive behavioral analysis therapist since 2007. Melissa has done more to help Christopher develop than any other person. Many other therapists have also worked with Christopher: Hannah Gomez, Monica Bozek, Tricia Ferguson, Susan Konkak, Sarah Conklen, Megan Watson, Grace Watson, Angela Watson, Rachael Wrage, Kristin Hunsburger, Bethany Ingram, Gavin Meador, many therapists at Easter Seals in Bloomington, Illinois, and many therapists at The Autism Place in Normal, Illinois.

Iris was a hero for telling the story of the people who had suffered so much in Nanking during the winter of 1937 and 1938. She may have been a tragic hero because the same extraordinary motivation and drive that led her to achieve so much by age twenty-nine probably contributed to her breakdown and early death at age thirty-six. Iris influenced hundreds of thousands of people through her writing and on her books tours. I've met only a small fraction of the people she knew, and I'm still learning more about her seven years after her death.

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My editor, Susan Rabiner, also recognized the historical significance of this book and

encouraged me to write it. Over a period of weeks and months she not only gave this manuscript line-by-line scrutiny but greatly improved it with her brilliant perceptions. This she did for me despite her intense administrative responsibilities as editorial director and the personal pressures she endured shortly before her departure from Basic Books. There are few editors in the publishing world today who possess Susan Rabiner's combination of literary talent, knowledge of the craft of serious nonfiction, and genuine concern for the author. To have worked with her as extensively as I did was not only a joy but a privilege.

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Several friends helped make my research trip to the East Coast

a success. Nancy Tong in New York loaned me materials related to her excellent documentary, *In the Name of the Emperor*. Shao Tzuping and his family graciously gave me room, board, and hospitality in Rye, New York—even loaning me their car to make the commute to the Yale Divinity School Library in New Haven. Shen-Yen Lee (the former publisher of the *Chinese American Forum*), his wife, Winnie C. Lee, and historian Marian Smith selflessly provided me with transportation, housing, and emotional support during my stay in Washington, D.C. At the National Archives, John Taylor steered me to an incredible store of information on the Nanking massacre, helping me locate military and diplomatic reports, intercepts of Japanese Foreign Office communications, OSS records and transcripts, and exhibits of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE). At the Yale Divinity School Library, the archivists Joan Duffy and Martha Smalley were unfailingly kind as they introduced me to missionary diaries and photographs of the massacre.

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# NOTES

A Chinese-language edition of this book is available to those interested in obtaining the Chinese character names of people and places mentioned in the text. Write to Commonwealth Publishing Company Ltd., 87 Sung-Chiang Road, 4F, Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China, or E-mail the publisher, Charles Kao, at [ckao@cw.com.tw](mailto:ckao@cw.com.tw).

## INTRODUCTION

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6. *Indeed, whether we use the most conservative number*: Brigadier Peter Young, ed., *The World Almanac Book of World War II* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: World Almanac Publications/Prentice-Hall, 1981), p. 330. For numbers on the blasts at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, see Richard Rhodes, *The Making of the Atomic Bomb* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), pp. 734, 740. Rhodes claims that by the end of 1945 some 140,000 people had died in Hiroshima and 70,000 in Nagasaki from the nuclear explosions. The dying continued, and after five years a total of some 200,000 in Hiroshima and 140,000 in Nagasaki had perished from causes related to the bombing. But it is significant to note that even after five years the combined death toll in both cities is still less than the highest casualty estimates for the Rape of Nanking.
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## CHAPTER 1: THE PATH TO NANKING

19. *For as far back as anyone could remember*: Tanaka Yuki, *Hidden Horrors: Japanese War Crimes in World War II* (Boulder, Co.: Westview, 1996), pp. 206–8. (Although Tanaka is the author's surname, he uses an American-style of presenting his name as Yuki Tanaka for this English-language book.) According to Tanaka, the modern Japanese corrupted the ancient code of *bushido* for their own purposes. The original code dictated that warriors die for just causes, not trivial ones. But during World War II, officers were committing ritual suicide for the most absurd of reasons, such as for stumbling over their words when reciting the code. The concept of loyalty in *bushido* was also replaced by blind obedience, and courage by reckless violence.
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21. "A parallel situation": Samuel Eliot Morison, "Old Bruin": *Commodore Matthew C. Perry 1794–1858* (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown, 1967), p. 319.
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24. *Modernization had earned for the country*: *Ibid.*, p. 152.
26. *The population had swollen*: Paul Johnson, *Modern Times: The World from the Twenties to the Nineties* (New York: Harper-Collins, 1991), p. 189.
26. "There are only three ways left to Japan": W. T. deBary, ed., *Sources of the Japanese Tradition* (New York, 1958), pp. 796–97, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 189.

27. *Why, the military propagandist Sadao Araki*: Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 189.
27. *Nor were Japan's covetous intentions*: *Ibid.*, p. 393. For more information about the ambitions of some Japanese ultranationalists regarding the United States during that era, see Records of the Deputy Chief of Naval Operations, 1882–1954, Office of Naval Intelligence, Intelligence Division—Naval Attaché Reports, 1886–1939, box 525, entry 98, record group 38, National Archives. As early as December 1932, a U.S. naval intelligence report noted that best-sellers in Japan tended to be books on war—particularly on the possibility of American-Japanese war. This report and others analyzed the content of Japanese books, articles, pamphlets, and lectures that dwelled on the topic of a Japanese invasion of the United States. Some of these publications bore titles such as “The Alaska Air Attack,” “The Assault on Hawaii,” and “The California Attack.” Here are a few examples of Japanese propaganda from the early 1930s that made their way into American naval intelligence files (the following names come directly from an English-language report and may be misspelled):
- A lecture by Captain K. Midzuno revealed that the Japanese military not only developed strategies for attacking Pearl Harbor from the air but also foresaw the possibility of American raids on Tokyo.
  - In *Japan in Danger: A Great Naval War in the Pacific Ocean*, Nakadzima Takesi described scenarios of a victorious war waged by the Japanese against the United States through naval battles and air bombardment.
  - In *Increasing Japanese-American Danger*, Vice Admiral Sesa Tanetsugu wrote that he was convinced of the inevitability of Japanese-American conflict.
  - Ikedzaki Talakta presented in *The Predestined Japanese-American War* a compilation of articles on the subject of the inevitability of a Japanese-American war. A newspaper review lauded this book as “a work of passionate love for the native land” and assured readers that “if Japan draws its sword, the false, haughty America will be powerless” (February 3, 1933, report, p. 260).
27. *“Before a new world appears”*: Delmer Brown, *Nationalism in Japan*, p. 187; see also Okawa Shumei, “Aja, Yoroppa, Nihon (Asia, Europe, and Japan),” p. 82, translated in “Analyses,”

- IPS document no. 64, pp. 3–4 (*italics added*).
29. *To prepare for the inevitable war with China*: Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Showa: An Inside History of Hirohito's Japan* (New York: Schocken, 1985), pp. 21–29.
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  31. *abuse*: *Ibid.*
  32. "*I do not beat you because I hate you*": *Ibid.*, p. 189.
  32. *The intensity of the training in Japan*: 106/5485, February 1928 report, p. 136, Papers of the British War Office in the Public Record Office, Kew, London. An OSS report on Japanese army training summarizes the process of indoctrination: "The smallest infraction or error in regulations brings instant and severe punishment. Act tough—shout, don't talk—scowl, don't look pleasant—be tough—have no desires—forget your family at home—never show emotionalism—do everything the hard way—don't let yourself be comfortable—train and discipline your desires for comfort, food and water—suffer pain and hardship in silence—you are a son of Heaven"; report no. 8974-B, dissemination no. A-17403, distributed December 28, 1943, Research and Analysis Branch Divisions, Intelligence Reports "Regular" Series, 1941–45, box 621, entry 16, record group 226, National Archives.
  32. "*During these impressionable years*": 106/5485, February 1928 report, p. 84, Papers of the British War Office.
  33. *That August, while attempting to land thirty-five thousand fresh troops*: David Bergamini, *Japan's Imperial Conspiracy* (New York: Morrow, 1971), p. 11.
  33. *In the 1930s Japanese military leaders*: John Toland, *The Rising Sun: The Decline and Fall of the Japanese Empire* (New York: Random House), p. 47. "Crush the Chinese in three months and they will sue for peace," Minister Sugiyama predicted.

## CHAPTER 2: SIX WEEKS OF TERROR

37. "specialist in thought control, intimidation and torture": David Bergamini, *Japan's Imperial Conspiracy* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1971), p. 16.
37. "a beast": Kimura Kuninori, *Koseiha Shogun Nakajima Kesago* [*Nakajima Kesago, General of the Individualist Faction*]. (Tokyo: Kôjinsha, 1987), p. 212.
37. "masked shogun": Sugawara Yutaka, *Yamatogokoro: Fukumen Shogun Yanagawa Heisuke Seidan* [*Spirit of Japan: Elevated Conversation from the Masked Shogun Yanagawa Heisuke*]. (Tokyo: Keizai Oraisha, 1971), p. 9.
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  47. *These atrocities shocked many of the Japanese correspondents*: The English translations of the Japanese journalists' accounts of the Nanking massacre appear in Yin and Young, *The Rape of Nanking*, pp. 52–56.
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  47. "On Hsiakwan wharves": Imai Masatake, "Japanese Aggression Troops' Atrocities in China," *China Military Science Institute*, 1986, pp. 143–44.
  48. "Those in the first row were beheaded": Omata Yukio, *Reports and Recollections of Japanese Military Correspondents* (Tokyo: Tokuma Shoten, 1985).

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48. "I've seen piled-up bodies": Quoted in Yang Qiqiao, "Refutation of the Nine-Point Query by Tanaka Masaaki," *Baixing* (Hong Kong), no. 86 (1985).
49. "Women suffered most": Quoted in Hu Hua-ling, "Chinese Women Under the Rape of Nanking," *Journal of Studies of Japanese Aggression Against China* (November 1991): 70.
49. *Surviving Japanese veterans claim*: Azuma Shiro, undated letter to the author, 1996.
49. *Soldiers were even known to wear amulets*: George Hicks, *The Comfort Women: Japan's Brutal Regime of Enforced Prostitution in the Second World War* (New York: Norton, 1994), p. 32.
49. "At first we used some kinky words": Interview with Azuma Shiro in *In the Name of the Emperor* (film), produced by Nancy Tong and co-directed by Tony and Christine Choy, 1995.
49. "After raping, we would also kill them": Quoted in Hu Hua-ling, "Chinese Women Under the Rape of Nanking," p. 70.
50. "Perhaps when we were raping her": Shiro Azuma, undated letter to the author, 1996.
50. *raping some twenty women*: "The Public Prosecution of Tani Hisao, One of the Leading Participants in the Nanking Massacre," *Heping Daily*, December 31, 1946.
50. "Either pay them money or kill them": Quoted in Bergamini, *Japan's Imperial Conspiracy*, p. 45.
50. "Great Field Marshal on the Steps of Heaven": Quoted in Bergamini, *Japan's Imperial Conspiracy*, p. 39.
50. *The next day the Western news media*: Hallett Abend, "Japanese Curbing Nanking Excesses," *New York Times*, December 18, 1937.
51. "I now realize that we have unknowingly wrought": Okada Takashi, testimony before IMTFE, p. 32738.
51. "I personally feel sorry": *Ibid.*, pp. 3510–11.
51. "Never before": Dick Wilson, *When Tigers Fight*, p. 83.
51. "the Japanese army is probably the most undisciplined army": *Ibid.*, p. 83.
51. "It is rumored that unlawful acts continue": Bergamini, *Japan's Imperial Conspiracy*, p. 43; IMTFE exhibit no. 2577; "Proceedings" (Canberra), p. 47187.

52. "My men have done something very wrong": Hidaka Shunrokuro's testimony, IMTFE, p. 21448.
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52. "The Japanese Expeditionary Force in Central China": Yoshimi Yoshiaki, "Historical Understandings on the 'Military Comfort Women' Issue," in *War Victimization and Japan: International Public Hearing Report* (Osaka-shi, Japan: Toho Shuppan, 1993), p. 85.
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54. "To this day": "Some Notes, Comparisons, and Observations by Captain E. H. Watson, USN (Ret) (Former Naval Attaché) After an Absence of Fifteen Years from Japan," Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Division of Naval Intelligence, general correspondence, 1929-42, folder P9-2/EF16#23, box 284, record group 38, National Archives.
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56. "One day Second Lieutenant Ono said to us": Quoted in Wilson, *When Tigers Fight*, p. 80.
57. "All new recruits are like this": *Ibid.*
57. "They had evil eyes": Oral history interview with Tominaga Shozo, in Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore F. Cook, *Japan at War: An Oral History* (New York: New Press, 1992), p. 40.
58. "loyalty is heavier than a mountain": Azuma Shiro, undated letter to the author, 1996.
59. "I remember being driven in a truck": Quoted in Joanna Pitman, "Repentance," *New Republic*, February 10, 1992, p. 14.
59. "Few know that soldiers impaled babies": *Ibid.*

## CHAPTER 3: THE FALL OF NANKING

61. *A city long celebrated*: For Nanking's literary and artistic legacy, ancient history, and the treaty to end the Opium Wars, see *Encyclopedia Britannica*, vol. 24 (1993).
61. *And it was in Nanking in 1911*: *Encyclopedia Americana*, vol. 29 (1992).
62. *The picture would include the intricately carved stone statues*: for Drum Tower history, see Julius Eigner, "The Rise and Fall of Nanking," *National Geographic* (February 1938). Eigner's article, which includes color photographs, provides an excellent description of life in Nanking immediately before the massacre.
62. *"like a coiling dragon and a crouching tiger"*: *Encyclopedia of Asian History*, vol. 3 (1988).
62. *The first invasion occurred*: On the invasions of Nanking, see Julius Eigner, "The Rise and Fall of Nanking," *National Geographic* (February 1938): 189; Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York: Norton, 1990), pp. 805, 171-74.
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63. *Surely, he proclaimed*: Rev. John Gillespie Magee, "Nanking Yesterday and Today," lecture given over the Nanking Broadcasting Station, May 28, 1937, archives of David Magee.
64. *In the summer of 1937*: Author's interviews with survivors.
64. *"Are they giving us an air-raid practice?"*: Chang Siao-sung, letter to friends, October 25, 1937, Ginling correspondence, folder 2738, box 136, series IV, record group 11, UBCHEA, Yale Divinity School Library. The facts in her letter were confirmed by the author in her 1997 telephone interview with Chang Siao-sung, now residing in Waltham, Massachusetts.
65. *Frank Xing, now a practitioner of Oriental medicine*: Frank Xing, interview with the author, San Francisco, January 28, 1997.
65. *My own grandparents nearly separated forever*: Interviews with my maternal grandmother, Yi-Pei Chang, my mother, Ying-Ying Chang, and my aunt, Ling-Ling Chang, May 25, 1996, in New York City.



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67. *More than two hundred thousand Japanese troops*: 793.94/11378A, general records of the Department of State, record group 59, National Archives; Yin and Young, *The Rape of Nanking*, p. 9.
67. *Neither really trusted the other*: Sun Zhaiwei, *1937 Nanjing Beige* (1937: The Tragic Ballad of Nanking) (Taipei: Shenzi Chubanshe, 1995), pp. 31-32.
68. "Either I stay or you stay": Ibid., pp. 27-31.
68. *Before reporters he delivered a rousing speech*: 106/5353, January 2, 1938, Papers of the British War Office in the Public Record Office, Kew, London; Sun Zhaiwei, *1937 Nanjing Beige*, p. 33.
68. "dazed if not doped": Harries and Harries, *Soldiers of the Sun*, p. 219.
68. *He sweated so profusely*: Sun Zhaiwei, *1937 Nanjing Beige*, p. 33.
69. *First Chiang ordered most government officials to move*: Commander E. J. Marquart to Commander in Chief, U.S. Asiatic Fleet (letterhead marked "Yangtze Patrol, U.S.S. Luzon [Flagship]"), November 22, 1937, intelligence summary for week ending November 21, 1937, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Division of Naval Intelligence, general correspondence, 1929-42, folder A8-2/FS#2, box 194, entry 81, record group 38, National Archives.
69. *Within days official-looking cars packed with luggage*: Minnie Vautrin, diary 1937-40, November 16 and 19, December 4, 1937, pp. 71-72, 94-95, Yale Divinity School Library.
69. *And then, in mid-November, fifty thousand Chinese troops*: Ibid., November 17, 1937, p. 72.
69. *Arriving from upriver ports*: Commanding Officer J. J. Hughes to Commander in Chief, U.S. Asiatic Fleet (letterhead marked "Yangtze Patrol, U.S.S. Panay"), November 29, 1937, intelligence summary for week ending November 28, 1937, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Division of Naval Intelli-

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69. *The troops transformed the face of Nanking*: F. Tillman Durdin, "Japanese Atrocities Marked Fall of Nanking After Chinese Command Fled," *New York Times*, December 22, 1937; "21 U.S. Citizens Now in Nanking: Only Eight Heed Warning to Evacuate Besieged City," *Chicago Daily News*, December 7, 1937; 793.94/11466, General Records of the Department of State, microfilm, record group 59, National Archives; Harries and Harries, *Soldiers of the Sun*, p. 219.
69. *In early December the military also resolved*: A. T. Steele, "Nanking Ready for Last Stand; Defenders Fight Only for Honor: Suburban Areas Aflame; Chinese May Destroy City in Defeat," *Chicago Daily News*, December 9, 1937, p. 2; Durdin, "Japanese Atrocities Marked Fall of Nanking," p. 38; Minnie Vautrin, diary 1937–40, December 7, 1937, p. 99, Yale Divinity School Library.
70. *"an outlet for rage and frustration"*: Durdin, "Japanese Atrocities Marked Fall of Nanking," *New York Times*, p. 38.
70. *On December 2, hundreds of boxes of Palace Museum treasures*: Minnie Vautrin, diary 1937–40, December 2, 1937, p. 93, Yale Divinity School Library.
70. *Six days later, on December 8, Chiang Kai-shek*: For information on the departure of Chiang, see Reginald Sweetland, "Chiang Flees to Escape Pressure of 'Red' Aides," *Chicago Daily News*, December 8, 1937; Frank Tillman Durdin, "Japanese Atrocities Marked Fall of City after Chinese Command Fled," *New York Times*, December 22, 1937, p. 38; 793.94/12060, report no. 9114, December 11, 1937 (day-by-day description of Japanese military maneuvers), restricted report, General Records of the Department of State, record group 59, National Archives.
70. *During the battle of Shanghai*: For statistics on the Chinese and Japanese air forces, see Sun Zhaiwei, *1937 Nanjing Beige*, p. 18. See also Julian Bloom, "Weapons of War, Catalyst for Change: The Development of Military Aviation in China, 1908–1941" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland,

- n.d.), San Diego Aerospace Museum, document no. 28–246; Rene Francillon, *Japanese Aircraft of the Pacific War* (London: Putnam, 1970); Eiichiro Sekigawa, *Pictorial History of Japanese Military Aviation*, ed. David Mondey (London: Ian Allan, 1974); Robert Mikesh and Shorzoe Abe, *Japanese Aircraft, 1910–1941* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1990).
71. *During the battle of Shanghai, Italian-trained Chinese pilots: Bergamini, Japan's Imperial Conspiracy*, p. 11.
71. *On December 8, the day Chiang and his advisers left the city*: A. T. Steele, "China's Air Force, Disrupted by Superior Planes of Foes, Leaves Nanking to Its Fate," *Chicago Daily News*, December 8, 1937.
71. *Second, the government officials who moved to Chungking*: Nanking Massacre Historical Editorial Committee, ed., (Zhongguo dier lishi dang an gan guan, Nanjing shi dang an guan) *Archival Documents Relating to the Horrible Massacre Committed by the Japanese Troops in Nanking in December 1937*, No. 2, National Archives, Nanking Municipal Archives (Nanking: Jiangsu Guji chubanshe [Jiangsu Ancient Books Publisher], November 1987), p. 46.
71. *Third, the troops did not come from the same regions*: Wei Hu, former paramedic for the Chinese military in Nanking, interview with the author, January 17, 1997, in Sunnyvale, California.
71. *Fourth, many of the "soldiers" in this army*: Ibid.
71. *Tired, hungry, and sick*: *Archival Documents Relating to the Horrible Massacre* (1987), p. 46.
71. *Worst of all, Chinese soldiers*: Ibid.
72. *"protect innocent civilians"*: Quoted in Yin and Young, *The Rape of Nanking*, p. 32; Xu Zhigeng, *Lest We Forget: Nanjing Massacre, 1937* (Beijing: Chinese Literature Press, 1995), p. 43.
72. *"Our army must fight to defend"*: Sun Zhaiwei, *1937 Nanjing Beige*, pp. 98–99; Xu Zhigeng, *Lest We Forget*, p. 44.
72. *Privately, however, Tang negotiated for a truce*: General Records of the Department of State, 793.94/11549, record group 59, National Archives; "Deutsche Botschaft China," document no. 203 in the German diplomatic reports, National History Archives, Xingdian, Taipei County, Republic of China. Chiang's rejection of the proposal came as a shock to Tang and the International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone. In a letter of January 24, 1938, W. Plumer Mills wrote, "General

Tang had assured us that he was confident that Gen. Chiang would accept the truce proposal, so we were surprised to receive a wire from Hankow the next day to the effect that he would not"; from the family archives of W. Plumer Mills's daughter, Angie Mills.

73. *On December 10, the Japanese waited for the city to surrender*: Xu Zhigeng, *Lest We Forget*, p. 44; Bergamini, *Japan's Imperial Conspiracy*, p. 29.
73. "From the 9th to the 11th of December": Tang Sheng-chih to Chiang Kai-shek, telegram, reprinted in *Archival Documents Relating to the Horrible Massacre* (1987), p. 35.
73. *At noon on December 11, General Gu Zhutong placed a telephone call*: Sun Zhaiwei, *1397 Nanjing Beige*, pp. 122–23.
74. *Tang received a telegram*: Ibid., p. 123.
74. *At 3:00 A.M. on December 12*: Ibid., p. 124.
75. *But then electrifying reports reached Tang*: Yin and Young, *The Rape of Nanking*, p. 38.
75. *Sperling agreed to take a flag*: Commanding Officer C. F. Jeffs to the Commander in Chief, U.S. Asiatic Fleet (letterhead marked the U.S.S. *Oahu*), February 14, 1938, intelligence summary for the week ending February 13, 1938. The report included an excerpt from a missionary letter (from George Fitch's diary, name not given), which was not given to the press for fear of reprisals from the Japanese; Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Division of Naval Intelligence, General Correspondence, 1929–42, folder A8–21/FS#3, box 195, entry 81, record group 38, National Archives; see also George Fitch, *My Eighty Years in China* (Taipei: Mei Ya Publications, 1974), p. 102.
75. *That afternoon, just minutes before his commanders*: Sun Zhaiwei, *1937 Nanjing Beige*, pp. 124–26.
76. *Not surprisingly, the order to retreat*: Ibid.
76. *Their soldiers continued to fight the Japanese*: Wilson, *When Tigers Fight*, p. 70.
76. *Even in the larger, tragic scheme of things*: Durdin, "Japanese Atrocities Marked Fall of Nanking"; A. T. Steele, "Reporters Liken Slaughter of Panicky Nanking Chinese to Jackrabbit Drive in US," *Chicago Daily News*, February 4, 1938; F. Tillman Durdin, "U.S. Naval Display Reported Likely Unless Japan Guarantees Our Rights; Butchery Marked Capture of Nanking," *New York Times*, December 18, 1937; author's interviews with survivors.

77. *But before the gate lay a scene*: For details of the congestion, fire and deaths before the gate and the desperate attempts to cross the river, see A. T. Steele, "Panic of Chinese in Capture of Nanking, Scenes of Horror and Brutality Are Revealed," *Chicago Daily News*, February, 3, 1938, p. 2; Arthur Menken, "Witness Tells Nanking Horror as Chinese Flee," *Chicago Tribune*, December 17, 1937, p. 4; Durdin, "Japanese Atrocities Marked Fall of Nanking," p. 38; Fitch, *My Eighty Years in China*, p. 102; Wilson, *When Tigers Fight*; Gao Xingzu, Wu Shimin, Hu Yungong, and Zha Ruizhen, "Japanese Imperialism and the Massacre in Nanjing"; author's interviews with survivors.
77. *Tang witnessed much of this chaos*: For information on Tang's journey to the docks, see Sun Zhaiwei, *1937 Nanjing Beige*, pp. 133–35.
78. *Terrified crews tried to ward off the surging mob*: Author interview with survivor Niu Xianming in Monterey Park, California, and interviews with other survivors in Nanking, People's Republic of China.
78. *That evening a fire broke out on Chungshan Road*: How the fire started near the Water Gate is a matter of dispute. A. T. Steele wrote that Chinese soldiers torched the Ministry of Communications—a beautiful \$1 million office building and ceremonial hall—to destroy all the ammunition that had been stored inside ["Power of Chinese in Capture of Nanking, Scenes of Horror and Brutality Are Revealed," *Chicago Daily News*, February 3, 1938]. Another speculates that stray Japanese shells might have ignited nearby to ignite the ammunition; still another believes that two military vehicles had collided and burst into flames in the tunnel under the Water Gate [Dick Wilson, *When Tigers Fight*, pp. 66–85].
79. *Never experienced a day as dark*: Sun Zhaiwei, pp. 133–35.

#### CHAPTER 4: SIX WEEKS OF HORROR

81. *Approximately half the original population*: Sun Zhaiwei, "The Nanking Massacre and the Nanking Population," pp. 75–80.
82. *Weary of fire, weary of bombardment*: Frank Tillman Durdin, "Japanese Atrocities Marked Fall of Nanking after Chinese Command Fled," *New York Times*, December 22, 1937, p. 38; Minnie Vautrin, diary 1937–40, December 14, 1937, p. 110.

82. *Eyewitnesses later claimed*: Hsu Chuang-ying, testimony before IMTFE, Records from the Allied Operational/Occupation Headquarters, IMTFE transcript, entry 319, record group 331, p. 2562, National Archives. Hsu testifies: "The Japanese soldiers, when they entered the city—they were very very rough, and they were very barbarous; they shoot at everyone in sight. Anybody who runs away, or on the street, or hanging around somewhere, or peeking through the door, they shoot them— instant death." Several newspaper articles, diary entries, and letters echo Hsu's words. "Any person who, through excitement or fear, ran at the approach of the Japanese soldiers was in danger of being shot down," F. Tillman Durdin wrote (*New York Times*, December 22, 1937). "Often old men were to be seen face downward on the pavement, apparently shot in the back at the whim of some Japanese soldier." See also George Fitch's diary entries reprinted in *Reader's Digest* (July 1938): "To run was to be plugged instantly," he wrote. "Many were shot in seemingly sporting mood by the Japs, who laughed at the terror plainly visible on faces of coolies, merchants, and students alike. It reminded me of a picnic of devils."
83. *Unlike thousands of hapless civilians*: Tang Shunsan, interview with the author, Nanking, July 25, 1995.
87. *Live burials*: Committee for the Historical Materials of the Nanking Massacre and the Nanjing Tushuguan (Nanking Library), ed., *Nanjing datusha shiliao bianji weiyuanhui* (Source Materials Relating to the Horrible Massacre Committed by the Japanese Troops in Nanking in December 1937) (Nanking: Jiangsu guji chubanshe [Jiangsu Ancient Books Publisher], July 1985), p. 142.
87. *Mutilation*: On nailing prisoners to wooden boards, see Ling Da, "Xuelui hua jingling (Using Blood and Tears to Describe Nanjing)," *Yuzhou Feng (The Wind of the Universe)* 71 (July 1938), reprinted in *ibid.*, pp. 142–44. Ling Da was not a witness but someone who interviewed a survivor called Tan.

On the crucifixion of prisoners on trees and electrical posts and bayonet practice, see Zhu Chengshan, *Qinghua rijun Nanjing datusha xingcunzhe zhengyanji (The Testimony of the Survivors of the Nanking Massacre Committed by the Invading Japanese)* (Nanking: Nanjing daxue chubanshe [University of Nanking Press], December 1994), p. 53; *Source Materials Relating to the Horrible Massacre* (1985), pp. 142–44.

On the Japanese carving strips of flesh from victims, see *Archival Documents Relating to the Horrible Massacre* (1987), pp. 68–77.

On eye-gouging, see Gao Xingzu, Wu Shimin, Hu Yungong, and Zha Ruizhen, "Japanese Imperialism and the Massacre in Nanjing."

On atrocities with zhuizi needles, see an article written by a soldier (identity unknown) who escaped from Nanking, "Jingdi shouxing muji ji (Witnessing the Beastly Action of the Japanese in Nanking)," *Hankou Dagongbao*, February 7, 1938, reprinted in *Source Materials Relating to the Horrible Massacre*, p. 129.

87. *Death by fire*: Xu Zhigeng, *Nanjing datusha (The Rape of Nanking)* (Nanking: Jiangshu Wenyi Chubanshe [Jiangshu Literary Publisher], November 1994), p. 74; Gao Xingzu, Wu Shimin, Hu Yungong, and Zha Ruizhen, "Japanese Imperialism and the Massacre in Nanjing"; *Archival Documents Relating to the Horrible Massacre* (1987), pp. 68–77.
88. *Death by ice*: Gao Xingzu, Wu Shimin, Hu Yungong, and Zha Ruizhen, "Japanese Imperialism and the Massacre in Nanjing."
88. *Death by dogs*: *Archival Documents Relating to the Horrible Massacre* (1987), pp. 68–77.
88. *The Japanese saturated victims in acid*: Gao Xingzu, Wu Shimin, Hu Yungong, and Zha Ruizhen, "Japanese Imperialism and the Massacre in Nanjing."
88. *impaled babies*: Xu Zhigeng, *The Rape of Nanking*, p. 138.
88. *hung people by their tongues*: Chia Ting Chen, "Hell on Earth: The Japanese Army in Nanking During 1937–1938: A Barbaric Crime Against Humanity," *Chinese American Forum* 1, no. 1 (May 1984).
88. *One Japanese reporter who later investigated*: Wilson, *When Tigers Fight*, p. 82.
88. *Even genitals, apparently, were consumed*: "Witnessing the Beastly Action of the Japanese in Nanking," p. 128. (Stories of castration, along with pierced vaginas and anuses, are also mentioned on page 68 of *Draft Manuscript of the History Relating to the Horrible Massacre Committed by the Japanese Troops in Nanking in December 1937.*)
89. *Susan Brownmiller, author of the landmark book Against Our Will*: Susan Brownmiller, telephone interview with the author.
89. *Estimates range from as low as twenty thousand*: Rosair, "For One

- Veteran, Emperor Visit Should Be Atonement"; Fitch, "Nanking Outrages," January 10, 1938, Fitch Collection; Li En-han, "Questions of How Many Chinese Were Killed by the Japanese Army in the Great Nanking Massacre," *Journal of Studies of Japanese Aggression Against China* (August 1990): 74.
89. *Many such children were secretly killed*: Oral history interview with Lewis Smythe by Cyrus Peake and Arthur Rosenbaum, Claremont Graduate School, December 11, 1970, February 26 and March 16, 1971, box 228, record group 8, Yale Divinity School Library.
  90. "uncounted": "Deutsche Botschaft China," report no. 21, starting on page 114, in the German diplomatic reports, National History Archives, Republic of China, submitted by the farmers Wang Yao-shan, 75, Mei Yo-san, 70, Wang Yun-kui, 63, and Hsia Ming-feng, 54, "to the German and Danish gentlemen who were staying in the cement factory near Nanking on 26 January 1938."
  90. *The Japanese raped Nanking women from all classes*: Hu Hualing, "Chinese Women Under the Rape of Nanking."
  90. *Some actually conducted door-to-door searches*: Minnie Vautrin, diary 1937-40, March 8, 1938, p. 212.
  90. *This posed a terrible dilemma*: *Ibid.*, December 24, 1937, p. 127.
  90. *For instance, the Japanese army fabricated stories*: Hsu Shuhsi, ed., *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone*, no. 266 (Shanghai, Hong Kong, Singapore: Kelly & Walsh, 1939), p. 128.
  90. *Some soldiers employed Chinese traitors*: Gao Xingzu, Wu Shimin, Hu Yungong, and Zha Ruizhen, "Japanese Imperialism and the Massacre in Nanjing."
  90. *An estimated one-third of all rapes*: Fitch, "Nanking Outrages," January 10, 1938, Fitch Collection.
  90. *Survivors even remember soldiers*: Hou Zhanqing (survivor), interview with the author, Nanking, July 29, 1995.
  90. *No place was too sacred*: Fitch, "Nanking Outrages," January 10, 1938, Fitch Collection.
  91. "Every day, twenty-four hours a day": Quote in *Dagong Daily* reprinted in Gao Xingzu, Wu Shimin, Hu Yungong, and Zha Ruizhen, "Japanese Imperialism and the Massacre in Nanjing."
  91. "clean the penis by her mouth": Hsu Shuhsi, *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone*, no. 436, p. 154.
  91. "rammed a stick up her instead": Dick Wilson, p. 76; Hsu, p. 123.



91. *Many women in their eighties*: Hu Hua-ling, "Chinese Women Under the Rape of Nanking"; "All Military Aggression in China Including Atrocities Against Civilians and Others: Summary of Evidence and Note of Argument," submitted to IMTFE by David Nelson Sutton, November 4, 1946, p. 41, National Archives.
91. *Little girls were raped so brutally*: Shuhsi Hsu, *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone*, no. 428, p. 152.
91. *Chinese witnesses saw Japanese rape girls under ten*: Hou Zhanqing interview.
91. *In some cases, the Japanese sliced open*: "Deutsche Botschaft China," report no. 21, starting on page 114, in the German diplomatic reports, National History Archives, Republic of China. Another account reads: "Since the bodies of most of these young girls were not yet fully developed, they were insufficient to satisfy the animal desires of the Japanese. Still, however, they would go ahead, tear open the girls' genitals, and take turns raping them"; Du Chengxiang, *A Report on the Japanese Atrocities* (Shidai Publishing Co., 1939), p. 55, reprinted in Gao Xingzu, Wu Shimin, Hu Yungong, and Zha Ruizhen, "Japanese Imperialism and the Massacre in Nanjing."
91. *Even advanced stages of pregnancy*: Hu Hua-ling, "Chinese Women Under the Rape of Nanking"; Robert Wilson, letter to family, December 30, 1937, folder 3875, box 229, record group 11, Yale Divinity School Library.
91. *One victim who was nine months pregnant*: IMTFE judgment, p. 451, National Archives.
91. *At least one pregnant woman was kicked*: Chu Yong Ung and Chang Chi Hsiang, in "All Military Aggression in China Including Atrocities Against Civilians and Others," p. 37.
91. *After gang rape, Japanese soldiers*: "A Debt of Blood: An Eyewitness Account of the Barbarous Acts of the Japanese Invaders in Nanjing," *Dagong Daily* (Wuhan), February 7, 1938; *Xinhua Daily*, February 24, 1951; Hu Hua-ling, "Chinese Women Under the Rape of Nanking"; Tang Shunsan, interview with the author, Nanking, People's Republic of China, July 26, 1995; Gao Xingzu, Wu Shimin, Hu Yungong, and Zha Ruizhen, "Japanese Imperialism and the Massacre in Nanjing."
91. *One of the most notorious stories of such a slaughter*: The story of Hsia's family (now Xia under the pinyin system) is told in a

- document describing the pictures taken at Nanking after December 13, 1937, Ernest and Clarissa Forster Collection, box 263, record group 8, Miscellaneous Personal Papers, Yale Divinity School Library.
92. *She was to endure brain damage*: Xia Shuqing (then the eight-year-old survivor), interview with the author, Nanking, July 27, 1995.
  93. *"While I was there"*: Hsu Chuang-ying (witness), testimony before the IMTFE, Records from the Allied Operational/Occupation Headquarters, entry 319, record group 331, p. 2572, National Archives.
  93. *A similar story, no less grisly*: Document about John Magee film no. 7 describing the pictures taken at Nanking after December 13, 1937, Ernest and Clarissa Forster Collection.
  93. *Many other girls, tied naked to chairs*: Bergamini, *Japan's Imperial Conspiracy*, p. 27. See the photograph of one such victim in the illustrations section of this book. It is unclear whether the girl in the photograph is unconscious or dead.
  93. *"According to eyewitness reports"*: Gao Xingzu, Wu Shimin, Hu Yungong, and Zha Ruizhen, "Japanese Imperialism and the Massacre in Nanjing."
  94. *During the mass rape the Japanese destroyed children*: For an account of smothering of infants, see George Fitch diary, entry dated December 17, 1937, quoted in Commanding Officer C. F. Jeffs to the Commander in Chief, U.S. Asiatic Fleet (letterhead marked the U.S.S. *Oahu*), intelligence summary filed for the week ending February 13, 1938, folder A8-21/FS#3, box 195, entry 81, record group 38, National Archives; and James McCallum diary, January 7, 1938, Yale Divinity School Library. For an example of a child choking to death from clothes stuffed in her mouth while her mother was raped, see Chang Kia Sze, testimony of April 6, 1946, Records from the Allied Operational/Occupation Headquarters, IMTFE transcript, entry 319, record group 331, pp. 4506-7, National Archives.
  94. *"415. February 3, about 5 P.M."*: Hsu Shuhsi, editor, *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone*. Prepared under the Auspices of the Council of International Affairs, Chung King (Shanghai, Hong Kong, Singapore: Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., 1939), p. 159.
  94. *"stuck a wire through his nose"*: Wong Pan Sze (24 at the time of the tribunal, 15 at the time of the Rape of Nanking), testimony before the IMTFE, Records of the IMTFE, court exhibits,

1948, World War II War Crimes Records Collection, box 134, entry 14, record group 238, National Archives.

94. *Perhaps one of the most brutal forms of Japanese entertainment:* "Sometimes the soldiers would use bayonets to slice off the women's breasts, revealing the pale white ribs inside their chests. Sometimes they would pierce their bayonets into the women's genitals and leave them crying bitterly on the roadside. Sometimes the Japanese took up wooden bats, hard reed rods, and even turnips, forced the implements into the women's vaginae, and violently beat them to death. Other soldiers stood by applauding the scene and laughing heartily"; quote from Military Commission of the Kuomintang, Political Department, "A True Record of the Atrocities Committed by the Invading Japanese Army," compiled July 1938, reprinted in Gao Xingzu, Wu Shimin, Hu Yungong, and Zha Ruizhen, "Japanese Imperialism and the Massacre in Nanjing"; Wong Pan Sze testimony before the IMTFE; Hu Hua-ling, "Chinese Women Under the Rape of Nanking."
94. *For instance, one Japanese soldier:* Forster to his wife, January 24, 1938, Ernest and Clarissa Forster Collection.
- 94-95. *And on December 22, in a neighborhood near the gate:* Zhu Chengshan, *The Testimony of the Survivors of the Nanjing Massacre*, p. 50.
95. *Chinese men were often sodomized:* see Shuhsi Hsu, *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone*, no. 430, p. 153. Also Dick Wilson, p. 76.
95. *At least one Chinese man was murdered:* "Shisou houde nanjing (Nanking After the Fall into Japanese Hands)," *Mingzheng yugongyu* 20 (January 1938). This article is based on interviews with people who escaped from Nanking and arrived in Wuhan on January 18, 1938. It is reprinted in *Source Materials Relating to the Horrible Massacre* (1985), p. 150.
95. *A Chinese woman had tried to disguise herself:* Xu Zhigeng, *The Rape of Nanking*, p. 115; Sun Zhaiwei, *1937 Nanjing Beige*, p. 353.
95. *Guo Qi, a Chinese battalion commander:* Ko Chi (also known as Guo Qi), "Shendu xueluilu (Recording with Blood and Tears the Fallen Capital)," written in the first half of 1938, published in August 1938 by *Xijing Pingbao*, a Xian newspaper (Xijing is an older name for Xian), reprinted in *Source Materials Relating to the Horrible Massacre* (1985), p. 13.

95. *His report is substantiated*: "Deutsche Botschaft China," report no. 21, starting on page 114, in the German diplomatic reports, National History Archives, Republic of China.
95. *One such family was crossing the Yangtze River*: Hsu Chuang-ying (witness), testimony before the IMTFE, Records from the Allied Operational/Occupation Headquarters, entry 319, record group 331, p. 2573, National Archives. One survivor, Li Ke-he, witnessed four Japanese soldiers who, after raping a 40-year-old woman, forced her father-in-law and son to have sex with her; see Hu Hua-ling, "Chinese Women Under the Rape of Nanking," p. 68. The IMTFE records also mention a father being forced by the Japanese to rape his own daughters, a brother his sister, and an old man his son's wife. "Breasts were torn off, and women were stabbed in the bosoms. Chins were smashed and teeth knocked out. Such hideous scenes are unbearable to watch," the record added; court exhibits, 1948, box 134, entry 14, record group 238, p. 1706, World War II War Crimes Records Collection, National Archives.
96. *Many were able to hide from the Japanese for months*: Minnie Vautrin, diary 1937–40, January 23 and February 24, 1938, pp. 167, 201.
96. *In the countryside women hid in covered holes*: Ibid., February 23, 1938, p. 200.
96. *One Buddhist nun and a little girl*: John Magee to "Billy" (signed "John"), January 11, 1938, Ernest and Clarissa Forster Collection.
96. *Some used disguise—rubbing soot on their faces*: Bergamini, *Japan's Imperial Conspiracy*, p. 37; Minnie Vautrin, diary 1937–40, December 17, 1937, p. 115.
96. *One clever young woman disguised herself as an old woman*: Minnie Vautrin, diary 1937–40, January 23, 1938, p. 168.
96. *Others feigned sickness, such as the woman*: Hsu Shuhsi, *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone*, no. 408, p. 158.
96. *Another woman took the advice*: Forster's undated letter to his wife, Ernest and Clarissa Forster Collection.
96. *One girl barely avoided assault*: John Magee, letter to his wife, January 1, 1938, archives of David Magee.
96. *Those who defied the Japanese*: Gao Xingzu, Wu Shimin, Hu Yungong, and Zha Ruizhen, "Japanese Imperialism and the Massacre in Nanjing."
96. *A schoolteacher gunned down five Japanese soldiers*: Hu Hua-ling,

- "Chinese Women Under the Rape of Nanking," p. 68.
97. *In 1937, eighteen-year-old Li Xouying*: Li Xouying, interview with the author, Nanking, July 27, 1995.
  100. "The question is so big": Miner Searle Bates testimony before the IMTFE, pp. 2629–30.
  100. *The Chinese military specialist Liu Fang-chu*: Li En-han, "Questions of How Many Chinese Were Killed by the Japanese Army in the Great Nanking Massacre," *Journal of Studies of Japanese Aggression Against China* (August 1990).
  100. *Officials at the Memorial Hall of the Victims of the Nanking Massacre by Japanese Invaders*: Author's interviews with museum officials. The number 300,000 is inscribed prominently on the museum's entrance. Honda Katsuichi, a Japanese writer, went back to Nanking a few decades later to check the stories for himself. He thinks that 200,000 Chinese were killed by the second day of the capture of the city and that by February the death toll had risen to 300,000. (Wilson, *When Tigers Fight*, pp. 81–82.) The Chinese historian Li En-han said that "the estimate of the total number of deaths . . . as 300,000 is absolutely reliable." (Hu Hua-ling, "Commemorating the 53rd Anniversary of the Great Nanking Massacre: Refuting Shintaro Ishihara's Absurdity and Lie," *Journal of Studies of Japanese Aggression Against China*, November 1990, p. 27.)
  100. *The IMTFE judges concluded that more than 260,000 people*: "Table: Estimated Number of Victims of Japanese Massacre in Nanking," document no. 1702, box 134, IMTFE records, court exhibits, 1948, World War II War Crimes Records Collection, entry 14, record group 238, National Archives.
  100. *Fujiwara Akira, a Japanese historian*: Hu Hua-ling, "Commemorating the 53rd Anniversary," p. 72.
  100. *John Rabe, who never conducted a systematic count*: John Rabe, "Enemy Planes over Nanking," report to Adolf Hitler, in the Yale Divinity School Library. Rabe writes: "According to Chinese reports, a total of 100,000 Chinese civilians were murdered. But that seems to be an overassessment—we Europeans estimate the number to be somewhere between 50,000 and 60,000."
  100. *The Japanese author Hata Ikuhiko claims*: Cook and Cook, *Japan at War*, p. 39.
  100. *Still others in Japan*: Ibid.
  100. *In 1994 archival evidence emerged*: United Press International, May 10, 1994.

100. *Perhaps no one has made a more thorough study*: Sun Zhaiwei, "The Nanking Massacre and the Nanking Population," pp. 75–80; "Guanyu nanjing datusa siti chunide yenjou (On the Subject of Body Disposal During the Nanking Massacre)," *Nanjing Shehui Kexue* 44, no. 4 (1991): 72–78.
100. *Nanjing zizhi weiyuanhui*: The setting up of such a puppet government was a longstanding custom of the Japanese in areas of China they occupied and it enabled the Japanese to preserve local structures of power and make some local elites beholden to them.
101. *However, this statistic balloons still larger*: *Archival Documents Relating to the Horrible Massacre* (1987), pp. 101–3; "150,000 Bodies Dumped in River in Nanking Massacre Affidavit," Reuters, December 14, 1990.
102. *For instance, in his paper*: Wu Tien-wei, "Let the Whole World Know the Nanking Massacre: A Review of Three Recent Pictorial Books on the Massacre and Its Studies," report distributed in 1997 by the Society for Studies of Japanese Aggression Against China.
103. *The authors James Yin and Shi Young*: Shi Young, telephone interview with the author.
103. *They dismiss arguments from other experts*: It is difficult to say how many bodies washed up along the river were eventually buried along the banks. On April 11, 1938, Minnie Vautrin wrote in her diary that a man mentioned to her that "there are reported still many dead bodies on both sides of the Yangtze and many bloated ones floating down the river—soldiers and civilians. I asked him if he meant tens or hundreds and he said it seemed to him to be thousands and thousands"; diary 1937–40, p. 247.
104. *"Since return (to) Shanghai a few days ago"*: "Red Machine" Japanese diplomatic messages, no. 1263, translated February 1, 1938, record group 457, National Archives. *Manchester Guardian* correspondent H. J. Timperley originally wrote this report, which was stopped by Japanese censors in Shanghai. (See "Red Machine" Japanese diplomatic messages, no. 1257.) His estimate of 300,000 deaths was later included in the message sent by Japanese Foreign Minister Hirota Koki to Washington, DC. The significance of this message is that the Japanese government not only knew about the 300,000 figure given by Timperley but tried to suppress the information at the time.

## CHAPTER 5: THE NANKING SAFETY ZONE

106. *In November 1937, Father Jacquinet de Bessage*: Tien-wei Wu, "Let the Whole World Know the Nanking Massacre," p. 16.
106. *When the Presbyterian missionary W. Plumer Mills*: Angie Mills to the author, February 16, 1997. In her family archives, Mills found a copy of a speech given by John Rabe on February 28, 1938, at the Foreign YMCA in Shanghai to a group of Westerners. In it he said, "I must tell you Mr. Mills is the man who originally had the idea of creating the Safety Zone. I can say that the brains of our organization were to be found in the Ping Tsang Hsiang No. 3 [the address, according to Angie Mills, of Lossing Buck's house, where nine or ten of the Americans were living during this period, near Nanking University]. Thanks to the cleverness of my American friends: Mr. Mills, Mr. Bates, Dr. Smythe, Mr. Fitch, Mr. Sone, Mr. Magee, Mr. Forster and Mr. Riggs, the Committee was put on its feet and thanks to their hard work it ran as smoothly as could be expected under the dreadful circumstances we lived in."
107. *Interestingly enough, the Panay would later be bombed*: "Sinking of the U.S.S. *Panay*," ch. 11 of *Some Phases of the Sino-Japanese Conflict* (July–December 1937), compiled from the records of the Commander in Chief, Asiatic Fleet, by Captain W. A. Angwin (MC), USN, December 1938, Shanghai, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Division of Naval Intelligence, general correspondence, 1929–42, folder P9–2/EF16#23, box 284, entry 81, record group 38, National Archives; "The *Panay* Incident," Records of the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Records of the Deputy Chief of Naval Operations, 1882–1954, Intelligence Division—Naval Attaché Reports, 1886–1939, box 438, entry 98, record group 38, National Archives; "The Bombing of the U.S.S. *Panay*," drawn by Mr. E. Larsen after consultation with Mr. Norman Alley, December 31, 1937, box 438, entry 98, record group 38, National Archives; Weldon James, "Terror Hours on *Panay* Told by Passenger," *Chicago Daily News*, December 13, 1937; A. T. Steele, "Chinese War Horror Pictured by Reporter: *Panay* Victims Under Japanese Fire for Full Half Hour; Butchery and Looting Reign in Nanking," *Chicago Daily News*, December 17, 1937; Bergamini, pp. 24–28.
108. "We were not rich": Marjorie Wilson, telephone interview with the author.

108. *"Would they kill us?":* Alice Tisdale Hobart, *Within the Walls of Nanking* (New York: Macmillan, 1928), pp. 207–8.
108. *"We were more prepared for excesses from the fleeing Chinese":* "Deutsche Botschaft China," German diplomatic reports, document dated January 15, 1938, starting on page 214, National History Archives, Republic of China.
109. *The son of a sea captain:* Details of John Rabe's early life come from correspondence between the author and Rabe's granddaughter, Ursula Reinhardt, and from the archives of the Siemens Company, Berlin Germany.
109. *"I believe not only in the correctness of our political system":* Rabe's account of the Rape of Nanking can be found in his report to Adolf Hitler, entitled "Enemy Planes over Nanking," copies of which are now at Yale Divinity School Library, the Memorial Hall of the Victims of the Nanking Massacre by Japanese Invaders, and the Budesarchiv of the Federal Republic of Germany. Information and quotes in this section not otherwise attributed come from this report.
112. *"the mayor of Nanking."* Letter from John Rabe of the International Committee for Nanking Safety Zone to the Imperial Japanese Embassy, December 27, 1937, enclosure to report entitled "Conditions in Nanking," January 25, 1938, Intelligence Division, Naval Attaché Reports, 1886–1939, Records of the Office of the Deputy Chief of Naval Operations, 1882–1954, Office of Naval Intelligence, box 996, entry 98, record group 38, National Archives.
113. *lost an eye:* Fitch, *My Eighty Years in China*, p. 101.
113. *only a fraction of the total food:* Hsu, p. 56.
116. *Han Chung Road:* Hsu, p. 2.
116. *mingled with civilians:* Letter from John Rabe to Fukuda Tokuyasa, December 15, 1937, box 996, entry 98, record group 38, National Archives.
116. *"We knew that there were a number of ex-soldiers":* George Fitch, diary entry for December 14, 1937, reprinted in *My Eighty Years in China*, p. 106. One of the original copies can be found in Commanding Officer C. F. Jeffs to the Commander in Chief, U.S. Asiatic Fleet (letterhead marked the U.S.S. *Oahu*), February 14, 1938, intelligence summary filed for the week ending February 13, 1938, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Division of Naval Intelligence, general correspondence, 1929–42, p. 5, folder A8–21/FS#3, box 195, entry 81, record group 38, National Archives. In the diary, Fitch wrote:



- "Not a whimper came from the entire throng. Our own hearts were lead. . . . How foolish I had been to tell them the Japanese would spare their lives!"
118. *"All 27 Westerners in the city"*: Letter from John Rabe to the Imperial Japanese Embassy, December 17, 1937, enclosure no. 8 to report entitled "Conditions in Nanking," January 25, 1938, box 996, entry 98, record group 38, National Archives. This letter can also be found in Hsu Shuhsi, ed., *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone: Prepared under the Auspices of the Council of International Affairs, Chungking* (Shanghai, Hong Kong, Singapore: Kelly & Walsh, 1939).
  118. *"We did not find a single Japanese patrol"*: Rabe to Imperial Japanese Embassy, December 17, 1937; Hsu Shuhsi, *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone*, p. 12.
  118. *"Yesterday, in broad daylight"*: Rabe to Imperial Japanese Embassy, December 17, 1937; Hsu Shuhsi, *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone*, p. 20.
  118. *"If this process of terrorism continues"*: Rabe to Imperial Japanese Embassy, December 17, 1937; Shuhsi Hsu, *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone*, p. 17.
  118. *During the great Rape some Japanese embassy officials: IMTFE judgment*, National Archives. See "Verdict of the International/Military Tribunal for the Far East on the Rape of Nanking," *Journal of Studies of Japanese Agression Against China*, November 1990, p. 75.
  118. *"if you tell the newspaper reporters anything bad"*: Fu Kuishan's warning to Rabe, recorded in John Rabe diary, February 10, 1938, p. 723.
  119. *Once there, he would chase Japanese soldiers away*: Robert Wilson, letter to family, January 31, 1938, p. 61.
  120. *failed to take the matter seriously*: Even the Japanese embassy staff seemed secretly gleeful of the excesses of the Japanese army. When Hsu Chuang-ying caught a Japanese soldier raping a woman in a bath house and informed Fukuda, vice-consul of the Japanese embassy, of the situation, he saw that Fukuda had "a little smile on his face." Transcript of the International Military Tribunal of the Far East. Testimony of Hsu Chuang-ying, witness. RG 311, Entry 319, page 2570-2571. Records from the Allied Operational/Occupation Headquarters, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
  120. *"when any of them objects [Rabe] thrusts his Nazi armband"*: Copy of George Fitch diary, enclosed in file from Assistant

- Naval Attaché E. G. Hagen to Chief of Naval Operations (Director of Naval Intelligence), Navy Department, Washington, D.C., March 7, 1938, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Division of Naval Intelligence, general correspondence, 1929-42, folder P9-2/EF16#8, box 277, entry 81, record group 38; also reprinted in Fitch, *My Eighty Years in China*, p. 114.
121. *Once, when four Japanese soldiers in the midst of raping and looting: "Cases of Disorder by Japanese Soldiers in the Safety Zone,"* filed January 4, 1938, in Hsu Shuhsi, *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone*, p. 65.
  121. *"bad business to shoot a German subject": "Cases of Disorder by Japanese Soldiers in the Safety Zone,"* subenclosure to enclosure no. 1-c, Intelligence Division, Naval Attaché Reports, 1886-1939, Records of the Office of the Deputy Chief of Naval Operations, 1882-1954, Office of Naval Intelligence, folder H-8-B Register#1727A, box 996, entry 98, record group 38, National Archives.
  121. *During one of his visits to the zone:* Minnie Vautrin, diary 1937-40, February 17, 1938, p. 198.
  121. *"almost wear a Nazi badge":* Fitch, "Nanking Outrages," January 10, 1938, Fitch Collection.
  121. *"He is well up in Nazi circles":* Robert Wilson, letter to family, Christmas Eve 1937, p. 6.
  122. *Born in 1904:* Early biographical information on Robert Wilson comes from Marjorie Wilson (his widow), telephone interviews with the author.
  122. *The first two years for the Wilsons:* Ibid.
  122. *After the Marco Polo Bridge incident in July:* Robert Wilson, letter to family, August 18, 1937.
  123. *"He saw this as his duty":* Marjorie Wilson, telephone interview.
  123. *No doubt to dispel loneliness:* Robert Wilson, letter to family, October 12, 1937, p. 15.
  123. *Most contained gruesome descriptions:* Ibid., August 20, 1937, p. 9.
  123. *"a respectable museum":* Ibid., December 9, 1937, p. 35.
  123. *On September 25, in one of the worst air raids:* Ibid., September 25 and 27, 1937; Minnie Vautrin, diary 1937-40, September 26, 1937, p. 33.
  124. *Heavy black curtains were drawn:* Robert Wilson, letter to family, August 23, 1937.
  124. *There were approximately one hundred thousand wounded Chinese veterans:* Commander Yangtze Patrol E. J. Marquart to Commander in Chief, U.S. Asiatic Fleet (letterhead marked

- "Yangtze Patrol, U.S.S. *Luzon* [Flagship])," intelligence summary for week ending October 24, 1937, October 25, 1937, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Division of Naval Intelligence, general correspondence, 1929-42, folder A8-2/FS, box 194, entry 81, record group 38, National Archives; Minnie Vautrin, diary 1937-40, October 26 and November 8, 1937, pp. 55, 64 (she writes that some 100,000 soldiers have been injured or killed in the Shanghai area).
124. *Soldiers who healed were returned*: Ibid.
124. *Chinese doctors and nurses*: Minnie Vautrin, diary 1937-40, December 5, 1937, p. 96; Ernest and Clarissa Forster, letter to parents, December 7, 1937, Ernest and Clarissa Forster Collection.
124. *Ultimately, however, he was unable to convince them*: Robert O. Wilson (witness), testimony, Records of the Allied Operational/Occupation Headquarters, IMTFE transcript, entry 319, record group 331, pp. 2531-32, National Archives.
124. *By the end of the first week of December*: Mrs. E. H. Forster report, December 12, 1937, from newsletter in Ernest and Clarissa Forster Collection.
124. *When Richard Brady*: Robert Wilson, letter to family, December 2, 1937; A. T. Steele, "Tells Heroism of Yankees in Nanking," *Chicago Daily News*, December 18, 1937.
125. *"It is quite a sensation"*: Robert Wilson, letter to family, December 7, 1937.
125. *"naturally pretty shaky"*: Ibid., December 14, 1937.
125. *Wilson saw Japanese flags fluttering*: Ibid.
125. *They broke into the main hospital*: Durdin, "Japanese Atrocities Marked Fall of Nanking"; Rabe, "Enemy Planes over Nanking"; an excerpt from a verbal presentation by Mr. Smith of Reuters about the events of Nanking on December 9-15, 1937, document no. 178, Hankow, January 1, 1938, in "Deutsche Botschaft China," German diplomatic reports, National History Archives, Republic of China.
125. *"swift kick"*: Robert Wilson, letter to family, December 18, 1937.
125. *He also watched soldiers burn a heap of musical instruments*: Ibid., December 28, 1937.
126. *"The crowning insult"*: Ibid., December 19, 1937.
126. *"December 15: The slaughter of civilians is appalling"*: Ibid., December 15, 1937.
126. *"December 18: Today marks the 6th day"*: Ibid., December 18, 1937.

126. *"December 19: All the food is being stolen"*: Ibid., December 19, 1937.
126. *"Christmas Eve: Now they tell us"*: Ibid., December 24, 1937.
126. *"The only consolation"*: Ibid., December 30, 1937.
127. *Frequently Wilson and the others saw the Japanese*: Durdin, "Japanese Atrocities Marked Fall of Nanking."
127. *After the fall of Nanking, the big trenches*: Robert Wilson, letter to family, December 24, 1937.
127. *The Japanese soldiers he confronted*: Robert Wilson, letter to family, December 21, 1937, p. 6; Marjorie Wilson, telephone interview with the author; John Magee to "Billy" (signed "John"), January 11, 1938, Ernest and Clarissa Forster Collection.
127. *One of the worst scenes*: Marjorie Wilson, telephone interview with the author.
127. *He told his wife that he would never forget the woman*: Ibid.
127. *"This morning came another woman in a sad plight"*: J. H. McCallum, diary entry for January 3, 1937, reprinted in *American Missionary Eyewitnesses to the Nanking Massacre, 1937-1938*, ed. Martha Lund Smalley (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Divinity School Library, 1997), p. 39.
128. *Incredible account of survival*: Robert Wilson, letter to family, January 1, 1938, p. 11.
128. *Struggled with a fever of 102 degrees*: Ibid., December 26, 1937, p. 7.
129. *Survivors of the massacre remember*: James Yin (coauthor of *The Rape of Nanking*), telephone interview with the author. The information about McCallum comes from his research in China.
129. *When the massacre and rapes gradually subsided*: Margorie Wilson, telephone interview with the author.
130. *Vautrin, the daughter of a blacksmith*: Early biographical details about Vautrin come from Emma Lyon (Vautrin's niece), telephone interview with the author, October 28, 1996.
130. *In her diary, she never ceased to marvel*: Most of the information for this section comes directly from Vautrin's diary, 1937-40, Yale Divinity School Library. Although she used her own page-numbering system (on the top of the middle of each page), I have used the Yale Divinity School page numbers, which were stamped on the top right-hand corner of each diary page.
130. *In the summer of 1937, while vacationing*: Minnie Vautrin, diary 1937-40, July 2-18, 1937, p. 2.

130. *Still, Vautrin refused to join the other Americans*: Ibid., September 20, 1937, p. 27.
131. *The embassy staff also gave her*: Ibid., December 1 and 8, 1937, pp. 91, 100; Commanding Officer C. F. Jeffs to the Commander in Chief, U.S. Asiatic Fleet (letterhead marked the U.S.S. *Oahu*), intelligence summary for the week ending February 13, 1938, February 14, 1938 (includes excerpt of missionary letter, which was not given to the press for fear of reprisals from the Japanese); George Fitch diary (name not given in report), Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Division of Naval Intelligence, general correspondence, 1929–42, folder A8–21/FS#3, box 195, entry 81, record group 38, National Archives.
131. *She labored to prepare the campus for female refugees*: Minnie Vautrin, diary 1937–40, December 3, 6, and 7, 1937, pp. 94, 97, 98.
131. *Vautrin also commissioned the sewing*: Ibid., October 6, 1937, p. 41.
131. *By the second week of December*: Minnie Vautrin, "Sharing 'the Abundant Life' in a Refugee Camp," April 28, 1938, box 103, record group 8, Jarvis Collection, Yale Divinity School Library.
131. *Refugees were passing through the city*: Letter to parents, probably from Forster, October 4, 1937, from Hsiakwan, Ernest and Clarissa Forster Collection.
131. *Many of them, exhausted, bewildered, and hungry*: 793.94/12060, report no. 9114, December 11, 1937, restricted report, General Records of the Department of State, National Archives.
131. *"From 8:30 this morning"*: Minnie Vautrin, diary 1937–40, December 15, 1937, p. 111.
131. *Vautrin allowed the women and children*: Ibid.
132. *Vautrin's heart sank*: Ibid., December 16, 1937, pp. 112–13.
132. *They certainly would have been killed*: Ibid., December 16, 1937, p. 113.
132. *A truck went by with eight to ten girls*: Ibid., December 16, 1937, p. 114. In her diary, Vautrin records that the women screamed "Gin Ming," but a more accurate translation of the Chinese expression for help is "Jiu Ming."
132. *"What a heartbreaking sight!"*: Ibid., December 17, 1937, pp. 115–16.
133. *"Never shall I forget that scene"*: Ibid., pp. 117–18.
134. *On at least one occasion Japanese soldiers*: Ibid., December 27, 1937, p. 130.
134. *"the lottery"*: *Source Materials Relating to the Horrible Nanking Massacre* (1985), pp. 9–10.

134. *On New Year's Day 1938, Vautrin rescued*: Minnie Vautrin, diary 1937–40, January 1, 1938, p. 137.
134. *"fierce and unreasonable"*: Ibid., December 18, 1937, pp. 119–20.
134. *"The request was that they be allowed"*: Ibid., December 24, 1937, p. 127.
135. *"Group after group of girls"*: Ibid.
135. *A week after the city fell*: Enclosure to report, "Conditions in Nanking," January 25, 1938, Intelligence Division, Naval Attaché Reports, 1886–1939, Records of the Office of the Deputy Chief of Naval Operations, 1882–1954, Office of Naval Intelligence, box 996, entry 98, record group 38, National Archives; Hu Hua-ling, "Chinese Women Under the Rape of Nanking," p. 69.
135. *Vautrin noticed that the men who arrived*: Minnie Vautrin, diary 1937–40, December 28, 1937, p. 131.
135. *In a few cases the zone leaders were successful*: Fitch, *My Eighty Years in China*, p. 117.
135. *"This proved to be a bluff"*: John Magee, letter to his wife, December 30, 1937, archives of David Magee.
136. *The Draconian threats of the Japanese*: Hsu Shuhsi, *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone*, p. 84.
136. *"You must follow the old customs of marriage"*: Minnie Vautrin, diary 1937–40, December 31, 1937, p. 135.
136. *Vautrin observed that the Japanese soldiers*: Ibid., January 4, 1938, p. 141.
136. *The soldiers also forced the women*: Ibid., January 6, 1938, p. 144.
136. *"because a mother or some other person could vouch for them"*: Ibid., December 31, 1937, p. 135.
136. *After registration, the Japanese tried to eliminate the zone itself*: Ernest Forster, letter of January 21, 1938, Ernest and Clarissa Forster Collection.
136. *February 4 was given as the deadline*: (Authorship unknown, but probably Lewis Smythe), letter of February 1, 1938, box 228, record group 8, Yale Divinity School Library.
137. *Vautrin was wary of these promises*: Minnie Vautrin, diary 1937–40, February 4, 1938, p. 183.
137. *crammed themselves into verandas*: Minnie Vautrin, diary 1937–40, December 18, 1937.
137. *"slept shoulder to shoulder"*: (unidentified author at 145 Hankow Road), letter of February 12, 1939, Ernest and Clarissa Forster Collection.

137. "Oh, God, control the cruel beastliness": Minnie Vautrin, diary 1937-40, December 16, 1937, p. 114.
137. "Don't you people worry": Hsu Chi-ken, *The Great Nanking Massacre: Testimonies of the Eyewitnesses* (Taipei, 1993), pp. 56-57.
137. "You do not need to wear this rising sun emblem": *Ibid.*, p. 60.
138. "China has not perished": Hua-ling W. Hu, "Miss Minnie Vautrin: The Living Goddess for the Suffering Chinese People During the Nanking Massacre," *Chinese American Forum* 11, no. 1 (July 1995): 20; from Ko Chi, "Recording with Blood and Tears the Fallen Capital," in *Source Materials Relating to the Horrible Nanking Massacre* (1985).
138. "She didn't sleep from morning till night": Huang Shu, interview with filmmaker Jim Culp; transcript from the personal archives of Jim Culp, San Francisco.
138. "It was said that once she was slapped": Ko Chi, "Blood and Tears," p. 16; Hua-ling W. Hu, "Miss Minnie Vautrin," p. 18.
138. *Christian Kröger, a Nazi member*: Christian Kröger, "Days of Fate in Nanking," unpublished report, January 13, 1938, archives of Peter Kröger.
138. *Looting and arson made food so scarce*: Minnie Vautrin, diary 1937-40, March 4, 1938, p. 208; on mushrooms, see Liu Fonghua, interview with the author, Nanking, People's Republic of China, July 29, 1995.
138. *They not only provided free rice*: Lewis S. C. Smythe to Tokuyasu Fukuda, Attaché to the Japanese Embassy, enclosure no. 1 to report entitled "Conditions in Nanking," January 25, 1938, Intelligence Division, Naval Attaché Reports, 1886-1939, Records of the Office of the Deputy Chief of Naval Operations, 1882-1954, Office of Naval Intelligence, box 996, entry 98, record group 38, National Archives.
138. *Yet they acted as bodyguards*: James McCallum, diary, December 30, 1937, Yale Divinity School Library.
139. "threatened Riggs with his sword": Hsu Shuhsi, *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone*, p. 24.
139. *A Japanese soldier also threatened professor Miner Searle Bates*: "Cases of Disorder by Japanese Soldiers in Safety Zone," subenclosure to enclosure no. 1-c, Intelligence Division, Naval Attaché Reports, 1886-1939, Records of the Office of the Deputy Chief of Naval Operations, 1882-1954, Office of Naval Intelligence, folder H-8-B Register#1727A, box 996, entry 98, record group 38, National Archives.

139. *Another soldier pulled a gun on Robert Wilson*: Diary of John Magee in long letter to his wife, entry for December 19, 1937, archives of David Magee.
139. *Still another soldier fired a rifle at James McCallum*: "Cases of Disorder by Japanese Soldiers in Safety Zone," subenclosure to enclosure no. 1-c, Intelligence Division, Naval Attaché Reports, 1886–1939, Records of the Office of the Deputy Chief of Naval Operations, 1882–1954, Office of Naval Intelligence, folder H-8-B Register#1727A, box 996, entry 98, record group 38, National Archives.
139. *When Miner Searle Bates visited the headquarters*: John Magee to "Billy" (signed "John"), January 11, 1938, Ernest and Clarissa Forster Collection.
139. *Hatz defended himself with a chair*: John Rabe diary, December 22, 1937, entry, pp. 341–42.
139. *The zone eventually accommodated*: In "Days of Fate in Nanking," Christian Kröger states his belief that 200,000–250,000 refugees fled into the zone on December 12; Miner Searle Bates ("Preliminary Report on Christian Work in Nanking," archives of Shao Tzuping) echoes the figure of 250,000; the estimate of 300,000 refugees in the zone comes from the IMTFE testimony of Hsu Chuang-ying, who was in charge of housing for the zone; see IMTFE transcript, entry 319, record group 331, p. 2561, National Archives.

## CHAPTER 6: WHAT THE WORLD KNEW

144. *Special meals of Nanking noodles*: Morris-Suzuki, *Showa*, p. 34.
144. *Durdin, a twenty-nine-year-old reporter from Houston*: Frank Tillman Durdin, telephone interview with the author, January 1996.
144. *Steele was an older correspondent*: A. T. Steele Collection, Arizona State University Library.
144. *McDaniel was perhaps the most daring*: C. Yates McDaniel, "Nanking Horror Described in Diary of War Reporter," *Chicago Tribune*, December 18, 1937.
144. *Not only did they write riveting stories*: The first American reporter to break the full story of the massacre was Archibald Steele. When the correspondents boarded the *Oahu*, the twenty-nine-year-old Durdin was unable to send any dispatches out by radio because the operator said it was against regulations. But somehow Steele got his stories out. "I think



- he slipped him a \$50 bill or something!" Durdin exclaimed decades later in "Mr. Tillman Durdin's Statement on the News Conference—Refuting the Distortions of His Reports on the Great Nanking Massacre by the Japanese Media" (*Journal of Studies of Japanese Aggression Against China*, August 1992, p. 66). "I was new and young, Steele was an old hand. So he scooped me on the story."
145. *During the massacre most were so frightened*: C. Yates McDaniel, "Nanking Horror Described in Diary of War Reporter," *Chicago Tribune*, December 18, 1937.
  146. "I didn't know where to take him or what to do": "Mr. Tillman Durdin's Statement on the News Conference—Refuting the Distortions of His Reports on the Great Nanking Massacre by the Japanese Media," *Journal of Studies of Japanese Aggression Against China*, August 1992, p. 66.
  146. "I could do nothing": McDaniel, "Nanking Horror Described in Diary of War Reporter."
  146. Details of Durdin's and Steele's last day in Nanking can be found in their news reports, Fitch's diary, and in "Mr. Tillman Durdin's Statement on the News Conference."
  146. *There were also two American newsreel men*: For information on Norman Alley and Eric Mayell filming the attack, see "Camera Men Took Many Panay Pictures," *New York Times*, December 19, 1937.
  146. *Though they survived the attack unscathed*: Steele, "Chinese War Horror Pictured by Reporter."
  146. *While hiding with the surviving Panay passengers*: Hamilton Darby Perry, *The Panay Incident: Prelude to Pearl Harbor* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1969), p. 226.
  146. *On December 13, President Franklin D. Roosevelt*: United Press story printed in *Chicago Daily News*, December 13, 1937.
  146. *Filthy, cold, and wearing only blankets*: "Sinking of the U.S.S. Panay," ch. 11 of *Some Phases of the Sino-Japanese Conflict* (July–December 1937), compiled from the records of the Commander in Chief, Asiatic Fleet, by Capt. W. A. Angwin (MC), USN, December 1938, Shanghai, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Division of Naval Intelligence, general correspondence, 1929–42, folder P9–2/EF16#23, box 284, entry 81, record group 38, National Archives.
  147. *When Alley's and Mayell's footage hit the theaters*: United Press story printed in *Chicago Daily News*, December 29, 1937;

- 793.94/12177, General Records of the Department of State, record group 59, National Archives.
147. *"The embassy cuts no ice"*: Copy of George Fitch diary, enclosed in file from Assistant Naval Attaché E. G. Hagen to Chief of Naval Operations, March 7, 1938, National Archives.
147. *In February they allowed a few American naval officers*: Commanding Officer to the Commander in Chief, U.S. Asiatic Fleet (letterhead marked the U.S.S. *Oahu*), intelligence summary for the week ending February 20, 1938, February 21, 1938, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Division of Naval Intelligence, general correspondence, 1929-42, folder A8-21/FS#3, box 195, entry 81, record group 38, National Archives.
147. *As late as April: "Red Machine"* Japanese diplomatic messages, no. 1794, translated May 4, 1938, boxes 1-4, record group 457, National Archives.
147. *"The assumption I made"*: "Deutsche Botschaft China," document no. 214, German diplomatic reports, National History Archives, Republic of China. According to this report, the German diplomats returned to the city on January 9, 1938.
148. *A machine cipher had protected*: For information on the American Red Machine, see David Kahn, "Roosevelt, Magic and Ultra," in *Historians and Archivists*, ed. George O. Kent (Fairfax, Va.: George Mason University Press, 1991).
148. *"If they do return"*: "Red Machine" Japanese diplomatic messages, no. 1171, record group 457, National Archives.
148. *For example, Norman Alley: Perry, The Panay Incident*, p. 232.
149. *"utmost secrecy"*: "Red Machine" Japanese diplomatic messages, box 2, record group 457, National Archives.
149. *"If that is all the news coming out of Nanking"*: Robert Wilson, letter to family, December 20, 1937.
- 149-150. *"Carefully they were herded"*: George Fitch diary, reprinted in 150. *Reader's Digest* (July 1938).
150. *"tremendously pleased"*: George Fitch, *My Eighty Years in China*, p. 115.
150. *"spontaneous" celebrations: Reader's Digest* (July 1938).
150. *"these acts were not repeated"*: The Smythes, letter of March 8, 1938, box 228, record group 8, Yale Divinity School Library.
150. *"the Imperial Army entered the city"*: Archives of David Magee. A copy of the article can also be found in George Fitch diary, enclosed in file from Assistant Naval Attaché E. G. Hagen to Chief of Naval Operations, March 7, 1938, National Archives.

151. *"Now the Japanese are trying to discredit"*: James McCallum, diary entry for January 9, 1938 (copy), box 119, record group 119, Yale Divinity School Library, reprinted in Smalley, *American Missionary Eyewitnesses to the Nanking Massacre*, p. 43.
151. *"We have seen a couple of issues"*: copy of George Fitch diary, entry for January 11, 1938, enclosed in file from Assistant Naval Attaché E. G. Hagen to Chief of Naval Operations, March 7, 1938, National Archives.
151. *"In March, a government radio station in Tokyo"*: *Reader's Digest* (July 1938).
151. *"Now the latest is from the Japanese paper"*: Lewis and Margaret Smythe, letter to "Friends in God's Country," March 8, 1938, box 228, record group 8, Yale Divinity School Library.
152. *"All good Chinese who return"*: *Reader's Digest* (July 1938).
152. *"a charming, lovable soldier"*: "Deutsche Botschaft China," document starting on page 107, March 4, 1938, National History Archives, Republic of China.
152. *In early February a Japanese general*: Ernest Forster, letter of February 10, 1938, Ernest and Clarissa Forster Collection.
153. *"a mother of an 11-year-old girl"*: "Deutsche Botschaft China," document starting on page 134, February 14, 1938, National History Archives, Republic of China.
153. *The Japanese government barred other reporters*: "Red Machine" Japanese diplomatic messages, D(7-1269) #1129-A, boxes 1-4, record group 457, National Archives.
153. *Superior training in the verbal arts*: John Gillespie Magee, Sr., was the father of John Gillespie Magee, Jr., who served in the Royal Canadian Air Force and wrote the famous World War II poem, "High Flight." ("Oh! I have slipped the surly bonds of earth/And danced the skies on laughter-silvered wings . . .").
154. *"Complete anarchy has reigned"*: copy of George Fitch diary, diary entry for December 24, 1937, enclosed in file from Assistant Naval Attaché E. G. Hagen to Chief of Naval Operations, March 7, 1938, National Archives, reprinted in Fitch, *My Eighty Years in China*, p. 98.
154. *"It is a horrible story to try to relate"*: James McCallum, diary entry for December 19, 1937 (copy), box 119, record group 8, Yale Divinity School Library, reprinted in Smalley, *American Missionary Eyewitnesses to the Nanking Massacre*, p. 21.

155. *"I think I have said enough"*: John Magee, letter to his wife, December 31, 1937, archives of David Magee.
155. *"Please be very careful of this letter"*: John Magee, letter to "Billy" (signed "John"), January 11, 1938, Ernest and Clarissa Forster Collection.
155. *"sensation"*: Fitch, *My Eighty Years in China*, p. 92.
155. *"What I am about to relate"*: copy of George Fitch diary, diary entry for December 24, 1937, enclosed in file from Assistant Naval Attaché E. G. Hagen to Chief of Naval Operations, March 7, 1938, National Archives, reprinted in Fitch, *My Eighty Years in China*, pp. 97–98.
156. *"It is unbelievable that credence could be given"*: *Reader's Digest* (October 1938).
156. It is believed that John Gillespie Magee was the only Westerner who possessed a motion picture camera during the massacre, and that George Fitch may have borrowed this camera to capture the images of Chinese prisoners taken away by the Japanese. David Magee, son of John Magee, still owns the 16-mm-film motion picture camera used by his father to film scenes in the University of Nanking Hospital. Copies of the films are located in the family archives of Tanya Condon, granddaughter of George Fitch; David Magee, son of John Magee; and Margorie Wilson, widow of Robert Wilson. An English-language summary of the contents of the films can be found in "Deutsche Botschaft China," document starting on page 141, German diplomatic reports, National History Archives, Republic of China.
156. *"as unsavory a crowd"*: Fitch, *My Eighty Years in China*, p. 121.
156. *There was no doubt in his mind*: Tanya Condon, telephone interview with the author, March 27, 1997.
157. *At least one, George Fitch, suspected*: Ibid.
157. *"The Japanese military hate us"*: John Magee, letter to family, January 28, 1938, archives of David Magee.

## CHAPTER 7: THE OCCUPATION OF NANKING

159. *"You cannot imagine the disorganization"*: John Magee, undated letter (probably February 1938), archives of David Magee.
159. *"several feet of corpses"*: Durdin, *New York Times*, December 18, 1937.
160. *Observers estimated that Japanese damage*: For estimates of the

- damage, see Lewis Smythe, "War Damage in the Nanking Area" (June 1938), cited in Yin and Young, *The Rape of Nanking*, p. 232.
160. *In a sixty-page report released in June 1938*: Lewis Smythe to Willard Shelton (editor of the *Christian Evangelist*, St. Louis), April 29, 1938, box 103, record group 8, Jarvis Collection, Yale Divinity School Library.
  160. *Fires in Nanking began*: Testimony of Miner Searle Bates (witness), Records from the Allied Operational/Occupation Headquarters, IMTFE transcript, pp. 2636–37, entry 319, record group 331; see also verdict in Tani Hisao's trial in Nanking, reprinted in *Journal of Studies of Japanese Aggression Against China* (February 1991): 68.
  160. *Soldiers torched buildings*: Harries and Harries, *Soldiers of the Sun*, p. 223.
  160. *The zone leaders could not put out these fires*: Hsu Shuhsi, *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone*, p. 51.
  160. *By the end of the first few weeks*: IMTFE judgment; "German Archival Materials Reveal 'The Great Nanking Massacre,'" *Journal of Studies of Japanese Aggression Against China* (May 1991); Lewis and Margaret Smythe, letter to friends, March 8, 1938, Jarvis Collection.
  160. *They burned down the Russian legation embassy*: Hsu Chuang-ying (witness), testimony before the IMTFE, p. 2577; A. T. Steele, "Japanese Troops Kill Thousands: 'Four Days of Hell' in Captured City Told by Eyewitness; Bodies Piled Five Feet High in Streets," *Chicago Daily News*, December 15, 1937; James McCallum, diary entry for December 29, 1937, Yale Divinity School Library.
  160. *The Japanese reserved American property for special insult*: *Reader's Digest* (July 1938).
  160. "remarkable": "Deutsche Botschaft China," document starting on page 214, German diplomatic reports, National History Archives, Republic of China; Kröger, "Days of Fate in Nanking."
  161. *Japanese soldiers devastated the countryside*: "Deutsche Botschaft China," report no. 21, document starting on page 114, submitted by Chinese farmers on January 26, 1938, German diplomatic reports, National History Archives, Republic of China.
  161. *The Japanese also used acetylene torches*: Bates, testimony before the IMTFE, pp. 2635–36; Kröger, "Days of Fate in Nanking."
  161. *Soldiers were permitted to mail back*: IMTFE judgment; Bergamini, *Japan's Imperial Conspiracy*, p. 37.

161. *More than two hundred pianos*: Bates, testimony before the IMTFE, p. 2636.
161. *In late December the Japanese*: History Committee for the Nationalist Party, *Revolutionary Documents*, 1987, vol. 109, p. 311, Taipei, Republic of China.
161. *They coveted foreign cars*: Lewis and Margaret Smythe, letter to friends, March 8, 1938, Jarvis Collection.
161. *(Trucks used to cart corpses*: Hsu Shuhsi, *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone*, p. 14 (John Rabe to Japanese embassy, December 17, 1937, document no. 9).
161. *But the Japanese also invaded Nanking University Hospital*: Robert Wilson, letter to family, December 14, 1937; Bates, testimony before the IMTFE, pp. 2365–36.
161. *A German report noted that on December 15*: An excerpt of a verbal presentation by Mr. Smith of Reuters about the events in Nanking on December 9–15, 1937, in “Deutsche Botschaft China,” document starting on page 178, written in Hankow on January 1, 1938, German diplomatic reports, National History Archives, Republic of China.
161. *“Even handfuls of dirty rice”*: “The Sack of Nanking: An Eyewitness Account of the Saturnalia of Butchery When the Japanese Took China’s Capital, as Told to John Maloney by an American, with 20 Years’ Service in China, Who Remained in Nanking After Its Fall,” *Ken* (Chicago), June 2, 1938, reprinted in *Reader’s Digest* (July 1938). George Fitch was the source behind this article.
161. *In January 1938, not one shop*: Fitch, “Nanking Outrages,” January 10, 1938, Fitch Collection.
162. *The harbor was practically empty of ships*: Commanding Officer to the Commander in Chief, U.S. Asiatic Fleet (letterhead marked the U.S.S. *Oahu*), intelligence summary for the week ending February 20, 1938, February 21, 1938, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Division of Naval Intelligence, general correspondence, 1929–42, folder A8–21/FS#3, box 195, entry 81, record group 38, National Archives.
162. *Most of the city lacked electricity*: Hsu Shuhsi, *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone*, p. 99. By late January electricity was available in certain selected buildings in Nanking and water sometimes ran from lower hydrants; Minnie Vautrin, diary 1937–40, December 29, 1937; “Work of the Nanking International Relief Committee, March 5, 1938,” Miner Searle Bates Papers, Yale Divinity School Library, p. 1; Xingzhengyuan

- xuanchuanju xinwen xunliansuo (News Office of the Executive Yuan Publicity Bureau), *Nanjing zhinan* (*Nanking Guidebook*) (Nanking: Nanjing xinbaoshe, 1938), p. 49. (Information here comes from Mark Eykholt's unpublished dissertation at the University of California at San Diego.) For more information on the Japanese massacre of power plant employees, see Minnie Vautrin, diary 1937–40, December 22, 1937, p. 125; and George Fitch diary, copy enclosed in file from Assistant Naval Attaché E. G. Hagen to Chief of Naval Operations, National Archives. Fitch reported that the employees "who had so heroically kept the plant going" had been taken out and shot on the grounds that the power company was a government agency (it was not). "Japanese officials have been at my office daily trying to get hold of these very men so they could start the turbines and have electricity. It was small comfort to be able to tell them that their own military had murdered most of them."
162. *Many women chose not to bathe*: Mark Eykholt (author of unpublished dissertation on life in Nanking after the massacre, University of California, San Diego), telephone interview with the author.
162. *People could be seen ransacking houses*: Minnie Vautrin, diary 1937–40, February 10, 1938, p. 189.
162. *On Shanghai Road in the Safety Zone*: Ibid., January 9, 1938, p. 149; January 12, 1938, p. 153; January 27, 1938, p. 172.
162. *This activity jump-started the local economy*: Ibid., January 20, 1938, p. 163.
162. *On January 1, 1938, the Japanese inaugurated*: "A Short Overview Describing the Self-Management Committee in Nanking, 7 March 1938," in "Deutsche Botschaft China," German diplomatic reports, document starting on page 103, National History Archives, Republic of China; Minnie Vautrin diary 1937–40, December 30, 1937, and January 1, 1938; IMTFC Records, court exhibits, 1948, World War II War Crimes Records Collection, box 134, entry 14, record group 238, p. 1906, National Archives; Commanding Officer C. F. Jeffs to the Commander in Chief, U.S. Asiatic Fleet (letterhead marked the U.S.S. *Oahu*), intelligence summary for the week ending April 10, 1938, April 11, 1938, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Division of Naval Intelligence, general correspondence, 1929–42, folder A8–21/FS#3, box 195, entry 81, record group 38, National Archives.

162. *Running water, electric lighting*: Commanding Officer C. F. Jeffs to the Commander in Chief, U.S. Asiatic Fleet (letterhead marked the U.S.S. *Oahu*), intelligence summary for the week ending April 10, 1938, April 11, 1938, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Division of Naval Intelligence, general correspondence, 1929-42, folder A8-21/FS#3, box 195, entry 81, record group 38, National Archives.
162. *Chinese merchants endured*: Ibid.; "Deutsche Botschaft China," document dated March 4, 1938, starting on page 107, German diplomatic reports, National History Archives, Republic of China; "A Short Overview Describing the Self-Management Committee in Nanking, 7 March 1938," in "Deutsche Botschaft China," document no. 103.
162. *The Japanese also opened up military shops*: "Deutsche Botschaft China," document dated May 5, 1938, starting on page 100, German diplomatic reports, National History Archives, Republic of China.
162. *The Chinese puppet government compounded the poverty*: "A short Overview Describing the Self-Management Committee in Nanking, 7 March 1938," in *ibid.*, document starting on page 103.
163. *"We are now doing an authorized plundering"*: Ibid.
163. *Far more alarming than the exploitation of the populace*: For information on the drug trade, see Bates, testimony before the IMTFE, pp. 2649-54, 2658.
163. *Some even tried to use opium to commit suicide*: Elizabeth Curtis Wright, *My Memoirs* (Bridgeport, Conn.: Winthrop Corp., 1973), box 222, Yale Divinity School Library.
163. *Others turned to crime*: "Deutsche Botschaft China," document dated March 4, 1938, starting on page 107, German diplomatic reports, National History Archives, Republic of China.
163. *Japanese employers treated many of the local Chinese laborers*: Tang Shunsan, interview with the author, Nanking, People's Republic of China, July 26, 1995.
164. *The Japanese even inflicted medical experiments*: Sheldon Harris, *Factories of Death: Japanese Biological Warfare, 1932-1945, and the American Cover-up* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 102-12.
165. *The Japanese authorities devised a method of mass control*: "From California to Szechuan, 1938," Albert Steward diary, entry for December 20, 1939, private collection of Leland R. Steward.
165. *The dreaded famine never struck*: Lewis Smythe, "War Damage



- in the Nanking Area," pp. 20–24; Minnie Vautrin, diary 1937–40, May 5, 1938.
166. *The gardens and farms inside the city walls*: Minnie Vautrin, diary 1937–40, May 21, 1938; "Notes on the Present Situation, March 21, 1938," p. 1, Fitch Collection, Yale Divinity School Library.
166. *But there is no evidence to suggest*: Mark Eykholt, telephone interview with the author.
166. *They also began an aggressive inoculation program*: Ibid. While the Japanese used deadly biological warfare against other cities, it is clear that they took precautions to protect Japanese-occupied territories like Nanking from epidemics, probably because of the presence of Japanese nationals in those areas.
166. *Children of Western missionaries also remember*: Angie Mills, telephone interview with the author.
166. *sprayed with Lysol*: letter dated February 12, 1939, by unidentified author, Forster Collection, RG 8, Box 263, Yale Divinity School Library.
166. *In the spring of 1938, men started to venture back to the city*: Eykholt interview.
167. *Occasionally there was underground resistance*: Ibid.
167. *The Japanese remained in the former capital*: Author's interviews with survivors.

## CHAPTER 8: JUDGMENT DAY

169. *In March 1944, the United Nations*: "Judgment of the Chinese War Crimes Military Tribunal on Hisao Tani, March 10, 1947," *Journal of Studies of Japanese Aggression Against China* (February 1991): 68.
170. *During the trials*: Xu Zhigeng, *The Rape of Nanking*, pp. 219, 223, 226, 228.
170. *One of the most famous exhibits*: Television documentary on Wu Xuan and Luo Jing, aired July 25, 1995, Jiangsu television station channel 1.
171. *A Japan Advertiser article*: Xu Zhigeng, *The Rape of Nanking*, pp. 215–16.
171. *The focal point of the Nanking war crimes trials*: Ibid., pp. 218–30.
172. *The scope of the trial was staggering*: For statistics on the IMTFE,

- see Arnold Brackman, *The Other Nuremberg: The Untold Story of the Tokyo War Crimes Trials* (New York: Morrow, 1987), pp. 9, 18, 22; *World War II* magazine, January 1996, p. 6.
173. "At the IMTFE, a thousand My Lais emerged": *Ibid.*, p. 9.
173. *The prosecution learned*: IMTFE transcript.
173. *Only one in twenty-five American POWs died*: Ken Ringle, "Still Waiting for an Apology: Historian Gavan Daws Calling Japan on War Crimes," *Washington Post*, March 16, 1995; author's telephone interview and electronic mail communication with Gavan Daws. According to Daws, the death-rate figure for all Allied POWs for the Japanese was 27 percent: 34 percent for Americans, 33 percent for Australians, 32 percent for the British, and under 20 percent for the Dutch. In contrast, the death rate for all Western Front Allied military POWs of the Germans (excluding Russians) was 4 percent. For more information, see Gavan Daws, *Prisoners of the Japanese: POWs of World War II in the Pacific* (New York: Morrow, 1994), pp. 360-61, 437.
173. "The Rape of Nanking was not the kind of isolated incident": Brackman, *The Other Nuremberg*, p. 182.
174. "let loose like a barbarian horde": IMTFE judgment.
174. "chastise the Nanking government": IMTFE judgment.
174. *To atone for the sins of Nanking*: Bergamini, *Japan's Imperial Conspiracy*, pp. 3-4.
175. "I am happy to end this way": *Ibid.*, p. 47.
175. "either secretly ordered or willfully committed": IMTFE judgment, p. 1001.
175. *Unfortunately, many of the chief culprits*: Buruma, *The Wages of Guilt*, p. 175; Bergamini, *Japan's Imperial Conspiracy*, pp. 45-48.
175. The information about Nakajima Kesago comes from Kimura Kuninori, *Koseiha shogun Nakajima Kesago [Nakajima Kesago, General of the Individualist Faction]*. Tokyo: Kōjinsha, 1987.
176. The information about Yanagawa Heisuke comes from Sugawara Yutaka, *Yamatogokoro: Fukumen shogun Yanagawa Heisuke Seidan [Spirit of Japan: Elevated Conversation from the Masked Shogun Yanagawa Heisuke]*. Tokyo: Keizai Oraisha, 1971, p. 166. (Mention of his death by heart attack on January 22, 1945, is on p. 234.)
176. "Many would find it difficult": Herbert Bix, "The Showa Emperor's 'Monologue' and the Problem of War Responsibility." *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, summer 1992, vol. 18, no. 2, p. 330.

177. *"a priceless historical treasure"*: author interview with John Young of the China Institute. In 1957, Young was a professor at Georgetown University and part of a group of scholars who had secured permission to microfilm some of the Japanese Army and Navy Ministries archives seized by American occupation forces in 1945. The following year came the abrupt decision of the United States government to return the documents to Japan—a tremendous blow to Young and the others. ("I was beyond shock, I tell you," Young recalled. "I was flabbergasted!") As a result of this decision, only a small portion of the Japanese military archives were microfilmed before they were boxed up and returned to Japan in February 1958. The greatest regret of his life, Young said, was his failure to foresee this decision, which would have given him and the other scholars the time to microfilm the most important papers in the collection.

The circumstances behind the return were mysterious, and continue to baffle to this day the historians involved in the microfilm project. "This was something I could never understand," Edwin Beal, formerly of the Library of Congress, said during a telephone interview in April 1997. "We were told that returning these documents was a matter of high policy and should not be questioned."

Years later, John Young heard rumors that the returned documents were used by the Japanese government to purge those from their ranks who had not been sufficiently loyal to the wartime regime.

177. *seriously criticized*: In all fairness, it must be pointed out that many of the facts in Bergamini's book are accurate and that he did discover, in the course of his research, many important new Japanese-language documents for World War II historians. Therefore, scholars have often found *Japan's Imperial Conspiracy* to be a valuable—even if flawed and confusing—resource.
178. *"In order to conquer the world"*: W. Morton, *Tanaka Giichi and Japan's China Policy* (Folkestone, Kent, Eng.: Dawson, 1980), p. 205; Harries and Harries, pp. 162–63.
178. *Currently no reputable historian*: Letter from Rana Mitter to author, July 17, 1997.
178. *"inconceivable"*: Information about Herbert Bix's opinion comes from author's telephone interview with Bix.
179. *Back in 1943, Prince Mikasa Takahito*: "A Royal Denunciation of Horrors: Hirohito's Brother—an Eyewitness—Assails Japan's

- Wartime Brutality," *Los Angeles Times*, July 9, 1994; Merrill Goozner, "New Hirohito Revelations Startle Japan: Emperor's Brother Says He Reported WWII China Atrocities to Him in 1944; National Doubts Them Now," *Chicago Tribune*, July 7, 1994; *Daily Yomiuri*, July 6, 1994, p. 7.
179. "It helps them acquire guts": *Daily Yomiuri*, July 6, 1994, p. 7.
179. "bits and pieces": Goozner, "New Hirohito Revelations Startle Japan," *Chicago Tribune*, July 7, 1994.
179. "extreme satisfaction": *Asahi*, Tokyo edition, December 15, 1937.
179. Prince Kanin's telegram: Ibid.
179. *silver vases*: *Asahi*, Tokyo edition, February 27, 1938.
180. *Prince Asaka, for one, retired*: Bergamini, *Japan's Imperial Conspiracy*, p. 46. Information about Asaka's golf course development comes from *Daijinhmei Jiten* [*The Expanded Biographical Encyclopedia*] (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1955), vol. 9, p. 16.

## CHAPTER 9: THE FATE OF THE SURVIVORS

183. *According to Karen Parker*: Karen Parker, telephone interview with the author. For Parker's legal analyses on *jus cogens* and Japan's debt to its World War II victims, see Karen Parker and Lyn Beth Neylon, "Jus Cogens: Compelling the Law of Human Rights," *Hastings International and Comparative Law Review* 12, no. 2 (Winter 1989): 411–63; Karen Parker and Jennifer F. Chew, "Compensation for Japan's World War II War-Rape Victims," *Hastings International and Comparative Law Review* 17, no. 3 (Spring 1994): 497–549.

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