

EYEWITNESSES TO MASSACRE

AMERICAN
MISSIONARIES
BEAR WITNESS
TO JAPANESE
ATROCITIES
IN NANJING

ZHANG KAIYUAN
EDITOR

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Foreword by Donald MacInnis

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Contents

Foreword by <i>Donald MacInnis</i>	ix
Preface	xiii
Introduction: Historical Background by <i>Zhang Kaiyuan</i>	xix

Documentation of American Missionaries

Miner S. Bates	3
1. Picture and a Biographical Sketch	3
2. Some Pictures from Nanking, December 15, 1937	4
3. Excerpts of Letters to the Japanese Embassy, December 14–27, 1937	5
4. Note on Aftermath of Registration at the University, December 26, 1937	12
5. Letter to Friends, January 10, 1938	14
6. Excerpts of Letters to Mr. Allison of the American Embassy, January 14–June 16, 1938	18
7. Letters to Wife, February 1, 13, 1938	27
8. Letter from Timperley, February 17, 1938	30
9. Letter to Timperley, March 3, 1938	31
10. Letter to Friends, April 12, 1938	33
11. Letter to Mr. Hanawa, Japanese Consulate-General, May 11, 1938	35
12. Open Letter on the Narcotic Problem in Nanking, November 22, 1938	37
13. Letter to Friends, November 29, 1938	41
14. Letter to Friends Abroad, November 28, 1939	47
15. Lecture in New York, June 25, 1941	52
16. Court Record of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, July 29, 1946	60
George A. Fitch	82
1. Picture and a Biographical Sketch	82
2. Diary, from December 10, 1937 to January 1938	82
3. Letter to Dear——, January 6, 1938	102
4. Letter to Peter Shih, February 14, 1938	103

Ernest H. Forster	107
1. Picture and a Biographical Sketch	107
2. Mrs. Forster's Accounts	107
3. Letters to Wife, November 23, 1937–February 13, 1938	110
4. Letter to Family, December 7, 1937	148
5. Letter to Friend, January 14, 1938	150
6. Letter to Family, January 21, 1938	153
7. Letter to Family, February 10, 1938	154
8. Letter to Bishop, February 10, 1938	156
9. Letter to America Embassy, March 10, 1938	158
10. Letter to Friends, March 16, 1938	162
 John G. Magee	166
1. Picture and a Biographical Sketch	166
2. Letters to Wife, December 12, 1937–February 5, 1938	166
3. Report of a Trip to Tsih Hsia Shan, February 16–17, 1938	195
4. Letter to Mr. McKim, April 2, 1938	198
5. Introduction of Magee's Film	201
 James H. McCallum	228
1. Picture and a Biographical Sketch	228
2. Account of Japanese Atrocities at Nanking During the Winter of 1937–38	229
 W. Plumer Mills	243
1. Picture and a Biographical Sketch	243
2. Letter to Japanese Embassy, December 22, 1937	243
3. Letter to Wife, January 24, 1938	245
4. Letter to American Embassy, January 15, 1938	248
 Lewis S.C. Smythe	251
1. Picture and a Biographical Sketch	251
2. Letters to Family, December 20, 1937–January 9, 1938	252
3. Letter to Friends, March 8, 1938	299
4. Cases of Disorder by Japanese Soldiers in the Safety Zone	310
5. Letter to Japanese Embassy, December 16, 1937	312
6. Western Nationals in Nanking, December 16, 1937	313
7. Notes on the Present Situation, Nanking, March 21, 1938	313
 Albert N. Steward	318
1. Picture and a Biographical Sketch	318
2. Excerpts of Diary	318

Minnie Vautrin	329
1. Picture and a Biographical Sketch	329
2. A Review of the First Month, December 13, 1937–January 13, 1938	330
3. As a Refugee Camp, January 14–March 31, 1938	344
4. Excerpts from Diary, December 12, 1937–May 13, 1938	355
Robert O. Wilson	391
1. Picture and a Biographical Sketch	391
2. Letters to Family, December 15, 1937–January 9, 1938	391
Appendix A: Chronology	411
Appendix B: Report of the Nanking International Relief Committee	413
Appendix C: Copies of Auditors' Statements	446
Appendix D: Personnel of the International Committee	450
Index	453

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Foreword

In the summer of 1940 I spent six weeks as a delegate to the seventh Japan–America Student Conference. I was one of 60 American and 120 Japanese college students who met for two weeks in scholarly discussion groups at Tsuda College near Tokyo, then traveled together in Japan, Korea, and Manchuria. We made many friends in Japan that summer and saw little evidence of the massive military buildup then in full swing.

Rather than return home for my senior year at UCLA, I traveled third class on a small Japanese ship to Shanghai, where I secured a job teaching English to high school boys in a Methodist-sponsored secondary school in south China.

The Sino-Japanese War of Resistance was in its fourth year when I arrived at the school in its wartime location, a village deep in the interior of Fujian province. The following summer I returned to Shanghai and worked my way home on the crew of *The City of Dalhart*, an American merchant vessel, which delivered its cargo of Philippine sugar and shredded coconut at New York harbor one month before the attack on Pearl Harbor.

In Shanghai I had seen the ruins of Chapei—the densely populated Chinese district adjoining the International Settlement. It had been indiscriminately bombed and shelled by Japanese planes and ships in the battle for the city in 1937; thousands of its residents had been killed.¹ During my year of teaching, a sister school located in Chungan, an undefended town not far from us, was bombed by a flight of Japanese planes from Formosa, then a Japanese colony. Fifty bombs were dropped, killing five students, three staff persons, and a small child, as well as a number of townspeople. The bombing of Chungan and other upriver towns served no military purpose except providing target practice for the air crews. There were no anti-aircraft guns in the province and few anywhere else in China then.

Of these and other atrocities, by far the worst was the rape of Nanking, where a conquering Japanese army was turned loose by its officers to loot, rape, torture, and burn at will in a savage rampage that lasted seven weeks. Thousands of disarmed Chinese soldiers were shot or bayoneted. Estimates of soldiers and noncombatants killed range from 260,000 to 350,000—more than the combined death toll of both the atomic bombs dropped on Japan (140,000 and 70,000).

An estimated 20,000 to 80,000 Chinese women were raped, and many of them were killed.

While most foreign journalists, businessmen, diplomats, and missionaries had evacuated the city, a few foreigners remained, including fourteen missionaries who lived in the Nanking International Safety Zone established by an International Committee under the leadership of John Rabe, a German businessman. One of those missionaries was George A. Fitch, a YMCA secretary, whose diary was the basis for a widely read article, "The Sack of Nanking," that appeared in the July 1938 *Reader's Digest*. (I remember the shock and horror of reading it.) His diary and letters and the diaries and letters of nine other missionaries who lived through those terrible events make up this book.

Of the missionaries who remained in Nanking throughout this catastrophic period, six were core members of the International Committee. All of them took part in relief work—procuring rice for the refugees, protecting the women, caring for the wounded, and rescuing the dying. The campuses of two mission institutions inside the International Safety Zone—the University of Nanking and Ginling Women's College—provided space for thousands of refugees. All told, a quarter of a million Chinese took refuge inside the Safety Zone.

Three of the missionaries testified at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East held in Tokyo after the war. One of them, John Magee, took twelve rolls of 16-millimeter movie film, which were used as evidence of the war crimes committed in Nanking. During the crisis itself, missionaries on the International Committee wrote countless letters reporting atrocities to the Japanese embassy and the Japanese High Command. One of them, Lewis S.C. Smythe, an American missionary who taught at the University of Nanking and served as secretary of the International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone, wrote sixty-nine such letters to the Japanese embassy from December 14, 1937, to February 19, 1938. A sociologist, he later organized systematic regional surveys to assess the human losses and property and crop damage. His letters to his family, many of them in this book, are painfully detailed reports of what he saw and heard.

Until Iris Chang's book, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II*, became a best-seller in the years following its publication in 1997, few people born outside of China after 1940 had heard of this orgy of unrestrained violence. When Zhang Kaiyuan, a historian and coeditor of this volume, discovered these diaries and letters in the China Records Collection at Yale Divinity School, he determined to use them to tell the terrible story for today's generation of readers. Other recent books deal with these and other atrocities committed by the Japanese military,² but none more graphically than these first-hand accounts written in the midst of the bloody terror that raged in China's national capital for seven weeks.

Notes

1. A famous *Life* magazine photograph showed an abandoned infant crying in the ruins.

2. James Yin and Shi Young, *Rape of Nanking: An Undeniable History in Photographs* (Chicago: Innovative Publishing Group, 1996); George L. Hicks, *The Comfort Women: Japan's Brutal Regime of Enforced Prostitution in the Second World War* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997); Toshiyuki Tanaka et al., *Hidden Horrors: Japan's War Crimes in World War II* (Boulder: Westview, 1997); John Rabe et al., *The Good Man of Nanking: The Diaries of John Rabe* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998); Sheldon H. Harris, *Factories of Death: Japanese Biological Warfare, 1932–1945 and the American Cover-up* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Hal Gold, *Unit 731 Testimony* (Boston: C.E. Tuttle, 1995); Honda Katsuichi, *The Nanjing Massacre: A Japanese Reporter Confronts Japan's Shame* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1999).

Donald MacInnis
Brunswick, Maine

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Preface

The Nanking Massacre, the brutal crime committed by the Japanese invading army against the Chinese people in the winter of 1937–38, took place over sixty years ago. Yet, this horrid event, like a nightmare, cannot perish as long as it remains in people's memory.

China and Japan are close neighbors separated only by a strip of water. The two countries had been good friends for over one thousand years. According to some Japanese scholars, the early development of Japanese culture had absorbed rich nourishment to the full from Chinese culture. In Kyoto, in Nara, we can still feel the breath of Tang civilization.

After the Meiji reform, a few generations of Chinese with advanced ideas considered Japan as a model of power achieved through political reform. Even at present, some scholars still view Japan as a successful example of modernization for Asian countries. Unfortunately, these scholars often neglect the other side of the coin. As the historical facts show, modernized Japan constantly brought disaster to her Asian neighbors, among which Korea and China bore the brunt of her aggression. In less than fifty years after 1894, Japan launched three large-scale invasions into China. She first swallowed up Taiwan, then annexed three provinces of northeast China. And last, she was obsessed with the ambition to extinguish China by intruding from north China into the east and south, then into central and southwest China.

The Chinese of my generation had long suffered as a result of Japan's invasion. The first song we learned was "September eighteenth, at that miserable moment. . . ." The first composition our teacher asked us to write was "A Letter of Salutation to the Soldiers on the North China Front Line." Our young hearts were persistently bothered by the evil shadow of the Japanese invaders.

In the autumn of 1937, just as I entered junior high school, the flames of war drove my family to join the refugee tide moving to the west of China. Forced to leave our beloved hometown for faraway Sichuan Province, we started eight years of a vagrant and destitute life. It can be said that the golden dream of my childhood was shattered by Japan's invasion of China. Such "splendid" slogans as "Mutual Existence and Prosperity," "Mutual Aid," even "Great Eastern Asia Mutual Prosperity Circle," which were repeatedly shouted by Japanese milita-

rists at that time—and by their few successors even at present—can only call up agonized memories.

Before the end of the war in 1945, I had known nothing about the Nanking Massacre, for I had been living in the out-of-the-way, destitute village of Sichuan for a long time. Without any newspaper or radio, we were almost completely cut off from the outside world. It was not until 1946, when I returned home and entered the University of Nanking, that I began to hear about this event in the history of Nanking. At that time, the Kuomintang administration had been corrupted to the extreme. Inflation and soaring prices had brought the national economy to the brink of collapse. We university students threw ourselves enthusiastically into democratic movements and did not think of exploring more about the atrocities committed by the Japanese.

China and the world have undergone so much change since 1949 that after the defeat of Japan and the signing of the peace treaty, the wretched past event, the Nanking Massacre, has actually faded from people's memory. The world knows that China, as a victim of that disastrous war, has been lenient with Japan, which initiated and failed to complete the invasion. For many years, some Japanese have not drawn lessons from their defeat. They would not take the defeat lying down. What is more, they have never given up their wishful thinking of reviving an old dream of ruling the roost of Asia and contending for hegemony of the world. It is this handful of Japanese who are refusing by every possible means to take responsibility for the aggression, beautifying the evil acts of the militarists, touching the historical sore spot time and again, and persistently provoking international conflicts. Harsh reality has taught us that history should not be ignored, nor should it be distorted. As for historians, we should do our best to defend the truth and dignity of history.

Of course, those Japanese mentioned above are in the minority, but they are a very active minority. As far as I am concerned, most of the Japanese people are against the revival of militarism, of which they also are the victims. I have many Japanese friends in academic circles. Some of them were forced to join the invading army during the war when they were still innocent young students. As mere "cannon fodder" who survived the war, they should not have to shoulder the responsibility for the war, yet their sense of social duty as scholars urges them to feel guilty. And the guilt is like a nightmare that will harass them for the rest of their lives. I also know some Japanese historians who were born after the war. Although they do not have any personal experiences of the war, they step forward bravely, just as their former generations did. In order to resist the misleading history textbooks promulgated by the Japanese Ministry of Education and to expose the various atrocities committed by the invading army, they are fighting against the right-wingers fearlessly and unremittingly, even though some have been threatened by letters enclosing bullets.

It is because of these negative and positive influences that I went to Columbia University in New York in May of 1988 and participated in the initiation of the Chinese Alliance of Memorial and Justice. During my three years' stay in the United States, I took part in a series of academic activities organized by the Alliance in order to protect the historical truth of the Sino-Japanese War. I joined the assembly held in New York on December 12, 1991 by the Alliance in Memory of the Victims of the Nanking Massacre. At the assembly I introduced for the first time the documents about the Nanking Massacre in the "Bates's Papers" kept in the Divinity School library at Yale University. I solemnly declared that "[w]hen we mourn with our deep grief for those victims of the Massacre, we should remember one name—Miner Searle Bates."

Bates was my teacher when I studied in the history department at the University of Nanking from 1946 to 1948. During the Nanking Massacre, he enthusiastically took part in the relief work organized by the International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone and was the last chairman of that committee. Thus he was able to keep a large collection of the archives of the Committee and took it to America in 1950. As far as I can remember, during my two years' study at the university, Bates never mentioned the miserable past to us either in or out of the classroom, though he had appeared as an eyewitness at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East in Tokyo and the Chinese Military Tribunal in Nanking for the Nanking Massacre war crimes trial. What I remember is his solemn and grave expression, as if he were enduring a heavy burden deep in his mind. I believe that the mind of any person of good conscience who experienced that terrible holocaust will be etched with painful and unforgettable memories.

The first time I found these documents was in June of 1988. I just browsed through them roughly and recognized their precious historical value. In July of 1991, I again went to Yale University and worked in the Special Collection in the Divinity School library for eight months. My main work was reviewing those 1,162 rolls of "Bates's Papers," sorting out some original archives concerning the International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone letters and diaries written by some Committee members. I made copies of some materials and also took some notes. After I returned to China in 1994, to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of China's victory over Japan, I wrote two books based on those precious documents. They are *An Eyewitness' Historical Records of the Nanking Massacre* (Hubei People's Press, 1995) and *Nanking: November, 1937–May 1938* (Hong Kong Sanlian Bookshop, 1995). Since it was the first time the original archives of the International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone had been used systematically, the books quickly aroused the interest of the mass media at home and abroad. The publications also caught the attention of Bates's former students at the University of Nanking, Guo Junhe and

Wu Tianwei. Guo is in charge of Taipei Jinhe Press and Wu is a professor in the history department of Southern Illinois University. They both thought highly of the publication of these documents. They consulted with me and decided to publish some of them in facsimile form so as to enable the world to know their original appearance. The fruit of their collaboration, *American Missionary Eyewitnesses to the Nanking Massacre, 1937–1938*, edited by Martha Lund Smalley, New Haven, 1997, was published as the Yale Divinity School Library, Occasional Publication, No. 9. The range of that book was expanded from Bates' papers to those also of George A. Fitch, Ernest H. Forster, John G. Magee, James H. McCallum, W. Plumer Mills, Lewis S. C. Smythe, Minnie Vautrin, Robert O. Wilson, and others. There are also a number of photo-offset copies of representative original archives. Thus it holds many accounts from people who were present during the Nanking Massacre. Owing to the limited space, however, the quantity of the compiled papers is not large, and it is hard to show fully the whole picture of the Massacre. In addition, the book separated the letters and diaries and rearranged them according to date, which makes it even more difficult for the reader to recognize the original spontaneity of the papers. Hence, I decided to go to Yale again to edit a more complete and persuasive collection of Nanking Massacre archives.

My wife, Huang Huaiyu, and I went to Yale Divinity School in May 1998 and worked there for a month and a half. We first reread the relevant files in "Bates's Papers," then added some omitted valuable materials. Then we reviewed the China Records Project Miscellaneous Personal Papers Collection and Archives of the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia. We made copies of the records made by George A. Fitch, Ernest H. Forster, James H. McCallum, John G. Magee, W. Plumer Mills, Lewis S. C. Smythe, Minnie Vautrin, and Robert O. Wilson. At the same time we discovered some large files, the "Albert and Celia Steward Papers," from which we selected many valuable materials. During this time, Martha Smalley, who is in charge of the Special Collection, kindly offered to help us. Nancy Chapman, director of the Yale–China Association, arranged our daily life attentively. We are deeply impressed by and very grateful for their concern and friendship.

Introduced by Shao Tziping and Wu Changchuan of the Alliance in Memory of Victims of the Nanking Massacre, we had a pleasant talk with David Magee, son of John Magee, and Douglas Merwin, an editor at M.E. Sharpe Publishing Company, in Shao's house located in beautiful Rye, New York. As a result of this meeting, we planned to select some documents related to the Nanking Massacre in the Special Collection of the Yale Divinity School library and to edit a more nearly complete authentic collection so as to reveal to the people of North America and the rest of the world the historical truth of the Nanking Massacre of over sixty years ago.

After our return in the autumn of 1998, my wife and I, with the help of our two young colleagues, Liu Jiafeng and Wang Weijia, worked together on selecting, classifying, and editing these documents. We attentively checked and proofread. At last we finished the job and added some necessary explanations and annotations for readers in America and other Western countries.

We dedicate this book to all those of good conscience who can make their own judgment about the tragedy in Nanking according to these truly original materials recorded day by day.

More than fifty years have gone by since the end of World War II, the Cold War has come to an end. Peace and development are the common wish shared by most nations and peoples. The causes of war still exist, and various wars are continuing in many parts of the world. Human beings are still killing each other and the rapid development of high technology has made wars more cruel in extent and scope. Therefore, we should educate people by means of historical lessons and wake up millions to oppose aggressive war and to distinguish its source. This is the mission we should shoulder today.

On November 29, 1938, Bates wrote in a letter to a friend, "The first necessity of work for peace or for any other improvement, is to face the facts honestly." What we have done is just to follow Bates's instructions and continue his unfinished work. At the same time, we are appealing to the peace-loving people of the whole world: Please listen to Dr. Bates's call from the bottom of his heart in those tragic days, "Peace on Earth, good will to men."

Note

1. By 1931 Japanese militarists were ready to take a more active role on the Chinese mainland. As a first step they provoked an incident that ended in the death of the Chinese warlord in Manchuria and led to the establishment of the state of Manchukuo there, presided over by the former Chinese emperor, the puppet Puyi.

Zhang Kaiyuan

* * *

Publisher's note: While we have spelled Nanjing in the title of this book according to its contemporary pinyin rendering, we have retained its pre-pinyin historical spelling as "Nanking" throughout the text.

Appendix: Archives' Distribution Based on the Book *American Missionary Eyewitnesses to the Nanking Massacre, 1937–1938*

Name	Number	Content
Bates, M.S.	RG10: B1, F7–11	Family letters to wife and son
	RG10: B4	Letters between Bates and Japanese Embassy, Association of University of Nanking founders, and H.J. Timperley
	RG10: B86, B87, B90 RG10: B102, F861–871 RG10: B103, F872–873 RG10: B126, F1132, F1137	Articles written by Bates, materials on Nanking during the Anti-Japanese War, materials on Chinese politics and religious conditions, on biographies, copy of Bates's testimony to the International Military Tribunal for the Far East
Fitch, G.	RG11: B9, F202	Letters
Foster, E.	RG8: B263–265	Letters, collected documents, and pictures
McCallum, J.	RG8: B119, B22x	Account of the Japanese atrocities at Nanking during the winter of 1937–38
Magee, G.	RG8: B263	Letters collected in Forster's papers and film
Mills, W. P.	RG8: B114	Letters to wife
Smythe, L.S.C.	RG10: B102, F864–869 RG10: B4, F67 RG11: B225, F3815	Letters, War Damage in the Nanking Area, December 1937–March 1938
Vautrin, M.	RG8: B206 RG11: B134, F2698–2700 RG11: B145, F2870–2881	Diaries, letters, and reports
Wilson, R.O.	RG11: B145, F3874–3876	Letters and reports
Steward, Albert and Celia	RG20: B10, F220	

Source: American Missionary Eyewitnesses to the Nanking Massacre, 1937–1938, New Haven: Yale Divinity School Library, 1997.

Introduction

Historical Background

Zhang Kaiyuan

On August 13, 1937, the Japanese invading army spread the flames of war from North China to Shanghai, Kunshan, Jiading, Tacang, and other places. After the fall of Shanghai, the Japanese army moved westward. From November 8, they marched toward Nanking from two routes: One tailed behind the left wing of the Chinese troops pushing along the Huning Line (Shanghai to Nanking); the other concentrated their forces on the route to Huzhou along the south bank of Taihu Lake with the aim of blocking the route of retreat of the Chinese troops.

The Chinese government decided to defend the city of Nanking tenaciously and prevent the western movement of the Japanese. Unfortunately, they kept on losing battles. The Japanese army occupied Guangde and encircled Nanking from southeast to southwest at the end of November. Then they attacked the fortress of Jiangyin on December 1; thus the first line of defense in Nanking was completely exposed to the enemy.

By that time, the national government had moved to Wuhan. Though the rear troops were fighting bravely, they suffered heavy casualties. These troops, entrenched in a besieged city, were without any aid, and Nanking was in imminent danger. Ignoring their governments' urgent notice to retreat and heedless of their own safety, more than twenty foreigners who lived in Nanking volunteered to organize the International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone, in order to prevent more harm to the city's civilians.

In his old age Hang Liwu, who was then the chairman of the Board of Trustees of the University of Nanking, wrote about the organization's work in his memoirs:

In the winter of 1937, after fighting against the Japanese army for three months, the National Army retreated to the vicinity of Nanking. The government had already moved to west China. Three-quarters of the civilians within the city and most of the foreign residents had left or were about to leave. Then large groups of soldiers withdrawing from the front line poured in and made the disordered city worse off. The capital of Nationalist China was on the verge of collapse. Just before this, I read in the newspaper that in Shanghai, Father Jacquinot¹ had established a refugee zone and helped many women and children. At the time, I was the secretary of the Chinese-British Culture Foundation as well as the chairman of the Board of Trustees of the University of

Nanking. In consideration of the dangerous situation, I invited the Americans who were serving at various Christian universities and a few British and German businessmen (about twenty of them) to discuss emergency measures. We decided to follow the example of the Shanghai refugee zone and set up an international relief organization, which would be called the International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone. We delimited a boundary line from the University of Nanking, the Ginling Women's College, Drum Tower [Hospital], Shanxi Lu Residence to Xin Jiekong as the Safety Zone in which we took in homeless refugees. The Safety Zone was also called the Refugee Zone. After the designation of the area, we entrusted Father Jacquinot in Shanghai to ask for permission from the commander in chief of the Japanese army. Later Father Jacquinot told me that the commander in chief accepted the map and said, "We've already known this." These maps with the Zone marked out were found on the soldiers who entered the city of Nanking.

The members of the Nanking Safety Zone included Lewis S.C. Smythe, John Magee, J.V. Pickering, M.S. Bates, W.P. Mills, C.S. Trimmer, and Charles Riggs from America; P.H. Munro Faure, P.R. Shields, Ivor Mackay, and D.J. Lean from Britain; John H.D. Rabe, G. Schultze Pantin, and Edward Sperling from Germany; and J. M. Hanson from Denmark. All together there were fifteen people. John H. D. Rabe was selected as the chair of the Committee, and Lewis Smythe, the secretary. George Fitch and I were deputy director and director respectively. Later I was asked to escort the historical relics from the Palace Museum to Chongqing, so Fitch acted as the director. At the time, General Tang Shengzhi, the garrison commander, had promised to move the military institutions from the Safety Zone and to dismantle the antiaircraft gun position so as to guarantee the neutrality of the Zone. Before mayor Ma Chaojun left Nanking, he turned over the municipal government and its resources as well as 450 policeman in the Safety Zone. Zhang Qun provided his personal residence for me to use as the Committee's office. On December 10, refugees began to surge into the Zone and soon all places were occupied. We could requisition only the Supreme Court and the Overseas Chinese Committee buildings.²

In the autumn of 1986, I happened to meet Hang Liwu at the annual meeting of the Asian Scholars Association in Singapore, and we had a very delightful conversation. He also mentioned the above action to me. Though he was over eighty years old, his mind and memory did not show any trace of decline, and his remarks were concise and well organized. According to Appendix I of the existing number one document of the International Committee of the Nanking Safety Zone, that is, the official letter to the Japanese military authorities, we can see Hang's memory is accurate.

The table following is a list of the personnel of the International Committee.

Name	Nationality	Organization
1. John H.D. Rabe	Germany	Siemens Company
2. Lewis S.C. Smythe	U.S.	University of Nanking
3. P.H. Munro-Faure	Britain	Asiatic Petroleum Company
4. John Magee	U.S.	American Church Mission
5. P.R. Shields	Britain	International Export Company
6. J.M. Hanson	Denmark	Texas Oil Company
7. G. Schultze-Pantin	Germany	Hsinmin Trading Company
8. Ivor Mackay	Britain	Butterfield and Swire
9. J.V. Pickering	U.S.	Standard Vacuum Oil Company
10. M.S. Bates	U.S.	University of Nanking
11. W.P. Mills	U.S.	North Presbyterian Mission
12. Edward Sperling	Germany	Shanghai Insurance Company
13. D.J. Lean	Britain	Asiatic Petroleum Company
14. C.S. Trimmer	U.S.	Drum Tower Hospital
15. Charles H. Riggs	U.S.	University of Nanking

As Hang Liwu soon left for Chongqing, he did not know that seven of the above members withdrew from Nanking by order of their respective companies by early December 1937. These men therefore participated only in the organizing work but not the actual operation of the International Committee. According to Appendix II of number one document of the International Committee about the change of the personnel, they were P.H. Munro-Faure, J.M. Hanson, G. Schultze-Pantin, Ivor Mackay, D.J. Lean, P.R. Shields, and J.V. Pickering. Those who remained in Nanking and participated in the relief work were John H.D. Rabe, Lewis S.C. Smythe, John Magee, Edward Sperling, M.S. Bates, W.P. Mills, C.S. Trimmer, Charles Riggs, James H. McCallum (American, from United Christian Missionary Society), Hubert Sone (American, from Nanking Theological Seminary), Ernest H. Forster (American, American Church Mission), Albert N. Steward (American, University of Nanking), C.Y. Xu (Chinese, University Hospital), F.C. Gale (American, Methodist Mission), James F. Kearney (American, Society of Jesus), and S. Yasumura (Japanese, Japan Baptist Church).

From the above sources, we can see that six of them were core members of the International Committee: M.S. Bates (vice president of University of Nanking, professor of history), Lewis S.C. Smythe (professor of sociology), Charles Riggs (professor of agronomy), James H. McCallum (administrative director of Drum Tower Hospital), C.S. Trimmer (administrative director of Drum Tower Hospital), and C.Y. Xu (clerk of University Hospital). They had been working industriously for a very long time. Another two names should be mentioned here—Robert O. Wilson (physician of Drum Tower Hospital) and Minnie Vautrin (vice president of Ginling Women's College, professor of

education). They did not belong to the International Committee, but they were members of the Nanking International Red Cross Committee and worked indefatigably day and night. They made a great contribution to healing the wounded and rescuing the dying as well as protecting the refugees.

The faculties of the University of Nanking and Ginling Women's College had endeavored to help 250,000 Nanking refugees within the Safety Zone. The two campuses had provided dwelling places for tens of thousands of refugees. This is the Light of Ginling, as well as the Light of the University of Nanking as Ginling's successor. We should bear in mind this heroic and moving history forever: Harsh as it is, it is the embodiment of dedication and fearless courage.

In order to let readers better understand the documents collected in this book, it is necessary to make a skeleton examination of the principal and subsidiary causes of these events in the history of Nanking and of this small foreign group who left behind them so many precious diaries and letters.

According to the account by W.P. Mills, the earliest Protestant missionary who entered Nanking was George Duncan (Scotch, Inland Mission). He arrived at Nanking three years after the failure of the Taiping Movement (1860s). At that time, the city had not yet fully recovered from the ravages of the Taiping rebellion. A stranger in a strange land, he could live only in a boat at the very beginning. Later he was permitted to live in the Drum Tower and even later to carry out his missionary work. In October 1868, Duncan married a Miss Brown and settled down in Nanking. This couple and their colleagues increased their influence among the civilians day by day. Tragically, Duncan fell ill in 1872, so the family went back to England. Soon Duncan died of acute tuberculosis. Fortunately, in his last three years in China, he had already trained capable successors who expanded their missionary work to Anqing.³

There is no full and accurate account of the early life of American residents in Nanking. I found in the "Steward Papers" some inscriptions on tombstones that perhaps were copied from the Nanking Foreign Cemetery before the outbreak of anti-Japanese war. There were 108 headstones, but only eighty-nine of them were legible and recorded. According to the description of the professions of the deceased, most of them were missionaries, and a few were businessmen. Some of their offspring had also died. Few died in old age, most people died in the prime of life or even in childhood. The causes of death were mainly tuberculosis, typhoid, and other infectious diseases. So it can be seen that the medical conditions at that time were very poor.

Among the tombstones, two were obviously relevant to the University of Nanking. One is the tombstone of Paul Dewitt Twinem, pastor of the university. He was born on March 5, 1894, and died on September 23, 1923. His wife was buried in the tomb next to his. Another is that of Dr. John E. William, vice president of the university, who died accidentally in the chaos of war. His tomb-

stone was erected by Wang Zhengting, a high-ranking official of the National Government. All these tombstones concisely recorded the long or short lives of over one hundred foreign residents in Nanking, together with their joys and sorrows, partings and reunions. Not a few of them considered themselves as "lifelong friends of China."⁴ They should be viewed as the forerunners of the members of the International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone.

After World War I, more foreign missionaries came to China. There was an obvious change in their cultural quality. One of the reasons is the rise of the Student Volunteer Movement. People called the new generation of missionaries "missionary educators." They were different from their predecessors in that they had received a better higher education before they arrived in China, but they were also born into Christian families, educated in Christian schools, and had the same spirit of dedication as earlier missionaries. They had professional specialties, so they belonged to the group of scholar-type missionaries. Regarding their wide vision and rich knowledge, they were far better qualified than those earlier missionaries and their wives from midwestern America.

The authors of these journals and letters belonged to this new generation of missionaries.

Minnie Vautrin: In 1912, Vautrin graduated from the University of Illinois with a major in education. Then she was commissioned by the United Christian Missionary Society as a missionary to China. Vautrin became chairman of the education department of Ginling College when it was founded in 1916, and she once served as acting president of Ginling College.

Miner Searle Bates: Bates won a Rhodes Scholarship to study history at Oxford University and earned his M.A. in 1920. The United Christian Missionary Society then commissioned him as a missionary to teach at the University of Nanking. He was a professor in the departments of politics and history and once served as the vice president of the university.

Albert Steward: After he graduated from Oregon Agricultural College in 1921, Steward was stationed in Nanking as an educational missionary under the Methodist Board of Missions. He established the department of botany at the University of Nanking and was a professor in the department.

Robert O. Wilson: Born in Nanking in 1906, Wilson was the son of a Methodist missionary family. Wilson graduated from Princeton University and received his M.D. from Harvard Medical School in 1929. Appointed to the staff of the University of Nanking hospital in 1935, he arrived there in 1936.

Lewis S. C. Smythe: Smythe received his Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Chicago and was appointed to teach at the University of Nanking by the United Christian Missionary Society in 1934. He was a professor in the department of sociology.

Several other people, though they were not full-time staff at the University of Nanking, were closely connected with it.

James H. McCallum: McCallum graduated from the University of Oregon in 1917 and earned his B.D. from Yale Divinity School in 1921; later he earned a master's degree at Chicago Divinity School and did doctoral work at the Union Theological Seminary while on furlough. He moved to China in 1921, and engaged in evangelical and community center work for the United Christian Missionary Society. In the winter of 1937, he volunteered to remain in Nanking as administrator of the University of Nanking hospital.

John G. Magee: Magee graduated from Yale in 1906 and received a B.D. from the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1911. He was ordained as a minister in the Episcopal Church and set off for China in 1912. He served as chairman of the Nanking Branch of the International Red Cross after the capture of Nanking. Together with M.S. Bates, he was engaged in relief work for the refugees.

George A. Fitch: Born in Suzhou, China, in 1883, Fitch was the son of a Presbyterian missionary family. He graduated from Wooster College in 1906, then attended Union Theological Seminary in New York. He was ordained in 1909 and returned to China to work with the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in Shanghai. He served as director of the Safety Zone after the fall of Nanking.

W. Plumer Mills: Mills graduated from Davidson College in 1903 and received a B.A. from Oxford University in 1910 and a B.D. from Columbia Theological Seminary in 1912. Mills served under the YMCA in China from 1912 to 1931 and then under the Presbyterian Foreign Mission Board in Nanking from 1933 to 1949. He is one of the important leaders of the relief work during the fall of Nanking.

Ernest H. Forster: Forster graduated from Princeton University in 1917. In 1919, Forster went to China as an Episcopal missionary and taught at Mahan School in Yangzhou. He and his family were transferred from Yangzhou to Nanking to serve at St. Paul's Episcopal Church only about one month before the capture of Nanking. Forster, with John Magee, another Episcopal minister, remained in Nanking throughout the critical months of the Nanking Massacre and helped in the relief work.

Most of these Americans lived in Nanking or its surrounding areas for many years. They were married there and started their careers there, and some of them had even been born in Nanking. They learned the Chinese language and understood Chinese history and culture. They were familiar with the local conditions and customs of the Nanking area and became attached to the Nanking

inhabitants with whom they had been closely associated. They ardently introduced Nanking's history, scenic spots, and relevant touring information to the people outside China. There was a copy of *Sketches of Nanking* in the "Steward Papers," which was edited and published by the Foreign Residents Nanking Women's Club, Literature Branch. The first edition was published in 1923 and the second, in 1933. Most of the authors and the members of the Literature Branch were the wives of professors at the University of Nanking and their relatives. The chair of the branch was Mrs. Samuel J. Mills. The content of the book includes Nanking's history, anecdotes of Ginling, scenic spots and historical sites, temples in Nanking, and so on. The cover bears an inscription *Kai Men Jian Shan*, which is a Chinese idiom whose literal meaning is "Open the door and see the mountain." On the title page is a picture of a section of the winding, ancient city wall against the background of the lofty Purple Mountain. The preface says, "It is the hope of those presenting this volume, that it will, in spite of its many deficiencies, help those who pursue it to a better understanding and deeper interest in the city and that it will stimulate some to a search for more relics of the glory that was Nanking's in ages past, and that we trust will again be hers."

We long ago noticed that Bates and his missionary colleagues, whether they were in Nanking or came back to the States, often called one another "old citizens of Nanking" or "we Chinese." Now we also found that these people even called themselves the "Nanking gang." In the "Steward Papers," there was a group of letters to Mrs. W.P. Mills, whose husband was the second chair of the International Committee. All the writers were their American colleagues and friends who had lived in Nanking (especially at the University of Nanking and Ginling College). The letters are dated from December 1942 to March 1943. At that time the Millses had already left Nanking and were back in the States. Most of the letter writers had moved to Chengtu and still worked at the University of Nanking and Ginling College, which had also moved to Chengtu. The initiators and organizers of the group correspondence were Grace Riggs and Lucile Jones. The former was working at the dean's office in the agricultural college, and the latter was a professor in the department of philosophical education at the University of Nanking.

In her letter dated November 24, 1942, Grace Riggs wrote, "A few days ago Lucile Jones and I invited the 'Nanking gang' for tea, and to have a visit with as many of you as had written lately. All recent letters were brought and shared among us, and the enclosed expresses the thoughts of some of us. It was a pleasant get-together, and not once was mentioned the high cost of living. We lived mostly in the past for those couple hours, with now and then a hopeful peep into the future." A letter written by Mrs. Smythe, who had worked at the president's office, dated March 12, 1943, also said, "Today a group of us have

gotten together here to talk over old times in Nanking.” Other letters either sighed, “We do miss Nanking,” or showed their sentiments, “so far from our old Nanking,” or “absence and distance surely make the heart grow fonder in relation to you all, and the Nanking bond somehow seems different from any other.” The last of these affectionate letters is from Mrs. Margaret Roy, whose children had all grown up on the campus of the University of Nanking. One of them was Stapelton Roy, who became the American ambassador to China. In the letter, she mentioned her other son, David, whom I met at a cocktail party at the University of Chicago in the autumn of 1979. At that time, David was already a distinguished professor of Chinese classical literature at this university, and had made a profound study and translation of *Jin Ping Mei*, a famous Chinese classic. We talked glowingly of the past in Nanking, proposing toasts and clinking glasses time and again. Occasionally, we imitated the Nanking local dialect, which aroused laughter that rocked the whole room. David’s generation, I think, may have inherited some “Nanking gang” gene from their old generation.

Though this group of American residents, represented by Bates and Smythe, did not blend into the mainstream of Nanking society, they never considered themselves foreigners. On the contrary, they identified themselves as citizens of Nanking from the bottom of their hearts. It was Nanking that had provided them with stable and advantageous professions and the environment in which to start their careers and bring up their children. What’s more, the long history and the charming ambience of this city had attracted them deeply. The Qinhuai River bathed in the moonlight, Xuanwu Lake at the dawn of spring, the Rain of Flowers Terrace with its colorful pebbles, and Qixia Mountain covered with maple leaves—all these had become cherished memories and would follow them for the rest of their lives. Of course, they had been most emotionally attached to the unsophisticated and industrious people of Nanking, as well as their colleagues and students with whom they had been together day and night. We can see from the “Steward Papers” that those Americans not only studied earnestly Mandarin Chinese, but also learned the Nanking dialect. They worked out forms with English, Mandarin, and Nanking dialect in them. It reflected their strong desire to become part of the Nanking people. It is no wonder that they called Nanking “one of the most beautiful cities in the world” and called Ginling College “a college set up in the capital of a country.” They felt quite proud of themselves for being citizens of Nanking.

Unfortunately, the invasion of the Japanese army on December 13, 1937, thoroughly destroyed the peaceful and quiet life of this beautiful city. The great city wall, the symbol of the ancient capital, had been breached by a bomb. The prosperous city proper became a sea of flames. The honest and kind citizens became the victims of killing and raping. Nanking instantly turned into a hell

on earth. The disaster came so suddenly, everybody had to face it. Under these harsh conditions, everyone had to make a serious choice. Bates and his American colleagues and friends had every reason to leave the city, and the American embassy had repeatedly urged them to withdraw. It even sent a warship to meet them. Yet they could not tear themselves away from the helpless 200,000 refugees who were deserted by the municipal government. They preferred to share all this suffering with the city and its people, and they did their best to help them with the status of a third party's nationality. In those days of sanguinary slaughter, they relied upon petition, argument, and even their own flesh and blood to carry out the relief work for the victims of the Japanese bayonets. Together with their Chinese colleagues, they gathered the refugees into their shelters and provided them with board and lodging. They worked valiantly day and night, sending their protests and appeals to the Japanese military and diplomatic authorities and keeping a record of Japanese atrocities day by day. They could not receive any information about their family members whom they were so eagerly yearning to see. Husbands or wives did not know whether their better halves were still alive or had been imprisoned. This small group of foreign residents was almost completely isolated from the outside world. Yet they chose to stay. Just as Bates said, the Christian who tries to do his duty need not fear for his life, but only for his own shortcomings before great challenges.

The following is what we dedicate to the readers: the record of the Nanking Massacre, the brutal crime committed by the Japanese invading army, written with the hearts, blood, and tears of this small group of foreign residents.

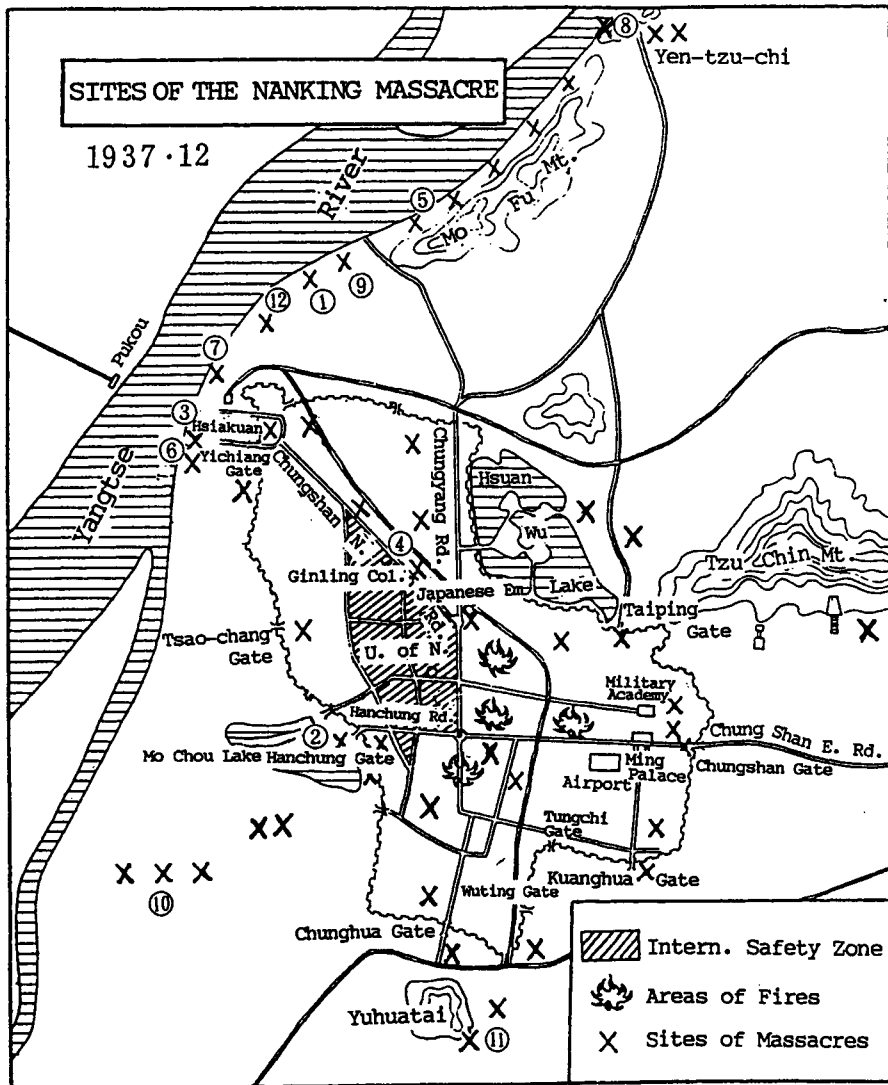
Notes

1. R.P. Jacquinot, Catholic priest, chair of the China International Famine Relief Committee, vice president of the Shanghai Red Cross Association, and chair of the Supervisory Committee of the Nanking Refugee Zone.

2. Hang Liwu, *Hang Liwu Xiansheng Fangwen Jilu*, pp. 23–24. Taipei: Modern History Institute, Sinica Academy, 1991.

3. W.P. Mills, "Early Days in Nanking," from "The Story of Eighty Years of Protestant Missions in Nanking, China, 1867–1947," RG20, B10, F3–10.

4. From "Information on Stones in Foreign Cemetery, Nanking, China," (RG20, B20, F224).



- ① Yu-lei-ying
- ② Outside of Han-chung Gate
- ③ Chung-shan Pier
- ④ Ta-fang-hsiang Square
- ⑤ Tsao-hsieh-chia
- ⑥ Hsia-kuan
- ⑦ Lung-chiang-kou

- ⑧ Yen-tzu-chi
- ⑨ Pao-ta-chiao and the vicinity of Yu-lei-ying
- ⑩ Shang-hsin-ho
- ⑪ Hua-shen Temple outside the Chung-hua Gate
- ⑫ Mei-tan Port

EYEWITNESSES TO MASSACRE

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Miner Searle Bates

Miner Searle Bates was born May 28, 1897, in Newark, Ohio. His father was a minister who became president of Hiram College. Bates received his B.A. from Hiram College in 1916 and won a Rhodes Scholarship to study at Oxford University. With the United States entering World War I, he joined the YMCA and served in Mesopotamia until the end of the war. He returned to Oxford to finish his B.A. and did some graduate work in 1920. In the summer of that year, the United Christian Missionary Society commissioned him as a missionary to teach at the University of Nanking. In 1923, he married Lilliath Robbins, a Canadian teaching at Ginling College. In 1934–35, Bates was Rockefeller Foundation Fellow studying Japanese and Russian at Harvard University. He received a Ph.D. in Chinese history from Yale University in 1935.



When the Nanking Massacre occurred, Bates was alone in Nanking as his wife and two children were staying in Japan. He plunged himself into the work of the International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone, protecting many Chinese from being murdered and raped by the Japanese army and saving thousands of them from starvation. To enhance his power to deal with the Japanese, the directors of the University of Nanking appointed him vice president of the university on January 13, 1938. Only two days after the fall of Nanking, Bates lodged his first protest against Japanese atrocities with the Japanese embassy, followed by his famous letter of protest of January 10, 1938, a copy of which reached free China.

*Bates was a major moving spirit behind H.J. Timperley's book, *Japanese Terror in China* (New York: Modern Age Books, June 1938). Except for seven*

brief trips to Japan and one to India to attend conferences, Bates remained in Nanking from 1937 to 1941, fearlessly challenging the Japanese authorities about their activities, especially narcotics trafficking. On behalf of the Nanking International Relief Committee, he wrote two pamphlets: one titled "Crop Investigation in Nanking Area" and the other "The Nanking Population," both of which are crucial to our understanding of the Nanking Massacre. After the war he was summoned as a witness at the Tokyo Trial and subsequent Chinese trials of war criminals.

Some Pictures from Nanking (Dec. 15, 1937)¹

At Nanking the Japanese Army has lost much of its reputation, and has thrown away a remarkable opportunity to gain the respect of the Chinese inhabitants and of foreign opinion. The disgraceful collapse of Chinese authority and the break-up of the Chinese armies in this region left vast numbers of persons ready to respond to the order and organization of which Japan boasts. Many local people freely expressed their relief when the entry of Japanese troops apparently brought an end to the strains of war conditions and the immediate perils of bombardment. At least they were rid of their fears of disorderly Chinese troops, who indeed passed out without doing severe damage to most parts of the city.

But in two days the whole outlook has been ruined by frequent murder, wholesale and semi-regular looting and uncontrolled disturbance of private homes including offenses against the security of women. Foreigners who have traveled over the city report many civilians' bodies lying in the streets. In the central portion of Nanking they were counted yesterday as about one to the city block. A considerable percentage of the dead civilians were the victims of shooting or bayoneting in the afternoon and evening of the 13th, which was the time of Japanese entry into the city. Any person who ran in fear or excitement, and any one who was caught in streets or alleys after dusk by roving patrols was likely to be killed on the spot. Most of this severity was beyond even theoretical excuse. It proceeded in the Safety Zone as well as elsewhere, and many cases are plainly witnessed by foreigners and by reputable Chinese. Some bayonet wounds were barbarously cruel.

Squads of men picked out by Japanese troops as former Chinese soldiers have been tied together and shot. These soldiers had discarded their arms, and in some cases their military clothing. Thus far we have found no trace of prisoners in Japanese hands other than such squads actually or apparently on the way to execution, save for men picked up anywhere to serve as temporary carriers of loot and equipment. From one building in the refugee zone, four hundred men were selected by the local police under compulsion from Japanese soldiers, and were marched off tied in batches of fifty between lines of riflemen and machine-

gunners. The explanation given to observers left no doubt as to their fate.

On the main streets the petty looting of the Chinese soldiers, mostly of food shops and of unprotected windows, was turned into systematic destruction of shop-front after shop-front under the eyes of officers of rank. Japanese soldiers require private carriers to help them struggle along under great loads. Food was apparently in first demand, but everything else useful or valuable had its turn. Thousands upon thousands of private houses all through the city, occupied and unoccupied, large and small, Chinese and foreign, have been impartially plundered. Peculiarly disgraceful cases of robbery by soldiers include the following: scores of refugees in camps and shelters had money and valuables removed from their slight possessions during mass searches; the staff of the University Hospital were stripped of cash and watches from their persons, and of other possessions from the nurses' dormitory (their buildings are American, and like a number of others that were plundered, were flying foreign flags and carrying official proclamations from their respective Embassies); the seizure of motor cars and other property after tearing down the flags upon them.

There are reported many cases of rape and insult to women, which we have not yet had time to investigate. But cases like the following are sufficient to show the situation. From a house close to one of our foreign friends, four girls were yesterday abducted by soldiers. Foreigners saw in the quarters of a newly arrived officer, in a part of the city practically deserted by ordinary people, eight young women.

Under these conditions the terror is indescribable, and lectures by suave officers on the "sole purpose of making war on the oppressive Chinese Government for the sake of the Chinese people," leave an impression that nauseates.

Surely this horrible exhibition in Nanking does not represent the best achievement of the Japanese Empire, and there must be responsible Japanese statesmen, military and civilian, who for their own national interests will promptly and adequately remedy the harm that these days have done to Japanese standing in China. There are individual soldiers and officers who conduct themselves as gentlemen worthy of their profession and worthy of their Empire. But the total action has been a sad blow.

Excerpts of Letters to the Japanese Embassy (Dec. 14-27, 1937)²

December 14:

[Japanese] Soldiers tore down the American flag and official notice of the American Embassy upon the gate of our [University of Nanking] Agricultural Economics Department (Hsiao T'ao Yuan), robbed several teachers and assistants living there, and broke several doors without waiting for keys.

December 15:

In our new Library Building, where we are taking care of 1,500 common people, four women were raped on the property; two were carried off and released after being raped; three were carried off and not returned; one was carried off but released by your Military Police near the Embassy. These acts of soldiers have brought great pain and fear to these families, to their neighbors and to all Chinese in this part of the city. More than a hundred similar cases in other parts of the Safety Zone have been reported to me this morning. They are not my business now, but I mention them to show that this University problem next door to you is only a sample of the great misery of robbery and rape carried on by soldiers among the people.

We earnestly hope that discipline may be restored among the troops. Now the fear is so great that people are afraid even to get food, and normal life and work are impossible. We respectfully urge that your authorities may arrange for their proper inspections to be carried out systematically under the immediate direction of officers than by stray bands of soldiers who enter the same place as many as ten times in one day and steal all food and money from the people. And secondly, we urge that for the reputation of the Japanese Army and the Japanese Empire, for the sake of good relations between the Japanese authorities and the common people of China, for your own thought of your wives, sisters and daughters, that the families of Nanking receive protection from the violence of soldiers.

The disorder and failure of the Chinese army gave a good chance for the Japanese troops to secure the confidence of the people, and it is unfortunate for all concerned if that chance is lost by delay or indifference to ordinary human welfare and morality.

December 17:

The reign of terror and brutality continues in the plain view of your buildings and among your own neighbors.

1. Last night soldiers repeatedly came to our Library building with its great crowd of refugees, demanding money, watches, and women at the point of the bayonet. When persons had no watches or money, usually because they had been looted several times in the two preceding days, the soldiers broke windows near them and roughly pushed them about. One of our own staff members was wounded by a bayonet in this manner.
2. At the Library building, as in many other places throughout this part of the city last night, soldiers raped several women.

3. Soldiers beat our own unarmed watchmen, because the watchmen did not have girls ready for the use of the soldiers.
4. Last night several of our American-owned residences, with flags and Embassy proclamations on them, were entered irregularly by roving groups of soldiers, some of them several times. These residences included houses in which three American members of our staff are living.

We respectfully ask you to compare these acts, which are small samples of what is happening to large numbers of residents of Nanking, with your Government's official statements of its concern for the welfare of the people of China, likewise of its protection of foreign property.

We do not wish to emphasize personal matters, and refer to two other incidents merely to indicate the degree of wild license among uncontrolled soldiers. Yesterday one American member of our staff was struck by an officer upon entirely false charges which the officer did not investigate, and also by soldiers. During the night another American and myself were pulled out of bed by a drunken soldier with a rifle.

This letter is not written to ask for special protection on behalf of the University, but to emphasize, by reason of the nearness of the University to yourselves, the urgency of peril to all peaceable people.

We believe that the Japanese Army has the power and the efficiency to maintain respectable conduct, and to give conquered people a chance to work and live under good order. We are unable to understand why it does not do so, and do it before further damage is done to local people, to Japan's reputation.

December 18:

Misery and terror continues everywhere because of the violence and robbery of the soldiers. More than 17,000 poor persons, many of them women and children, are now in our buildings hoping for safety. They are still crowding in, because conditions elsewhere are worse than here. Yet I must give you the past twenty-four hours in this *relatively good* position.

1. University Middle School, Kan Ho Yen. One frightened child killed by a bayonet; another critically wounded and about to die. Eight women raped. Several of our own staff, who are trying to feed and care for these wretched people, were struck by soldiers for no reason whatever. Soldiers climb over the walls many times day and night. Many persons could not sleep for three days, and there is hysterical fear. If this fear and despair result in resistance against the attack of soldiers upon women, there will be disastrous slaughter for which your authorities

- will be responsible. American flag scornfully torn down by soldiers.
2. Sericulture Building, Chin Ying Chieh. Two women raped.
 3. Agricultural Implements Shop, 11 Hu Chia Ts'ai Yuen, two women raped.
 4. Faculty residence, 11 Hankow Road, inhabited by our own staff. Two women raped.
 5. Faculty residence, 23 Hankow Road, inhabited by American member of our staff. One woman raped.
 6. Agricultural Economics Department (Hsiao T'ao Yuan). This place has received terrible treatment so many times that all women have fled. This morning while visiting there, I was approached by six soldiers, one of whom repeatedly pointed a pistol at me with his finger on the trigger, although I did nothing except ask a courteous question as to whether he found any difficulty there.

These plain facts do not tell the misery of ordinary people visited as many as ten times in one day and six times in one night by wandering groups of soldiers looking for women and loot. They do indicate the urgent need for control *at once*.

Certain of your representatives declared that there would be military police at the gates of several of these buildings last night (as at certain other points where large bodies of refugees are gathered). But not one guard was seen. Since soldiers are everywhere climbing over walls, a few guards will not do much good, anyhow, unless there is a genuine restoration of general discipline.

The presence of the Akiyama Department Headquarters in the residence formerly belonging to Ho Yin-ni'in, constitutes a special peril to this neighborhood until your soldiers are controlled. It could be made a means of security if the generals so desired.

Here and all through the city, people are becoming desperate with hunger, since soldiers have taken their food and money; also many are cold and sick because soldiers have taken their clothing and bedding. How do the Japanese authorities plan to deal with this problem?

It is said on every street with tears and distress that where the Japanese Army is, no person and no house can be safe. Surely this is not what the statesmen of Japan wish to do, and all residents of Nanking expect better things from Japan.

I believe that if you have an opportunity, it would be well for one of you to go with me through some of the places where this terror and suffering continues, so close to your own walls. The writing of this letter has been interrupted in order to deal with seven soldiers engaged in their usual business called "inspection," which means looking for women whom they will return to seize at night.

I slept in these buildings last night, and will continue to do so in the hope of giving a little aid to helpless women and children. Other foreign friends and

myself in doing such humanitarian work have repeatedly been threatened by your soldiers. If in the course of these efforts we are killed or wounded by drunken and disorderly soldiers, the responsibility will be entirely clear.

This letter is written in a courteous and friendly spirit, but it reflects something of the unhappy despair in which we have lived since the Japanese Army entered the city five days ago. Immediate remedy is greatly needed.

December 21:

In accordance with your request this morning, I submit the following facts, most of which have been observed by myself since I saw you, and the remainder I have carefully investigated after they were told me by reliable people.

1. This afternoon seven persons were taken from our Library Building by soldiers. These included members of our own staff. There was no accusation or fact of their being soldiers (Chinese), but they were simply seized for forced labor without regard to your proclamation.
2. At No. 4 T'ou T'iao Hsiang, near the entrance to your Embassy, a woman was raped this afternoon by two soldiers. Does this suggest that a few gendarmes are restoring order?
3. While I was with you in the Embassy today, my own house was looted for the fourth time. Seven other University houses have been looted today, and many have been entered several times.
4. Fires systematically laid by large bodies of soldiers working under the direction of officers, are rendering thousands of people homeless and without hope of return to normal life and work. They are going ahead all day just the same as before.
5. The Shuang Lung Hsiang gate of the University Hospital was broken in today, although it carried your proclamation. In another part of the Hospital, an American just saved the ambulance, which soldiers were stealing.
6. I have seen myself five cases of soldiers taking this afternoon food and bedding from poor people, usually requiring the people then to go with the loot as carriers.
7. In An Lot Li next to our Middle School, I answered a call for help from a Red Cross Dressing Station that was caring for three persons wounded in the night by soldiers demanding women and money. One woman was raped upstairs in that house last night. Two soldiers were thoroughly robbing the house when I went in. The very good man doing the medical work said that in his own house at 58 Kao Chia Chiu Khan, two women were raped last night.

8. I returned through several hundred straw huts of very poor people south of Wu T'ai Shan; some people said that conditions were better last night. Others said they were worse, for soldiers were still seizing girls in their homes, looting from the poorest people, and taking the rickshas of men who have no other means of living.
9. Yesterday, for the second time, the American flag was torn down from the American Primary School (Wu T'ai Shan) and trampled by soldiers. Soldiers threatened to kill any servant or other person who should put it up again.

I feel sure that not so many people were raped or wounded last night as the night before. But the robbery, illegal entry, and terrible burning continues as bad or worse than before. Two members of the International Committee who have driven several miles in a car have not yet seen a gendarme. They are not effective.

If the generals intend to destroy the people's homes and take away their last food and clothing, it is better to say so honestly than to deceive them and us with false hopes of order. . . .

December 25:

I have tried for a couple of days to refrain from troubling you further. However, many difficulties occur every day, and today they are worse than usual. New parties of stray soldiers without discipline or officers are going everywhere stealing, raping and taking away women.

Some cases follow:

1. Just now soldiers forcibly entered the University and towed away a truck used to supply rice to refugees.
2. In our Sericulture Building alone there are on the average of more than ten cases per day of rape or of abducting women.
3. Our residences continue to be entered day and night by soldiers who injure women and steal everything they wish. This applies to residences in which Americans are now living, just the same as to the others.
4. Soldiers frequently tear down the proclamations put up by your military police.
5. This morning an American member of our staff was struck by an officer who suddenly approached him and angrily tried to tear off the arm band supplied by your Embassy.
6. Other buildings not mentioned above are daily entered several times each by soldiers who utterly disregard your proclamations, looking for women and for loot.

7. Despite this disorder caused entirely by soldiers, we have no guard whatever and no military police have been sent near us.

December 27:

Beginning more than a week ago, we were promised by you that within a few days order would be restored by replacement of troops, resumption of regular discipline, increase of military police, and so forth. Yet shameful disorder continues, and we see no serious effort to stop it. Let me give a few examples from University property close to you, without covering all portions of the University.

1. Yesterday afternoon a soldier cut the rope and took away the American flag from our Rural Leaders' Training School at Yin Yang Ying and Shanghai Roads.
2. Last night between eleven and twelve o'clock, a motor car with three Japanese military men came to the main University gate, claiming that they were sent by headquarters to inspect. They forcibly prevented our watchman from giving an alarm, and kept him with them while they found and raped three girls, one of whom is only eleven years old. One of the girls they took away with them.
3. Stray soldiers continue to seize men to work for them, causing much fear and unnecessary inconvenience. For example, a soldier insisted on taking a worker from the Hospital yesterday; and several of our own servants and watchmen have been taken.
4. Several of our residences are entered daily by soldiers looking for women, food, and other articles. Two houses within one hour this morning.
5. Example 5 is from the Bible Teachers' Training School for Women, Chien Ying Hsiang, a place which has suffered terribly from your soldiers for a long time, and which I believe you once promised to protect especially—but where no military policeman has appeared. Yesterday seven different times there came groups of three or four soldiers, taking clothes, food and money from those who have some left after previous looting of the same type. They raped seven women, including a girl of twelve. In the night larger groups of twelve or fourteen soldiers came four times and raped twenty women.

The life of the whole people is filled with suffering and fear—all caused by soldiers. Your officers have promised them protection, but the soldiers every day injure hundreds of persons most seriously. A few policemen help certain places, and we are grateful for them. But that does not bring peace and order.

Often it merely shifts the bad acts of the soldiers to nearby buildings where there are no policemen.

Does not the Japanese Army care for its reputation? Do not Japanese officers wish to keep their public promises that they do not injure the common people?

While I have been writing this letter, a soldier has forcibly taken a woman from one of our teachers' houses, and with his revolver refused to let an American enter. Is this order?

Many people now want to return to their homes, but they dare not because of rape, robbery, and seizure of men continuing every day and night. Only serious efforts to enforce orders, using many police and real punishments will be of any use. In several places the situation is a little better, but it is still disgraceful after two weeks of army terrorism. More than promises is now needed.

Note on Aftermath of Registration at the University (Dec. 26, 1937)³

Registration was begun in the main compound. To the relatively small number of men there, the authorities added more than two thousand from the new Library. Out of the total of about three thousand massed together on the tennis courts below Swazey Hall, between two hundred and three hundred stepped out in answer to a half-hour of haranguing to this effect; "All who have been soldiers or who have performed compulsory labor (Fu Juh) pass to the rear. Your lives will be spared and you will be given work if you thus voluntarily come forth. If you do not, and upon inspection you are discovered, you will be shot." The speeches were repeated by Chinese under the instruction of Japanese officers; they were Chinese who wished to save as many of their people as possible from the fate that others had met as former soldiers or men accused wrongfully of being former soldiers. The speeches were clearly and thoroughly heard by Mr. Fukuda, Mr. Tanaka and myself, as well as by many members of the University staff. It was thought by some Chinese that certain men who stepped out were influenced by fear or misunderstanding of the term for compulsory labor, and certainly that a number of them had never been soldiers.

Toward five o'clock in the afternoon, the two or three hundred men were taken away in two groups by military police. Next morning there came to the University Hospital a man with five bayonet wounds. This man twice reported with fair clarity that he had been a refugee in the Library building, but was not present at the tennis courts. He was picked up on the street and added to a group that did come from the courts. That evening (vaguely west or near Kuling Ssu) about 130 Japanese soldiers killed most of 500 similar captives with bayonet thrusts. The victim recovered himself to find the Japanese gone, and managed to crawl back during the night.

Also on the morning of the 27th there was brought to me a man who said that he was one of 30–40 out of the 200–300 taken away the previous evening who had escaped the death. Since the man desired help for himself and one or more companions in the registration then continuing and since I was surrounded by military police at the moment, I had to tell him the plain fact that registration was for that time and place limited to women, and that it was best not to speak further at the moment. When I endeavoured three times later to get in touch with this man or his associate, I got no response. There were other rumors that the men taken away had been killed, but they did not seem to be specific. Later I talked with one who had escaped. Confirmed.

In the course of the same day and the next (27th and 28th) I heard and checked indirect but apparently careful and circumstantial reports that part of the men taken away were bound in groups of five and ten, to be passed successively from a first room in a large house into a second room or court where there was a big fire. As each group went forward, groans and cries could be heard by the remainder, but no shots. Some twenty remaining from an original sixty broke in desperation through a back wall and made their escape by an adjoining house. Part of the detachment brought from the University were said to have been saved by the pleas of priests living in the neighborhood ([from] Wu T'ai Shan, clearly specified in all this group of reports). A similar story had been heard by M.R. early in the evening of the 26th, too soon to come from the same incident. This confusion or complexity of reports was discouraging, and several attempts at further inquiry met with little result while other duties and problems pressed upon each day.

Today (31st) two men living nearby have given a request for aid, with their story, to a trusted assistant who offers to bring them to me for confirmation if desired. One admits that he was formerly a soldier, a frankness which creates some presumption in favor of his truthfulness. The two men say that the 200–500 from the University was split up into various groups. They themselves were taken first to Wu T'ai Shan, then to the bank of the canal outside Han Hsi Men, where a machine gun was turned upon them. They fell, one of them wounded, among the dead men and smeared themselves with their blood. Thoroughly confirmed in my own interview later.

These notes are prepared in the first place for criticism and suggestion by several persons who know or may be able to find out something concerning these circumstances. It seems that the men taken from the University were taken away variously, and were probably mixed with men from other places that same evening. It should be remembered that this incident is only one of a series that had been going on for nearly two weeks, with changes on the main theme of mass murder of men accused rightly or wrongfully of being ex-soldiers. Other incidents involved more men. My special interest in this is two-fold; first be-

cause of the close connection of our property, personnel and protégés (refugees) with the unfortunate outcome; second, because of the gross treachery of terms by which the men were selected. As a general finding, I am convinced that a large majority of the men thus deceived were murdered the same night.

31 December, 1937

Not yet fully revised.

Letter to Friends (Jan. 10, 1938)⁴

Nanking, January 10, 1938*

Dear Friends:—A few hasty jottings amid rape and bayonet stabs and reckless shooting, to be sent on the first foreign boat available since the situation developed after the Japanese entry—a U.S. Navy tug engaged in salvage work on the *Panay*. Friends in Shanghai will pick this up from the Consulate-General, and will get away somehow on a foreign boat without censorship.

Things have eased a good deal since New Year within the crowded Safety Zone, largely through the departure of the main hordes of soldiers. "Restoration of discipline" is very scrappy indeed, and even the military police have raped and robbed and ignored their duties. A new turn may come at any moment, through fresh arrivals or vacillations in action. There is no policy visible. At last foreign diplomats have been allowed to re-enter (this week) which seems to indicate a desire for stabilization.

More than ten thousand unarmed persons have been killed in cold blood. Most of my trusted friends would put the figure much higher. These were Chinese soldiers who threw down their arms or surrendered after being trapped; and civilians recklessly shot and bayoneted, often without even the pretext that they were soldiers, including not a few women and children. Able German colleagues put the cases of rape at 20,000. I should say not less than 8,000 and it might be anywhere above that. On University property alone, including some of our staff families and the houses of Americans now occupied by Americans, I have details of more than 100 cases and assurance of some 300. You can scarcely imagine the anguish and terror. Girls as young as 11 and women as old as 53 have been raped on University property alone. On the Seminary compound 17 soldiers raped one woman successively in broad daylight. In fact, about one-third of the cases are in the daytime.

Practically every building in the city has been robbed repeatedly by soldiers,

*Preceded by notation "NOT FOR PUBLICATION:
Will try to write articles soon."

including the American, British, and German Embassies or Ambassadors' residences, and a high percentage of all foreign property. Vehicles of all sorts, food, clothing, bedding, money, watches, some rugs and pictures, miscellaneous valuables, are the main things sought. This still goes on, especially outside the Zone. There is not a store in Nanking, save the International Committee's rice shop, and a military store. Most of the shops after free-for-all breaking and pilfering were systematically stripped by gangs of soldiers working with trucks, often under the observed direction of officers, and then burned. We still have several fires a day. Many sections of houses have also been burned deliberately. We have several samples of the chemical strips used by the soldiers for this purpose, and have inspected all phases of the process.

Most of the refugees were robbed of their money and at least part of their scanty clothing and bedding and food. That was an utterly heartless performance, resulting in despair on every face for the first week or ten days. You can imagine the outlook for work and life in this city with shops and tools gone, no banks or communications as yet, some important blocks of houses burned out, everything else plundered and now open, to cold and starving people. Some 250,000 are here, almost all in the Safety Zone and fully 100,000 entirely dependent on the International Committee for food and shelter. Others are scraping along on tiny holdovers of rice and the proceeds of direct or indirect looting. Japanese supply departments are beginning to let out for monetary and political reasons a little of the rice confiscated from considerable Chinese government supplies, though the soldiers burned no small reserves. But what next? When I asked Japanese officials about post and telegraph services they said, "There is no plan." And that seems to be the case with everything economic and most things political.

The International Committee has been a great help, with a story little short of miraculous. Three Germans have done splendidly, and I'd almost wear a Nazi badge to keep fellowship with them. A Dane and three Englishmen aided a good deal in the preliminary stages, but were pulled out by their companies and governments before the Chinese retired from Nanking. So the bulk of the work has come on American missionaries, only nine of whom have been outside the confining strain of the Hospital filled with bullet and bayonet cases; and of course some of us have had varying duties and conceptions of duty. Naturally there has been considerable Chinese aid and cooperation from the beginning, and most of the detail has had to be done by and through Chinese. Yet at some stages nothing could move, not even one truck of rice, without the actual presence of a foreigner willing to stand up to a gun when necessary. We have taken some big risks and some heavy wallops (literally as well as figuratively), but have been allowed to get away with far more than the situation seems to permit. We have blocked many robberies, persuaded or bluffed many contingents into

releasing groups marked for death, and pulled scores of soldiers away from rape and intended rape, besides all the general work of feeding, sheltering, negotiation, protecting, and protesting after sticking our eyes and noses into everything that has gone on. It is no wonder that a Japanese Embassy officer told us the generals were angry at having to complete their occupation under the eyes of neutral observers, claiming (ignorantly, of course) that never in the history of the world had that been true before.

Sometimes we have failed cold, but the percentage of success is still big enough to justify considerable effort. We must recognize that although in some points the relationship is far from satisfactory, we have gained a good deal by the effort of the Japanese Embassy to put cushions between the Army and foreign interests, the relative decency of their Consular Police (few and not altogether angelic), and by the fact that the main figures of the enterprise have been Germans of the Anti-Comintern Pact and Americans to be appeased after the barbarous attacks on American ships. The Japanese refused twice to send out for us a mild request for the return of American officials because of the great number of property cases and flag problems; and even with this week's improvement we are still in practical isolation even from the countryside and river front, except for the opportunities of American naval wireless through the Embassy for a limited scope of messages.

No mail since December 1, and that most tardy. Electric light in our house last night by special arrangement (seven Americans, among whom were personal links to the staff of the power plant). Japanese shot 43 of the 54 technical men on the staff, falsely accusing them of being government employees. Bombing, shelling and fires on top of that and you can imagine that utilities are slow in resumption. But insecurity of workers and their families was the main stumbling block, at that. Water depends on electric pumps, but we are beginning to get a trickle at low levels of the city. No dreams of telephone or bus or even rickshas. The Zone is about two square miles in area, not all built up. In this concentration we have had no accidental fire of notice, and practically no crime or violence except that of soldiers, until this present week's turning to looting outside the area in open buildings—especially for fuel. (No armed police.)

The University has 30,000 refugees on various parts of its property. Problems of administration are fearful, even on the low scale of living that can be maintained. We have very few indeed of regular University staff and servants, most of whom have done splendid work. There are many volunteer helpers hastily got together by the International Committee, who have come with considerable adulteration of motives. Now we must add delation and the intimidation and purchase of agents by the Japanese. I'm in three hot spots right now over this sort of business, and begin to wonder whether they are out to get me or the University into a corner. For instance, the two occurring in the past three

days involve a contradiction of my report of losses for the University Middle School (thus putting me down for lying and cheating to the Japanese, and striking between me and a key man in that tremendous refugee camp); and a severe shove through the gate of a terrible military police officer when I tried to inquire about a good-spirited interpreter whom they carried off bound as for death (after he had refused to leave the Middle School camp to accept their offers or submit to their threats). Incidentally, police from that office last night took a woman from a University house and raped her thoroughly, after putting a bayonet against our man Riggs when he happened along at the wrong time. So you get a little of the flavor of our daily diet while struggling to do something for these wretched but remarkably durable and cheerful people.

The real military police numbered 17 at the time that over 50,000 soldiers were turned loose on Nanking, and for days we never saw one. Eventually, soldiers were given special armbands and called police, which means that they have special preserves for their own misdeeds, and keep out *some* of the ordinary run. We have seen men scolded for being caught by officers in the act of rape, and let go without a tie [?]; others made to salute an officer following robbery. One motorized raid on the University at the night was actually conducted by officers themselves, who pinned our watchman to the wall and raped three women refugees before carrying off one of them (another was a girl twelve years old).

Lilliath had every reason to think that I was finished or wounded on the *Panay*, for my messages about remaining in Nanking had not got through to her and the papers in Tokyo implied that all foreigners were taken on the boats. But after 48 hours of distress she read in a Japanese paper an interview that a couple of dumb-bells got out of me shortly after the Japanese entry. The paper responded to the thanks of her friends by rushing out reporters and a photographer on the 17th, (entry on 13th, *Panay* sinking on the 12th, reported slowly). One of their men brought me a picture and a letter on New Year's Day, the latter of course dutifully read in the Japanese Embassy. Thus we were saved a good deal of prolonged concern. I have no other word since November 8th save that letter, although she wrote and wired many times by all sorts of routes and agencies. On December 17th she expected to come to Shanghai the first week of January, but I have heard nothing more. Perhaps a recent radio through the newly arrived gunboat will get some information from Shanghai.

However, I am not allowed to pass through a Nanking gate, and she would not be allowed to start west of Shanghai even if means of communication were open to her. How long this state will continue we do not know. Chinese have been greatly afraid lest Americans or all foreigners would be expelled from Nanking, but *they* seem more afraid to have us go than to have us stay—so far. Meanwhile I try to keep on friendly terms with Embassy staff and a few Japa-

nese in semiofficial posts, and even with a few of the less violent and treacherous of the police and soldiers. But it's hard going. Four weeks today! The shells and bombs were almost comfortable, if we had only known it. And what's ahead?

If you can supply faith for battering, do so.

(Signed) Miner Searle Bates

Excerpts of Letters to Mr. Allison of the American Embassy (Jan. 14–June 16, 1938)⁵

American Embassy, Nanking
14 January, 1938

Dear Mr. Allison:

Last night four Japanese came into a classroom of the Middle School. Full details of their conduct there are not available, because of the serious intimidation of responsible watchers. However, they carried off one girl. The Japanese were military policeman, at least part of them from the guard assigned to the Middle School gate. They made use of Chinese cloth shoes and in part of Chinese clothes.

This situation is most serious and disgraceful, and calls for fundamental remedy. If American property is to be entered daily by Japanese military for criminal purposes, regardless of law and protests, we have come to an end of decent relations. This would be called intolerable except that we have undergone it so long!

At the very least there should be action concerning the existing police, who obviously do not give protection. We have many reasons to distrust the district office at 32 Hsiao Fen Ch'iao, so close to the Middle School, and from which the guards are assigned.

Mrs. Liu Wen-pin has information that her husband was shot in 21 Shansi Road. I just now received this report, and am unable to say more as yet. Intimidation at the Middle School, and fear of vengeful retaliation, is now so great that it is difficult to get the full facts and for people to do their ordinary work.

The writing of this letter has been interrupted by half an hour taken to expel a military policeman (soldier with *hsien ping* armband from the Special Service Organ) from 19 Hankow Road, an American house flying the American flag and with American and Japanese proclamations upon the gate. The policeman entered over the wall, and had been there about one hour pawing over the ransacked personal property of University teachers and of Dr. Brady of the Uni-

versity Hospital. The house is about 250 yards from the district office mentioned above.

This morning we have secured an indirect report that the Kiangtangchieh Church was burned on the night of the 15th/16th; and the direct testimony of a servant of an American missionary who returned there on the morning of the 17th, that she saw some timbers still smoking and that part of an adjoining or supplementary roof fell in before her eyes. The servant worked for Miss Brethorst, who had lived on the property until summer. The first report was given to us by an old woman employee of the church, who left it intact on the morning of the 15th, after Japanese soldiers had entered the building several times. Two of them slept in it the night of the 14th, and two others began robbery and intimidation on the morning of the 15th.

Respectfully submitted,
M. S. Bates

American Embassy, Nanking
15 January, 1938

Dear Mr. Allison:

Yesterday afternoon at 4:45 three Japanese military with yellow tabs on the collar insisted upon entrance to our group residence at 3 P'ing Ts'ang Hsiang, entered two motor cars, and asked for assistance or means to drive them away. Fortunately Mr. Riggs was nearby, and when summoned by servants he was gradually able to get rid of the soldiers. As usual, the soldiers showed no sign of respect for the American flag, the American proclamation, or the Japanese proclamation, all plainly visible at or on the main gate by which they entered.

Last night at six o'clock the guards from the main gate of the university were withdrawn and have not been replaced. I have no explanation or understanding of the procedure.

As yet I have no word of how the Middle School or other units fared last night.

I will appreciate a word through any of our group concerning the matters taken up yesterday and the fate of Liu Wen-pin.

Enclosed is Mr. McCallum's statement regarding the burning of the State Theatre. It is possible that we can still get something further from our friends.

Yours truly,

American Embassy, Nanking
24 January, 1938

Dear Mr. Allison:

It is my duty to report that during the night of the 22nd–23rd January, a Japanese soldier climbed over the high main gate of our Hsiao T'ao Yuan Compound, and got a woman whom he returned last night with a promise that he would be back again for her with rewards for another trip in prospect. The gate bears Japanese and American proclamations, and has the American flag above it. Also, the gate is diagonally opposite the office of the military police at 32 Hsiao Fen Ch'iao, about which we continually complain.

Yesterday a soldier went through the main University gate in company with a Chinese assistant, and found three women who were willing to go with them. This was a long trip to dormitories.

Other problems of approach for laborers and women we will need to discuss in detail. Likewise the results of intimidation.

25 January, 1938

Before there is time for a more thorough report from the University for the happenings of yesterday and 1st night, I must send you information of a visit made at eleven p.m. to our Agricultural Implements Shop at 11 Hu Chia Ts'ai Yuen, by Japanese soldiers wearing light armbands.

They threatened the storekeeper with a gun and searched him. They took away a woman, raped her, and released her two hours later. She believes that she can identify the place to which she was taken, and we will attempt to secure that information as well as any other details that may be available.

This case involves forcible and irregular entry, intimidation by military weapons, abduction, rape. It was done presumably by military police (the only other possibility, judging by the armbands, would be the less likely Special Service men).

We do not have order, security, respect for American property as marked by proclamations and flag, or respect for Japanese proclamations and Japanese orders.

P.S. After this letter was finished. I was reliably informed that the soldiers tore down the Japanese proclamation from the door.

25 January, 1938

Dear Mr. Allison:

Entirely aside from rape and robbery, which seem officially to be frowned upon, there are many problems arising from the frequent entry of soldiers and policemen upon American property for purposes which they seem to consider legitimate. I refer particularly to search, intimidation, more or less forcible removal of persons from the premises, the securing of laborers, and questionable efforts to get women.

We have tried to take a fair and reasonable attitude in these matters, and wish to act in right relations with the Japanese authorities and with yourselves, while doing what we should for the people on our property and working in our institutions and our homes:

1. We do not oppose orderly and properly authorized search, if the procedure is satisfactory to you.
2. We do not try to protect any one from the consequences of wrongful acts, nor to interfere with the proper political and military control of the population.
3. We object to irregular, unauthorized, or forcible entry of our property, and point out that the entry of armed or uniformed men is under present conditions essentially a forcible entry.
4. We object to arbitrary interference with our employees and with legitimate enterprises undertaken by us on American property, including intimidation and abduction of Chinese assistants.
5. We favor and encourage *bone fide* solicitation of workers from among refugees on our property, male or female. But the experiences of the past six weeks have been so severe that the procedure must guard carefully against intimidation, veiled as well as open. Our staff people will be glad to assist in this matter, but they must be protected against the continued abuse of military who demand that they supply a certain number of men or women with certain specifications. They can only pass on the request, and bring out any refugees who are willing to go. The presence of Japanese under existing conditions constitutes pressure, and they should therefore remain outside the gates. If they wish to send in their own Chinese agent, that is all right providing he goes with the understanding of a responsible staff person.
6. If abuses continue, we shall need to ask for the writing of a list with names and time of departure and return for all persons solicited from our premises. But we hope that will not be necessary.
7. We suggest that a clear and uniform agreement on these points should