Mrs Forster's copy

Sch Bratton & Smith

No. 25 Lo Chia Rd, Nanking
Dec. 12, 1937.

Darling:

The last few days have been terrible ones for the poor people of this city. The Japanese, according to what we have heard, broke into the Shwei Si Men this afternoon and the Chinese soldiers are in retreat along the Chungshan Road and by other roads. As I write there is the sound of heavy guns inside the city as well as rifle and machine gun fire. Some troops are evidently holding up the retreat while the main body of troops are going to Hsiakwan in the endeavour to get across the river, I suppose. There are fires in many parts of the city, either the work of the Chinese soldiers or of Japanese shells, I do know which. A shell hit just across the street from the house almost next to us here where some of our people and the Christians from S t. Paul's Church are and frightened them all very much.

I shall now go back for a few days and tell you a little of what I have been doing beginning with Wednesday. I wish I had written a little each day in the form of a diary as there have been so many things doing that it has been hard to keep track of the days. I'm not sure just which day I wrote my air mail letter to you but think it went off on Wednesday, the last day the P.O. accepted any mail. I was busy at our place trying to get some things into the city. We did succeed in getting our piano and Louise Hammond's in but had no time to get Archie Tsen's in -- I only succeeded in getting ours in by the skin of my teeth as I had to get a special permit from the commanding general's headquarters. Then there were a great many people from Hsiakwan that the military would not let in -- a sentry did not even want to let me in but I walked past him and talked to an officer at the gate.

While I was there quite a number of our Ssu So Ts'uen Christians came up. I would not have known them but Chen Ru Ling had given them each a slip of cloth stamped with "Sheng Kung Hwei" so I could recognize them and vouch for them. What the officer told me they were afraid of was spies. Many others tried to come in with them but I could not vouch for them.

The next day (Thursday - Dec.9th) I heard that there were some wounded civilians at the station so I went down in the car. I forgot to mention that the day before I had found a poor old woman from Wusih or somewhere near there, whose hands had been handly torn by a bomb. I was able to get her and her daughter to the Drum Tower Hospital where she had to have a finger amputated. The daughter is living with our Wusih refugees or possibly with our Ssu So Ts'uen Christians.

On Thursday I went to the station with J. L. Ch'en, after making sure that the officer at the gate would let us in again. There were no wounded there but we filled the ambulance from the Drum Tower Hospital with medicines and quilts that we had been using for wounded soldiers at the station and then J. L. Ch'en and I went in the Ford to Ssu So Ts'uen to get a girl who had been wounded in the leg several weeks before and who could not walk. A little child had also been

wounded in the head. This family were not Christians but had occasionaly attended Church. The place was pretty largely deserted but some people were still about. This girl did not want to move and it was only by considerable urging that we could get them to move. We told them that Ssu So Tsuen would be burned no doubt. This happened the next day which I could see when I was in Hsiakwan.

On Thursday while I was in Hsiakwan the solders were burning the buildings outside the Hsing Chung Men -- whether the Bridge Hotel has been burned by now I do not know. The buildings in Chiang Chia Yuan back of Archie Tsen's house were in flames and I could see soldiers running about Archie Tsen's house and it was set ablaze just after I left as George Fitch came by there later and saw it burning. The next day only the walls were standing. While I was there Kwoh Tz-Shuang, the man who refused to sell to us the land near our front gate, was there on the road with such things as he could tie up. He was weeping and pointing to some of his houses which were burning and said they would not let him into the city. I told him to come with me to the gate and I would do what I could but the sentry did not even want to let me in. Kwoh went back in despair -- if he had waited till I could find the officer I could have got him in. It seems so utterly senseless as well as heartless to burn the houses of the people. If it would enable them to hold the city for a month later it might have been reasonable but this could not be the case.

I took some wounded soldiers down to the river bank as they were being evacuated by train from Pukow as rapidly as possible and tried to find some wounded civilians who I heard were there. There were many hundreds of people there on the wharves some of whom had been waiting for days to go across and many of them had had nothing to eat for several days. The day before G. Fitch and I had proposed to the acting Chief of Police that they find some way of sending these people across the river that they might escape and I was glad to see that the ferries were taking them after the wounded soldiers were provided for, but I heard yesterday that there were still about 1500 still waiting.

Then yesterday (Saturday, Dec. 11th) I took some wounded soldiers in the Drum Tower ambulance to a dressing station for wounded soldiers in the Capitol Theatre. Just before I arrived a large shell had fallen in the street and killed about 11 people. Two motor cars were burning immediately opposite the Capitol Theatre in front of the Fu Chang Hotel. I got rid of my wounded soldiers just as the Japanese bombers came overhead and when the anti-aircraft guns near at hand were firing very hard. We got out of that place as soon as possible and went back to the hospital. Soon some people came saying a number of people had been wounded inside the neutral zone. We took the ambulance and this time went down a back street also taking the Ford. After passing the University Middle School and before we arrived at Hua Chung Road we saw a number of dead bodies lying in the road. A house had been hit by a shell and close to 20 people killed, 7 or 8 of them being hurled into the street. A poor old couple were simply frantic as their son, aged 33, was lying dead with a huge hole in the front of his face. They were simply beside themselves with grief.

Great crowds were standing around out of curiosity and I told them to leave immediately and get behind something. The masses in China are certainly unintelligent about such things. There was danger that another shell might arrive at any moment.

This morning Ernest took the service for the Christians from Taosheng and St. Paul's Parishes who are living over in two houses from where I am now writing (Hansen's house) while I took a service on the ground floor of Schultz-Pantin's house where E. and I have been living. I preached on the Advent hope and again God gave me freedom of expression and a message -- not the same as the previous Sunday, even though I had had no previous preparation. Just as I was in the midst of my sermon the telephone rang and I answered it as it was near me (a new experience while preaching!) and I was told I was wanted immediately over at the Neutral Zone Committee's headquarters. After the creed I asked J. L. Ch'en to carry on and I hurried over to enter into a discussion about a new plan concerning the Zone.

In the afternoon I went to the U. Hospital to try to be of help and while there or perhaps before leaving headquarters, heard that the Japanese had broken into the city. The Chinese were preparing to defend that corner and had stationed guns in the park near the Drum Tower, which they should not have done as it was in the Neutral Zone. Many of us got busy hurriedly moving the drugs from the drug room as it was near the corner of the building where the soldiers were preparing to make a stand and we feared it would be bombed or shelled and all the hospital drugs destroyed. After working at this for some time I walked across to Schultz-Pantin's house where I had supper and then walked over here. As there is still electric light in this section I've been able to write this letter. While writing the firing has much lessened and I suppose the Chinese positions have been occupied or their guns captured. What the morrow will bring forth I do not know. There is still a little rifle fire.

Dec. 15, 8:50 a.m. The night before last when I finished writing I thought the fighting was over but later there was heavy firing from artillery quite close to us and also much machine gun and rifle fire -- heavier than before.

Yesterday turned out to be a most unpleasant day -- that is putting it mildly. On Sunday afternoon when the Chinese soldiers began to retreat I went to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs where I found many wounded soldiers but no medical officers or nurses. Later Ernest and I went to the Ministry of War at San Pai Lou where we found many more wounded soldiers and(almost) about ten or twenty army nurses and doctors but none of them were doing anything at all but planning to leave. I told them that the International Red Cross Committee would take them over if they would stay and work for the wounded soldiers there. We had organized the day before with a number of people who had been interested in helping the wounded -- Germans, British (Munro-Faure who, however, like all the British had been ordered out of Nanking and was living on a boat in the river) Chinese, young Cola, our Russian friend, but mostly Americans. I was made chairman and Ernest secretary of our Committee.

Some members of our Safety Zone Committee had got into touch with some Japanese officers and they said the hospitals would be respected so long as they did not harbor armed men and that the soldiers would not be harmed if they did not resist. Then many of us got busy in various parts of the city passing on the word to the Chinese soldiers, all of us taking their arms and throwing them away. The street in front of the Ministry of War was in the wildest confusion--small and heavier artillery, mules, horses, shells, hand grenades and every kind of war material. We stopped to set free a mule. It made one feel very uncomfortable to pass hand grenades and artillery shells lying near the fire. Once a bullet blew out just near our feet. When I got back to the Ministry of War the nurses and doctors that I had asked to wait there had left and the poor wounded soldiers were left with no one to attend them.

By evening the hospital for wounded soldiers began to take on some semblance of order as the hundred or so dressers had begun to get to work.

The next morning I took an ambulance full of wounded soldiers to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. When we had just succeeded in helping up the steps those who were able to walk (some had to be taken on stretchers) along came a squad of Japanese soldiers some of whom were like wild beasts. I was helping a poor fellow who was coming along most painfully but a soldier grabbed him from me and began to jerk his wounded arms terribly and tied his hands together and also the hands of another wounded man. Fortunately I found a Japanese medical officer who came about that time and pointed to the bloody clothes of these men. He spoke in German and I said in poor German that this was a hospital for wounded soldiers and he made the soldiers release them. A little while before a Japanese newspaper reporter told me in good English that some of the Japanese soldiers were very bad. I then found a decent Colonel who spoke English and told him I wanted to go to headquarters to get permission to tend to the wounded soldiers and he sent me and the young Russian to headquarters in our ambulance (borrowed from the Red Swastika Society). We went to the Central Hotel west of the officers Moral Endeavor and saw a small man with a pointed head and heavy beard. I said through Cola that there were many wounded soldiers in the Ministry of War and I wanted permission to move them to the Ministry of F.A. He went back into an inner room where the highest officer in the city was located and then said that I must wait several days. I said they have not been tended to for days and did not even have anyone to bring them water and he said we must wait. We went away in disappointment. I returned to the headquarters of our Neutral Zone Committee and there found a number of wounded soldiers and took two loads of them to the Wounded Soldiers' Hospital at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Each time I had difficulty with the soldiers. Some high staff officers we met in a car were afraid I was carrying wounded soldiers away but I told him we wanted to bring them in, not take them away. They gave us permission to bring one more load. After the second trip we met an officer at the gate as we were trying to go back who seemed beside himself with rage. I never saw such a person before. His talk sounded like the barking of a dog and the looks he gave me would have burned me up if I were inflammable. He told Cola not to let this American (myself) come around there again -- the Americans were very bad. Cola said, " We had permission to make another trip" and he said, " I am

the commanding officer in the city." With much difficulty we succeeded in getting back our ambulance.

Sunday - Dec. 19.

The horror of the last week is beyond anything I have ever experienced. I never dreamed that the Japanese soldiers were such savages. It has been a week of murder and rape, worse, I imagine, than has happend for a very long time unless the massacre of the Armenians by the Turks was comparable. They not only killed every prisoner they could find but also a vast number of ordinary citizens of all ages. Many of ther were shot down like the hunting of rabbits in the streets. There are dead bodies all over the city from the south city to Hsiakwan. Just day before yesterday we saw a poor wretch killed very near the house where we are living. So many of the Chinese are timid and when challenged foolishly start to run. This is what happened to that man. The actual killing we did not see as it took place just around the corner of a bamboo fence from where we could see. Gola went there later and said they man had been shot twice in the head. These two Jap. soldiers were no more concerned then if they had been killing a rat and never stopped smoking their cigarettes and talking and laughing. J. L. Ch'en's oldest boy, Ch'en Chang, 16 years (Chinese count) was carried off with a great body of possibly 500 from right around where we live two days ago and I think there is very little chance that he is alive. In this group were also 11 other Ssu So Ts'uen Christians. We have been able to get no trace of them since, although I gave the names of our people to the newly arrived Consul-General Tanaka yesterday.

Our school cook's boy who was rinsing rice at a pond about five days ago was carried off with more than 100 others to Ssu So Ts'uen on that same day, all with their wrists tied with rope. Near Ssu So Ts'uen they were shot one by one. Fortunately for him and a shop keeper from Kulon they were at the end of the line and their wrists were tied in front of them and not behind as I've seen in many cases. They began gnawing on the knots with their teeth and succeeded in undoing the knots. Without being seen they were able to hide in a drain or culvert where they stayed for two nights and a day and a half. Then they came out and met with a Japanese soldier who was unable to carry away a cask of wine which he had looted. He made them carry it for him, which they were very glad to do as this rendered them safe and enabled them to enter the city whence the boy was able eventually to reach the house (Hansen's) where our Hsiakwan people are housed. My chauffeur's two younger brothers were carried off in the same group with Ch'en Chang. As this crowd was being gathered quite near the house where Ernest and I have been living, I went out with the chauffeur's wife as he was afraid to go (and with good reason). She finally saw her two younger brothers-in-law and I walked up to a party officer, probably a sergeant and raising two fingers said in English "Two men - not soldiers." This man was looking at me with supreme hate as I approached and said in great rage something which I took to mean "go" and I turned to the woman and said "It is hopeless" and we returned. If I had known Ch'en Ch'ang was in that group I would have tried to reach a high officer to save him. I think it was the day before yesterday that Mr. T'ung's son (they are San Pai Lou Christians) was shot in the street near here. About Tuesday night (Dec. 14th) I met with two groups of men being forced along the street, all tied

together four by four. One man had no trousers on. A great many of them (it was just dusk when I met the first group so I could distinguish them) -- there must have been between 5000 and 6000 of them. For several days we could hear the route of machine guns as these men (not only these 6000) in different parts of the city were being murdered. There is no way of finding out how many have been butchered but my guess is 20,000 including those killed in the streets. There may have been more or may have been less.

The Japanese were furious in not catching more prisoners as great numbers of soldiers must have escaped on Sunday night.

Yesterday I went to Hsiakwan with the new Japanese Consul-General Tanaka as he wanted to paste up notices on foreign property that this was American or British property, etc. as the case might be. The only buildings standing at Hsiakwan, about, are our place, Standard Oil, China Import & Export Co. and the Yangtsze Hotel. Our front door was smashed and the house was in the greatest confusion with all drawers dumped in the middle of the floor. On the third floor all remaining boxes were smashed open. I had fortunately left the smaller of my tin-lined boxes open and had taken the locks off the cupboards. There was considerable blood on the floor and on a bed in the 3rd floor and at least one gun with a broken barrel so I'm thinking some Chinese soldier or soldiers may have been cornered there, or at the least taken refuge there. The Chinese probably broke open the boxes looking for clothing into which to change from their soldier uniforms. Other valuable things seemed to have been left untouched. I am happy that the house was not burned down as I feared would be the case. The sight of Hsiakwan is appalling with almost all familiar sights gone. The Bridge House is no more and I am exceedingly sorry for Mrs. Sims. To try to begin again at her age is pretty discouraging. Hsiakwan was undoubtedly burned by Chinese as they did not want to leave it for the Japanese and it also probably helped to cover the Chinese retreat to the bund. On the bund there were three great piles of charred bodies-- partially burned. I imagine a great many of the fires that have been started by Japanese during the last four or five days have been for the purpose of burning up the dead that they have slaughtered. As I write two fires are burning -- one towards Hsiakwan and one towards the south.

The Japanese have been looting Nanking of everything they can lay hands on during this whole week. They even took a motor car from the German Embassy and have entered the American Embassy a number of times to be kicked out each time. Even officers are looting. Yesterday they came to the house (Hansen's) where I am and attempted to take out a remaining motor car (two others had already been taken from here.) With this group were two Ronin (Japanese civilian rascals). I pointed at the sign put up by the Japanese Consul General and also the U.S. Embassy sign and tried to close one side of the big gate. A Japanese pushed me back and they went into the garage but this remaining car was broken so they left it. One of the Ronin asked me in good English for my passport which I showed and he said "Thank you." The looting has continued for days and they keep taking the scanty food of the people and then bedding and every kind of article they can lay hands on. One cannot leave a motor car for a second or it will be gone.

But the most horrible thing now is the raping of the women which has been going on in the most shameless way that I have ever known. The streets are full of men searching for women. Ernest and I, one or the other of us, have to stay and keep our eyes on these houses where our Christians from Hsiakwan and St. Paul's as well as many other refugees we have taken in, are located and Schultz-Fantin's house where we keep our clothing and take such meals as we can. Cola stays at the house as does another man, a Turco-Tartar who is a mechanic. The Ssu Ssu Tauen and San Pai Lou Christians are housed next door to us and Jap. soldiers keep going in there and robbing these people of the little that they have. It is a regular nightmare to deal with these reverted groups of men. The house where we keep our things is loaded with women and some even sleep in our dining room. They sit in the house all day in dreadful fear. Several days ago a Buddhist priest from a little temple across the street came in and said he had heard that Japanese had carried off two Buddhist nuns and begged me to take some nuns in which I have done. The house is really packed like Sardines. They sleep in the halls upstairs and down and for a while we had a mother and daughter in our bathroom. Quite a number of girls are in the Kulou Hospital where they are helping as nurses even though the real nurses are best. Last night a soldier went in there in the women's quarters and got into bed with three different girls -- each of them screamed which frightened the man so he got out and never accomplished his evil purpose before Bob Wilson arrived and kicked him out. He pulled a gun on Bob and the latter thought he was going to use it. About 4000 women are in Ginling College and I understand 12 of them were carried off last night. Several nights ago while Ernest and I were walking over here a woman came weeping and running after us just as a soldier had called to her. We took her with us and kept her with the women in this house (Hansen's) on the second floor. The next morning I heard her story direct from her. Four men came about 6 p.m. and dragged her off from her 28 year old husband and 3 months old baby and put her in a motor car. They took her three or four miles where three men raped her. Then they tried to give her some food they had stolen and sent her part of the way back in the car and turned her loose near to where she met us. It was dark and she did not know how to get home and it was a mercy that we happened along, as otherwise she would probably have been abused all night. I took her to the hospital the next morning where Dr. Wilson tended to her. Yesterday afternoon a German, Mr. Sherling, and I went to some houses where soldiers were in most every house raping women. We went into one house where one woman was sitting weeping on the ground floor and they told us she had been raped. They said there is still a soldier up stairs so I went to a room on the third floor, which the Chinese pointed out, and pounded furiously on the door. The Japanese inside made some response and I shouted in both German and English "Open the door." Then Sherling came and shouted and pounded too. The man finally came out and I said to him as he went down the stairs "Chuh song" (beast). A soldier that I had seen below and who knew some Chinese was coming up the stairs and heard me and did not like it at all. Such horrible things are happening all over the city. When we were telling a Japanese Consul General who had hurried from America some of these tales, he said "It was inevitable" and today when I was telling a newspaper man from the Asahi-Shimbun , he said "It was inevitable." What a judgment upon the Japanese character, all the more forceful since so spontaneous without realizing the impression it made on me.

The Japanese have spoken contemptuously so often about the undisciplined Chinese soldiers but they have been as bad or worse than the worst bandits I have ever seen here. Consul General Tanaka said the high command had already issued two orders about this unruliness but it has gone on today worse than ever.

Recent nights I have been sleeping on the floor at Hansen's house. I should say that the last two nights I have slept on a couch and been quite comfortable. But next I need a bath. I did get one more than a week ago at Buck's house where a number of American men are living together.

I have really only told you a little of what I have been doing. Yesterday morning when I took that woman to the hospital I said I must hurry to bring a woman to the hospital who had been bayonetted in the neck by a soldier who had tried to take her quilt from her bed. They said at the hospital, "She was brought in the morning." I then went to the bed where she was and found out she lived in a different place so I knew this was another case, so hurried off to bring this terrified and half-witted woman 41 years old and her old mother. Miss Hynds told me today of an 8 year old boy who had been stabbed in the stomach in four or five places by a Japanese soldier. Of course we only hear of a small fraction of the cases that actually occur but I think I have said enough to let you know what a hell the people of this city have been through. It is like a horrible dream and when I wake up at night or in the morning it is horrible to find out that it is not a dream. Yesterday I heard that there were a number of girls in the rear of the Quaker Church so I took the hospital ambulance and went down there. Three of them had already been carried off and the others were in perfect terror and could not talk straight and piled pell mell into the truck -- about 18, I think -- and I took them to the Drum Tower Hospital. It was into their room that a soldier went last night.

Dec. 26 8 p.m.

I have been spending the last four evenings after most of the others have gone to bed to write to you.

Yesterday - 4th Advent - neither I or Ernest took part in the services as we each had to be on duty any moment to keep these wretched thieves from stealing our people's goods or from raping the women. Our people from Hsu Se Fa'nen and San Pai Lou came into Schultz-Pantin's garden for service as it was a nice day. J. L. Ch'en took the service (Morning Prayer) and preached and also played the little organ which was set on the lawn. I took moving pictures while he was preaching.

Just as we had finished the service there was a knock on the door and in came two Japanese newspaper correspondents who proved to be very decent. I invited them in and said that they could take a picture if they wanted to, so they took a picture of Ch'en Ru-ling playing the organ with cassock and surplice on and the people sitting on the grass. I then had a good talk with one man who spoke English, Mr. Mariyama (or something similar) who was the correspondent of the Asahi Shimbun. I told him of the terrible things that had happened, of the carrying off of 14 of our people, not 12 as I at first thought, of the probable death of the clergyman's son who had just preached,

of the Buddhist priest across the way who had begged me to take in his nuns, and of many other stories. He said, "You must not think that all Japanese people are like these soldiers" and I said I of course knew this and spoke of my various trips to Japan. I then told him of the wounded soldier problem, the slaughter of innocent people and a little of my life in China. He seemed very interested and only left when it was time to go to lunch, and said he would like to come again and I said I should be glad to help him in any way that I could.

As usual I was busy as were all the foreigners with various things, mostly in protecting women from these brutes, so have only seen him on the street.

Today has been very full. This morning Ernest went over to Schultz-Rantin's house early and I stayed here till his return. When I am here I eat with the Han family. When I got over to our place I was busy immediately in driving out Jap. soldiers from our two houses almost next door where the Sen So Ts'uen and San Pai Lou Christians are housed. One of our Christian women (or inquirers, I'm not sure which) was raped this a.m. before I could get over. I then took her with another girl who had been raped, for treatment to the hospital. Before I had left came back one of the 14 who had marvelously escaped from about 1000 men who were carried off at the same time. He rejoiced us all by saying that Ch'en Ch'ang had been released before the Japanese began to mow them down with a machine gun on the river bank at Hsiakwan. It was no doubt his youth that saved him, although we know of a number as young or younger who have been killed. This man, Su Kuan-wai, says he had seen Ch'en Ch'ang in the electric light Co. so I am going to try to find him tomorrow. J. L. Ch'en told me tonight he thinks he is dead for it has been so long since he was seen. But to go back to Su's story. He was standing at the rear of the crowd with one foot almost touching the river water. When they all began to fall after the firing he fell too, although he had not been hit. He quickly covered himself with three dead bodies and lay quite still for some time till he thought it was safe to move. He then was able to reach the bund without being seen and walked away. Soon a Jap. soldier got him and made him work which he did for two days cooking food for a group and they released him giving him a note which enabled him to get into the city.

This afternoon while standing on the street between the two or three places where we have our people, some women came begging us to save them. Ernest was there too. I later took them to the U. of Nanking in a bunch as that is now being guarded by Military Police. While we were standing talking some people came from the very next house begging me to go there as a girl of 12, Chinese count, or 10 or 11 in our reakoning, had been raped by a soldier. I got there in time to keep three soldiers from going in. The family had taken the girl to the Police Station, controlled by our Refugee Zone Committee, for safety. She soon came with her guardian, as her father was a Szechuanese officer who had left Nanking earlier but had not been able to take his daughter along. I took this girl to the hospital for treatment and then brought the smaller one back to Schultz-Rantin's house to pick up several loads of younger women or girls from our house which was so crowded that you could hardly get up stairs. They were standing close together in the lower hall and sitting on the steps. Our boy has to sleep on the floor in our bedroom, all the space on the lower floor is

packed and an empty bedroom on the second floor. Girls are often sleeping in our dining room. While I was going with some girls next door to stand there while they packed their roll of bedding, someone came running from the house immediately south in the same alley saying soldiers were there after women so I ran there and found three on the second floor landing and I told them in no uncertain tones to beat it pointing to the stairs. The Chinese beckoned to a room on that same floor where they said a soldier was. I gave the door a great bang and it flew open to disclose the beast in the very act. I yelled to him "Chu-ba" which they seem to understand. I went in and he got out immediately and soon left the room, I following him till he had left the alley altogether.

I forget to mention that while at our place in the morning Chang Wen Ming of San Se Ts'uen came running telling me that a man was after his wife's younger sister. I ran as fast as I could go to the house and got there in time. He was in the room with several girls and I pointed to the door and told him to go.

Just after lunch someone came running to tell me a soldier had beaten old Mr. T'ung of San Pai Lou. I ran and found that they had been having a Bible reading group after lunch when a Japanese soldier walked into their midst. They all rose and old T'ung opened his Bible to show him what they were reading. He picked up one of those long Chinese smoking pipes with a brass bowl and hit him a terrific blow on the head. When I went there I found quantities of blood on the floor and his face covered with blood, and his head bound up with a towel to stop the blood. I took him to the Emergency Hospital which I have opened just to the rear of the University Hospital with the funds in my hands.

These are some of the things I have done today. If you will understand that many of the foreigners in town are having the same experiences daily and then remember that the same thing is happening in a hundred places where there are no foreigners to see, you can imagine the horror of these days. While I was in the hospital today two men were registering, both of whom had been bayonetted by Japanese; one showed go a vicious wound in his neck. In the dispensary dressing room was a woman who was having the cuts in her face dressed. Her face was literally a mass of cuts, checks and forehead. I suppose she had resisted some brute. She told me it was a Japanese soldier who had done it and I did not ask for details to embarrass her in the presence of several men nurses. "How long, oh Lord, how Long!"

Dec. 21.

I am glad to say that this day has not been so eventful. I had hoped as soon as I could get away to go with someone from the Japanese Consulate to Hsiakwan in the hope of seeing Chien Ch'ang. After leaving here about 9 a.m. I had my shave, interrupted several times by various things, requests from some of the women living in our place -- you can hardly move without bumping into them -- and going next door as a Japanese soldier had come demanding that our people repair some rickshaws. When I did get to the Consulate I had a long delay before I could see Consul General Tanaka. Then it was almost 12 and too late to attempt going to Hsiakwan so I arranged to come after lunch. But then

during lunch Lewis Smythe came and got me and Cola to sign a petition from the foreigners asking them in the name of humanity to stop the burning of houses which is taking place all day long all over the city. He asked me to join a group of foreigners who would present the petition in person at 2 p.m. After that was over Mr. Tanaka sent along with me a Consular policeman who was rude and who had no intention of helping me find Ch'en Ch'ang. We got down as far as Jehol Road (leading to the Station) and then he said we could go no further in the direction of the river. I said "But the boy was seen there near the electric power plant." By considerable talk I got as far as the Yangtse Villa and he refused to go further motioning that the soldier would bayonet me if I went further. Then we started up the road that leads past the former Infectious Disease Hospital and after going a few rods came to a dead body and he stopped the car and said we must turn back. Then we started up Jehol Road (leading to the Station) but soon came to more dead bodies and he said "There are no Chinese at Hsiakwan" and stopped the car again. The real fact is that he did not want me to see all the evil they had done, not knowing that I had been to the bund a few days before and had seen the large number of dead bodies on the bund -- probably three to four hundred.

There has been some improvement in the situation today, although raping has continued. The looting has been mostly of bedding, food and various kinds of things that the soldiers wanted to use but the sad thing is that most of it has been taken from the poor who had so little to lose.

Ernest has had several talks with a Japanese soldier who has a position in a shop at Yokohama and who speaks English. He knows Mrs. Reifsnider and others in our Mission and has had much to do with tourists. He says the Japanese have lost 20% of their effectives in the campaign and lost a considerable number in taking Nanking. He says the war will not last much longer as Japan cannot afford to continue since she has lost so much already. He seemed very decent and it is good to know that there are nice people among them. The Consul told me that the 9th Division which is in Nanking, is being changed for a better Division, the 16th, and he says that they will get better every day and thinks that by the 24th the city will be settled. I hope so for it would be nice to have a peaceful Christmas.

Dec 22.

Today the soldiers have been leading away men again. I have heard the machine guns and slow regular rifle fire again a number of times which means more slaughter. About 45 minutes ago I saw about 60 or 70 men led off. Several days ago Japanese officials with an engineering officer came to our Committee asking us to find them workmen familiar with the electric light works so Mr. Rabe and others did find 54 men. These men began working in the electric light works and living at the International Export Co. I think it was yesterday that soldiers shot forty three of the fifty four workmen. The only reason why they did not kill the remaining 11 was that the Sikh watchman at the Export Co. recognized them and said they formerly worked there. Their excuse for killing the others was that the electric light Co. was a government concern and therefore these men were government employees and should be killed! As a matter of fact the company was not wholly owned by the government but that makes not the slightest difference.

Such sights as I have seen in the Drum Tower Hospital today! The dead body of a little boy, aged 7, who had been stabbed by a bayonet in the abdomen four or five times and whom they were not able to save. Again a woman 19 years old who was with child (the first time) 6½ months along and who resisted rape. She was jabbed in about 7 places on her face and almost 8 places on her legs, as well as a deep stab of about two inches in the abdomen. It was this that caused her to lose her baby. They will save her. I saw a little girl of 10 who was standing with her mother and father near a dugout in our Refugee Zone watching the Jap. soldiers enter. They killed the parents and gave this girl a horrible stab in the elbow which will cripple her for life. Another woman, employed at the International Export Co. was in a house at Hsiakwan when the soldiers entered. They killed all the others for no reason and gave her a horrible bayonet stab in the neck which they probably though would kill her. The marvel is that she is still living, although Dr. Wilson says she will never use one leg and one arm. (She died later.) Another, a farmer, was marched out with many others and mowed down with machine guns as so many thousands of civilians have been, but was not killed. The doctor said yesterday, however, that he would die.

Dec 23, 12 noon.

Yesterday while I was at the house almost next door from Schultz-Lantin's place, a woman from the same group of houses came running and weeping saying that a soldier had just taken $80.- from her but I could do nothing about it. Another soldier came into the house where our Christians were who could speak a few words of Chinese. He was evidently of the new division that has been placed in the Refugee Zone. He and the officer who later came in were again looking for soldiers. I told them both that these people were all Sheng Kung Hui and gave the officer my card. They were civil and left.

The great thing this a.m. has been that I've had a bath! It is about 2 weeks since I had a bath at Buck's house where a number of foreign university teachers are living. The weather is not very cold today so I stood and had a thorough bath with two big basins of hot water and have changed my clothes so feel decent again. I also gave Chang Sao-ta (Louise Hammond's fat amah) some clothing to wash. Ernest and I do not dare to leave Hansen's and Stimes' house at the same time as the soldiers keep coming. Then at night we have been sleeping here, I at Hansen's and he at Stimes' house a few doors away where some Christians from St. Paul's Church are living and also the C. T. Chiangs from Puchen in addition to a number of people we have taken in. The women sleep upstairs mostly and the men down stairs, although there are exceptions. Recently I had to bring over a number of the younger Christian women from J. L. Ch'en's congregation as some of his people had been raped and we could not protect them. For a while I slept on the floor, although the first day here (Dec. 12) when the Chinese were retreating I had a fine bed up stairs. We were not so crowded then. The last four nights I have been sleeping on an upholstered settee and so have been reasonably comfortable. Ernest has slept on the floor at No. 17 (Stimes' house) from the beginning. To give you some idea of how crowded we are, in the large down stairs room of the Hansen house with an enclosed porch adjoining, fifty or more people, including children, sleep. One end of the room has been enclosed off by upholstered chairs for J. L. Ch'en's

younger women. In the day time bedding is rolled up and put along the sides and it is this room also that is used as a Church for the St. Paul's and Tao Sheng Christians. As I write the people are having their very slim midday meal. While here I've been eating with the Fans. Every day we eat "Hai Fan" or soft rice as this will make the rice go longer. A great problem is vegetables and meat which are very scarce. The Japanese have stolen almost everything available. Last night we had a treat as a decent Japanese soldier 28 years old from Yokohama who works in a silk shop there frequented by tourists and who knows Mrs. Reifsnider, gave Ernest a piece of beef. We also had a dish of some salt pork which the Fans had brought with them from Hsiakuan when we moved into town, and in addition some cabbage. Over at Schultz-Lantin's when we have a meal (we never eat there together) we fare much better as Ernest's excellent cook is there and also all of our stores (mostly his). The Forsters had a great deal of stuff as their cook put up many jars of fruit and beans last summer. I have had more meals at the other house than has Ernest. The cracked wheat I brought from Tsinan is still holding out and is like the widow's cruse.

The Japanese will not allow any foreigners to enter the city so we are shut off from the outside world. We have heard about the sinking of the Panay, however, and that Pres. Roosevelt has refused to accept the Japanese apology, demanding a personal apology from the Emperor. We have also heard of the attempted bombing of the British gunboat and possibly of the B. & S. hulk where Mrs. Sims and so many other foreigners have been living. The news was brought to us through a Dane who lives at Tsih Hsia Shan (just near to Shih Pu Ch'iao) who walked in from the other side of Nanking where the Japs. were evidently not expecting any foreigners and who had therefore given no orders regarding foreigners entering the city from that direction. I hope some more foreigners will learn that method of returning. We need a great many more foreigners as we cannot do all that is required of us in the protecting of the people.

Mary Twinem's house was looted today. She has been for several days helping Minnie Vautrin at Ginling as they have thousands of women over there occupying all their buildings. They are even sleeping on the covered walks between the buildings but it has drizzled today most of the day and I do not know what the people there will do tonight. Ernest who has been going about helping today, tells me that they want to open Hwei Wen to relieve the congestion but cannot do so unless there is a foreigner to stay there on guard and there does not seem anyone available for that.

I've had all three of my meals here with the Fans today. This evening we had with our soft rice, peanuts, salt cabbage, cooked cabbage and another cake of don-fu-lu, or fermented bean curd. Its all right for me who have an occasional foreign meal but hard on the Chinese here who have been here for three weeks on a faulty slim diet. But we are thankful to have what we have.

If the Japanese would onlyallow some ships to come here with food the situation would be relieved. I think our Refugee Zone Committee only have food for about another week. The Japanese do not want any more foreign eyes to see the result of their cruelty in the many dead bodies still lying about.

Dec. 30th

Many days have passed since I last wrote. Things are better than they were but life is still uncertain for the people. Everybody, or rather all men, must register with the government, giving name, age and occupation. There have been immense crowds endeavouring to register but the crowds are so great that all have not been able to do so.- even though they rise at 3 a.m. Today they announced that all who have not registered by two tomorrow will be shot! (This proved to be a bluff but it frightened the people.)

Still we have been kept in complete isolation from the rest of the world. I heard that they are giving out that it is still dangerous for foreigners to come here as there are still Chinese soldiers about! The real danger from the Japanese standpoint is that they do not want more foreign eyes to see the dreadful things we have seen. Things are much better now as there is much less raping and robbery although this still continues. The worst division has been taken away from the city but I pity the poor people where it goes as there will be no foreigners to help them.

A few days ago Japanese soldiers went to the U. of Nanking where there were about 4000 men refugees and announced to the people that if the soldiers among them gave themselves up they would give them work but spare their lives. They gave them twenty minutes to think it over and then asked the soldiers to step forward. 200 came forward and they marched them off. On the road they picked up some others who were not soldiers but who they claimed to be such. They were marched off near to the Ku Ling An Temple between Hsiakwan and Ginling College and there bayonetted. Can you imagine such perfidy!

All the past ten days fires have been lit all over the city by the Japanese who have been gradually burning down the city, with the exception of the best foreign establishments in Hsiakwan, the P.O. and Customs -- when I was last there everything had been burned down. It is only fair to say of Hsiakwan, however, that a good part of it has been burned down by the Chinese. Practically the whole of Taiping Road with the exception of our Church and residences has been burned. Part of the Kungkuan on our property -- that part which was used as a preaching hall was burned as well. (Later, on Jan 26th, it was totally burned.) There have been four fires inside the Refugee Zone but unfortunately this part, especially the Shanai Road district, is sparsely populated. Just what the future has in store for Nanking it is hard to say but it certainly will be many years before the city recovers and I think it is possible that it will not again be the capital, at least until China is safe from all molestation from the outside.

Dec. 31.

Several days ago someone came to J. L. Ch'en's place while he was away to say that he had seen Ch'en Ch'ang going along with some Japanese soldiers in the direction of the south gate. The family had just about given him up but this has revived hope again. Many of the soldiers have Chinese boys working for them so we are hoping that some day he will return. A few days ago while at the University Hospital I saw a boy 13 or 14 years old who had been brought in covered with blood.

The Japanese soldiers had taken him from Ch'angchow and brought him along to work for them. He had been with them for three weeks but said that one day before he was brought to the hospital he complained to them that he had not eaten for two days and wanted to go home. Upon that a soldier beat him with an iron rod and then I think ran a bayonet through his ear.

Such terrible cases continue to be brought to the hospital although most of the injuries were received a week or sometimes two or more weeks ago. The other day I saw an old woman -- she looked about seventy but she may have only been in her sixties -- who had been shot in the shoulder, the bullet coming out through her back, and again in the neck. She was very lucky as both wounds were clean and were healing up. She was shot for no reason at all, so far as I can find out, except terrorism when the troops entered. The most awful cases are those of men bayonetted or shot who were then set on fire with gasolene. One was of the owner of a small boat at Hsiakwan. His body was scorched black. (This man later died in the hospital.) I think I have said enough of these horrible cases -- there are hundreds of thousands of them. Seeing so many of them finally makes the mind dulled so that you almost cease to be shocked any more. I did not imagine that such cruel people existed in the modern world.

Today we are all feeling very sad as we think that Evangelist Lu Hsiao T'ing, who works at Tanshan and Tunglin, has drowned himself. He has been taking a most pessimistic attitude towards the situation since before the Japanese came here and from his conversation with Ernest yesterday and what he has written he has been influenced by the example of some Chinese in history who killed himself in protest against intolerable conditions. It is a decidedly oriental point of view -- Ernest told him yesterday that the Christian idea was to live and not to die. He went off very early this morning, long before daylight, leaving a note for Ernest and also a little poem as well as his purse. Ernest had been sleeping in the same house with him. It is very sad indeed as he has shown a very fine spirit and has been so unselfish and helpful during these trying days. Ernest and I have both been impressed by him and I had come to the idea that we ought to recommend him to go to the Theological School. In his letter he said that he did not believe God would hold this act as a sin.

We observed Christmas, first, with a carol service on Christmas Eve -- very informal -- with prayers, reading of Scripture over here in Hansen's house. About 250 were present, many of them non-Christians. The next day we had Holy Communion and a service here, Dean Tong preaching while I baptized 7 persons at the service at Ta Fang Hsiang for Rev. J. I. Ch'en's Christians. On New Year's Eve we had a very nice service led by Ernest and Dean Tong which Ernest had arranged. The next morning at both places we had Holy Communion for the Christians.

Jan. 3.

In both places now we are busy with Bible classes, classes for the preparation of Catechism, etc. Many people in these houses are not Christians and they are very often new to the Gospel.

Jan.4.

I have only recorded in these notes a small number of the terrible things that I have seen and heard. The night before last I left Hansen's house a little before 5 p.m. and went over to a house near here on some business en route to the other house (Schultz-Fantin's) where I was going to have supper. While I was in the street talking to Mr. Sone, a policeman came running to say that a man had been killed. I went with him a short distance to a Chinese house where I found a number of people weeping. It seems that about 4.30 a Japanese soldier had come there and tried to drag a woman into a room to violate her. Her husband helped her so she was able to run through the room and out a back door into an alley to escape. The soldier left and came back within about twenty minutes armed and killed the husband. The woman has five small children and they kept a little noodle shop somewhere in the South City and were simply taking refuge in the Refugee Zone like everybody else. After getting the facts I went back to our Neutral Zone headquarters where I had left my (St. Andrews Hospital) car as one never dares to leave a car outside as Jap. soldiers would steal it. Before I could get into the car a police again came running to say that more soldiers had come back. I ran to the house and found three soldiers there and told them to "Chu-pa" and they went, I following them through the alley to the avenue. Then I took the car and went to the home of Herr Rabe, our Chairman, as I wanted to go to the Japanese Consulate to report this case as they had promised that soldiers would be kept out of the Neutral Zone (at least not to live there) and that things would be better. While waiting at Herr Rabe's gate for the gateman to come neighbors came running saying that a Japanese soldier was threatening them with a sword. It was now dark but George Fitch (who was in a car outside the gate) went in his car and I ran to the place and drove out a lone soldier.

On New Year's Day, Ernest and I were invited to the Buck house where most of the men are living for New Year's dinner. I decided not to accept as I feared to have both of us away from those three houses which we are constantly guarding also I had had Christmas dinner -- consisting of a goose in our house and Ernest had not insisted on his going, although he tried to make me go. (He always tries to give me the best of everything.) Later Geo. Fitch persuaded me to go as things were much better and he said he would come for me in a car and later take me back so as to save time. I then decided to go and did. We had a dinner that tasted very good indeed to Ernest and me as we had not had so many delicacies in a long time. Just as we were finishing up Mr. Fan and Paul Tong came hurrying to tell us that two soldiers were in No. 17 after our girls. It took them 20 minutes to come but we shot back in George's car and were just too late to catch the men although we could only have had a look at them. One soldier had gone to the 3rd floor but a girl there was very clever and tripped him up and escaped. I think it was she who who ran out on a porch and half fell, half slid down a bamboo pole that men in the garden put up for her. Two of our girls were raped (so they told the nurse at the hospital where I took them.) Mrs. Chen of the Orphanage knelt before a soldier trying to save one girl but was beaten over the head with a bayonet. I do not know how many girls I've taken to the hospital for treatment after such experiences. The vast number never get to the hospital at all. We just took in another young woman today

who fled here and knelt outside the gate in the street begging me to save her. The girl was violated last night at 8 p.m. All of us foreigners hear of these cases constantly. Think of the number of cases among the 200,000 or more people in this Zone that we never know about!

Yesterday morning I had a talk with two Chinese from the Texas Oil Co. warehouse (or Installation, I think they call it) outside the Hansimen. They said that there were a great many dead bodies of men, women and children. Mr. Sindbery, a Dane, said that the same was true outside the Chungshan gate. I myself saw hundreds of dead bodies in Hsiakwan. These men told me of a man whose house had been burned near them by the Japanese so he put his family which contained ten people, in a dugout. He stayed outside himself as he wanted to see when the Japanese were coming so as to warn the children not to cry or speak. The soldiers did come and killed the man and then looked inside. When they saw onlywomen and children they stuffed the mouth full of rice straw and then set it on fire. One woman was clever and wrapped herself and child up in a quilt and rushed through the flames and both were saved. These Texas Oil Co. men said a little girl of ten (Chinese) or nine the way we count, was raped by a soldier there. I said, "Did you hear this, or do you actually know it?" They said they knew it as it happened just near them. Dean Tong, who works in the office of our Neutral Zone Committee and translates many of these reports which are handed in, said he knew of a case of a girl of 12 who was raped by three soldiers. It seems perfectly awful to repeat these ghastly tales but I think a record ought to be kept so that the unvarnished truth will be known.

Jan. 5.

Today we started off very early -- or at least about 8 a.m. with a great group of girls and women from Hansen's and Stimed' house and also the 2nd Texas Oil Co. residence and picked up quite a crowd here at Schultz-Fantin's house which is filled with women we are protecting. Everybody has to register with the government, the men having practically all done so already. We had a procession of 304 people and went to the University of Nanking to register as we heard that the soldiers were much more decent there than at the other registration place, Ginling College. A Mr. Liu, who formerly taught in Tao Sheng School and who is connected in some way with the self-government Committee of Chinese here established by the Japanese, helped to put us through more promptly so we were finished up by about 1 p.m. and got back to the houses at about 2 p.m. I walked along with them and stayed with them the entire time. We called the roll before and after and arranged the women in lines of four asking each one to note that all of her line came back safely. We did this to make sure that all the girls came back as we heard of some nice looking girls being kept behind on a previous day at Ginling, although I have not verified this. The soldiers were for the most part civil but as we came out of the gate near the chapel a petty officer of some kind was coming in. He was a most insolent looking person and for no reason at all that I could see, other than the possible fact that theywere coming out when he was going in, roughly slapped the heads or faces of two old women. Then he came to me as I was at the head of our column and said something in a surly way to me which I took to mean, "What are you doing" and I said in Chinese I was escorting these people. Many of the Japanese understand a little Chinese.

For the first time since the Japanese have entered the city I saw Ch'en Tsung-ih at the University today, although I had heard a number of times about him. He said that it would have been impossible to believe that the Japanese could have done such things as have happened unless we had seen them with our own eyes. I agreed. This is the common opinion of us all. I had heard a few things beforehand from Chinese who were frightened and were running away from Nanking before the Japanese came, but I thought they were mere rumours. Now the reality proves to be worse than the rumours.

I heard from Searle Bates today that the army are provoked very much that we foreigners are here and say that no conquering army ever allows neutral observers. This of course is not true, as there were plenty of neutral observers in Belgium during the German occupation. It shows, however, what we have believed from the beginning, that they did not want any of us here and tried to get us all out through our Embassies saying that it was too dangerous. It is amazing that not even Embassy or Consular officials have been allowed to enter the city yet, although the Japanese entered on Dec. 12th. We hear that they have announced that it was dangerous as mopping up of Chinese troops was continuing. As a matter of fact I do not think there has been any resistance since Dec. 12th unless it was in some isolated place. They might well have said that murdering of disarmed soldiers and thousands of innocent civilians has continued ever since they entered. The machine gun at its deadly work is still heard, at least I heard it the day before yesterday (I think it was). We know that in many cases they did not bother to shoot the victims but bayonetted them one by one. A number of people who had been bayonetted and left for dead have returned to report this. I talked to a policeman in the hospital the other day who had been forced by a soldier to go along the street with a woman who was not his wife as the soldier wanted to use her for his purposes but did not dare to drag her along the street and tried to make it appear that she was the wife of the policeman. As it got dark the policeman tried to escape and did escape from that man only to be caught by others who bayonetted him from the rear in 22 places by actual count. It is a marvel that he escaped as he said in two places the bayonet came out the front. They left him for dead. He was finally able to free his hands from the rope that tied them. By slow stages and also by sleeping overnight in a bed in some house on the way he was able to reach the hospital.

I also talked to a Buddhist nun, who lives back of a temple in the south city. When the soldiers came there they killed about 25 people in the immediate environs of this house according to a tailor who brought the nun to the hospital. She told me they killed the "mother superior" aged 65 and a little apprentice nun, aged ten (Chinese). An old man of seventy was crushed under the weight of bodies on top of her (presumably in the city where this nun took refuge.) She herself was shot in the hip and her little apprentice, aged twelve (Chinese) was bayonetted in the back. They got into a pit where they stayed five days without food or drink, feigning death and lying among a number of dead bodies. Then the nun heard a soldier say in Chinese "How pitiable!" and she opened her eyes and looked at him, asking him to save her. He pulled her out and got some Chinese to carry her to an army dressing station where she was tended to and was brought to the hospital some days later. When I heard about the little apprentice who had been stabbed in the back Mr. MacCallum went down in the hospital ambulance and brought

the child as there was no one to look after her. Dr. Wilson says he doubts if the nun will recover but if she does she will never use that leg. The child's wound is not very bad. It turned out that she had to stay several weeks and is now in our house.

Jan 11th.

Yesterday morning Motz, a Hugarian, who is one of our small group of foreigners in the city (in all we had 20 before the diplomatic people arrived) saw two Japanese push a Chinese whose hands were tied into a pond just off Shansi Road. While standing with the water almost up to his waist they shot him dead. Any last corporal or common soldier seems to be able to determine the fate of the poor Chinese!

The night before last a fine young Chinese who is a student in the Nanking University Middle School and whose father is a merchant in Japan was bound and carried off and we fear for his fate. As the boy can talk Japanese they have been trying to get him to help them. Searle Bates said that they were able to make up some kind of excuse for him (or he made the excuses, I'm not sure which) and they finally came and took him. He later was able to send word to his wife that he was to be shot. His wife was kidnapped on Jan. 29 and carried off in a truck with 20 others and taken to a house in the south city for the use of officers but escaped by making herself vomit.

Yesterday in the hospital I saw a woman who had been stabbed in a number of places and her head almost severed. She had been taken with four other women from the University of Nanking by Japanese who said they needed to have some women wash for them and serve them. According to this woman's story, the younger and prettier of them had been raped about forty time at night after washing clothes in the day time. She herself and the others had worked ih the day and then were raped for ten to twenty times at night. One day two soldiers told her to follow them and they took her to an empty house and there tried to cut off her head. She has a perfectly horrible cut in her neckand the marvel is that she is alive. Fortunately no vital part was cut. She said some of the men were officers.

Some of the American Embassy staff arrived some days ago and now the Germans and British are here. It means a great deal to us all to have them here as they have brought letters to us and taken letters and messages for us. They have all of them been fired upon in the river but only the USS Panay was hit.

I have by no means written down all the terrible things I have seen and heard and have only put down some of the things I have heard at first hand or that I was convinced were true. I do not want to paint a picture of unmitigated blackness as it is only fair to say that some kind deeds have been done by Japanese soldiers. For instance, I saw a woman yesterday who had been hit by Japanese machine guns from the air outside the city before the fall of Nanking and had had one eye knocked out and wounded in various places. She had a number of children but had to leave a three months old baby outside the city to save the others. When some Japanese soldiers found her they helped her. Also some soldiers who had taken our gardener for labor a few days ago had paid him 50 cents for a day's work and also gave him good food to eat.

The people in the Japanese Embassy with the exception of one of the Consular Police who has proved a most disagreeable person, have tried to be of service and are ashamed of the terrible things the soldiers have done and have tried to protect foreign property. I do not believe they know how many terrible things have been done as we came to the conclusion that we had told them enough and that continuing to make reports and complaints would hinder rather than help.

The military hate us foreigners in the extreme, although there are no doubt exceptions. They are trying to put our International Refugee Zone Committee out of business and get control of the food, oil and funds in our hands. We are glad to give over into the hands of the Chinese Self-Government Committee such official functions as we have assumed at the request of Mayor Ma but we have flatly refused to give up our supplies of food, money, etc. as we say that these were given to us to administer and we propose to continue as help will be needed for a long time to come. The whole life of the city has been disarranged and a great many of the people will have to be helped until industries and business begin again even on a much reduced scale.

I have heard from doctors and nurses in the International Red Cross Hospital for wounded soldiers at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that they have been protected, both men and women, although none of us foreigners have been allowed to enter since Dec 14th when I took three truck loads of wounded soldiers there.

It was at the entrance as I was attempting to come out that I met the commanding officer in the city up to that time who was so extremely angry with me. I do not remember ever to have had anyone in my life-time so angry with me. I thought at the time that the reason was that he thought I had disobeyed his orders after going to his headquarters but later I have thought that it may have been because a foreigner had been to these hospitals and had claimed that they were being run under the auspices of the International Red Cross which made it impossible, or at least difficult for him to do other than protect them. There is no question what the type of soldiers that first came in would have done if they had had a chance, although I met a very civil colonel who spoke English when I first went there and it was through him that I was able to go to the headquarters. I think that it is probable that our efforts saved the lives of some hundreds of wounded men as well as many of the doctors and nurses there. The women have not been molested which is remarkable and shows that the Japanese army people can control their men when they want to. (Later a soldier did try to get into the women's rooms but was frustrated by a ruse.) In the issue of the Japanese paper published in Shanghai it was said (I think on Dec. 17 although it might have been later) that the Chinese soldiers there were so grateful to the Japanese for their merciful care that when one soldier was asked whether he wanted to be a soldier again he replied, "If I should be a soldier again I must fight for the Japanese!" (Later we learned that a Chinese soldier had been killed - by bayonet, the favorite method - for losing his temper on having his rice spilled.) I think an exemplary treatment of these wounded is deliberately planned for propaganda purposes in order to offset the unspeakable cruelty that has been the general rule.

The doctors and nurses there have not realized what terrible things were happening outside. The Japanese have sent some rice although most of this has been supplied by funds in our hands. We have a committee of about ten persons of various nationalities for the International Red Cross here, of which I am Chairman. We have not been able to do much actually, except to use funds that have been put in our hands but I think that our organization has been of very great use because of the protection that we have been able to give. Whatever the motives the Japanese have had for protecting these wounded soldiers and doctors, etc. I am glad that it has been actually done and thank God.

Jan. 30th

This evening Ernest and I had a China New Year's dinner with our people at Hansen's house at 4.30 p.m., they having invited us to eat with them. They have two meals per day, 9 a.m. and 4 p.m. Today in addition to "dry" rice they had six bowls of "Tsai" which was a big treat for them as they get pretty slim food. Ernest preached there and I preached for J. L. Ch'en's Christians almost next door. Also I attended a little service at 2 p.m. J. L. Ch'en had arranged for the refugees living with us in Schultz-Pantin's house. Some nuns and a young apprentice monk attended also. Then at 4 p.m. he had Evening Prayer for his own people. He announced an Evangelistic Meeting on Wednesday for the refugees. There are many such meetings being held at Gingling College also at the University of Nanking as well as at our houses and at the Bible Teachers Training School where Pastor Shen of the Central Methodist Church holds services. Our staff has had a considerable share in this work, not only for our people and the refugees in our houses but also for Ginling and the U. of Nanking.

This past week I saw the most terrible sight and heard the most awful story, the truth of which there can be no doubt in its main features as I got it direct from the neighbors and from a little eight year old girl who was in the house when these things happened. Japanese soldiers came to a house in the south eastern part of the city when they first entered the city. They killed all the people in the house, thirteen in all, except two children aged eight and three or four respectively, the eight year old with whom I checked the story of her uncle and an old woman neighbor. This little girl was bayonetted in the back and side but was not killed. The dead included an old man 76 and old woman 74, a mother and three daughters, aged 16, 14 and 1. Both girls were raped about three times each and then they were all killed in the most horrible fashion, although the younger was only stabbed with a bayonet and not treated like the other two in an unspeakable way. I have heard of four such horrible cases happening in Nanking, the secretary of the German Embassy telling of one woman having had a golf stick rammed into her body. He said, "It is the Japanese technique." I took a picture of the dead bodies, the mother lying with her one year old child. The little girl said one of the landlor's children, aged one (not the one mentioned as with her mother) had his head split in two by a Japanese sword. The eight year old girl after being wounded crawled to the body of her mother in another room and stayed there with her little sister for fourteen days living on puffed rice and the rice crust left in the cooking pan the Chinese call "Go-ba" and water from the well. Everybody had fled from this area to the safety zone established by the foreigners but they were rescued by an old woman neighbor when she came back

fourteen days later. Japanese soldiers kept coming in and then the children hid under some old sheets.

We had a meeting of our Safety Zone Committee yesterday to deal with a new crisis. The Japanese have notified the German Embassy (they ignore us now but our chairman, Rabe, is a German) that the people must be all moved back to their homes by Feb. 4th or they would be compelled to do so. This in spite of the fact that so large a part of the city has been burned and consequently the homes of thousands are no more. They say that for such they will establish camp. This in spite of the fact that we have 25 camps where there are 58,000 people in addition to all the houses in the Safety Zone being occupied. Their real object is to get these people away from foreign property and away from us who have been their protection during these terrible weeks. It will mean constant raping for the women and probably many murders, so we are going to do our best to fight against this. Just today (or possibly yesterday) the young widow of a student at the Middle School who would not help the Japanese and who was carried off and murdered, went down near the Ming Teh School (outside the Safety Zone) to do a little buying of something thinking that things were safer now. A truck stopped and carried her off with twenty other women to the south city where she was taken to a house where are Japanese officers - to be used by them, of course, for their own foul purposes. A Chinese man who had been taken there to act as a servant said the only way for her to escape was for her to make herself vomit and mess up the place so that they would think she was dirty and kick her out. She succeeded in doing this and they did drive her out and she was able to get back to tell the tale. You can imagine how this makes us feel when they say the people are to be driven out. We shall certainly stand up to them if they try to take women off foreign property but they may retaliate by allowing no food to come in. The Japanese seem to be a people without sexual morality. A country where it is looked upon as filial piety when a girl will become a prostitute for several years for the sake of helping her parents financially and who can then marry, certainly has a special code of its own. These people that we have to deal with don't see the enormity of rape at all. A Japanese Consular police whose duty seems to be to spy on us foreigners and who comes into our houses all the time went out a week ago to the University Middle School and said he wanted five women to wash clothes. The people there picked out five older women and he said, "These won't do; they must be young and pretty" and they said, "But the older women are more experienced in washing." Later when Mr. Allison reported this to the Japanese Embassy, he denied it and demanded to know the name of the Chinese who reported this. Of course we do not report our informants as they would either be killed or beaten. This same man came (on that same day, I think) to the house where we live while we were at lunch and began to talk with Cola in Japanese as Cola understands it. He knew we had a lot of women and wanted to know if he could get any girls!

Feb. 1

Ernest has just come in (now 12:25) to say that some Japanese Military Police had just taken a Chinese girl, who was walking with her

sister on Minghai Road, into the military post at the foot of Shansi Road presumably for the usual reason. It is just a few doors from our Neutral Zone Headquarters so Lewis Smythe went in there (later, Cola went to translate) and the girl could not be found in the Police Station and her sister said she did not know into which house she had been taken. It was unfortunate from our standpoint since we had called people from the Japanese Embassy and then could not find the girl in the house where they thought she was. The girl was taken but her sister did not know into which house they had taken her. When the party went into the post they found a number of drunken soldiers.

Only yesterday I was able to keep the drunken soldiers from our two houses (Hansen's and Herr Stimes'). They were civil enough and readily went away but came back to Herr Stimes' house after I had left and made motions to the gateman that they wanted girls. I kept one of them from going up stairs to the women's quarters and very shortly afterwards drove out two other soldiers from No. 21 Ioh Chia Road next door to one of the houses we are protecting. One soldier had gone up to the third story but readily left when I began pounding and shouting on a door on the second floor where I thought he was.

About nine days ago Ernest went to see the corpse of a girl who had been shot dead by a Japanese soldier near Herr Stimes' house. She was picking turnip or some vegetable in a field when the soldier called to her. She ran, as most Chinese women in Nanking would have done, and he shot her.

February 2.

For some reason we have again had a great many cases of complaints about rape -- it is not the complaints that are strange, but the increased number of cases. Perhaps we have had a worse lot of soldiers come in than we had had, although there is not much to choose among them. Just yesterday after lunch when Ernest and I were hurrying to get off letters to go down on the U.S.S. OAHU, a young boy came running to tell us that soldiers had come to his house for girls. It was little more than a stone's throw away and we ran there and were let in by the occupants, who pointed to a bedroom , and we knocked on this door shouting "Open the door" and when there was no response we broke in the door and found two soldiers on a bed with a young girl of fifteen years (as we later learned). They had finished their foul business unfortunately but we shouted in great anger for them to get out. They both jumped. One was quite drunk and was slow about getting away but the other one grabbed for his revolver and belt (the other was not armed) and for a moment I wondered whether he would use it on us, but he made off at top speed. The other one staggered out and we pushed him through a hole in the wooden partition as neither one was willing to go through the front door which was very public. We were pretty rough, Ernest pushing his shoulders and I grabbing his feet, and dumped him head foremost through the hole. Afterwards I thought that we did not do the best thing to be so rough as the man was so drunk. He tried to shake hands with us but we would have none of this, Ernest running ahead to find a Military Police while I followed the man, pushing him forward when he tried to turn back. When he got out to where the Chinese were looking on he began to show fight but was too drunk to do anything. It was good that he was, as he was a powerfully built man. We delivered him to a sentry and I tried to indicate to the sentry by writing Chinese characters with my hand that this man had taken a woman. The father told us today that his young daughter had been raped five times, the first by two men on January 14th, the next by one man on about January 22nd, and then again by these two yesterday. It was only the day before I prevented a drunken soldier from going up the stairs to the women's quarters in the house where our Hsiakwan Christians are living. This man was drunk also but easily handled.

Ernest learned today from a member of the Self-Government Committee (the body set up by the Japanese to attempt to govern the city) that today in the morning a truck-load of armed soldiers came to their Headquarters and demanded at least 15 girls or as many more as they could find. The Chinese tried to stall them off but they surrounded the place and were still there this afternoon. The Committee did succeed in finding two prostitutes but these were not enough. What the eventual result was I do not know.

The Japanese authorities have announced that the Chinese must leave the Safety Zone by February 4th and go back to their houses in spite of the fact that a large part of the city has been burnt. Those who have no homes they propose to put in camps but why not let them remain in the centers that we have arranged? We are greatly troubled at the prospect for it will mean constant molestation, rape and robbery and possibly murder. We are asking for time through the German Embassy. The real reason, or at least one reason why they want them to leave, is that we foreigners constantly hear of the complaints and have been able to protect them here.

The root trouble so far as rape is concerned is that the Japanese do not look with any horror upon it. The army commanders have made no real effort to stamp it out. If they had shot a few soldiers the thing would have possibly stopped -- I really do not believe so, as it is evident that the army as a whole does not look upon this as a crime, or it is a heinous thing at most. I thought yesterday after we had been so rough with the drunken soldier, we cannot blame him as we might an American soldier in the same situation. The chief crime about rape in their eyes, so far as I can see, is to be found out and to have the news get out to foreign papers.

There is no doubt but that they hate us Americans thoroughly. Today Cola and Ziell, a Tatar mechanic who also lives with us, were walking on Taiping Road and when some Japanese soldiers were passing one of them looked at them and said with a scowl, "Americans?" and Cola who speaks Japanese, replied, "No, Russians" and they walked on with some comment.

February 5,

Yesterday and the day before I examined about thirty people men, women and children, for being admitted Catechumens. Some of them had not wanted to enter the church, e.g. Mrs. T'ung whose husband is a communicant and whose son was killed in December by the Japanese, shot down near the house when he went to try to find some fuel. The dangers of the present situation and the reality of the work of the Church and the faith of Christians have moved many. I admitted these people today as Catechumens while Rev. J. L. Ch'en preached. In the congregation was one of the Buddhist nuns who have been taking refuge in this house where Ernest Forster and I are living. Every Sunday afternoon J. L. Ch'en has two services of Evening Prayer, one for these non-Christian women, including three Buddhist nuns and others from the temple across the street included among them, and the next service for our own people. The downstairs room which they use for the services is so small that all these people would not be able to worship at the same time. We have certainly had an opportunity to witness to the spirit of Christianity -- by we, meaning all the missionaries and some of the business people who had remained. Several weeks ago a Mr. Ma who is one of the volunteer secretaries working for our International Refugee Zone Committee, and who is a Mohammedan, told a number of people at a dinner given by Mr. Lowe (Chinese) the manager of the Metropolitan Hotel, that in spite of his grandfather being the chief Ahung of the

Mohammedans in Shanghai, he thought that Christianity was the religion best suited to modern times. He had been impressed by what we had all been trying to do.

Many of the people who had attempted to go home are now coming back because the rape, robbery and outrage continue. A woman and her daughter and her daughter's husband came here today and begged Ernest and me on their knees to allow the girl to stay here as they had gone home and a soldier tried to get the girl last night and threatened to stab her husband. They escaped in the night, I think. There have been more than a hundred complaints during the past few days. Just today as I was taking a Mrs. Hwang, a refugee at Hansen's house, to the hospital, people stopped me on the street and told me of two soldiers getting in over the wall on the next street last night and robbing the people in one house of about $27.30 and a ring, while a family next door was robbed of $5.00. If such things happen in our Safety Zone where there are a few foreigners to help, what will be the result if they go far off from the Zone?

Today Herr Rosen, secretary of the German Embassy, said that the General who had been sent here to create order gave a dinner last night to the American, British and German Embassy secretaries. He made a speech which he read and which was translated by Mr. Fukuda, secretary of the Embassy, from a manuscript also. The speech was to the effect that the Japanese army

John Magee