

REPORT

of the

NANKING INTERNATIONAL RELIEF COMMITTEE

November, 1937
to
April 30, 1939

Foreword

THE present Report of the Nanking International Relief Committee is prepared primarily as a small and due return to the generous interest of contributors in China and abroad; secondarily for information to relief workers, to students both of war and of welfare, and to persons keenly concerned with China today or with Nanking in particular. New work to be done has ever postponed the tasks of recording and reporting; and at this date the repeated changes of the Committee's membership and of officers have made difficult the preparation of a comprehensive account. Further effort and delay are felt to be unjustified, though they might result in needed improvements. Like all the efforts of the Nanking Committee, this undertaking is a cooperative one. However, the present Chairman must assume responsibility for its appearance in this form.

The Report is a plain exposition of material work done, with some necessary description of the conditions which influenced the procedure of relief. The full story of bags of rice is a composite of individual tragedies to be counted by the hundred thousand in Nanking alone, of which not one can be represented here. There is no detailing of the blows and wounds, even of the several tens of deaths, incurred among persons working unarmcd and quietly in the service of the Committee. Only when such matters affect a working program or enter into financial accounts, are they reckoned with. No bookkeeping enters the human costs of relief. Nor the services of relief to the spirits of those in need and despair.

The Nanking Committee does not wish to make a competitive appeal, but merely to report its work in the stern setting of wartime suffering. Contributions in any currency may be sent by registered mail to the Treasurer, Dr. A. N. Steward, at the office of the Nanking International Relief Committee, 4 Tientsin Road, Nanking, China; or to the general committees for China relief established in other countries.

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its task. To this group not merely the Committee, but the quarter of a million refugees who crowded into the Safety Zone, as well as the tens of thousands since who have received assistance, owe a lasting debt of gratitude.

When the Safety Zone was first organized, The International Committee hoped that its responsibilities would soon be over, and that once the actual fighting around the city was ended the people might speedily go back to their homes. However, these hopes were doomed to disappointment. Nearly four months passed before conditions became normal enough for the majority of the refugees to return to their homes. But encouragement was steadily given to all who felt they could return to do so, and by the end of May it became possible to close down all of the refugee camps conducted by the Committee. At that time also the Committee moved its headquarters from No. 5 Ninghai Road, which had been kindly loaned to it by the German Embassy, to No. 4 Tientsin Road, a building on the campus of the University of Nanking. From that time forward the latter building has served as the headquarters of the Committee.

Summer and Autumn Program, 1938. During this period, work was maintained on a less extensive scale than before. This was due partly to the closing of the camps, partly to the improvement of conditions, and revival of trade, and partly also to the fact that summer is an easier time for people to get along than the winter. Even so, however, this period was marked by the distribution of considerable supplies of rice and wheat under the joint management of the local Red Swastika and the Committee. The funds for this enterprise were allocated by the Committee. The salaries of the representatives of the Red Swastika upon the Joint Committee which supervised that piece of work, The International Committee continued small scale efforts in work relief, cash relief, and small loans for productive business.

A second noteworthy activity of this summer and autumn of 1938 was the completion of two surveys which had been authorized by the Committee. The first was a survey of war damage in the Nanking area, and the second was an investigation of agricultural conditions in the several *hsien* immediately contiguous to Nanking. The surveys were designed jointly to show the condition of the people, their material loss and their prospects of economic recovery. The results of the two studies

were most informing to the general public and were also of great assistance to the Committee in enabling it to determine along sound lines its program of relief for the following winter and spring.

Winter-Spring Relief Work, 1938-39. Hardly had plans been made and the winter's work gotten under way, when it was interrupted in early December by the sudden arrest of six persons connected with the International Committee staff, and one other person, not at the time connected with the Committee, but who had formerly been on its staff. One of the first six mentioned, who happened to be our Assistant Treasurer, was promptly set free, but all the others were confined for more than four months, in spite of constant efforts to secure their release. Naturally the sudden arrest of these men at the beginning of our winter's program of work, caused considerable uneasiness among the others of our staff, with the result that for a period of one month the administration of relief was interrupted and thereby the entire winter program was injured and delayed, at the expense of the city's poorest families. Measures against the members of the Committee itself were broached, but were restrained by wiser counsels.

When it became clear in early January that no other members of the staff were in immediate danger of arrest, and that no further interference with the Committee was contemplated, work was resumed and carried on steadily until the program was completed at the end of April. In order to make the work of the Committee more readily understood by the Chinese and Japanese authorities in Nanking, the Committee added to its membership, which had hitherto been composed entirely of neutrals, one Chinese and one Japanese member. These new members of the committee, were chosen by the Committee itself without suggestion from other quarters and were persons in civil life, not in official position. In this way the non-official and purely philanthropic character of the Committee was maintained.

The work of the Committee during the winter and spring, consisted chiefly of food distribution, but a great deal of bedding and clothing was given out, and a certain amount of cash relief, work relief, and aid through small loans was provided. The scale and nature of these enterprises is shown in the following sections.

I. HOUSING AND CAMPS

Procedure in the Zone

The problem of housing in the original Safety Zone was approached on this principle: that every possible private arrangement should be made, reserving institutional and public property for an expected remainder of the poorest of the population plus some others who might rush in at a late moment of danger when all houses were full. The Zone was about one-eighth of the area within the wall, and was densely built only in a small part of that, hardly built at all in considerable portions. It comprised the "New Residential District", with spacious houses already evacuated by their previous occupants of the official class; and other houses of a modern type left vacant by intelligentsia and other middle-class people who had withdrawn to the west to keep free of the approaching army. In some cases servants or relatives remained upon these private properties or were in charge of them. The actual residents of the Zone at the time the Committee was organized in late November 1937, were perhaps a few more than 10,000.

Many thousands streamed into the Zone as friends and relatives of residents, or by rental arrangement with owners and others in actual control of private houses. Then the Mayor gave public approval for the use of unoccupied houses under the combined direction of the International Committee and the Police, which direction carried out the sealing of movables in one or two rooms, in order that the rest of the house might be assigned to refugees coming in from other parts of the city.

The Committee formed a strong Housing Commission, which placed an office in each of eight small districts into which the Safety Zone was divided for that purpose, and carefully surveyed the available space and the process of utilizing it to the full. Good humor, persuasion and authority, in varying mixture, assisted the pressure of the human throngs to find a fairly efficient and fairly equitable use of every habitable structure that was or had been under private control.

the Nanking Theological Seminary, the institutional personnel were asked by the Committee to open their buildings to refugees under their own management, accepting appointment and assistance from the Housing Commission. In other institutional properties management was provided from among persons not originally belonging there, but temporarily resident with the approval of those in charge.

In some cases the Housing Commission made its own appointments from its own acquaintance among persons remaining in the city; in others it actively searched among refugees upon the property for promising material; in still others it more or less willingly recognized persons who came to the top of their own groups, either because their new neighbors observed their qualities or because they had the ambition and the aggressiveness to do something,—for motives good, bad, or mixed. As might be expected, some of these arrangements of personnel were stable, and some were not; some resulted in excellent conduct of the camps; some in inefficiency; some in petty extortion.

All in all, however, a great deal of faithful effort by superior people accomplished much in itself and much by example and direction to others. Scarcely less credit is due to the large number of humble workers who kept at their tasks of cooking and cleaning and carrying water; and to the many half-clerical, half-supervisory workers who kept track of the scores of refugees for whom each was individually responsible, settling disputes, protecting the weak and the sick, guarding against fire and the worst of filth in incredibly crowded and difficult conditions. Speaking generally, during all the months of their existence, the camps had no electricity, no public water supply, no mechanism of any kind for sewage disposal, no telephones, no friendly or adequate police that could be called upon. The refugees included the poorest, the invalid, the least energetic, of a great city that had largely removed itself. Collective life under such conditions was an achievement which led foreigners frequently to comment in one form or another: "Only the Chinese could stand this. Only the Chinese could get along with as little serious trouble among themselves."

The average camp population, below the maximum in each case, was 70,750 for the last fifteen days of December; 62,500 for January; 36,800 for February; 26,700 for March; 21,750 for April; 12,150 for May. As is explained more fully under the

Meanwhile the Housing Commission had thoroughly examined the possibilities in private institutions (one of the many reasons for choosing this particular area as a Safety Zone was the comparative wealth of institutional buildings under foreign ownership, which could therefore be handled almost at will so long as there was decent order in the city), and also in public buildings which were rapidly being evacuated at that period. When private houses were reaching apparent saturation, as measured by a narrow calculation of floor space, the larger buildings were gradually opened up under supervision which attempted to pack one building before another could be entered, and to check any combination of persons that attempted to secure disproportionate space or advantage for their own group. At this time the Committee had the active and friendly co-operation of the units of police that had not yet left the city, and 400 patrolmen under its own direction. It should be noted in passing that there were scarcely a half-dozen arrests in the Zone for any cause, for the people were remarkably decent in their conduct.

The last desperate rush during the assault on the wall at the southeast, and the pitiful flight of those who survived their efforts to stay in the other portions of the city after the fall, filled the stairways of buildings, the very dugouts, and numberless primitive lean-tos and other shelters hastily erected with what men had carried on their backs from their former dwellings. Very nearly 250,000 people were packed into the Safety Zone.

Organization of the Camps.

From the taking of the city on the 12-13th December, the need for the work of the Housing Commission among private dwellings was slight, and the general position of the International Committee was sharply altered toward relief and away from supervision. On the other hand, the need for care and management of the refugees in the larger buildings became greater and far more prolonged than any one had anticipated. This task was to absorb a big part of the total effort of the Committee for several months.

The Housing Commission appointed managers, and in some cases assistants as well, to conduct refugee camps in institutional buildings suitable for that purpose and made available by those in charge. Usually a group of buildings were under one management. The situations and personnel of these camps were extremely varied. In the University of Nanking, Ginling College, and

discussion of Food, a considerable part of the camp population provided its own food throughout; but the burden of general care was very heavy.

Varied Types of Camps.

Space and time do not permit a description of each of the 25 "permanent" camps. But a number will be mentioned as indicating the variety of situations which they presented. Ginling College maintained a camp for women and their children, numbering some 10,000 in the worst days of December, declining gradually in January, and remaining around 3,000 for the remainder of the period. This camp's history was closely connected with the problem of security, though poverty was always a factor. On the various properties of the University of Nanking were conducted six camps, which the University staff undertook complete management of two. The average for the six in late December was 28,000 refugees, of whom 11,000 were in the Middle School property alone. The use of the main buildings at the Drum Tower was limited almost entirely to women.

Another type of camp was a group of refugees independently organized but seeking help along with inspection: of this sort was the body of several hundred on the Quaker Mission property; a similar number in the Wei Ch'ing Li, a large apartment house; and the one considerable group of persons who managed to survive outside the Safety Zone, the thousand-odd at the Shuang Tang Presbyterian Church in the southwest corner of the city (fortunately apart from the main movements of soldiers, though suffering cruelly for weeks). Then there were three camps in the buildings of municipal primary schools, caring for some 1,500 persons each in the first month or two.

Most unhappy were the abortive camps in the sadly named Ministry of Justice and the Supreme Court Building; they were practically wiped out by the military, and the remnants were driven out by the 17th of December. Among the most difficult to manage were the 10,000 who crowded at the last minute into the recently abandoned Ping Kung Shu (Army Stores; formerly Ministry of Communications); they were in general the poorest elements of the city, and by that time good personnel had been absorbed in organization elsewhere; the 2,500 at the Chemical Research Shops were a similar problem, and the 3,200 in old Army

Staff College also. Such public properties suffered more from the soldiery than did institutions obviously private, under a foreign flag, and visited more frequently by foreigners. The position of the camp leaders was dangerous and difficult in the extreme.

The International Committee was organized with the expectation of performing an emergency service during a period of military operations which would last at most a few weeks. Despite the fact that military operations were quickly passed (indeed, the city was under real attack only parts of four days), the resultant disorder and dislocation of all ordinary life and destruction of economic resources and opportunities was so great as to impel the gradual transformation of the Committee into a continuing relief organization. However, it felt required to reduce its functions in time and scope, partly because of the limitations of resources in hand, partly because of frequent difficulties with the authorities, such as an order forbidding the Committee to purchase grain, and also because of the strong desire to avoid the promotion of dependence in any form. Obviously the semi-administrative work of the Safety Zone should be, and was, quickly dropped upon the establishment in the city of the new military authority (though unfounded suspicions of the Committee in this respect continued to trouble its work for fully a year's time).

Program of Reduction and Closing.

From the close of December, 1937, the main work and the main problems for five months centered in the provision and care for the refugee camps, and the question of their diminution. The Committee was always conscious of the needs of homeless persons who had lost everything, including employment and sometimes the possibility of employment. On the other hand, the more people there were in the camps over a lengthening period, the faster melted away the Committee's resources, and the greater the danger that some would become habituated to the camp life, making less than their best efforts to re-establish themselves with home and work. The experience of Shanghai and of some other cities has shown the perils of that tendency, combined with the growth of a vested interest of relief workers in their jobs, which prejudices any attempt at fundamental improvement. In Nanking there was also the powerful influence of insecurity throughout the city and its environs, which checked many who wished to

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strike out for themselves, and at times pressed deeply upon the Committee's policy.

But there were also forces working toward dispersal in one way or another. The military authorities considered the existence of the camps as a reflection upon the condition of the city, and regarded them with hostility as places where a considerable number of Chinese remained under what they believed to be hostile foreign influence; they felt less free to apply drastic police measures upon foreign property or where they would be reported by foreigners (though the term "less free" is highly relative). Official instructions were given out for the disbandment of the camps by or on February 4th, by armed force if necessary. Fortunately a calmer view met the representations made by the Committee through the German and other Embassies, and the instructions were disavowed. Meanwhile the new terror drove out many thousands of persons into parts of the city where they suffered so severely that many women and some men returned shortly to the camps. But the net result was a distinct push away from the camps, however cruelly accomplished.

Again, people whose houses had not been burned or completely looted, wished as soon as at all possible to have at least part of the family living there in order to protect the remainder from the civilian search for fuel and salable articles that had now developed. Moreover, the slow opening up of communications to the coast and to a few nearby districts enabled some people to leave Nanking in order to rejoin families or to seek aid from relatives elsewhere (soon to be more than balanced by incoming streams from the burned and pillaged areas all about).

The Committee's work was thenceforward continually to be affected by the departure of persons of some initiative and education who had been willing to help while caught here in Nanking, but who desired as soon as they could to seek places of greater opportunity, often driven by the needs of families resident elsewhere. It must be remembered that the Committee's work was all organized on a voluntary basis, that for several weeks its helpers received at most their rice alone, that even in later times it has never promised continuing employment, and that in the spring of 1938 its low maintenance allowances were accompanied by the continual reduction and announced dismissal of camp staffs.

In fine, the Committee encouraged prompt return to homes and economic effort outside the camps as early as possible, and soon began to bring some pressure to eliminate those persons and those camps which least required maintenance. The process was painful in certain cases, and resulted in a few instances of hardship not desired by the Committee; but in general the results were more than worth the sacrifices involved. Nearly the maximum in independent effort was achieved; and the Committee's resources were conserved for a greater total service in later relief than could possibly have been rendered if the camps had been kept up for a longer time. Actually, 6 of the 25 camps in service for the period of December to February had been closed in that month or in early March; 13 more were closed in March and April, leaving only 6 to carry through the month of May. In certain cases the closing of a camp involved the transfer to other camps of some scores or even hundreds of refugees who could not well be turned out so long as any such provision was available.

Aside from the incomplete but valuable mitigation of war risks provided by the Safety Zone enterprise, the Committee had aided several tens of thousands of persons to secure space in privately owned buildings and had provided shelter under organized management for over 70,000 persons through periods up to six months.

Other aspects of the work in and for the camps are discussed in relation to "Food", "Cash Relief", "Health Services", "Personal Aid", and "Administration".

II. FOOD

PERIOD I.

During the period Dec. 17-31, the International Committee made regular deliveries of rice averaging 84.5 bags per day among 2 camps, plus 28.5 bags to kitchens, plus 3 to police and sanitary workers, plus 20 among special grants including the Red Swastika Society. Of the regular kitchens there were two in camps conducted by the Committee, two conducted by the Red Swastika Society largely serving persons from the camps, and one by the Red Cross Society entirely serving persons in the camps. The remainder of the rice to the camps was given out dry. Of the camp population averaging 70,750 during this period, 25,150 were fed inside the camps, 8,200 in kitchens adjoining camps. About 5,000 were fed by the special grants. Thus some 38,350 persons were receiving their basic food, some of them their only food, from the Committee. Some groups had private supplies of rice with which they could provide for themselves wholly or in part, and some were able to get supplements of vegetables, oils, or peanuts. Meat was seldom seen in the camps, and supplies of green vegetables or of beans were small and costly. The total number of bags of rice given out free or at the nominal charge made by the kitchens for those able to pay it, was 2,035.

All figures for the December half-month and for the following months are on the basis of the full time specified. Actually a larger number of people were fed, but some of them for less than the time specified. It was expected that one bag of rice would feed 300 persons for one day in the form of thick gruel made in a collective kitchen. Where rice was given out dry, the calculation was 250 person-days per bag. In many instances the rice was spread even more thinly, since some people were served from the kitchens only once a day, or received relatively small allotments of dry rice. A bag of rice of the lower middle grade which constituted the bulk of the Committee's supplies weighed

on the average 212.25 pounds, or nearly 77.5 kilograms; it represented 1.25 *shih tan* by measure.

For January the average of the camp population was 62,500, of whom 25,250 were fed inside the camps by a distribution of 79 bags daily among the 25 camps; there were also given out 4.5 bags daily among police and sanitary workers and other staff not covered in the camps, and 4.5 bags in grants to the Red Cross Hospital and other special interests. Thus about 27,125 persons were largely or wholly maintained by the free rice. In this period the kitchens conducted by the Red Swastika Society did not need to draw considerably upon the International Committee for rice, and that under the Red Cross was moved inside a camp. The total number of bags used by the Committee was 2,721.

In February the camp population was sharply reduced to an average of 36,800, which included, however, many of the poorest people whose private resources were early exhausted. 20,800 were fed in the camps by a daily distribution of 69 bags. The Committee's workers now received maintenance allowances in cash, and all other special grants were stopped. Total 1,935 bags.

For March the average total population of 22 camps was 26,700, of whom 17,300 were fed by the Committee on a daily allowance of 59 bags, totalling 1,821.

In April the number of camps was reduced to 16, with a total population averaging 21,750, of whom the Committee fed 11,300 with a daily distribution of 31 bags of rice and 12 of wheat. 5.5 bags of wheat were also supplied as aid to the kitchens conducted by the Red Swastika Society. Nearly 18 bags of wheat per day were used in work relief and special grants. Altogether the Committee distributed 930 bags of rice and 1,059 of wheat, feeding some 16,000 persons.

In May 7 camps with an average of 12,150 persons contained 7,250 dependent on the Committee for grain, which was supplied with 4 bags of rice and 10.5 bags of wheat daily. In addition, 4 bags of wheat were provided for the Red Swastika kitchens, and almost 18 bags were used in work relief and special grants. Altogether, 474 bags of rice and 969 bags of wheat were used, feeding 11,650.

For the entire period Dec. 17 to May 31, 1937-38, 9,916 bags of rice worth \$109,700.96, and 2,028 bags of wheat worth \$7,098.00

were distributed free. Because of the grants to other organizations and the element of shifting in and out of camps, it is impossible to give an exact figure for the number of persons who received some portion of their maintenance from this distribution. We estimate it conservatively at 55,000, of whom some 20,000 benefited greatly over a period of two months or more, and some 10,000 through four months or more.

Upon medical advice an effort was made to introduce necessary food elements into the rice gruel which tended to be the exclusive food of the poorest persons, by providing the Chinese *ts'an tou* (broad bean). With great difficulty 87 tons of beans were secured from Shanghai after weeks of negotiations, and were distributed in 1,077 bags of 161.55 pounds per bag. It is estimated that in March and April 17,500 of the poorest persons in the camps received an average of 11.25 pounds per person. From April onward through the summer the problem of food content was partly solved by the use of a large element of whole wheat in the grain distribution.

In the general period, besides the 1,077 bags of beans, 75 bags of flour, and 22 bags of salt were also given out free: a total value of \$9,334.94. Thus the grand total of food distribution was \$126,133.90, with the wheat priced at an exceptionally low figure.

In an effort to assist people who had the means and will to buy, but for whom supplies were not available in the conditions of the winter of 1937-38, the Committee sold rice, flour and salt at approximately standard prices, from the stocks of commodities given to it before the military crisis. The Committee had the further purpose of encouraging private trade by example, particularly in the insecure periods of December and January when no regular shops survived in Nanking; and desired to give any reasonable assistance to persons outside the camps in lodgings of their own arranging. The total sales were not large, but in the conditions of the time were very useful. There were sold 1,886 bags of rice, 804 bags of flour, and 243 bags of salt, valued in gross at \$26,574.00 (less \$1,592.65 in discounts for agents and in shortages). This represented a month's supply of cereals for well over 15,000 persons.

The Committee supplied its own and associated kitchens with

fuel, some 658 tons of coal and supplementary wood, amounting to \$10,192.00 at prices that now seem incredibly low.

PERIOD II.

During the summer of 1938, a large part of the distribution of food from the resources of the International Committee was carried out through the mechanism of the Joint Project, directed by a Committee combining representation of the Red Swastika Society with that of our own organization. This arrangement was made in order to implement a request from the Nanking International Relief Association (Shanghai) that \$22,000 be set aside from funds contributed by them, to be used in such an enterprise. In order to complete the program that was attempted, the International Committee added \$4,339.22 in cash, making \$26,339.20; and 1255.5 bags of wheat valued at \$4,394.25, making a total of \$30,743.47 used in the Joint Project. Of this amount staff allowances and incidentals amounting to \$644.67 were charged against the project, and the remainder was used entirely for grain.

Full maintenance allowance of cereal was calculated at 37.32 *ho* per week (one-half for children eight years of age and under), given half in rice and half in wheat. (This would be equivalent to 188 person-days per bag, an allowance made a little more liberal than that of the preceding winter, partly because it was half in wheat which is lighter per unit of measure than rice and less effectively used by Chinese of this region). On the average, each of the 56,726 adults and 11,940 young children who received grain was given a supply for 2.7 weeks or 19 days, though some of the poorer ones were given enough for 4 or even for 6 weeks.

13,865 families were thus given a real boost for the months June to September, with the heaviest distribution in August. They represented nearly 20% of the total population within the walled city. The International Committee indirectly subsidized the Joint Project further by supplying the purchased wheat and part of the rice from its own supplies at cost, and by carrying the responsibilities of purchase, storage, and general overhead. Altogether 2,535 bags of rice and 2,511 bags of wheat were given out.

Outside the Joint Project, but within the sub-period June to November 1938, the International Committee gave out 690 bags

of rice worth \$6,909.50; 2,022 bags of wheat worth \$7,077.00; and small lots of beans, flour, maize and salt worth \$874.74. 208 bags of flour were sold for \$525.00 net. The rice and wheat supplied 20 day's cereals to about 24,500 persons. Part of the wheat was used in payment for work.

In the course of the Winter-Spring Program from December 1938 through April 1939, the Committee gave out 10,847 bags of rice worth \$116,609.70; 592 bags of beans worth \$5,624; and 21.5 bags of salt worth \$426.56. The rice was distributed on the basis of 5 *ho* per day for an adult and 3 *ho* for a child of 8 years or under. The 105,075 adults and 23,065 young children (128,140 persons) thus aided were enabled to receive on the average nearly 23 days' full supply of cereal. The poorer ones drew for 4 weeks, even 6 or 8 weeks. Thus 36,090 families were given a fair fraction of their food for a bad period of the year. During the late winter and spring the price of rice was rapidly rising, with consequent burden and misery for the poor. The Committee attempted to supplement the fundamental cereal in the most needy cases by giving to 26,250 of the poorest persons 28 *ho* of red beans, equivalent to a good ratio of beans to cereal for 4 weeks diet.

The methods employed in the distribution of food are discussed under the topics of Administration; the costs and relative importance of this primary work of relief are shown in the presentation of Financial Statements and in consecutive detail among the items of the audited Income and Expenditure Accounts (Appendix I).

Here it is sufficient to recall in conclusion that the International Committee expended \$364,000 directly in its enterprises of food distribution. Well over 55,000 received food during Period I; over 78,000 in the summer and autumn of 1938; 128,000 in the winter spring program of 1938-39. During Period I the grants of food were largely within the camp population and often continued for a time measured in months. Some three weeks' supply was the average in Period II, with few receiving more than 6 weeks' supply of cereal in one program.

It should be remembered that during the course of the Committee's work under review, the population within the walled city increased by fully 100,000 persons, most of them returning to ruined homes after losing or exhausting what they had taken with them in earlier flight to the country. The Committee there-

fore faced an enormous number of impoverished people, and felt that the major part of its work should be the supplementing of their meager food with such grants as could be made from resources available. Throughout Period II persons approved by the processes described under "Administration", came to the Committee's distributing room and there received their allowance of dry grain. Thus preparatory and distributing costs were kept to the minimum consistent with careful selection of recipients. This food policy is not fully satisfactory to the Committee, but in the actual situation it seemed on balanced consideration to be the way of maximum relief.

III. CASH RELIEF

PERIOD I.

In March to May of 1938 small cash grants were made to 17,609 poor families selected among some 56,000 who were investigated after they applied for aid of one sort or another. The cash grants gave some help to the bottom groups outside the camps, and aided the return to homes and independent effort outside the Refugee Zone, besides stimulating a much-needed private trade in rice from the few country places that could then provide supplies for Nanking. \$54,538.20 was thus given out at the rate of \$3.10 per family.

PERIOD II.

Cash grants were used more sparingly, to care for needs other than those which could be met by dry cereal alone. The plight of persons arriving from the country with no other possession or resource than scanty clothing, or of families already subjects for relief who were burned out in the frequent fires among crowded straw huts, is suggestive of the problems confronting the investigator and administrators who depended mainly upon grants of rice. In this period a sum of \$10,671 was so given out, at the rate of \$3.29 to each of 3,240 families.

SUMMARY TOTAL.

20,849 families received \$65,529.71 in cash, or \$3.13 per family. Expenses for staff and minor items amounted to \$3,100.80.

IV. WORK RELIEF

PERIOD I.

Appropriations were made in the form of cash plus some wheat, for wages of workers on approved projects. The direct expenditure on work relief in money was \$7,622 of which only \$158 was used for field staff and servants, and less than 3 per cent for materials. Several of the larger projects were in the form of subsidies to other organizations or institutions, in which they provided the supervision and materials, subject to the International Committee's approval of detailed budgets and its inspection at will. For example, \$2,540 was used to complete the necessary burial enterprises undertaken by the Red Swastika Society, which covered over 40,000 bodies otherwise uncared for. During some 40 working days, this employed nearly 170 men. On this and a number of other work relief jobs, forty cents per day of actual work was taken as the standard wage. Other important projects included over \$1,500 in sanitary and streetcleaning work under the Committee's own management of casual labor; \$1,430 in grading undertaken by the University of Nanking; some hundreds each in dyke work labor on farms otherwise uncultivated, road repair, and the transport and cleaning of the Committee's large purchase and distribution of wheat.

Over 18,000 wage-days were paid for in cash, representing approximately the employment of 720 men for a month. The Committee would have been willing to expend more in work relief if it had been able to secure the time and care of sufficiently competent managers, within or without its own organization. However, it must be recognized that in a situation of general distress for an emergency period, work relief is relatively costly and gives direct benefit to a small number of people unless vast public resources are available.

PERIOD II.

In this period the major enterprise of work relief was interrelated with the provision of winter clothing and bedding in

the general program of direct relief. Here the labor undertaking began with the cleaning and beating of the cotton, a specialized task more difficult than it seems. But the major sums were put out for the cutting and sewing of clothes and quilts, done in Christian schools and churches by women and girls. For administrative convenience, the initial part of this work was undertaken as a department of work relief, with an outlay of just over \$2,000. (This was only a small part of the making of clothing and bedding which is reported under that heading hereafter).

Just over \$1,500 was used in drainage and grading work; almost \$1,000 in farm labor; \$600 in road repair; \$250 in sanitary work; \$250 in clerical work to improve the Committee's records of relief cases; and the remaining part of \$5,850 in smaller enterprises. Field staff and assistance cost \$920, as the cotton and clothing work was very complicated. It is impossible to give an accurate figure of the number of work-days, since the labor of the women and girls was partly paid for in piece work. But for all types of labor concerned, fully 15,500 wage days were provided, equivalent to over 600 persons for one month.

V. CLOTHING AND BEDDING

The report under this heading is incomplete and inadequate, for the triple reason that the International Committee acted somewhat casually as receiver for certain stocks and gifts of clothing and bedding which were passed on to responsible heads of refugee camps or to church organizations for distribution. That the Committee only for one brief time had a separate unit and set of records concerned with this matter alone, and finally that the brief time referred to was brought to a disastrous conclusion by the arrest and indefinitely continuing detention of the man in charge. Nevertheless, the financial records are clear, and the enterprises undertaken by the Committee itself can be reported, plus a considerable part of the transmitting service above referred to.

PERIOD I.

In the confusion at the fall of Nanking, individual friends made available supplies of clothing and bedding that had been prepared by benevolent organizations for the care of the wounded, but eventually were abandoned. The Committee also paid refugee women for completing and remaking some articles. Some 1100 pieces of bedding, 1,600 pieces of clothing, and 540 towels were given out, aside from minor transfers made personally rather than through the Committee's organization. \$498.52 was spent for sewing and materials, a small supplement to the considerable value of the cotton-filled quilts and the padded winter garments, which was probably \$7,000.

PERIOD II.

The Committee received in gifts 4,003 pieces of unused winter clothing, and 3,696 pieces of used summer clothing. It made 6,141 pieces of winter clothing at an average cost of \$1.80, or \$11,092.01. The summer clothing, valued conservatively at \$0.50 per piece, was distributed through church organizations at 880 families, representing just over 4 pieces per family and

a total value of \$1,848. 6,129 winter garments were given out, and 4,015 are prepared for distribution in the late autumn. The winter garments given out represent a value of \$11,071.01; those on hand at the close of the period, \$7,347.45.

The Committee received in gifts 154 pieces of good-grade winter bedding, and made 939 more at \$6.19 per piece, totalling \$5,809.12. 500 straw mattresses without covers were made for \$92.44, 1,043 pieces of winter bedding, representing \$6,445.74 in value, were distributed, along with all the straw mattresses; 50 pieces of winter bedding are ready for the coming season.

Because some parts of the clothing and bedding distribution were carried out through subordinate or co-operating units, figures as to the number of families aided are not complete. They can, however, be given in fairly close estimates based on the Committee's own records and reports from some of the other units. We reckon that 1,800 families received aid in winter clothing and bedding during Period I, and 3,950 during Period II, aside from the straw mattresses. Usually one family would receive only one suit or one long garment, but sometimes help for a second member, and bedding. The making of the clothing and bedding in Period II was managed so as to become an extensive work relief project.

The beating and preparation of the cotton was carried out locally; part of the cloth was made by local weavers who were aided in securing yarn to start the process; and all of the cutting and sewing was done by poor women and girls in church and school enterprises, paid for, with few exceptions, by the funds of the International Committee.

SUMMARY TOTAL

7,729 pieces of unused winter clothing, 2,143 pieces of unused good-grade winter bedding, 3,696 pieces of used summer clothing, 540 towels, and 500 straw mattresses were given out: a total value of \$27,063.71, from which 5,750 families received considerable benefit directly and over 600 workers indirectly (to say nothing of the 880 families who got summer clothing and the 500 who had straw mattresses). There is a percentage of overlapping in these records of families helped; but it is insignificant within each period, and is unknown for the entire undertaking. Because of the considerable aid from gifts of

clothing and bedding, the Committee was able to do this work with a direct expenditure of \$17,400.25, and still have ready for the coming season \$7,737.45 in winter garments with a little bedding.

VI. SMALL LOANS

In the course of *Period II*, the International Committee gave considerable attention to the granting of small loans as a measure of rehabilitation. Preference was given to men with small beginnings or apparently sound projects for productive business rather than for a mere increase in the desperate competition of petty traders. The limit for each loan was set at \$50, with an agreement calling for repayments in 6 or 10 months, with interest at 1 per cent per month.

About one-fourth of the loans were granted for enterprises in each of three groups; the making of clothing and shoes; weaving; the processing of food. Smaller aid went to the making of furniture and household utensils, to printing, to metal work, to setting up barbers, and to work in bamboo and matting. 85% of those who received loans were re-entering former trades from which they were dislodged by pillage, burning, or other war disturbance.

Moderate interest, a fraction of the current usurious rates which many would be glad to pay if they could find some one able and willing to lend, was planned in order to make the obligation realistic to the borrower, and to reduce the temptation to let a relief loan run indefinitely or even to sub-loan. It must be observed that during the entire time under consideration, Nanking has had no commercial bank, no exchange shops or pawn shops able to provide credit in the familiar ways, and (to the best of our knowledge) none of the mutual savings or credit societies which in the past have given a boost to many a humble enterprise. The Municipal Government has done some work with small loans, but not enough to touch the general problem. Therefore what little the International Committee could do has been warmly welcomed.

Each applicant for a small loan was required to show that he needed aid and was capable of using it successfully, with the specific guarantee of two responsible men satisfactory to the Committee. The guarantors were largely men with shops

in the food, clothing and metal trades, with capital ranging from \$100 to \$1,000. Every case was investigated on the spot, and the applicant who was approved by the specialized investigator had still to be approved by the sub-committee on small loans.

147 individual loans were issued with an average amount of \$42 and also one group loan of 16 families of satin weavers, of totalling \$660; and one to 13 families of weavers and spinners combined, totalling \$850. In the case of the group loans, each family represents about 30 workers, many of them hired. The complete total let out was \$7,675. Repayments including interest were \$2,356.71 within the period. Very little difficulty was met, saving the one important exception of the detention of the experienced man responsible for such work, from December on far into the spring. When the general work of the International Committee was suspended for some five weeks, that had a bad effect on struggling beginners in business. Only gradually did the Committee provide a substitute for the detained man, and he naturally gave more attention to new applications than to outstanding loans connected with another person whose release was continually expected. It is hoped that recent follow up will result in clearing most of the old loans, for experience before December and in late spring was favorable.

VII. AID TO FARMERS

Wartime difficulties of communication and politics have greatly restricted aid to farmers. It should also be said, however, that the International Relief Committee through its own studies and the advice of such expert counsel as could be secured, decided that in the main its resources should be used in the city. For the farmer did not lose his basic capital, and on the average suffered a smaller shock than did his cousin in Nanking, devastating as the war has been for thousands of villages in this area.

Aside from a fairly important enterprise in the making of farm tools, to which the Committee contributed significant but indirect aid in the form of indispensable personnel, its help to farmers has been limited to two sorts: loans to cooperative societies and the grant of seeds to market gardeners.

Near the close of Period I, \$1,840 was lent to a group of 13 societies with a membership of 302 families. This was promptly followed in Period II by the lending of \$2,460 to three groups totalling 9 societies with a membership of 295 families. 95 per cent of the loans were granted for the provision or improvements, 8 per cent for seeds, and 2 per cent for animals. All but \$180 of these funds was repaid within Period II, or immediately after its close, with the customary interest of 1/2 per cent monthly. The loans to one group were returned under military and political pressure, which fortunately has lessened in recent months. Indeed, for a time lending and borrowing was a unique and venturesome business in the economy of this region, and the mere transfer of cash through the city gates to and from the country required the efforts of one of the holder members of the Committee.

The societies to which loans were made were all village groups of long standing, which had good records before the war in handling loans made by the University of Nanking or by banks under its arrangements. Because it had in any case to depend upon University personnel for this work, and because

it has its own hands more than full with direct relief work that is supposedly temporary in character, the International Committee at the close of Period II asked the College of Agriculture and Forestry of the University of Nanking to take over the whole enterprise of aid to farmers. In cash and loans receivable a fund of practically \$10,000 was entrusted to the College for farm relief, preferably in the form of loans. The sum should be sufficient, with close management, to pay from interest the charges of routine administration, though not of course for responsible supervision. (In May, 1939, two-thirds of the sum was let out to 21 societies comprising 495 member-families, under a program which provides for expert counsel and service including the supply of improved seeds).

Grants of vegetable seeds to market gardeners within and near the city were a quiet but very useful piece of work. In this area the farmers' own supply of seeds suffered severely from burning and indiscriminate pillaging, and the ordinary commercial means of supply had practically disappeared. In the spring of 1938 seeds of a dozen kinds of vegetable recommended by local experts were supplied from Shanghai firms by the Nanking International Relief Association at a cost of \$966.98. These were carefully distributed among some 185 families of gardeners whose circumstances and specific needs had been sought out in house-to-house visits. Since in that period and indeed continuously thereafter, military and political factors have made the price of vegetables abnormally high, the general population as well as these particular families have benefitted from the increase in production of necessities.

In Period II the needs for particular seeds continued, if not so acutely. Again the Nanking International Relief Association assisted with the purchase of \$283.50 worth of varieties not obtainable in Nanking; while the University of Nanking supplied at half-price \$253 worth and there were other purchases of \$187.85. A glimpse into the conditions under which such work has had to be done is afforded by the fact that most of the seeds purchased in Shanghai were stolen by a sentry who took the larger part of the load of a messenger. Nevertheless, 217 gardening families, comprising 702 workers, received seeds of varieties especially needed. Also, \$74.31 was put out in wheat of the finest quality for a special project.

All told, \$10,000 has been provided in farm loan funds of which half is doing its second turn of service; and \$1,639 was paid out in seeds to market gardeners. Some 900 families received direct aid in production of food, most of them in two successive seasons.

VIII. HEALTH SERVICES AND PERSONAL AID

Direct activities of the International Committee in relation to health were largely centered in the camp life and the crowded streets of the Safety Zone area, during the period when the welfare functions of government had largely disappeared from Nanking. The Sanitation Commission for a few weeks commanded the services of about 400 men, who were used in street cleaning, the construction and care of latrines in crowded places, and the removal of refuse from camps and certain other centers of accumulation. Persons accustomed to Chinese life can scarcely imagine a concentration of 250,000 persons with very few dogs and pigs, and with none of the usual economic process of collecting, storing and distributing night soil to market gardens. Yet Nanking was many months in returning to a fair degree of "normalcy" in such matters.

Five of the street-cleaning coolies were killed in the general slaughter of mid-December, and for a considerable time little work could be done away from camps or secluded houses. Later, however, street cleaning and the removal of refuse were undertaken as small work relief projects where supervision could be provided.

Fortunately for the people of the city, the University (Drum Tower) Hospital continued its work throughout all difficulties; and the Nanking International Red Cross Committee, after completing certain emergency services for wounded soldiers, was able to turn its efforts to the development of clinic work for the sick among the poor, while assisting in the payment of fees for a part of the patients carried by the University Hospital. Thus the type of service in which the International Relief Committee would naturally be interested as a necessary complement of its own work, was being maintained as well as could be expected under all the circumstances. The Relief Committee has therefore looked upon the medical field as one for cooperation, not for direct participation. It has solicited and aided in securing staff, funds, and supplies for the Hospital and the Red Cross Committee.

The International Relief Committee has arranged for the transfer of needy cases to the Hospital, particularly in the period of the camps, and sometimes made contributions to medical service in the form of cash relief or payment of fees. In certain camps the Committee assisted in the maintenance of groups of nurses who did simple clinical work and cared for maternity cases; one of these groups included a doctor from the Red Swastika Society. Although the general death rate among the refugees was high, particularly among children, there was never a critical run of illness. Beri beri, measles, and scarlet fever gave anxiety; but considering the circumstances, deaths were few.

A squad from the University Hospital, partly supported by Red Cross funds, was given facilities and assistance in a preventive campaign among the camps, which vaccinated in the late spring of 1938 a total of 16,265 persons, and inoculated more than 12,000 against typhoid and cholera. The Committee secured large supplies of cod liver oil for the University Hospital, and acted as agent for distributing considerable quantities (with great difficulty) among the children of the camps. Continuously from March of 1938, the Committee has maintained a supply of powdered milk for the use of the Hospital among refugee babies; and also gave it out to some scores in the camps.

Aside from lack of money, the acute difficulties of transportation and official passes hindered many refugees from leaving Nanking to rejoin their families elsewhere. Where such a venture seemed to promise a solution of a family problem or to give some hope of economic betterment, the Committee's workers found ways to assist by means of friendly contact with the local authorities; and supplied money when needed, which is listed in the amounts for cash relief. Similarly there were important needs for counsel and assistance in initiating communication with relatives elsewhere, or in arranging for the transfer of small personal funds to and from Nanking. A limited postal service was restored only from April of 1938, and not for some time longer was there a considerable money order system. Altogether several hundred persons were aided with problems of the types just described. A few tens were found work directly, and of course many others were aided indirectly or by relief measures described under other headings. A job is the universal need, and in many ways the hardest to meet in the gloomy economics of wartime Nanking.

It is impossible to list the many types of personal service rendered directly, or through institutions which were rendering personal service, by the Committee's trucks and cars, supplies of needed commodities, facilities for communication and light transport from Shanghai (by foreign gunboats for necessities), and means of securing and providing practical information for those who had little access to it. More than once in this report it has been convenient to use the brief and general term, "special grant". Usually the term covers aid to an existing institution or organization for useful work which it could not finance or supply. A large instance is the subsidy of more than \$1,600 given to the Ginling College camp and school for some 600 young refugee women, maintained through the summer of 1938. This was a continuation of the camp principle, considering protection, relief for extreme poverty, and some elementary training. Another example was the partial support of five blind girls left helpless in camps, concluded by payments of over \$500 for their entry into an excellent school for the blind in Shanghai.

IX. SURVEYS

Beginning with March, 1938, as soon as such efforts were physically possible, the Nanking International Relief Committee has undertaken systematic studies of the condition of the people and of important economic and social factors in their problems. Where the results have been of apparent value to those elsewhere who are interested in relief either as contributors or as workers, they have been published. These studies also have a modest place in the analysis of war and social disorganization. The first important undertaking was completed in July, 1938, under the title, "War Damage in the Nanking Area" (Smythe). For several weeks 30 men carried out careful sampling inquiries among families of the city and of five counties round about. Some of the workers were well qualified for their tasks, and there were available both experienced direction and competent statistical service. The investigation was twofold in purpose: to learn what was the fundamental injury to economic life; and to understand the immediate situation of the people a few months after the major catastrophe. The report was not printed commercially, but was supplied in fair quantities to relief committees abroad.

The war damage survey revealed a distressing picture of the slaughter of civilians; and the unnecessary destruction of basic property by useless burning before the crisis and by extensive plundering and burning thereafter. On the farms, one resident in every seven families was killed; in the city, one resident in every five families was killed, injured, or taken away, which works out to about the same degree of murder and misery. 40 per cent of all farm buildings were burned. Farm losses (domestic property not considered) for a surveyed population of 1,078,000 were \$41 millions (\$220 per family). The 221,000 persons surveyed in Nanking lost \$838 per family, \$40 millions in total. Buildings and contents for the entire city showed losses if \$246 millions, or \$1,262 per family of the pre-war population. Only 9 per cent of the Nanking population were employed in late March, 1938. Family earnings averaged

\$0.14 per day, as compared with \$1.23 reported for the same families in former times. The losses to life and property caused by actual warfare were one to two per cent of the total losses.

A simpler study followed in the summer and autumn of 1938, published as "Crop Investigations in the Nanking Area, and Sundry Economic Data" (Bates). Six investigators were sent into a like number of surrounding counties to secure systematic information as to planted area, condition of crops, and injury from flood. Results were limited by several critical experiences, but they proved sufficient to give an accurate estimate of grain production. The Nanking markets for fuel, cotton, clothing, and bedding were carefully analyzed as a basis for judging those elements in public need and in a relief program. There was added a composite report from 30 general observers of business, employment, and conditions of need.

These studies found a most remarkable demonstration of the recuperative and staying powers of the Chinese peasant. 96 of the farm families were at work in the areas covered, and those at work had planted 99 per cent of their arable land in summer crops. However, losses of buildings, animals, tools, and seed, plus some slow returns of workers from wartime displacement, took their toll from quality of cultivation. Local floods caused serious injury. The yield of rice was estimated at 45 per cent of "normal" (a "normal" crop is practically a perfect one), or at 58 per cent of "most frequent yield." Rice supplies were sufficient for the Nanking area, but quantities were shipped out by privileged interests. Markets in general were manipulated by political and military controls of transportation. Supplies of fuel, clothing, and bedding were scanty in relation to needs, but abundant in relation to effective demand. Many shopkeepers reported: "The people have no means to buy." 30 workers in churches and schools reported 44 per cent of their communities to be destitute.

A third study covered for the winter of 1938-39, "The Nanking Population: Employment Earnings, and Family Conditions." Family conditions were by that time relatively stabilized in the new conditions, so that information as to size of family, and groupings by age and sex, would be of continuing value. Conditions of employment and earnings, by occupational groups, by sex, and in totals, were discovered and compared with the former

conditions reported by the persons investigated, and with those of the previous year's survey. Analyses of expenditures were revealing as to the supreme importance of grain among all payments of an impoverished community, and also as to the sad state of housing.

As of the past winter, there are in Nanking only 94 men of vigorous age (15 to 19 years) to 100 families; whereas before the war there were 130. The percent of all families which have no male head is now 16, double the pre-war 8. There are today within the walled city 14,100 of such families. The existing employment rate is 27 per cent of the total population, or about two-thirds of normal. Almost half of all employed persons make less than \$10 monthly; only 4 per cent of them \$30. Present average earnings of this remnant population are about 40 per cent of their reported former earnings. Military and economic policy severely limits the possibilities for improvement. The living standard of the whole Chinese population of Nanking is very close to that of the poorer groups selected in various Chinese cities for surveys by social workers before the war. The events of the last two years have reduced the native population to that level, which means of course that many are on the margin of survival. 20,000 women are now working, at an average wage of \$0.18 per day; of these, only 1,800 worked before the war. Even the unfavorable selection of men remaining in Nanking shows a fearful descent from productive and middle-class occupations into casual labor and peddling.

At the close of Period II, the Committee appropriated funds for a thorough study of the 30,000 families relieved in the winter-spring program of 1938-39, on the basis of the investigation blanks already in hand, including an analysis of the relief actually given, and a comparative view of the families investigated but refused relief. This effort will throw some light on the validity of the investigations and judgments that have been practiced. More significantly, perhaps, it will give more extensive and presumably more accurate averages of the distribution of age and sex, and the size of family, among families applying for and securing relief, than has previously been available. The study introduces a new attempt to classify all families as "with earning capacity," "without earning capacity," or "with inadequate earning capacity." These classifications will run through all the data mentioned above; they are based upon reports of

age, sex, and physical condition. Blanks are sorted in that manner, and thus the least capable of self-maintenance can be sought out in future relief work if that seems desirable. For reasons of administrative convenience, this work was turned over to the University of Nanking for supervision on behalf of the Committee.

X. ADMINISTRATION

GENERAL.

In Appendix B are found annotated lists of the membership and officers of the International Committee, which in themselves convey some idea of the size, nature and working basis of the policy forming and directing body. Since this report is concerned with the work of relief as such, it is not necessary for the Committee to say more about itself. In relation to the whole enterprise, however, it might be well to point out that the members of the Committee, and other westerners who assisted in relief work, have contributed their services, whether individually or through the consent of their organizations. No member of the Committee is a professional relief worker, and with the single exception of one man for a period of eight months, all have had to carry other duties and interests, some of them heavy and even exacting. However, there are few committees of as long a history in which so large a fraction of the membership has given so much time to the work in hand, and has been ready to rise to rather extended emergencies.

In order to centralize responsibility in current administration, a Director is in immediate supervision of the staff, and signs all orders for payments within the budgets and instructions of the Committee. Month in and month out, the Director's duties have been the heaviest in the organization. The work previously reviewed gives an idea of the complex body of payments and of commodity transactions for which the Treasurer has had to be responsible. Expecting a very brief period of duty, the Committee began with a simple cash book in the hands of the Chairman, but quickly was required to develop complete books and considerable mechanism for handling and checking thousands of financial items. For each of the main periods of the Committee's work, its accounts were audited by the well known firm of Thomson & Co., Shanghai. Their arrangement of our Income and Expenditure account is printed in the two sections as Appendix A of this Report. The auditors declared

themselves well pleased with the books and vouchers, and in several days of work found nothing to disapprove save minor points of classification.

Transport, storage, and distribution of commodities constituted large part of the mechanical work of the International Committee's enterprises throughout the entire seventeen months under review. Much of the grain and coal, and all of the flour received as contributions in the three weeks before the city fell, were stored outside the city in relatively dangerous places. The securing, repairing, and manning of trucks was a tremendous task. Laborers had to be taken to the job and brought back; sometimes they had to carry a long distance to the truck because of defective bridges, and so on. Air raids became almost continuous, and the transport men had some terrific experiences; it was extremely fortunate that the loss of one eye was the only important injury suffered. In the time of best success, twelve trucks were on the road, and some supplementary means were employed. It is best not to discuss here the difficulties of retaining and operating motor transports in the first weeks after the capture. The camps received the necessary minimum of supplies only through remarkable effort and that by narrow margins.

The major storage was that of grain, for which Sage Hall, the auditorium and large chapel of the University of Nanking, proved to be excellently suited under the conditions of the time. Several hundred tons of rice is no small responsibility either for a custodian in time of disorder, or for the floor of a building. Gasoline and motor oil, clothing and cod liver oil, cash in tens of thousands of dollars, each presented its own peculiar problems of preservation and of handling. Once again it may be said, that the Committee was extremely fortunate in suffering no significant loss, with much thanks to the prevailing exertion and honesty within the organization.

A word more must be said about the bearing of actual conditions upon the work that had to be done. For weeks Nanking had scarcely a vehicle in civilian hands, and it was months before even a fraction of public transport was restored. Yet workers of the Committee had to get over considerable areas as soon as it was safe for the people to scatter somewhat. In particular, investigators in homes could be speeded up in their long tasks if they could be taken and fetched, perhaps in groups.

to the parts of the city in which they were to work for a day. An enormous amount of work was done on foot, but sometimes that was downright wasteful. Again, the disappearance of banking from Nanking, even of small exchange shops for a long time, placed many extra burdens upon the Committee's own tasks and aided to its duties in aiding others. No telephone service has been available; for long months no regular transportation from Shanghai or other points outside Nanking. Most of the enormous amount of detailed and supervisory work has been carried on under primitive conditions not yet fully remedied. STAFF.

In the era of the camps, the sanitary squads, and the Committee's policemen, running say to the end of January, 1938, almost 1,500 persons were listed as on the Committee's staff. All were on a volunteer basis, expecting short service. The policemen passed out of the picture, some squads too literally so. The sanitary squads were soon cut down. But the large number of workers in the camps, as described under that topic, had to be maintained. When they needed it, staff members could receive rice like other refugees, which indeed they were, with few exceptions.

By February it was necessary to arrange maintenance allowances for workers who were retained. The voluntary system could not be long continued among poor people, most of whom had been thoroughly looted and many of whom had lost their homes entirely. Moreover the Committee's workers included a good many, particularly in the more responsible positions, who were formerly clerks, teachers, and small shopkeepers. They were prepared neither to enter the ranks of coolies employed largely by the military, nor to join the crowds of nocturnal roughs who completed the pulling to pieces of thousands of buildings; and they had little to hope for in the way of other opportunity, except in the gradual and fractional recovery of petty business. From then right through to the present, allowances to staff have largely been in the nature of work relief, part of it to laborers and servants, part to men of the long gown class. The general scale has run like this: \$25 to \$35 per month for investigators and the more important of the supervisory and clerical workers; around \$20 for clerks and general second rank men; \$10 in the camps for laborers and servants, later rising to \$15 for semi-permanent workers. Even the

higher allowances have hardly kept large families in a bare living condition, and small families have not lived in luxury on what is something like a mill-worker's pay.

March of 1938 represents a midpoint in the work of Period I, when the large staff of the original enterprise had been reduced, and the camps were being cut down. Then there were 15 Chinese volunteers directly attached to the work of the Committee (besides many Chinese on the staffs of Christian organizations who gave part or full time to work in the camps); and 503 workers receiving allowances, of whom 55 were classed as investigators and distributors or supervisors, 299 as office and clerical (most of whom were really petty supervisors of a group of refugees in a certain section of a camp), and 149 as servants and watchmen. The total paid in allowances was \$4,725, or about \$9.50 per man on the average. This very low average is due to two facts: some were let go with less than the full month's allowance; and many in the camps arranged to share the original allotment for ten men among fifteen, or the like.

By the summer the camps had been closed out, and work was on the basis of outdoor relief, with the Joint Project of food distribution as the largest single enterprise. In August for example, there were 8 Chinese volunteers; and 45 paid workers, of whom 12 were investigators and distributors, 15 were office and clerical men, and 18 were watchmen, servants, and laborers. The total of allowances was \$968, or about \$21.50 per man. After a still lighter autumn, a heavier program was inaugurated from December, of which February, 1939, is a representative month. Then there were 8 Chinese volunteers, and 70 who required allowances, of whom 28 were investigators and distributors, 21 office and clerical men, and 21 watchmen, servants, and laborers. Allowances totalled \$1,700, or about \$24.50 per man. April was the final and heaviest month of this program, running 82 paid workers at \$2,100. Then the maintained staff was cut to two men.

One or two words of explanation are in order. In the later Period, servants were necessary chiefly to care for grain in the godown, to carry it from the godown to the distributing office across the street, and then to measure it out against tickets, while helping the distributors and watchmen to handle the crowds. The importance and function of the investigators and office men will appear in a description of the process by

which relief has been administered during the major efforts of Period II, and which was partly developed during Period I, as in portions of the work done by the Rehabilitation Commission.

How It's Done

Family requests for aid were received through personal delivery or by mail (which some refugees imagined to be more effective, and which certainly was more convenient), usually in the form of scraps of paper scrawled with one or more names, an address, the number of mouths in the family, and occasionally with other information or petition. Committee workers pasted these scraps upon a serially numbered application-information blank with spaces for the names, ages, indications of sex, physical conditions, education, former occupation, present occupation, and current income of each member of the family; plus details of the place and type of work of the head. The blank also had spaces for the judgment of the investigator and of a possible second investigator, and for recommended grant in indicated units of rice, beans, garments, pieces of bedding, cash, cod liver oil, and milk powder (of which usually only one or two would be employed); or suggested transfer to the hospital, work relief, or small loan. Finally for the decision of the responsible head, approving or modifying the investigator's proposals.

The blanks were sorted by streets, and checked against an accumulating file for possible duplications. Streets proved better index guides than the common Chinese surnames; and an address was less likely to be met with twice in a confusing manner than the frequent duplicates among Chinese personal names. At this stage each new blank was checked against an accumulating file of previous blanks, to avoid duplications; and at all later stages of the whole process workers were continually watching for duplications, sometimes presented in the name of a second member of the same family, who perhaps had a different surname. One to three days' stint was given out to each investigator, say 30 to 50 blanks per day of applicants living in the same locality.

The work of the investigator was of primary importance to the whole enterprise. He first checked the address and names and number of family members, calling for police registration slips, and using the answers of children and neighbors when desirable. He could also call upon the officers of the local tithing system if there was a question of changed location or recent

alteration in the resident membership of the family; and if his total efforts still left him in doubt about some part of the inquiry, he could request a second investigation later. An able investigator soon learned to detect misrepresentation, for which the ordinary penalty was immediate dropping of the whole matter. Many obvious drug addicts were also dropped forthwith. The actual economic condition of the family he examined by methods that a westerner would consider inquisitorial, sometimes opening the boxes in which their clothing and other small possessions might be concealed.

The investigator's blanks with recommendations were returned to the desk of the superintendent of distribution, who indicated any point of doubt, and endorsed or modified or suspended the recommendations. The blanks were then passed to the men in charge of the distribution of different types of relief, most of them going to the food department, of course; some to the clothing and bedding department, and others to the group of less frequently used types of relief. These men checked again the blank and particularly the recommendation, raising any question that they wished. All blanks then passed under the inspection of the Director who affixed his seal.

Next came notification by messenger to each family approved for a particular grant of relief, naming a day and hour for distribution. When a member of the family appeared, he exchanged his notification slip for a distribution ticket. He (often she) could actually get the allotted relief only after telling the name of the family head, the address, and the number of mouths, in exact tally with the report in the Committee's hands.

Grain was measured out in the presence of the recipient. This was ordinarily the end of the Committee's effort for that case, apart from the filing of the investigator's blank with the distribution tickets used for that family. It should be added that certain names were recommended or referred to the Committee's office by individuals known to it; with few exceptions, they were investigated and handled much as others. At times the Committee was able to secure the help of some Christian workers for undertaking or checking investigations in particular localities. Finally, the administration from time to time sent out men to go over samples of the work of each investigator, to be sure that his reports were properly accurate and dependable.

A large part of the Chinese who could naturally be called upon to undertake tasks of public welfare, great or humble, have long since left the city. Generally speaking, the available human material is not such as to arouse enthusiasm. Yet from the very beginning the Committee was remarkably fortunate to secure the active aid, often voluntary, of a number of men who usefully carried heavy burdens over a long period of time. Scores of others did their lesser duties well, and many more gave no reason for serious complaint. The record is not perfect for efficiency nor for honesty. Yet a very small percentage of the Committee's resources went to others than the very poor for whom they were intended. Given the whole situation, there is reason to be grateful for the work of the staff, and for the fact that no critical trouble occurred within the organization.

XI. SUMMARIZED FINANCIAL REPORT

This report is taken from the audited Income and Expenditure Accounts, as certified by Thomson & Co., for the two periods December 1, 1937 to May 31, 1938, and June 1, 1938 to April 30, 1939. The Accounts as audited are found in full in Appendix A. Here the main headings only are presented, in figures rounded to the nearest thousand.

<i>Income</i>	<i>Period I</i>	<i>Period II</i>	<i>Total</i>
1. Contributions	\$428,000	\$84,000	\$512,000
2. Sales	26,000	7,000	33,000
3. Profit on Exchange	—	5,000	5,000
Total Income	\$454,000	\$96,000	\$550,000
Brought forward	—	182,000	—
Available for use	\$454,000	\$278,000	\$550,000
<i>Expenditure: Relief</i>			
4. Food and Fuel	\$178,000	\$164,000	\$342,000
5. Joint Project	—	22,000	22,000
6. Housing	11,000	2,000	13,000
7. Health and Sanitation	3,000	—	3,000
8. Cash Relief	57,000	12,000	69,000
9. Work Relief	8,000	7,000	15,000
10. Special Projects	2,000	22,000	24,000
11. Agricultural Loans	2,000	8,000	10,000
12. Miscellaneous	—	1,000	1,000
13. Small Loans	—	1,000	1,000
Total for Relief	\$261,000	\$239,000	\$500,000
<i>Expenditure: Overhead</i>			
14. Staff	\$3,000	\$2,000	\$5,000
15. General Expenses	8,000	6,000	14,000
Total Expenditures	\$272,000	\$247,000	\$519,000
Surplus at close of period..	182,000	31,000	31,000
Available for use	454,000	278,000	550,000

Explanatory Notes, numbered to correspond with items above:

2. Sales receipts were from certain commodities received as contributions, and from the fees collected from persons able to pay for rice-gruel in the kitchens operated during Period I.
3. Profit on exchange was realized from gifts in foreign currencies received and reported in Period I, but not actually exchanged therein.
5. Spent almost entirely for rice and wheat, as reported under Food Distribution. (This figure could therefore be added to Number 4 above).
6. Staff and Labour for 25 refugee camps, plus miscellaneous costs for sanitation, water, light, watchmen, burials.
7. General services, partly in aid of camps. See elsewhere for information of the health services provided by the International Red Cross and other organizations.
10. Bedding and clothing \$17,000. Surveys \$6,500.
11. The figure of \$10,000 represents the total sum made available for loans, parts of which are already being used a second time after repayment, and parts of which were loaned only recently. The sum is here charged to Cost of Relief because it has been entrusted to the University of Nanking as an Agricultural Welfare Fund (to be administered preferably on a loan basis).
13. The sum listed is for staff. 149 Loans have been granted, for a total sum of \$7,695, of which \$5,340 was outstanding at the close of the Period. In the Auditor's statement (Appendix A) this sum is recorded under "Surplus Available" and is part of \$31,000 reported above.

XIII. OUTLOOK

The International Relief Committee has from the beginning hoped that its duties might be required for only a brief time. As each new unfolding of distress has come, a seasonal program continuing at longest for a few months has been adopted, after which expenditures and staff have been sharply cut down and the situation re-examined. In the course of time, it is natural that fewer members of the Committee are able and ready to give large amounts of time to relief work, usually for adequate reasons. Satisfactory Chinese workers are also fewer, owing to continued withdrawals from Nanking of the more useful type of men, or to their absorption in other tasks which also press upon the shortage of good personnel. The easiest course is to disband, seeking justification in the fact that an emergency organization has already worked a year and half under serious difficulties.

But the needs of the people make such a course impossible. The Committee's own experience and studies, as presented in this Report, are crowded by a desperate poverty grossly abnormal for this region. No general economic improvement is in sight, while factors of a military and governmental nature continue to worsen the currency situation and potentially to endanger much else. It is not for us to assess the program of the Japanese authorities or the attentions of the Chinese; we are here merely observing the actual influences at work upon the people's livelihood, some of which originate on one military side and some on the other. Prosperity and security seem pitifully remote from the local people.

Even the picture drawn by the past twelve months is recently made more grim. Until February of this year, rice was sold at around \$8.00 per *shih tan*, not much above the common price of previous times. But from May until early August, when this Report is completed, the price has been \$17.00 and above. Increases in several supplementary foods have been similar. There has been no improvement in employment or change in wages from the hard figures shown in the Committee's survey

XII. CONTRIBUTORS AND COOPERATION

A list of contributors who gave \$1,000 or more in cash or in commodities will include all but \$7,000 of the Committee's income from gifts. In several cases, notably those of the Nanking International Relief Association (Shanghai), these are compound contributions, made up of a large number of individual gifts.

From and through the Nanking Municipal Government	
(1937)	\$189,890.00
Nanking International Relief Association (in addition	
to services and smaller gifts)	92,436.09
National Relief Commission	100,000.00
American Advisory Committee for Civilian Relief in	
China	72,378.40
American Advisory Committee, American Red Cross	15,000.00
British Fund for Relief in China	10,000.00
Mrs. George A. Fitch (for various American groups)	5,760.57
Golden Rule Foundation	5,949.14
Ta Tung Flour Mill	5,000.00
China Club of Seattle	2,521.01
Anonymous	2,255.00
China Club of Southern California	2,000.00
Rotary International	1,039.31
Mr. Ching Sheng Tang	1,000.00

Total gifts received in units of more than \$1,000 \$505,229.52

Gifts in service and transportation by business and municipal organizations and by private individuals in Nanking, particularly in the period of preparation of the Safety Zone, were very useful. Possibly the greatest collective gift of all was that of the use of buildings for refugees; in the case of one institution alone this meant some \$30,000 in minimum repairs for six months of hard usage. The contribution of personnel, full time or part time, western and Chinese, by missions, institutions, business firms, and churches, was indispensable. The auditors gave their services in two successive years, and the British and American

navies made many a troublesome exertion in transport of supplies and transfer of persons and radiograms.

Special mention should be made of the Nanking International Relief Association (Shanghai), an organization made up largely of former residents of Nanking who not only made repeated and generous contributions of their own, but through their committees and officers solicited other gifts and performed a multitude of agency services in the months when communication and transport required unusual effort.

The uncomfortable position of neutrals who try to do active service in the midst of war, is such as to preclude full and frank thanks to governments. But it is possible to say in regard to the Chinese and to the Japanese authorities, that the opportunity to aid common people in distress has been highly valued; and that assistance in various forms, both before and after the crisis, has been gratefully received. Of the German, British, and American diplomatic and consular services, it is difficult to restrain the Committee's appreciation for generous assistance given with personal grace and interest in humanitarian work.

In the practice of relief, the Nanking International Committee has worked in cooperation with other bodies and institutions serving in Nanking, as mentioned frequently in preceding sections of this Report: notably, the Nanking International Red Cross, the (International) Red Swastika Society, and the local Chinese Red Cross Society; the University Hospital; Christian schools and churches. With the larger of these groups there have been links in personnel and in program that have maintained continual touch. As members of the International Relief Committee or as important men on its staff there have worked together Protestant and Catholic Christians, Mohammedans, and an officer of the (Buddhist) Red Swastika Society; men of several nationalities—German, American, British, Chinese, Japanese, Danish. The staff developed their own short name for the organization, simply "International" (Committee). No barrier has been found in race or nationality or religion among men who desired to aid the poor in time of need.

of employment, earnings, and expenditure. Indeed, many shops have fallen into new distress. The result is semi-starvation for very large numbers of persons. Crop reports are fairly good. But political and military lines are now drawn in such a manner that a narrowly constricted area is all that can supply grain to the cities of the lower Yangtze Valley. There is no transport free to bring grain from a distance, even if it could be financed. The autumn harvest may be expected to bring a brief improvement, succeeded by several months of higher prices and greater scarcity than this past year.

Under such conditions, the International Relief Committee feels that it must do what it can for those who suffer most acutely. Studies and discussions are in progress and in prospect, which will result in a plan of moderate proportions, suiting method and scale as well as possible to the "given" factors of local circumstances as they appear in early autumn, and to such resources of funds and personnel as are within reasonable expectation. The Committee ended Period I with resources of \$182,000; but as of May 1, 1939, at the close of Period II, it had a surplus of only \$31,000 on its books. Of this amount, some is out on loan, and the Committee has aided some small welfare undertakings in the early summer. Considerable gifts will be needed in the autumn and continuing through the winter, if appropriate service is to be rendered to the large community of Nanking.

The Nanking Committee welcomes information and counsel from relief organizations in other parts of China, and from friends in other countries. The problem of methods is always with us, ever presenting itself in new forms. Philanthropic persons all over the world will appreciate the Chinese saying, born of multiple experience: "To open the door of benevolence is a difficult matter."

APPENDIX A. COPIES OF AUDITORS' STATEMENTS

NANKING INTERNATIONAL RELIEF COMMITTEE INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT

FOR THE PERIOD 1ST DECEMBER, 1937 TO 31ST MAY, 1938

INCOME

Contributions

Cash and Commodities	\$427,993.22
Sale of Commodities	22,126.71
Kitchen Receipts	4,530.98

	\$454,650.91	
Less: Loss on Exchange	280.47	\$454,370.44

EXPENDITURE

Relief

Food and Fuel

Commodities	\$160,616.62	
Fuel	10,192.30	
Transportation	5,698.86	
Food Commission Expenses ..	287.31	
Kitchen Expenses	384.82	
Field Staff	410.60	
Labour	756.70	\$178,347.21

Housing

Refugee Camp Expenses	\$ 2,615.75	
Field Staff	4,983.06	
Labour	3,312.42	10,812.23

Health and Sanitation

Milk and Cod Liver Oil	\$ 283.70	
General Expenses	414.46	
Field Staff	583.80	
Labour	2,213.02	3,494.98

Cash Relief

Cash Payments	\$ 54,588.20	
Field Staff	1,995.00	
Servants	69.00	56,652.20

<i>Work Relief</i>			
Disbursements	\$	7,464.18	
Field Staff		150.00	
Servants		8.00	7,622.18
<i>Special Projects</i>			
Surveys	\$	1,503.90	
Seeds for Gardeners		78.50	
Bedding and Clothing		498.52	2,080.92
<i>Agricultural Loans</i>			
Loans	\$	1,840.00	
Field Administration		57.08	1,897.08
<i>Relief</i>			
<i>Overhead Expenses</i>			
<i>Staff</i>			
Office	\$	2,100.04	
Police and Servants		895.60	
<i>General Expenses</i>			
Transportation		6,856.32	
Office Expenses		715.11	
Zone Inspection and Flags ..		663.30	
Rehabilitation Expenses		271.25	11,501.62
TOTAL EXPENDITURE FOR PERIOD			\$272,408.42
SURPLUS AVAILABLE AT 31ST MAY, 1938			
<i>Cash</i>			
National City Bank of New			
York, Shanghai	\$105,792.81		
- do - U.S.\$1,760.10	5,949.14		
American Embassy Deposit,			
Nanking	27,100.00		
Cash held in Nanking	4,996.83		
Cash held in Shanghai	10,000.00		
Cash in transit	169.70		
	\$154,008.48		
Commodities	30,361.03		
Advances	1,155.00		
Accounts Receivable	380.18		
	\$185,904.69		
Less: Accounts Payable	3,942.67	181,962.02	
		\$454,370.44	\$454,370.44

We have prepared the above account from the books and vouchers of the Committee and the information and explanations given to us, and certify it to be correct in accordance therewith.

THOMSON & COMPANY
Chartered Accountants,
Honorary Auditors.

Shanghai, 4th August, 1938

NANKING INTERNATIONAL RELIEF COMMITTEE
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT

FOR THE PERIOD 1ST JUNE, 1938 TO 30TH APRIL, 1939

SURPLUS AVAILABLE AT 1ST JUNE, 1939..... \$181,962.02
INCOME

Contributions	83,666.87	
Sale of Commodities	1,384.46	
Sale of Truck	1,500.00	
Sale of Fuel	4,405.03	
Kitchen Receipts	27.96	
Profit on Exchange	4,908.58	

\$277,854.92

EXPENDITURE

Relief

Food and Fuel

Commodities	\$150,497.88	
Milk Powder	474.50	
Fuel	2,869.00	
Transportation	442.30	
Food Commission Expenses ..	1,027.88	
Field Staff and Labour	8,294.73	\$163,606.29

Housing

Refugee Camp Expenses	\$ 982.81	
Field Staff and Labour	738.41	1,721.22

Cash Relief

Cash Payments	\$ 10,671.51	
Field Staff and Labour	1,032.80	11,704.31

Work Relief

Disbursements	\$ 5,856.69	
Field Staff and Labour	952.00	6,808.69

Special Projects

Surveys	\$ 4,910.37	
Seeds for Gardeners	388.66	
Bedding and Clothing	16,901.73	22,200.76

Joint Project		21,198.87
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<i>Agricultural Loans</i>		
Loans	\$ 8,080.55	
Field Administration	147.47	8,228.02
<i>Miscellaneous Expenses</i>		
		1,488.98
<i>Small Loans</i>		
Staff Expenses		1,076.00
<i>Relief</i>		
<i>Overhead Expenses</i>		
<i>Staff</i>		
Office, Police, Servants	\$ 2,363.50	
<i>General Expenses</i>		
Transportation	2,442.86	
Office Expenses	2,586.60	
Rehabilitation Expenses	247.14	7,640.10
	1939	246,673.15

SURPLUS AVAILABLE AT 30TH APRIL,

<i>Cash</i>			
National City Bank of New York, Shanghai	\$ 8,457.74		
- do - U.S.\$2,273.85	13,643.10		
Cash held in Nanking	1,428.29		
	\$ 23,529.13		
<i>Small Loans</i>	5,338.29		
<i>Commodities</i>	2,314.35	31,181.77	
		\$277,854.92	\$277,854.92

We have prepared the above Account from the books and vouchers of the Committee and the information and explanations given to us, and certify it to be correct in accordance therewith.

THOMSON & COMPANY
Chartered Accountants,
Honorary Auditors.

Shanghai, 15th May, 1939

APPENDIX B. PERSONNEL OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

1. Membership November 22, 1937, to June, 1938.

†John H. D. Rabe	German	Siemens Company.
*J. M. Hansen	Danish	The Texas Company
*P. H. Munro-Faure	British	Asiatic Petroleum Company.
W. P. Mills	American	Northern Presbyterian Mission.
Lewis S. C. Smythe	American	University of Nanking.
M. S. Bates	American	University of Nanking.
*G. Schultze-Pantin	German	Hsinmin Trading Company.
*Ivor Mackay	British	Butterfield & Swire.
Charles H. Riggs	American	University of Nanking.
Eduard Sperling	German*	Shanghai Insurance Company.
*D. J. Lean	British	Asiatic Petroleum Company.
*P. R. Shields	British	International Export Company.
C. S. Trimmer	American	University Hospital.
*J. V. Pickering	American	Standard Vacuum Oil Company.
John Magee	American	American Church Mission.

†Withdrawn from Nanking by order of his company. February 1938.

*Withdrawn from Nanking by order of their respective companies by early December 1937. These men were therefore able to participate only in the organizing work of the International Committee, leaving a small group for the succeeding months. (It should be noted, however, that several other persons participated actively in service for refugees, and were so closely related with the Committee that there was little distinction).

2. Membership from June, 1938, and continuing.

W. P. Mills	American	Northern Presbyterian Mission.
M. S. Bates	American	University of Nanking.
§Charles H. Riggs	American	University of Nanking.
Eduard Sperling	German	Shanghai Insurance Company.
*D. J. Lean	British	Asiatic Petroleum Company.
P. R. Shields	British	International Export Company.
C. S. Trimmer	American	University Hospital.
J. V. Pickering	American	Standard-Vacuum Oil Company.
†John Magee	American	American Church Mission.
Hubert L. Sone	American	Nanking Theological Seminary.
*Ernest H. Forster	American	American Church Mission.

*James H. McCallum	American	United Christian Missionary Society.
F. C. Gale	American	Methodist Mission.
James F. Kearney	American	Society of Jesus.
†C. Y. Hsu	Chinese	University Hospital.
‡S. Yasumura	Japanese	Japan Baptist Church.
**Albert N. Steward	American	University of Nanking.

§Withdrawn from Nanking for furlough and transfer, February 1939.

*Withdrawn from Nanking for furlough, June and July, 1939.

†Returned from furlough. May, 1939.

‡Elected December, 1938. Mr. Yasumura withdrew from Nanking, February, 1939.

**Elected April, 1939.

(June, 1938 is only a representative date for the changes connected with the names of Messrs. Smythe, Lean, Shields, and Pickering).

3. Officers of the Committee.

Chairman:

John H. D. Rabe	November, 1937 to February, 1938
W. P. Mills	February, 1938 to May, 1939
M. S. Bates	From May, 1939

Secretary:

Lewis S. C. Smythe	November, 1937 to July, 1938
Ernest H. Forster	July, 1938 to April, 1939
James F. Kearney	From May, 1939

Treasurer:

Christian Kroeger	December, 1937 to February, 1938
Lewis S. C. Smythe	February to July, 1938
James H. McCallum	July, 1938 to April, 1939
Albert N. Steward	From May, 1939

Administrative Director:

George Fitch	December, 1937 to February, 1938
Hubert L. Sone	From February, 1938

Note 1. Mr. Mills was elected Vice-Chairman shortly before Mr. Rabe's withdrawal in February, 1938; and for a time thereafter was considered as Acting Chairman, with Mr. Rabe retaining his original title. However in practice Mr. Mills was Chairman, and soon was recognized as such. Mr. Lean was Vice-Chairman May to July 1939.

Note 2. Mr. Kroeger, German, of Carlowitz & Company, was not a member of the Committee, but served in various capacities at the request of the Chairman. Mr. Fitch, American, Young Men's Christian Association, was also not a member of the Committee. The original working basis was that the Director could refer problems of policy to the Committee, and receive its backing or instructions in matters of difficulty. However, the Committee as a whole was a working body throughout the bad months of 1937-38, and several of its members have continually given much time to detailed tasks.

