

Nanking, Dec. 20th 1937

Mrs. Smythe

Dearest Mardie, Chicks, and Folks: .....

I will regret to the end of time that I did not get to write up each day's events and each day's reactions to them for the last ten days. They may not have shaken the world, but they have shaken us! ... But I have been either too busy to write or else too tired and discouraged to write or too bewildered to even think connectedly evenings, or else had my typewriter left at the office.....

I had better go back to Saturday morning, Dec. 11th. My last written press release was on the night of the 10th in which I gave the telegrams sent on the night of the 9th asking both sides to agree to a three day truce for the turnover of the city. That Saturday was a day of heavy gunfire and at noon we were all worrying about, Bob with his many wounded cases at the Hospital. Small shells landed in front of Foochoyng Hotel (slightly wounding Mr. Sperling's hand) but one landing back of Foochoyng Hotel killed and wounded about 20 people. That forenoon 9 shells landed from there west to the alleyway by Plopper's house. So that had been a hot afternoon. That was in the southern border of our Zone and the first day artillery had reached us, so we were anxious to see how well the Japanese gunners would live up to their telegram! Well Bob came in late and remarked, "It looks like the Fourth of July! Never saw so many American flags in my life around here!" Charlie replied, "And it sounds like it too!" That afternoon we had no more shells land and the press conference was an informal affair. We had worked hard all day to get T'ang's men to get soldiers out of the Zone, especially around Wutaishan. Eh Hsien ping to clear the Zone promised the day before did not materialize. So we did not have much to say at the press conference. But we had an informal chat with the press men and stated that we thought the Zone as a place of relative safety rather than a place that had been formally declared in effect. T'ang's men asked that day if we had heard about the truce from the Japanese. That night the gunfire was much heavier. Shells were landing in around Taiping Lu. Sone counted the seconds between the flashes and reported that the report and it was 6 or 7 seconds. So we went to bed feeling that the shells were landing about a mile and a half away. Mills slept in the basement, but we went to our regular beds! The barrage did not come closer so we slept fairly well.

Sunday Morning, Dec. 12th, gunfire was still heavy though there was a lull towards

morning. We went to headquarters at 5 Ninghai Road and a little later Col. Lung and Mr. Chow came from Gen. T'ang's office and asked if we would take over the wounded soldiers. We replied that we could not give any safety to anyone unless the Chinese soldiers were gotten out of the area. If they would do that, we would do what we could about the wounded soldiers. So while they went to convey that message, we talked over and decided we would have to organize an International Red Cross, which Magge had been working on for three weeks, pronto. To our surprise they came back between 11 and 12 and said that Gen. T'ang wanted us to send a man out between the fighting lines to propose the three-day truce to the Japanese directly! We worked around on that with details of how it should be done: Sparling was to go out with a white flag and white sign saying "Please stop firing, we have a message for you." Also we were to telegraph the Ambassador in Hankow and the Japanese in Shanghai. We worked out the message carefully and got their agreement. It was nearly 3 before it was all fixed up, - guess they left about two, though. Mills got some bed sheets from the house and we had the message painted on one of them. We worked in the greatest secrecy, because after the word had been sent to T'ang, we decided we might be involved in treason, because they were not anxious for us to send word to Chiang Kai-shek. But we worked up the message to Johnson afterwards and decided to insist on his being told to notify both the Chinese and the Japanese authorities that this was proceeding. Well, they did not come back. Nor did we get any lunch. Most of the fighting that afternoon was off to the south, and we at headquarters heard very little of it until some Chinese big guns west of us opened up. But in our concentration on these internal (inside the office problems) we did not notice it. So when we went down to the press conference, yes, on the night of the 12th, we remarked that it had been quieter! McDaniel snorted. We found that he and other press men had found the Japanese laying down a regular barrage right along Chung Shan Tung Lu and Kuo Fu Lu (so they said). But by that time we knew the jiggs were about up, because at 4:30 there was a dash out in front, and a preaching squad led by Dean Tang we had sent out the day before also to explain to the soldiers in hopes of getting them away from Wutai Shan (so as not to involve anti-foreign feeling on the Zone) came in with word that retreating Chinese troupes had tried to commandeer their car. The retreating straggling troops were going right through the Zone. There was great excitement. We had feared the retreat of the troops as the worst of all events we had to face. I insisted on sitting down before staff conference at 5:00 and jotting down what we would do. One was to let the troops go thru the Zone if

Written by a professor of sociology



L. S. Dec. 12th

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they would disarm! We had a brief staff conference and then a brief press conference, and decided to let people get home early. On the way home, we found whole regiments of Chinese troops marching through Shanghai and Ninghai Roads, so we kidded George about his announcement at the Press Conference that we would disarm them! They were in full equipment. Searle remarked when we got home that when that night was over we would probably be past the worst. I was glad the Chinese troops were on their way out in good season because we knew the plan to keep them here to fight in the walled city was like keeping them in a rat-trap. Shell fire continued through the night and machine gun fire. But we slept in our regular beds still. During the night about 3, machine-gun fire sounded close, but there was nothing I could do about it. However I was conscience stricken that we were not out on the perimeter to stop the Japanese from fighting into the Zone. About 6:00 I thought the machine-gun fire was at Shanghai Road, so I decided to get up and investigate. I went down Ping Tsang Hsiang and met a policeman moving his stuff in. He had come from beyond Sing Kai Ko and said there were no Japanese there yet.

(Pardon me, I squeezed over into the 13th. But there were no shells that landed in our Zone on the 12th, so my spot map for that day was clear. That was one reason we slept so peacefully with shellfire going on all night! We trusted the Japanese gunners implicitly not to shell the Zone.)

Monday morning, Dec. 13th

As I went down the road on the morning of the 13th, I saw people with their bedding headed out of the Zone. So I told them they could find places in the Supreme Court farther north. They looked at me in amazement that the lao peh sing could live in the Supreme Court! We had not given out a final announcement of public buildings because the papers stopped -- Central News went out the night of the ninth and we had been releasing through them. Our "Safety Measures" warning people to take cover got out Saturday morning, but did not get in print for distribution as handbills. I found people on the road looking for food, so I went over to Wutaishan to see if the soup kitchen was ready to open there. They had not opened the day before because so many Chinese soldiers were stationed there and would eat their rice. Officers had up to about that time held them up on construction because they said they were in a fortified area. I found a number of banners in the wrong place down there and was full of gusto in getting them down, explaining to the crowds that gathered where the boundaries were and it would confuse the Japanese when they came if they were inside the Zone. I went on down to the corner of Hang Chung Lu and Shanghai Road. On the way only saw a very few straggling Chinese soldiers in retreat, and they were peaceably buying things from vendors along the way. There had been no apparent disorder in the Zone during the night, but retreating troops had discarded various forms of equipment. I came back and went along Kwangchow Lu to see if any soldiers were still there. Found the encampment at the foot of Wutaishan cleared out and a fairly good Nash left. We had been getting in all the things we could, so determined to send Hatz down to salvage that car. Went over to Ninghai Road by Ginling and found our flags out of place and told people about it. Found several discarded uniforms in the road, so told people and police to carry them out of the Zone. Then back up through Tao Ku Tsuen home. I did not realize it was 8:15! The gang were thru breakfast, but I ate. They were glad to know it was so peaceful out. After eating, George took me over much the same road to see some things and we checked up on the Nash, then to Ginling to consult Minnie. She asked me why I looked so weary, but I told her I was enjoying it!

At the office we learned that Col. Lung had left Mr. Rabe \$30,000 for the Red Cross and I was terribly anxious to get that committee organized before ten o'clock. Well we got hold of John Magee and Forster and I practically dictated a committee and its chairman, sec., etc. He was for going right out to pick up the wounded first. Then I suggested that he as chairman and Forster as secretary go the three places designated and see if the staff there would cooperate: Waichiaopu, T'entaopu and Chuinchengpu. I set to work with Mills and others to get out instructions to be lithographed pronto to the people as to what to do at the "critical moment". Rabe thought the Japanese would machine-gun the streets, so we told the people to take cover. Word was to go out through our housing organization and later by handbill. Well on our way home at one we found that the Japanese had reached Kwangchow Road. We drove down there and met a small detachment of about six Japanese soldiers, our first---but far from our last! (At the corner of Shanghai Road and Kwangchow Road, they were searching a bus, but not harming the people.)



L.S.\* Dec.13th

So at lunch we tried to spot the Japanese flags over the city. Even thought the five on Drum Tower, top and each corner, were Japanese flags, but later learned they were still Zone flags. No Japanese flag on the Japanese Embassy yet. As we started back to the office in the car with Fitch, he wanted to also see the Japanese, so we turned down Shanghai Road. As we did so, we saw a small detachment of Chinese soldiers, about 20, marching southwards. Hatz came sizzling down the road and told them the Japanese were just over the hill. So they marched northward again, led by their brave young officer. That reminds me, we did see them before lunch. Two men came to our office, Chinese lower officers, and asked for protection. One they were able to give citizen's clothes, but the other left. He was the young officer leading this detachment. We drove down, saw the Japanese, and came back to warn them to disarm and get away. But they despairingly said they had no "p'ien ih". At the office we decided Rabe and I must contact the Japanese at once. So we got Cola, who could speak some Japanese, and started out to explain three things to them - as high an officer as we could find: The Zone, the new Red Cross Committee, and the fact there were some disarmed soldiers that had entered the Zone. Magee and Forster had found only a staff at the Chuinchengpu, and staffs at both other places gone. But they were willing to help. So he was keen to organize and decided to set up first at the Waichiaopu and get that going. Fighting was going on further north, so did not know how much he could do. We went down Shanghai Road and found no Japanese soldiers on Kwangchow Road. Near the Seminary we found a number of dead civilians, about 20, whom we later learned had been killed by the Japanese because they ran. That was the terrible tale that day, any one who ran was shot, and either killed or wounded. Our instructions were off, but had not reached the people! But along that street we found a Japanese soldier, riding nonchalantly along on a bicycle with rifle strapped over his back. We hailed him, and he told us we would find an officer on Han Chung Lu near Sing Kao Ko. Sure enough we found a detachment of about 100 men sitting on the south side of the road, and a large group of Chinese civilians on the opposite side looking at them. We tried to explain to the officer the Zone and drew it on his map of Nanking, note it was not on his map. He said the Hospital would be all right if there was no one in there that shot at the Japanese. About the disarmed soldiers he could not say. So we took what we thought was the cheerful news to the Waichiaopu and found they had already disarmed the extra men there. Then we took John and were going to T'iehchiaopu and Chuinchengpu to disarm all there. Mills advised against it because of fighting in north city where some Chinese soldiers still held on. Chung Shan Road was strewn with stuff thrown away by retreating soldiers. As we approached Shansi Road Circle, a sight startled us; a crowd of men in motley attire crowded around an auto were coming around the corner. We soon found it was Charlie in a car leading a group of disarmed soldiers to the Law College. They hugged that car! At the circle we met a detachment of soldiers in arms. We told them to disarm and some of them did. Yates McDaniel was there to help in the process and had been helping Charlie. Then a man came down Shansi Road riding on a horse and shooting his rifle in the air. We jumped in our car because we thought it was a Japanese and there would be a fight right there! But it turned out to be a Chinese and Hatz took his rifle away from him! At headquarters, nearly 4:00, Mills decided against going on, but John went to disarm the Tehtaopu and Chuinchengpu with Cola's assistance. At headquarters we found a mob of men outside that Sperling and others had been disarming. The place was becoming an arsenal! They were marched into the Police headquarters near us. About 1300 in all, and some still in soldiers clothes. (Written Dec.22, '37) We argued the Japanese would not shoot disarmed men. That disarmed soldier problem was our most serious one for the first three days, but it was soon solved, because the Japanese shot all of them -- at least we will not believe otherwise until more of them turn up again. They marched out all of them finally and finished them. We all put up a terrific fight - in words only - to save those 1300 Wednesday afternoon, and the officer promised to leave them till the next day if we would divide them up then. So we went to staff conference quite relieved. In half an hour we were called that they had come back for them. Sure enough there they were with 200 soldiers and were roping them up. We, Rabe and I, sped to Fukuda, or anyone, and got him. He politely assured us they would not shoot them, but not firmly enough for us to believe it. Riggs and Kroger stayed to watch, but the soldiers drove them away. We got back in time to see the last of them march out to their fate.

(In spite of my intention to make this a temporal sequence, it is falling into topical)  
Thursday noon (Dec.16th) Charlie came home crying. "They have taken them all out and shot them." He struggled all morning at the Ministry of Justice (ironically enough) to keep the officer from taking a group of civilians along with the soldiers. The officer



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(Dec 16th cont.) insisted on taking all of them and the police stationed there, 50. Forty police from another place were taken on the same charge of harboring soldiers. To date (12/22/37) about half of the police have returned.

Monday night, 13th Minnie came to report that soldiers had camped on their rice for the soup kitchen, so it could not open the next morning. We went to Rabe's to have one of his men draw up a letter in Japanese to present to the guard the next morning. On the way home we ran on a detachment of soldiers at the corner of Hankow Road and Ping Tsang Hsiang. They were very gruff and told us to "Hurry home." When we got there we found Charlie, Gee and Ku. When they came out of Illick's house after supper, Gee went down to the Univ. gate to see what was going on. He called back excitedly to Charlie, so Charlie went down - first tossing a pistol he had saved from the disarming into the hedge. Found the soldiers had shot a civilian passing by, and were examining Gee very suspiciously because of his University badge. After many attempts, Charlie got them to believe Gee and Ku were his personal servants, so they let them come home with him. They all slept here that night and until we opened the University to protect women about Thursday or Friday.

Tuesday morning, the 14th we all got up and felt the fighting was over. There had been a lot of shooting during the night, but we put that down as caused by the fact the Japanese soldiers were "jittery" their first night in town. Now the Japanese were here; would set up an orderly regime and things would be rosy. I typed out a letter to explain our Zone to the Japanese High Command before breakfast and we got Rabe's man to translate it into Japanese. So Rabe, Forster to represent our Red Cross Committee, and I started out to find them with a Japanese interpreter from the Red Swastika. We ran on to Fukuda at Sing Kai Ko. He is Attache to the Japanese Embassy. He had left here on August 16th. Almost his second sentence was: "The Army wants to make it hard for Nanking, but we are going to try to moderate them." (When we discovered the Army systematically burning the city night before last (written Dec. 22nd) we at last believed his words!) He sent us to the Chung Yang Fang Tien to see an officer. We went up through broken glass and sand to a bedroom and this officer received us in half dress and a bad beard and a face of iron. He merely replied that the High officer had not come. They had made many sacrifices getting to Nanking and the Chinese had shot their people. That was that! As some one said later, "Holy smoke, these Japanese believe their own propaganda!"

Forster wanted to see the ACM property, so we went down Taiping Lu. As on Chung Shan Tung Lu, soldiers in 2's and 3's were going from shop to shop breaking in doors or plate glass windows and taking whatever they wanted, chiefly liquor then. The ACM parish house had one shell hole in it. The church was in tact. Then to Peh Hsia Lu and found Mc's house had been gone through. I picked up three photo albums in the yard. We found two soldiers in the next house at the time. Kiesseling and Bader's had been broken into that morning and also Hempel's Hotel. Hempel today (Dec. 22) swore that there was no looting there by Chinese soldiers before they left. A few Chinese hotels opened up to let people drink of their liquor, but soldiers kept people from robbing ordinary shops. And all the shell fire had done comparatively little damage in South City.

As we came back, we found 50 men being led off roped on Hankow Road just above our house. We argued with the soldiers. Finally Forster stayed with them. I went back to get Rabe and started to Chung Yang Fang Tien. When we got there the officer was too busy to see us; then to Sing Kai Ko and the officers there had no interest. Back up---oh, I forgot one important sentence from the man at Nanking Hotel: "We fight the Chinese soldiers; but we love the common people." ---we wanted to throw his words back in his mouth!--- Back up Chung Shan Lu and found the men had reached the corner of Kwangohow Road, across from S.C.&S. Bank. We argued some more and an officer came by in a car and stopped. He took us to Sing Kai Ko again to see another officer who had just arrived. But he said "Wait till tomorrow when the head man arrives." We showed all these men our letter in Japanese in which we explained the Zone, the disarmed soldiers and the Red Cross. All they saw was the disarmed soldiers! That was our letter of Dec. 14th, which along with the others you may see some day. So all we wrote on the 15th was a simple letter further pleading for the welfare of the disarmed soldiers.

Wednesday morning, Dec. 15th, armed with that new appeal for the disarmed soldiers on the basis of humanity and recognizing the laws of war (both ways!) we were going to see the high man when he came. But before the letter was finished, Fukuda called at our Headquarters to find out what the Zone was! We gave him copies of all the documents and answered his questions about population, food supply, etc. Then Mr. K. Sekiguchi came with cards from



E.S. Dec. 15th (written Dec. 22, '37)

the Captain and Officers of J.I.J M. S. Seta. He was glad to cooperate and would help in starting the power plant. He had had a sailor shot by a sniper, so warned us they had to be careful to get all the soldiers cleaned out. But he was much more dapper than the army men and more congenial. Offered any of us a trip to Shanghai and told us about the Panay and how sorry they were about it all. Meanwhile, Swen, our interpreter from the Red Swastika, a 60 year old former secretary in the Japanese Embassy here, had arranged for us to meet the head of the Special Service Corps who was to arrive that day, at noon. So we dashed down there, and Fukuda was with him to translate. The Chief

(Written Dec. 24th, '37) Back to the interview Wed. noon, Dec. 15th) - The Chief of the Special Service Corps told us they must search the city for Chinese soldiers; would post guards at entrances to Zone; people should return home as soon as possible; trust humanitarian attitude of Japanese Army to care for the disarmed Chinese soldiers; police might patrol within the Zone if armed only with batons; 10,000 tan of rice we had stored in the Zone could be used by us for refugees; telephone, telegraph, a and water must be repaired, so he would go with Rabe to inspect; asked us to assist in getting 100-200 workers for the next day-will pay; will inspect rice locations and guard... The only things actually carried out were to put the disarmed soldiers out of their misery; allow police; call on us daily for help in starting electricity, water and telephone, but at the same time shoot the electricity workers; and so far not interfere with our use of the rice we had stored excepting that soldiers took bags and workers from rice shops, so they all closed for nearly a week. Yesterday they were opening in the garage of this house. The way the situation looks now, most of our rice will go out for soup kitchens, for practically free distribution. We had hoped to sell a large part of it and use the proceeds to buy more, so as to use it as a rotating fund for feeding the refugees through the winter. If we do not sell much, we hope later private traders will start getting rice in- if the Japanese Military will ever wake up to the fact that normal economic life on even a restricted scale must get started if people are not to starve. At present we are pretty much in the commandeering stage similar to the early days of the Soviet Revolution in Russia- and yet the Japanese Army is fighting Communism!

When we got back from that interview, we ran into the officer taking off the 13,000 men in the police headquarters, which I have already told you about. We were all much depressed that evening about the shooting of disarmed soldiers and the increasing amount of looting and raping by Japanese soldiers. The thing many had feared, either looting by retreating Chinese soldiers or disorders amongst the civilian population, did not occur at all! The one thing we did not expect: raping, robbery, and killing by Japanese soldiers did occur and continues through with decreasing intensity since Sunday.

Dec. 16th - As a result of the terrible situation we are facing, the next morning, Thursday, before breakfast I drew up a letter which was criticized at the breakfast table and added to. Besides presenting a list of 15 cases of disorder, (the beginning of our file of cases which now reaches 147), we asked for searching to be done by squads under a responsible officer, guards at the entrances to the Zone at night to keep stray soldiers out, and passes for windshields of cars and trucks- our trucks were at a standstill. So that morning foreigners started trucking. Zial did this well for a few days, but then was siezed in a car by Japanese soldiers and lost his nerve, and would not go on the road. So I think it was Friday or Saturday that Plummer began conveying a truck and coolies! It was that noon, Thursday, that Charlie came home crying. He had been hit twice by an officer. That night Minnie asked for foreign men to come over. We thought it was to stand watch, so three of us went to take turns, Searle, Charlie, and I. I slept in the little house near the gate where Mr. Chen stays. The other two up at the new faculty house, empty though. Nothing happened but a soldier brought in a half tan of rice late in the evening!

Friday-Dec. 17th we got out our letter of the 17th, copy of which is at the Embassy, having duplicates made by typists there. That letter was presented to Mr. Fukui about 3:00 and since they could not get regular patrols as asked for, he agreed to our verbal suggestion that guards be stationed that night at eight places where there were mostly women. To our surprise at 5:30 he came to our Headquarters with the head of military police and asked us to show them the eight places, with a truck-load of gendarmes. Only 17 in the city! We took him to Ginling, etc., - We thought action had begun, but after supper we decided to go to Ginling anyway, and Searle to the U.N. because, he said, "I will believe the Military Police are coming when I see them." So Pitch drove Searle to UN, and Riggs home and one man to the Univ. Hospital. Then came back for us. Mills was going, but I decided to go along, so as to see what the situation was, and to be with



L.S. Friday, Dec. 17th (cont.)

George on the way back. At nights then we travelled at least two together and in a car with American flag. We drove up to Ginling gate and blithely called, "Kai men". The gate opened and Japanese soldiers with bayonets shoved Mills and me into the road way inside, another poked Fitch out of the car, and took the keys. They lined us up on the east side of the road and Minnie, Mrs. Chen and Mrs. Twinem with a number of stooping servants were on the west side in front of the little gate house. Good thing Minnie at once told us to be careful as they were very rough. The sergeant gruffly made us take off our hats and searched us for pistols. It turned out he spoke French and one of his soldiers a little English and Chinese. George tried to revive his French but it was hesitating enough to create suspicion. We were there for over an hour. We showed our passports. George had none but had a card. They started to let us go twice then called us back, at first insisting the women all go with us. Finally they let us go at 9:15. We hated to leave the women but our presence seemed to cause trouble. They declared they must search the place that night for soldiers. We tried to get them to wait until morning. Later we learned that they kept the women at the gate until after 10:00 and then after the patrol had left the women did not dare to move. The soldiers took Mr. Chen, business manager, with them. They saw forms moving out the back gate, so knew soldiers were probably taking women. In the dormitories they found Blanch Wu and she said they had taken women. They went to the Practice School where Minnie lives and found Mr. Chen back drinking tea. Soldiers had released him at Kangchow Road. They took twelve girls in all while the searching party was at the gate. So it is thought to have been a put up job. Our sudden arrival disturbed proceedings! Well, that took away my gumption for chasing Japanese soldiers! (Oh, Consul General Okazaki called at the office P. M. 17th - or was his visit on the 16th? - see letters 17th and 18th - and said could not recognize us, but would treat us as though had.)

Saturday, Dec. 18th We drew up our famous and most comprehensive letter asking for the restoration of order by all military means possible, assuring them there were no large groups of soldiers left and would searching be more careful, including that they take over our police in a regular police system. 3rd point: return 90 police and 45 volunteer police taken. We emphasized we wanted no political power. We got that over to Tanaka in the afternoon, and he calmly said he would take it up with the Military. Well, during the day the situation got much worse. The place was alive with Japanese soldiers robbing and raping. So Rabe and I decided to go as representatives to the German and American communities and demand action. We did so at 5:30, and found only Okazaki in, so had to talk to him. Rabe went the limit on the fact he was a German Nazi and a recipient of the highest award in Germany, the badge of a political leader. I emphasized that we were merely interested in the humanitarian welfare of the people. Okazaki said he had sent Mr. Fukuda that afternoon to consult the military. Outside we met Tanaka who had just come back from the Military, and said they would place guards at the Univ. and Ginling. We asked what about the rest, - oh, I believe it was the 8 places, but we had increased that request to 18 refugee centers. He said that was all they could do. Luckily Tanaka had been at our office and taken out on a number of cases that afternoon, as had Fukuda. An officer from the special service corps came down to see Rabe about starting the Electric Plant, was called to chase soldiers out of Rabe's place, learned of robbing his sub-manager, Mr. Han, and also a case of rape near by, where the officer caught the man in the act and cuffed him, and then told Rabe he was convinced what we had been saying was right. It was this actual seeing of the cases that convinced the Embassy people. That night we took Mills to Ginling with trepidation and got there just as the military police were stationing a guard and a Consul policeman there. One Consular police also came to UN and was very good. After that Minnie said she did not need anyone to come to Ginling until last night (written Dec. 26th) when they yesterday removed the guard. However, a Consular police was there again last night too.

That night we took Mills over there to sleep, lest guard would not arrive. After the night before Mills was shaky about it. I decided to go along again as escort. But we found the Military and Consular police there stationing a guard so all was happy. But Mills stayed.

Dec. 19th. On the morning of the 19th, the night had been so bad that Bates, Wilson, Fitch and I went to the J. Embassy right after breakfast. Wilson reported the attempted raping in the Nurses Dorm. during the night, Bates at the Univ., and George the difficulty of carrying on our work. From there we went to take Searle to Univ. MS. and found they had had trouble during the night, three women raped. On the way out we met Miss Pearl Wu coming in with soldiers following her. We took her in the car over the objections of the soldiers and went back to the J. Embassy to ask where she would be safe in the city? Started to take her to Ginling, but saw many soldiers at the gate, so brought her on to here. Here she wrote out summaries of cases for me till two. (Sorry job for a Phi Beta Kappa girl from U.S.!)



Dec. 19th (cont.)

And then to our house for dinner, and for UH to help Miss Hynds. Not much help there, but safer for her. She had been living by herself on Wutaishan and excepting for being forced into a porcelain shop one day by J soldiers whom she said were anything but nice, had gotten by.

Dec. 20th, 1937  
8:15 P.M.

Dearest Mardie and Chicks:

Well, it is quite evident now that I am not going to get to spend Christmas with you. Nor is anyone else here going to get home for Christmas. And I fear it is going to be the most dismal Christmas we ever saw in this city or any other. But we hope to be doing the most for a large number of people that we ever were in our lives. In the tremendous human problem we are facing here these days, we cannot think about our own wishes. But nevertheless, I wish I could be with you all for a happy Christmas in Kuling.

Ten days ago tonight I wrote to you that I hoped the Chinese would not fire South City before they left. This evening after 5:00 George Fitch and I drove through South City and found the Japanese systematically burning it! We went down Pao Tai Chieh and saw a soldier entering George's back door, inspite of Japanese Embassy proclamation on it. (Place has already been looted badly by the Japanese soldiers, as has nearly every foreign house in the city since they came. And most of them we had checked up that they were O.K. when the Chinese left.) The last two days Mr. Tanaka of the J. Embassy has been anxious to get Japanese proclamations up on foreign property. With tonight's burning, we are more in a mood to accept the statement the writer made to Gee's man when he was making the proclamations at the University: They are to prevent the soldiers burning foreign property when they burn the city! Also the statement to Gee yesterday by the Embassy man, "Another day may be too late."

When we did not find Tanaka at the Embassy, George suggested that we drive around. It was just after five and getting dark, the first we have gotten away from the office before dark. We left our letter filing cases of disorder, 71-96, and went down Pao Tai Chieh and south over to Taiping Lu. When we crossed the creek on that back road, we ran on to a fire in poor Chinese shops. On Taiping Lu large sections were already burned out, probably the big fires we saw last night. We went south of Peh Hsia Lu and found fires on both sides of the road. Groups of 15 or 20 soldiers were cleaning out such things as looters had left and then building fires in the middle of the shops. We had to turn back because the road farther south was jammed from curb to curb with J. motor trucks and cars getting some stuff out. No fires further south then. We went over on Peh Hsia Lu to Chung Hwa Road and there found the Y.M.C.A. had just gotten under way, with northern half in a sheet of flames from the inside. No fire on either side of it, so it was an inside job. Fires on both sides of the road south of us, so we turned back. Kuo Fu Lu was nearly all burned out last night. So far as we could see, there had been no firing west of Chung Hwa Lu, or west of Chung Shan Lu, as we came farther north. On Tai Ping Road we found a few civilians getting out with their bedding. It was a very depressing sight to see all this destruction, and what it means we are in for here this winter, but I was glad I went. A week ago tomorrow, Dec 14th, forenoon, I was through that same area with Rabe and Forster and the area was in tact, excepting for damage done by shell fire. So I can swear before the world that the Chinese did not burn it out, and now the Japanese are burning it out!

There is probably little we can do about it, but we will work out some form of protest tomorrow. T... The first outside news we have had in all that time, or rather since Sunday night, Dec. 12th, because we had electricity at headquarters up till that time. Telephones worked till the morning of the 13th!.....Well for the news today. A Mr. Sindberg, a young man who is watching the Kiangnan Cement Works at Tsi-Tsaishan came into the office today. He had walked in the twenty miles today. He got into the city by catching a J. motor lorry. No foreigners are supposed to be allowed to enter- or even reenter the city now. But he has his own Delco radio out there and has been getting the news. He says the Panay incident is much more than we had heard. We got that through the Japanese Naval people, who arrived in Hsiakwan on the morning of Dec. 15th, last Wed. And Amer. is making quite a fuss about it, asking the Emperor himself to apologize. Things are also hot around Hongkong, and British ships were involved, - he even said the Cricket had been hit by bombs. The Panay was also machine gunned and boarded, etc. It was enlightening to know something was happening outside of Nanking.

Dec. 21, 1937- 8:30 P.M.

Today Rabe answered a note from Dr. Rosen on the Bee and gave a list of all 22



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foreigners here and said we were all well. Luckily we are! But how much longer it is going to be healthy for us we do not know! But we have plenty of food with all the "loot" each fellow has brought in from his house, and the fact people who are killing their pigs to keep the Japanese soldiers from stealing them know we pay for our meat. The cook has not been on the street since the Japanese got here a week ago yesterday!...

Rabe's reply to Rosen was the high light of the day. We went to the Embassy to present an appeal to the Japanese authorities in the name of the total foreign community, 22 signatures, asking that the burning of the city be stopped, disorder amongst their troops be stopped now that it had gone on a full week, and that ordinary civilian life be restored so food could come in: housing, security and food. When we got there, they handed Rabe a note from Rosen asking if we were all well, and if German property was all right! Rabe was spokesman, and after Tanaka read the petition and replied they would do the best they could in a few days, Rabe told him about Rosen's letter and said that he would have to reply that all German houses but two had been damaged by the Japanese! This petition idea was one we had had in mind for several days but held it in reserve. When they started systematically burning the city the last two nights, we decided it was time to use it. At least I so decided during the night and drew up the letter this morning before breakfast- our meal times are our most representative committee meetings - 8 of us with Charlie who is eating here now: Bob, Searle, Charlie, Mc., Plummer, Sone, Fitch and I. In these hard times it is certainly a life-saver to be in a gang! While we get terribly discouraged, we at least can cheer one another up and even make fun over the tragedies. It is the most difficult situation I have ever had to face and last week and through Sunday we were about sunk. But conditions are improving a wee bit now, excepting for the burning of the city. But order is somewhat better. Whether that is because of military orders or because we have the women and children largely concentrated in big refugee camps, 25 in public and institutional buildings, with a total of 68,000 people. Ginling College had nearly 8,000 today! The place is covered with women and their bedding! But the moving in from other places practically stopped today. Ginling jumped 2,000 yesterday! But this concentration cuts down on the percentage of women raped: 2 or 3 out of 4 to 8,000, instead of 2 in one family household of 30 to 40 people. With guards at some places, that helps. If things clear up soon enough, our reserve of rice will carry us through along with the private supplies any one with any means brought into the Zone. With all the looting by Japanese soldiers, it is surprising how much has survived!

I did not finish Rabe's letter! He used very flowery German to tell Rosen that he was delighted to say that two German houses in the city positively had not been damaged, that Rosen's car, along with many other German cars, was rendering excellent service for the Japanese Military, and that he hoped he would be here for Christmas Eve because by then we hoped to have water, electricity and telephone going! Then added list of foreigners and said all were well. That was a masterpiece! The note had to go open for courtesy's sake through the Japanese Embassy. And when they had turned down the telegram we Americans tried to send yesterday asking our Embassy people to get a diplomatic representative here as quickly as possible, Rabe knew he had to be careful to get anything through. He was much more tactful than we were! We got up with blood in our eyes yesterday morning and had to write the telegram 6 times before we could get it toned down enough at breakfast table to dare send it. Then they turned it down because we said "Situation daily more urgent." because they claimed it was getting better. There had been enough threatening us by Japanese soldiers that we chased away from women they were about to rape in gatehouses and basements and bedrooms to make us feel feelings was rising against Americans in particular. The flags had been torn down in four places and property was all looted excepting Claude's ~~torn-down-in~~ ~~four-places-and-property~~ and this place. (Charlie says our house at 25 has escaped looting at least in any bad way so far, because the wall is hard to get over and there are so many people in it!) However in most of the American houses they have only looked for little things and have not taken a great deal in most places. With us the things they want are in Kuling: bedding, clothes, food and money. I just have enough cash to pay my two weeks' board bill. But Bob is in no hurry to get that! He wants to keep money scattered. But if I need money, there is some mission money Searle has I can draw on.

When Bates talked to Fukuda this morning, he said the situation was better, and for us to let them know of any cases today. So I stayed at the office till six getting out copies of cases reported up to 4:30 this afternoon. That is the sorriest job I ever had in my life! Finished typing up case 113, and most of those are compound cases, and that is not a drop in the bucket of what has been going on. At the peak of the disorder Saturday and Sunday we estimated there must have been over 1000 women raped every night and on those two days, probably as many by day, in the Safety Zone! Any young women and a few old women were



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susceptible if caught. Pastors wives, univ. instructor's wives, any one with no distinction of person, only that the prettier ones were preferred. The highest record is that one woman was raped by 17 soldiers in order at the Seminary! In America people used to mention "rape" in a whisper. It is our daily bread here almost! Stories pore in so rapidly and so hard to keep up with, that I began taking them down in short-hand at the table. If I waited till I could persuade people to write them out, they were too old for the Embassy, which wanted reports on the daily situation. So now I take them in shorthand whenever I am.

The thing about the whole situation that startles us all, and we wonder how long the miracle is going to last, is how we unarmed handful of foreigners can go around here and chase the Japanese soldiers out of rooms in school buildings, rooms in foreign houses, out of gate-houses and rooms in Chinese homes, and still no one get hurt. The soldiers often actually run away. part of it is pure bluff. If we batted an eye, we would be done for! Sperling is regular policeman over at headquarters and is on call all day for that service in almost any home in the area. The Japanese soldiers now run when they see him coming. The soldiers are all armed. This is especially a miracle when they bayonet or shoot any Chinese that dares to say a word or even runs for help. Saturday and Sunday I expected the charm to break at any moment, and the few threatening ones showed us that we may have to let up on chasing them out of Chinese homes, but pressure from the Military seems to be weakening the nerve of the soldiers too, so they are not so "li hai". Although one of three, that four of us (I was detailed for that job and picked up Fitch, Bob and Mc on the way, I am glad to say) chased out of a gate-house, where they were stripping two girls there at the turn of the road on Ping Tsang Hsiang, was hard enough boiled and mean enough to make us realize that it would not take much to make him shoot! But we stood around and said nothing till he finally walked off. I have gotten in for much less of this than others. Searle was driven wild on Sunday with it at the Univ. Charlie had been on it several days too, but yesterday got to trucking rice and coal, and he feels much better because he can see something accomplished by night. It is taking some trucking to keep up with the rice and fuel needs of those big refugee camps! And no Chinese dares go on the street with a truck. Even Plummer was trucking rice and coal on Friday and Saturday, while Charlie was busy chasing out Japanese soldiers. They not only have to ride the trucks, but they have to go to a house at Kulou where Red Swastika coolies are living, escort them to the Univ., watch them and the truck while it is loaded, ride the truck on its rounds making deliveries to keep Japanese soldiers from grabbing it, bring the truck back, and then escort the coolies home! Even then it is a fight to keep Japanese soldiers from taking the coolies or truck.

Today Charlie showed a ray of light to a Japanese officer. He came to the Univ. to demand 15 workers. Charlie said he could get all he wanted for him if he would give them an arm-band that would protect them and promise them regular pay and food. He said he could do that. So Charlie said he could get him a thousand. The officer had thought only of commandeering them! We offered a week ago tomorrow to open an employment bureau for the Japanese where we could control the terms of employment and give the men some protection, but they did not take us up on it. We may suggest it again. ...

The Japanese are calling in such business men as there are in town tomorrow for a conference. That is one sign of an attempt by them to return to normal. But the burning of the city is certainly a contradiction of it. So Searle in his letter this afternoon reporting cases- He has a thought for the day just as I do\* said "let us know whether you intend to restore normal conditions or merely want to destroy the city. Then we can act accordingly, but please don't kid us!"

Well, If we last long enough, we may wear the Japanese out first! We have gotten away with telling them much more than we thought we could a week ago, and the Embassy people are awake to the problem, but the Military either will not, or are too inefficient.

Dec 22, '37 Well, it gets closer to Christmas, and I have found no way to communicating with you. Bates and Mills took over a letter this afternoon asking the Japanese Embassy to ask the Army to forward our telegram, but leave out two words "daily more" in the sentence: "Situation daily more urgent." This was Mills thought for the day at breakfast this morning. He drew up the letter for explaining why we had a right to have a diplomatic representative here, But I fear our approach has not been as happy as that by Rabe in his humorous letter. Of course, he had a better opening than we did. Well, they were not very happy about it, and will let us know what the Army says. So that queers somewhat our asking them to send a personal message. Some gave them a long one about his family at Mokanshan asking someone in Shanghai to get them out of there. And that had not been sent yet. We do think that if we can contact the Navy directly, they will send a personal message without question. But they



Dec 22, '37 (cont.) are in Hsiakwan!

Plummer's move is the only strategical move we made today. the special service corps of the Military Police were up to see Rabe this morning, to say they were going to register all the population. He thought it also included a committee they have for the Safety Zone. So we had some hopes it might mean the beginning of their assuming some administrative responsibility for the city. But so far only orders for registration of "peaceful citizens" and thereafter you can only continue to live in Hanking if you have your registration card! The good old Japanese system!

The new development on the bad side is that now the Chinese who are becoming cronies of the Japanese soldiers are appearing. Last night a Chinese came the second time to the Univ. for girls for a certain detachment of soldiers. "Pimps". Searle had to judge his case. The police wanted to strangle him, but Searle persuaded them to put him in safe keeping. This afternoon we found one leading soldiers to girls opposite headquarters. The Chinese were about to tear him up, for Fitch persuaded them to put him in safe-keeping in the basement over night. What then? At the Univ. the police feared to let the man go, for fear he would bring back the soldiers who would clean out the bunch. So these scalliwags who are developing forbode no good!

The other thing is that the systematic burning of the city continued today and tonight. They have burned most of the east side of Chung Shan Lu up as far as Huang Li Kan. The house back of Marx's went this afternoon. And there are indications they are now starting on houses now that they have finished the main shops, big and small, along the main streets. So far no burning that we know of on this side of Chung Shan Lu so we hope they may spare most of the Safety Zone. But it looks as though outside of that, excepting foreign property, is marked for destruction.

Poor Rabe has been very anxious to get the electric plant started as a demonstration of willingness to cooperate. But today when they went down to get the workers, they found that of the 54, only 11 could be found. The Japanese had shot the other 43 several days ago! They were at Hoge. and when the Japanese asked there if all the people in the compound were Hoge workers. The care-taker said there were 54 electric plant workers. They said, "Well, that is a govt. institution, so they will have to be shot." The care-taker then said that 11 were men that had helped at fixing the Hoge electric equipment, so they spared them. The others were led out to the river bank, and machine-gunned. What a pitiless and senseless brutality! And now it proves to have been cutting off their nose to spite their face! Bodies are beginning to rise in ponds around town now. And individuals are coming back that have miraculously escaped from groups of 30 to 100 or more who were lined up and shot. Nuff said!

Today robbery and rape continued almost as bad as ever. Yesterday most of the large concentrations reported almost no cases, but last night and today the raids on them began again. The Univ. last night was favored with a raid of in autos! High class now! But the Consular policeman sleeping at the gate-house was finally able to talk them out of taking girls. Today near headquarters Kroger and Hatz were trying to save a house from rape and robbery by a drunken soldier. The man turned on Kroger and was going to tie him up and lead him off to shoot him! A Chinese boy ran to Headquarters to get Fitch, who took Rabe with him and dashed to the rescue. By a miracle, Tanaka and a general were touring the Zone and passed the place and somewhat heard the trouble and went in. The General first asked the soldier, who said Kroger had attacked him! Then the General asked Kroger, who told him he merely politely asked him to leave - luckily it was one time Hatz had not biffed the man on the chin! So the General cuffed and kicked the man severely, but let him go! A cuff or a requirement of salute is all they do to stop rape, robbery and shooting! And none of the soldiers have any identification mark on them, so there is no way of recording it against them. This man was actually threatening Kroger with a bayonet too. We are glad it was a German! But I agree with Rabe that we have got to stop trying to get them out of Chinese houses. They only admit our right to do it on foreign property. As Mills said yesterday, they are firmly and sincerely convinced that it is all right to do anything to a Chinese, from the top down! Well, not quite that bad. Bates drove Fukuda in a corner on the burning yesterday afternoon and showed he knew it was intentional. Fukuda said that he wished he were out of this mess and back in Tokyo. We think the Embassy people do not like it, but the army does.

As Mills asked tonight, what do we do next? We have about shot our bolts. We have protested up to the point where the Embassy people admit they can hardly go to the Military about protests any more. So I think we will have to follow Rabe's tactics of laying off for a day or two. Nearly every day since the 14th we have had an ingenious new protest to them, a complaint from the Univ. with all its ramifications from Bates, and a file of cases of



Dec. 22, '37 (cont.) disorders by soldiers, with a little covering letter with a jab or two in it! Besides that, Minnie calls on them every day and some of us are over there two or three times. That is a great load. And it is not doing much good.

So we can only go ahead with our pudding: trucking rice and coal to refugee camps, filing cases of disorders, etc. If there does not develop something more serious to protest about tomorrow, as usually does, we may politely ask for a reply to our petition yesterday.

Another miracle - Sindberg got in from Tsitsachi today again in the car Rabe loaned him. Picked up a soldier on the way who talked him in at the gate! Brought us two pigs and three bags of sweet potatoes. And Ginling gave us 2 geese today. So Christmas looks better....

Dec 23, '37 ... There was some improvement today. Whether it is because of more guards in various places, or because it began to drizzle today, I can't tell. At least there are less soldiers on the streets and much fewer calls for help. However some on his trucking has had trouble. Some Japanese soldiers were pulling down the American flag at Stanley Smith's house. That is the ninth case. It was the special investigation squad for the Zone! They were putting up their banner. After a hard time when they pushed him out in the street, he signed a statement loaning them the house for two weeks, but they put up the flag and put the banner on the gate. Bates says it should be reported to the Embassy in the morning. ...

The J. took 200 men out of the camp at the RLTS and shot them. Some of them were probably soldiers, but people there say over half of them were civilians. We were in hopes the fury of the Japanese Army had been vented and we would have no more shooting. One man came back to tell the tale. He was wounded and partly burned. We have not been able to clear up whether that was the same as another report or not. But another man came in today with his face all burned and probably his eyes burned out. His report was that 140 of them had been bunched together and then gasoline thrown on them and then set on fire! Horrible! Whether they are the same group or not we do not know. The group that were shot were reported to have been covered with gasoline and the bodies burned. The man that escaped was down underneath and later got away....

We have invited Rabe, Sperling and Kroger to supper tomorrow night for Christmas Eve. And are having Minnie, Mrs. Twinem, Blanch Wu and Pearl Wu - Bromley over to dinner Christmas noon.

Fukuda is going to Shanghai by plane tomorrow and has offered to take any personal messages. So, since they are subject to his inspection(!) we will send you a brief telegram to this effect: "Merry Christmas. We are all well and hope you are the same." Hope the American Consulate-General in Shanghai gets it through all right. Mc, Mills, Trim and I will join on it.

Sindberg got back in the city today... He has offered to try to get word to the E.M.S. Bee laying off Hsiakwan if it becomes urgent enough.

Bob has those two burned men at the hospital but doubts whether they will live. The one with his eyes gone, it is a question whether it would be a benefit to him if he did live. But how he survived to walk to our headquarters is more than I can tell. A man was kind enough to guide him there. But the report Bates got is that it was only 70 that were taken from RLTS; but that is enough for such business. Kao Ping-san was at the Headquarters first thing today about it. Some relative of one of the weavers was taken. So they all wanted our arm-bands. Arm-bands are more popular here now than Easter hats! Ours spread all over the place in no time~~1/2~~ and still have considerable popularity. Those with the rising sun have about displaced us though. Now today, we foreigners were all issued arm-bands by the J. Embassy that gives us freedom of the city - inside! ... Charlie arranged to put the weavers on at the Red Swastika soup kitchen at the Univ, as their arm-bands seem to have the most magic with the Japanese.

We have a ray of hope. The new soldiers that are replacing those that have given us so much trouble are to arrive in a day or two. They will be instructed that any one caught in any misconduct will be shot. We say we will believe it when they have all been shot! The refugees are much more worried over the registration of the whole population that is to start tomorrow, supposedly. A card index of the population. Then if you lose your card, out you go. That will be a new threat soldiers can hold over their heads. Little shops along the sides of the road were more in evidence yesterday and this morning. So things are somewhat better. As Searle says, it will probably just gradually get better.

This morning Rabe came in with word that the Consular Police wanted a list of all the foreign houses in the city that had been looted by 2:00 today. So that was about all we got done. But of course we gave only very general indications to degree of looting and reserved right to file claims (indirectly) later through American Embassy. Germans have had 38 out of 47 houses they know of looted; Americans 158 out of 174 known houses. However, the looting



L.S. Dec 23, '37 (cont.) this time which the Germans put down as "completely looted" is nothing like 1927. Then they took the very doors out. In this case it means the house has been completely ramsacked, and any locked doors or chests broken into and stuff dumped out. The soldiers are after small personal articles or valuables, not furniture. They destroy more than they take. The city has the appearance of destruction now. I have not been down to see the burned sections again, - it is on this side of Chung Shan Lu tonight at Kanhoyen. Where it will stop no one knows. If it rains hard for a week, that may stop it! Each bunch of shops has to be set, so it is pretty consistent deliberate work. But rain would be hard on the refugees. Mills and Riggs this afternoon tried to move some from Sericulture that were sleeping out of doors to Hwei Wen, but something fell through on it. We thought moving in to Hwei Wen, Chung Hwa and Ming Deh would relieve the pressure in crowded places and start the trek back into areas outside the Zone.

Dec. 24th Bob Wilson helped out some of our house last night. He got home early, about 5:00 for the first time in two weeks, so he went to the Univ. Gardens and bought six big poinsettias and put them around our living room. Then he dug out some red cut-outs and pasted them around the living and dining room. So we look like Christmas anyway. No, we will not have any tree. No one has had time or chance to buy any Christmas presents, and as there are no children in the house, probably no Santa will come. But today Mr. Kabe gave us all a diary book for next year. Siemens. It is in German, but very pretty and very useful with cash book and address sections, besides a lot of useful information. He is coming to our house tonight for a Christmas dinner on Christmas Eve. Isn't that funny! The Germans think more of Christmas Eve than we do, so we invited three of them for that time. Aunt Minnie and probably Aunt Grace are coming to Christmas dinner tomorrow. So you see we are having two Christmas dinners. .... Providence has certainly given Hanking the proper weather: rain and clouds during air-raiding time, sunshine and warm weather for this time of year during all the "Safety Zone" time until the light rain yesterday and last night. More soldiers moving in today, but Bob says not as many as previous days. Less soldiers around. Searle had a quiet night at the Univ. and less trouble all around today. But soldiers came and ran off with the police man and I think 12 other men at the UN early this morning. That is hard on morale which had begun to build up. I am going to offer to go over tonight to give Searle a break.

The only trouble last night was on the American front. I told you about Sone's case, and so far it is not straightened up yet. This morning the same outfit took over Hillcrest, but when Mills went there and explained, the soldiers decamped. The worst case was the looting of the Amer. Embassy, both the east and west compounds and taking away several cars and trucks from there. Tanaka was much concerned about that, and will station a guard there. Mills is filing those cases, so I do not have more than a page for today! The shooting cases we cannot report yet, because so far we have conflicting evidence, and there is no use exposing the soldiers (supposed to be) that escaped. The man with his eyes burned out mercifully died this morning at the hospital. But another came in with a machine-gun wound in his right shoulder. He claims he was one of a group of about 4000 that were shot on the bank of the Yangtze on the 16th. About 30 survived. Ominously this afternoon as we came by the Embassy to talk over problems with Tanaka, he told Fitch a former Chinese Army officer had reported to them he knew of many former Chinese soldiers in the Zone, many of whom were armed with pistols still. We don't know of any such! It looks like a dastardly deed on the Chinese officer's part to help himself, but at the cost of terrible danger to many civilians. If they find one man in a place with a pistol, they will probably shoot 200! Up until yesterday we hoped we had passed the stage of shooting disarmed soldiers. If there are any left, they are scattered individuals and will give no trouble. There has been no snipping in the Zone even on the 13th or since. However, Tanaka remarked, "You will have less refugees in your camps in a few days." Whether he meant because of soldiers that would be shot, or that young men are to be pressed into labor squads, or they are going to order the people to move to their own homes, some of which are now burned!

Today the registration process is on. The one station we have seen here on Shansi Road has soldiers with bayonets driving or leading people from houses and camps to register! Everything at the point of the bayonet! This afternoon while I was waiting for Fitch outside at the J. Embassy, a Consular police came in, driving a horse-carriage and three or four servants (with arm-bands, just like we have, only we have lower numbers!) hawling charcoal. If they would work on a commercial basis, they could have the coal delivered without troubling to send a Consular policeman after it! But everything is on the commandeering basis. Consequently, no merchant is interested in stocking up, if he could, and everyone is getting rid of everything they can. So there will be a famine, especially of meat before long. As we pointed in our petition from the foreign community, the situation is leading automatically and rapidly towards a serious famine. Bob says we can have guests tonight and tomorrow, but after that no more! Our canned goods won't last forever. If we are looted like most places, it won't be that long. We have miraculously escaped so far, and so has Claude's place. About the registration, some of the Chinese claim they are leading all those between



20 and 35 into trucks and taking them away, I mean the men. But we did not see that. Only in a few places has it been noticed.

Hwei Wen move last night was not so successful because Embassy and soldiers got their wires crossed. Embassy said not many women; soldiers said no men! So it took Charlie and Mills two hours to straighten it out and finally they let the 100 people in. But meanwhile the guard had burned all the firewood the gateman had and started on his furniture until Mills stopped them. So that move is now held over until tomorrow. Will need to make cooking arrangements there, etc.

This morning the coal man on Hankow Road from whom we have bought all his coal for the soup kitchens came to say the soldiers had commandeered it. We appealed to Tanaka when he was here and he said he could do nothing. But at noon when Fitch and I came home, we found Riggs loading coal out of the yard next to 26! He had talked them out of it and all they wanted was charcoal! Fuel is our chief weakness.

This morning Fukuda was going to Shanghai by air and offered to take any messages. So we gave him our group telegram and I wrote a hasty one page letter to you. ... Searle sent a cable for Rees to send his family. Charlie sent a Christmas card to Grace. Others sent letters to families. Plumer wrote his twice so you may learn more from it. ...

Sindberg was in again this noon, probably has not been home yet. Says he can take a message to the Bee if we will guarantee him the salary he gets for staying at the Cement Works, in case he is detained either by Bee or Japanese. Bates thinks it would be a dangerous thing to attempt and probably would not get there. Better wait until he can get word to some passing foreign boat at Tsitsashan.

Today at the J. Embassy Cola told us that Zial, who is repairing Embassy cars there, may be sent to Shanghai to get necessary parts. They burned out the bearings on one of their beautiful cars - the soldiers especially ruin every car they get inside two or three days, so the streets are lined with broken-down cars and trucks, and dead bodies still on the streets. No one had lifted to clean things up and make it look like a town. Well, if Zial goes, Cola thought we could send some letters by him. So I may get further word off to you.

Mr. Hsu, Housing Commissioner, was just in. The Red Swastika group are working with the Japanese to try to get houses of prostitution started so as to satisfy the Japanese soldiers and officers without endangering private homes! Well, Searle suggested that last Saturday in all seriousness and Charlie gasped! Mr. Hsu says they plan two quarters, one north of Kuleo R R Station for the common soldiers and one south of Sing Kai Kou for officers. And it will be on a commercial basis. He further says that Mr. Wang, whom we took on as business manager, formerly auctioneer on Pao Tai Chieh, has many connections with the underworld in Nanking! He has been one of our most active men. What a group we got into this ad hoc organization! The Germans we have found are sterling men. Since the Japanese came, Rabe has been our veritable salvation. He can push his black swastika out and demand attention! I took the opportunity to explain to Mr. Shu our policy regarding rice. He told Fitch day before yesterday that Fukuda in a confidential moment said, "Why do these foreigners sell their rice instead of giving it to the poor people?" I explained that we were giving at the soup kitchens & or I believe for most people a few coppers as has been the custom in Nanking.) and to some we sell in hopes of getting funds from those who can afford to buy, with which to buy future supplies of rice. Thereby we can rotate our resources and maybe carry the very poor through the winter. If we give to all now, it would last less than two weeks. He understood and said he had told the Japanese the same. I also said that we must get normal business activity going because the Japanese Army's commandeering system is so inefficient that they will, even if unintentionally, starve the population. Any line of business we can get going will help, but more particularly rice and fuel. He is also trying to get them to have the Shanghai and the Wuhu RR running. Then we can get rice from Wuhu. And he says there are a number of fairly good business men in hiding, and they will come out as soon as there is any security at all. The boys laugh: Searle advocating houses of prostitution; I advocating capitalism!

Sunday, Dec. 26, 1947 10:00 A.M. at office.

Christmas has come and passed and I did not get home to be with you, I am very sorry to say. .... We are sewed up in this situation so much now that it is hard to see any chance of leaving for several weeks. We may have to see this refugee population through the winter.

Friday night, Christmas eve, Kroger and Sperling came for dinner along with Trim.



Dec 26th (cont.)

Mr. Rabe felt he had to stay at home to protect his house and 600 refugees in his yard. But after dinner Mills went to stay at Rabe's house while Mr. Rabe came over for a while. Mr. Rabe gave us all good diary books for 1938 Siemens Co. Bob opened one of his bottles of wine given him by the members of the German Embassy for his German guests! Before Bob went to the hospital for the night, he played some Christmas carols and we sat around and sang rather glumly. Kroger has quite an interest in music. Searle again insisted on going to the University.

Yesterday morning the 4 weavers we have left, 3 old-timers and 1 new student, came to the house to see me for Christmas greetings and to ask for special work. Charlie had arranged for them to help at the Red Swastika soup kitchen at the University, but Kao failed to carry through on it, two days previously. But they were content with that. I should have had dollar bills ready for them or just handed to them. Rabe did not come to the office because of protecting his place, so about 11 I went by there to talk over a coolie hire shop, exchange shop (found from Kroger that small change is piling up from the soup-kitchens, so we want to get it back in circulation as fast as possible) and about methods for encouraging private merchants to bring in rice, because it is evident the Japanese are not going to assign the I.C. any rice. Rabe thought the coolie hire shops should be started by the Tz Chih Hwei which has been meeting with the Japanese for nearly a week. (Autonomous Governing Society). It is composed of a number of small business men, but headed by the fine old man at the head of the Red Swastika. Dr. Hsu, our Housing Commissioner and a fine man with a Ph. D. is on it, and also our Mr. Wang, who has extensive connections with the underworld. (Really a group of business men, who first met on Dec. 22nd to formally organize Jan. 1st.) On the way home I stopped at 25 for the first time in over two weeks, first since the refugees moved in, and gave Chu Sao-Tze a dollar and each of the children a silver dime from the \$5.00 worth of dimes I got from Kroger, the first small change excepting two dimes I have had since three weeks ago! When I see the weavers, I will give them each a dollar, too. Was going to get some things from my study, but Riggs could not lock it, so he took out the knob! Not broken into so far, though the Japanese soldiers have been through the house several times, Chu Sao-tze and the children were well, and we had no serious bad treatment by the Japanese soldiers, and have rice for either another month, or the remainder of this. She did not want any more money yet.

At noon we had Minnie, Blanch Wu., Grace, and Pearl Wu to dinner for goose that Blanch Wu had given us. With all our canned goods, we were able to put up quite a dinner, but with the cook not going on the street, our canned goods are going fast. But with the daily danger of looting, it is hard to get Bob to hold up on the cook. So later we may be down to rice! Our women guests suggested that we invite the other half of our staff at Ginling and the Hospital for New Years: Mrs. Twinem, Mrs. Chen and Miss Hynds. We will. Dinner was interrupted as usual with calls to get soldiers out of Sericulture, stop them taking trucks at the University etc. After dinner when I went out to go to the office, there was a young man with a baby in his arms. He said he was a relative of old Lao Sze. I did not recognize him. He wanted me to "sian fa tze" to help him pass the Japanese registration, because he had no relatives here. I could think of no plan then, so told him to return in the evening when I thought Riggs could work out a scheme. He is living in a straw hut near Ginling. At the office I arranged to give him a letter saying he was the son of my gardener, but last night he did not show up and had not this morning. How often an opportunity for service is let slip in our confounded rush. Gee listed all the servants in UN houses yesterday afternoon, and all the refugees, over 10,000! Bates said that if we got him in first thing this morning we could put him at 25. But if he does not come in time, he will have to take his chances at his hat. I told him to try to pass as a member of the family who gave him the baby to carry. I left the letter and a letter for Gee with our cook this morning, in case he comes this forenoon. But today is the day for registering the University staff and refugees, so he may be too late, or rather, I was too late in thinking of what to do. I did not recognize him at first, but he is the boy that used to live at our place with Lao Sze. I hope it works out all right. I may later go up and walk around the Ginling area and see if he comes to me.

During the afternoon there was not a great deal to do at the office. Trucks were interfered with because coolies could not <sup>work</sup> until registered and I suppose the same will be true today. But after people once pass the bugbear of registration they feel much relieved. So far reports of any large numbers being taken off as soldiers, about 20 from the Middle School. Fitch was told yesterday that ever soldiers would be pardoned if they had families here to guarantee them and those who had not, would be taken for work corps, not shot. But the officer that took the 20 from the MS said they were to be shot. We certainly hope that will be kept to a minimum.

During the afternoon Fitch and I talked with Mr. Lowe of Metropolitan about business revival. He thinks we are passed the worst. But has no assurances that business men will start yet. We are anxious to get rice moving as soon as possible. Our food people estimate that private stores, with what we have on hand, will carry the population a month. But we



L.S. Dec. 26, 1937 (cont.)  
but we do not have fuel for more than 10 days.

Fitch and I left here about 5:00 and drove to British Embassy to see how the men there were getting along. Some sections of North Chung Shan Lu have been cleared of the mass of stuff left by the retreating Chinese soldiers on the night of the 12th. But many blocks still remain, as do the many cars and trucks in front of the burned Ministry of Communications. Ministry of Railways is intact and evidently used by Japanese Military officers. 11 cars have been taken from the British Embassy - so the gang cheered for this equality! Buildings not entered tho. We came back the old carriage road and found the road still a mess. Small groups of soldiers billeted in houses along the way and using furniture, etc., for firewood for camp fires. Many small shops had been burned out, and we found some burning, one set right in front of British Embassy. But in general the burning has stopped. They seem to have burned the shops they have looted! But only a few private residences not connected with shops have been burned.

Mr. Lowe yesterday said a Japanese officer who is a friend of his, says the 9th Division which has been here and given us so much trouble, leaves this morning, the last 3,000 were to start for Changhsu this morning at 9:00. The 16th that is replacing them is better equipped - We hope so, because the 9th destroyed all the cars and trucks they got their hands on and we hope the 16th will not do the same with what few remain - and while not so good fighters are better men. We hope so. And the Military Police are putting up the appearance of trying to take drastic action with the soldier who raped an officer girl at the Hankow Road Primary School on the afternoon of the 23rd. They took her to the Bank of Communications and have kept her there till now "to identify the soldier when they catch him." But they say he has gone to Wuhu! Mills has been trying to work an informal habeas corpus to get her out, but failed yesterday. They said today "At 10 or 2:00." They claim they will shoot the soldier if they catch him. But 3 other cases of raping occurred at the same place the same afternoon! So I am thinking, especially since a group of 7 soldiers seem to be returning on raping parties to BTTS each night, that we will put in a special request again for military police at these two places and try to catch this gang. On the whole, though, conditions are much better and we hope will continue to improve. Our rice shop here at 5 Ninghai Road had a good day yesterday, and was after more rice this morning. And Yesterday and this morning we found about as many people on the streets as were there on the 11th and 12th. If we can only get rice and coal to moving into the city soon, we will be out of the worst of it.

Searle went back to the University last night and Mills slept at Ginling. Both reported a quiet night. I definitely arranged with Searle, though, this morning, that I will go to the Univ. tonight. He said he would go with me and introduce me around. He has a cot set up in the Treasurer's office, and has a regular guard system worked out for all night. Gee sleeps in the basement of the same building and is chief of the guard. The consular police has not come the last two nights. I will have to take a lesson in Japanese from Searle too! After this I plan to take alternate nights with Searle. Should have done that from the first, but he was much better at working out the organization with the men there, as they had such great confidence in him.

I must not forget to add that Riggs was hit and slapped by an Inspection Officer in front of Marx's old place yesterday forenoon when he was escorting a woman home he had rescued from Japanese soldiers. We entered formal protest on that. Also on the looting of the American Embassy on the night of the 23rd. Wish those Embassy people would come back to do their own work!

Dec. 27th, 1937 - 3:50 P.M. 5 Ninghai Road

Well, after two weeks of Japanese occupation, this sorry mess still continues. It is discouraging to the best of spirits. We had begun to hope a better day was arriving. But 3 women were raped at the U. of N. and one carried off last night, 27 were raped at the B.T.T.S., a man taken from duty at the UH to carry things for an officer, flag taken down at RLTS, and today they wanted to carry off our iron-roofed wool building. Rabe this noon got to Sing Kai K'o just in time to see them setting fire to the Mutual Co., that good store east of the Circle, found the new Market in ruins and the State Theatre also burned. Now they are clearing out the stores on the West side of the street north of Sing Kai K'o preparatory to burning them. During the registration process at UN yesterday, they had over 200 men volunteer that they had either been soldiers or military laborers (terms used not clearly distinguished for forced civilian labor) on the promise that if they volunteered they would be allowed to work, instead of being shot as they would if they did not confess. This morning a man came to the University with five bayonet wounds and said the group of them were marched out to Ku Ling Sze and there used for bayonet practice by 130 Japanese



L.S. Dec. 27th (Cont.)

soldiers. He fainted from his wounds, and when he awoke the Japanese had left, so he made his way back. Wilson thinks one wound is so serious he will not live. That was our diet for lunch this noon when we all reported! Some we had already had for breakfast!

On one hand they talk of restoring order, and on the other they destroy and intimidate the people so that nearly nothing can be done. Rabe is sitting at home to protect his property most of the time, as well as his 600 refugees; Kroger is protecting his property; Magee is protecting his household of refugees as is Forster. Minnie and Mrs. Twinem do not dare leave Ginling together, and one foreigner has to be on duty at the UN all the time night and day. The same is practically true of the UN, where they call Bates during the day if he is away. So he spends his days chasing here and there to run off Japanese soldiers.

Riggs and Sone are the only ones that have any feeling of accomplishment these days: they are trucking. By escorting coolies around and watching their truck alertly, they get rice and coal moved and so people are fed, but they are barely able to keep up from day to day with the needs. Trucks and cars are gradually disappearing, and yet the Japanese Embassy has the nerve to ask us to loan them cars, and send them mechanics to fix their cars!

No ~~it~~ did not go to the UN last night as planned. At supper Searle said he had better stay with it until the registration was finished. They did the men yesterday: first by volunteer process above, then herding them around and asking if anyone would guarantee this man, and all passed but one. Then Searle and Sone guaranteed him. Today were registering the women more rapidly, and tomorrow will get to private houses. Lao Sze's boy has not shown up, and I have not been able to see him any time I go to Ginling.

My thought for the day was: to get a definite request to the J. Embassy for rice, flour, and coal. When we turned in cases last night, I made an appointment with Fukui for Mr. Rabi at 11 today. Then this morning went by Rabi's house, and talked it out, and he came down here. I drafted a letter and he signed it, and we went over. Fukui responded very well, but how much he can do with the Military we do not know. Our gang at the house decided we should just assume we had a right to the remainder of the 30,000 tan of rice, and 10,000 bags of flour, given us by the city govt. That means to get 20,000 tan of rice and 9,000 bags of flour (Now Mr. Han tells me that the 1,000 bags of flour we got are not from that order at all.) We were not given coal, but we asked the Japanese for opportunity to get coal, because we are shorter of that, only enough to run our kitchens a week now. We may have to buy it, but can do that. Mr. Fukui was very favorable as I said. That is a start, and we hope by a week's negotiations, etc., we may work out a way to get these supplies before dire need sets in. This afternoon Charlie is out looking up coal yards that have not been sealed by the military, to reply to Fukui's request if we knew of places we could get coal. To play safe we are reporting half of them, and trying to go ahead on our own, to buy coal at the other half of the 6 we have heard about!

It was nice and sunny this morning, but has clouded up today, so fear it may snow. Hope not though! Last fall we prayed for rain; now we pray for fair and mild weather. People are anxious to return to their homes after the registration, but unless order improves, we fear they may have a hard time. However, we are encouraging them to try it cautiously. But with shops burned and burning continually, and girls grabbed on the way, it is discouraging to them. However, we hope some will find a way and gradually eke out a way of living in places that have not been burned, etc. The number of girls at Ginling has declined rapidly in the last three days, fell from 10,000 to 8,000, as some order reappeared in the Zone. They went to their families living at other places in the Zone. We hope to get moving pictures of these camps before they break up. Ginling has now cleared their run-ways, which were filled with women's beds a few days ago.

Our request for guards at BTTS last night was not acted on quickly enough. Today Fukui said they were placing guards at these places and UN as well. If I go there tonight, I hope they do have a guard, so I don't have to face the soldiers alone! They have now placed guards at all the Embassies - after the horse was stolen\* and as Bates says ~~the~~ "That is kindergarten work, those guards should have been placed there the afternoon of the 13th!" This afternoon the Consular police were here, and wanted to go to German property to investigate, and are going to inspect and place guard at all foreign property! We can only get them interested in foreign property, but not in lives and honor of women! Rabe says that is because they will have to pay for this.

Dec. 29th, 1937 5 Ninghai Road - 4:30 P.M.

Gradually things get better. We were just over to see Fukui about a number of matters, but mainly coal and rice, and he told us that now orders have been issued that soldiers should



L.S. Dec. 29th (cont.)

not enter the Zone and sentries are posted at the main entries. That is what we intimated we wanted on Dec. 14th and specified more in detail in our letter of Dec. 17th. I am going to begin checking off the things we have asked them to do that they have done! That on the 17th or 18th would have stopped all the trouble at once, but that division evidently had been given the right to do as they please. And it was only when the new division took their place and were put to work cleaning up the city that the authorities were able to make even an appearance of controlling the soldiers.

I did not get to write yesterday. Got home early, too, but was tired from two hours talk with a Japanese Military man - and lay down. Riggs came in in five minutes and soon after Searle, and so we had a good old-fashioned chin in which Searle pumped Charlie about his serious sicknesses, etc. So I did not get anything done before supper and afterwards - was too tired! Once you start to loaf, you have no pep for anything. Searle went to the Univ. I had a quiet night there the night before, and he did last night. I will go tonight. It seems funny to be undressing in Elsie's office!

The Military man was a Colonel Okay, just arrived from Shanghai with the idea that he must protect foreigners in Nanking, so he wanted all Germans concentrated in one place and all Americans in another. Then he would post a guard. I was glad Rabe was along and we headed it off. Rabe rose to the occasion when I was dragged into a rebuttal argument about there being no more Chinese soldiers in the Zone - Okay said our only danger was fighting in case Chinese soldiers fired on Japanese soldiers! Rabe said: "When I assumed chairmanship of the International Committee, I told the world I would protect these Chinese civilians as well as I could. I am not going to leave them or retire into a protected place." Later, Okay asked him to sign that he absolved them of all responsibility for protecting him. Rabe rose again: "I will sign that I will feel safe when you have protected the Chinese." The German authorities in Shanghai had evidently brought pressure to bear for protection of German lives and property. Not so clear, but probably also the American. Another good news is that Fukui told us an American representative is coming soon.

Day before yesterday, 27th, we presented a letter asking for the right to get the remainder of the rice and flour assigned to us. We also stated our urgent need for more coal, which we were willing to buy from Chinese coal yards if the Japanese Army would let us. We had gone back yesterday afternoon to see if there was an answer. Fukui did not have an answer from the military yet, in fact, had not seen them. Okay ran in on us. Today we were back again and he said the high commander here, General Sarati, was investigating the coal yards we had listed as available - Charlie dug them up definitely the afternoon of the 27th because Fukui asked if we knew the places. So we have some hopes of getting coal, if they do not take it themselves! Rice they prefer to handle through the new Autonomous Committee. But we have now decided to press that on the commercial basis, to be sold to Chinese merchants, and then we reserve our rice for relief work only.

Dec. 31, 1937 New Year's Eve - 6:15 P.M. 3 Ping Tsang Hsiang .....

Rabe had a bright idea this week. He had been wondering what to do for the Japanese for New Years. So he had some of his practically idle workers make up new year cards with the symbol of the Safety Zone on the front, and on the back leaf made places for all 22 westerners to autograph. He had enough copies made to give Mr. Fukui and the staff of the Japanese Embassy, and the Major General Sasaki in charge of Nanking one, each with a good porcelain pot of flowers. He debated about doing it tomorrow, for fear it would appear we were assuming diplomatic status! So he solved that by going around personally today with it. We have had to do a lot of complaining about the actions of the Japanese Army here, but these Embassy men have been excellent sports about it. They could have told us it was none of our business. And they have made some impression on the military. The army seems now to be really making an effort to clean up the situation, as well as an effort to white-wash it too! So we have nothing but good-will for the men now involved.

Rabe and I went back day before yesterday in the afternoon to see what result Fukui had on coal and rice. He was very friendly with us, and we had a good hour's conversation. He said the Army preferred to handle the rice through the Autonomous Committee, and we agreed, just so it is quick enough. He offered to help on coal, and had had the Consular Police investigate that morning, and expected a reply from the high command. We asked about disarming soldiers for their free time at New Years so as to prevent trouble, and he said they had the day before issued orders that the soldiers were to stay out of the Zone, and had put sentries at the entrances to keep them out. There are now a number of military police in the area either as guards at places or on patrol. So this afternoon there were very



L. S. Dec. 31st. (cont.)

few soldiers roaming in the Zone. Rabe said this noon they put up a fence across Kwangchow Road at his place, and would not let him on to Chung Shan Road. So they are making a real effort to keep soldiers out. At the same time we reported trouble with the guard at BTTs and last night they were changed. We had eight at the UN and Searle suggested one was enough. So that was all there was this afternoon. Ginling got rid of their eight guards and gets along now with a Consular police sleeping near the gate nights. As we see it, everything hangs now on getting commercial rice and coal moving into the area. In fact, we need coal for soup-kitchens before a couple of days are over. Charlie was going to try to get some at certain yards out of the Zone this afternoon without military permission, where we knew the owners. Have not yet heard his results. Hope he succeeded. Rice is not so urgent. But private stocks are running out, and people are anxious to buy. So our shop at 5 Ninghai Road, the only place the man considers safe, is doing a rushing business with a rice line morning and afternoon. Besides that, some is sold at the large camps to those who can buy, and we make some private deliveries. This latter has increased so much in the last few days, that this morning we decided to charge \$1.00 per bag for delivery (1.25 tan) and as we are still selling for \$9.00 per tan, that leaves it less than \$10.00 per tan. We will charge \$.50 per bag of flour for delivery, selling at \$5.00 per bag now. This we hope will check calls for delivery from us and will help check hoarding. We only allow one tao to be purchased at a time at the regular shop. If we can get the Japanese army to allow Chinese rice merchants to buy some of the 100,000 tan of rice they took from the Chinese Army, we will be over the rice crisis. We are asking them to reserve 20,000 bags for such purposes, and 10,000 for later relief work in case we need it. Likewise 10,000 and 5,000 bags of flour. As soon as we can get commercial rice moving in, we will stop selling and reserve our supplies for relief. Red Swastika was fortunate enough through a Japanese monk to get 3,000 bags stored south of Han Chung Lu assigned to them, and they are now trucking it in for soup-kitchens. That brings our rice stores about back to where we started! Not bad.

The most serious aspect of the situation, and one for which we can see no adequate solution quickly, is that there is no economic basis of life for this community of 200,000. If they go buying rice from the Japanese Army, then the money in the community will be drained out, and no return. The only return service is the food which most of the coolies that go out to work for Japanese Army men, not in great numbers yet, the very few that get any pay, and the few men now employed at the Water and Electric Light Works. The only other income will be what farmers can raise from the ground. Or what people can find or loot from other areas in the city! As Charlie puts it, we will have a bunch of grubbers for several months! But as Sone says, the Chinese have a wonderful comeback, and if left alone they will find a way to maintain themselves. So as we have insisted since the 16th, order is the first requisite of any form of normal life. I used to laugh at the British respect for "Law and Order" but now I realize how fundamental it is to normal living. Nothing moves in state of disorder. If they will only let the farmers alone in the city and outside the city, there will be a comeback at least of the means of existence. But now the farmers are in the process of killing all their livestock, and either eating it themselves or selling it. So we have the commandeering period which is very similar to the early days of the Russian Revolution and the Five Year Plan. Every commercial enterprise we can get started will help to change that situation, to one of trade instead of commandeering. You gain a healthy respect for the various ramifications of organized life when you see how hard under these conditions it is to operate such a simple thing as an exchange shop, and a rice shop! However, it is remarkable how well the little street vendors along the road keep at it. Little to risk, all to gain, so they daily ply their trade. And what a variety of stuff. We now suspect some of it is looted from areas outside of the Zone where burning has been going on, but anything the people can get in now is all to the good! As one man here remarked, Mills, "I think now Chung Shan Lu is no longer the main street: Shanghai and Ninghai Roads are the main streets!" They are thronged with people now with the return of order, and both sides of each lined with little street vendors. Hankow Road down here (above our place) is a vegetable market as crowded every morning as Peh Men Chiao used to be. The rest of the city is practically deserted, by civilians except south of(?). (The Zone?) ...

Well, I was quite the coked of the walk at supper with my hair-cut! All the fellows wanted to know where I got it. Mills arranged for the man, our "rolly-polly" to come at eight tomorrow morning, so the gang are laying for him. He left his outfit here, and will be glad to get the business, as he has had practically none! His place is so full of people, he does not have room to cut hair. Even he was smart enough to note that with so many buildings and supplies burned or looted, that it was going to be very hard for the people to make a living. We had two, rather three miracle ~~suppers~~ at supper.

AM.

Bates went to the EMB. this afternoon and found Takatama (Consular Police that is going around investigating foreign property) and Fukuda there in Attcheson's office with Tung.



L.S. Dec. 31st. (cont.)

Fulada told Searle the Army had instructed them to pay all claims promptly! Later Searle went back and found they had settled all claims with the Chinese staff in full excepting bicycles which they will replace with new ones, and a car of his friend that they had some question about. Number 2: Mc investigated the stream of people pouring down Peh Men Chiao today, bringing back rice, and found that some Japanese soldiers had opened up a rice supply, and were just letting the people help themselves. Well, that helps the lao peh sing that much, but probably it is merely an irregular procedure and will not continue! Number 3: Our chief looter No.1 went to the Central Univ. Agric. School this afternoon and hauled away 3 tons of coal. A Red Cross coolie at the Ginling soup-kitchen went there to see about getting some more kettles and found the pile of coal, so told Charlie. On this trip the coolie got some clothes left there, and while they were loading the coal, some Japanese soldiers came in, and Charlie thought the game was up. But it turned out they were looking for evergreen trees for New Years! So either honor among looters, or specialization helps. Well, These New Year Eve stories are better than what we had for Christmas Eve!

Rabe is having open house this evening so we may go down for awhile. Bob and I will have to get on to our sleeping-places before nine preferably. But bridge is started downstairs, so I do not think we will get to Rabe's in time. The others can go later. Mrs. Twinem delivered our two geese from Blanch Wu today. We had some of her geese for Christmas, two more this week, and now two for tomorrow. The first were gifts, the others we have bought. Tonight was the first night we have not had meat for supper. I think it is part of the economy program we put into effect this morning. We have been having meat noon and night and canned fruit three times a day. Bob's cook believes in using up what he has! Bob claims we have fruit enough though to last us through. But we cut it to once a day and canned fruit juice one time, and pastry the third, as tonight. Bob told us the bad news tonight, board bill was \$3.10 per day for Dec. on account of coal, and \$5.00 tip to all the servants. So mine was \$96.10 from which I deduced \$9.00 for 18 jars of fruit I put in last Oct., since others have charged in theirs at economical rates. I drew \$100.00 from Mc on account so as to pay that. Have about \$40.00 on hand. Thought I had better not get caught with no cash on hand.

On top of this extravagance, Sone brought in a pot in which he had cooked a day's ration of free raw rice. The bottom of a cereal double cooker about 2/3 full, though there was not enough water. Our ration is 250 persons per tan This was 284 to the bag. ....

Jan. 1, 1938- 8:45 P.M. New Year's Day

Well, today has been the noisiest unhappy New Year I ever saw. Firecrackers began early this morning. But the barber was an hour late for his eight o'clock appointment and apologized by saying that he had to go out to fire firecrackers for the Japanese! Well, anyway the children had a grand time firing the crackers given out by the Japanese! At 1:00 the ceremony was held at Kuleo for inaugurating the new "Tze Chih We Yuan Hwei" (note new name, no.3). Wang, our office manager, was to raise the flag. He is the famous "Jimmy". So Charlie remarked, "That is very fitting for a second-hand government." At 2:00 when we looked over there, sure enough, the five-bar flag was flying over Kuleo. Gee said that while the Japanese were talking to them about cooperation, two new fires went up in the city. One was the Soviet Embassy. Later we went up to the University tower and saw the ruins of the Soviet Embassy. Searle had seen it intact on the 13th with the flag flying. Today its flag was down from its big pole in the yard and the fine building smoldering ruins. Later in the afternoon other fires east of here sent clouds of smoke to the heavens. Love for the Chinese by clouds of smoke by day and pillars of fire by night! However Mc's estimate on a tour of South City today and our view from the tower agreed that only about 10% of the buildings of the city have been burned, luckily! but most of the business fronts on the main streets have been burned out. Like 1932 in Shanghai, it seems to be mainly a war on Chinese business & Our old wool cloth at Hansen's either went up in smoke a week ago, or went away in a Japanese army looting truck.)

Last evening at 8:30 I went with the fellows in George's car to Rabe's, and had a pleasant visit with him. He lighted the Christmas tree for us, the only one in Nanking (except a small one up stairs at Ginling, that none of us saw.) Tell the Chicks they had a model of the stable with the shepherds outside, and then sheep and cattle in the yard, around the base of the tree. We chatted there until ten, then they took me to the university gate and waited until I called "All right." after getting past the military police who were getting ready for bed in the gate-house. Had a fair sleep till 5:30, but no trouble. Gee gave us a New Year's gift today of a real bed instead of the camp-cot. So that will help a lot.

I went to the office this forenoon, but there was not much to do but catch up on making additional copies of documents for my triplicate files. (My old game!) Sone and Charlie had



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caught up, or rather gained a day on rice and coal, so did not haul today. We all took the afternoon off. That is my first since we started. We opened the office there the afternoon of Dec. 1st. So I can say "thirty-one days at Ninghai Road", because I have not missed a day, Sunday or holiday since, until this afternoon. Charlie spent the forenoon helping check up on a serious case I neglected to mention the other day.

Thursday after lunch, the 30th, word came there was trouble with Japanese soldiers at the Sericulture Buldg. So Searle and Charlie dashed over. Later they came to the office to report that the military police had come to take the housing head there, who admitted he had been a former military officer in the Chinese Army here! But they took four men with him, two Univ. servants, and two refugees, because they had helped bury some arms back of the W.C. So Searle and Charlie drafted a summary of findings pointing out that the chief man involved was not a University employee, but that they would guarantee the two servants and others would guarantee the refugees, one of whom turned out to be a nephew of a contract Charlie dealt with. We took that to the Embassy and they thought we were objecting to the search, but we said we did not. Yesterday morning I got Dr. Hsu, our Housing Commissioner, to investigate the matter to see how we got the man, and at a conference yesterday afternoon with Searle, it developed the chief man was only a Police Inspector! But we do not have definite evidence to prove it. Since Hsu is advisor also to the Tze Chih Wei Yuan Hwei, we had him go directly to the Japanese Embassy about the matter. Then this morning he and Charlie got out the requisite affidavits for the four men, and one was released because his guarantor went for him. So they are to take the guarantors of the others tomorrow morning. It is encouraging to find that now they keep some of these men alive over a day or two while they investigate the case!

After our tower expedition and noting the way the refugees were enjoying the warm sunny day, boys turning cartwheels on the Univ. campus, etc., Searle and I took a walk back of Ginling to see if we could find any of the heaps of bodies of men shot this week. We went over by that temple "Kuling Sze", ... down through the valleys to the south, searched every pond, but did not find any bodies except the charred ones back of Ginling that Searle found a few days ago - after the burning incident. We found the garden plots over there less than half used up, but every farm house was deserted. Only a few were back loading up pei Tsai to carry over and sell. Not a house outside of the Zone was occupied, not even on the west side of Sikang Road. Then we went on south by Tsing Lian Shan and on to the new gate at Hansimen. Between Tsing Lian Shan and the new gate we only saw three civilians! And that section used to be crowded. A few Japanese soldiers were wandering about, but not even many of them. Every farm house and every house we passed had been broken into and a few burned. A shop at Kwangchow Road had been broken into and was deserted, but the incense sticks had not been taken! Maybe because the nearby temple is deserted, as was Ku Ling Sze. At the gate, we found a young boy coming in from outside the city. He seemed glad to join up with us after successfully passing the guard. (We noted the piles of kangas there with only a few broken!) He had been outside Shuisimen, to his old home. His father and mother had tried to stay there but the Japanese soldiers were too rough: beating up the men, shooting others and raping the women and robbing the people, so he brought them into the Nan Min Chu - which he told us about as something we had not heard about! It was the only place a person dared to live, he said! At Shanghai Road we rescued 6 Red Swastika coolies who were bringing in pei Tsai from Moh Tsou Lu and had been stopped by the guard on the corner. They could not make the Chinese understand the Japanese word for "hu chao" and when the coolies produced them, they let them pass. On the way up Shanghai Road we noted three houses that might have been the scene of the burning incident, but did not explore that late in the afternoon. The net result of our tour was that the situation regarding piles of bodies is less serious and therefore a more favorable result. As far as opportunities for people to go to their homes outside of the Zone, the outlook is still very dark. (Half of the houses were burned outside Hansimen. We went up on the wall there and looked down on the ruins. That done by the Chinese before the Japanese entered the city.

A little good news, some more bad, and then I must turn in because I am sleepy after my first walk in over a month, or maybe because of my bath this noon! Sperling failed to find the man about rice at the Nanking Hotel this morning. But he reported to us that the city water was turned on today. However, not much pressure until they can check and repair the leaks, etc. So no water here from that. Charlie however reported that the Japanese are going to assign what was 550 tons of coal at Han Chung Lu to the Tze Chih Wei Yuan Hwei, then they can give 50 tons to us and 500 tons to the soup kitchens. Which means it all goes for the work of relief we are doing. Since the military are still trucking from the pile, we may only get 300 tons, but that will carry us through January. Charlie is going to get two or three trucks on the job tomorrow morning. Dr. Hsu and his friend who is head of the Red Swastika and chairman of the



L.S. Jan 1, 1938 (cont.)

new government (Tze Chih---), Mr. T'ao, arranged this. Rather the Japanese said they preferred to do it this way to giving it to the International Committee. We must decrease, they must increase. But so long as the work gets done, we should worry! One knotty problem is that this is confiscated coal! We may arrange to pay the dealer on the side. But the coal is a big relief to me! Then Charlie fessed up that he knew of 150 tons at the German Club all the time, rather the Inspection Committee discovered it this morning. Charlie had been keeping that under his hat because it is on German property! So we have that for a last ditch emergency!

I did not get it in last night, but many cases of diarrhea have appeared at the Univ. and the old Ministry of Communications. But Trim could not find definite cases today, so we are not sure it is dysentery yet. We think it is not. But that is the opposite effect to a shi fang diet. But some of the people are so poor they are really living on shi fang. With no city water, they have been dependent on the well, and some of them are too lazy to pump, so they go to a nearby dirty pond where toilet buckets, etc. are washed. It is only cold weather that has saved us from more disease. With no baths and crowding in as close together as they can lie down in most rooms for sleeping, it is only the lack of communications that probably keeps us clear of typhus. With only two doctors, if we get an epidemic we are finished! We hope that city water and the gradual de-concentration of the big camps may help on this matter.

We had Mrs. Twinem, Mrs. Chen, Magee and Forster here for New Year's dinner at noon. It was only by strong urging that last minute that George got John to come. Then just as we got up from the table, two Chinese came from his house to say 2 or 3 Japanese soldiers had come and were demanding women. George dashed them back in the car, but one woman had been raped before they got there, and another severely beaten because she resisted. John will never forgive us, because they have not left their Christians from Hsiakwan and others in their two or three houses alone a single minute since the 16th! That is, without some foreigner there. The beaten-up woman was taken to the Univ. Hospital and a Japanese "inspector" came to pay a New Year's call, so Miss Hynds showed them this girl and told them about the raping. He was indignant and said to report to Army Headquarters and they would have the man shot! But the men have no identification marks on them (like Chinese soldiers do) so there is no way of catching the man unless a military police happens by. One or two women were also raped this afternoon in Wang Po-chih's house and one at Tzing Teh. So we are in for some more trouble for a few days probably. ...

January 2, 1938, Sunday 3:40 P.M. 3 Ping Tsang Hsiang

Dearest Mardie and Chicks:

Sunday afternoon at home! What a luxury! But at that I had to write up some cases, two letters, and then take them to the Japanese Embassy. Just got back. Church service is at 4:30 so I will get some written before dark. Candle or lamp light is not so good. And I have to go to the University tonight.

This will be the first church service since Dec. 5th, I believe. The last one I had a chance to attend was on Nov. 20th. Mc has been ready for three weeks, but could get no congregation. So we promised him half the crowd today! Charlie is racing with the Japanese Military on hauling coal from Han Chung Lu and did not come home for lunch, so probably will not be here for church. I hope nothing has happened to him. Fitch went back to the office for a short while this afternoon.

Well, we get it going and coming! This morning at 5:00 and again about 2:00 this afternoon, Chinese planes came and bombed. This noon they were fired at by a number of anti-aircraft guns, but not so many as the Chinese used to have in operation here.

In my write-up last night I forgot one or two things. The new government for the city was celebrated yesterday by delegates from our 25 refugee camps. That is the first time I have heard of a government founded on such representation! And last Sunday I neglected to tell you that the latter part of the forenoon was taken with hauling in \$282.00 worth of coppers from Ginling College - Mills, Fitch and I. Mills, from his experience in Hankow flood relief work, knew they weighed two tons to the \$1,000! Well, our exchange shop got going this week, and is putting them out now. Kroger has a great time handling the coppers put up in packs of 100 each.

We verified it today that the Soviet Embassy was fired just the time the celebration at Kuleo took place. We wonder what it means: is it an insult to the Soviet that will lead to complications, or does it mean that Soviet Russia has already declared war on Japan?



L. S. Jan. 2, 1938 (cont.)

Our trip to the Japanese Embassy just now was to report four rape cases yesterday afternoon and to urge them to make stronger efforts to keep soldiers out of the Zone. Fukuda received us in the hall because the new government group were there -- they are there most of the time now, but they say listening to the Japanese -- and told us that Gen. Sasaki himself was inspecting the Zone to see that order was kept and the gendarmerie had been strengthened. So we hope it will not get worse. But the remainder of the city is full of soldiers and many of them have to leave today.

Bates was surprised this week to have Gee ask that a Bible class be started at the University today, and Chen Yung started one this morning at 9:00. Searle was to go with Takatama to see University property at 8:30 but for the third time he postponed it when Searle got there! Gee also told Searle yesterday that the crowd was searched before the meeting began and kept well distributed! 120 refugees went from the University and about 50 from Rabe's place.

Jan. 5, 1938      9:20 PM      3 Ping Tsang Hsiang

Well it was fun to get a letter off to you yesterday by Mr. Tanaka and via air mail from Hongkong to Hankow. I know the chances of that air mail still operating are slim, but it is worth the chance. All our letters sent by Japanese Embassy have to be "open letters" -- Searle asked the gang here if they would take Stanley Jones' open letter -- and I thought I had a letter that would not be censored. Plumer had to take one of his letters over after I had taken the bunch yesterday noon; he found Fukuda, Tanaka and Fukui busy reading our letters! They ran on to a statement in mine that they said they would have to prevent my sending. So Plumer suggested they cut it out and he brought the slip home. It was a very casual reference to an insignificant air raid here! But it was "military information"! Anyway we found out the sort of thing they are censoring.

In the excitement over actually getting a letter off to you, I have neglected these diary letters since the first. But I guess I can cover the four days easily. Bob showed in one of his letters that what he was sending was not all by marking it "page 50."

Sunday, the 2nd, we worked about as much as ever until noon. But we decided that it was time to have church again and give Mc a chance to preach the sermon he had prepared four weeks before. I stayed home that afternoon but worked on getting documents straightened out up until nearly church time. Word came in just before church that the military police had thrown a cordon around the 6th housing office but Searle said we had better not interfere -- down at 55 Ying Yang Ying. Charlie had not shown up for lunch and since he was out trying to get coal from south of Han Chung Lu we feared foul play. So Plumer said he knew the location of the yard and he started off with George but met Charlie at the gate. He had lunch at the Red Swastika. So with bobbing around church got under way with Mrs. Twinem at the piano, Mc leading, Grace, Searle, Plumer, George, Sone, Trimmer and I. He preached on "Hope." He said four weeks ago "hope" was what had pulled the Safety Zone through. Now I begin to think it was ignorance -- ignorance of all that was in store for us. But none of us would have had us turn back on it as we look back now. Just as church broke up in came Dr. C Y Hsu and Mr. Chen of the I C office. Japanese soldiers had entered a house back of our headquarters and killed a man and others were moving into a house back of our place, so the women staying in the yard would be in danger of soldiers coming over



Jan. 5, 1938 (cont.)

the wall to rape them. Since the man was dead we felt there was little we could do ~~now~~ there so we concentrated in getting a foreigner to stay at headquarters that night. As it was better to be a German and partly arranged we went to see Rabe about getting Sperling. Rabe agreed. So I went back to go tell Sperling with George and met Charlie at the gate. Magee had come with full details of the murder. So Magee and Rabe went to the Japanese Embassy to present the case which was weakened by the fact the man killed had slapped the soldier, while George and I drove to Sperling's to get him to cover 5 Ninghai Road that night. I found him eating supper upstairs with Chinese women all over the place -- since learned many of them are actors -- but he said he would be over in 10 minutes. We found Ninghai Road all quiet so went on home for supper. I had a quiet night at the University but was glad to have George take us in a car and Searle go with me to see the lay of the land.

Plumer came in in his bathrobe just now to tell me that the caller that Lao Kua had come up to announce was no other than Fukui! Bob said when the dogs raised a howl that it was probably a Jap soldier! And best of all Fukui came to tell us that Allison of the American consulate was due tomorrow morning at ten. He was formerly at Tsinan where Mills knew him quite well, and here a while and was in Tokyo so knows the Japanese. He is a very good man. They do not know who the others are. Rosen of the German Embassy will be here the 10th and by that time a Secretary of the British Embassy will be here and their military observer, Lovett-Fraser, will come. We had had some expectation of the Amer cans getting here today but when I went over at noon to inquire Fukui told me they would not be here for a few days. So we thought they were stalling. So we had decided that since we had taken care of ourselves through the worst of it, we could do so now. But representatives of all three countries getting in here will open a new stage in this situation. As Plumer says, the Japanese will have to behave themselves. And increasing the foreign community, especially as this will probably open the way for other missionaries and for business people to return, will add to the "neutral observers" and will also relieve us of the necessity of protesting. As I told Plumer we can go to work with the Tze Chih Wei Yuan Hwei. I am glad that some of the consular and diplomatic representatives are those who were here up till December 10th because they will remember the good condition the city was in then and a superficial drive around the city now will show them the difference. And our little paper on the burning of the city drawn up and signed by a host of us Dec. 21st will be very strategic. Rabe said today that we had better reserve a bed in the hospital for Rosen, he will be so shocked! And these representatives will open up our means of communication with the outside world so I may get some word to and from you, though we will have to be circumspect in what we report out, or we will have to get out! Although now the pressure is to keep us here -- to all intents and purposes we have been prisoners with freedom of the inside of the city.

Well, now after that account of the quietest Sunday we have had in four weeks, no six weeks, I will move on to Monday. Sunday Rabe was so panicky about the Japanese having the Tse Chih Wei Yuan Hwei take over the I C and all its resources, that Monday morning I told Searle I thought I had better work out a brief of our position vis-a-vis the Tze Chih Wei Yuan Hwei, ie. that we were a private relief organization and expected to continue as such. Rabe came back in higher spirits Monday and agreed. Monday Charlie succeeded in hauling coal all night from Han Chung Lu. But Tuesday more trouble developed. On Monday when the consular policeman that was travelling with the truck as guard asked the head man at the Red Swastika soup kitchen on Wutai-shan who was sending them coal and the man replied, the Kuo Tsi Wei Yuan Hwei, the consular policeman slapped his face and said, "No, it is the Tze Chih



Jan. 5, 1938 (cont.)

Wei Yuan Hwei!" The same scene was repeated with the man at the University soup kitchen Tuesday. And since there was some question about the coal going to the I C, we ~~decided~~ decided to let the Tze Chih man who was working on the truck supervise the trucking and Charlie confine his work to organizing the trucks. Then a foreigner would not be so obvious and we asked the chairman of the Tze Chih to give the driver a written order to deliver coal to these places. Talked this all out with Dr. Hsu yesterday. He is very good. Also approached him about rice, saying "What I say unto you I say unto all, RICE." He said the Tze Chih had been asked by the Japanese to organize a committee to handle that matter.

Last night Charlie told us the Tze Chih had appointed a food commissioner after the pattern of our organization. He had asked the Japanese for 2,000 tan of rice a day. A good estimate for 200,000 people. He would handle this both commercially and free distribution and let our stores stand as a reserve. But he would like to have our food commissioner and associate, Mr. Han and Sone, work with him and for us to help in the trucking. Who was he? Jimmy! They all snorted and Searle said, "Well, rice must be going to be the most paying proposition." But I remarked, "Well, he is the one man in the outfit that may get some rice moving before March first." So they all agreed and that we should cooperate in every way we could.

But since the Japanese army supply man had offered to sell rice and flour to Sperling, I suggested he try again to see him. Kroger also knew the man so he volunteered to go. So they both went this morning and met the man but he was busy and told them to come back tomorrow morning at the same time, 8:00 at the Nanking Hotel. I hope we can either act as an introducer for Wang or arrange to buy directly enough rice to replace what we have sold with the money we have collected. Right now we would rather hold rice than money. Besides these developments, I have put in considerable of my time getting my triplicate files worked out and classified. Will have a set ready for the American representatives when they get here. They will probably be astounded at the directness and forcefulness of our protests to the Japanese Embassy, but we were in a situation that made us feel much more strongly than we wrote. The documents are merely historical now, but they will show clearly the stand the I C has taken in the whole matter. Oh, it was Monday afternoon that we took over the account of the 6 girls taken to what appeared to be a Japanese military hospital where they washed clothes by day and were raped by night, 10 to 40 times according to their beauty. Finally one girl was taken out and her head nearly cut off with bayonets. She got to the UH and Bob patched up her neck and thinks she will live but have a stiff neck. Rabe and I went with a brief letter asking them to follow it up and try to rescue the other 5 girls. When they read of the case, Fukuda and Tanaka had nothing to say, except, Fukuda's remark: "The Army is very mad because they say it is the first time in history that an army has had to conquer a place with neutral observers on hand." Quite a false view, but we felt it was no time to argue so did not. But it made us all feel more thankful than ever that we had been here.

Out of six appointments, Takatama of the consular police has kept one of them with Searle to see the University property in the last six days. Today Searle found trouble at the Middle School and went down to learn that a staff man there, Su, and a refugee who speaks Japanese had been put under great pressure by the consular police to join them in their work. The first assignment for the refugee was to point out the amah of the Soviet Embassy. What for, no one knows yet. And Takatama was the man who searched Su's house last night -- no wonder he had "insomnia" today. What is more Takatama showed up at the Middle School while Searle was talking the case out with the man in charge who has done a remarkable job of baring for 12,000 go 15,000 refu-



Jan. 5, 1938 (cont.)

gees down there, Chiang, and Su and the refugee! He took his surprise out in lecturing Su that he should not drink so much and accepting ~~his~~ verbal guarantee from Searle that Su had been connected with our staff, so was not a police detective as charged. The plot thickens! But just one piece in the jigsaw puzzle that is shaping up into a feudal society; men seeking protection under military conquerors.

I should add that Monday noon the 3rd, we got radio news, but as usual not so much news. Bob got more at the hospital last night. Juice was off at 5 Ninghai Road yesterday and today -- well it came on last evening and we got London at 6:00 and Kroger got the other places later in the evening. Today I let Bob take my set to the hospital but still they could not get the short wave stations. But a little news of the outside world gave us a new orientation after four weeks completely cut off.

This noon Plumer struck off a spark that we have all been feeling: that we are being driven to work through the Tze Chih instead of directly with the Japanese Embassy on a number of questions. The Japanese are anxious for the I C to decline rapidly and turn over its responsibilities to the Tze Chih. So Plumer suggested we work on that basis definitely and put things up to the Tze Chih and strengthen their courage to demand things from the Japanese. Two items for a starter: restoration of order in other parts of the city so people could return and stop the burning of the city. (There are a number of fires in different parts of the city every day, though now as many as the first few days after the 19th.) So when I got back to the office I started working out a brief for these two points. Then had Rabe, Kroger, Mills and Bates criticise it so it is growing into a pretty fair statement. I got the idea of doing it section by section. That way we can have a better chance of a good restoration of order before the people return to the areas in question and we can observe its operation better. And it is an indirect way of crowding the soldiers out of large sections of the city, which could not be done at one stroke for the whole city! It simply applies the method that has worked partly successfully in the Zone to the rest of the city piece by piece, probably starting with the corner, the southwest corner, which has been least destroyed and has some people living there.

January 9, 1938      Sunday, 8:15 PM      3 Ping Tsang Hsiang

When the American representatives got here on the 6th we felt like a burden had been lifted off us. Not that they themselves can do so much or can do anything directly for the Zone, etc., but their very presence we felt would be a deterrent on the Japanese army and it is already having that effect. They are making some effort to straighten up the town -- the man in charge has been recalled to Tokyo. And now today the British and German representatives landed so we feel quite reinforced -- like a besieged party when relief comes. True we had about made up our minds that we could take care of ourselves because the representatives were so long coming and the Japanese kept saying "a few days more", and we had gotten along fairly well. But now we realize there are a lot of things that can be done with them here that could not before. And one thing they take off our hands the burden of protesting about American property. Reports of damages to business properties in Hsiakwan were beginning to come into us and as much for the protection of the caretakers in charge as anything, we had to do something about it, without the liberty to go to Hsiakwan to check up. We had no intention originally making much effort to defend American property, but when the Japanese Embassy people got here we soon learned that they were only interested in doing something -- woefully little at that -- in protecting foreign property but not interested in doing a thing for the Chinese as such. So we worked that game to the limit because we had a large proportion of the concentrations of refu-



Jan. 9, 1938 (cont.)

gees in American institutional property. Especially when the raping season was on -- open season -- we threw open Ginling and the University to women who were streaming the streets mornings, panic stricken to find any place that was safer than where they were the night before. And by getting guards -- gradually -- at some of those places we were able to give them some protection. But the very mass, 12,000 at Ginling, 15,000 at the Middle School, over 10,000 at the University proper (nearer 12,000) cut down the percentage raped. And we also found that it was only the magic of a westerner with some courage that could stand up to the individual Japanese soldier. We had to use that magic to the limit to the point where we feared they would turn on us. So we felt we had to stand on every effort through the Japanese Embassy to secure respect for us as Americans that we were entitled to. Somehow the miracle continued to work and we 22 Westerners policed the Japanese army that had captured the city while the Japanese only had 17 military police there and they very ineffective at first. The situation did not clear up a great deal until about Dec. 29th when they issued orders that the soldiers were not to enter the Zone and stationed guards at the entrances to keep them out and military police to patrol the Zone. That has not kept all of them out but on the 18th and 19th they were all over the place hopping walls, busting in gates, crawling in cellars, reminding you of some pictures of brownies all over town. Robbing, raping, looting right down the street night and day. Whew! And that after the high command had arrived on the 15th and a Japanese general toured the Zone with us.

Well, that is a nightmare that is passed now. As we told the British representatives when we visited them this afternoon: in reply to their statement, "You ~~have~~ must have had a bad time," we said, "No we did not have a bad time and have kept fairly comfortable, but it hurt us so to see the Chinese population suffering so." Prideaux-Brune and Col. Lovett-Fraser also had a tale to tell in connection with the bombing and shelling of British boats on the 12th, the same day the Panay was sunk.

Well, the other letters will tell all the story and an epilogue can better be written later. Magee came very close to summarizing the spiritual experience this afternoon in church service here in reading from Psalms 124, 125, 126:

If it had not been the Lord who was on our side,  
When men rose up against us:  
Then they had swallowed us up alive,  
When their wrath was kindled against us:  
Then the waters had overwhelmed us,  
The proud waters had gone over our soul.  
Blessed by the Lord,  
Who hath not given us as a prey to their teeth.

and the concluding hymn: "A mighty fortress is our God." His sermon was on the contrast between Jesus and Pilot (with the whole Roman Empire behind him.) As Searle said one day when one of the fellows kidded him, "Are you still a pacifist, Bates?" quick came the reply, "Yes, and I'm getting to be more of one every day." Never in my life have I had such a demonstration of the value of moral courage and what could be done by just purely being on the right side, standing for what was decent and right, without lifting a single hand to use force. It was only that way we could chase out armed Japanese soldiers. One appeal to force or arms, and we would have been finished and our work left undone.

Well, to bring the story up to date. As soon as the policing job let up a little, I decided we must begin to work to get food moving into the Zone for the civilian population. We were trucking our rice to refugee camps and to our rice shop at an ever increasing rate and as private stores ran out



that demand would increase, as it has. So the morning of the 27th I began a campaign to get rice from the Japanese. Our shop was then selling 10 bags a day, now it is selling 150 bags a day, with a "rice line" of 700 -800 people every day. And we only allow each person to purchase a ton. Besides that we are using up 100 bags a day in free distribution and soup kitchens besides about 40-50 bags that the Red Swastika are using from stores they got from the Japanese, 3,000 bags through a Japanese priest. We appealed to the Japanese Embassy but they said the Army preferred to do it through the Tze Chih Wei Yuan Hwei but they would get us coal, our urgent need. We were promised 500 tons through the Tze Chih Wei Yuan Hwei but it dwindled to 100 tons by army hauling, but it has carried us to date and since it was Tze Chih Charlie was able to get consular police to convoy the trucks and get passes for the coolies. While we were pressing the Embassy about rice, Sperling was talking to the Army supply head and he said he could sell us any amount of rice and flour. So I set Sperling on his trail but he did not contact him again until this week, with the help of Kroger. Now we have an order in for 3,000 bags of rice at \$13.00 per bag of 1.25 ton and 5,000 bags of flour at \$3.00. But no definite word as to full acceptance but terms included delivery to University "warehouse" by the Army. ("Warehouse"-chapel.)

Meanwhile "Jimmy" Wang was appointed Food commissioner under the Tze Chih at the suggestion of the Japanese because we were pressing them on the rice question. He asked for 100,000 ton free and 100,000 purchased. The Army turned that down. Friday he reported the case was hopeless so we closed our order at a higher price than we cared to pay for rice, though not too high from the market price point of view, but since the community is entirely on a consuming basis we want to husband their resources, both in supplies and cash. Yesterday he said they would give him 5,000 bags for free distribution outside of the Zone. To bribe the people to go home to their destroyed homes. And sell him 100,000 at a cheap price. Today it was 1,250 for free distribution and 10,000 to sell to him at \$4-5 which he was to sell for less than the International Committee was selling. That tickled us. So he is to buy about \$5 per bag and sell for \$8 per ton. We are to do the trucking for them! But they will pay us for rice hauled for sale and we will haul the rice for free distribution free. Charlie spent today organizing the trucks, ~~for~~ after getting them in running condition yesterday. The Japanese refused today, this morning, to use coolies wearing I C insignias. So Charlie had to sign up coolies that would be willing to work under the Tze Chih insignia and they demanded Rabe's consent because they were Siemen's coolies. Then the chauffeurs, who are in the hire of the private owners of the trucks, said they would not drive unless it was their own coolies, so this afternoon Charlie had to repeat the process and get coolies from the lao pan of each truck. By night he had it all talked out, six coolies ~~accompany~~ accompany each truck and we pay the lao pan \$2.00 per trip. The Tze Chih will pay that on all hauls and will pay us for gas and oil for the commercial rice. So Charlie is promoted from truck convoy to chief despatcher of 5 trucks. One step in advance is the Tze Chih is putting one of their police, which they are now taking over 160 from our police saved from the city police, to accompany the trucks along with the Japanese consular police. Two police for 5 trucks. Tomorrow morning Kroger is to see the supply man. If he agrees to deliver our rice, we will take it in spite of the high price as an insurance against a break down on this scheme.

"Jimmy" came in this forenoon to tell me the arrangements. So we threshed it all over together with Fitch, Rabe and Kroger. He said the Japanese wanted to close our shop by force. So I told him that we were anxious to close our shop. Yesterday morning I got up with the idea of forcibly closing it ourselves Monday morning to see if it would push the Japanese and the Tze Chih into getting commercial rice going. Our supplies at the present rate of consumption of 250 bags a day would only last two weeks, 4,000 bags. Whereas for free rice only, 100 bags a day, it would last 40 days. So



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I told Jimmy that since we had one store open today and rice would be moving this afternoon or tomorrow, we would close tomorrow morning. And he could go back and tell the Japanese that he had gotten the I C to close its rice shop on his order! So tomorrow we are out of the rice business but the merchant who was handling it on a small commission refuses to work under the Tze Chih, and just closes up. Small sales will continue at the refugee camps a day or two until more stores can be opened, and then we will stop that and make them go out to buy rice. We started this when things were so bad people did not dare go out to buy rice and in fact no rice shop was open. Our only shop at headquarters -- no other place other place had enough protection, was at the northern end of the Zone. Well, after two weeks of wiggling and haggling and dreaming nights, we have gotten a trickle of commercial rice started. Since it only has to be hauled from Kuo Fu Road it will move in 500-600 bags a day. But coal supply is temporarily stopped, but negotiations are proceeding along the same two lines for more, Tze Chih and the supply master.

Yesterday morning, realizing that if we were to pay out \$50,000 for rice and flour we should replace those resources against trouble later. So as Fong Sec had wired Fitch for needs, I started a telegram asking for \$50,000 and for him to arrange to ship beans, peanuts or oil, green vegetables or substitutes from Shanghai. We can't keep the people on shui all winter. We are now feeding 50,000 per day on free rice. Many of them can still get pei tsai, etc., but that is going fast and no more in sight till spring. (Our own diet here is settling down to rice, sometimes with tomato juice, pei tsai and Luchowfu peaches. But we have bread, a butter the hospital makes from the skum off boiled milk, and plenty of jam. Carrots occasionally. But today after Church Espy told us that rice was \$20 per tan a while in Shanghai and was now down to \$17. Other supplies are also difficult to get. So we may not be able to get much. But we hope to get by on local rice here as the Chinese army has such big stores and the Japanese are importing their own now.

Allison and Espy are going to help us get supplies up from Shanghai on whatever boat comes up. So we are getting up an order tonight to go down on this boat for hams, (no meat to be had here -- not even for our British friends whom we invited to lunched today, accepted for tomorrow since they did not land till 2:00) dried fruits, coffee, sugar, etc. Will combine with them for Kuleo Cooperative Buying Club. Will try to get part of our shipment of powdered milk.

Yes, we have been food tropic for two weeks. But we have visions of other things. In our telegram to Fong Sec we asked for two foreign doctors and two foreign nurses. We want to start more public health work and a travelling clinic to the camps. Minnie wants to ~~rehabilitate~~ start a home for widows and orphans at Ginling. We have organized a rehabilitation committee to help people get back home. We want to push things on to work relief as soon as order permits.

Boy, this house is popping tonight. I went down to get the Hymnal to look up those ~~Psalm~~ Psalms and the living room was dark. Every man in his room pounding a typewriter. Poor Searle and Mc drew tonight to sleep at the University and Hospital respectively. Espy told us after church that this tug boat instead of going down river the 12th night go tomorrow.

If you see the Turner's, tell them Searle and I checked up on their house this morning and found it just as they had left it with dresses, etc., hanging in the closets. It has not been touched. So they were much luckier than Elmien which has been turned topsy-turvy time and again. I think I have said that looting by the Japs is nothing like by the law peh sing. It



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is only petting looting in most cases but they turned everything upside down. Daniels rugs were taken though and some beds, I believe from Elmian, to make some officer comfortable in a city they have destroyed. Did I tell you that Ishida, the supply man, when he had Kroger out to lunch the other day remarked, "Nanking is the capital of China. Why don't they have any nice comfortable places to go and eat and visit?" Kroger was taken back, but had to reply, "There were plenty until your army destroyed and burned the city." Plumer and I went down to the Shuang Tang Church this afternoon to take them their rice -- 1500 people refugeed there instead of in the Zone -- and a lumber merchant refugeeing from Shanghai has taken charge of the camp and handled it excellently. A woman there with a baby in arms had just been raped before we arrived by three Japanese soldiers. The shops are all burned out and the Chiang Tang Kai church is a burned ruins. In South Gate two older school buildings in the west compound were also burned. Other buildings intact ex looting.

Will have to stop soon for the 10:10 broadcast from Shanghai. But must tell how we got the lights. The electricity came on a week ago tomorrow for the first time, I believe. But the Japns went around and cut off all the houses at the poles excepting those for Japanese offices and the hospital. Rabe got light by sending a fitter up a pole to connect it. Kroger got it by talking a local Japanese officer into doing it then tipping the fitters \$5.00. Fitch today talked to the Chinese engineer we supplied -- tonight we have lights. All a part of living in a feudalistic society that is growing up around us. And after we had spent part of the day digging up scattered cans of kerosene to keep our -- some looted -- lamps going.

We laughed today after being told by Prideauz-Brune, as Allison had told us about some earlier, that most of the people who were here until Dec. 10th have gone to various places for a vacation after the strain. SO someday we may be due a brief vacation. But not until we see this population out of this hole. That is some regular food supply in sight, at least.

But you need not worry about me here. The worst is probably over now. Having direct and immediate contact with the outside world by radio is a big help, I mean naval wirelss. And with some boat contact we will be able to get adequate supplies. With a continuance of good weather, water supply and possibly some supplementary foods and more doctors we hope we should be over by the first of March, but you never can tell. We thought the worst was over the morning of December 14th. Instead it was just ahead of us.

For the Folks, I will add what I said in the former letter, all the University and Ginling buildings are intact. In fact no mission property has been destroyed excepting the buildings above mentioned having been burned. A shell hit the ACM parish building, one hit Drum Tower church, one a University dormitory, and one unexploded hit Steward's basement, the last three on the afternoon of the 13th when we thought the fighting was over. Excepting the first, none did serious damage and no one injured. In fact the Chinese girl was hiding in the tower of the ACM church at Taiping Road when that shell must have passed it by inches. We had one library worker at our refugee camp at the new library building bayoneted in the neck one night for not helping Japanese soldiers get women, but not seriously. No others have been injured. But a number of wives of staff men here and women in their families were raped.

Where is wool? Buried. Our cloth did not get off, along with 400 University boxes. Kao had 7 rolls of undyed uniform cloth at the wool place and so far no looting of it. Many refugees in that compound and women more attractive to Japs than wool. Though they took all Searle's wool cloth and bedding at his house.