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Newsletters, memoranda,
reports 1927 Feb-Mar

mailed 1/17/27 to Trustees + Thomas H. Kent and Warren, Harlow,
Lambert and Howard and Dr. H. H. H. H.

UNIVERSITY OF NANKING

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

TRANSFER



February 17, 1927.

To the Trustees of the University of Nanking:

A letter from President Arthur J. Bowen dated January 17, just received here, contains information which I have felt you would wish to have at once:

"In the first place, we have had a very quiet semester's work. We give final examinations next week and close January 21. We have had no disturbance of any kind during the semester and have been most fortunate, I think, in every respect here in Nanking, but we are all very apprehensive as to the future, when the South gets in control. I think we all more or less take it for granted that it is only a question of 'when,' as we do not see how the Northern forces - Sun Chuan-fang, Chang Chung-chang and other backers - can stand very long against the predominantly strong sentiment throughout this region for the South, unless, indeed, the excesses of the extremists in Hunan and Hupeh alienate the general Chinese sentiment. It is very possible that if the South does not get to Shanghai and here for six or eight months, the sentiment against them will be very strong. In the past six weeks it has changed considerably, against the South, but it is still, in general, favorable toward them."

"We sent you thirty copies of the regulations of the Southern government for the regulation of private schools. If these regulations are put in force I shall undoubtedly resign as president and we shall probably administer under a committee of five or seven, mostly Chinese. Probably no Chinese would, under present circumstances, want to take over the responsibility of the University. Just how much the Southern government will interfere with the orderly running of an institution it is entirely too early yet to say, but it has been rumored that they will want to teach economics, sociology and history. If there is very much interference and we could not operate efficiently or with any very great religious liberty, I think very few foreigners would want to stay."

"We have already decided to put all of our religious work, both teaching, chapel, and church, on a voluntary basis beginning next semester, and that is more or less true in the Middle School, and even in the Primary School. This is not only because it will be required when we register, either with the Northern or the Southern government, but also because of the very insistent and urgent demand on the part of all Chinese - students and teachers. The net result probably will be at least as good Christian and religious work as we have done in the past - perhaps much better, many think."

"When the South first comes, or at least the political propagandists get in full swing, we shall undoubtedly have considerable difficulty, as has been experienced in Hupeh and Hunan, but we are hoping to weather the storm, so it is possible that next term is going to be rather hectic and disturbed, and I hope that the Trustees and Mr. Sarvis will have some extra funds on hand to meet emergencies and shortage in student receipts, I am sure they will be needed."

To the Trustees of the
University of Nanking

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February 17, 1927.

A copy of the Regulations referred to is enclosed with this letter to the Trustees as are also copies of Dr. Sun Yat Sen's Will to the Chinese People and a statement by Dr. C. S. Miao - a Christian educator explaining the principles of the Nationalist program as outlined by Dr. Sun.

We have also a cablegram from Dr. Bowen under date of February 14th reporting that enrolment for the second semester was normal, which is very encouraging.

Dr. Bowen has not yet learned that our plans for some campaign by Mr. Sarvis have not worked out. It would seem that some measures should be taken to provide what he foresees may be needed.

Faithfully yours,



Secretary.

TRANSFER

ADDRESS BY MR. T. Z. KOO
AT CONFERENCE ON CHURCH AND MISSION ADMINISTRATION
MARCH 1, 1927

Mr. Koo said in substance:

"I am speaking for myself alone and not for any organized group. I desire to interpret from the Chinese side the thoughts of some who have been trying to face the problems involved in 'devolution'.

"There are three preliminary questions which have been more and more coming to the front in our consciousness:

1. What is the real contribution of Christianity to China and to Chinese life? It is easy to answer the question in terms of educational, medical or other institutional work. But this is not the kind of answer we are seeking. We are almost ruling these out. What we desire to know is, What religious (spiritual) contribution Christianity can make? This question we have not yet answered to our own satisfaction. And without an answer to this primary question it is difficult to be interested in questions of 'transfer of control'. We are trying to work out an answer that will give us the driving force of conviction.

2. The Christian Church in China is an institution in which we Chinese Christians do not feel a sense of proprietorship. For instance, I was trained in the Anglican Church, but I do not feel that the Anglican Church is mine. When we have this consciousness we make little effort to know what the problems are because they are not ours and we have little interest in the transfer of authority.

3. We see large mission institutions, representing much property, all organized on a basis far above anything the Chinese Christian group can carry. In our present economic life the Chinese people are not able to carry these institutions. Why do not Chinese desire to take the administration of these institutions over? The matter is one beyond our power. Therefore when you ask a Chinese Christian about the transfer of these institutions he can only give you certain answers. You see the same limitation in the kind of answer a Chinese Christian will give to a missionary who informs him that the Consul has ordered him to evacuate and then asks for advice as to what he shall do. There is but one answer he can give and that is, 'Go.' In devolution you are dealing with a similar mental attitude. The Chinese feel the time is approaching when they should take over the administration of the Church work but they do not dare to do so.

"From the standpoint of the missionaries the whole question of the transfer of administrative responsibility is complicated by one or more of four mental attitudes. (1) Missionaries connected with this or that institution have such a love for it, have so great a pride in it that they cease to think in terms of the personalities involved, and think only in terms of the institution. They are trying to fit men into the institution rather than fit the institution to meet the needs of the men. When they think of turning such an institution over, they immediately wonder if it is safe to take the risk. (2) It is very easy to come to love one's position and the power it brings so that we are very reluctant to give them up. Take for instance

the position of the principal of a school who says, 'If this school cannot be run in my way and according to my ideas it ought to be closed'. I do not see how Christian men and women can set themselves up as the sole judges as to what ought to be. People who have come to hold a certain position seem to feel that the whole responsibility rests on them. (3) We easily get into a rut in thinking, especially those of us past forty. We refuse to recognize that a new start somewhere is possible. We cannot see outside of our rut but are content to be comfortable in a well-oiled groove. When any change is proposed we immediately begin to balance difficulties one against another. (4) Are we not subject to a certain insidious satisfaction connected with a sense of 'giving'? We are the givers, others the beneficiaries of our gifts. When we are asked instead to make the work a joint enterprise in which we share with others in it, we are conscious of a distinct sense of loss.

"To come now to the subject of 'Devolution'. I do not think of this as 'handing over'. This or that distinct piece of work. We must regard the work as a joint enterprise. We must stand together to try to preserve what we now have rather than worry over the problems of turning it over from one to the other.

"There are three points around which my thinking on the question of devolution revolves:

1. Are we willing, whether missionaries or Chinese, to take what we have in personnel and organization and make a beginning with that to build a Chinese Church? For example, if I may be permitted to use the Y. M. C. A. as an illustration, when we start a new work we take the best group available as a board of directors and start with that. We do not wait ten years until we get the sort of men we want but begin with what we have, and gradually things begin to happen. We are trying too much to judge this question of transfer by Western standards of efficiency. You say if we attempt to start with only what we have our institutions will be in danger. There is likely to be less efficiency, waste, etc. Hence the Chinese hesitate to undertake these new responsibilities. We will simply have to take the risk to accept mistakes, waste, loss, -- it is an inevitable part of the process. With all our Western efficiency we have not been able to save our institutions from the present crisis. Had we not better lose some in experimenting to find a better method?

2. Denominationalism. I do not say that denominations must go, but I do not stand for them. They are a real problem in meeting the situation. I wish we could take a few large cities and use the city as a unit rather than the mission, making the experiment of working together to face the whole situation. If we will try to face this problem with all it involves in men and money, then I will believe that you are really sincere in saying that you have no interest in perpetuating your own missions.

3. Or again we may take certain parts of the work as units, and think in terms of the whole nation or of a whole branch of the work. For instance, take education. The large universities are too big for the Chinese to think of taking them over now. Why not relate all the educational work of the Church in one programme. Study where to bury and where to build up. Could we not make the problem of support much easier? Why not sell off part of the large property of some in-

stitutions and endow the remainder, or another institution, so that the work may be carried on efficiently? This will not be possible until we can look at the whole Christian educational work as one problem. There is very little hope of solving the question of devolution if we depend on human wisdom. We see to-day God using agencies of His own to force us to make the turnover of which we have been talking so long. He may have to destroy some who are unwilling to work with Him but He is working and hence we need not despair."

In answer to questions Mr. Koo made the following statements:

Ques: Is the difficulty as to the contribution of Christianity a difficulty in definition only or is it a question as to the reality of the contribution?

Ans: We are thinking of the contribution of Christianity not from the point of view of institutional work but from that of the distinctively religious contribution. In China the idea of God is distant and impersonal. Christianity shows God as a close spiritual personality, particularly seen through the manifestation of Jesus Christ. This is a partial answer. We are still working on it.

Ques: Why has Christianity made so little impression after over a hundred years in China?

Ans: Ordinary people miss the real point. They see only hospitals, schools or other good deeds of Christianity. Much of the present teaching and preaching does not touch this central fact of the real religious contribution. Of a hundred and twenty questions asked by students about Christianity all were on the fringes of Christianity, not one on the central point.

Ques: Recognizing the dangers in institutional work, does Mr. Koo mean that it should be given up or used as a field of work for the Church?

Ans: Many changes are needed but it need not be given up. Inherent in the present system of mission administration there is a real danger in two directions. First, in developing parties and cliques which are more likely to arise in Chinese organizations. Any group wanting to rise in your system complains against authority. One group opposes another in striving for your favour. Second, in developing the type of leadership not really independent in thought and action. Hence when responsibility is thrown upon them they cannot respond. Hence the sooner we change the present system of administration the better. If we try to continue the process of devolution through the present system we must wait for years to develop a real leadership.

Ques: Is there a growing conviction on the part of the Chinese that Christianity develops the finest type of character? Many missionaries would fix on this one point as the real contribution of Christianity to China.

Ans: Speaking for myself, there is no question of a clear conviction that Christianity does produce a God-like character. Confucianism, with its idea of harmony, was not a foundation for perfect humanity. There is no manifestation of God or of God-like qualities such as is seen in Jesus. In the Gospels we see not only Jesus but God in Jesus, that is God Himself.

TRANSFER

Extract from a letter received from Swatow under
date of March 4-1927

We have come through the past two perplexing years without anything approaching friction or unpleasantness in our relations to the Chinese church, and this has been effected by a tacit ignoring of the questions on which we might conceivably differ more or less sharply-some on which we certainly should. This has been the attitude of both sides.

The official church bodies, presbyteries and synod, have from first to last made no pronouncements whatever on the political or semi-political questions at issue, nor have they ever demanded, or in the least degree indicated that they desired, any such from us. They have never raised in any form questions regarding the readjustment of relations between the church and the Mission, or of the more personal relations of the missionaries to the church. Without ever expressing themselves formally in any way they have let it be seen that their policy has been simply to maintain the normal friendly relations of former years, and to avoid bringing into the open differences of opinion which might make the maintenance of these more difficult. We have attended the meetings of these courts as usual during this period, and nothing has ever been said there to which the most sensitive of us could take exception. For this (one is inclined to call it old-world Chinese) courtesy we cannot be too grateful; and our trust is that by the pursuing of this course a safe passage may be made to better times.

Whatever transference of responsibilities and control has been found necessary has been effected throughout on our initiative, and it has been most loyally accepted; the effect of these two years has been merely to hasten a process which was already in full movement; they have indeed only now taken over responsibilities which we had been pressing upon them for more than ten years past.

The reason why I explain this so fully is to show you why we should deprecate any kind of formal or open discussion of questions which they have shown no desire to discuss in that way. We read so much in these days of strained relations between missionaries and Chinese, of the necessity for radical readjustments in order to avoid disaster, of the urgent need to thrash out the questions at issue, to get down to first principles and revise methods in accordance with them; and the accepted method of doing so seems to be elaborate conference and discussion. With all this, as the result of our experience, we find ourselves in very little sympathy.

That there must be changes of method, and perhaps some revision of principles, we should agree; but we are convinced that in present circumstances the less said the better. Our church has followed the traditional British method-and I am inclined to think that it is native Chinese also-of dealing with the immediate problem in a practical way without arguing about the principles involved. I

fear I am becoming prolix; but our point is that anything in the way of conference between church leaders and an accredited representative of the N.C.C. could hardly avoid creating just such discussions as we on both sides have been carefully avoiding. It is impossible to foresee how they would tend, and it might be that the result, instead of being helpful, would prove the reverse.

We know of course that all the questions which are in the air are being discussed up and down the church, and one would not wish it otherwise; but they are not being discussed officially, and that seems to us to have been a safeguard of great value for the maintenance of satisfactory relations. This is our considered opinion which I have been asked to represent to you, and we feel sure that in coming to a decision about your visit you will give it a generous consideration.

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AMERICAN CONSULATE

Nanking, China,

March 11, 1927.

TO THE HEADS OF LOCAL REPRESENTATIVES OF
AMERICAN MISSIONS IN NANKING:-

Gentlemen:

As you are all aware the recent politico-military developments in this section have created a situation which may possibly produce disorders such as would endanger Americans and thus render necessary their evacuation from this city. While every effort is being made to keep fully informed of the trend of military events in order that evacuation, if made, can be effected well in advance of actual disturbances, it is quite possible that some crisis may develop suddenly and without warning, thus necessitating the withdrawal of Americans under conditions of haste and strain. Moreover, at best mass evacuation is inevitably attended by hardship and discomfort, owing to the necessity of crowding large numbers of people into small accommodations, and the impossibility of permitting them to carry baggage or servants with them.

In view of this situation I would advise the following steps be now taken, both to minimize the possibility of danger and to lessen the difficulties of a general evacuation should such a step become necessary,

1. That American women and children now leave those outlying stations from which departure would be difficult in a time of crisis.
2. That Chinese young women and girls in colleges and schools operated by American missions be sent home so as to have them safely out of the

way in case disorders should occur.

3. That those Americans in Nanking who are in advanced years or who because of infirmity or ill health could not stand exposure, hardship and stress of excitement; and those to whom passing through a period of looting or disorder would probably cause a serious nervous shock, now proceed to Shanghai.
4. That those American women and children for whose continued presence in Nanking there exists no pressing necessity and who can secure suitable accommodations in Shanghai without financial or other hardships, now proceed to that city while they can do so with comparative comfort and ability to take sufficient baggage for their needs. Such a step would not only prevent their own possible discomfort later on but by lessening the number left in this city would reduce the difficulties, of those who cannot leave with equal facility, should a general evacuation later become necessary.
5. That so far as possible American women avoid going on the more frequented streets where soldiers are likely to be encountered unless accompanied by foreign men, and that in general special efforts be made by all Americans to avoid putting themselves in situations in which annoyance by soldiers would be possible.

I would especially request that Americans equally avoid unreasoning pessimism or panic on the one hand, and on the other the minimizing or disregarding of the very real possibilities of danger which undoubtedly exist.

In conclusion I wish to express my appreciation for the spirit of confidence and cooperation which has been so generally manifested and which tends very materially to lessen the difficulties confronting this Consulate.

Very respectfully yours,

(Signed) John H. Davis,
American Consul.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM MRS. J. R. LINGLEFUH SIANG GIRLS SCHOOL, CHANGSHA.

Dated March 11, 1927.

Yesterday I received your lengthy report. Parts of it made me feel better, while other parts made me feel that you people in Shanghai have not anywhere near grasped the situation. While interference with religious education weighs heavily, yet it seems to me that the extreme uncertainty is the most difficult thing to deal with. If we could deal directly with the Central Government and know that what they say they mean, and that these are not "political" rules, it would be much easier. Suppose we register under one set of rules - the rules that were sent out by the Educational Bureau here - they were the rules of the Nationalist Government. Now the rules as promulgated by a Committee of all the Unions in connection with the provincial government, say that absolutely no religion of any kind can be mentioned in the "mission" schools and that no primary schools will be allowed. Could we stand for the first part of so radical a ruling as that? While Hupeh is not quite so radical as Hunan, what provincial rules or city rules may come! Therefore, I think it is exceedingly risky to register under the circumstances. It is not that I doubt the good faith of the Central Government, but they themselves confess that they are not strong enough to enforce their rules, therefore we become a shuttle-cock to be knocked back and forth until there is no strength left in us.

Whether any discipline could be maintained is a great question. At present, the few Fuh Siang girls who have entered other schools tell us that teachers do not dare to ask the students any questions on the lesson. When the students think they have been in class long enough they tell the teacher they tell the teacher they don't want to hear any more, they are leaving! No studying is done, practically. Not many schools are open. The two normal schools, boys and girls are combined, the Junior is in one place and the senior is in another -- dormitories for both are in the same school. The Student Union has control over everything! Registration would make no difference in Hunan, therefore it is much wiser to wait until the people are ready to rise, and put down this octopus that is twining its tentacles around the body of this province; that is going to ruin the Revolution if it is not soon given its death wound. The whole province will go up in smoke pretty soon, for there will be nothing left of it very much longer. The ordinary people are suffering untold misery through those who are using the name of Revolution, but who are pushing anarchy as fast as possible.

It is my firm conviction that none of the Christian schools should register until there is a clear understanding what it is that is being done; that obligations on both sides will be respected. The Hsiang-Ya is an outstanding example of how much good registration will be at present; every requirement was met, but the president had to leave, the Board of Directors had practically to disappear; there was no one to function. One cannot serve three or four masters. I believe thoroughly in registration and the supervision of the government up to the minimum requirement, but until we have something stable to which we can appeal, we are going to do

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more harm than good to the Cause we love. I believe we need to make haste slowly.

Pryor

TRANSFER

Thursday, March 24, 1927.

It had been evident for some weeks that the South would eventually take Nanking. That was what most Chinese and foreigners greatly desired. Even though their armies and their agitators had gone to excesses in Hunan and Fukien, there were many sections where this had not been true, and there was plenty of ground to believe that the armies moving toward Nanking were of the more moderate stamp and that Nanking might make the transition with a minimum of disturbance. Most foreigners preferred to remain and take a chance than move to Shanghai or elsewhere. When the Southern armies were outside the walls of Nanking and firing could be heard, the Consul ordered women and ~~children~~ children to the gunboats. We had called up Vice-consul Paxton some hours before the order and told him that in the event of such an order we would find it impossible to go, due to the serious illness of Mrs. Brenton. It was Monday evening when the order came out and Tuesday when most of the women and children went to the boats. We were secretly glad that we did not have to go, and other families too were glad of excuses to remain.

On Wednesday evening word got around that the Southern armies were about to break in at several of the gates on the south side of the city, and that the North was in retreat. Word came from the Consul for all foreigners to concentrate at a few designated places. There was nothing else to do but tell mother (Mrs. Brenton) the situation - for we had carefully kept all military news from her for two weeks -, take her out of bed and over to Bowens'. Trunks and suitcases had been ready for some time and we were off in a few minutes. We went across the back way, mother riding in our own ricsha. We could hear random shots in the direction of Peimenchao.

As we went across the hills the conviction grew on me that after getting the family safely placed at Bowens' - a place, we thought, that would be secure against any disturbance - I should go back to Mansimen and stay either in the school or in our home, in order to be on hand in case any trouble arose in the school. Helen (Mrs. Pryor) agreed to my proposal and so I went back and stayed at home that night.

Three or four times on Tuesday and Wednesday I had asked our ricsha man, whose home was outside our compound, if he wished to move his family in for safety. He was always polite and said that he did, but he never moved in. He evidently had some inkling of coming events!

About eight o'clock the next morning (Thursday), I saw six or eight soldiers come down the hill back of our place, march up to the school gate and demand admittance. I could see from where I stood that they stood outside the main entrance to the building, fired a few shots, and then went in and broke down the door to the office. I learned later that they asked for the foreigner, and on the pretense of looking for me searched the students' rooms, incidentally picking up valuables belonging to the students, as well as searching their persons.

The soldiers soon came out of the school and knocked at Dr. James' gate. He was out in the yard and came and opened the gate. They searched his person and took him into the house. Scores of people had gathered almost immediately and they followed into the yard and into the house. It was only a minute or two until I saw people begin to issue from the house carrying articles of furniture, dishes, and food. My first thought was that the soldiers had impressed these people to come with them and carry supplies to their camp. But when I saw the people come out and run down the street with their plunder, and others go in and do likewise, I knew that the people were out for themselves.

Before long I saw a young soldier come out of the house leading Dr. James. Outside he took Dr. James by the throat or by the collar and tried to make him get down on his knees or on his hands. In his hands was a large sword which he flourished wildly about and with which he occasionally struck Dr. James. Dr. James told me later that the soldier was trying to make him bow down to have his head chopped off! My attention was soon called to something else and I did not see how Dr. James got away.

When the soldiers left the James' they went to Dr. Rows' house. The gate was locked and so they went around the corner toward the hill and knocked down the wall. The soldier and the rabble rushed in together. I could not see what the soldiers did there but the rabble began their same work of destruction, carrying off furniture and other things from the house. It was not long before they began tearing down doors, breaking in windows, and even taking out the frames.

I watched these activities for perhaps twenty or thirty minutes. There was plenty of time to get over the wall and away, but why did I stay? Because I thought that these were Northern soldiers getting what they could before they would be discovered by the Southerners who were then supposed to be in the city. And because I knew that when the Southern soldiers found the Northerners doing this sort of thing they would quickly dispose of them. It seemed worth while to stay and protect my place from the rabble in the hope that the Southerners would get to our section of the city before the looting Northerners could get to my house. I therefore kept our gate locked to keep the rabble out, but gave Lao Hsu (the house boy) the key with instructions to unlock the gate when I told him. I also opened a trunk that had a silver tea set in it.

My reasoning about the haste of these soldiers proved to be wrong. They were in no hurry to move on toward Hsia Kwan. They came to the gate and hammered with the butts of their rifles. Lao Hsu ran to open it, but before he could get it open one of the soldiers had combed the wall, with the willing assistance of some of the rabble. I was standing on the front porch to receive them, but he was in no mood to be "received." His face was that of a demon. He demanded in most threatening tones why we had not opened the gate, whereupon in the twinkling of an eye he proceeded to render his own verdict of the matter by raising his rifle, pointing it at my chest and pulling the trigger. Fortunately for me the shell was a bad one and did not go off. He instantly threw in another shell and repeated the attempt. This time the shell was a good one and went off, but by this time others had entered by the gate and as the shell went off a passing soldier brushed the gun to one side and the bullet entered the door behind me. The would-be slayer was not to be daunted in his determination to get revenge, and after gaining the porch was ready to fire point blank at me again, only to have some one knock his rifle up as he fired, the bullet dislodging a brick in the facing above. Still he was not to be deterred in his purpose. He pulled an ugly dagger from a sheath in his legging and made ready to put it into operation. During this time, which was only a few seconds, I kept telling them that I had prepared for them by opening a trunk containing silverware and the safe containing cash. The other soldiers were more eager to get at their plunder than see a comrade avenge a personal grievance, and they rushed me into the house and up to the trunk. That was the last I saw of the soldier who had my number. Before taking the things in the trunk, however, they relieved me of my wedding ring, glasses, small change, and watch - a cheap one I was carrying for just such occasions. After giving them the valuables from the second floor I took them down and opened the safe for them, and there they found all our wedding silver and about twenty dollars in cash. They demanded more and I declared that they had it all now. They soon went out.

After these soldiers had gone I puzzled about them. Their uniforms were nothing that I had seen before, but Chinese soldiers many times wear what we would call non-regulation garments, there I did not attach any significance to this detail. But on their caps and shoulders there were no devices ~~xxxx~~ of any sort, and I looked for these at one time. But their dialect was nothing that I had heard before, and I had had the greatest difficulty understanding them. I knew that their dialect was none of the Northern dialects that I had ever heard. But I was still convinced that they were Northerners, ~~because we were expecting looting only from retreating Northerners. I may say here that in the afternoon I found out from the students that they were Southerners; that while in the school the soldiers told the students that if they had had up the Revolutionary flag they would never have entered the school. The flag was soon at the school gate.~~

When the soldiers were well out the gate I went about the house watching the rabble work. I approached a man who was trying to shoulder the living room rug and said to him, "You know that this is not good business. Did we ever go to your house and treat you this way?" He immediately dropped the rug and went out like a whipped dog. Others followed him. Many I had simply to look at and they hung their heads and departed. This method was effective till I arrived at the store room where some half dozen coolie women and a man or two were wading around in a quarter-inch of kerosene loading up with provisions. I coaxed them along for a time, but could not dislodge them until a more friendly lecturer, and perhaps one with more authority, came along and told them to get out. I followed them out the back door and around to the front and everyone left the yard.

Still thinking that the soldiers working in our section were Northerners I asked Lao Hsu if anyone could run over toward Hwa Pai Lou and tell the Southerner officers about our predicament and get them to send a detachment to our assistance. He looked at me for a moment and said that such a request would be useless. He urged me to take any valuables I might have left and hide them more securely. I told him that I had done all I could several days before. He wanted to do something so I told him to take the bedclothes to his room and the mattresses and a trunk to the attic, which he did. He urged me to hide in the attic and I told him that it would be useless if our house were treated like the other two.

About this time the chief officer of our section came in and asked what had been done. We showed him around a little, letting him view the wreck, which at that time looked pretty bad to us, but which proved to be insignificant compared with what was to follow. The officer remarked on how bad the situation was, and the soldiers and the people, and then departed.

Before long two soldiers in dark green uniform, with a "sun" on their cap devices - men whom I took to be lower officers of the Southern army - came to the door and wanted to know if any soldiers were in the house. Northern soldiers I supposed they were looking for. I was so glad to see them that I almost grasped their hands. I said to them, "You are from the Southern army, aren't you? That is fine. I certainly am glad to see you. Now we are safe! Some Northern defeated soldiers have just been here and taken all my valuables and done the same at those other two houses. They have just gone around that corner. If you go fast you can catch them." They bowed and departed.

Soon another group of soldiers entered the compound. Their uniforms were the same as the first group, but these had "suns" on their caps. I thought they were coming on a friendly mission, and went down to welcome them. They greeted me courteously enough and said that I was wanted at the Red Cross. I told them that I was willing to go if necessary, but that if I went the "peh sing" (common people) would come in and take my things. We went inside and they closed the door to keep the people out. One of them quite politely helped me off with my overcoat and then did likewise with my coat. He asked for my trousers. I asked him to come upstairs and I would give him another pair just like them. We got to the head of the stairs and another group of soldiers were trying to open the attic door. They told me to open it which I did by forcing it, since I had lost my house and trunk keys. They said they wanted two things - revolvers and money. I told them that the ~~first~~ first group of soldiers had taken all my valuables, but that I would open some trunks of clothes for them.

I had intended to have these trunks open, but for some reason had not done it. I searched two or three times through my pockets and through the pockets of my coat and overcoat which one of the soldiers carried, looking for the keys, but failed to find them. I kept telling them that the trunks contained mostly clothing, clothes, which they kept saying that they did not want. However, they insisted that the trunks be opened for their inspection. One started to hammer and the locks with his rifle and another tried to cave in the sides. Both worked for some time without making much impression on the trunks. I told them to rest a while and let me try it with a piece of gas pipe which I found lying near. I started on my own trunk - a large "Everhasto". It took twenty-five or thirty heavy blows before the lock yielded. The soldiers did not know how to get out the trgs, so I did it for them, and showed them that there was nothing but clothes, as I had told them. I also offered to open the other trunks if they wished, but declared that they contained clothes, too. They did not wish to wait to have them opened. I also kept telling them that the only other place where we kept valuables in the house was in the safe, and that I would open that for them when they wished, to show them that it, too, was empty.

By this time the house was full of people carrying off everything they could pick up. Some of the doors had already been wrenched off their hinges and the books thrown out of the shelves to get the wood of which the racks were made. The safe had been knocked over and was lying with its door on the floor. With the assistance of several soldiers we set it up again, and I opened it. As I had told them it was empty. Needless to say the soldiers were mad at this. Here they had worked for some minutes and found nothing of value to them. Then for ten or fifteen minutes ensued a lively scene in which they demanded money, and in a hurry, or they would shoot me. This occurred eight or ten times, and nearly everytime they backed me off toward the wall and one man would back off, raise his gun, and prepare to shoot. Everytime I told them to go ahead and shoot, but as often another soldier would step in and say, "Don't shoot."

The thing that surprised me at the time and has surprised me as I have thought about it since, was the total absence of fear and a strong sense of security. My mind was clear and I was perfectly self-possessed. This was true from the time the first soldier came till I finally got rid of the last ones.

After arguing with the soldiers for some fifteen minutes I began to see that they weren't preparing to take a negative answer, and that I must do something. I said to them, "Foreigners do not bury their money and valuables in a safe in the house, or in the bank. I have already opened the safe for you and you see that it is empty. You looked in our trunks and found only clothes. Now, if I can find our check book in this mess on the floor I will write you a check and you can go down to the bank and get the money." Whereupon I began to search among my books and papers, which seemed a foot deep on the floor, for my check book. They stood this for only a few seconds when they told me to get up and take them to the bank. I said that I would gladly go to the bank with them if they wished, but that I was afraid the bank would be closed, and furthermore it was nearly five li (1½ miles) to the bank. They said to get out and go, and I did.

Our march was down the main streets to Peimenchao. Shortly after starting the soldiers got a small boy of fourteen or fifteen to lead them. What he actually did was to follow along behind me and verify the turns. Several times along the way I thought that I was going to lose them, when they were on the point of following other pursuits, but each time they were encouraged by some of the rabble who followed to keep after me.

The streets were heavily lined with people. They had soon learned if they did not know in advance, that the ~~drive~~ that day was exclusively against foreigners and therefore it was safe for them to be out watching the show. Occasionally I saw someone in the crowd whom I recognized, but for the most part my eyes were on the road some distance ahead and not on people near by. The crowd was silent. Except for an occasion "kao pi tz" (high nose) from a small child not a ~~word~~ word was spoken as I passed. On the streets we passed dozens of groups of soldiers six or eight in a group, all carrying loot. They were mixing in with the people and the people were not afraid of them. All these groups were walking calmly about as if their present occupation was an every day task with them. There were no officers in evidence.

When we arrived at the bank I turned in and stopped, but my followers continued on down the street, turned off to the side and stopped. I saw that several officers had been following us in rickshaws for some distance down the street, and it was evident that the soldiers did not wish to be found with me, therefore they had passed on by, let the officers pass, and then came back to me. Some of the bystanders told me to run while the soldiers were on down the street, but I was not sure of the temper of the crowd and did not wish to risk it, knowing that the results might be disastrous if I failed to make my escape.

The soldiers told me to call out. I said in an ordinary tone, "Mr. Ch'en, I have been forced to come down here and write some checks. Can you give me a check book?" Soon the door opened and one of the clerks appeared. The soldiers shoved me through the door and followed. The clerk explained that they were closed and that they had no money on hand. I told him my predicament and asked for a check book so that I could give these men some checks and they could come another day and get the cash. He gave me a book. The soldiers wanted a thousand dollars. I told them that I had only about \$300 in the account and that if a check were larger than the balance they could not get any money. I wrote a \$300 check and gave it to the leader. Then another soldier wanted a like amount, and the third and then the fourth. Perhaps there was also the fifth. I told

each one that they could not get money on the checks, but they wanted them anyway.

The soldiers then went after the clerk and demanded cash. He remonstrated with them saying that there was no money in the safe, and furthermore this was a Chinese bank, and that no foreigners were connected with it (the implication being that they were supposed to be making demands only on foreigners, not on Chinese). I also vouched for the clerk's statement, but they were not to be swayed by such excuses. After much storming the clerk offered to get the key to the safe if two soldiers would accompany him, which they did.

While we were waiting there was a time when all the soldiers were out of the bank. That seemed to be my chance to escape. I ran back through five or six "taing" (rooms) until I came to the back yard, where I found several servants. I asked them where I could hide or run to. They said that I could hide in the store next door - Tsei Hwa - but that I could not run to open country from there. I started in when all at once I got an impulse to not do this but go back and take my chances with the soldiers. I knew that if my attempted escape should be unsuccessful they would finish me on the spot. Therefore I ran quickly back to the front of the bank, arriving just in time to meet two soldiers coming in. They never knew but what I had been there all the time.

The two soldiers told me to take my keys and try to open the safe. The keys were for padlocks, cupboards, and drawers in the school office. Except for one Yale door key they were all simple plain keys. I went through the bunch twice trying each key in the safe lock (it was not a combination lock). Several of the small thin keys, I noticed, would turn part way around in the lock but would not open it. After I had failed twice they took the keys, and with the assistance of a small pen knife or some other small instrument, were able to open the safe! I was dumbfounded! Opening a bank safe with a fifty-cent padlock key! But the clerk was right, there was no money in it. The soldiers then took a big "tsai tao" (clever) and hacked out the cash box, only to find it empty, too.

Now the soldiers were mad. They had wasted several hours and got nothing. They said in effect, "All right, you will march back home and get some money or we will shoot you." I did not tell them this time to go ahead and shoot. I picked up the check book and went off with them following. The same little boy was there to take us back.

Just before we reached the school gate it occurred to me that possibly some of my Chinese friends could help me. I asked the gateman to call Mr. Hsu to the gate. The soldiers told him to open the gate and we went in. They took me into the school office and sat me in my own chair. Several of the students came in and through their services middle men we settled on \$300 in cash within two hours. After some time Dr. Ho Yang, a friend of the school, came in and offered to raise the money for me. I thanked him and promised to repay him when I could. When he came back with the money in half an hour I suggested that he pay it to them as they walk toward the gate. While they were doing this the students put me in a Chinese robe, got me behind the big Revolutionary flag, rushed me through a small back gate and into the home of a teacher, where they hid me behind reeds. Here I stayed for three or four hours.

In the house were a large number of students from the Academy and from Ming Deh. When it was safe some of them would come back and talk to me, keeping me informed as to what was going on. They told me several times that the looting was to be called off at two o'clock, and along the middle of the afternoon the reports indicated that looting in our section was quieting down and that only the rabble were still at work carrying off materials from our homes. The students brought me tea and rice, for which I was beginning to feel a need.

It was in this place of comparative safety, where I had time to reflect on the past hours and contemplate the hours ahead that I first began to fear. From my place of hiding I could hear the shooting outside and the shouting, and the work of the rabble in Ch'en Ah-mings next door. My greatest concern, however, was not for myself, but for Helen and Dorothy and mother. During various intervals in the morning, during the march to and from the bank, during the time I had waited in the office I had prayed desperately for them, and now my only consolation was in continued prayer. Through it all had been not only a sense of my own security but an assurance that all was well with them. In this assurance was the strength that had borne me up.

While waiting in the office for the money Lao Hsu and Lao Ch'en (our ricksha man) had come in to see what was going on. I told one of the students in English that these men were in the room, and to take one of them outside and tell him to go over to Bowen's and find my family, tell them that I was safe, and do anything possible to help them if they needed it. A number of times while behind the reeds I told various students to look up our servants and see if one had gone over to Kuleo. Finally about three o'clock came a note from Helen saying that they had received rough treatment at the hands of the soldiers, but that they were now all safe at the University. This news came as such a relief that I must confess I indulged in a few tears.

Shortly after this Chi Yong-k'an, one of the Academy students, came and said that several of the students had been able to get a "ying" (500) soldiers to come and live in the school. I expressed some surprise at this but he explained that this was better than leaving the building exposed to the rabble. He said that our school and University were the only two Church institutions that had not been sacked during the day. He further assured me that the "ying chang" (captain) was friendly toward the students and kindly disposed toward the foreigners. He also said that the "ying chang" was ready to provide an escort to send Dr. Price, who had been brought in from Ch'en Ah-mings, and myself to the University. It was with a good deal of hesitation and misgiving that I followed Chi Yong-kan and several other students on to the street again. There we met Dr. Price, and we started up the street toward the Seminary behind the big Revolutionary flag and armed with passes from the "ying chang."

We passed scores of soldiers carrying loot, but none of them arrested us, nor made remarks. When we arrived at the side gate of the Seminary people there told us that it would be impossible to get across to the University because of firing between the two places and because they said that shells were being dropped from Fukow. We had heard heavy artillery fire for half an hour but the explanation given us was that it was the foreign gunboats in the river, but I was sure that this was not true. Next day, however, I learned that it was true. But we in Hansimen did not know where it was from, and the people along Sz Kan Kan Tz were

going about quite unconcerned, as were the soldiers. When we found it extremely dangerous to get across to the University we decided to go back to the Academy and stay there for the night as the Ying Chang had invited us to do in case we could not make it to the University. Before turning back, however, I pulled a note from my pocket which I had written just before starting and gave it to our faithful ricksha man, Lao Ch'en, who was following along behind, with an urgent request that he make a strenuous effort to get the note across to Helen that night if possible.

When we got back to the Academy, Dr. Price and I were given a room upstairs looking off toward Hsia Kwan and the University. The students said that the Ying Chang had been very considerate. He had agreed to use only the downstairs for his troops and left the second floor for the students. He had also offered to buy eight piculs of rice we had laid in for use in case of a siege. The students treated Dr. Price and me royally. They brought us water for washing, tea to drink, and food to eat. They even went into their rooms and shared their bedding with us.

Before dark Lao Ch'en returned with a note from Helen, stating that they were all safe and fairly comfortable and that a great many foreigners had gathered in Bailey Hall. I then told Ch'en and two of the students about a box of school money I had hidden in the attic behind a chimney, and asked them to go over before dark and see if by any chance the box had been overlooked by the rabble. After returning twice for more explicit instructions as to its exact location they found the box, took it to the home of Mr. Wang, the school treasurer, and counted the money. There was \$630, the amount we had put in it! I had thought of this box of money while I was bargaining with the soldiers for my ransom, but I felt that if I started to dig around and find hidden treasure after declaring for two hours that I had none, that I would be given the opportunity to continue to dig around, and finally find myself in the same position as I was then - asking some one to raise cash for me. Therefore I decided to let the box go, even though there seemed to be every chance of the rabble finding it.

After dark the Ying chang came up to our room, and after a few simple greetings said that he wished to talk with us for a while. We listened while he launched into a long explanation of the purpose of the Revolution and an account of its glorious progress thus far! He then declared that what had happened to ourselves and our homes that day was not a part of their "ta much tin" (large aims), and that he was greatly humiliated and chagrined that some of the common soldiers should get out of hand and commit such depredations. He said that we should list up our losses and give them to his government, which would reimburse us to the full. At least three times he made this statement. He really, then, had acknowledged that his men were responsible for the outrages during the day, and had really confirmed the sport of the students, that even the first group of soldiers, whom I at first thought were Northerners, were Southerners!

We fraternized with the Ying chang for a while and while he was preparing to go, Dr. Price told him that on our trip to the Seminary and back we had been told that a number of foreigners were hiding in the immediate vicinity, and would he give permission to the students to go out now and bring some of them in so that they would not have to stay out in the cold all night. He readily agreed to the plan. Before another hour, Dr. James, Mr. Lancaster, Dr. Goodwin, Mr. Drummond, Mr. Jamison had been gathered in. Each man had been through great dangers that day, the accounts of which shall be omitted here. In our conversation none of us were able to account for the heavy firing in the afternoon. From our window we could see a number of buildings towards Kuleo burning. That night, even though our beds

were fairly comfortable, most of us were too full of the past day and too concerned about our families and friends to sleep.

Next morning we were preparing with the assistance of a guard from the Ying Chang to start for the University, gathering up all the foreigners who were hiding along the way. Just as we were ready to start who should walk in but Dr. Bowen with a number of other foreigners whom he had already picked up. We bade the Ying Chang good bye and started for the University, arriving there with seventeen foreigners.

It is enough to say here that meeting Helen again brought a joy and gratitude that are beyond words to express. The account of Friday in Bailey Hall, our trip to Hsia Kwan, and our trip down the river to Shanghai, has already been given by others, therefore I shall not repeat it here. We have nothing but the deepest praise and appreciation for the officers and men on the gunboats. They took wonderful care of us and brought us to a place of safety.

R. J. Pryor,
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
University of Nanking.
Nanking, China.

TRANSFER

IN REPLY REFER
TO NO.

UNITED STATES ASIATIC FLEET
DESTROYER DIVISION FORTY-FIVE
U. S. S. NOA (343)

Siang Tale

Miss Lynds

Mrs. Da

Mrs. B. L. Griffing Schild

Mrs. Singleterry & child

Mr. Singleterry

Mrs. Yaukey & child

Mrs. Dickens & child

Mr. Dickens

Miss Bass

.. Hoover

.. Wixon

.. Griest

.. Davis.

.. Lyons

.. Rich

~~xxxxxxx~~

Hein Siang Tale

Hummel

Tangeras Robson

Trimmer

Price

Bumpus

Fisinger

Reichelt

Brade

McAfee

Bross

Laucaster

Thalle

Hale

Loos

Mills

B.L. Griffing

Thlman

Nichols

Robson

Lamson

Preston

Mr. Holroyd

" Plopper

Mrs. "

Clamons

Maxwell

Mr. Thomson

Mrs. Thomson

2 children

Mrs. Cook

Bowen

Mr. Bates

Mrs. Bates

1 child

Taylor

Smith

Jones

Reisner

Whiggle

Buck

Mrs. Buck

2 children

Lowdarmilk

Hydenstricker

Jamieson

Mrs. Gish

Mr. Alspack

Clark

TRANSFER

University of Nanking
Room 612 Missions Building
Shanghai

LOSSES AND EXTRAORDINARY EXPENSES DUE TO LOOTING IN NANKING

March 24th, 1927

The following estimates were made out in conference with President Bowen, Mr. Clemons and Mr. Reisner and are subject to revision. They are largely based on reports and lists of property losses made out by individual teachers.

(1) Property and equipment losses:

	<u>Mex.</u>	<u>Mex.</u>
5 burned residences	\$60,000	
25 Other residences damaged	25,000	
Language School	20,000	
Keen Memorial Collec- tion & equipment	5,000	
Kan Ho Yen School	5,000	
Hospital	4,000	
University Bldgs., Kuleo	1,000	
Agricultural Gardens	<u>1,000</u>	\$121,000
(2) Tuition and refunds: -----		10,000
(3) Ransoms paid by friends and miscellaneous expenses incurred March 24th and 25th -----		2,000
(4) Personal losses (see Exhibit I attached).		
(a) University supported faculty	\$200,000	
(b) Mission supported faculty	260,000	
(c) Chinese teachers	<u>40,000</u>	<u>500,000</u>
	Total Mexican	\$633,000
(5) Shanghai refugee expenses		G.\$ 5,000
(6) Estimated salaries due University supported staff in U.S.A., including regular furlough and obligations of University to staff until new positions are found for them. (See Exhibit B)		28,000

(7) Travel of University supported teachers to the United States. The cost of travel has been based on an average of \$500 gold for full tickets, \$250 gold for half tickets and \$50 for tenth tickets. 37 full tickets \$18,500 -- 21 half tickets \$5,250 -- 1-1/10th ticket \$50.00 -- total \$23,800.00 gold.

G\$ 23,800

Total gold 66,800

Total Mexican 633,000

LIST OF PERSONAL LOSSES

The figures below are all estimates and will be revised just as early as possible. They are based, however, on a slight study of a number of itemized lists of losses at hand. They must not be used in connection with the making of legal claims. All estimates are in Mexican.

<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Board Supported</u>	<u>University supported</u>
L. J. Owen		\$17,000
M. L. Hancock		6,000
B. J. Mills		12,000
W. F. Wilson	\$12,000	
F. W. Dieterich	14,000	
A. G. Small		12,000
H. G. Hobson		12,000
Virginie Darcel		2,000
Bertha M. Glass		2,000
Jane Munn		2,000
Mary Mills		4,000
Nurses Home		15,000
G. S. Trimmer	12,000	
E. V. Jones		4,000
G. S. Gibbs	2,000	
A. H. Steward	8,000	
B. B. Griffing		12,000
Alexander Breda		4,000
Minnie Purcell		12,000
Marian Hedrick		3,000
Elsie M. Priest		2,000

<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Board Supported</u>	<u>University supported</u>
R. H. Porter		\$6,000
W. C. Lowdermilk		15,000
A. J. Bowen		18,000
J. B. Griffing		10,000
Ben Holroyd	\$15,000	
J. H. Reisner	13,000	
J. G. Thomson	13,000	
L. J. Buck	13,000	
J. M. Speers	20,000	
C. H. Hamilton	10,000	
Lillie Abbott and Victoria Russell		6,000
Harry Clemons		15,000
J. T. Illick	15,000	
Adelaide Wixon		8,000
M. S. Bates	10,000	
J. H. Daniels	15,000	
Mrs. Marion Keen	8,000	
Auxiliary (Woman's)	12,000	
Mrs. M. E. Weigs	8,000	
Dr. J. E. Williams	18,000	
A. C. Hutcheson	20,000	
W. F. Hummel	<u>12,000</u>	
	M. \$260,000	M. \$200,000

(Exhibit B)

SALARIES OF UNIVERSITY SUPPORTED STAFF IN
THE UNITED STATES

Please note that some of the estimates are based on regular furlough and others estimated on the approximate time that may be needed until the teachers can get settled in positions in the United States, or until the obligation of the University to them ceases. The basis of estimates on the salaries has been \$150 gold per month per married couple, \$20 gold per month for each child, regardless of age, and \$100 gold per month for single missionaries. No estimates have been made for other than children's furlough allowance. So a sum should be added to take care of such items as rent, medical expenses, dental expenses, etc. etc.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Months Salary</u>		<u>Number of children</u>	<u>Total child months</u>
	<u>Single</u>	<u>Married</u>		
L. J. Owen	2	6	3	18
M. L. Hancock		8	2	16
S. J. Mills		12	3	36
H. G. Robson		12	3	36
A. G. Small		12	1	12
Virginie Darcel	3			
Jane Munn	3			
Bertha M. Gless	6			
Mary Mills	4			
Aletha Hunt	6			
H. G. VanVliet	3			
Miss Hynde	6			
V. F. Russell	6			
E. V. Jones		12		

(Exhibit B)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Months Salary</u>		<u>Number of children</u>	<u>Total child months</u>
	<u>Single</u>	<u>Married</u>		
B.B. Griffing		10	1	10
A. Breda		6	2	12
Marian Hedrick	4			
E.M. Priest	9			
R.H. Porter		8	2	16
W.C. Lowdermilk		12	1	12
A.J. Bowen		6		
J.B. Griffing		4	3	12
Lillie F. Abbott		4		
Harry Clemons		12	2	24

Totals on U.S.A. Salaries

120 months married salaries	\$150	G. \$18,000
59 months single salaries	100	5,900
204 months children	20	<u>4,080</u>
		27,980

TRANSFER



*Issued to press
Friday Mar 25*

A cablegram giving information as to the whereabouts and safety of missionaries stationed at Nanking was received this morning from Dr. W.A. Main of the Associated Mission Treasurers' office, Shanghai, by Dr. Eric H. North, Secretary of the Trustees of the University of Nanking, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City

This cable announces that the following are safe in Shanghai:

Mrs. W.F. Wilson of Shelby, Mich., of the Methodist Episcopal Mission
Mrs. F.W. Dieterich and children, Indianapolis, Ill., of the Methodist Episcopal Mission
Mrs. Alexander Brode and children of Detroit, Mich., of the staff of the University of Nanking
Mrs. R.H. Porter and children of Ames, Iowa, of the University staff
Mrs. James H. Speers, Jr., and children of Montclair, N.J. of the Presbyterian Mission
Miss H.H. Furcell of Shanghai, of the University staff.

The cablegram also reports in Shanghai a Mrs. Plummer who is presumed to be Mrs. James G. Plummer of the Methodist Episcopal Mission in Kiangsi.

The following are reported to be upon gunboats at Nanking:

Mrs. Charles S. Keen and child of Philadelphia, of the Baptist Mission
Mrs. Arthur J. Bowen, Kewanee, Ill., wife of the President of the University of Nanking
Mrs. Charles S. Gibbs, Hangeley, Mo., of the Baptist Mission
Mrs. Alexander Small and child of San Jose, Cal., of the University staff
Mrs. John H. Reiner and children of Mariboro, N.Y., of the Presbyterian Mission.
Mrs. J. Morton Daniels and children of Minneapolis, Minn., of the Presbyterian Mission
Mrs. Walter C. Lowden and child of Wilcox, Ariz., of the University staff
Mrs. H. D. Lanson of the Baptist Mission
Mrs. J. Lossing Buck and children of La Grangeville, N.Y., of the Presbyterian Mission.
Mrs. Allen C. Hutcheson and children of the Southern Presbyterian Mission
Miss Mary H. Mills of Clemson College, S.C., of the University staff
probably also Miss Esther Pederson of Gilling College staff in Nanking

Dr. Main also cables that they know nothing about the safety of the men and the other women and children in Nanking.

Recent dispatches report the killing of Dr. J.E. Williams of Channah, Ohio, Vice President of the University of Nanking.

Others of the staff of the University of Nanking concerning whom there is no information are:

President Arthur J. Bowen, Kewanee, Ill.
Mrs. J.E. Williams, So. Salem, Ohio
Mr. and Mrs. Louis J. Owen and children of Cleveland, Ohio
Mr. and Mrs. M. Searle Bates and child, Kiram, Ohio

Grand Mrs. Don Holroyd and child

Mr. and Mrs. Harry Clements and children of Plainfield, N.J.
Mr. and Mrs. Burgoyne Griffing and child and
Mr. and Mrs. John S. Griffing and children of Topoka, Kans.
Miss Marion I. Hedrick of Mercedon, Cal.
Mr. and Mrs. William F. Hummel and children Nashville, Ill.
Mr. and Mrs. J. Theron Killek and children, Hainsville, Pa.
Dr. and Mrs. Ernest V. Jones of Selma, Cal.
Mr. and Mrs. Horace G. Johnson and children of Charleston, W. Va.
Miss Bertha H. Glass, Schuyler, Neb.
Mr. and Mrs. M. L. Hancock and child, Norfolk, Kent, England
Mr. and Mrs. J. Claude Thomson and children, Middleton, N. J.
Miss Grace Bauer, Baltimore, Md.
Miss E. Althea Hunt, White Plains, N. Y.
Miss Iva M. Hynds, Los Angeles, Cal.
Miss Victoria F. Russell, Napa, Cal.
Dr. and Mrs. Clifford S. Trimmer and child, Long Valley, N. J.
Miss Helena G. Van Vliet, Staatsburg, N. Y.
Mr. and Mrs. Samuel J. Mills, Germantown, Pa.
Miss Jane Mann, Spokane, Wash.
Miss Maudie Whipple, Hollingsham, Wash.
Miss Adelaide Nixon, Conning, N. Y.
Messrs. W. F. Wilson, F. W. Dieterich, Alexander Hrade, R. H. Porter
James M. Sperry, Jr., Charles H. Gibbs, Alexander C. Small,
John H. Bolmer, Walter C. Landerhill, R. B. Lanson, J. Lossing
Buck, and Doctors J. Morton Daniels and Allen C. Mitcheson

TRANSFER

Nanking

IN REPLY REFER
TO NO.

UNITED STATES ASIATIC FLEET
DESTROYER DIVISION FORTY-FIVE
U. S. S. NOA (343)

Nanking, China.
26 March, 1927

RESOLUTIONS OF APPRECIATION

As refugees from Nanking and the guests of the NOA during the military crisis in Nanking, resulting in much personal danger to all Americans with narrow escape for life, we the guests of the Officers and Crew of the U.S.S. NOA (343) wish to express our deep appreciation of the kindness and help received, and the services rendered to us at the cost of personal danger and much inconvenience to themselves. The Officers and Crew could not have done more for their fellow nationals in this time of emergency. No words are adequate to express all the gratitude we feel.

We furnish two copies of this resolution to Captain R.C. SMITH, Jr. U.S. Navy, Commanding Officer, U.S.S. NOA (343) with the request that he post one copy on the ship and forward the original copy to the Navy Department at Washington, D.C. And the third copy to the State Department, Washington, D.C.

Unanimously approved by all
American on ship.

We citizens of Norway also guests of the NOA, heartily concur in these sentiments.

TRANSFER

On board the U. S. S. No. 2,
Nanking, March 26, 1927.

This story begins the night of March 23. The day and night before there was fairly steady gunfire out south of the city, but it died down by noon or so of the 22nd, and the Northern forces began to move north out of the city. We expected bad looting of the city that night and arranged four patrols of three men each for the night for the University section, also for getting out—all outlying men and women especially to come into our section houses and to the Seminary or Ming Teh Girls' School. Mrs. Brenton and Doctor Pryor and Dorothy came to our house from Hansimen about 6 p. m. Mr. Pryor brought them over and then went back just at dusk. We sent a patrol of three of our men to Ginling. My watch came on at 3.30 with Thomson and Lowdermilk. No looting or disturbance of any kind took place all night, though there were occasional single rifle shots all through the North part where the University is - likely by the police to scare off local looters. Tupen (General) Chu I-pu deserves the very highest praise for evacuating his tens of thousands of troops during the night and early morning without any looting in the city that we have heard of. About 6 A. M. our patrol started to climb up on the Drum Tower - there had been no single shots for over two hours. We had gotten only half-way up the slope of the main tower when there was a burst of twenty or thirty machine gun shots at the I Feng Men. Apparently this was a signal and soon six shots were fired near us, two on the north side of the Drum Tower and four down by the Hospital, and we saw - and heard - probably the last units (infantry, cavalry and some kinds of carts) start out for Hsiakwan. From then on till eight there was occasional rifle shooting - mostly single shots - all through the north city and to the south. After a very happy breakfast - for we thought all danger and all our troubles were over - I started over for chapel at 7.50, congratulating neighbors and others on route. Near the chapel I met Dr. Williams and Mr. Lowdermilk. Just then Mr. Lawrence Low ran up from towards the tennis courts saying Dr. Daniels' house was being looted. We three immediately ran over and found Mr. Clomons and Mr. Lanson and Mr. Speers there. Mr. Illick came over a little later. There were two armed soldiers by the back part of the Daniels house, one grasping Mr. Clomons' tie. He shot twice at Mr. Clomons, but having difficulty in working his Meuser pistol, he missed aim. We hurried to the spot and the man ran away from Mr. Clomons but fired one or two shots with his Meuser rifle at us or in our direction and called four or five others out of the house. We tried to explain to them that the Southern soldiers were already by the Drum Tower and that if they did not run away west they would be shot - we thought they were Northern soldiers. They fired off five or six shots from their rifles, up in the air, and we all sort of went out of the land leading from the Daniels' house to in front of the Bates, Wixon and Illick houses, talking together. On the way Illick's little boy stepped out on the upper verandah of their house and immediately one of the soldiers shot in his direction, fortunately not exactly at him. The bullet, however, hit the roof about ten feet above the child and knocked down pieces of the roof-tile. He darted into the house. We went on to the corner and Illick started to go back to his house, but a soldier sharply ordered him back. They lined us up at the corner and began to take our watches and go through our pockets for money. I pulled out Philip's \$2 Ingersoll and gave it to my searcher. Another was taking Dr. Williams' watch and he was somewhat reluctant to give it up and either this soldier or another just behind him shot off his rifle. Whether

he intended to hit any one or not, no one else will ever know. They had fired a dozen shots more or less, I suppose, up to this time. At any rate Dr. Williams was hit fairly in the temple and fell and died immediately. The soldier searching him went on with the search as he was lying on his back, and another went on searching Lamson (mine and the others sort of went on off towards the Hummel house) ~~and these last two in a few moments~~ ^{with them} more or less unconcerned and not firing again, showed no more feeling that I noticed them than if they had shot a dog. I started for the Hospital for a stretcher, and Lowdermilk with me to 'phone the Consul. I got as far as the Nurses' compound gate when several of our students urged me most insistently not to go into the Hospital but to go ~~to~~ to Bailie Hall or home and remain inside. As Doctors Brenton and Pryor were ~~at~~ at my home, I went on there, not seeing other soldiers. Pretty soon Mr. Clemons and Mr. Reisner came in, and also Miss Van Vliet and Miss Hunt and Mr. Speers, pretty much wrought up, as they had been to see if anything could be done for Dr. Williams, but of course they found him stone dead. Chinese teachers (Chang Sing-fu, Lew Tsung-pen, and others) and students soon carried him to his home. Bands of soldiers from one to six or ten in number were now going about in various compounds, firing rifles and looking for foreigners to loot and terrorize. In due time a single, stupid-looking, tough one came in via kitchen and I met him there and led him into the dining room. When he got in he slipped a clip of shells into his rifle and threatened us, demanding "hwa pien." Before this we had decided to have \$5 to \$10 on us and had secreted the rest. The others were mostly sitting in the parlor and I told them now was the time to shoo out. In all we handed over \$35 to \$40 and one or two watches, but this stupid-looking soldier would not take double dimes and left a \$5 bill lying on the dining room table. He demanded more but was not insistent and soon left. Before he came into the kitchen he stopped to fasten a lady's wrist watch on his wrist. Previous to this, when he came around to the back, Spot (our dog) showed he was a gentleman by rushing up, barking and growling and about to attack him. The soldier started to load up to shoot him, but the servants collar'd the dog and shut him up in the rice house. He was all right about 3 P. M. the next day and the servants suggested we give him to Mr. Tai Pen-shan, which I O. K'd. The soldiers had shot Dr. Hutcheson's ~~xxx~~ dog at once on entering his compound.

For half an hour or so we watched various looting parties and one officer hurrying over towards Ginling College. Opposite Lowdermilk's house the latter stopped two soldiers bringing loot from Ginling and made them drop it. One of the Ginling girls had a brother who was an officer, and because of this and special efforts of our students, Ginling was not badly looted and the foreigners there not disturbed at all. A little later a bunch of six or eight came along the road to the north, and four or five of us were on our front porch, but we dodged back into the house as soon as we saw them. They had seen us, however, and fired a volley, a little too late to get us. Then they fired two or three more volleys at the north side of the house, hitting the roof, one or two bullets going into the middle bedroom on the north, through the dresser mirror that Mr. Clark had put in front of the north window and the room where Doctors Brenton and Pryor and Dorothy Pryor were sitting on the floor. In a few minutes these soldiers came around and I opened the front door ~~dear~~ and they came in, six or eight of them. Later, two or three joined them, I think. They demanded money and we gave them the rest we had, but they demanded more, firing several shots in the ceiling and threatening us in

every possible way. One fired a shot or two almost at Mr. Alspach. They punched him and Mr. Speers and hit them with the butts of their rifles, but through it all they did not punch or hit me. They had with them two or three local rascals to help put pressure on us to dig up more money, and the whole bunch kept getting worse and worse and wilder and wilder. Some threatened us, and others circulated around, picking at what looked good to them. One took my overcoat and I noticed he had an eiderdown quilt. There were ten or twelve civilian looters ~~in front~~, in the hall, and they took the things in the closet, but the soldiers did not let them really loot till they were ready and through with us. They finally got so bad, shooting about our heads and talking about taking us out in the yard to shoot us and carry us off, one or two of us, that one of their better civilian looters advised me to get out and hide. They made us open up our vests and pants, pulled out all our pockets, felt all over our bodies and down our legs to find concealed loot. They took Mr. Clemons' and Mr. Alspach's coats - Clark took his off to give them but they throw it down later. Mr. Reischer faded away and went down by the sericulture building, into an outhouse, and from there, later, students got him to Bailie Hall. I slipped out ~~through~~ the kitchen and hid in the back of the servants' room. Messrs. Clark and Alspach had gone up to ~~the room where~~ Doctors Brenton and Pryor's ~~room~~, and Miss Van Vliet and Miss Hunt's ~~room~~. Of course I did not see what happened for half an hour or so from then. Some of the servants stood in the servants' quarters' door and were in the room when I was, and later several students came from time to time to urge me to lie low - which I was willing to do all right. Later I learned that Mr. Speers was taken out by the soldiers, but what they did to him I have not heard - there are too many tales told about what they did. Each one has his own tale to tell, and they are all full of "human" - and inhuman - interest. Each is writing his own experiences and we shall hope to get a lot of them together. About ten soldiers went up into the room where Doctors Brenton and Bryor and Miss Van Vliet and Miss Hunt and the Pryor baby were, & Mr. Alspach and threatened them terribly, firing ten or twelve shots all about their heads, partly stripping ^{ed} Miss Van Vliet to underclothes, felt all over her and felt her sock buckle and demanded it, or reached down inside and got it (I am not certain which). Mr. Clark had gone up into the attic to get Dr. Brenton's watch and rings from where he had concealed them. Mr. Clemons had gone into the study and stood behind the door. After a while they all went outside and shot off quite a lot of shots, possibly to scare off looters who were gathering. In the meantime Choo Ming-i and students had been frantically trying to get an officer. About now they got one, and he ordered these eight or ten soldiers to quit and they obeyed all right. Fifteen or twenty minutes later the servants and one or two students said it was all ~~right~~, as a responsible officer had come. I came in, and finding none of our party downstairs went up and found them all, except Speers and Reischer, in the middle room, sitting and lying on the floor, all all right. The students with the officer then took us over to the attic of Bailie Hall - the six or eight soldiers mockly walking along with us - and we went in, while the soldiers presumably went elsewhere to loot. The students and teachers were on the job getting other foreigners into Bailie Hall with the help of any officer they could find. The officers could always at once control a bunch of eight or ten looting soldiers, even if unarmed, showing that the soldiers were not out of control except in so far as was desired by the real leaders. After we had been in Bailie Hall a couple of

hours or so, in spite of all our students and Chinese teachers and friends could do, another band of fifteen or twenty rushed into the building. After shooting quite a lot just outside, some through the windows and some in the air, smashing doors and glass in the doors, looking for loot. They rushed upstairs to the attic and made the hundred odd women and children and men crawl out of the small rooms and places under the eaves and threatened them all very fiercely with death if they did not dig up more money. Very few had any now, but the soldiers went ^{through} every one except very small children and got the last pickings of money and watches. A few of those present had been in the University all day (e. g. Mr. Lowdermilk and Mr. Porter) and so still had a little. Messrs. Roberts and Jones and I were in the south end of the building, in the social hall, when we heard the soldiers coming. The others were in the north end of the building. We slipped back into the dark places under the eaves, and Mr. Roberts and I crawled up on a slanting beam, and I lay and he sat there for an hour or so. Dr. Jones got behind and under some straw in a dark place on the other side. Two different looters (not soldiers) came around under Roberts and myself, stooping to get under the sloping beam on which I was lying stretched out and on which Mr. Roberts was sitting above me. The first one gathered up the bedding and a few other things of a servant or workman who slept there, and the second apparently gathered up what was left, but neither saw us. The student Chen Wan-hwa, who had been arrested by the North and whose life several of us had been able to save by writing letters and calling on the Military Governor and others, finally was found or found out what was happening in Bailie Hall and came with an officer and persuaded those looters to let up and leave. From then on we were not disturbed; but in all probability it was because the British gunboat just about that time bombarded several places: the Standard Oil Hill, whither Consul Davis and family and forty-seven other foreigners had fled, under fire and with great difficulty; the British Consulate and the American Consulate which were being looted by soldiers and rabble; and a few other places. They put down a most wonderfully accurate and effective barrage around the Standard Oil Hill - but I am confused - this was the next day, after we had spent a night in Bailie Hall. At three or four o'clock in the afternoon we checked up to find out just who were not yet in and sent out students with an officer and guard and, in many cases, with a foreigner, to bring them in. Mr. Lowdermilk brought in Miss Moffet in an auto from Ming Teh, wounded in the leg and through the stomach, and Miss Null, etc. The next morning, before eating, Dr. Plopper and I got students and an officer and guard and walked over to Hansimen to try to locate and round up all the remaining foreigners over there. We found Dr. and Mrs. James, Mrs. Plopper, Mrs. Sen and Dr. Richardson in a Chinese hut at the back of a hot water kitchen near the South gate of the Seminary; at the Conference Academy, Dr. Price and Messrs. Pryor, Drummond, Raymond Kepler, Bumpus and Lancaster, and Dr. Goodwin; Mr. Stanley Smith from a ricksha man's hut south of his house; Messrs. Do Vol, ^{W. C.} Williams, and Matti from an empty, newly made cistern in the Quakerage compound; and Miss Mabel Lee in a hut south of Ying Mei-chi's - seventeen in all I think I checked off as they marched into Bailie - a good haul and great rejoicing, as we had heard in several ways that Dr. Rowe had been killed and Dr. Price wounded. Dr. Price and Mr. Pryor had terrible (separate) times, but that is another story and each has his own. We shall write later about those two at least. During the day we either got in all the others or had fairly reli-

able information that they had got in with Consul Davis and party or to Hsiakwan. Mr. Dieterich's story will be interesting. I have not seen him as he is on another boat, but he finally reached the wall opposite Mr. Magee's and saw the landing party of sailors who had been sent to get Messrs. Magee and Paxton. He attracted their attention and they got him down over the wall.

In the meantime, that is Friday, we were doing all possible, through teachers and students and officials who came to "explain," to make the latter furnish a guard to escort us to the gunboats. We also got an officer with an auto to take Messrs. Roberts and Lowdermilk to Hsiakwan to the boat to see Consul Davis. As a result of it all - and undoubtedly as a result of the bombardment especially - about four or five bugles sounded and the atmosphere cleared up a lot, and about 5.30 or 6.00 o'clock through the help of the Chinese Red Cross or "Wan Tsz Hwei" and its head, Mr. Tao, an old friend, quite a few carriages and rickshaws and a strong guard to escort us, every last foreigner was on the way out of the city. I suppose there were twenty-five or thirty walking, some of them women, but en route we got rickshaws or more carriages for them. I walked to beyond the Postal Commissioner's residence. At Hsiakwan boats from the ships took us off to the gunboats. I went to the destroyer Noa and was there that night, comfortable, till about 5 P. M. the next day, yesterday, Saturday, when all from the Noa and elsewhere were put on two British freighters and an American destroyer to go to Shanghai. I was taken to the destroyer Preston, which left for Shanghai about 5 A. M. Sunday. (today). The two freighters started the evening before with a British destroyer as convoy. We passed Chinkiang about 9 A. M. All foreigners are out of there. Quite a few from Yangchow got on here but there are eight or nine still there. However, ~~our~~ news that we are sending them will surely make them evacuate. Chinkiang and Yangchow "went over" and things have started mildly there, not with a bang as in Nanking. They are trying to get all foreigners out of the Yangtze valley at once. We hear Hankow and Wuhu are going wild. Apparently the Reds and radicals are in control. We are going down river at the rate of twenty miles or so per hour and will get in by 4 or 5 P. M. Shall give more details later though shall be busy buying an entirely new outfit, making out a list of properties looted, etc., etc.

TRANSFER

Heating

Statement of Miss Golisch *Prin. of Mei Nien Methodist Girls School*

Our W. F. M. S. Ladies left for the gun boat Tuesday, March 22, at noon. I was ready to go with them but asked permission of Dr. Bowen (who was in charge of people from our section of the city) if I might wait and go among the last of the group so as to get as many more school girls off to their homes as possible. Dr. Bowen said many people were not going just yet and I might be able to stay a day or two longer providing I would be ready to go at a moment's notice. I assured him that I would go whenever I was notified.

When I returned to school classes were going on as usual and the girls were delighted that I could stay longer. They seemed to be perfectly confident that I would not need to go at all and that the others would return in a day or two.

Tuesday afternoon I went over to see Dr. Brenton. I also called at the James home and learned there were still many women and children as well as all the men still in Nanking. Toward evening Tuesday, March 22nd, there was considerable noise of battle going on and we thought the Southern soldiers must be near the city.

Mr. R. M. Tysinger came over and asked if there was anything he could do to help. I asked him to sleep in our house because I wanted to be in the dormitory with the girl teachers and students.

Soon Mr. Alex S. Small came and said that he had been appointed by the Committee to sleep over on our place and help if there was need. With two men guarding and Mr. King keeping watch around the dormitory, I had little responsibility, so I went to bed early and had a good rest even though the noise of battle grew nearer all the time.

Wednesday, March 23rd, classes continued. We heard the shooting was from Chinese gun boats against the Northern troops. We also heard that the Northern troops were fighting against themselves.

Toward evening we heard shooting in the city and feared looting. The school girls gathered in the dining room. Mr. Small, Mr. Tysinger took turns keeping guard; Mr. Brose slept in our house, Mr. King spent the night walking around in the compound and I sat up with the girls. We heard marching and shooting. We heard looting was going on in Hsia Kuan and that the Northern troops were retreating. We expected all to be peaceful the next day, because we heard the Southern troops were entering through the South gate.

Thursday, March 24th, the three men and I had just finished breakfast about 7:30 A. M. when Mr. Small told me that soldiers were entering the Hitt residence and I had better get the girls together. The men ran over to Hitt and I called the girls to come to the dining room. In an instant the girls had me tucked away under the mattress of the matron's bed. I was covered with bedding and girls sat on the bed.

The men barely escaped being shot; they saw the soldiers break in the front door of Hitt residence and could hear doors and windows being smashed all over the house.

Our next hiding place was in the teachers' dining room where the girls surrounded us in perfect confidence that they could protect us. Then the first group of soldiers entered our compound and the girls with Mr. Kiang met them at the gate. They shot into the air and demanded the foreigners on the place. The girls told them that the foreigners living in the faculty house had gone to Shanghai. Their statement was perfectly truthful because my room was in the dormitory.

The soldiers went to the house and broke open the front door, the girls went in with them and kept them from destroying things by playing on the piano and giving them bread and apples from the kitchen. They were hungry and etc.

As soon as this group of soldiers left the girls wanted us to hide under the school building. We ran over there but decided we would be found there so we went back to the dining room.

Another group of soldiers came and demanded entrance into the school building. Mr. Kiang remained at the gate on guard, even though his life was in great danger. The servants all true and courageous, helped Mr. Kiang.

The girls took the soldiers through Lawrence Hall and persuaded them to sign a paper that they would not destroy the school building or the dormitory. They pasted this paper on the gate and the girls accepted it as a sincere promise.

The next group of soldiers were more rude and demanded the foreigners. They went to the faculty house and broke in more doors, windows and light globes. The rabble followed and carried away everything they could lay hands on. Everything was carried out of the attic and storeroom. Every glass in the communion set was broken in pieces, dishes were broken and carried away, the men's bedding was carried off. Only the heavy furniture and dining room rug which was still on the floor was not taken away.

The school girls hurried us to the dormitory attic and hid us behind boxes and bundles of bedding. We could hear groups of soldiers coming in calling for the foreigners. In each case the girls met them and kept them from destroying the school building or the dormitory.

The girls brought us food at noon and reported to us from time to time what was going on. They felt sure we would be killed instantly if we were discovered. We could only wait and pray for safety.

Then the report came from Mr. Kiang that Dr. Williams had been shot and died instantly, also that the Wilson, Mills and Detrick houses were being burned. The next report from the girls was that the dormitory of the Union Bible Training School and Hillcrest School were burning.

We feared our buildings would be burned in spite of the promise made to the girls earlier in the day. We took ropes from bedding rolls and Mr. Small planned to smash out the tile near us so that we

could slide down ropes in case of emergency.

About 4:30 P. M. we were greatly alarmed by the sound of shell firing. We knew it came from a foreign gun boat and indicated a most serious situation.

Hiding under the roof was no longer possible, we went to the first floor and wondered what would happen next. When the firing ceased the girls, alarmed lest the soldiers rush in and discover us, once again hid us in the attic. Reports came that Dr. Hutchinson's, Mrs. Keems and the Lancaster houses were burned.

As it grew dark the girls came with the glad news that the University students had planned to bring a car and take us to the University where Americans had assembled for protection. Mr. Chen Wang Hwa, one of the student leaders who so nearly lost his life when the Northern army were in control, came to personally escort us. When I thanked him he said Dr. Bowen had saved him and he hoped to do what he could to repay such kindness.

We were hurried out to the car. The girls sat on our laps, stoop on the running boards and completely hid us. When we reached our compound gate a group of soldiers were passing and stopped to inquire what was going on. The girls told them they were going over to the University to the Nationalist headquarters which was quite true and satisfied them.

Rescued people continued to come throughout the evening. There was great rejoicing and happy reunions. They carried Miss Anna Moffett in with a bad abdominal wound and another in the leg where she was shot and compelled to turn over one thousand dollars Treasurers' money she had hidden away. The people who arrived at the University earlier in the day had all been searched and robbed there and nearly lost their lives.

We had a heavy guard for protection furnished us through the splendid management of the student body of the University.

Friday, March 25th, was a day never to be forgotten because of the wonderful kindness shown us by our Chinese Christian friends and students. All day groups of teachers, students, friends and servants came. They were heart broken because we were being forced to leave. They brought baggage they had risked their lives to save during the looting; they brought their own good coats and gave them to people who had been robbed; they brought food, handkerchiefs, towels and soap they had purchased for us even though they were not sure of ever having another month's salary.

Cheng Da Jie and two Hitt students came to inquire about Hitt household and to report that everything about Hitt residence was a total loss. Many groups of soldiers had gone through it, searching for foreigners. They broke Miss Reickers safe, all furniture, windows, doors, electric light globes, then the rabble followed and carried everything away. Everything was taken from the attic and the

stairway was torn up by throwing heavy boxes down them. The Hitt cook came and verified the statement; his looks identified the fact that he had suffered. He said the servants lost everything they had on the place.

Cheng Da Jie with a few girls to help her, kept the Hitt school building from being looted. Thus far they were safe and the building untouched. There was a fear, however, that both this building and Lawrence Hall were being reserved for quartering troops. Troops were already quartered in the Academy and they fear Ginling College has also been kept for headquarters of some kind.

I could not get directly in touch with students from the Union Bible Training School, but was informed by Ginling students that the entire plant is a hopeless wreck. The dormitory to the right was burned. The soldiers smashed door and windows in all the buildings, then the rabble carried away everything large and small, - desks, chairs, tables, window sashes and even the floor boards. The girls fled to Christian homes. The College girls think all are safe.

Mr. Kiang, Miss Wei, Miss Tsing and Miss Wei reported that places were provided for all our girls in our own Methodist homes in case troops came in, but they were quite confident that the officers from the headquarters in the University could hinder soldiers coming in and with Mr. Kiang in charge, school work might continue, but I made them promise not to risk their lives to save property or any of our possessions.

Miss Yuen, Miss Mei and Meilien Chung came to tell us that they, too, had suffered greatly. Their lives were not in danger but their house was looted and they lost bedding and some clothing. Their pianos and furniture were not touched.

Mr. Kiang's home was entirely cleared out, - only the building was saved. He spent the day in our gate saving us and did not know that his wife, daughter and baby were in a Chinese hut hiding. He would have been shot several times if the girls had not interceded for him.

Pastor and Mrs. Lee came and reported that they were safe and their house had not been looted, but everything was taken from Father and Mother Lee's home by the mob and not by soldiers.

I was not able to learn about Mrs. C. T. Liu's home. The University Middle School was looted. The mob carried away the iron beds, desks, chairs, everything they could lay hands on. The Blackstone house was also burned toward evening.

Word came from the hospital that the shock from the shooting ringing through the University had killed Lao Gen, our faithful old night watchman, who was a patient there. Our servants held a funeral service for him in our church cemetery, his own nephew, our coolie, conducting the service.

About 4 P. M. word came that the American gun boat "Noa" would open fire on the city at 5:30 if we were not furnished sufficient guard to bring us to the gunboat. Both the British Emerald, American Noa, and U. S. S. Preston were forced to fire the day before in order to save a hopeless situation in their consulates. Dr. Smith, the British doctor and a Customs officer had been killed; the British Consul was wounded, and the American Consul shamefully treated by soldiers, but shown every kindness possible by their personal Chinese friends.

At 5 P. M. the guard from the National Red Cross party with several carriages came for the party. Those who were ill and women with children took the carriages. Others took rickshas and the remainder walked.

I started out walking. Lee Ma, Luther Kiang and Frederick Han were with me carrying my suitcase and steamer rug. Soon they found a ricksha for me and Lee Ma went back to school, but the boys decided to escort me until we came across a carriage. At Ku lo I transferred with Dr. James and Miss Clark to a carriage. We passed through fields of loot and hundreds of disarmed Northern soldiers. It was all a sight too dreadful for description. It was almost dark, the situation was tense and it was a wonderful relief when we reached the river shore where American marines were waiting with launches to take us to the gun boat.

I was appointed to the U. S. S. "Isabel", the Admiral's boat. American Consul Davis was also on board and we all received a warm welcome and saved the city from being shelled. We learned soon that the situation was far more serious than we had ever dreamed.

At noon Saturday, March 26th, we were ordered to transfer to two merchant steamers and proceed to Shanghai escorted by the U. S. S. gunboat "Preston" and the British destroyer "Wolsey". I was on the Hsiu Tseang Tah. We had comfortable places to sleep, and aside from occasional sniping from the shore we were quite safe.

We reached Chinkiang by evening and spent the night there because they thought best to pass the fort below Chinkiang in the day time. The report came to us there that Olivet Memorial School had been looted by a mob during the day and that preaching had been prohibited for Sunday.

At 6 A. M., Sunday, March 27th, we were ordered to transfer to a British Cruiser, a large beautiful one, "H. M. S. Dauntless". We were taken to the social hall below, the guns and crew were in readiness to destroy the fort if necessary. The British sailors did not say "destroy" but "touch it up a bit". We passed by the fort peacefully and were thankful it was not necessary to fire. This cruiser is provided with savage looking six inch guns of the newest model and some small anti-aircraft guns.

All day we thoroughly enjoyed the hospitality of the crew; few women have had the experience of being on a battleship ready for

action. Three times preparation was made to shell if necessary, pictures were taken down, light globes were removed and we were ordered to sit quiet. We were satisfied, however, to see the immense guns without hearing them.

At 6:15 we transferred again to the British Merchant boat and came into Shanghai about 1.30 A. M. Monday, March 28th. It was several hours later before the launch came to take us to shore. We were received by many kind people and brought to the Astor House where we were provided food and a place to rest in their beautiful reception hall.

TRANSFER

NOTES ON NANKING - by Harry Clemons
Sunday, March 27th, 1927

The concentration of the Nationalist (Cantonese) forces on Nanking started about two weeks ago, forces being started from Chekiang Province north towards Soochow, towards Ihing and Liyang across the lake from Soochow, and towards Nanking, and from Wuhu in Anhwei Province along the river towards Nanking. The first two forces did not affect the actual capture of Nanking. The third force was stopped, partly by use of Russian auxiliaries to the Northern armies, on Saturday, the nineteenth, at Molinkwan, about twenty miles south of Nanking. The force advancing along the river, however, steadily drove the Northerners back. The sounds of firing from this section of the battle were audible in Nanking on Monday afternoon, March twenty-first. These increased in intensity on Tuesday, and on Wednesday about noon it was reported that there was a struggle for a hill, Yu Hwa Tai, just outside the south gate of the city.

On Monday, at the suggestion of the American Consul, trunks containing material for use at Shanghai, in case of evacuation by women and children, were started off for a steamer hulk. We, personally, sent one trunk containing such necessities and another containing our most valuable portable articles. These went in a pile of eighteen trunks which got off early, but reached Hsiakwan too late for the day's steamer. Towards evening of that day a request came from the Consul for women and children to prepare for immediate departure. At about ten o'clock a final message came that evacuation should begin at six-thirty Tuesday morning.

On Tuesday morning, therefore, the Americans assembled at President Bowen's and women and children were taken as rapidly as possible in four or five motor cars which made repeated trips to Hsiakwan, about five miles away where they were taken aboard two American destroyers, the Noa (343) and the Wm. B. Preston (344). This left in Nanking perhaps 120 foreigners, exclusive of Japanese.

Following the news of fierce fighting outside the south gate of Nanking on Wednesday afternoon, a rumour spread that the city was to "go over" to the Nationalist side that evening. Columns of Northern troops began to hurry past the Drum Tower, near the University, on their way towards Hsiakwan and the Kiangtze River. Crowds of Chinese, families of teachers and students, began to pour into the University buildings and into foreign compounds for safety against possible looting by the defeated Shantung troops. A number of us (foreigners) in the University arranged for sentinel duty around the college buildings during the night.

But Wednesday night, while disturbed by occasional shots fired apparently by police, was comparatively quiet - rather oppressively quiet, in fact, in the minds of some of us foreign sentinels. About seven o'clock on Thursday morning sharp firing began to be heard near the University. While Mr. Lamson, a Language School student, who had joined me for meals since the evacuation of the women and children, and I were eating breakfast, we were struck by the sight of the refugee

Chinese hurrying away from foreign buildings with their bundles. The full significance of this did not become clear to us until later. Then we noticed a stir of people running toward and from Doctor Daniels' home. I walked out to see what the trouble was. A Chinese teacher who hastened up said: "There are soldiers looting the Daniels' house. Someone should go there at once." I took it for granted that the looters must be Northern soldiers retreating; and both the teacher and I seem to have taken it for granted that the presence of a foreigner would be effective. So, followed by Mr. Lamson, I ran on to the Daniels' place. I went in, was met by a frightened servant, who said: "There are soldiers upstairs. Don't go up. They are very fierce." He pushed me towards the door, and I stepped out and called to Mr. Lamson to keep back since the looters were evidently out for business. Just then several soldiers, seven or eight, came out of the back door. I walked up to one who had a double loaf of bread in his hand, and protested against the robbery. He looked at me somewhat astonished and seized me by the necktie, jerking me about by that strangle hold. I grabbed the tie nearer my neck and an awkward tug of war ensued, the soldier calling me "Big foreigner" and I demanding that he "Stop it and get out." The other soldiers drew up and I noticed that one mere youth among them had a big revolver which he was propping up with both hands and aiming in my direction. My mind's picture of the boy fumbling with the mechanism of that weapon is likely to remain vivid. The revolver went off and I thought, "Didn't hit me." I also seem to have yanked my tie loose. As I turned to step back, I saw Doctor Bowen, Doctor Williams, Mr. Speers, Mr. Lowdermilk, and Mr. Illick hastening up, and Mr. Bates come out of the door of his house nearby. (Later I learned that some of these had been notified of what was going on as they were on their way to the regular morning assembly at the college.)

Doctor Bowen called out as he came: "Run, run; the Southerners are coming. Go that way. They are coming fast." Several of us caught the idea and began a chorus of "Run, run." That these might not be Northerners had not dawned upon us. The soldiers seemed taken aback by our numbers, and for an instant it looked as if they were really going to run. But only for an instant. The soldier who had the loaves of bread fired off his gun into the air several times, and the others fiercely crowded about the foreigners. One of them said (it was very difficult to understand their dialect) that they were Nationalists. This was an astounding revelation. We reacted to meet the situation as well and as rapidly as we could - greeted the victors, said that we belonged to the University of Nanking, and invited them to go with us to the University. For we hoped that at the University, some of our Chinese associates could talk to them better than we could. This invitation succeeded to the extent that the whole party started for the college buildings.

As we passed the Illick house, little Paul Illick appeared at the door. "Look at the foreign brat!" said one of the soldiers, and shot his rifle carelessly in the direction of Paul, hitting the roof of the house. Mr. Illick shouted to Paul to go in, and he himself started up the road to his house. The soldiers gruffly ordered him to come back. We were captives. Jim Speers made a gesture, unconsciously,

no doubt, towards his hip. "They are armed. Search them for guns!" was the cry. We were speedily searched, but of course no arms were found. Searching for guns, apparently, suggested searching for valuables and the soldiers began to go over us a second time, taking watches and money. Walter Lowdermilk, who was near me, whispered, "We must get word to someone." No soldier was near me at the moment, and I turned and walked, as casually as I could, down the street. The soldier did not see me -- though one or two of the foreigners observed the attempt at escape. As I neared the lane leading to the colleges, there was another shot. I turned quickly and saw some one stagger and fall. Who it was I did not know. I ran as fast as I could toward the colleges.

Near the college buildings I found two Chinese teachers whom I asked to get a telephone message to the American Consul. Then I ran to Dean Reiser's home and woke him (he had been on sentinel duty). From his place I hastened to the home of one of the leading Chinese professors and informed him of what had happened, and consulted what could be done. Mr. Holroyd, whose home was nearby, was with the Chinese teacher. I decided to get back to the captives somehow. On impulse (having just escaped from a "hold-up") I gave Mr. Holroyd my watch and five silver dollars to hide for me.

As I started back past President Bowen's house, a Chinese student dashed up and said: "Get inside out of sight, Mr. Clemons. The soldiers are coming up this road." I slipped into the Bowen house and found Mr. Reiser there. Just behind me, to my immense relief, entered Doctor Bowen. His face was gray and drawn. He whispered to me: "They've shot Doctor Williams."

I think I was dazed by the terrible news. For some time I didn't even seem able to think or speak. Detached impressions of the horror that had happened and unrelated expressions of my dear friend of many years came and went in my mind.

Other foreigners came into Doctor Bowen's home. Mr. Speers, who had been with Doctor Williams when he fell, arrived. Doctor Bowen had hurried word to the University Hospital. Two nurses, Miss Van Vliet and Miss Hunt, with great courage hastened to the place where the body lay. They found that life had departed apparently almost instantaneously. Some Chinese teachers had also hurried up and urged the nurses to get under cover, saying that they would take care of the body. (They moved it to the Williams home, where Doctor Daniels happened to be, and he also inspected it.) So Miss Van Vliet and Miss Hunt came on to Doctor Bowen's home. They reported that soldiers had begun to loot the Hospital before they had left it.

In the Bowen house were also Mrs. Pryor, her mother, and her baby, and Mr. Alspach, making a group of nine grown foreigners and one child. There was question as to what we ought to do. But Chinese friends who ran in (sobbing, some of them, over the news about Doctor Williams), said that it was better to stay quietly indoors. I conferred with some of the group about going to the Williams' home to be

with Mrs. Williams and was about to start for there when a soldier appeared by the kitchen door. He demanded our money and watches. We gave him money to the amount of about thirty or forty dollars and one wrist watch, and he went away.

But a larger group followed and then a third group, and we began to get rough treatment. My pockets were emptied, and my hat, overcoat, coat, sweater, and lined waistcoat taken, leaving me in suspenders. It happened that the clothing left me was of the oldest I owned; shoes, socks, underwear, trousers (bought in 1904!), and shirt, collar and tie. My glasses were cheap ones and were, very fortunately, not taken.

As the latest group grew more ugly, the women and Mr. Alspach had gone upstairs, some of the soldiers following and shooting many times at walls and mirrors. We had no more money, after Mr. Speers had produced some that he had hid, and that had been divided among four or five soldiers. Doctor Bowen went into his study and began to write a cheque, but this was refused. Then he slipped out to his servants' quarters. Soldiers struck both Mr. Reisner and Mr. Speers with their guns and one drew a knife and started towards me, but was diverted by something. I slipped around him out of the room and into Doctor Bowen's study, where I compressed myself into a very small triangle of space formed by the wall, the end of a book case, and a door which opened against the edge of the book case. Again I was unobserved.

Meantime, Mr. Speers had been led off towards his home, and Mr. Reisner had run for it. He got out of the kitchen door, was fired at but not hit, and dashed down the hill to the sericulture building, where he took refuge in the carpenter's hut.

Soldiers passed by the study door for several minutes, one or two looking in; but no one observed me. Then things grew quiet. So I went upstairs to see what had happened to the foreign women. Four women, the child, and Mr. Alspach were in a bedroom, lying on the floor, and partly covered by bedding. For a moment I feared that some or all had been killed - but Mrs. Fryor (who had supported her ill mother and covered her child's eyes through the worst of it) looked up and smiled! No one was harmed. But all had been most thoroughly searched and robbed. As yet the house had not been looted.

I stayed there with them for some time, when Doctor Bowen appeared at the door. He said that several of the Chinese teachers had been hunting for officers in order to get us free, and that one officer had arrived to take us to one of the University buildings. Doctor Bowen had his servants load themselves with bedding, and Mr. Alspach and I carried Mrs. Fryor's mother, and we proceeded slowly and through crowds of soldiers, rabble, servants, and students to Baillie Hall. There we found a fairly large group of foreigners in a room on the third floor.

We were assured that we were now safe; and there was indeed

quiet for a half hour or so. But again shooting was heard out on the campus, fierce shooting; then the voice of some one shouting out invectives against foreigners. There were applause and protests, and a sound as if a vote were being taken. Then there was a rush into Bailie Hall and up the stairs towards the room in which thirty or forty of us were waiting. It looked as if our time had come. As we had been waiting, we had been praying - indeed we had been praying all through the minutes of the day. This time Doctor Macklin calmly led, asking for courage for us and help for China. Then we quietly rose and stood as the armed mob poured into the room. The hush of the room and the quiet mien of the foreigners seemed to affect the soldiers. Whether they had intended to shoot or not, I do not know. But they did not shoot. They made some passes at searching us, but there was practically nothing of value now to be found on us. (One soldier who was wearing Mr Thomson's coat, looted earlier in the day, dropped it for another; and so Mr. Thomson, who was in the room, was able to pick up and put on his own.) Then one of our Chinese teachers hastened in with an officer; and a parley followed with considerable oratorical explanation of the aims of the Nationalist government. Throughout the experiences of these days, we have been favourably impressed by the earnestness and forcefulness of the young Nationalist commanders; and it cannot be reiterated too often that again and again our Chinese friends and associates risked their lives to get help to us. Several of them were shot at; and several, we fear, distinguished themselves so much in our behalf that vengeance may later come upon them at the hands of the anti-foreign forces in the Nationalist party. A number of the college teachers put their ready money into one fund and paid out ransoms to save foreigners. We learned later that one of the pastors in the city had got about among wealthy men and merchants and had in a few hours promises of a ten thousand dollar fund for general ransom.

But work as our Chinese friends did, their efforts had to be exerted over and over again. Meantime, our homes were being thoroughly looted - everything carried out and the very boards broken and ripped up. In our part of the city eight buildings were burned - the homes of Doctor Hutcheson and Mrs. Keen (with the Woman's Auxiliary salesroom), Hillcrest School, the Mills, Dieterich, Wilson, and Blackstone houses and a dormitory of the Woman's Bible Training School. Doctor Bowen's home was soaked with oil and fire was started in the Hummel house, but the attempt failed in these two cases. Just what the whole movement against the foreigners was developing into - a movement which, we found later, had already resulted in the killing of three or four besides Doctor Williams and the wounding of a number of others - is not certain. But some of the Chinese friends who were striving over and over to get effective help for us were becoming discouraged. Later it was explained to us that some of the newer soldiers had "got out of order." However, as these soldiers were still crowding about the college buildings and we in Bailie Hall were waiting for the next attack, the sharp crack of exploding shells of a larger calibre was heard. Who was shooting big guns? Some one said: "In honour of the Nationalist

victory." There was a laugh of relief at this explanation. Many hours afterward we learned that the British and American naval boats at Hsiakwan had been firing to protect the American Consul and a group of forty or more English and Americans as they tried to get to the river and away from an attacking party of Chinese. The shots had come from American and British guns! At any rate the soldiers knew.

A bugle sounded, and the "unruly" soldiers quickly got into semblance of order and out of danger. That ended the vigour of that attack on foreign lives and property!

Meantime, the group in Bailie Hall was growing. Nearly a score came in from Ginling College and other places. Mrs. Williams was among them. Miss Williams and Dick had left on Tuesday morning's evacuation, but Mrs. Williams had remained because of her husband's recent illness. With her were Mrs. Small and Doctor Daniels, who had been with her at the Williams house through the terrible day.

It was remarkable how bravely and spiritedly the individuals of the group adjusted themselves to the cataclysm of these few hours. Stoves were set up in the third floor of Bailie Hall. A general committee, headed by President Bowen, and other committees on food, bedding, mail, and sanitation were appointed and set to work. Some of our servants came in and were used as messengers. The college cook was commandeered, so to speak, and a report of the food committee about five-thirty, that "fifty bowls of rice will be here shortly," was greeted with a shout. Bedding began to come in, some of it donated by students. It was a vast relief to be able to do something in the way of normal activity.

After our bowls of rice, we extemporized beds (on the reinforced concrete floor). Doctor Bowen and I shared four boards and some odds and ends of bedding. The group of refugees was growing. Several who had been hidden by Chinese friends since morning had found it possible, after the volley from the boats, to come by back paths to the University. Several college students scoured the neighbourhood, under our suggestions, to find traces of missing individuals. Miss Moffet was brought in after nightfall. She had been shot twice during the morning, and had been in concealment with the wounds undressed all day. Two doctors and two nurses were in the party in Bailie Hall and were able to give the much needed attention.

Our general committee had made efforts through sundry officers to get a guard for the night. About nine o'clock a guard arrived and the youthful officer made a speech (apparently in Hupeh or Hunan dialect - I am not sure - which was translated into English), expressing his regret that some of the soldiers, who had been newly recruited into the Nationalist army, had wrought such damage, and assuring us that the guard would furnish ample protection. Of course we realized that the foreigners collected in Bailie Hall would be an easy prey for demands for a large ransom or for an attempt at a general slaughter. Nevertheless, the officer's words brought us some

assurance of safety. And other officers who came about midnight to interview Mrs. Williams and Miss Moffet concerning the facts of Doctor Williams' death and Miss Moffet's wounds tended to strengthen our impression of safety. Towards morning many of us succeeded in snatching some sleep.

Early Friday, before eating anything, Doctors Bowen and Plopper started off with a soldier or two for Hansimen to see if the foreign members of the Nanking Theological Seminary faculty could be located. We had heard that President Rowe had been shot, because he had brandished a gun in defence. About the middle of the morning, after the rest of us had eaten our shih-fan, the two came in with the Seminary faculty men, all of whom they had found, after some search. Doctor Rowe was alive and had not used a gun. But apparently one of the soldiers, quarreling with another in a Seminary building over some piece of loot, had shot the other; and it was a reasonable conjecture (though not proved) that this shot soldier was the basis of the persistent rumours about Doctor Rowe's using a gun.

As I had hid one or two things - my glasses and a fountain pen and my keys - in Doctor Bowen's house, I got a couple of college students to accompany me there. I found that almost absolutely nothing was left inside the walls. Then I went on to my own small home, and I found the interior torn to pieces. Some of my thousand or so books were strewn on the floor, a piano that we had rented was on the walk outside the back door, and the Seattle bath tub was just inside the front gate. Stoves, desks, chairs, carpets, screens, beds, pictures, clothing, trunks, supplies, all were gone. The servants had had to flee, and there was no sign of life - except that on the sleeping porch floor, in a pile of debris from a torn up mattress, lay our white cat with a little family of newly-born kittens. Poor pussy, there was no food for her, or time to care for her!

Indeed, when I went out at the gate, several soldiers ran up, seized me, and roughly started a sixth search for possessions. The students came to my aid, and there was a sharp argument as to whether I was an Englishman or an American. But a crowd of my Chinese neighbors gathered about, and they helped to insist that I was an American; so I got off this (sixth) time.

There were two recoveries of property of mine that morning. Doctor Bowen had picked up on the road two old cancelled passports belonging to my wife and to me; and Mr. Holroyd's servant had, at his direction, searched in the still intact Holroyd piano where the watch (my father's) and the five silver dollars had been hidden the day before, and had found them and restored them to me.

Meantime, one of the Chinese teachers and Messrs. Lowdermilk and Roberts had managed to get through to Hsiakwan and had communicated with the American Consul; and it became clear that both the Consuls and Naval Officers on the river and the group of civilians at the University were working for evacuation of this group under Chinese military escort. Mr. Roberts then went in search of the

military headquarters in the city; and preparations were made for moving all foreigners from Baillie Hall to the boats on the river.

During that afternoon the Chinese held a service for Doctor Williams; there were hasty conferences between Chinese and foreign teachers about school matters; servants, associates, neighbours, friends brought food and clothing and towels and money for those who were about to leave Nanking; and there was a brief general meeting in which one of the Chinese teachers at the University and Doctor Richardson of the Seminary tried to put into words the torrent of emotions which the events of the thirty-six hours and the impending departure of the foreign staffs were pouring upon all the victims, Chinese and foreign.

Towards twilight, Mr. Roberts succeeded in getting arrangements completed for the evacuation. A military guard was furnished, and the Chinese Red Cross supplied carriages - though many of us men walked. It was noted by several that the soldiers of this guard and of the guard who had during the last day protected us in Baillie Hall looked exactly like the ruffians who had a few hours before been shooting and looting. Indeed several foreigners maintained that they recognized individual looters among the guards - I was a bit too dazed, perhaps, to do that. But as guards they were successful in conveying us safely over the five miles to the river.

At the river we were taken aboard the Noa, the Preston, and the Isabel. A couple of days of congested life on board the ships, days replete with kindness from officers and crew; the news that the one or two foreigners missing from our lists had escaped before us and that all Europeans and Americans had been accounted for; the discovery that looting on the hulks had destroyed our trunks so that we had indeed lost all our property; a score or more of cases of ptomaine poisoning; attacks by snipers from the bank as we were taken down the Yangtze; and arrival in congested Shanghai - these other chapters followed. But the story of Nanking closed for us that Friday night as the long line of carriages and pedestrians moved out of the I Feng gate, and Nanking was for the first time in nearly thirty years apparently without foreigners.

EVACUATION OF FOREIGNERS FROM HANKOW BEGINS AS RESULT OF NANKING ATTACKS

American Destroyer Preston Brings 67 Refugees Rescued from Nanking; Other Boats here to-day

MISSIONARIES TELL OF OUTRAGES IN CITY

Cantonese Attacks Described As Premeditated And Directed At All Foreigners Irrespective of Nationality; Under Official Control

(From The Shanghai Times, March 28, 1927)

Bringing 67 American refugees from Nanking, the first of the batch to be rescued from the city by the stern action of foreign warships there, the American destroyer Preston arrived in Shanghai yesterday evening. The considered opinion of everybody on board was that the attacks by the Cantonese were perpetrated by uniformed soldiers and were deliberate. Other steamers will arrive to-day bringing more refugees from Nanking and also from Hankow, for, following on the new outbreaks at Nanking and the new situation created, evacuation of all foreigners at Hankow has been decided upon.

The Preston brought a party of 67 American refugees, chiefly women and children. Two seriously injured people were on board. They were Miss Anne E. Moffet, who was shot twice, and Mr. Earl T. Hobart, manager of the Standard Oil Company of Nanking.

Vessels expected here to-day include the Tseangtah and Hsin Tseangtah, belonging to the China Import and Export Lumber Company. The Hsin Tseangtah will bring 21 women and children and 29 men. The Whangpoo is bringing 70 refugees from Nanking and the Pingwo 39 Americans and 31 British from Chinkiang. These boats are expected to arrive here early this morning.

The evacuation of Hankow has led to all foreigners boarding steamers for Shanghai. The Suiwo expected here this morning will bring 230 men, women and children from Hankow, while the Loongwo is reported to have left Hankow yesterday morning carrying 100 American refugees to Shanghai and safety. No specific reason for evacuation has been given beyond the feared reaction to the Nanking trouble.

CROWDS ON HAND

Crowds of people gathered at the Customs Jetty to meet the refugees on the Preston and the arrival of the first launch at the jetty was signal for an eager rush.

All the refugees appeared worn and tired and all wore only the scantiest of clothes. Some had Chinese clothing, while some of the men wore coats lent them by the crew of the Preston. Very few had any luggage, this in most cases being merely a few bundles.

A statement by two of the refugees puts the attacks of the Cantonese on March 24 in its proper perspective. It concludes with this significant statement:

It was the opinion of all the foreigners who were molested in Nanking that the attack was premeditated and was guided by persons acquainted with foreigner interests in the city. It was obviously under official control and was directed at all foreigners irrespective of nationality.

COMPLETE STATEMENT

The statement reads:

The entrance of the Kuomin, soldiers into Nanking on the morning of March 24th was marked by a bitter and obviously predetermined attack upon the lives of all foreigners and their property. Before the foreigners could be finally gotten to the destroyers on the river at least six had been killed and several wounded. One British marine was also killed. Those killed were: - Dr. L. S. Smith and the harbour master (British) Dr. J. M. Williams, Vice President of the University of Nanking (American) one French and one Italian Roman Catholic priest, and one or more Japanese. Those wounded include Miss Anna Moffett of the Presbyterian mission, Mr. Giles, the British Consul, several Japanese, and one United States sailor from the U. S. S. Noa. Dr. Williams was buried by Chinese friends in the foreign cemetery, just before the last Americans were evacuated.

The story may best be told in two sections. The first pertains to the region south of the Drum Tower, where the foreigners were cut off from the river for a whole day, and the second to the region to the north of the Drum Tower, where the protection of sailors and marines enabled most of the foreigners to get into the boats on the first day.

NORTH OF THE DRUM TOWER

The Southern soldiers entered Nanking by the Tung-Tsi-Men, Nan-Men, and Nan-Si-Men, and made their way by degrees across the city to Hsiakwan, where the Northern soldiers were hastily crossing the river to Fukew. By six o'clock in the morning the Southern soldiers were entering foreign houses evidently being directed by people who knew Nanking. Experiences differed somewhat, but the general method was to push right into the compounds with rifles and bayonets fixed firing as they came, to force their way into all houses, to threaten the occupants, demand money, begin looting, and call in the populace from the streets, who completed the destruction. Those who resisted were shot, and some who did not resist. Some soldiers made distinction between Americans and other foreigners, but most of them said definitely that they were out to kill all foreigners. Where money could not be given the soldiers, the foreigners were in some cases, bound and led through the streets to places where money could be procured to secure their release.

The foreigners were saved in one of three ways: - by fleeing and hiding until rescued, by the help of officers who finally appeared on the scene and got the soldiers under control, or by their Chinese friends who interceded on their behalf and were able by some means or other to keep the soldiers from shooting. Dr. Williams was killed instantly by a bullet through the head while being robbed of his watch. Miss Moffett received two bullet wounds. Most foreign men were stripped of all but their underclothes and had to borrow Chinese clothes from their friends.

FOREIGN HOUSES LOOTED

All foreign houses except those of Ginling College were completely looted, some having all woodwork torn out, floors, doors, and window frames included. Nine buildings were burned: - Hillcrest School (except the gymnasium), the old dormitory of the Bible Women's Training School, and the residences of Messrs. Lancaster, Blackstone, Hutchason, Mills, Dietrich, Wilson, and Mrs. Keene.

After the firing by the foreign gunboats in the early afternoon the soldiers were kept in order, and one by one the foreigners procured a military escort, or were hunted out by devoted Chinese friends, and assembled in one building of the University of Nanking. Students at the University had procured the protection of this building by the attendance of an officer and a group of soldiers who were quartered on the ground floor. Not a few foreigners had to spend the night in hiding and were able to reach the University only when hunted out by foreign or Chinese friends with military escort. Until evacuation on the evening of the 25th the help rendered by loyal students of the University and by students and other Chinese acquaintances was beyond praise, and their utter grief at this most unexpected persecution of their foreign friends was most touching.

Over one hundred and twenty men, women, and children were finally assembled at the University. Committees were then formed and an effort made to get into touch with the consul or with the destroyers on the river. Not until noon on the second day, March 25, was it possible to get the military escort necessary for safe-conduct through Hsiakwan. Then through the efforts of Admiral Hough and of Consul Davis a safe evacuation of all foreigners before dark was promised, a Kuomin military detachment was sent to the University, and in carriages, rickshas, and on foot, the caravan of foreigners made its way without molestation to the riverfront at Hsiakwan, and there turned over to the foreign marines by eight o'clock in the evening. The help rendered by the Red Swastika Society in securing and paying for the carriages and rickshas, and the kindness of its officers greatly aided the evacuation.

SOUTH OF THE DRUM TOWER

The American Consulate was invaded by several groups of soldiers who threatened death to all foreigners. Consul Davis had a small group of American sailors at the Consulate and met the soldiers pleasantly as they came, telling them that he was the American Consul and that there were present with him in the Consulate a small company of Americans. He also said to them that there was no ill feeling between Americans and Chinese. The soldiers repeatedly replied that this made no difference and that Americans were the same as other foreigners, that they had gotten rich drinking Chinese blood and that they too would be killed.

The situation gradually grew so desperate that those present in the Consulate realized that it was impossible to attempt to defend themselves with the small number of armed sailors present. They quickly withdrew through the back gate attempting to make their escape across the fields to "Standard Oil Hill", from which place they hoped to be able to get over the city wall and reach the protection of the destroyers. The gateman and one of the guards at the Consulate had already been shot. The party with Consul Davis, including Mrs. Davis and their two small children, was not more than fifty yards distant from the rear gate of the Consulate when they were fired on by the Chinese soldiers from the rear. From this

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point until they had climbed through a hole in the bamboo fence surrounding the standard oil compound they were continuously under fire. In the course of their flight across the fields, they encountered a Southern officer on horseback to whom Consul Davis repeated his statement that he was the American Consul. This officer directed them to proceed, but when they had advanced only a short distance he himself took up his carbine and opened fire on them. One of the sailors in the party was struck down by a shot from behind, but the order was given to leave him, as they could not endanger the lives of all for the sake of this one. The sailor was not seriously wounded, however, and later rejoined the party. After the party had gained admission to the residence of the manager of the Standard Oil Company, the Southern soldiers came and forced their way in demanding money, and saying that they would kill the entire party.

WARSHIPS OPEN FIRE

Money was given them, but they were joined by others of their number, who kept their guns in the faces of the Consul and those who remained with him on the first floor of the building. The others of the party had been sent upstairs and were directed to lie down so as to escape injury from the fire which was now constantly directed at the building. When the situation had grown exceedingly grave, Consul Davis ordered the signal be given for the destroyers to open fire. Immediately, however, he countermanded this order and directed the destroyers not to fire, since he feared that their firing would mean the massacre of the much larger group of Americans left behind in the city.

The firing upon the building increased in intensity and the sailors present assured the Consul that the lives of all would be lost if the signal to fire were not given. All of those present had come to the conviction that escape was impossible and had already told each other goodby. Realizing that no other course was possible Consul Davis directed the signalman to call upon the destroyers to fire shrapnel over the top of the building. This request was granted by the destroyers, and the first shots fell on both sides and the rear of the building and resulted in the hasty retreat of the besieging force.

During the confusion among the Southern soldiers caused by the firing of the destroyers the party in the building made their way to the city wall and escaped to the Hsiakwan side by the use of improvised ropes made of sheets and signal halyards. During this escape one of the ropes broke, several persons fell, and the manager of the Standard Oil Company, Mr. Hobart, broke his ankle. After the entire party of forty-two had reached the ground they crossed the dikes and rice paddies carrying Mr. Hobart all the way. Gradually and by a circuitous route they reached the bank of the river and were taken off by ships' motor launches. The entire trip from Standard Oil Hill to the river side consumed about two hours and a half. The Consulate party left the Consulate ten o'clock in the morning and did not reach the ships until after five o'clock in the afternoon.

FIRING CAUSED RESCUE

It was learned later that the firing from the destroyers instead of causing further loss of life in Nanking was the direct cause of the rescue of the rest of the foreigners in the city. Immediately after the

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firing had begun, bugles were sounded all over the city calling off the marauding Southern soldiers, and the looting and burning of foreign property ceased. Within a short while Southern officials appeared at the riverside under a flag of truce and asked for conveyance to the warships in the river. Evidently they realized the gravity of the situation and were willing to arrange for the evacuation of the remaining foreigners.

It was the opinion of all the foreigners who were molested in Hankow that the attack was premeditated and was guided by persons acquainted with foreign interests in the city. It was obviously under official control and was directed on all foreigners irrespective of nationality.

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TRANSFER



Associated Press Dispatch in Morning World Mar. 28, 1927

Shanghai, Mar. 27th The refugees said the reason Ginling College, which is a large American conducted girls' school, was spared was that one of the students had a brother in the southern army who immediately upon reaching Nanking took a detachment of troops and stood guard over the college. The American women teachers there thus were spared the indignities which other women suffered.

State Department dispatch dated Sunday March 27th reports the following arrived in Shanghai:

Mrs. Loos and infant
Miss Pederson
Miss Helen Whitaker (may not be Ginling)

Universal Service Dispatch from Shanghai (not yet verified by State Dept. information) reports the arrival of the following Ginling staff:

Miss Harriet B. Whitmer
Miss Minnie Vantrien
Miss E. Case
Miss Irene Jeffers
Miss Eva D. Spicer
Miss Harriet Cogswell

TRANSFER

23 Yuen Ming Yuen Road,
Shanghai, March 28, 1927.

Dr. Robert E. Speer,
156 Fifth Avenue,
New York City, U. S. A.

My dear Doctor Speer:

It is with a sad heart that I write this letter to you. You will already have received cablegrams and read in the papers about the unprecedented and entirely unexpected catastrophe that has happened at Nanking and of the death of Doctor Williams. I am enclosing a copy of a brief account of what happened that day or two, which will give you some details, but I am writing especially to say a little more about the death of Doctor Williams and subsequent developments.

Our Chinese faculty and students took immediate charge of Doctor Williams' body and carried it over to his home, putting it, I believe, in the basement first (I do not think Mrs. Williams ever saw him again after he left to go to chapel that morning) and they also took full charge of putting him in the coffin and of the funeral out at our foreign cemetery. It was felt by all of our Chinese friends that it would be very unsafe for foreigners to attend the funeral. However, Mr. Drummond did go, at very great risk I think, but got back safely just as we were evacuating the University under the Nationalist guard. I have not seen Mr. Drummond since so do not have any details as to the funeral service. We tried to get Mr. Chang Fang to officiate but he, himself, was in very great danger. His house was completely looted so I do not know whether he was able to be present or not. I saw him for a few moments the day before the funeral, which took place Saturday (March 26). Mrs. Williams came down with a group of us on the U. S. S. destroyer Preston, which left Nanking at five o'clock Sunday morning (March 27) and arrived here in Shanghai about five in the afternoon. She is now with Faith and Dick staying at Mrs. Beebe's. She bore ~~it~~ most remarkably under the whole strain and ordeal. It has been a terrible experience for her, and indeed for all of us. I cannot yet understand why the lives of scores of us were not taken, as the soldiers were shooting about our heads for hours, largely to extort money from us, sometimes shooting directly at us.

We are getting together, a group of University people tomorrow morning at ten o'clock and will talk over future plans, but I think none of us feel that we can go on with the University. The committee of nine Chinese whom we appointed some weeks ago will try to carry on. We met hurriedly with them just before we evacuated and they were anxious to try to go on with the University after a few weeks if things settle down. We promised them that we would back them up in it, and as long as the institution kept its present Christian character and was doing about the same kind of efficient work I thought we could back them up financially to some extent. I anticipate, how-

March 26, 1927.

ever, that within a few weeks at most all of these very good Chinese teachers and students and servants who helped us so wonderfully and time and again saved our lives at the risk of their own will be in danger of their own lives and will have to go in hiding or be killed. And I think the troubles and anarchy are only just beginning, so I do not think there is much hope of any of us staying on in China and doing anything constructive for several years. We shall try to have one or two of our foreign staff who are willing remain either here in Shanghai or in Japan to keep in touch with affairs, but most of them are extremely anxious to leave China on the first available boat, and I am advising them to do so.

We owe a very great debt of gratitude to our teachers and students and servants who stood by us so loyally and helped us in every way possible again and again at the risk of their lives. It will be a beautiful and lasting memory of our service in China. For example, our cook on Friday afternoon came over to Bailie Hall, where we were congregated and finally had some sort of protection, and reported that my house had been completely looted, everything torn to pieces and carried away that was of any value, from attic to basement. A little later I went over with a guard and found that what he reported was entirely true, but I asked him to go back and look behind a certain picture where I had concealed \$110 in bills. Pretty soon he returned and said that every picture in the house, upstairs and down, had been torn down and smashed to pieces and carried away, except this particular one behind which I had concealed the money, and he handed me the \$110. A little later he came over with some fixed deposit receipts for \$10,000 or \$12,000, which he had picked up and which had been scattered about in one of the rooms. I do not know of a single instance where any of our servants or teachers or students tried to harm the missionaries or aid the Nationalist soldiers and their ruffian allies in harming us or in destroying and looting our properties. We shall leave China most grateful for this experience. Had we perhaps stayed on a little longer, until the radical agitators had incited some of our Christians and our servants and others and even compelled them to do many mean things to us, our memory would not be nearly as happy. We now have resentment only against the Nationalist government - their highest officials and officers; not so much against the actual brutal and ruffianly soldiers. There is undoubted evidence from hundreds of quarters that the whole thing was deliberately planned and organized and carried out by the Nationalist government authorities - of course the radical element.

The propagandists are already busy trying to explain away the matter and put the blame on others. Within half an hour after Doctor Williams' death word was going around among the Chinese that the soldiers shot him because he had a pistol. At least two officers the next day told me personally that soldiers were so out of hand and savage against foreigners because outside the South Gate they had killed a British officer and had his identification tag - an officer who had been operating one of the big guns against them - and he also emphasized the fact that the Russians had been fighting against them. The next day, however, none of the officers with whom I talked made any such statements and I told them very frankly that I thought they would have very great difficulty

March 28, 1927.

in getting any Consul or any other foreigners in Nanking to believe other than that the barbarity and looting and destruction had been deliberately planned by the Nationalist government, and none of them seemed inclined to debate the question. In view, however, of the propensity of some elements of our Christian press to believe anything derogatory to our Navy, and the propaganda about it that these same elements put out, all of us who were on one of the boats coming down to Shanghai signed the following cablegram to be sent today or tomorrow - we could have gotten every man, woman and child who went through the experiences in Nanking to sign it if that had been necessary: "Naval barrage against Chinese soldiers trying to kill American Consul and forty-seven other foreigners besieged with him in Nanking saved that party from destruction and in our judgment was the decisive factor that prevented the slaughter of over two hundred other foreigners also entrapped in the city. Throughout the crisis Chinese friends risked their lives to save foreigners."

The situation in Shanghai is very tense, but there are a great many warships and perhaps a fighting force of 20,000, composed of units of one kind and another, so I do not anticipate the Nationalists will be foolish enough to start anything very serious in Shanghai, but I greatly fear for the lives of many foreigners who are still in the interior. They are being gotten out as rapidly as possible. We shall, of course, keep you informed (if necessary by cable) of new developments.

I might say that after Doctor Williams was shot and our Chinese students and teachers had insisted that we stay in, I sent to the telegraph office a cablegram saying that Nanking had been captured and that Doctor Williams had been killed by Nationalist troops, but shortly before we left, on Saturday evening, the telegraph office returned the money (thus saving it to me) saying that they could not get it through. In the meantime, of course, many cablegrams have been sent home about Doctor Williams' death and the situation so I have not felt it necessary to send other cablegrams.

Very cordially yours,

A. Bowen

P. S. March 29, 1927. We have just sent you the following cablegram:

INARF	There are no foreigners at	MIRGS	Many
EUNIV	Nanking.	KWENP	leaving by first opportunity;
NOGOY	Nine	SHODW	others
JACKS	houses	SHURX	awaiting developments.
IMIVR	have been totally destroyed by first	CYFIP	Cancel all orders for
SHOPS	all the others		goods for.
URCEK	have been robbed of everything	AUGIM	Accept appreciation of the
JOEJP	including		message.
IKENW	Hospital	OFUAC	Bowen.
UEUCK	Middle School		
KOSOP	Language School.		
ALFOR	All		
INANN	foreigners		
URCEK	have been robbed of everything		
srils	personal property of effects.		

TRANSFER

On board U.S.S. ISABEL, at Nanking,
M arch 29, 1927.

Dear Dr. Bowen:-

I wish to write to you on behalf of all of the Nanking Americans now in Shanghai, for it is impossible to write to each individually, to express my very sincere appreciation for the splendid manner in which all bore up under the outrages of the 24th and the wonderful spirit shown. I also wish to thank all who helped in the evacuation on the 23rd and 24th for this assistance is what saved the situation.

The friendship with so many members of the American community which I have enjoyed for so many years has been very precious to me and I wish that those who are going home and whom I shall likely not see again may know this. I hope they may all enjoy a future free from such trials as those they have just been through and that somewhere I may again have the pleasure of being with them.

It is not apparent as yet what developments the incidents of M arch 24th will bring about. I have reported the facts as I have been able to secure them and am merely awaiting instructions from the Legation.

With my sincere best wishes for yourself and family,
I am,

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) John K. Davis
American Consul.

Dr. A. J. Bowen,
Shanghai.

CHINA CHRISTIAN EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

THE CANTON UNION THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE
Canton, China

March 29, 1927

Dear Dr. Wallace:-

Our schools have been unhindered in their work and attendance has been good. Most of them are preparing to register. In the case of two schools, students have used considerable pressure in the matter - Union Middle School and the Hackett Medical College. In both cases it has been decided to re-organize.

The last few days, however, a very serious matter has developed. Middle schools and colleges have been notified by the Nationalist Party that they are expected to have special teachers for political subjects appointed by the Party. The school is expected to set aside 1/10 of its budget for teachers for the support of this work. Some of the instructors are already appointed. In the first instances care seems to have been ~~exercised~~ exercised to appoint those who would be acceptable to the schools. But their confidential instructions we learn from a copy that got into the hands of our Christian leaders include very much beyond instruction. They are instructed to oppose religion and especially Christianity.

Our leaders are vigorously opposing. The national educational authorities are with us in the matter. The attitude of the national authorities of the party is not yet known. The action taken was by the Provincial authorities.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) J. S. Kunkle

Released
Katy News 5 pm
3/29/27

TRANSFER

3/29/27
Nanking

A cablegram received today by Dr. Eric M. North, secretary of the Board of Trustees of the University of Nanking, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York, from President Arthur J. Bowen, now at Shanghai, reports that there are no foreigners now at Nanking. Nine houses have been totally destroyed by fire, according to Dr. Bowen. It is not clear whether these are all university houses or not. Dr. Bowen adds that all the other houses have been robbed of everything and that the Hospital, Middle School, and Language School buildings have been completely looted; and that all foreigners have been robbed of all their personal effects. Many of the staff of the University are reported to be leaving Shanghai for America at the first opportunity; others remain awaiting developments.

A cable received yesterday by Dr. North from Vice-president John D. MacRae of Shantung Christian University, Tsinanfu, in the province of Shantung, reports that the consul has advised women and children to leave this week. He states that some students are leaving but that there is no cause for anxiety at present. Local conditions are quiet and the University is carrying on as usual, he adds.

TRANSFER

March 29, 1927.

Mr. John K. Davis, Consul,
American Consulate,
Nanking, China.

My dear Mr. Davis:

The lives of Messers Tisinger, Brose, Small,
and Miss Golisch were kept from the Nationalist soldiers
by the loyal Hwei Wen girls who many times came to us
in our dormitory attic hiding place and told us that
they would, if necessary, lay down their lives for
our safety.

Just how far they went in this respect, we
probably will never know.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed): Alex G. Small.

TRANSFER

REISNER

Shanghai, March 31, 1927
Missions Building,
23 Yuen Ming Yuen Road.

My dear Friends:

This will have to be a very short note instead of the longer letter which I had hoped to be able to write to you concerning the recent unexpected events in Nanking. Mrs. Reisner and children had left the city on Tuesday morning and were on board the U.S.S. destroyer 'Nea' on the following Thursday, March 24th, when the attack by the southern soldiers broke out against all the foreigners in Nanking City. With the exception of Dr. Williams, about whose death you will already have heard, and the wounding of Miss Moffet who is convalescing very nicely, all others, including about 120 men, women and children, were got to safety, most of them spending Thursday night in Bailie Hall and altogether going down under armed escort from the Nationalist Army to the U.S.S. destroyers, Friday evening about dusk. Mrs. Reisner and the children came to Shanghai on Friday, arriving here Saturday and I came on the U.S.S. Destroyer 'Preston' arriving here along with others on Sunday afternoon. Unfortunately I got a flu bug and was sick on board ship and after one day in a private home came to the Country Hospital, where I am dictating this letter. I am feeling very much better and the doctor says I can go out tomorrow.

It is very difficult for most of us to realize just what has happened. Some of the University people are leaving for America - others of us in the University, connected with the Missions, are staying in Shanghai. I certainly should want to stay a while longer and await developments. The situation is too close to us to be able to indicate what the outcome will be and it certainly is no time to try to make final arrangements. I am unwilling to believe, however, in spite of everything that has happened, that all our years of labor and fine work that has been built up will be brought to naught. One of the teachers from Nanking just in this morning reports that Dean Kuo has been appointed to the position of chairman of the Executive Committee of the Educational Commission and that with him in this responsible position the outlook for the University is distinctly more hopeful. I doubt very much if, under any circumstances, that foreigners will be back in Nanking for some time at least.

[I do not want to close this brief note without expressing our deepest appreciation for the service rendered to us by our Chinese friends. Had it not been for the help of hundreds of them, including teachers, students, servants and neighbors, our tale would have been quite different. Their courage, their acts of love and sympathy, their help in many ways and their placing their lives in danger time after time merits only our highest praise and deepest gratitude. I do not know of any place in China where you will find a finer, more loyal group of Chinese than we were associated with in Nanking.]

I am very fearful that the reports carried by the newspapers have filled you with a great deal of alarm. So far as foreign papers in Shanghai were concerned the news they printed was surprisingly accurate. The propaganda bureau of the Kuomintang, however, immediately spread information quite contrary to the facts in the case, but I am hoping that these did not bother you. After all, we feel very lucky

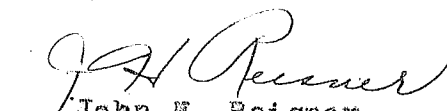
and happy to be out of it and where we are - safe in Shanghai.

Just one more item of news -- on Wednesday afternoon the firing between the Northern and the Southern forces outside the city stopped and shortly thereafter the defeated soldiers began to march through the city on their way to the river and back north again. During the night President Bowen appointed watches to walk around through the University property and the residence section and my watch with two others came from one to 3:30 o'clock. Everything was absolutely quiet. There had been scarcely a shot fired during the whole retreat. There was no looting and we were the most thankful people that you could imagine that all our fears of difficulty with the Northern soldiers had been dissipated so easily and that the possibility of looting and wide spread destruction throughout the city was past. You can imagine our horror therefore, when things began to break open from the south side on Thursday morning, resulting in the destruction of which you have already heard and of which I am enclosing herewith typed copy of one of the best newspaper reports appearing here in Shanghai.

I have been unable to find a single bit of resentment on the part of a single missionary of all those who went through the ordeal in Nanking and certainly that expresses my own feeling toward those we left behind. Everything that we had was looted and we shall have to begin all over again, but with our lives safe these other matters sink into a background that it is difficult for anyone to appreciate who has not had our experiences. We are here in Shanghai in the hands of friends and I hope we shall have words of a more cheering nature to send to you before long.

Miss Gless has very kindly come out to the hospital to take this letter and as the boat goes tomorrow morning, I will not be able to see it again, but it carries to you our very best wishes. Our address until further notice will be in care of the China Council, 23 Yuen Ming Yuen Road, Shanghai.

Yours very sincerely,


John H. Reisner.

JHR: bmg

FRIENDS OF SPECIAL HELP

During the evacuation of Nanking, China.

1. Jas. C. Peng, Nanking Theological Seminary.
2. Rev. J. M. Tong, A. C. M., Nanking.
3. S. D. Wang, International Export Company, Nanking.
4. Rev. M. A. Pao Yun, A. C. M.
5. T'sen Yung, University of Nanking ~~Middleham~~
6. Students of Central Theological School.
7. Mr. Leo, St. Paul's church.
8. Miss Chen Hsi-ren, Christian Girls' School.
9. Mrs. Yang " " "
10. Mr. Tung Teh-I " " "
11. Mr. Sei " " "
12. Miss Fu " " "
13. W. P. Chen, Professor in Seminary.
14. Chang Teh-ren, student
15. Chow Ming-I, Professor
16. Sie Hsiang, Asst. Accountant
17. Chang Wen-tsai, Student, University of Nanking.
18. Tang Ih, Chinese faculty, University of Nanking.
19. Kwan Chia-chi, " " " " "
20. Yang Hsien-tong, University student.
21. Yu Ren-sen, " "
22. Fan Teh-shen, " faculty.
23. Gwoh, Yu-ming, " "
24. Chang sin-fu, " "
25. Yeh Ku, Laboratory student, University hospital.
26. Tsing Song Ling, Nurse, University hospital.
27. Djao Cook, " "
28. Hu Hong Fio, nurse, " "

FRIENDS OF SPECIAL HELP

1. Li Shi-king - First in seriously charging a group of soldiers "not to come into our compound to loot like robbers" and then in dozens of ways in guaranteeing that there were no Russians in Bailie Hall at which time his life was definitely threatened.
- 2.- Chang Sing-fu helped to rescue me personally, lent me clothing and helped in many ways until we left.
- 3.- Paul Tsao, City Y.M.C.A. took me out of the soldiers' hands and escorted me back to Drum Tower. He was genuinely sympathetic and seemed to have authority. The beasts who had me slunk away without one word when he shook my hand and expressed sorrow and sympathy.
- 4.- Yang Hsien-tung and a Mr. Chang(?) did good work for the bedding committee while in Bailie Hall.
- 5.- A University student, standing at Miss Lyon's gate, plead with the soldiers who had hold of me and delayed their movements.
- 6.- An instructor in the College of Agriculture, a Mr. Chang, I think, was the first to see my plight, just opposite the Trimmer's gate, and gave the alarm.
- 7.- My coolie, Ching Sz-wo, was loyal in staying by and personally struggled with the soldiers when they were manhandling Mr. Taylor.
- 8.- HoHsi - Tan Hsao-wu - Lie Fang -hsien - Z.H. Pan - K.K. Jeu - Cheo Ting-I - The Sheo Brothers - Wu.RU-ling and many others.
- 9.- Mr. Ma of the Industrial Mission.

(signed) E. V. Jones.

FRIENDS OF SPECIAL HELP

1. Mr. Li Teh I: Mr. Li Teh I was in many ways instrumental in helping me. Especially was Mr. Li prominent in persuading the southern soldiers to be lenient, and in helping me find foreigners who were in hiding from the wrath of the fiendish southern troops. Mr. Li has in the past as well as during the recent attack on foreigners in Nanking, been a most courageous and loyal friend.
2. Mr. Ren Chen Tung: Mr. Ren Chen Tung was helpful in many ways during Thursday, in helping us find foreigners who were missing and in securing comforts for the foreigners who were assembling in refuge in Bailie Hall.
3. Mr. Shen Hsich Li: Mr. Shen just hid me away in the attic of Bailie Hall, and in taking me down to my house, as well as Mr. Ren, to see what destruction the looters had made with my house.
4. Mr. Cheo Kwa Hwa: He was most kind and helpful. He got food for me when it was impossible for me to have food with the party, owing to absence in searching for missing foreigners.
5. There are many others of our University Chinese faculty members who in one way or another, by their show of kindness and distress at the outrages heaped upon us, furnished bright spots in the unpleasant experience through which we were going.
6. I must not forget our servants; particularly the amah and Fable boy, who were loyal, even to the attack of civilian looters. These all are bright spots in the tragic affair.

(Signed) W. C. Lowdermilk.

March-1927.
Shanghai, China.

FRIENDS OF SPECIAL HELP

VACULTY:

Swen Wen yuh
Chiao Chi ming
Chow Ming I
Mr. Han (Assistant to Swen Wn yuh)

SERVANTS:

Chang Tsao Dz
Lu Tsao Dz
Chang Si yu
Liu Tsao Dz
Hao Tsao Dz

TAILOR:

Mr. Tong

Helping J. L. Buck and family, to safety.
Nanking, China, March, 1927.

J. L. Buck.

TRANSFER

A STATEMENT TO CHINESE FRIENDS

The following statement was called forth by the visit of a delegation from Chinese Christians of Nanking, that met with Nanking missionaries sojourning in Shanghai. After the delegation had been heard, a committee was appointed to draft a reply. The committee in preparing the statement felt that it should be addressed to a wider constituency than that represented by the delegation.

BY A GROUP OF NANKING MISSIONARIES

We believe that momentous issues which we all, both Chinese and foreigners, have at stake, and the wide-spread misapprehensions which exist regarding them, require us to state as candidly and sincerely as we can our view of recent events and our convictions on certain current questions.

We acknowledge our profound gratitude to many Chinese in Nanking who helped us in our time of danger. They exerted themselves to the utmost and even risked their lives in our behalf. Nothing can ever deprive us of this cherished memory.

The Nanking Affair

With regard to the unhappy events which occurred when Nanking passed into control of Nationalist forces, it seems to us no good can come from attempting to minimize or excuse what happened. Those of us who were eye-witnesses of those events have convincing evidence of the following:

1. The looters were identified as Southerners through their speech and physical appearance, by both Chinese and foreigners in all parts of the city.

2. The plan to attack foreigners was premeditated and preconcerted. This is proved by the uniformity of acts and statements of the troops who carried it out; by the simultaneous nature of the action in all parts of the city; by the thoroughness and swiftness with which it was carried out; by statements

overheard by some of us in hiding, unknown to the speakers; and by statements made to numbers of us by Chinese friends, while we were concealed and they were in communication with the soldiers.

3. The acts were permitted, if not ordered by, officers. In numerous cases officers were among the groups who were active and even took part in the looting and threatening. The soldiers were called off by bugles after the warships fired. Officers are known to have shielded places which they had a personal interest in protecting. This leads to the conclusion that other officers could have wielded equal restraining influence had they chosen to exert it.

4. The soldiers who committed the outrages were guilty of wanton, deliberate looting, burning, murder, and indecent attacks on women. No excuse or palliation can be offered for their conduct. Yet, so far as we know, they still remain enrolled as a regular part of the Nationalist armies, and have not been called to account in any adequate way.

Reasons for these Statements

Our reasons for making the above comments are not to oppose the national aspirations of the Chinese people. With them we have the utmost sympathy. We have no desire to use the Nanking incident to make capital against the legitimate nationalist aims, provided the two can be clearly separated. That is why we prefer to see all patriotic Chinese emphatically re-

pudiate the conduct of those who committed the Nanking outrages, or who were in any way responsible for them; instead of seeking, as we think has been too generally the case, to minimize and gloss over those occurrences. This whole affair has lowered China's prestige in the eyes of the world, and we, who love the people because of our years of friendly fellowship with them, suffer as do all right-thinking Chinese because of this. Surely, the Nationalist movement as a whole does not stand for such tactics as these, and its cause would be strengthened by making that fact unequivocally clear.

Some Chinese reports state that the numbers of troops engaged in the lawless acts were few, even placing the number as low as 200. We are convinced that the number actively engaged was many times 200. But even if they were relatively few in proportion to the whole army, the actual number is comparatively unimportant. It is the enormity of the outrage that constitutes its significance, and not the number of those who accomplished it. To say, as some do, that an incident such as that which happened at Nanking is the inevitable accompaniment of a revolution and that we must not make too much of a single case is not a line of argument which we can accept. This was the deliberate act of official troops acting under orders. It is the inevitable result of a widespread anti-foreign propaganda in which there is much untruth. And it is not an isolated case, though actually worse than any of the other cases where attacks by Nationalist troops have been made, such as Foochow, Wuhu, Kiukiang, Chinkiang, and many other places.

The Foreign Bombardment

The naval action by certain foreign ships on the afternoon of March 24 was taken as the last possible resort to save a group whom Nationalist troops were then making every effort to kill. It was

certainly the means of saving the lives of this group of 48 foreigners who were besieged in a foreign house overlooking the Hailing gate at Hsiakwan, among whom was the American Consul and his family, and it probably saved many other foreigners in the city. The action was carefully restrained and as moderate as could be to accomplish the object in view. There was no deliberate destruction of Chinese life or property, but every precaution was taken to avoid such a result. In view of exaggerated statements which have been circulated as to the number of lives lost, we would call attention to the fact that responsible Chinese official sources do not report more than six civilian deaths. The bombardment can be regarded as an act of assistance in suppressing a lawlessness which right-thinking Chinese themselves must condemn. It is certain that if the Chinese authorities had been preventing the violence, the foreign forces would not have intervened. And the intervention saved China the far more serious international complications that would have resulted from taking the lives of a consul and of a large number of nationals of a friendly state.

Anti-Foreignism

With regard to assurances of good-will toward foreigners and promises of protection by the Nationalist government throughout its jurisdiction generally, it seems to us that the actual facts about conditions do not bear out these assurances. It is a matter of fact that violent anti-foreign agitations have occurred repeatedly and appear to be more wide-spread and active at present than ever before. Foreigners are steadily being forced out of all parts of China under Nationalist control, and the government, despite all its assurances, is either unable or unwilling to alter the situation.

The same facts are true regarding opposition to Christianity. The Christian religion is being persist-

ently and systematically attacked, its leaders are being maligned and persecuted, its properties are being desecrated, looted and seized, and no power or influence appears able to check this conduct.

Treaties and International Relations

We are aware of those legitimate claims which China has for the past several years been presenting to the other nations and we have used our influence to support them. Strong endorsement of China's claims has been given by the principal Mission Boards, and those claims have been conceded by the various foreign governments.

Candour compels us to say, however, that in our judgment the time has come when the securing of equal recognition in the family of nations depends more upon China's own efforts than on the foreign governments. Although we have taken a stand against the objectionable treaties, we feel that such phrases as, "imperialism," "toleration clauses," and "unequal treaties" have become mere catch-words with which to explain the present chaotic conditions in China. We must in frankness point out that these slogans are being overworked. They are being used to explain too much. Foreign nations have taken actual steps in meeting China's legitimate claims, and are eager to go further. But the Nationalist government has not kept its promises nor fulfilled its obligations. Such recent agreements as the foreign governments have negotiated with the Nationalists (as for example, the Chen-O'Malley agreement) have not been observed in an equal spirit by the latter.

Our Friendly Efforts Defeated

With special reference to requests that we use our good offices to present China's case in the best possible light before our home nations, it is necessary to recognize that we who have been termed "idealists" in our attitude toward China, to-day stand

discredited before the world as a result of the course of recent events. We are known to have protested against the gunboat policy and other forcible measures. As recently as the first of February this year, 127 missionaries in Nanking, at considerable labour and expense, prepared and sent a cablegram to the American government and public, protesting against the use of force in dealing with China, and urging a policy of conciliation and the prompt negotiation of new treaties on a basis of equality. In but little more than a month after that, we had to depend on the use of foreign force to save our lives. We have favoured the return of concessions to China, but to-day a foreign settlement is our only place of refuge. We have assured our people abroad that the Nationalist movement was not anti-Christian nor anti-foreign, but now we are driven from our homes and dispossessed of our property. We who remained in Nanking on March 24 were not personally depending on extraterritorial privileges nor any other form of foreign protection, but were putting our trust in the assurances of the Nationalists. The events show that our faith was not justified. In all these matters, the facts of the situation flatly contradict our words. Everything we have said in behalf of the national movement is made to appear false. For us to say more in the present situation would be futile.

Conclusion

We present these statements of our views not because we wish to discourage our loyal friends. On the other hand, we believe that the only way to bring about a change in these circumstances, is first frankly to face the facts and admit the conditions that exist. We know there are many Chinese people who see these events as we do and who sincerely regret them. But regrets and good wishes are not sufficient. Those sections of the Chinese public who really disapprove of the con-

ditions we have pointed out, should find some way to make their influence and goodwill effective. We do not presume to say how this shall be done, nor even to say that it must be done. We make no demands of our Chinese friends. We are merely pointing out what in our judgment is the way to continued helpful relations. In so far as our Chinese friends see their way to

extend their efforts in this direction, they will have our sympathy and co-operation to the extent of our ability.

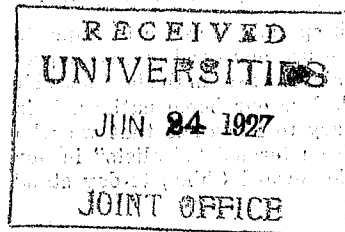
The undersigned committee takes full responsibility for this statement, but in the preparation of it they have consulted all the Nanking missionaries who were accessible in Shanghai, and have tried to express the views of the whole group.

W. J. DRUMMOND
L. L. HALE
A. R. KEPLER
JOHN G. MAGEE
EDWIN MARX
A. H. REINHARD

D. W. RICHARDSON
W. P. ROBERTS
ELLA C. SHAW
C. STANLEY SMITH
MRS. LAWRENCE THURSTON
W. R. WILLIAMS

April 21, 1927.

Extra copies in English or Chinese may be bought at The Mission Book Company, or Kelly & Walsh, Shanghai.



TRANSFER

The Looting of Nanking.

J.B. Guffey

No incident in recent years has so stirred China or more profoundly affected the policies of the nations in relation to China as the looting of Nanking. On this occasion fate decreed that my brother Burgoyne, who was also a member of the faculty of the University of Nanking, and I, contrary to our intentions, should be separated. We have, therefore, combined the narratives of our experiences in order to give our home friends a more complete story of the affair.

EVENTS PRECEDING THE CRASH

Most of the American residents had become ~~so~~ accustomed to Chinese wars and felt ~~so~~ secure from personal harm on such occasions. No one, therefore, was prepared to expect the mad violence of the Nationalist attack upon foreigners which made Thursday, March 24th, a day of terror in Nanking. Even the United States Consul John Davis, who is the son of a missionary and a past master in things Chinese, did not send his wife and two small children out of the city, but felt as secure under the Stars and Stripes of his consulate building as if he were on one of the United States gunboats in the river beside the city.

Yet we had known for months that the Nationalist army which had the zeal of a cause behind it, saying nothing of the color of the beliefs, would eventually drive out and displace the Shantung troops from the North who had no other bond of loyalty to their avaricious warlords than the pay which they seldom received.

THE COMMUNIST RADICALS COME INTO POWER

The triumphs of mobs at Hankow and still later at Wuhu gave us a number of qualms, and I proceeded to ship, a month before our disaster, a large box of valuable personal effects to America. Then came the disheartening news that the moderate wing of the Nationalists had been squelched and that Borodin, the Soviet adviser of the new government, was in the saddle. Other articles of baggage from myself and many others were shipped to Shanghai as news of the progress of the Southern army came to hand. Many of our students went home but we continued all classes for those who remained.

There was a great fear throughout the city of looting by the Northern soldiers at the moment of retreat. Thousands of Chinese left the city with their valuables and merchants hid away their stocks of merchandise. For many days to make a purchase was like patronizing a blind pig.

WITH NOISE OF BATTLE AT THE GATES EVACUATION BEGINS

On Monday afternoon, March 21st, at 4 o'clock p.m. the boom of artillery and rattle of machine guns announced that the battle lines were only a few miles from our gates. Word was passed by the consul to be ready for immediate evacuation. Tuesday morning several other Paul Reveres and myself mounted our bicycles and dashed about in the darkness before dawn announcing that women and children would assemble at an appointed spot and be taken out in motor cars. Each was permitted to take a suit case, bedding roll, and food for two days. My own family went with the others, but Burgoyne's baby was not well and the doctor advised his wife not to go. In three hours two cars had taken out 104 women, 69 children and four men. They were placed on board the U.S. destroyers 'Noa' and 'Preston'. There they were received with the greatest courtesy by the crews who gave up their berths to them and did everything

possible to make the narrow quarters comfortable. There still remained in the city about 150 Americans of whom nearly half were women and children. The incessant roar of artillery and gunfire throughout the night as well as day drew nearer until during Wednesday forenoon the Southerners made a drive for Yu Hua Tai, the 'Rain Flower Hill' just outside of the South Gate. A break was momentarily expected. Meanwhile messengers were attending the needs of the folks on board the warships.

I had spent the forenoon with my students in the field pruning trees and making cuttings. Then still in working clothes of the field which I was destined to wear till Saturday night, I collected the needed supplies and asking Dr. Gibbs, the veterinarian, to accompany me, made the afternoon trip to the destroyers. When we passed through the great north gate into the suburb called Hsia Kwan by the river we saw that soldiers were running toward the bund, as the wide street bordering the river is called, we knew the crash had come and the retreat was on.

IN THE MIDST OF A STAMPEDING ARMY

Hurrying to the ships we delivered our supplies and messages and jumped into the rickshaws to go back. By that time the suburb resembled a freshly poked ants nest. Soldiers by the thousand were plunging like milling styers toward the river. They piled pell mell into every junk that could be seized. Cavalrymen rode up, turned their horses loose, and ran for boats. Dr. Gibbs and I bucked the line through the retreating army for the distance of about two city blocks. We then gave up in despair and tried a detour across the execution grounds. At that moment indiscriminate firing broke out all along the bund and the looting of stores by the departing soldiers began, ~~and as~~ soldiers fought with each other for boats. Our new course led us into as thick a mob as before so we gave up the effort to reach the city gate and worked our way back to the destroyers.

All night the soldiers stampeded across the river looting and burning houses and stores in Hsia Kwan and again in Pukow, the railroad terminal across the river. In the meantime the city inside the wall was left almost untouched.

TROUBLE FOR FOREIGNERS BEGINS WITH ARRIVAL OF SOUTHERNERS

The following morning ^{As we on board the destroyers} all breathed a sigh of relief and began to talk of moving back to our homes and settling down to work. But suddenly our signal service brought us an unexpected jolt. The incoming Southerners were looting the missions! Next came the word, they are attacking the consulates. Another message, the British Consul has been shot in the legs, his consulate looted and the British cruiser Emerald is cleaning her decks for action. We were appalled. Things were getting serious. Then signals of distress began to come from a marine on top of the house of the Standard Oil Co. on a hill inside of the city wall.

A missionary friend, Mr. Doolittle, later gave us the story of the party that had gathered ^{at the Standard Oil house.} The Southerners came to Mr. Doolittle's home at about 8 o'clock in the morning. He and several of his friends came out of the house to welcome them kindly and invite them in. In response to the welcome, the first soldier raised his gun and fired point blank at Mr. Doolittle, who saved his life by dropping

like a cat to the ground while the bullet passed over his head. At this moment an old servant fell on his knees before the soldiers and begged for the foreigner's lives. In the ^{moment} of delay caused by the servant's intercession, Deo little and his party scooted around the house, over the back wall of the compound and across the fields. They kept moving until they reached the American consulate.

THE ATTACK UPON THE AMERICAN CONSULATE

Only a few moments after reaching this supposed haven of safety which was guarded by twelve marines an attack was made by so many soldiers that Consul Davis realized that all would have to run for their lives. Ordering the marines not to fire under any circumstances, the consul with his wife and two children and eight other Americans besides the marines climbed over the back wall as the soldiers broke in the front. Immediately they were pursued and fired on from every angle. As everyone testified later, their only salvation at this time lay in the incredibly poor marksmanship of the soldiers. Pot shots were taken at them within a range of fifty yards.

SAVED BY A WOUNDED MARINE

But the last marine of the rear guard being somewhat overweight was harder to miss than the rest and all at once went down with a bullet in the back. Thinking he was done for, he rolled over, grabbed his gun and killed the first two of the pursuers. The rest ran for the moment and the party escaped to the Standard Oil Company house on the top of a hill near ^{the north wall of the city and in plain sight of the} destroyers a mile and a half away in the river. There the consul bargained for the lives of the group. Upon relieving the party, now numbering 31, of all their money and valuables, an escort was promised to lead them out of the city. Instead of an escort more soldiers came and gave them a hail of bullets. In the meanwhile, a marine who seemed to bear a charmed life as he stood on the top of the house waving his semaphore signals, was telling the story to the fleet below.

ARMED INTERVENTION AS A LAST RESORT

The consul went past the limit in his endeavor to prevent armed intervention. But finally the Southerners broke into the house. The party were ^{lying} flat on the upstairs floor. The signal man waved a last S.O.S. Just as the soldiers started up the stairs, the marines started down with fixed bayonets. In that second the 'Noa' spoke and a four-inch shell burst within a hundred feet of the house. The Chinese soldiers scattered like frightened rats. The 'Noa' was followed by the Preston and then the six inch guns of the British cruiser Emerald boomed. For an hour a barrage of shells was scientifically laid around the house on the uninhabited hill where it stood.

THE ESCAPE OVER NANKING CITY WALL

Then the party including two women and two children crawled down the fifty foot city wall with the aid of a rope made of sheets. One of the last to come was Mr. Hobart of the Standard Oil Co. While still twenty feet from the ground the sheet broke with his heavy weight giving him a fall that broke his ankle.

In a few moments the party were received on the ^{destroyers} ~~destroyers~~

with rousing cheers while the consul immediately planned with the commanders for the rescue of the remaining foreigners of the city.

THE EFFECT OF THE HEAVY GUNS

When the first gun boomed on the 'Noa' the refugees below the decks felt that it meant a death blow to their husbands and friends. Surely the Chinese would retaliate. But when they saw how the consular party had been saved and when they saw how firing in Hsia Kwan and Nanking had instantly ceased (we had been peppered all day by snipers) they realized that the destroyers had spoken in the only language the mercile~~s~~ invaders could understand. The Chinese soldiers learned that no more fooling would be tolerated. The consul and commanders of warships opened negotiations and demanded that the Southern general appear on board the Emerald before 11 p.m. He was there by nine and was given until 10 o'clock the next morning to escort all foreigners safely out of the city. The time was necessarily extended later but the general got exceedingly busy.

The refugees ^{already} on the destroyers were loaded at midnight on to British river steamers and convoyed by two gunboats to Shanghai. All the party were in painful suspense regarding the fate of their imprisoned comrades till Saturday noon.

There were still 120 teachers and missionaries left in Nanking whose whereabouts and fate were unknown. With them that fatal Thursday had brought experiences that they can never forget. The soldiers seemed mad with the lust to rob and kill.

Foreign houses were so thoroughly looted that even mantel pieces and window casings were carried away for fuel. In one instance piano keys were sold on the street for kindling.

On the one hand the soldiers were determined to seize or extort money but their chief purpose seemed to be to torture their victims by continual threats of death and attempts to kill. Time and again they fired their rifles at the heads of those they were holding up so that some even had their ~~rifles~~ cheeks powder burned. ^{The rifles} They slapped their faces, rammed the butts of guns into their ribs and poked them with bayonets. But in the effort to make the Americans cringe and beg for their lives in Chinese fashion they were disappointed. ^{the Americans} When they threatened to shoot they ^{the Americans} were told to go ahead.

The Reverend Price, a saintly old professor in the Theological Seminary and the pastor of the whole American community, was tortured for six and a half hours by a young demon who demanded more money than he possessed. His Chinese friends gave everything they could gather together for his release. One old lady brought a silver hair ornament worth about \$15.00, which was her most prized possession.

Another professor in the Seminary, Rev. Stanley Smith, as did many of the others, demonstrated his preaching by his practice. When his particular tormentor slapped him on the side of the face, he politely thanked him and turning asked him - to his tormentor's utter amazement - to hit him on the other side.

Persons were robbed not only of valuables but of their clothing, shoes, and even spectacles. A number of the men were stripped down to their underclothes and would have suffered from exposure had not Chinese friends quickly clad them in the padded Chinese gowns.

UNIVERSITY VICE PRESIDENT IS KILLED

Vice President Williams was shot down in cold blood while walking about on the University campus and his pockets were rifled as his body lay on the ground. Another member of the faculty, watching over his body, was shot at thirteen times. Dr. Williams was one of the outstanding missionary statesmen in China. A great union university in Central China had been his dream and he had given twenty of the best years of his life to make the dream a reality in the University of Nanking.

MISS MOFFET IS SHOT

The efficient business secretary of the Presbyterian Mission, Anna Moffet, had remained in the city with those who were protecting the girls' school. Soldiers raided the place demanding money. A hundred dollars was turned over. This incited demands for more. Because it was not forthcoming at once a soldier shot Miss Moffet through the body. She did not fall so he shot her again. Mr. Drummond, an old country evangelist, and Miss Null, the principal of the girls' school, rushed out to help Miss Moffet. They were greeted with a hail of bullets and compelled to hide in a clump of bamboo. Two Chinese teachers then carried Miss Moffet away and hid her under a pile of straw, where she lay the rest of the day without medical attention.

Every mission group was the victim of the same anti-foreign ferocity. Each has its tale of thorough looting, abuse, and narrow escapes from death.

SAT ON BY HER PUPILS

In the Methodist girls' school the soldiers searched for the principal, Miss Golisch, whose proportions make herequite difficult to overlook. But her girls had made her lie on the floor, threw a tarpaulin over her and sat on her while the soldiers dashed about in vain.

LOOTING A TELEPHONE

In the Advent girls' school a soldier burst into the office where the principal, Miss Hazard, was using the telephone. He asked what it was. She told him and let him put the receiver to his ear. He heard the voices and laughed with glee. Then he jerked the receiver off the instrument and went off with it in his pocket quite elated over such a choice piece of loot.

BURGOYNE TELLS HIS EXPERIENCES

On Wednesday afternoon the retreat of the Northern troops began in earnest. Those who marched through the city were quite orderly, proceeding directly from the South to the North Gate. Most of them had been disarmed by their own officers, and there was little looting of Chinese property in the city, and no looting of foreign property. A second call came from the Consul for the evacuation of women and children, but none left because of the difficulty of getting out of the city at that time. Wednesday night passed very quietly. The first indication of any trouble came after the Southern troops had entered the South Gate and marched through the streets for three hours. The trouble began at nearly the same

time in all parts of the city. The warning was given at my home by my Chinese teacher. He came and urged me to save all I could and run, for the Southerners were looting foreign houses. My wife and I snatched the thirteen-months old baby and a few blankets and ran and ~~hid themselves~~ hid ourselves in one of the Middle School buildings in the compound.

I returned to the house and gave the teacher his trunks, which he had stored in my house for safe keeping against looting by the Northern troops. I was then unable to find my wife and baby; every move in the open not only exposed ourselves but brought danger to the Chinese who had ~~tried~~ tried to protect us by saying that there were no foreigners at all in the Middle School compound.

Hiding in a Coal Bin

I was finally pushed into a coal bin under one of the buildings. After about half an hour my wife and child were pushed into the same place, meeting me in unexpected surprise. We spent the day there taking turns in carrying the baby back and forth as we walked bent double under the four-foot ceiling. We simply had to keep him quiet in order to avoid detection as soldiers were continually passing by and shooting their guns into the air. After a little while two students, at danger to themselves, provided us with food for ourselves and the baby, which helped a great deal. At about 5.30 in the evening I heard the voice of one of my students at the window of the basement calling for me. He was one of an organized committee of students who were searching for hidden foreigners. He promised to try to get us out. While we was gone I heard the call of a bugle, and saw soldiers marching past the window. I feared that troops were going to be quartered outside of the building. However, this was a false alarm. The student returned, bringing with him a friendly officer. He treated us with great politeness and said that he was not fighting the Americans, only Japanese and English. We were conducted safely to the University, where other foreigners were gathering.

The incoming of each hidden foreigner was like a family reunion. Wild rumors had been spread abroad about various members. We found that Dr. Williams, Vice President of the University, had been shot and later buried by his Chinese friends. Others were reported to have been killed in like manner. When these people came in, it was like seeing them rise from the dead.

The stories related included some of the most remarkable episodes I have ever heard. Some were caught and threatened with death as Northern or White Russian spies. Mr. Robson, a professor of religious education at the University of Nanking, was ~~so~~ threatened, and a Chinese instructor in the College of Agriculture and Forestry, Mr. Sheo Piao, said "This is not a Russian spy but a teacher in the University. If you want to shoot anybody, shoot me." He was released. Mr. Thomson of the Chemistry Department was attacked by soldiers with threats to kill if large sums of money were not handed over immediately. Some of the Chinese instructors in the Chemistry Department combined all the money they had and gave it to the soldiers to send them away. Everywhere the soldiers went they acted like insane men, shooting through the doors near the heads of the people and jabbing them with bayonets.

Dr. Macklin, a resident of Nanking for forty years, was being threatened with his life, when an old beggar whom he had helped fell on his knees before the soldiers, exclaiming that Dr. Macklin was a good man and, if they must shoot, to kill himself instead.

The marauders then left him and turned to loot Dr. Macklin's house. They stripped it bare, but one of his most prized possessions is still there. Dr. Macklin's hobby had been the raising of bees, a rather uncommon proceeding in that part of China. The row of hives looked like a fine lot of fuel. A soldier grabbed the super off the first hive and got the surprise of his young life. The hives remain.

The thing that will stand out in our minds the strongest in the whole affair is not the insane action of the soldiers, or the discomforts of that terrible Thursday. It is the wonderful sacrifice and spirit of true friendship we found on the part of the Chinese, ^{even to the} very poor people. No one refused protection; in many cases expensive Chinese gowns were taken off the owners' backs and given to the American to get him to a place of safety.

When I first came to Bailie Hall one of the Chinese teachers came to me, with tears in his eyes, and said "We are very much ashamed of what has happened to you." More than a few of both students and teachers shed tears when the party had all been gathered.. This was repeated time and again. When the time came for us to leave, they said to us, "You are only leaving for a short time. Conditions will settle down and you can return soon."

When one of the American teachers returns home on furlough it is the custom of his Chinese friends to give him sending-off parties and to present him with out-velvet scrolls, bearing honorable inscriptions. To see all their foreign friends sent home in this way was most humiliating to them.

Ginling College, the college for women in Nanking, located near the University of Nanking, was more fortunate in being protected by a friendly group of soldiers, an officer having his sister in that place. The girls wept bitterly when they were at last separated from their teachers. Not a few tears were shed, too, by both the students and Chinese teachers of the University when the party was finally gathered together and was led off by the military escort that had been provided according to the demands of the consuls.

We do not know as yet what will happen to those who protected us. In all probability the extremists will take terrible vengeance on them. Some have already fled for their lives and we understand that five hundred names have been listed by the revolutionists of those who gave aid to the foreigners.

As though the sufferings of the day of terror were not enough, all of the party on one of the destroyers which carried them to Shanghai were stricken with ptomaine poisoning. More than twenty had to be taken directly to the hospital upon arriving. All are now out of danger and even Miss Moffet with a bullet through her abdomen is on the road to recovery.

Summary of the Incidents

There were several outstanding facts that should be emphasized regarding the whole incident.

First, the attack upon foreigners and looting of their properties was premeditated and directed by the Southern forces, and was not, as is usually the case, the result of disorganized soldiers out of control.

Second, the offending troops were Hunanese. The Hunanese are known to be the most radical group of the South and more completely under the control of the Soviet communist advisers than any other section. If the atrocities were not due to direct orders of these advisers, they were at least instigated by the anti-foreign propaganda from this source.

Third, all classes of Chinese in Nanking, teachers, students, farmers, rickshaw men, and even beggars heroically risked their lives and gave of their substance to appease in any manner the savage fury of the invaders.

Fourth, the American and British Consuls and naval officers have handled the situation with the greatest possible discretion, exceeding the limit of patience in withholding armed force until there was no other way to save the lives of their citizens. Even then the only bombardment which was laid down was limited to an uninhabited area and was in the nature of a barrage to permit the imprisoned civilians to escape.

on China Union Universities
Put with other documents
TRANSFER

Report of Rev. E. C. Lobenstine on the
Nanking Tragedy.

REPORT GIVEN BY REV. E. C. LOBENSTINE:

CHINA UNION UNIVERSITIES
CENTRAL OFFICE

Mr. Griffing: Monday March 21, about 4 p.m. rifle firing close to River West of City - firing all night - line spreading toward the South. American Consul gave order to have everyone ready for quick evacuation. Consul decided on evacuation at 6:30 a.m. the following morning, Tuesday. During this whole period the firing spread from West around South of the City and to the East of the City, coming closer and closer. Before daylight those who had bicycles went around to notify people to be ready for evacuation at 6:30. From 6:30 to 10:30 two motor cars took people down in relays to the Destroyers - no trouble - perfectly clear. 104 women, 69 children and 4 men (all Americans) were taken out in that evacuation.

Mr. Bowen made a report that evening as to the Americans still in Nanking and he estimated roughly 60 women, 40 children and 80 men remaining in the City. This estimate was given out before he had an exact census.

Wednesday morning the University was still open. Griffing himself worked up until noon in the buildings in connection with the Agricultural College. The Cantonese made a desperate attempt to get Yu Hwa Tai on Wednesday morning. The Consul gave the second evacuation order for women and children. Mr. Lauder milk and Mr. Reisner went down to the ship to canvass for needs. Mr. Griffing and Mr. Gibbs went down in rickshaws, taking supplies at 3 p.m. Wednesday. At that time the Group Leaders were trying to evacuate women and children. At 4 p.m. when Griffing passed the Naval Academy there was a movement of troops moving toward the Gates (North). He did not say whether these were Northern or Southern troops. At Hsia Kwan the Northern troops were on the run to get across the river. In a few minutes the City Gates were closed. Hall Paxon, Vice-Consul, was unable to get through. Mr. Griffing went to the Destroyer and after awhile he tried to get back into the City to get his brother and his family. When he reached the Bund he found it filled with a mass of soldiers. There was indiscriminate firing all around - either looting or in connection with the loading of ships. He could not make out which it was.

Mr. Griffing tried a second time to get to the Gate and then went back to the boat. He finally got Butterfield & Swire men who were on the hulk, the access to which was locked, to come out and let him in, and he got from there to the gunboat. He had started back to the City about 5 o'clock.

The Destroyer had a message from the Standard Oil hill that the Southerners got in at 7:30 p.m. through the South Gate (on Wednesday). All of the junks on the river had been seized by the Northern soldiers. Rifles were cracking all around Hsai Kwan - big fires here and there - John McGee heard screams everywhere of women. That evening John McGee had a message from our Mission that all was quiet inside.

Everybody expected all would be peaceful as soon as the Southerners got in, and all expected that within a day or two they would be able to get back to their work from the gunboats.

24 We were surprised to hear on the morning of Thursday that the Christian Mission and the American Church Mission were looted by the Southerners.

At 9 a.m. soldiers from the shore began firing, rifle fire, at the gun boats. All Thursday there was firing by rifle fire on the gunboats. One British Marine was killed. The boats did not reply.

Reports began to come through by semaphore signal that people were gathering at the Standard Oil Hill. They heard that the British Consul was shot - they did not know whether fatally or not, but later learned he was shot in the leg. Situation growing very serious. Before 11 a.m. the Emerald prepared her guns for firing.

Mr. Burwell of the Seventh Day Adventists:

They (the S.D.A.) have a compound near the Drum Tower (Peh Chi Kow). There were 7 men (foreigners), no women in the compound. At 6:30 on Thursday Southern soldiers came in to loot. Their servants said there were no foreigners in the building. Then, because the foreigners were afraid to be caught in a lie of that kind, they showed themselves. They went out of the house and beckoned to the soldiers to come in. One of the soldiers took a shot at them and missed them. The soldiers then came up to the house, went in, and the missionaries said, "everything here is at your disposal, only let us go". The soldiers replied they would not. A Chinese friend across the street fell down on his knees before these men and pled with them not to shoot the foreigners. This was their chance. They then rushed out the back door, over the wall and down to Dr. Reichelt's place. Reichelt had with him a Kuomintang friend who was an A.K.M.T. official for that district. (Dr. Reichelt later told me this is not quite accurate.) He told Reichelt and others that he would show them over to the Consulate, but that he must first stay until the looting crowd had come for instructions from him as to the houses to loot. The thing was apparently systematically arranged for looting of every foreigner's house on the place. The main looting crowd ~~was~~ was still at the three houses in the Seventh Day Adventists' Compound. These seven men decided not to wait but to make a dash for the American Consulate. Reichelt stayed behind. A Chinese friend went with the Adventist men. They encountered soldiers who began sniping at them. They stayed as much as they could in hiding, but after they saw a man making signals to soldiers about them, they decided the best thing to do was to make a rush in a round-about-way for the Consulate. It took them about an hour to make $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, by the way they went. The U.S. Marines could not protect the American Consulate any longer. Some soldiers were crying "Kill the foreigners". Davis went up to them and said that this was the American Consulate and that they were Americans, but still this kept up. So they decided to make a rush for the Standard Oil Hill. In the party there were Mr. Davis, Mrs. Davis and two children, The Manager of Liggett and Myers, the Seventh Day Adventist men and the Marines (12) and an Officer. They went out by a back gate and were not immediately seen by the Southern soldiers who were at the front, but they came within view of them when they were about 300 yards away from the soldiers. The soldiers immediately began sniping at them. They had two miles to go. They were running as fast as they could all the way. The small girls had to be carried. The coolies carrying Mrs. Davis' bags fell behind and disappeared. A Marine was shot in the back and fell. Three soldiers had come within about 50 yards of him. After he fell he shot two of them. The other ran away. Two friendly coolies picked him up and concealed him in a hut from the soldiers. About noon or soon after he got up to the Standard Oil place.

Mrs. Davis:

The Consulate for a number of days had 12 Marines and an Officer to look after the Consulate. No one feared the South but they did not want to have these Marines armed, and so Mr. Davis took possession of the arms and kept them in the Consulate. These men patrolled without arms. There was sniping all night long on Monday around the Consulate and the Marines remained on guard that night. The Southerners got in on Wednesday. Thursday Mr. Davis was at the gate and on a number of occasions he tried to keep these Southern soldiers from making trouble. A Colonel came to the gate, was very pleasant and asked if he might stable three horses there. Mr. Davis admitted him and tried very hard, through him, to get in touch with Officers higher up. Mrs. Davis also said they never dreamed there would be any unfriendliness on the part of the Southern troops.

The Consul learned early on Thursday morning that the hospitals were looted. The soldiers opened the doors and told the rabble to help themselves.

(E.C.L. Fairly early that morning the Consul learned of the death of Dr. Williams). (He also had a phone that the British and Japanese Consulates had both been attacked).

The Seventh Day Adventists had just arrived and upon hearing this news from

The Consulate and realizing the futility of resisting, Mr. Davis decided they had better make for the Standard Oil Hill. They started out with a large American flag in front, but a few hundred yards away the Southerners started firing. They had two miles approximately to go across country. They were running with two children. The children were 11 and 6 years of age. At the Standard Oil there was a group of 8 Marines, one of them being a signal man. They were well armed. The night before when the crowd had attacked the British Consulate a few British went out to the Standard Oil place. A party of 23 had come in from the U.S. Consulate, making, including Marines, 49 people in all on the hill. Mrs. Davis and Mrs. Hobart, the wife of the Manager of the Standard Oil, and Mrs. Davis' two children, were the only women and children. Groups of 4 to 6 soldiers kept coming up all day (E.C.L. - this must have been from about 11 a.m. until 4 p.m.) asking for money. They demanded \$500. a head to let them all go in safety. The foreigners gave up everything they had in the way of money and jewelry. (Everyone did around town when thus approached).

American Vice-Consul

About 2 p.m. they saw a group advance under a flag of truce with Hall Paxson at the head. There were three or four in the group. (E.C.L. This party was one that John McGee got up. He had a friend who was in the Kuomingtang, a sort of "half-member" of their church, and John told him at their headquarters on Hsai Kwan that it was utter folly to attack foreigners and tried to induce these people to try to see if they could not argue with the soldiers who were attacking the Standard Oil hill and get them to desist. They arrived at the Standard Oil hill sometime between 3 and 4, nearly 4 p.m.)

Mrs. Davis: When they got there the soldiers would not listen to them at all. The Kuomingtang group then left. Finally the last group of soldiers came up to Mr. Hobart and Mr. Davis (E.C.L. who from all accounts had risked their lives several times during the day) and they tore off their glasses, threw them down and started upstairs to kill the crowd. Mrs. Davis and Mrs. Hobart and children were lying flat on the floor of the bathroom upstairs. They considered it the most protected spot. Mr. Davis argued with the Chinese that he was the American Consul; they said, "We don't care, we are going to kill you". The Chinese stuck his bayonet against Mr. Davis' breast. Hobart was thrown to the ground. They then knew that the thing was up. They had kept their men unarmed until this time and offered no resistance. They had no money left. The soldiers insisted on going upstairs. They got the signal man to signal the gunboats that they were making their last stand, and the boat immediately began firing shells to form a barrage around the house and to open a way to the wall. When the first shell burst the crowd melted away. There was no sniping after that but as a matter of safety they kept the Marines on the top of a ridge and they got down behind this ridge and made their way to the wall. The rope which they had had on the wall had been stolen, so they made one of blankets and sheets and they got down over the wall in safety, all except Mr. Hobart who dropped some 20 feet splintering his ankle so that he had to be carried from there to the boat. They did not know what was going to happen to them below and feared they might have a difficult time to get through, but the barrage behind them sent everyone indoors and they got through without trouble. They went to the canal and two sampans were willing to help them across. After they crossed the canal they concealed themselves behind a small ridge, and a landing party from the launch came and so they got to the British Cruiser. Mr. Davis went immediately to the Bridge and reported the whole matter to Peking. The American Admiral arrived from Hankow on the "Isabel".

Almost as soon as the first shell was fired the Southern General came out to the gunboat. (E.C.L. the first shell was fired by the American gunboat and within a few seconds the British also began firing). They demanded that the General come back to the boat by 11 p.m., but he came back ahead of time. The terms were that he must guarantee a safe convoy to all foreigners in Nanking to the ships before 10 a.m. of the next day (Friday). If not, they would consider this a military area. (E.C.L. Mrs. Davis and Mrs. Hobart were particularly concerned, because of rumors, that it should not be given out that they had threatened to shell the City.

Mr. Ritchie, Port Master (British), hid in the Post Office van and got down to the Post Office in Hsia Kwan. He remained in hiding not daring to come out on the Bund because of the soldiers. After the shelling started not a soldier was in sight and he walked out in perfect safety.

The shelling continued from the time they opened their barrage until the evacuation party from the Standard Oil Hill reached cover. It lasted over an hour. (E.C.L.: I heard one man say they fired 45 shots from the U.S. gunboats).

Five minutes after the Davis party left the Consulate it was looted and it was looted twice later. No. 1 clerk was saved and later got through a telephone message. The Consular records may have been saved. The looters were all soldiers. Those who fired were Southern soldiers. In escaping from the Consulate there was firing all the way.

The wounded sailor's name was Plummer.

Mrs. Davis wanted to speak especially of the wonderful calmness of Mr. Hobart who had been an immense help to her husband, and also Mr. Hall Paxson who had done very fine work indeed, and from others I heard that these men risked their lives repeatedly to save others.

Mr. Davis' one injunction to all Americans was "when the soldiers come, offer no resistance". That had been drilled into them, and so they gave them everything they asked for and let them loot everything they wished to.

The Blackstone and Mills houses, also Mr. Hutcheson's were burned.

Miss Shaw: Very sorry indeed to leave. First question was whether she had done right in leaving. Rev. Chia Yanning was left in charge of the Woman's Union Bible School as President; Miss Chia Chien, who used to be at Hangchow, is Assistant Dean, and Miss Chen Ying, Assistant Treasurer. This organization had been arranged in advance in preparation for a possible need of turnover.

Mrs. Bowen's account of the death of Dr. Williams is as follows: Dr. Williams, Dr. Bowen and Mr. Loudermilk were walking together - were held up and robbed near Dr. Williams' house, she thinks - but does not know the exact spot, about 6 a.m. Thursday -- allowed to go on and after having been robbed, Jack turned around in his friendly way to talk to these men. His companions heard a shot and turned around to find him lying dead with a shot in his forehead.

Miss Hammond: (American Church Mission). Mr. W. Roberts and Mr. Ridgley were in their Mission Compound in the Eastern part of the City. The Southern troops came in and looted their place, I think on the morning of Thursday, opened all the boxes and robbed the Chinese.

John McGee was at Hsia Kwan on the Destroyer "Noa" from 5 to 11 p.m. Thursday and went at 11 o'clock to the "Emerald" about the time the Southern General was coming. He had offered to go into the City probably to help locate the missionaries who had not been evacuated. He was much pleased with a Chinese who went with him to the Sze Ling Pu which was the headquarters of the Hsai Kwan M.M.T. John McGee told the people there they were crazy to murder foreigners in this way; they would bring the wrath of the world down upon them. He induced them to send a little party up to the Standard Oil Hill to try to call off the soldiers from killing the party that had taken refuge there. He telephoned Mr. Davis at the Standard Oil hill just before the final attack was made on them and he heard Davis say they were about to kill them and then the telephone receiver was dropped. One of the men who was in this deputation said he had saved Mr. Davis' life by pushing aside the man's bayonet when he was about to run the Consul through. A man in this Sze Ling Pu told Mr. McGee they made a great mistake in not firing earlier in the day from the gunboat.

(Kuomingtang party headquarters)

Mrs. Reisner: Mr. Detrick went back into the City on Thursday. He saw the Hutcheson house burning. His own house had been looted even to the window frames which had been torn out. Mills' house and the Blackstone house were burning. He did not see a sign of a foreigner. The streets were deserted. His Chinese acquaintances

were afraid to speak to him. He finally got down over the wall by an improvised ladder.

Jack was killed before 9 a.m. Mr. Davis had a phone message before then.

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Mr. Li Siao-yuen's report on collecting of books from the homes of the foreign faculty is appended as follows:

"On account of the Nanking affair, on March 24, 1927, he suggested the next day to Doctor Bowen, and Mr. Clemons, the collecting of the books from all the looted faculty houses. With their consent and approval and also the consent from other faculty members, and with the help of some Kuomintang students and several soldier guards, the removal of books was continued for one whole day. He took great pleasure to report here the help of the most enthusiastic, and painstaking and faithful fellow-students, who had voluntarily enlisted themselves to this event. They were Messrs. Chang I-nien, Cheo Ching-tien, Hong Chen-tao, Hsu Kwoh-liang, I Chuin-kan, Li Chiah-hsuen, Lieh Ru-chien, Moh Kan-lin, Pen Sheo-pang, Tao Yu-tien, Tsu Shao-chieh, Hsu Shao-wu, Wang Chao-yung, Wang Li-o, Wang Pei-ren, Yieh Chia-ho, and Yu Ren-shen.

"It was a regret that there were still some students who had helped but whose names are still remaining unknown.

"Books were first moved from Messrs. Bowen, Thomson, Reisner, Buck, Sarvis, Hamilton, Illick, Wixon, and Mrs. Clemons by rickshas, carriages and coolies. A large part of the faculty owned books was taken on this day.

"On the afternoon of the 26th day, additional help was secured from the Department of Agriculture and Forestry and Messrs. Chow Ming-i, Ku Ying, Ren Chen-tung, and others joined our library staff to clean up the houses of Hamilton, Sarvis and Mills, Williams and Gibbs, Lowdermilk, Holroyd, Porter, J. B. Griffing. Mr. Li and the secretary went to the houses of Miss Williams, Robson, Brede, Malon and Brown. Owing to the lateness of the day, we were not able to collect all the books from the house of the last two mentioned. We got what we could and what were left on the floor. We thought that at least one third of the books were lost before moving. The Keen Memorial Collection in the Language School buildings had been wholly lost. With about 20 books left in the main library and about 20 books bought from the bookshops and about 30 books recovered from the books collected from faculty houses, there are now left only about 70 of the 650 books belonging to that collection.

"During this enterprise, the total expenditure, including payment of coolies, rickshas, and other things and the purchasing of books on market either belonging to the library or to the individual faculty members, was about \$30.

"We have now sorted the books collected by individual owners and also into 'books without names', and 'books with unknown names.' Owing to the lacking of space and personnel, we hope to conclude the work for the time being just by this present arrangement of individual owners. But there were few faculty members requesting us to make the lists for their books. The library is very much obliged to all those who helped in the collecting of books."