

# The International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone: An Introduction

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## 1. Introduction

In his introduction to the first monograph published in English on the Nanking Incident, *What War Means*, H. J. Timperley, Australian, journalist, correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian*, and paid propagandist for the Chinese Nationalist government, lauded the small group of Westerners who remained in Nanking in December 1937 to help the Chinese civilian population of the city too poor to flee from the approaching Japanese army, saying “[t]heir courage, their selflessness, their devotion, and above all their determination to save something from the catastrophe that they knew conquest and subjection must mean for Nanking, will be apparent to all who read this account.”<sup>1</sup>

This paper will attempt to identify those Westerners who elected to stay behind in Nanking in December 1937, despite calls from their respective governments to leave. These individuals are of importance as they collectively formed the key group that was to inform the world about what occurred following the Japanese capture of the city. Having identified the Westerners who elected to remain in Nanking and briefly introducing their writings on the Nanking Incident, a second paper will examine their activities in occupied Nanking, focussing on the role played by their main organization, the International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone.

When compared to the powerful narratives of active Chinese resistance to the Japanese, whether by the Nationalists or Communists, the issue of the Japanese occupation of China has received relatively little attention in the literature to date. Through an examination of occupied Nanking in these two papers, the author hopes to shed light on the issues of resistance and collaboration between Westerners and Japanese in occupied China.

## 2. The Western Community on Events in Nanking

The number of foreigners who elected to stay behind in Nanking has not been clarified to date in English. Some who were actually there mistakenly thought the number was twenty. Thus in a letter dated January 6, 1938, James McCallum wrote “[a]ltho’ there were only 20 of us foreigners we have been able to help considerably.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> H. J. Timperley, “Introduction,” in Timperley, ed., *What War Means: The Japanese Terror in China. A Documentary Record* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1938), p. 16. This work was published in America as *The Japanese Terror in China* (New York: Modern Age Books, 1938).

<sup>2</sup> See McCallum, letter to family, in Martha Lund Smalley, ed., *American Missionary Eyewitnesses to the Nanking Massacre, 1937-1938* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Divinity School

John Magee also stated that “in all we had 20 [foreigners] before the diplomatic people arrived.”<sup>3</sup> The secondary literature has reflected this confusion. In 1938, Hsü Shuhsi 徐淑希 spoke of “some two to three dozens of the foreign residents [who] elected to stay on after their respective countrymen had withdrawn to places of safety.”<sup>4</sup> Almost 60 years later, Iris Chang still mentioned in vague terms “a small band of Americans and Europeans” and “some two dozen” people (“mostly American, but also German, Danish, Russian, and Chinese”) who designed the Safety Zone.<sup>5</sup> Beatrice Bartlett stated that “[o]nly about twenty foreign residents remained in” Nanking, noting that “[t]he number of Westerners in the city has been variously reported.”<sup>6</sup> Zhang Kaiyuan also spoke of “more than twenty foreigners.”<sup>7</sup> Timothy Brook was unsure of exactly how many remained behind, noting a discrepancy between one account which gave the number as twenty-seven and a later one which gives it as twenty-two.<sup>8</sup>

The issue of the number of foreign residents in Nanking is complicated by the fact that five individuals left Nanking by December 16, so the number in the city when it fell differs from the number who remained during the early weeks of the occupation. Of the twenty-seven reported in Nanking when the city was taken, five journalists quickly left, leaving at least twenty-two behind. The Japanese authority on the Nanking Incident, Hata Ikuhiko, therefore stated that there were twenty-two foreigners in Nanking.<sup>9</sup> The author has determined that there were without question at least two more, and possibly as many as another four, and so believes that there were twenty-four and possibly as many as twenty-six foreigners in the city during the Nanking Incident in addition to the five journalists.

This issue is further complicated by the race-based discourse of the time that frequently ignored those who were not Caucasians. *Life* magazine, for instance, stated that “[a]bout 150,000 Nanking civilians...cowered throughout the siege in a ‘safety zone’ unofficially organized by some 27 white men who stayed in Nanking.”<sup>10</sup> The discourse,

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Library, 1997), pp. 42-43, at p. 42; also in Zhang Kaiyuan, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre: American Missionaries Bear Witness to Japanese Atrocities in Nanjing* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2001), pp. 237-38, at p. 237.

<sup>3</sup> Magee, letter to wife, January 11, in Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, pp. 187-90, at p. 187.

<sup>4</sup> Hsü, ed., *The War Conduct of the Japanese* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1938), p. 106.

<sup>5</sup> Chang, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* (New York: Basic Books, 1997), p. 106.

<sup>6</sup> Beatrice Bartlett, “Introduction,” in Smalley, ed., *American Missionary Eyewitnesses to the Nanking Massacre, 1937-1938*, p. vi, p. vi note 8. McCallum’s letter cited above may be the source for the figure of twenty.

<sup>7</sup> Zhang Kaiyuan, “Introduction: Historical Background,” in Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, p. xix.

<sup>8</sup> Timothy Brook, “Introduction,” in Brook, ed., *Documents of the Rape of Nanking* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), pp. 3, 24 note 2.

<sup>9</sup> Hata Ikuhiko 秦郁彦, *Nankin jiken: “Gyakusatsu” no kōzō* 南京事件—「虐殺」の構造 (The Nanking Incident: The structure of a “massacre”) (Tokyo: Chūkō shinsho, 1986), p. 6.

<sup>10</sup> *Life*, January 10, 1938, cited in Masahiro Yamamoto, *Nanking: Anatomy of an Atrocity* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2000), p. 176. For the full text of this article, see the Japanese translation in Nankin jiken chōsa kenkyūkai 南京事件調査研究会, ed., *Nankin jiken shiryōshū* 南京事件資料集 (Materials on the Nanking Incident), vol. 1: *Amerika kankei*

it might be noted, was not only Caucasian centered, but also masculinized (the Chinese are feminized through the passive term “cowered” as opposed to the masculine, active “organizing” white *men*). Because there was at least one foreign resident who was not Caucasian, a largely unnamed Turk who has been almost completely expunged from the historical record, this paper will use the term “Westerners” rather than “foreign residents.”

In addition to the number, another issue has been exactly who it was who elected to remain behind. Through the primary sources, the author has managed to determine not only the number of Westerners who remained in Nanking, but also to identify all of these by name. The Westerners can be divided into two groups: the smaller group of journalists who left after the Japanese occupation began and were the first to inform the world of conditions in occupied Nanking; and those who stayed behind to help the Chinese in Nanking. Most of this second group were members of the International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone, and their letters and reports form the nucleus of the second wave of information to flow out of Nanking. Since these two groups were the first to inform the world about the actual situation in Nanking, their reports will also be briefly introduced here.

## 2.1 The Journalists

When Nanking fell, five Western journalists—F. Tillman Durdin of the *New York Times*, Archibald T. Steele of the *Chicago Daily News*, Leslie Smith of Reuters News Agency (a British citizen<sup>11</sup>), C. Yates McDaniel of the Associated Press, and Arthur Menken of Paramount Movie News—remained in the city.<sup>12</sup> Apart from McDaniel (who left on December 16), all left Nanking on the USS *Oahu* on December 15, 1937. Their reports are among the first printed accounts of the Nanking Incident.

Although Durdin is often credited as being the first to inform the non-Japanese world about events in occupied Nanking, it was actually Steele who broke the news, bribing a crew member of the *Oahu* to send his story in.<sup>13</sup> Other accounts were published several days later. In one of the best journalistic accounts of the fall of Nanking, Durdin listed all the major issues of the Nanking Incident: the murder of civilians, the execution of Chinese soldiers, conscription, looting, and rape.<sup>14</sup> His criticism of the Japanese was bitter.

Through wholesale atrocities and vandalism at Nanking the Japanese army has thrown away a rare opportunity to gain the respect and confidence of the Chinese inhabitants and of foreign opinion there.... Wholesale looting, the violation of women, the murder

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*shiryōhen* アメリカ関係資料編 (American materials) (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 1992), pp. 552-54.

<sup>11</sup> George A. Fitch, *My Eighty Years in China* (revised edition) (Taipei: Mei Ya Publications, 1974), p. 105, n. 15. For the section of this diary relevant to Nanking, see Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, pp. 82-102.

<sup>12</sup> See “Americans in Nanking Unhurt,” *New York Times*, December 16, 1937, p. 20. The “Report of an Address by Mr. Smith (Reuters) in Hankow,” in Rabe, *The Good Man of Nanking: The Diaries of John Rabe*, transl. John E. Woods (New York: Knopf, 1998), pp. 72-73, was by Leslie Smith.

<sup>13</sup> See Steele, *Chicago Daily News*, December 15, 1937, p. 1, also reprinted (in translation) in *Amerika kankei shiryōhen*, pp. 465-67.

<sup>14</sup> Both Hata, *Nankin jiken* (p. 5) and Yamamoto, *Nanking* (p. 81) share this view of Durdin.

of civilians, the eviction of Chinese from their homes, mass executions of war prisoners and the impressing of able-bodied men turned Nanking into a city of terror.<sup>15</sup>

In a reflection of the ambiguity often seen in the American discourse on China before Pearl Harbor, Durdin was also extremely critical of the Chinese defending army. He wrote that the fall of the city “was the most overwhelming defeat suffered by the Chinese and one of the most tragic debacles in the history of modern warfare. In attempting to defend Nanking, the Chinese allowed themselves to be surrounded and then systematically slaughtered.”<sup>16</sup> After noting that Chiang Kai-shek 蒋介石 bore much of the responsibility, Durdin also stated that “General Tang Sheng-chih [唐生智] and associated division commanders who deserted their troops and fled” were also at fault. “[M]any army leaders deserted, causing panic among the rank and file.”<sup>17</sup>

However, the fall of Nanking was quickly overshadowed in the American press by the diplomatic crisis that erupted between Japan and the USA over the Japanese attack on and sinking of the USS *Panay* after it had left Nanking.<sup>18</sup> The vessel was mistakenly attacked and sunk by Japanese naval aircraft on December 12, 1937. This incident and the subsequent efforts by the Japanese to resolve it dominated foreign media coverage of China at the time Nanking fell.<sup>19</sup>

Western journalists were not permitted to return to the city after McDaniel left, and Nanking quickly disappeared from the headlines of the world’s press.<sup>20</sup> However, although there were no journalists left in Nanking, other Westerners remained behind to run the Safety Zone. Their diaries and letters are another early source of information. In particular, the various letters sent to the Imperial Japanese Embassy in Nanking, together with the long list of carefully documented “disorders” committed by Japanese soldiers,

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<sup>15</sup> Durdin, “Butchery Marked Capture of Nanking,” *New York Times*, December 18, 1937, pp. 1, 10, at p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Durdin, “Butchery Marked Capture of Nanking,” p. 10.

<sup>17</sup> Durdin, “Butchery Marked Capture of Nanking,” p. 10. The above points are repeated in Durdin, “Japanese Atrocities Marked Fall of Nanking after Chinese Command Fell,” *New York Times*, January 9, 1938, p. 38.

<sup>18</sup> The USS *Panay*, an American river gunboat, was sunk about 27-28 miles upriver from Nanking. It was built in Shanghai in 1928 and was one of three gunboats of the American Asiatic Fleet’s so-called “Yangtze Patrol.” See Kasahara Tokushi 笠原十九司, *Nankin nanminku no hyakunichi, gyakusatsu o mita gaikokujin* 南京難民区の百日—虐殺を見た外国人 (The hundred days of the Nanking Safety Zone: Foreigners who witnessed the massacre) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1995), pp. 103, 124.

<sup>19</sup> For the *Panay* Incident and its repercussions on US-Japan relations, see Kasahara Tokushi, “Nit-Chū sensō to Amerika kokumin ishiki—Panaigō jiken, Nankin jiken o megutte” 日中戦争とアメリカ国民意識—パナイ号事件・南京事件をめぐって (The Sino-Japanese War and American public opinion: An examination of the *Panay* and Nanking Incidents), in Chūō daigaku jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo 中央大学人文科学研究所, ed., *Nit-Chū sensō: Nihon, Chūgoku, Amerika* 日中戦争—日本・中国・アメリカ (The Sino-Japanese War: Japan, China, America) (Tokyo: Chūō University Press, 1993).

<sup>20</sup> A German reporter was let into the city on April 15, four months after the city fell. See “Situation in Nanking, April 15, 1938,” in *Amerika kankei shiryōhen*, pp. 109-10.

provide a treasure trove of information about what happened in occupied Nanking.<sup>21</sup> In early 1938, Western diplomats returned to the city, and provided yet another source of information. As John Rabe noted in his diary, “ever since the Germans, Americans, and British restaffed their embassies here, hundreds of letters have been sent to Shanghai describing local conditions in precise detail, not to mention all the embassies’ telegraphed reports.”<sup>22</sup>

## 2.2 The Nanking Incident as Reported in the Near-Contemporary Press

It was the arrival of diplomats and the decision to allow the various Western members of the International Committee to leave the city that triggered the next major flow of information about Nanking to the outside world. Although the Nanking Incident was overshadowed by the sinking of the *Panay*, several publications based on this second flow of information served to keep the incident fresh in public memory. The first, and arguably most important, of these was *What War Means*, edited by Timperley. Sponsored by the Chinese government, this work was published in London, New York, Paris, Calcutta, and China (at least).<sup>23</sup> Other works include those compiled by Hsü Shuhsi, *The War Conduct of the Japanese, A Digest of Japanese War Conduct*, and especially *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone*.<sup>24</sup>

Rabe left Nanking on February 23. He appears to have taken with him a large number of source materials, including a copy of George Fitch’s diary (or at least excerpts from this diary), that were quickly reprinted in works edited by both Timperley and Hsü.<sup>25</sup> Fitch’s “Nanking Diary” was used as the basis for an article in the *Ken* magazine, an article subsequently reproduced in the July 1938 edition of *Readers Digest*.<sup>26</sup> Fitch also published a long article in the *South China Morning Post* in March 1938.<sup>27</sup> Together with other materials, excerpts from the “Diary” were also reprinted in Timperley, and, according to Fitch, in full in “a book by Dr. Hsü Shuhsi.”<sup>28</sup>

Having materials from Nanking published in the *Reader’s Digest*, in particular, was a notable achievement, serving to draw the attention of American public opinion to

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<sup>21</sup> See Timperley, ed., *What War Means* and especially Hsü, ed., *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1939). This last work has been reprinted in Brook, ed., *Documents of the Rape of Nanking*.

<sup>22</sup> Rabe, *The Good Man of Nanking*, p. 157.

<sup>23</sup> Hata, *Nankin jiken*, p. 10. Bates noted that “[t]he book [Timperley’s] will be translated into several languages and after that translation has been paid for all profits will go into the International Relief Fund.” See Bates, “Circular Letter” (April 12, 1938), in Smalley, ed., *American Missionary Eyewitnesses to the Nanking Massacre, 1937-1938*, pp. 63-65, at p. 65, and (as “Letter to Friends”) in Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, pp. 33-35, at p. 35.

<sup>24</sup> See Hsü, ed., *The War Conduct of the Japanese, A Digest of Japanese War Conduct* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1939), and *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone*.

<sup>25</sup> Fitch, *My Eighty Years in China*, p. 92.

<sup>26</sup> Fitch, *My Eighty Years in China*, p. 97; “The Sack of Nanking,” *Reader’s Digest* (July 1937).

<sup>27</sup> Fitch, *South China Morning Post*, March 16, 1938, reprinted in *Amerika kankei shiryōhen*, pp. 530-35.

<sup>28</sup> Fitch, *My Eighty Years in China*, p. 97. See Timperley, ed., *What War Means*, pp. 20-51. The work by Hsü that Fitch referred to here is perhaps *The War Conduct of the Japanese*, pp. 151-80.

Nanking in a way few other publications managed.<sup>29</sup> Attempts to publish accounts of Nanking must be viewed as forms of active Western resistance to the Japanese, and juxtaposed against other actions that might be viewed as collaboration.

The information provided on the Nanking Incident in 1938 by those who remained behind was much more detailed than that provided by the Western journalists in mid-December 1937. In the Timperley work, Miner Searle Bates set the tone for these arguments, repeating the points already made by Durdin.

At Nanking the Japanese Army has lost much of its reputation, and has thrown away a remarkable opportunity to gain the respect of the Chinese inhabitants and of foreign opinion. The disgraceful collapse of Chinese authority and the break-up of the Chinese armies in this region left vast numbers of persons ready to respond to the order and organization of which Japan boasts....

But in two days the whole outlook has been ruined by frequent murder, wholesale and semi-regular looting, and uncontrolled disturbance of private homes[,] including offenses against the security of women. Foreigners who have travelled over the city report many civilian bodies lying in the streets.... Any persons who ran in fear or excitement, and any one who was caught in streets or alleys after dusk by roving patrols[,] was likely to be killed on the spot.<sup>30</sup>

The similarities with Durdin's report are clear, though, as Timperley stated, this was authored by "one of the most respected members of Nanking's foreign community," not Durdin.<sup>31</sup> Bates originally wrote this on December 15 for the foreign correspondents leaving Nanking, which explains the similarities with Durdin's piece.<sup>32</sup> Bates also played a major—if anonymous—role in collecting materials for Timperley.<sup>33</sup> It is important to note that Bates had decided as early as December 15 to set the agenda for the debate in English on what had occurred in Nanking.

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<sup>29</sup> Missionaries in Nanking were able to persuade *Reader's Digest* to print their material by using networks in America. According to Paul A. Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats: The American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890-1952* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), p. 259, letters from missionaries in Nanking were received by the Committee on the Far East of the Foreign Missions Conference, which released the letters and "led to their publication in *Reader's Digest*."

<sup>30</sup> Timperley, ed., *What War Means*, pp. 17-18, and in Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, pp. 4-5. This account was from a letter dated December 15. Also see the same account in the *North-China Daily News*, December 25, 1937, cited in Hsü, ed., *The War Conduct of the Japanese*, pp. 95-98, at pp. 95-96 (the wording is slightly different). Fitch's daughter worked for the *North-China Daily News*, the leading English-language daily published in China at the time, so the Committee may have used this connection to publicize the situation in Nanking.

<sup>31</sup> Timperley, ed., *What War Means*, p. 17.

<sup>32</sup> See Bates, "Circular Letter" (April 12, 1938), in Smalley, ed., *American Missionary Eyewitnesses to the Nanking Massacre, 1937-1938*, p. 64, and Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, p. 34. The letter was also used in an article in the *South China Morning Post*, December 25, 1937, reprinted in *Amerika kankei shiryōhen*, pp. 527-28.

<sup>33</sup> See the correspondence between Bates and Timperley in Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, pp. 30-33; also Bates, "Circular Letter" (April 12, 1938), in Smalley, ed., *American Missionary Eyewitnesses to the Nanking Massacre, 1937-1938*, pp. 63-65, and in Zhang; ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, pp. 33-35.

In any examination of the early works published on Nanking, several issues must be tackled. First, there is the issue of propaganda. Both Timperley and Hsü were affiliated with the Nationalist Chinese government. Timperley in particular was a paid propagandist. As K. K. Kawakami 河上清 noted, an arrangement existed whereby the Publicity Bureau of the Nationalist government paid a news agency a liberal yearly sum in return for having a stipulated number of words per day or week supplied by the Bureau printed as news, and where the Nanking correspondent of this agency was to be officially connected to the Bureau.<sup>34</sup> Timperley was this correspondent.<sup>35</sup> Hsü was an adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and his works were prepared under the auspices of the Council of International Affairs, an officially sponsored organization.<sup>36</sup>

Second, there is the issue of differences in various accounts of the same incident. One will be introduced here. In his autobiography first published in 1967, Fitch describes how, on December 13, 1937, he “jumped into my [his] car,” drove to “the southern edge” of the Safety Zone where he met “a small advance detachment” of the Japanese army, and looked at a Japanese map of Nanking with the officer in charge, noting with pleasure that the Safety Zone seemed to be marked there. However, the atmosphere quickly became ugly.

When I turned to leave, two or three Chinese[,] who were curious to see what was happening, turned and ran, afraid, now that I was gone. A couple of the Japanese soldiers shot them dead before they had gone fifty yards.<sup>37</sup>

This is perhaps the source for Bates’ claim that anyone “who ran in fear or excitement...was likely to be killed on the spot.” This story first appeared at a much earlier date in Timperley (from where it is also reproduced in Fitch’s autobiography). However, there are several major differences. In Timperley, Fitch described how Japanese soldiers “were first reported in the Zone at eleven o’clock” on the “morning” of December 13, and stated that

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<sup>34</sup> See K. K. Kawakami, *Japan in China: Her Motives and Aims* (London: John Murray, 1938), pp. 173-74.

<sup>35</sup> According to his obituary, Timperley “was correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* in China from 1928 to 1938, and afterwards [*sic.*] acted as an adviser to the Chinese Ministry of Information.” See “H. J. Timperley,” *The Times* (London), November 29, 1954, p. 11. Also see Timperley 田伯烈 in *Chin-tai lai-Hua wai-kuo jen-ming t’zu-tien* 近代来華外国人民辞典 (Peking: Chung-kuo she-hui k’o-hsüeh ch’u-pan-she, 1981), which notes that he began working for the Kuomintang following the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, when he was involved in propaganda, and later worked as an adviser to the Central Propaganda Bureau (Chung-yang hsüan-ch’uan-pu 中央宣传部). The most detailed analysis of Timperley’s activities as a propagandist can be found in Kitamura Minoru 北村稔, “*Nankin jiken*” no Tankyū, sono jitsuzō o motomete 「南京事件」の探求: その実像を求めて (An enquiry into the “Nanjing Incident”: The search for the true picture) (Tokyo: Bunshun shinsho, 2001).

<sup>36</sup> Brook, “Introduction,” in Brook, ed., *Documents of the Rape of Nanking*, pp. 12, 26 note 18, noted that it appears that the Chinese government ran a campaign to distribute Hsü’s *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone* in America.

<sup>37</sup> Fitch, *My Eighty Years in China*, pp. 94-95.

I drove down with two of our committee members to meet them [the advancing Japanese], just a small detachment at the southern entrance to the Zone. They showed no hostility, though a few moments later they killed twenty refugees who were frightened by their presence and ran from them.<sup>38</sup>

Note that Fitch has revised his numbers downwards significantly in the intervening years, and that he clearly implies that he witnessed the killings.

Needless to say, it is crucially important to identify and closely examine as many primary sources as possible in any attempt to reconstruct the history of Nanking. Here, the author will attempt to demonstrate the richness of the literature through an analysis of this single account. The discovery and publication of Rabe's diary makes it possible to examine Rabe's account of this incident (Rabe was one of three members of the International Committee who drove down to meet the Japanese). According to Rabe, on December 13, "three of us committee members drive out to military hospitals that have been opened in the Foreign Ministry, the War Ministry, and the Railway Ministry," and then proceeded to "drive very cautiously down the main street."<sup>39</sup>

We turn onto Shanghai Lu [上海路 at the southern end of the Safety Zone], where several dead civilians are lying, and drive onto the advancing Japanese. One Japanese detachment, with a German-speaking doctor, tells us that the Japanese general is not expected for two days yet.<sup>40</sup>

Rabe and the other members of the International Committee then "race down side streets to get ahead of them [the Japanese]" and persuaded the Chinese soldiers they met to lay down their arms. There is no mention of any Chinese civilians in the area (apart from the "several dead civilians" that clearly appear to have been shot *before* the Japanese arrived). It is hard to imagine that Rabe could have failed to mention so traumatic an incident if it had happened. He did, however, mention gun shots.

Shots at us are fired from somewhere. We hear the whistle of bullets, but don't know where they are coming from until we discover a mounted Chinese officer fooling around with his carbine. Maybe he didn't agree with what we were doing [Rabe was persuading Chinese soldiers to lay down their arms]. I must admit: From his point of view, perhaps the man was right, but we couldn't do anything else. If it had come to a battle here in the streets bordering the Zone, fleeing Chinese soldiers would no doubt have retreated into the Safety Zone, which would then have been shelled by the Japanese.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Timperley, ed., *What War Means*, pp. 27-28, also reprinted in Fitch, *My Eighty Years in China*, p. 103.

<sup>39</sup> Rabe, *The Good Man of Nanking*, pp. 65, 66.

<sup>40</sup> Rabe, *The Good Man of Nanking*, p. 66. The "several dead civilians" Rabe mentioned here may well have been "plainclothes soldiers" (civilians were ordered into the Safety Zone by Chinese military authorities). The Chinese used plainclothes soldiers, and there is abundant evidence that Chinese "supervisory units" shot and killed Chinese troops who abandoned their posts and fled from the Japanese immediately before the city fell. This would explain why there were dead bodies lying on the streets *ahead* of the advancing Japanese.

<sup>41</sup> Rabe, *The Good Man of Nanking*, p. 67.

This incident was important enough to mention in his diary. If Rabe had witnessed the Japanese shooting two or three, let alone twenty, “refugees” in the back, he would surely have mentioned it (as would the Western journalists still in the city). It is highly unlikely that there were two cars independently driving around the southern end of the Safety Zone on December 13, talking to Japanese soldiers, and examining maps. If there was a second car, Fitch certainly does not seem to have reported what he saw to Rabe, because Rabe failed to mention the killings anywhere in his diary. More importantly, although an incident where the Japanese shot a single individual that was witnessed by members of the International Committee was listed in the “Cases of Disorder by Japanese Soldiers” documented by the International Committee and filed with the Imperial Japanese Embassy, these (alleged) killings were not.<sup>42</sup> Disorders that occurred during the first days of the occupation that were reported include the theft of rice (case no. 2) and of milk and sugar (case no. 13). Moreover, the very first case of disorder reported to the Japanese was the murder of six street sweepers on December 15 (case no. 1).<sup>43</sup> It cannot be said that the International Committee refrained from reporting serious atrocities at first in order to avoid alienating the Japanese. It is inconceivable that the International Committee would not have protested in writing about the murder of refugees if members had actually witnessed the killings.

This meeting between the three members of the International Committee and the advancing Japanese was also mentioned in a letter written to the Imperial Japanese Embassy (dated December 17), where it was stated on “the afternoon of December 13th, we found a captain with a group of Japanese soldiers resting on *Han Chung Lu* [漢中路 the Hanchung Road]. We explained to him where the Zone was and marked it on his map.”<sup>44</sup> According to this account, the soldiers were “resting,” not murdering.

The third individual in the car was Lewis C. S. Smythe. He wrote that “[o]ur hair nearly stood on end when on the afternoon of December 13 we contacted their advance guard in the center of the city and they did *not* have the Safety Zone marked on their maps!” (Smythe has the time right: it was the afternoon, not the morning, of December 13 when the Japanese reached this area).<sup>45</sup> Rabe was Chairman, Smythe Secretary, and

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<sup>42</sup> This was what the International Committee described as a “legitimate” execution witnessed by Kröger and Hatz. See case no. 185, in Hsü, ed., *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone*, p. 78. Also see case no. 36 at p. 31, a second case that was not actually witnessed, but almost certainly heard, when a Chinese man, challenged by Japanese soldiers, was shot after running. See Magee, letter to his wife, December 19, 1937, in Smalley, ed., *American Missionary Eyewitnesses to the Nanking Massacre, 1937-1938*, pp. 23-24, at p. 23, and Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, pp. 171-75, at p. 171.

<sup>43</sup> For these cases, see Hsü, ed., *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone*, pp. 9-11. According to Robert O. Wilson, Nanking’s sole surgeon at the time, who treated the survivors, five, not six, street sweepers were murdered. See letter to family, December 15, 1937, in Brook, ed., *Documents of the Rape of Nanking*, p. 214, and in Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, pp. 392-93 (note the wording is slightly different). Also see the Report of the Nanking International Relief Committee in Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, pp. 413-45, at p. 432, which also suggested the number killed was five.

<sup>44</sup> In Timperley, ed., *What War Means*, pp. 217-23, at p. 218, and Hsü, ed., *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone*, pp. 12-18, at p. 12. To get to the Hanchung Road, Committee members would have driven down Shanghai Road, so there is not the conflict about the location of the Japanese that there first seems to be.

<sup>45</sup> Smythe, “Circular Letter” (March 8, 1938), in Smalley, ed., *American Missionary Eyewitnesses to the Nanking Massacre, 1937-1938*, pp. 109-18, at p. 109, also in Zhang, ed.,

Fitch Director of the Committee, and it makes sense that the three senior members were the ones to officially drive out to meet the Japanese (Smythe seems to indicate that the Japanese-speaking Cola Podshivoloff was also present).<sup>46</sup> Smythe also did not mention the killings, although he did state that he saw twenty bodies on the afternoon of December 13.<sup>47</sup> In yet another, more detailed, document, Smythe wrote that “[w]e drove down there [to Kwangchow Road] and met a small detachment of about six Japanese soldiers, our first—but far from our last!” These were on “the corner of Shanghai Road and Kwangchow Road” and “were searching a bus, but not harming the people.” Smythe next noted that “[n]ear the Seminary we found a number of dead civilians, about 20, whom we later learned had been killed by the Japanese because they ran.” On being informed that there was a Japanese officer on Hanchung Road, they drove south. “Sure enough we found a detachment of about 100 men sitting on the south side of the road, and a large group of Chinese civilians on the opposite side looking at them.” As in other accounts, the map of this second group was inspected, after which the Committee members drove ahead of the resting Japanese, disarmed Chinese soldiers, and were shot at by a Chinese officer.<sup>48</sup>

It seems clear that there were from two or three to “several” to twenty bodies, but the Japanese were not witnessed shooting them. It also seems clear that the shootings may have happened before the arrival of the Japanese (that is, the bodies may have been of fleeing “plainclothes soldiers” shot by Chinese supervisory units). The conclusion must be that Fitch created a little story to explain the bodies of the dead “civilians” that were seen.

This illustrates the importance of collecting as many reports as possible in order to arrive at as accurate an understanding as possible of the events in Nanking. The recent publication of several collections (on which much of this paper is based) is to be welcomed, and it is to be hoped that further efforts will be made to locate and publish the various primary sources.<sup>49</sup> Although there are issues with the accounts of the International Committee that need to be addressed by the historian, it is also important to emphasize that it is largely because of this group that a history of the Nanking Incident exists at all.

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*Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, pp. 299-310, at p. 300. In his “Report to Hitler,” Rabe writes that he went to make contact with the Japanese with “several Americans.” See Rabe, “Hitoraa e no jōshinsho” ヒトラーへの上申書 (Report to Hitler), in Rabe, *Nankin no shinjitsu* 南京の真実 (The truth of Nanking) (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1997), pp. 289-321, at p. 312.

<sup>46</sup> See Organization of Safety Zone Administration, in Rabe, *The Good Man of Nanking*, p. 266. According to Smalley, ed., *American Missionary Eyewitnesses to the Nanking Massacre, 1937-1938*, p. 6; and Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, p. 343, W. Plumer Mills was the Vice-Chairman.

<sup>47</sup> Smythe, “Circular Letter” (March 8, 1938), in Smalley, ed., *American Missionary Eyewitnesses to the Nanking Massacre, 1937-1938*, p. 114, and in Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, p. 306.

<sup>48</sup> For the above, see Smythe, letter dated December 20, 1937, in Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, pp. 252-62, at pp. 255-56.

<sup>49</sup> For publications to date in English, see the following; first, the early works edited by Timperley and Hsü, respectively, *What War Means* and *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone*; Rabe’s diary, *The Good Man of Nanking*, is a crucial piece of documentation; Smalley, ed., *American Missionary Eyewitnesses to the Nanking Massacre, 1937-1938*; Brook, ed., *Documents of the Rape of Nanking*; and Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*—the last three are collections of primary materials long unavailable in English.

### 3. Members of the International Committee

The members of the International Committee were the major source for many accounts of the Nanking Incident from 1938 onwards. Membership lists of the two organizations established by the Western community of Nanking can be used to a certain extent to identify who remained in the city. These were the International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone and the International Red Cross Committee of Nanking.<sup>50</sup> Both shared common members. The first was by far the more important.

**Table 1. The International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone<sup>51</sup>**

Membership List			
	Name	Nationality	Organization
1	Mr. John H. D. Rabe, Chairman	German	Siemens Co.
2	Dr. Lewis S. C. Smythe, Secretary	American	University of Nanking
3	Mr. P. H. Munro-Faure	British	Asiatic Petroleum Co.
4	Rev. John G. Magee	American	American Church Mission
5	Mr. P. R. Shields	British	International Export Co.
6	Mr. J. M. Hansen	Danish	Texas Oil Co.
7	Mr. G. Schultze-Pantin	German	Shingming Trading Co.
8	Mr. Iver Mackay	British	Butterfield and Swire
9	Mr. J. V. Pickering	American	Standard-Vacuum Oil Co.
10	Mr. Eduard Sperling	German	Shanghai Insurance Co.
11	Dr. M. Searle Bates	American	University of Nanking
12	Rev. W. Plumer Mills	American	Northern Presbyterian Mission
13	Mr. J. Lean	British	Asiatic Petroleum Co.
14	Dr. C. S. Trimmer	American	University Hospital
15	Mr. Charles Riggs	American	University of Nanking

<sup>50</sup> The International Red Cross Committee of Nanking was formed at the last moment before the fall of the city when the international community was asked to care for wounded soldiers. See Smythe, letter, December 20, in Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, p. 253.

<sup>51</sup> In Timperley, ed., *What War Means*, pp. 208-09; Hsü, ed., *The War Conduct of the Japanese*, p. 108; and Hsü, ed., *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone*, p. 3. Timperley gives slightly different spellings for Hansen (given as Hanson) and Iver (Ivor) Mackay. Compare with a similar list in Rabe, *The Good Man of Nanking*, p. 43. There are again slight differences: Rabe's list ends with Christian Kröger and George Fitch instead of Charles Riggs. According to Rabe, *The Good Man of Nanking*, p. 38, Fitch was officially named Director on November 28. Also see a similar list in Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, p. 450, again with slight differences (the largest being that Schultze-Pantin is given as an employee of the Hsinmin Trading Company).

**Table 2. The International Red Cross Committee of Nanking<sup>52</sup>**

	Name	Nationality
1	Rev. John G. Magee, Chairman	American
2	Mr. Li Chuin-nan Vice-Chairman (Chinese Red Cross Society of Nanking)	Chinese
3	Mr. Walter Lowe, Vice-Chairman	Chinese
4	Rev. Ernest H. Forster, Secretary	American
5	Mr. Christian Kröger, Treasurer	German
6	Mrs. Paul de Witt Twinem [Mary Twinem]	Chinese/American
7	Miss Minnie Vautrin	American
8	Dr. Robert O. Wilson	American
9	Mr. P. H. Munro-Faure	British
10	Dr. C. S. Trimmer	American
11	Rev. James McCallum	American
12	Dr. M. S. Bates	American
13	Mr. John H. D. Rabe	German
14	Dr. Lewis S. C. Smythe	American
15	Rev. W. P. Mills	American
16	Mr. Cola Podshivloff	Russian (White)
17	Pastor Shen Yu-shu	Chinese

A number of individuals served on both organizations, and the two combined produce a total of twenty-three individual Westerners, including Mary Twinem. The problem with these lists is that some members left Nanking at the last moment (after the lists were drawn up, but before the city fell), so while their names are on the lists, they were not in fact in the city during the Nanking Incident. Others were in Nanking but not included. Finally, individuals such as James F. Kearney who arrived after the Nanking Incident have been mistakenly described as among “[t]hose who remained in Nanking.”<sup>53</sup>

The various newspaper articles written immediately before the city fell provide another source of information. On December 8, Durdin reported that there were twenty-one Americans (including three women) in Nanking, and that “[e]ight more are spending part of the time on the United States gunboat Panay.”<sup>54</sup> On December 9, this had

<sup>52</sup> Timperley, ed., *What War Means*, pp. 209-10; Hsü, ed., *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone*, p. 4. I have added the nationalities of these members. Note that Kröger was given as Kroeger. I have determined the nationality of Walter Lowe. Li Chuin-nan and Shen Yu-shu must also have been Chinese. According to Zhang, “Introduction,” in Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, p. xxii, Paul de Witt Twinem (1894-1923) was the pastor of the University of Nanking. Mary Twinem was the wife of this man.

<sup>53</sup> Zhang, “Introduction,” in Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, p. xxi.

<sup>54</sup> Durdin, “Chinese Fight Foe Outside Nanking,” *New York Times*, December 8, 1937, pp. 1, 5, at p. 5. Also see “Nanking Hears of Advance,” *New York Times*, December 6, p. 10, which also noted that eight Americans were on the *Panay*, in addition to eighteen Americans who intended to stay in “the city, at least for several days.”

changed to seventeen Americans in the city, with fourteen aboard the *Panay* and other vessels (Durdin also stated that there were six Germans in the city).<sup>55</sup> A later article named (most of) the Americans, saying that “[a]t 7 P.M. Wednesday [December 8] the following sixteen United States citizens remained in Nanking:” Bates, Fitch, Foster, Magee, McCallum, Mills, Riggs, Smythe, Sone, Vautrin, Bauer, Hynds, Trimmer, Wilson, Steele, and McDaniel.<sup>56</sup> Those Americans listed here but not mentioned in the above lists are Sone, Bauer, and Hynds, in addition to the two journalists, Steele and McDaniel (as already noted, Fitch was given by Rabe as the Director of the International Committee). Hubert Sone was attached to the Nanking Theological Seminary, while Grace Bauer and Iva Hynds were nurses who stayed behind with the two American doctors, Wilson and Trimmer.

The *Panay* left on December 9. The American Embassy listed eighteen Americans as having decided to remain behind.<sup>57</sup> The British government in particular seems to have been successful in persuading its nationals to leave. They would have departed either on H. M. gunboats *Scarab* and *Cricket* or on commercial vessels. According to the *London Times*, as of December 9, “[a]ll British subjects in Nanking are now living in ships, some as guests in H. M. gunboats *Scarab* and *Cricket* and others in Messrs. Jardine Matheson’s hulk and Messrs. Butterfield and Swire’s steamer.” In addition, “[f]ourteen Americans, mostly missionaries, and several Germans intend to remain chiefly in connection with hospitals and the safety zone.”<sup>58</sup> Another chartered British steamer, *Unlimited Communications*, left Hsiakwan on December 10.<sup>59</sup>

A later article in the *New York Times* gives a total of twenty-seven foreigners who were in the city when it fell. “These include eighteen Americans, six Germans, two Russians, and one Briton.”<sup>60</sup> Of these 27, five were the journalists who had left (or were leaving) by the time the article was printed. According to this article, once the journalists left, only twenty-two would have remained (this supports Hata’s position). At an earlier date, Fitch also noted that as of December 10, “[w]e were now a community of 27—eighteen Americans, five Germans, one Englishman, one Austrian, and two Russians.”<sup>61</sup> It can be assumed that the source of these two estimates was the same (and that the *New York Times* has counted the single Austrian as a German). Both included the five journalists who were soon to leave. This explains why Fitch wrote that on December 21 “[f]ourteen of us [Westerners] called on Tanaka [of the Imperial Japanese Embassy] at 2:30 and presented a letter signed by *all 22* foreigners protesting the burning of the city and continued disorders” (italics added).<sup>62</sup> If the five journalists were included in the first but not the second calculation, the foreign community should have consisted of fourteen Americans, five Germans, one Austrian, and two Russians. Each of these can be

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<sup>55</sup> Durdin, “300 Chinese Slain on a Peak: Shift Upstream Planned,” *New York Times*, December 9, 1937, pp. 1, 5, at p. 5.

<sup>56</sup> See “Chinese Resistance Spirited,” *New York Times*, December 10, 1937, p. 4.

<sup>57</sup> See Telegram, December 9, 1937, in *Amerika kankei shiryōhen*, pp. 97-98, at p. 97.

<sup>58</sup> See “Resistance South of the Capital,” *London Times*, December 10, 1937, p. 16.

<sup>59</sup> See “Chinese on the Ramparts,” *London Times*, December 11, 1937, p. 14.

<sup>60</sup> “March of Victory into Nanking Set,” *New York Times*, December 16, 1937, p. 15.

<sup>61</sup> Fitch, *My Eighty Years in China*, p. 101; also in Timperley, ed., *What War Means*, p. 25; and Hsü, ed., *The War Conduct of the Japanese*, p. 156.

<sup>62</sup> Fitch, *My Eighty Years in China*, p. 111; also in Timperley, ed., *What War Means*, pp. 38-39; and Hsü, ed., *The War Conduct of the Japanese*, p. 168.

identified (see below). Note that Fitch seems to have believed that the letter was from every Westerner in the city (22), but there were in fact a few who did not sign it.<sup>63</sup>

The various documents authored by members of the foreign community of Nanking provide a final source. The letter cited above was signed by 22 members of the “foreign community of Nanking.” On December 20, Americans in Nanking sent a telegram to the American Consulate-General in Shanghai stating that the “immediate presence [of] American Diplomatic representatives in Nanking” was required. This was signed by fourteen Americans: Bates, Bauer, Fitch, Forster, Hynds, Magee, Mills, McCallum, Riggs, Smythe, Sone, Trimmer, Vautrin, and Wilson.<sup>64</sup> The fourteen Americans have thus been identified. As Bartlett noted, nine of these were missionaries.<sup>65</sup>

Rabe’s diary also sheds some light on the issue. Rabe confirmed that there were five Germans in the city, referring to “all Germans—a total of five men.”<sup>66</sup> He also confirmed the nationalities and numbers of Westerners in Nanking. On December 21, he stated that the entire foreign community consisted of fourteen Americans, five Germans, two White Russians, and a single Austrian.<sup>67</sup> On December 30, 1937, Rabe referred to “we 22 Europeans” and later to “*all 22 Europeans and Americans still in Nanking*” (italics added).<sup>68</sup> On January 9, he again referred to “we 22 foreigners who remained behind.”<sup>69</sup>

In a letter to his family (dated December 24, 1937), Robert Wilson stated that there were “five Germans in town,” of whom he mentioned three: Rabe, Kruger (Kröger), and Sperling.<sup>70</sup> (The remaining two were R. Hempel and A. Zautig.) The two Russians, Podshivoloff and Zial, are not mentioned frequently, but were living with Magee and Forster.<sup>71</sup> Smythe too referred to “all 22 foreigners here,” as did Fitch.<sup>72</sup>

The above information is confirmed by a list of Western Nationals living in Nanking.

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<sup>63</sup> Both Timperley, ed., *What War Means*, pp. 235-36, and Hsü, ed., *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone*, pp. 48-49, contain a copy of the letter, but not, unfortunately, a list of who signed it. The “List of Western Nationals in Nanking” (see below, Table 3) also contains twenty-two names and is almost certainly identical.

<sup>64</sup> Reprinted in Smalley, ed., *American Missionary Eyewitnesses to the Nanking Massacre, 1937-1938*. Rabe, *The Good Man of Nanking*, p. 84, mentioned this letter, but listed only 10 names. According to a letter from McCallum dated December 30 to his family, he was living together with seven of these Americans (Bates, Fitch, Mills, Riggs, Smythe, Sone, and Wilson). See Smalley, ed., *American Missionary Eyewitnesses to the Nanking Massacre, 1937-1938*, p. 34, and Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, pp. 229-31, at p. 230.

<sup>65</sup> Bartlett, “Introduction,” in Smalley, ed., *American Missionary Eyewitnesses to the Nanking Massacre, 1937-1938*, p. vi.

<sup>66</sup> Rabe, *The Good Man of Nanking*, p. 103.

<sup>67</sup> Rabe, *The Good Man of Nanking*, p. 85.

<sup>68</sup> Rabe, *The Good Man of Nanking*, pp. 105, 106.

<sup>69</sup> Rabe, *The Good Man of Nanking*, p. 119.

<sup>70</sup> Wilson, letter to his family, December 24, in Smalley, ed., *American Missionary Eyewitnesses to the Nanking Massacre, 1937-1938*, pp. 29-30, at p. 29; Brook, ed., *Documents of the Rape of Nanking*, pp. 225-27, at p. 226; and Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, pp. 398-400, at p. 399.

<sup>71</sup> See Hsü, ed., *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone*, p. 31 case no. 36.

<sup>72</sup> Smythe, letter written from December 20, 1937 to January 1, 1938, and Fitch, letter, January 6, both in Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, pp. 262-88, at p. 264, and pp. 102-03, at p. 102, respectively.

**Table 3. List of Western Nationals in Nanking<sup>73</sup>**

Name	Nationality	Organization
Mr. John H. D. Rabe	German	Siemens
Mr. Eduard Sperling	German	Shanghai Insurance Co.
Mr. Christian Kröger	German	Carlowitz & Co.
Mr. R. Hempel	German	North Hotel
Mr. A. Zautig	German	Kiesseling and Bader
Mr. R. R. Hatz	Austrian	Mechanic for Safety Zone
Mr. Cola Podshivoloff	Russian (White)	Sandren's Electric Shop
Mr. A. Zial	Russian (White)	Mechanic for Safety Zone
Dr. C. S. Trimmer	American	University Hospital
Dr. Robert O. Wilson	American	University Hospital
Rev. James McCallum	American	University Hospital
Miss Grace Bauer	American	University Hospital
Miss Iva Hynds	American	University Hospital
Dr. M. S. Bates	American	University of Nanking
Mr. Charles Riggs	American	University of Nanking
Dr. Lewis S. C. Smythe	American	University of Nanking
Miss Minnie Vautrin	American	Ginling College
Rev. W. P. Mills	American	Northern Presbyterian Mission
Rev. Hubert L. Sone	American	Nanking Theological Seminary
Mr. George Fitch	American	YMCA
Rev. John Magee	American	American Church Mission
Rev. Ernest H. Forster	American	American Church Mission

Of the original membership lists, the following are no longer present: W. Lowe, J. M. Hansen, Iver Mackay, P. R. Shields, P. H. Munro-Faure, J. Lean, J. V. Pickering, G. Schultze-Pantin, and Mrs. Paul de Witt Twinem (Mary Twinem). Some left at the last minute before the Chinese collapse.<sup>74</sup> One member of the International Committee, Bates, explicitly stated that “[a] Dane and three Englishmen aided a good deal in the preliminary stages, but were pulled out by their companies and Governments before the Chinese retired from Nanking.”<sup>75</sup> The Dane must be Hansen, and Bates must be referring here to three of the four British nationals given in the original membership list (Mackay, Shields, Munro-Faure, and Lean). Since four British nationals were involved in establishing the Committee, this seems to suggest that one remained behind.

<sup>73</sup> See “List of Western Nationals in Nanking,” in Hsü, ed., *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone*, pp. 49-50. This is also contained in *Amerika kankei shiryōhen*, pp. 134-35, where it is stated that the list was prepared in reply to a request to name all foreign residents in Nanking and was dated December 16.

<sup>74</sup> In an article dated December 9, for instance, it was noted that J. V. Pickering had boarded a Standard Oil tanker off Nanking. See “Chinese Resistance Spirited,” p. 4.

<sup>75</sup> Bates, letter to friends, January 10, 1938, in Timperley, ed., *What War Means*, p. 62; and Hsü, ed., *The War Conduct of the Japanese*, p. 107. Reprinted in Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, pp. 14-18, at p. 15.

Pickering left on the Standard Oil tanker he had boarded by December 9.<sup>76</sup> Of those still unaccounted for (Lowe, one British national, the German Schultze-Pantin, and Mrs. Paul de Witt Twinem), Mary Twinem was definitely in Nanking during this period.<sup>77</sup> It is possible that she was not included as a “foreign” member of the community since she had Chinese citizenship. Fitch noted that she was “formerly American but now a Chinese citizen,”<sup>78</sup> and Ernest Forster referred to her as “a foreigner, even though she has taken out Chinese citizenship,” which suggests that she was not originally Chinese.<sup>79</sup> The mystery of Mary is resolved by a small pamphlet, *A Message to the West from a Former Westerner*, published in Nanking in September 1937. According to this pamphlet, she had repudiated her American citizenship in order to protest against the inaction of the United States vis-à-vis China and in order to share the fate of the Chinese of Nanking.<sup>80</sup> Finally, several foreigners were living in Schultze-Pantin’s house, but he is not mentioned, which suggests that he had left.

Rabe also provided a list of the membership of the International Committee that is almost identical to the one printed here. Rabe noted disparagingly that several members “left Nanking before the siege.” These were the Dane, Hansen, the Britons Mackay, Shields, and Lean, the German Schultze-Pantin, and the American Pickering.<sup>81</sup> Of the original members of the International Committee, Munro-Faure is still unaccounted for. However, Rabe also seems to suggest that only three of the four British nationals left Nanking, so it might be assumed that he remained behind.<sup>82</sup> The other possibility is that

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<sup>76</sup> A “Pickering” was listed as unharmed in the *Panay* incident (the *Panay* was escorting Standard Oil tankers). See telegram to CINCAF from the *Oahu*, December 15, 1937, in *Amerika kankei shiryōhen*, pp. 36-38, at p. 37. Norman Soong who was on the *Panay* mentioned a H. V. Pickering. See Norman Soong, “Writer Tells of Machine Gunning by Japanese Planes,” *New York Times*, December 18, 1937, pp. 1, 9.

<sup>77</sup> She appears frequently in the literature.

<sup>78</sup> Fitch, *Eighty Years in China*, p. 107, note 19; also cited in Timperley, ed., *What War Means*, p. 33, footnote 3. Brook, ed., *Documents of the Rape of Nanking*, p. 300, states she was an American-Chinese. A recent Japanese translation of Minnie Vautrin’s diary gives her (mistakenly) as an American who married a Chinese and adopted Chinese citizenship. See Okada Ryōnosuke 岡田良之助 and Ihara Yōko 伊原陽子, trans., *Nankin jiken no hibi — Minii · Bōtorin no Nikki* 南京事件の日々: ミニーヴォートリンの日記 (Living the Nanking Incident: The diary of Minnie Vautrin) (Tokyo: Ōtsuki shoten, 1999), p. vi.

<sup>79</sup> Forster, letter to wife, January 14, 1938, in Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, pp. 131-32, at p. 131.

<sup>80</sup> Mary Fine Twinem, *A Message to the West from a Former Westerner* (Chinese League of Nations Union: Sino-Japanese Issue Series No. 2, Nanking, 1937).

<sup>81</sup> Rabe, *The Good Man of Nanking*, p. 43. Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, p. 450, contains an identical list of the membership of the International Committee. According to this list, Munro-Faure, Schultze-Pantin, Lean, Shields, and Pickering all withdrew from Nanking.

<sup>82</sup> This would, however, mean that newspaper reports that claimed that all British nationals had left were wrong. Bates also clearly stated in a letter to Timperley that “there was no Britisher in the city until your rather cautious and subdued diplomats arrived.” See Letter to Timperley, March 3, 1938, in Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, pp. 31-33, at pp. 32-33. Smythe wrote of a conversation during the early weeks of the occupation, and comments made by “[o]ne of our number who had been with the British army in Mesopotamia,” which seems to imply the presence of at least one British member. However, since Bates served in Mesopotamia as a young man, this probably referred to him. See Smythe, “Circular Letter” (March 8, 1938), and “M. S. Bates,” in Smalley, ed., *American Missionary Eyewitnesses to the*

Rabe was mistaken to say that Shields left before the city fell. One source cited by Brook claimed that Shields remained in Nanking until December 23, when he left for Shanghai.<sup>83</sup> It is therefore possible that Shields was the one British citizen who may have remained behind. There is some very speculative evidence that Shields may in fact have told the truth. On December 25, the U.S. Ambassador Nelson T. Johnson reported to the State Department a break-in at the U.S. Embassy building in Nanking. This occurred on December 23 and, it was noted, Japanese soldiers were alleged to have absconded with three automobiles, four bicycles, two kerosene lamps, several pocket flashlights, one sack of flour, another of rice, \$260 in cash, watches, and rings.<sup>84</sup> The detail is remarkable. Moreover, in a situation where those in Nanking had no means of contacting the outside world, one of the only ways this information could have left Nanking is if someone had carried it out.

According to John Magee, as of mid-December, Munro-Faure was living on a boat: it will be assumed that he left on this vessel.<sup>85</sup> The issue of Shields remains to be resolved, but it is certainly possible that the International Committee ignored him in order to present a unified, unanimous face to the Japanese (Shields was sceptical about the work of the Committee).

Of the International Red Cross, Walter Lowe is unaccounted for. However, he too was in Nanking. An International Red Cross Meeting on January 13 was attended by “Magee, McCallum, Kröger, Low, and Pastor Chen.”<sup>86</sup> “Low” must be Lowe. In a letter dated December 15, Forster made it clear that Lowe was in the city and implied that he was Chinese.<sup>87</sup> On January 24, Forster wrote that he had met “the Chinese manager of the Metropolitan Hotel who is a member of our Rehabilitation Committee,” and later was invited to dinner by “Mr. Lows (Leu), the manager of the Hotel.”<sup>88</sup> The author believes that this “Mr Lows” was again in fact Lowe. Magee mentioned a “Mr. Lowe (Chinese) the manager of the Metropolitan Hotel,” as did Smythe.<sup>89</sup> According to the “Nanking International Relief Committee Report of Activities, November 22, 1937—April 25, 1938,” Walter Lowe was running the Rehabilitation Committee by April.<sup>90</sup> He thus

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*Nanking Massacre, 1937-1938*, pp. 112 [4], 2, and Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, pp. 3, 303.

<sup>83</sup> Brook, “Introduction,” in Brook, ed., *Documents of the Rape of Nanking*, p. 9. Brook’s source is the Coville Cabot diary (31-35, Hoover Institution Archives: Sidney Hornbeck Papers, Box 185). The sections relevant to Nanking have been published in Japanese. See *Amerika kankei shiryōhen*, pp. 110-21.

<sup>84</sup> Cited in Yamamoto, *Nanking*, p. 133.

<sup>85</sup> Magee, letter to wife, December 15, in Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, pp. 161-71, at p. 170.

<sup>86</sup> See Rabe, *The Good Man of Nanking*, p. 129.

<sup>87</sup> Forster, letter to wife, in Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, pp. 118-19, at p. 118.

<sup>88</sup> Forster, letter to his wife, January 24, 1938, in Smalley, ed., *American Missionary Eyewitnesses to the Nanking Massacre, 1937-1938*, pp. 46-49, at p. 47; and in Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, pp. 132-35, at p. 132. In the Zhang collection, this sentence is given as “Mr. Lowe (Liu) the manager of the hotel.”

<sup>89</sup> Magee, letter to wife, February 5, 1938, and Smythe, letter, December 20–January 1, in Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, pp. 194-95, at p. 194, and p. 276.

<sup>90</sup> Nanking International Relief Committee Report of Activities, November 22, 1937-April 25, 1938, in Smalley, ed., *American Missionary Eyewitnesses to the Nanking Massacre, 1937-1938*, p. 11; and in Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, p. 414.

remained in Nanking during the atrocities, but was a Chinese national and not a member of the Western community.

Those who remained in Nanking agree on the number and nationality of the foreign residents who remained behind. A strong consensus existed that there were only twenty-two members of the Western community, in addition to Mary Twinem. However, apart from Shields, other individuals were in Nanking at the time.

First, a document titled “Findings Regarding Burning of Nanking City” dated December 21 contains the names of several members of the foreign community, and also that of either Aug. L. Counan (in Timperley) or Gounan (in Hsü).<sup>91</sup> This mysterious individual appears nowhere else in the literature that the author is aware of, but must have been in the city at this very early date. If he (or she) had been a visitor from outside, the visit would have been commented on by the foreign community, as they were cut off from the outside world and starved of information.

The one visitor from outside who did enter the city frequently is just as frequently mentioned in the literature. This is a Herr Bernhard Arp Sindberg, a second Dane, who managed to enter the city as early as December 20.<sup>92</sup> He lived outside Nanking, “a good 1 1/2 hours” drive away (although only twelve to twenty miles), where he was located at the Kiangnan Cement Works in Hsi Sha Shan 棲霞山, and drove “back and forth with no problem.”<sup>93</sup> Sindberg worked at the cement works with another German, Dr. Günter.<sup>94</sup> Why he was able to move in and out of the city with such relative ease, although the Japanese were adamant that no one enter Nanking, is a mystery.<sup>95</sup>

The question, then, is who Counan was. No mention was made by the Western community of a visit. The Japanese were extremely reluctant to let anyone enter the city in the early days of the occupation (even Embassy officials were asked to wait until January 5, 1938 before returning). Nanking was a walled city, and Japanese sentries were posted at all entry points, so this individual could not have smuggled himself (or herself) into the city. Perhaps some as yet unpublished letter or diary may shed further light on this issue. Until it does, this individual will remain a mystery.

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<sup>91</sup> See Timperley, ed., *What War Means*, pp. 236-39, at p. 237; and Hsü, ed., *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone*, pp. 50-52, at p. 51.

<sup>92</sup> See Rabe, *The Good Man of Nanking*, p. 83. Sindberg was in Nanking on December 20, 22, 23 and January 24, 23 and 27, and about February 3, 5, 11 and 12. See Smythe, letter dated December 20–January 1, in Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, pp. 263, 269, 270, 273; Magee, letter to wife, December 23, in Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, pp. 180-81, at p. 181; Wilson, letter to family, December 24, in Brook, ed., *Documents of the Rape of Nanking*, p. 227, and Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, p. 399; Rabe, *The Good Man of Nanking*, pp. 89, 152, 161, 173, 179, 188; and Forster, letter, February 12, in Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, pp. 145-47, at p. 147.

<sup>93</sup> Rabe, *The Good Man of Nanking*, p. 89. Rosen, “Report of the Nanking Office of the German Embassy,” in Rabe, *The Good Man of Nanking*, pp. 178-81, at p. 179, noted that the Kiangnan Cement Works were twelve miles away, while Smythe, letter dated December 20–January 1, in Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, p. 264, claimed that it was twenty miles.

<sup>94</sup> Kasahara, *Nankin nanminku no hyakunichi*, p. 313, mentioned a cement works outside Nanking where two American missionaries were in charge of a refugee camp. He must mean Sindberg and Günter.

<sup>95</sup> See Rabe, *The Good Man of Nanking*, p. 131, for Dr. Günter. See Magee, letter to wife, December 23, in Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, pp. 180-81, at p. 181, and Rabe *The Good Man of Nanking*, p. 102, for the Japanese reluctance to allow anyone into the city as of December 23 and 28.

In addition to Counan and Sindberg, the author has found a single reference to a Dr. T. M. Tanghas who was in “charge of the secretarial and translation work of the General Office” of the International Committee.<sup>96</sup> This individual must have been in Nanking in April, and possibly throughout the occupation. According to the Zhang Kaiyuan collection, the Red Swastika Society had an interpreter named Swen, a former secretary of the Japanese Embassy.<sup>97</sup> The author believes that this may in fact have been Sun Shurong 孫叔榮, vice-president of the Red Swastika Society 紅卍字會, and so will assume that this individual was Chinese.

Another member of the foreign community who definitely remained in the city throughout the early occupation is the frequently nameless Turk mentioned above. In a letter to his wife dated December 19, Magee noted that Cola Podshivoloff was living in Schultz-Pantin’s house with “another man, a Turco-Tartar.”<sup>98</sup> This must be the same individual Forster referred to when he said “Kola and his Tartar friend stay on guard here.”<sup>99</sup> Kasahara stated that Podshivoloff was a Turkish Russian, and elsewhere suggested that Steele referred to both Russians as “Tartars.”<sup>100</sup> Magee mentioned “Cola and Ziall [*sic.*], a Tartar mechanic.”<sup>101</sup> Zial was a mechanic and was also living in Schultz-Pantin’s house, so this “Turco-Tartar,” Cola’s friend, must therefore have been A. Zial, whose name does appear in the list of twenty-two foreign residents.

The foreign community of Nanking thus consisted of the five journalists and twenty-two signatories, in addition to Mary Twinem, who was definitely there, and the mysterious Aug. L. Counan, who appears highly likely to have been in the city (and was certainly there at least one day). In addition, P. R. Shields may have been present. Dr. T. M. Tanghas may have been a foreign resident and may have been in the city throughout the early occupation. In total, therefore, at least twenty-nine and perhaps as many as thirty-one members of the foreign community of Nanking (including the journalists) were in the city when it fell, and twenty-four to twenty-six seem to have elected to remain behind during the early weeks of occupation with those Chinese who were too old, or sick, or poor to flee from the approaching Japanese.

It was this small group which established two organizations to help the Chinese civilian population. The membership list of these two organizations show that it was members of various trading firms (such as Siemens), missionaries, and members of education institutions who formed the backbone of the Western community during the

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<sup>96</sup> Nanking International Relief Committee Report of Activities, November 22, 1937-April 25, 1938, in Smalley, ed., *American Missionary Eyewitnesses to the Nanking Massacre, 1937-1938*, p. 11. The same report in Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, pp. 413-45, at p. 414, has this individual as Tang, which indicates a Chinese nationality.

<sup>97</sup> See Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, pp. 259, 349, 363, 375, citing Smythe and Vautrin.

<sup>98</sup> Magee, letter to his wife, December 19, 1937, in Smalley, ed., *American Missionary Eyewitnesses to the Nanking Massacre, 1937-1938*, p. 24; and Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, p. 173.

<sup>99</sup> Forster, letter to his wife, December 19, 1937, in Smalley, ed., *American Missionary Eyewitnesses to the Nanking Massacre, 1937-1938*, pp. 24-25, at p. 24; and Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, pp. 119-20, at p. 120.

<sup>100</sup> Kasahara, *Nankin nanminku no hyakunichi*, pp. 245, 150. The author has not yet been able to track this source down.

<sup>101</sup> Magee, letter to his wife, February 2, 1938, in Zhang, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*, pp. 192-94, at p. 194.

Nanking Incident. Many were highly educated and articulate individuals. Rabe suggested the foreign community in Nanking was interested in writing about their experiences. Eduard Sperling, Rabe wrote, “has noticed that we’re all writing reports. That has awakened an ambition that until now only slumbered deep in his heart, and he cannot rest until he, too, has managed to write” one.<sup>102</sup> It is to be hoped that further work will be done to locate and publish their letters and diaries.<sup>103</sup>

#### 4. Conclusion

This paper has attempted to identify exactly how many members of the Western community decided to remain behind in Nanking in the winter of 1937 and to identify these by name. This list is the most accurate one that can be derived from the primary sources. This group of individuals is of importance as it was to shape the image of the events of Nanking in the collective memory of the English-speaking world: it is a reflection of the state of research into the Nanking Incident that the exact number who remained behind has only now been clarified. This paper has analyzed one event as described by various members of this community in an effort to demonstrate that the primary materials are bountiful enough to yield a coherent historical narrative.

It is also clear that Bates took the initiative in shaping the discourse on Nanking: future work on this individual may very well shed further light on the English-language discourse on the Nanking Incident. It is hoped that this paper will promote further work on locating and publishing the diaries and letters authored by the Western community in Nanking. Some members of the Western community in Nanking have to date remained totally silent. More work is required to locate and publish materials by the Germans, Sperling, Kröger, Hempel, and Zautig, the Austrian (Hungarian) Hatz, both Russians, and, among the Americans, Bauer, Hynds, Riggs, Sone, Twinem, and Trimmer. As an outsider looking in, Sindberg would have a fascinating story to tell.

Having identified the Western community in Nanking, I will next attempt to examine the role of the major organization established by these individuals, the International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone. I am not aware of any research in English to date that has examined in detail the role played by the International Committee and will attempt to establish exactly what it set out to accomplish during the early occupation of Nanking, an examination that will also focus on issues such as cooperation and resistance. That theme will be taken up in a second essay.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Rabe, *The Good Man of Nanking*, p. 150.

<sup>103</sup> The M. S. Bates papers available at the Yale University Library, for instance, would certainly yield much information. See the “Guide to the Miner Searle Bates Papers (Record Group No. 10)” compiled by Martha Lund Smalley, Yale University Library, 1983. This library also has a copy of Minnie Vautrin’s diary (of which a Japanese translation has been published). Moreover, according to Chang, *The Rape of Nanking*, p. 195, Kröger also kept a diary. Only parts of Vautrin’s diary have been published in English, and Kröger’s diary remains unpublished.

<sup>104</sup> See David Askew, “Western Cooperation and Resistance in Occupied Nanking: The International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone, December 1937–February 1938,” unpublished manuscript.