

# PRISONERS OF THE SAMURAI

Japanese Civilian Camps in China,  
1941 - 1945

by Norman Cliff

**SYDNEY J. TAVENDER**, Vice Chairman of the Japanese Labour Camp Survivors of Great Britain, says of this book: "Here is a story of both suffering and ingenuity. For nearly four years these civilian prisoners were forgotten and left to struggle on amid malnutrition and disease. But they faced their ordeals courageously, and after the Allied victory came they returned to their home countries to restart their lives, having lost all their possessions."

## ABOUT THE BOOK

This is a unique book, in that for the first time a description has been given of all the Japanese civilian internment camps in China and Hong Kong. Here the story is told of the major events affecting Allied personnel in China following the raid on Pearl Harbor. A brief history is given of each of the internment camps — the food, the accommodation and experiences of the inmates. Certain conclusions are formed about the failure of the Japanese government to make adequate provisions for the 11,000 prisoners, half of whom were women and children. The defeat of the Japanese could have ended in the wholesale killing of prisoners, but providentially they were released after the Japanese surrender without any such incidents.

## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr. Norman Cliff was interned in his late teens, first in Temple Hill, Chefoo, and then in Weixian Camp. He has written of his experiences in these two camps in his widely read *Courtyard of the Happy Way*. His new book, *Prisoners of the Samurai*, is the fruit of further research which he has carried out on all the Japanese civilian camps in China and Hong Kong. In it he tells a fascinating story of how 11,000 Allied prisoners bravely survived the long years of the war.

The reader will form a picture of squalor, malnutrition and cramped accommodation, but will also be surprised to meet individual Japanese, who acted with humanity and kindness amid the tensions of war.

Norman Cliff now lives in retirement in Harold Wood, Essex.

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By the same Author:

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*Hijacked on the Huangpu*  
*Captive in Formosa*  
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ISBN 0 9533295 0 X

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Dedicated to the memory of  
ERIC HENRY LIDDELL (16/ 1/ 1902 - 21/ 2/ 1945)  
And  
JOHN DAVID HAYES  
(23/ 2/ 1888 - 4/ 3/ 1957)

## PRISONERS OF THE SAMURAI

### FOREWORD

It gives me great pleasure to write this Foreword to Prisoners of the Samurai.

Here is a most informative book dealing with the Japanese camps of civilian internees in China. It is a unique record of the hardships and brave endurance of the men, women and children who suffered in World War II at the hands of an enemy, which was ill prepared for the custody of some 11,000 people in the dozen camps scattered in various parts of China.

Their accommodation, food and general living conditions fell far short of their basic needs as civilian prisoners, but they bravely improvised and stretched what little they had to keep themselves alive. The young people studied with little in the way of books, paper, pens and equipment; and they took examinations in their cramped conditions which subsequently gained high marks in British institutions of learning. The adults learned new languages and skills in Adult Education classes.

Here is a story of both suffering and ingenuity. For nearly four years these people were forgotten and left to struggle on amid malnutrition and disease. But they faced their ordeals courageously, and after the Allied victory came they returned to their home countries to restart their lives, having lost all their possessions.

Having been a military prisoner myself and also having survived harsh conditions, I have nothing but admiration for these civilian prisoners.

I wish this informative book much success. May it tell its story to the children and grandchildren of the camp survivors, who must tell it to their children, so that this story of tragedy turned to triumph may be passed on to future generations.

**Sydney J. Tavender,**

Vice Chairman,

Japanese Labour Camp Survivors of Great Bri-

## PRISONERS OF THE SAMURAI

### INTRODUCTION

This is an important story which needs to be recounted, and which to date has only been told in fragments.

It is an overview of the sequence of events in China and Hong Kong in World War II relating to the arrest, imprisonment and release of some 13,000 Allied civilian prisoners; of their experiences good and bad, their fortitude and resourcefulness in a sordid environment and harsh conditions during the three long years leading up to the Japanese surrender in August, 1945. The story describes events in some thirteen camps (officially called "Civil Assembly Centres") and five Informal Centres (of priests, nuns and missionaries).

Some statistics will serve to put the events into perspective. From Table I (p.13) it will be seen that some 200,000 men, women and children were prisoners in Japanese Camps in the Far East during World War II, of which some 126,000 were civilians. From Table 4 (p.27) it will be observed that of the 126,000 civilian prisoners 11,550 or 9% were in China and Hong Kong. Outside of China the prisoners were predominantly Dutch — 128,000 military and civilian, or 65% (Table 1, p.13) — whilst in China and Hong Kong 9,326 or 81% were British (Table 2, p.14). Most significant of all are the statistics in Table 3, (p.14) which show that of the 11,550 civilian prisoners 5,864 (4,081 plus 1,783) or 51% were women and children.

In my earlier book, *Courtyard of the Happy Way*, I described my experiences in Temple Hill Camp, Chefoo (1942 - 1943) and in Weixian (1943 - 1945). The latter was the main internment camp in north China. In the present book Weixian is seen as part of a larger story. The majority of the camps were in and around Shanghai.

I am aware that the Chinese as a nation underwent indescribable suffering in this prolonged war. I have omitted to describe this, not because it is unimportant, but because it is outside the scope of this research.

When General James H. Doolittle was asked if the full story of the Japanese War should be told, he replied, "I think it deserves to be told, not to open old wounds nor to condemn the Japanese. Rather, so that we will all remember what evils an uncontrolled militaristic government can bring to its people, and to point up what the consequences can be of our unpreparedness to meet aggression." *C.V. Clines The Doolittle Raid - America's daring first strike against Japan*, Orion Books, New York, — 1988, p.220

With that reason for writing such a story as this I am

in agreement.

In the Bibliography I have acknowledged the many books, diaries and unpublished memoirs which I have consulted, as well as the interviews which I had with former internees. For all this assistance I am deeply grateful. I am especially to the Department of Documents at the Imperial War Museum in London for placing at my disposal the archives and manuscripts available there on this subject.

Mr. Keith Martin has kindly suggested some corrections regarding camp statistics as well as the question of international conventions. Mr. Peter Honour of the Pocket Testament League has supplied me with photos of Mitsuo Fuchida and Jacob De Shazer. Any errors and inaccuracies in this book remain my responsibility.

My wife, Joyce, has supported me in this project, and shown infinite patience and encouragement as I have toiled on in the research involved. My son James has helped me with the intricacies of the computer in the final stages. The production of this book has been carried out with much competence by Jeff Thomson & Carole Holland.

It is my hope that the information set out in this book will give a clear picture of the camps in China and Hong Kong, including both the good and the bad aspects.

# PRISONERS OF THE SAMURAI

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# CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

## 1941

- Dec. 7 Pearl Harbor raid.
- 8 Hong Kong invaded. Japanese sank HMS Peterel.
- 25 Fall of Hong Kong.

## 1942

- Jan. Imprisonment in Shamshuipo Camp, Hong Kong.  
Internment in Stanley Camp, Hong Kong.
- Apr. 18 Doolittle raids on Japan.
- Jun. 18 1st American Repatriation - Asama Maru and Conte Verde.
- Aug. 17 British Repatriation - Komakura Maru.
- Nov. 5 Internment in Temple Hill, Chefoo.  
Internment in Haifong Road, Shanghai.

## 1943

- Jan. Internment in Budong Camp, Shanghai.
- Feb. Internment in Yangzhou Camps.
- Mar. Internment in other Shanghai camps - Longhua,  
Columbia Country Club, Yu Yuen Road, Ash Camp & Zhabei.  
Internment in Weixian Camp from Tianjin, Qingdao & Peking.
- Aug. 16 Transfer of Priests & Nuns from Weixian to Peking.
- Sept. 22 2nd American Repatriation - Teia Maru.  
Transfer of Temple Hill Camp to Weixian.  
Italians interned in Weixian Camp.
- Oct. Transfer of Yangzhou A & B Camps to Shanghai camps.

## 1944

- Jun. 28 Internment of elderly and sick, and mothers with children, in Lincoln Avenue Camp, Shanghai.

## 1945

- May 8 V-E Day.  
Jiangwan prisoners transferred to Japan.  
Transfer of Haifong Road prisoners to Fengtai.  
Transfer of Columbia Country Club & Yu Yuen Road Camps to Yangzipu Camp
- Aug. 10 Transfer of Technicians & their families from Stanley Camp to Kowloon.
- 6-14 Dropping of atomic bombs and Japanese surrender.
- 15 Internment camps taken over by Allied personnel. Sept/ Oct. Departure of internees from all camps.



米國及英國ニ對スル宣戰ノ詔書

天佑ヲ保有シ萬世一系ノ皇祚ヲ踐メル大日本帝國天皇ハ  
 昭ニ忠誠勇武ナル汝有眾ニ示ス

朕茲ニ米國及英國ニ對シテ戰ヲ宣ス朕カ陸海將兵ハ全力  
 ヲ奮テ交戰ニ從事シ朕カ百僚有司ハ勵精職務ヲ奉行シ朕  
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 征戰ノ目的ヲ達成スルニ遺算ナカラムコトヲ期セヨ

We hereby declare war on the United States of America and the British Empire. The men and officers of Our army and navy shall do their utmost in prosecuting the war, Our public servants of various departments shall perform faithfully and diligently their appointed tasks, and all other subjects of Ours shall pursue their respective duties; the entire nation with a united will shall mobilize their total strength so that nothing will miscarry in the attainment of our war aims.

To insure the stability of East Asia and to contribute to world peace is the far-sighted policy which was formulated by our Great illustrious Imperial Grandsire and Our Great Imperial sire succeeding Him, and which We lay constantly to heart. To cultivate friendship among nations and to enjoy prosperity in common with all nations has always been the guiding principle of Our Empire's foreign policy. It has been truly unavoidable and far from Our wishes that Our Empire has now been brought to cross swords with America and Britain. More than four years have passed since China, failing to comprehend the true intentions of Our Empire, and recklessly courting trouble, disturbed the peace of East Asia and compelled Our Empire to take up arms. Although there has been re-established the National Government of China, with which Japan has effected neighborly intercourse and cooperation, the regime which has survived at Chungking, relying upon American and British protection, still continues its fratricidal opposition. Eager for the realization of their inordinate ambition to dominate the Orient, both America and Britain, giving support to the Chungking regime, have aggravated the disturbances in East Asia. Moreover, these two Powers, inducing other countries to follow suit, increased military preparations on all sides of Our Empire to challenge us. They have obstructed by every means our peaceful commerce, and finally resorted to a direct severance of economic relations, menacing gravely the existence of Our Empire. Patiently have We waited and long have We endured, in the hope that Our Government might retrieve the situation in peace. But our adversaries, showing not the least spirit of conciliation, have unduly delayed a settlement; and in the meantime, they have intensified the economic and political pressure to compel thereby Our Empire to submission. This trend of affairs would, if left unchecked, not only nullify Our Empire's efforts of many years for the sake of the stabilization of East Asia, but also endanger the very existence of Our nation. The situation being such as it is, Our Empire for its existence and self-defense has no other recourse but to appeal to arms and to crush every obstacle in its path.

## "The World and Japan" Database Project

Database of Japanese Politics and International Relations

Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo

### Imperial Rescript, December 8, 1941

December 8, 1941

© Japan Times & Advertiser, December 8, 1941, p. 1., Released by the Board of Information,

December 8, 1941

[Full text]

We, by grace of heaven, Emperor of Japan, seated on the Throne of a line unbroken for ages eternal, enjoin upon ye, Our loyal and brave subjects:

The hallowed spirits of Our Imperial Ancestors guarding Us from above, We rely upon the loyalty and courage of Our subjects in Our confident expectation that the task bequeathed by Our forefathers will be carried forward, and that the sources of evil will be speedily eradicated and an enduring peace immutably established in East Asia, preserving thereby the glory of Our



**AN IMPORTANT HISTORICAL DOCUMENT, LAYING OUT THE REASONS FOR JAPAN'S DECLARATION OF WAR**, stating Japan's position in the Far East as a supporter of peace, accusing America and England of aiding groups in China, and continuing its "fratricidal opposition." The document ends, "Our confident expectation that the task bequeathed by Our forefathers will be carried forward and the sources of evil will be speedily eradicated and an enduring peace immutably established in East Asia, preserving thereby the glory of Our Empire."

The intent of the Japanese government was to deliver the larger 14 part (5,000 word) declaration to the American Government 30 minutes before the Pearl Harbor attack. Tokyo transmitted the 5,000 word document to the Japanese Embassy in Washington, but the Ambassador was unable to receive and then distribute the longer text within the allotted 30 minutes, and so it was delivered two hours after the attack. America, outraged at the attack, pulled the Senate and Congress together straight away, declaring war on Japan at 1:10 pm EST on December 8th. Churchill had declared war on Japan nine hours earlier, thus fulfilling his promise to declare within an hour of any Japanese strike on America, and also because of Japanese attacks in Malaya, Singapore and Hong Kong, that took place before Pearl Harbor.

A very rare and historic document of modern times. We can trace just two copies in private hands in the United States: the Rendell Collection, Natick, Mass, and the Gilder Lehrman Collection, on deposit at the New York Historical Society. Presumably a number of copies reside in Government archives.



*Post-note: Three days later, December 11th, Japan's allies, Germany and Italy, both declared war on the United States. The U.S. Congress responded immediately by declaring war on them. Thus the European and Southeast Asian wars had become a global conflict with the Axis Powers; Japan, Germany, Italy and others, aligned against the Allied Powers; America, Britain, Soviet Russia and others.*



# Franklin D. Roosevelt For a Declaration of War

At 7:53 a.m. on Sunday, December 7, 1941, the first assault wave of Japanese fighter planes attacked the U.S. Naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, taking the Americans completely by surprise.

The first wave targeted airfields and battleships. The second wave targeted other ships and shipyard facilities. The air raid lasted until 9:45 a.m. Eight battleships were damaged, with five sunk. Three light cruisers, three destroyers and three smaller vessels were lost along with 188 aircraft. The Japanese lost 27 planes and five midget submarines which attempted to penetrate the inner harbor and launch torpedoes.

Three prime targets; the U.S. Pacific Fleet aircraft carriers, *Lexington*, *Enterprise* and *Saratoga*, were not in the harbor and thus escaped damage.

The casualty list at Pearl Harbor included 2,335 servicemen and 68 civilians killed, and 1,178 wounded. Over a thousand crewmen aboard the *USS Arizona* battleship were killed after a 1,760 pound aerial bomb penetrated the forward magazine causing catastrophic explosions.

See also: [Pearl Harbor Slide Show - 20 photos](#)

News of the "sneak attack" was broadcast to the American public via radio bulletins, with many popular Sunday afternoon entertainment programs being interrupted. The news sent a shockwave across the nation, resulting in a tremendous influx of young volunteers into the U.S. Armed Forces. The attack also united the nation behind President Franklin D. Roosevelt and effectively ended the American isolationist movement.

On Monday, December 8th, President Roosevelt appeared before Congress and made this speech asking for a declaration of war against Japan, calling the previous day "...a date which will live in infamy..."

**Mr. Vice President, Mr. Speaker, members of the Senate and the House of Representatives:**

**Yesterday, December 7th, 1941 - a date which will live in infamy - the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.**

**The United States was at peace with that nation, and, at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its government and its Emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific.**

**Indeed, one hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing in the American island of Oahu, the Japanese Ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered to our Secretary of State a formal reply to a recent American message. And, while this reply stated that it seemed useless to continue the existing diplomatic negotiations, it contained no threat or hint of war or of armed attack.**

**It will be recorded that the distance of Hawaii from Japan makes it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days or even weeks ago. During the intervening time the Japanese Government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace.**

**The attack yesterday on the Hawaiian Islands has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. I regret to tell you that very many American lives have been lost. In addition, American ships have been reported torpedoed on the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu.**

**Yesterday the Japanese Government also launched an attack against Malaya.  
Last night Japanese forces attacked Hong Kong.  
Last night Japanese forces attacked Guam.  
Last night Japanese forces attacked the Philippine Islands.  
Last night the Japanese attacked Wake**

**Island.**

**And this morning the Japanese attacked Midway Island.**

**Japan has therefore undertaken a surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific area. The facts of yesterday and today speak for themselves. The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications to the very life and safety of our nation.**

**As Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy I have directed that all measures be taken for our defense, that always will our whole nation remember the character of the onslaught against us.**

**No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people, in their righteous might, will win through to absolute victory.**

**I believe that I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost but will make it very certain that this form of treachery shall never again endanger us.**

**Hostilities exist. There is no blinking at the fact that our people, our territory and our interests are in grave danger.**

**With confidence in our armed forces, with the unbounding determination of our people, we will gain the inevitable triumph. So help us God.**

**I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December 7th, 1941, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire.**

**President Franklin D. Roosevelt - December 8, 1941**

*© <http://www.historyplace.com/speeches/fdr-infamy.htm>*



# Chapter - 1 -

## THE RAID WHICH STARTED IT ALL

Let's face it. Life was good for the Westerners living in the 1930s in the principal cities of China. Back in the 19th century "unequal treaties" had been forced on the Central Kingdom, granting to the citizens of Western governments "extraterritoriality" (exemption from the laws of the land) and other wide ranging privileges.

Big business had developed and large companies had been launched, covering shipping, banking, insurance, coal, oil, tobacco and chemical products. The China Taipans had spacious homes, modern cars and a staff of "cook boys" and "amahs", with whom they communicated in that quaint language called "Pidgin English". In leisure hours there was recreation at the local club - golf, tennis and swimming - as well as regular visits to the theatre. Life was equally good, but for different reasons, for the large missionary community - Protestant and Catholic - in China, who had little social contact with the Taipans, mildly disapproving of their way of life. After the Boxer Rising at the turn of the century the antagonism of the populace to the Christianity of the West had waned, and with their skilled assistance in the crises of floods, famines, epidemics and bombings the missionaries had gained the respect and trust of the Chinese people.

But for both merchant and missionary an ominous cloud had cast its black shadow over life in the Far East.



Shanghai: The Bund in 1930 ...

Japan, with its ambitious programme to establish its "New Order in East Asia", was slowly controlling the high seas of the China coast; its gunboats were patrolling the Yangzi River, and its business men were penetrating into the rapacious world of big business. Aware

## 日本軍總司令

日軍快護回日本領事和僑民來  
日本軍是軍規嚴正保護良民  
官員必要維持公安  
良民務須安居樂業  
日僑回到就市面興旺的了  
各戶掛日本國旗歡迎日本人罷

## 傳單

The Japanese Army is coming soon to protect Japanese civilians living in China. The Japanese Army is an army of strict discipline, protecting good citizens. Civil servants must seek to maintain peace and order. Members of the community must live together peacefully and happily. With the return of Japanese businessmen to China, the businesses will prosper once more. Every house must fly a Japanese flag to welcome the Japanese.

Japanese Army Headquarters.

Leaflet dropped by the Japanese in 1938 when capturing Chefoo

of this cat-and-mouse game, Western executives were sending progress reports to their headquarters in London and New York. Unmistakably a confrontation, bigger than the four year old Sino-Japanese War, was coming to the Orient.

The U.S.A. in particular was aware of its shaky relationship with Japan. American women in the business houses had been sent home while the men tried to continue. Britain too was on the alert. Notices in the Shanghai press strongly urged the wives and children of British business men to leave; and with the two year-old war being waged in Europe young men were being asked to return to Britain for conscription. In November

Warships Of The Imperial Japanese Navy: GUNBOATS  
© marekj655.blogspot.com





and early December 1941 thousands of British and Americans left to go to their home countries. One British vessel, the CNC Anhwei, was to call at Manila to carry further passengers, and was caught by the outbreak of war, and all on board interned for the duration.

On the whole there was a half-hearted exodus. To the business community surely this agreeable way of life could not be coming to an end. Plans were in hand for the urgent destruction of code books and confidential reports in case war should come. These business men were determined to carry on somehow. In the missionary community many families also remained, but for different reasons. They wanted to stand with the Chinese people in the privations and hazards of war. For both groups the mystique of China and its people tugged at their hearts.

## MITSUO FUCHIDA AND THE PEARL HARBOR RAID

Across the China Sea Japanese strategists had been carefully planning their long term programme to conquer South East Asia for their Emperor. Aware of the strength of the American Navy, they had decided that the only way to cripple it would be by dealing one unexpected crushing blow on its fleet at Pearl Harbor. They planned that, while America was recovering this loss, Japan would quickly advance and conquer the whole Pacific area, and establish its "New Order in East Asia". They needed a leader with special gifts and skills to carry out such a daring air strike; and they found him in Commander Mitsuo Fuchida. Now 39 years of age, he had graduated from the prestigious Japanese Naval Academy in 1923.

Fuchida accepted this challenge, and started to make his plans. Near Kyushu was an island with a similar topography to that of Oahu, where Pearl Harbor is. For weeks in early 1941 dive bombers practised their planned raid, using towed rafts as targets. In his office on the flagship Akagi Fuchida had a seven foot square model of Oahu. For hours he gazed at it, memorising every feature of the terrain. By mid-1941 Fuchida and the strategists had fixed the date and time of the attack - 8 a.m. on 7 December. 'For one thing it would be full moon, and for another, it would be Sunday, and they knew that the American Pacific Fleet entered Pearl Harbor every Friday, and left the following Monday. 2

At 7.49 a.m. on 7 December 1941, Fuchida, leader of a squadron of 360 planes, radioed back to the Japanese Carrier Striking Force, "To ... To ... To ...", which was the first syllable of a Japanese word which meant, "We



**Mitsuo Fuchida** (淵田 美津雄)

*Fuchida Mitsuo, 3 December 1902 – 30 May 1976) was a Japanese captain<sup>[1]</sup> in the Imperial Japanese Navy Air Service and a bomber aviator in the Japanese navy before and during World War II. He is perhaps best known for leading the first air wave attacks on Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941.*

*Working under the overall fleet commander, Vice Admiral Chūichi Nagumo, Fuchida was responsible for the coordination of the entire aerial attack.*

*After the war ended, Fuchida became a Christian evangelist and traveled through the United States and Europe to tell his story. He settled permanently in the United States but never became a U.S. citizen*

© Wikipedia.

are attacking". Four minutes later he radioed back the welcome news, "Tora! Tora! Tora!" - the code word meaning Tiger or "We have succeeded in our surprise attack."

On that fateful Sunday morning some American sailors in Pearl Harbor were writing to their sweethearts, others were having breakfast while others were still sleeping late after the Saturday night party. Soon there were bombs, explosions and destruction as the warships slowly sank to the bottom of the sea. Fuchida ordered the bombers back to their ships, mission accomplished. Eighteen warships and 300 aircraft had been destroyed, and over 2,000 Americans killed. The war was now on, and Japan had got off to a good start.'

Japan was jubilant over its initial victory. Fuchida and two other Commanders of the raid were ordered to report to the Throne. There could be no greater honour; to Fuchida the Emperor was Divine. Mitsuo Fuchida was pleased with his answers to the Emperor's probing questions - until unexpectedly he was asked if any hospital ships or civilian institutions had been hit. He tried to say a confident "No", though in his heart of hearts he knew that he had made no such distinction.

Fuchida will be making an unexpected comeback later in this story.

## THE FALL OF HONG KONG

Christmas in a hospital ward. One immediately conjures up a festive scene of colourful decorations dangling from the ceiling, a glittering Christmas tree at one end of the ward, familiar carols being relayed across the ward and the patients sitting up for a sumptuous feast.



But, by contrast, St. Stephen's Casualty Hospital in Hong Kong was the scene of a most shocking atrocity. A band of drunken Japanese soldiers had invaded the



building. Jean Gittins describes what happened next: "They shot the medical officers who tried to stop their entrance to the wards; they outraged and murdered three young English nurses. Others they shot, bayoneted or raped."

At St. Alberts Convent Hospital, not far away, the same tragedy was almost repeated on that Christmas Day. The nurses and staff were tied up, and were about to be machine-gunned when the Japanese discovered that one of their own officers was being treated for wounds there, and being well looked after; and the hospital staff were duly released. But says Dick Wilson, "The British survivors of Hong Kong were reluctant to condemn the Japanese afterwards, and regarded most of the incidents as the result of breakdowns in unit discipline."

Also, in Hong Kong, a Quaker missionary from Chengdu had just met his family, who had returned from a visit to California. Professor W.G. Sewell recalls, "Christmas Day itself dawned with a message of hope. We made a special Christmas effort. Kate had a present for everyone, drawn from a pile of worthless treasures; and the plum pudding was without compare. Amidst the whistling of the shells, the thud of exploding bombs, we ate our Christmas midday meal in a sheltered corner of the house. But a stick of bombs, falling on the hillside, brought down so much plaster that we abandoned the games we had planned."

Following the Pearl Harbor raid, events had hap-

pended faster and more furiously for Allied personnel in Hong Kong than for their colleagues in mainland China. Simultaneously with the surprise attack on the American Fleet, Japanese bombers with fighter escort had bombed the

Kaitak Airport, while three Japanese regiments north of Hong Kong had crossed the Shenzhen river and entered the New Territories, where they soon gained control of the reservoir area, and therefore the colony's water supply. The once peaceful island witnessed several weeks of relentless bombing, perpetual shelling and the collapse in ruins of well known shops and buildings.

For the inhabitants it was a horrifying period of Japanese butchery, wounding and raping. In the gutters and on the streets corpses lay of old and young, and grave-diggers were working non-stop to carry away the physical remains and give them a decent burial. Everywhere in Hong Kong and Kowloon were derelict buildings, into which looters were rushing to grab any valuables. In the harbour sunken ships were lying at untidy angles. All British banks had been closed, and Hong Kong's citizens were fast using up their limited supplies of cash.

The colony fell to Japanese control that Christmas Day in 1941, after eighteen days of stubborn but ineffective resistance. Japanese flags were soon flying everywhere. It was ironic that the British flag had come down exactly a hundred years since it had first been



hoisted. It was a sudden and humiliating end to British rule.

## STANLEY CAMP

On 5 January 1942, less than a fortnight after the British had surrendered, all Allied adults and

their dependents were mustered on the Murray Parade Ground, and then herded into some squalid Chinese hotels nearby. One thousand five hundred people were crammed into this unsavoury accommodation, four people in a cubicle six foot by eight foot, irrespective of sex. the food for these sixteen days was critically short, and sanitation unhygienic and inadequate - two toilets for every 150 people.

On 21 January this group was taken in five-ton trucks to what was to be their home for the war - Stanley Camp. The staffs of Hong Kong University and Queen Mary Hospital also converged on the same location. Jean Gittins described the property:

*The buildings set aside for internees consisted of two main groups - those associated with Stanley Prison and others belonging to St. Stephen's College.*

*East of the prison near the hospital was a cluster of modern flats. First, there were the four large blocks built around a rectangular courtyard, which were known as the 'Married Quarters', because in normal times they housed the British prison officers and their families. Three smaller blocks for single officers stood at the north east corner of the large*



*British prisoners of war leave Hong Kong for a Japanese prison camp in December 1941.*



*One of the former internees looks back at Stanley Internment Camp. © Wikipedia*



blocks, beside a playground and tennis courts, which were later to be turned into a vegetable garden.

The whole camp was surrounded by barbed wire, and was to be guarded by Japanese, Formosan and Indian guards in the coming months. The Japanese headquarters consisted of two houses situated in the centre of the camp. Two and a half thousand internees were crammed into these buildings. The Japanese billeting officer ensured that the British, American and Dutch were housed in their groups. Families were placed into flats, with as many as 35 people per flat. Single people were packed into the bungalows, with as many as 50 in each, regardless of sex.

The next problem after tightness of accommodation

**Stanley Internment Camp** (*Chinese*: 赤柱拘留營) was a civilian internment camp in Hong Kong during World War II. Located in Stanley, on the southern end of Hong Kong Island, it was used by the Japanese imperial forces to hold non-Chinese enemy nationals after their victory in the Battle of Hong Kong, a battle in the Pacific campaign of World War II. About 2,800 men, women, and children were held at the non-segregated camp for 44 months from early January 1942 to August 1945 when Japanese forces surrendered. The camp area consisted of St. Stephen's College and the grounds of Stanley Prison, excluding the prison itself. © Wikipedia.

was that of food. Sewell recalled, "Twice a day the kitchen served dry boiled rice, and a vegetable or meat stew. There was not much of it, and was far from palatable. The rice was dirty and it tasted musty; there were no proper utensils in which to make it clean." "

The initial chaos of hundreds of people of many backgrounds being suddenly thrown together was soon resolved by the holding of general elections, in which internees of each nationality appointed leaders to represent them to the Japanese. The internees of Stanley Camp were to have to endure the longest period of imprisonment of all the camps - three years and seven months. It was to be another nine months before two more groups were to go into internment - the Chefoo community in north China and a group of men at Haifong Road, Shanghai, whom the Japanese regarded as political prisoners.

## SHAMSHUIPO (MILITARY) CAMP

Although Shamshuiipo was a military camp, its story was closely interwoven with that of Stanley Camp, for

many of its inmates had wives and children in the latter civilian camp. The bulk of the prisoners were professional soldiers, serving in the Royal Scots, in a Punjabi and in a Rauput battalion, the Winnipeg Grenadiers, the Royal Rifles of Canada and the First Battalion Middlesex Regiment. Those who had links with Stanley Camp had been in Hong Kong Civil Defence units, and were also part of the local civilian community.

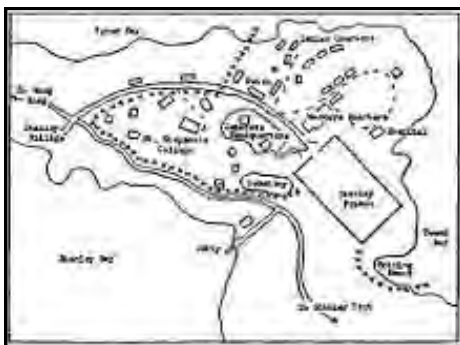
David Bosanquet describes how a crocodile line of prisoners, ignominiously defeated in the recent invasion of Hong Kong, dragged themselves with their cumbersome load of kitbags, cardboard boxes and old suitcases, along a road led by two Japanese guards. The long column of 1,800 men shuffled into a refugee camp at North Point. They crowded into this "hell hole", 175 men in a hut built for 50 refugees. The sanitation was poor, and flies were there in their myriads, swarming over their small allocations of food.

At the end of January 1941, they were moved from this refugee camp to Shamshuiipo, on the edge of Kowloon and on the mainland. This is how Bosanquet describes it:

*The camp was once the headquarters of one of the infantry battalions. It consisted of a large block of flats - officers' married quarters facing the harbour. Behind it was a parade ground larger than two football pitches. There were two other parade grounds, and even when the Japanese wired off one, there was still plenty of room to exercise. The remainder of the*



*Japanese troops march on Queen's Road, Hong Kong in December 1941, after the British surrender. © Wikipedia*



*A map of Stanley Internment Camp*

**Sham Shui Po Barracks** was a British Army facility built in the 1920s in the Sham Shui Po area of Kowloon, Hong Kong. The base was bounded by Fuk Wa Street to the east by Yen Chow Street and to the west by Tonkin Street and Camp Street.

The buildings on one side were known as Hankow Barracks, and the other Nanking Barracks. There was a large parade ground. Smaller buildings were later added, and the large Jubilee Buildings were constructed as married quarters. During World War II, the Imperial Japanese Army used it as a POW camp for British, Indian and Canadian soldiers. This was the main POW Camp in Hong Kong, operating from before the British surrendered the Colony, to the Japanese surrender. By the latter date, it was the only POW facility operating in Hong Kong, bar the hospital at the Central British School (now King George V School). Many POWs died here, especially in the diphtheria epidemic of 1942, and all shipments of POWs to Japan left from Sham Shui Po's Bamboo Pier.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s the camp was used to house Vietnamese refugees.

The camp was re-developed for housing in the early 1990s. None of the former military structures exists and only plaques commemorating the POW camp remain, together with maple trees commemorating the Canadians held here. These can be found at Sham Shui Po Park, also part of the former base.

© Wikipedia.



*area was taken up by concrete huts, and there was space for everyone to lie down under cover. When all units had been brought to Shamshuipo, there were some 4,500 men in the camp.*

The prisoners scoured the camp, and made improvised doors and windows, and bricked in unwanted exits. They were grouped into working parties, and had to do manual work at the Kaitak Airport.

The Shamshuipo barracks had been built on land reclaimed from the harbour. Kowloon was immediately to the east. Just outside the camp were Chinese tenement houses. To the north were vegetable gardens. The western wall faced Lai Chi Chok Bay, and the south faced ! long Kong harbour. Because of its position it was possible for dozens of wives and girl friends of the prisoners to come regularly to the road on the east side of the camp, to bring money and food, which they tossed over the wall when the guards were patrolling further away.

The food position here was indeed grim. Bosanquet asserts:

*Day after day we had nothing to eat but rice. A bowl in the morning and another at night. Occasionally a few sacks containing some kind of green vegetable were delivered with the rice, from which the cooks brewed some sort of soup. At odd intervals we received a few spoonfuls of soya beans or dates, but such luxuries were very rare.*

The inmates became weaker and weaker as the days went by, and morale went slowly downwards. For very small misdemeanours they were given chilling tortures. The outlook at Shamshuipo Camp was a bleak one.

#

**By military necessity, and for your own safety and comfort, you and your family as enemy nationals are hereby ordered to live in the Civil Assembly Centre. There every comfort of Western culture will be yours.**

**The Civil Assembly Centre, being the best home for those who live in it, must be loved and cherished by all of them. Each person shall take care of his health, and live in harmony with each other. There shall be no disputing, quarrelling, disturbing or any other improper demeanours.**

***(Japanese Consular instructions to all British and American nationals)***

# Chapter - 2 -

## CHAPTER 2

### ALLIED PERSONNEL IN THE NORTH CONVERGE ON WEIXIAN

#### QINGDAO

Percy Whitting, an executive of the BAT (= *British American Tobacco Company*) living in Qingdao, switched on his radio on Monday morning, 8 December 1941, and was surprised to find himself listening to the reading out of a Japanese proclamation. War had been declared on Britain and the USA, and all enemy nationals were instructed to remain in their homes. For the whole of that Monday he waited for further developments.

At 10 a.m. on the Tuesday two trucks and two private cars drew up. He later learned that one truck and one car were managed by the Japanese Army, which had been charged to pick up all British nationals; and one truck and one car were managed by the Japanese Navy which were to pick up all Americans. He recalled,

*"Their arrival would have made a good movie ... They made a grand rush into the garden, taking up positions with fixed bayonets. The officers and interpreters then came in, and everyone in the hotel was told to assemble into one room. As we were all British the Navy party withdrew ... We then had to give details of name, employment and so on. Radios were confiscated and telephones disconnected."*

His BAT factory was taken over by the Japanese Gendarmerie.

The 350 enemy nationals in Qingdao were crowded into a large hotel overlooking the lovely Jiaozhou Bay. The food was inadequate and life was difficult, with the severe restrictions imposed on them. There was little work to do, for a Japanese contractor and his staff prepared their meals.

The group was kept here for thirteen months, and then in February 1943 they were advised that they would be going the following month to a camp in Weixian; and were allowed to go to their homes to gather some personal effects. They packed for the unknown future, and their heavy luggage was sent ahead of them. Their departure to the railway station was a dignified one, and their hundred mile journey to Weixian Camp relatively comfortable.

#### WEIHAI

At Weihai the Japanese also acted promptly. Arthur Clarke, Brethren missionary, described his experiences -

*On the morning of 8 December 1941, the Japanese Gendarmerie came to the house and took me to their headquarters, after seizing cases full of private papers and valuables to which they took a fancy. For six days, with four others, I was imprisoned in a room fourteen feet by twelve feet, containing beds and a stove ... During this week each of us underwent a "third degree" investigation.*

They were then moved to the dilapidated quarters of the Kings Hotel, and lived in harsh circumstances there for six weeks, enduring a further "investigation". On 28 February 1942, Clarke was sent back to his home, and kept under house arrest for a further six weeks.

The small group of British residents of Weihai were then sent to Shanghai for repatriation on the *Kamakura Maru*. While the others from Weihai were repatriated Arthur Clarke and his wife found that they had been excluded from the lists. They were accommodated at the Columbia Country Club, where, though overcrowded,



they had good food and freedom in and around Shanghai, though having to wear armbands. In March 1943 they were taken into Longhua Camp.

#### JINAN

As will be seen, most of the "enemy" personnel in north China were interned in Weixian. But besides the community in Weihai who went to Shanghai, some missionaries in western Shandong were also taken there. John Fee, Methodist missionary at Wuding, was busy preparing schedules and reports that fateful Monday morning, 8 December, for the forthcoming Synod meetings to be held in January.

Then it all happened. This is how he described it:

*Looking out through the window, I saw a strange Japanese officer and about twelve soldiers with fixed bayonets marching briskly towards the front door. I went and opened it, and, as was the custom, bowed politely, but I was brushed aside as he and his men filed into the house.*

Fee was ordered to summon Mrs Deirdre Fee and Nurse Sanderson, and then the Japanese officer gave a long harangue on the virtues of Japan and the misde-



# JAPANESE PRISONER OF WAR CAMPS

During World War II, 1941-1945

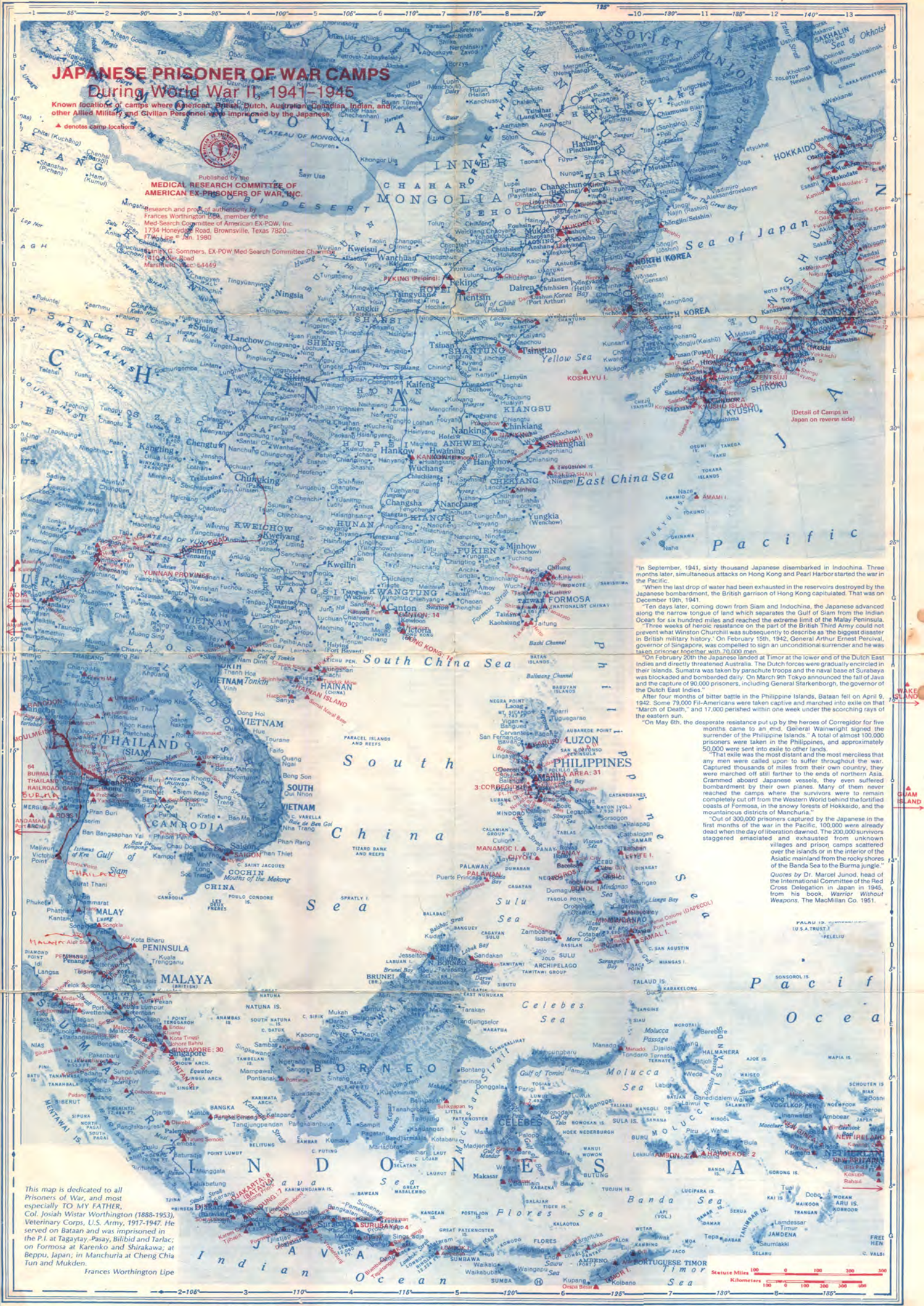
Known locations of camps where American, British, Dutch, Australian, Canadian, Indian, and other Allied Military and Civilian Personnel were imprisoned by the Japanese.

▲ denotes camp locations

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Francis Worthington 1954, member of the  
Med Search Committee of American EX-POW, Inc.  
1734 Honeydew Road, Brownsville, Texas 78201  
Rt. 100, Box 100  
Marshallville, Mo. 64449

Research and proof of authenticity by  
E. G. Sommers, EX-POW Med Search Committee Chairman  
12100 New Road  
Marshallville, Mo. 64449



In September, 1941, sixty thousand Japanese disembarked in Indochina. Three months later, simultaneous attacks on Hong Kong and Pearl Harbor started the war in the Pacific.

When the last drop of water had been exhausted in the reservoirs destroyed by the Japanese bombardment, the British garrison of Hong Kong capitulated. That was on December 19th, 1941.

Ten days later, coming down from Siam and Indochina, the Japanese advanced along the narrow tongue of land which separates the Gulf of Siam from the Indian Ocean for six hundred miles and reached the extreme limit of the Malay Peninsula.

Three weeks of heroic resistance on the part of the British Third Army could not prevent what Winston Churchill was subsequently to describe as the biggest disaster in British military history. On February 19th, 1942, General Arthur Ernest Percival, governor of Singapore, was compelled to sign an unconditional surrender and he was taken prisoner together with 70,000 men.

On February 20th the Japanese landed at Timor at the lower end of the Dutch East Indies and directly threatened Australia. The Dutch forces were gradually encircled in their islands. Sumatra was taken by parachute troops and the naval base at Surabaya was blockaded and bombarded daily. On March 9th Tokyo announced the fall of Java and the capture of 90,000 prisoners, including General Starckenborgh, the governor of the Dutch East Indies.

After four months of bitter battle in the Philippine Islands, Bataan fell on April 9, 1942. Some 79,000 Filipino-Americans were taken captive and marched into exile on that "March of Death," and 17,000 perished within one week under the scorching rays of the eastern sun.

On May 6th, the desperate resistance put up by the heroes of Corregidor for five months came to an end. General Wainwright signed the surrender of the Philippine Islands. A total of almost 100,000 prisoners were taken in the Philippines, and approximately 50,000 were sent into exile to other lands.

That exile was the most distant and the most merciless that any men were called upon to suffer throughout the war. Captured thousands of miles from their own country, they were marched off still farther to the ends of northern Asia. Cramped aboard Japanese vessels, they even suffered bombardment by their own planes. Many of them never reached the camps where the survivors were to remain completely cut off from the Western World behind the fortified coasts of Formosa, in the snowy forests of Hokkaido, and the mountainous districts of Manchuria.

"Out of 300,000 prisoners captured by the Japanese in the first months of the war in the Pacific, 100,000 were already dead when the day of liberation dawned. The 200,000 survivors staggered emaciated and exhausted from unknown villages and prison camps scattered over the islands or in the interior of the Asiatic mainland from the rocky shores of the Banda Sea to the Burma jungle."

Quotes by Dr. Marcel Junod, head of the International Committee of the Red Cross Delegation in Japan in 1945, from his book, *Warrior Without Weapons*, The MacMillan Co. 1951.

This map is dedicated to all  
Prisoners of War, and most  
especially to MY FATHER,  
Col. Josiah Wistar Worthington (1888-1953),  
Veterinary Corps, U.S. Army, 1917-1947. He  
served on Bataan and was imprisoned in  
the P.I. at Tagaytay, Pasay, Bilibid and Tarlac;  
on Formosa at Kankou and Shirakawa; at  
Beppu, Japan; in Manchuria at Cheng Chia  
Tun and Mukden.

Francis Worthington Lipe



## Note on the Spelling of Place Names

With the exception of Peking, Chefoo and Canton, Chinese towns and provinces have been spelt according to the present standard Pinyin system of transliteration. But when a place is mentioned in a quotation the original spelling is used.

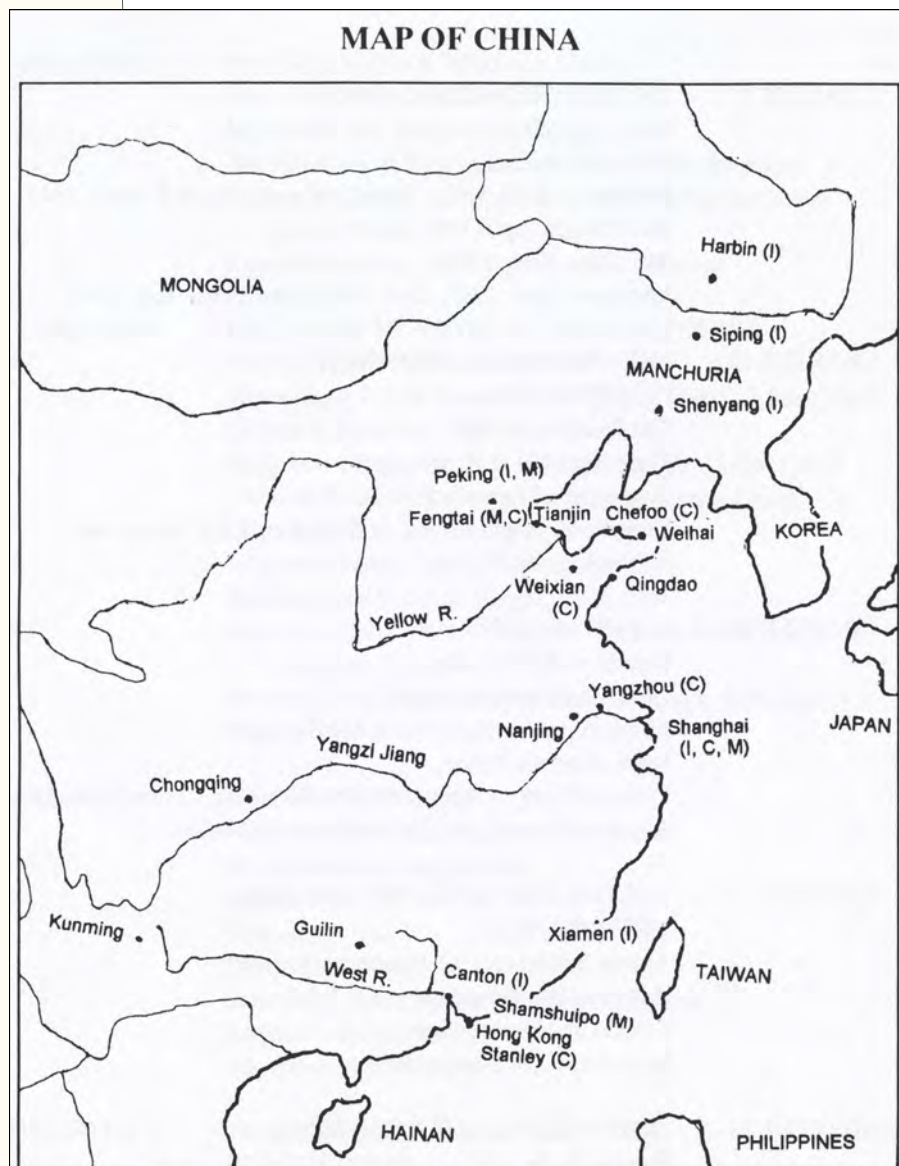
The following are the main places mentioned in this book. The Pinyin spelling is given first, and then the previous Wade-Giles or Postal spelling.

Pinyin	Previous spelling
Chongqing	Chungking
Foshan	Fatshan
Guangdong	Kwangtung
Guilin	Kweilin
Hangzhou	Hangchow
Jiangxi	Kiangsi
Jinan	Tsinan
Nanjing	Nanking
Qingdao	Tsingtao
Shandong	Shantung
Shantou	Swatow
Suzhou	Suchow
Tianjin	Tientsin
Zhejiang	Chekiang
Camps and Prisons	
Budong	Putong
Haifong Road	Haiphong Road
Jiangwan	Kiangwan
Longhua	Lunghua
Shenyang	Mukden
Siping	Szeping kai
Weixian	Weihsien
Wusong	Woosung
Xiamen	Amoy
Xiujiahui	Zikawei
Yangzhou	Yangchow
Zhabei	Chapei

Note that Weixian and not Weifang has been used as the latter name includes the former town of Fangzi.

They were instructed to remain in the compound under house arrest, where they were guarded by four soldiers. Their wireless set was dismantled, and the battery removed from the mission car. Fee was instructed to draw up a detailed inventory of all furniture and equipment. In April 1942, he had the unpleasant task of signing over to the Japanese the title to the Methodist Church's property.

The three missionaries were driven to Cheeloo University in Jinan, where they stayed for seven months. In August 1942, a group of thirty missionaries — of the Methodist Missionary Society, the Baptist Missionary Society and London Missionary Society, went by train to Shanghai, having been informed that they were to be repatriated. But the ship which was to take them on the only British exchange ship of the war was already packed with Shanghai passengers, some of whom had qualified for inclusion "as secretaries, under-secretaries, nannies and under-nannies to the British staff". These missionaries were all to be interned in various Shanghai camps for the duration.



## JAPANESE CAMPS ARE MARKED AS FOLLOWS:

I = Informal Centres

C = Civilian Camps

M = Military Camps

(not all have been recorded)

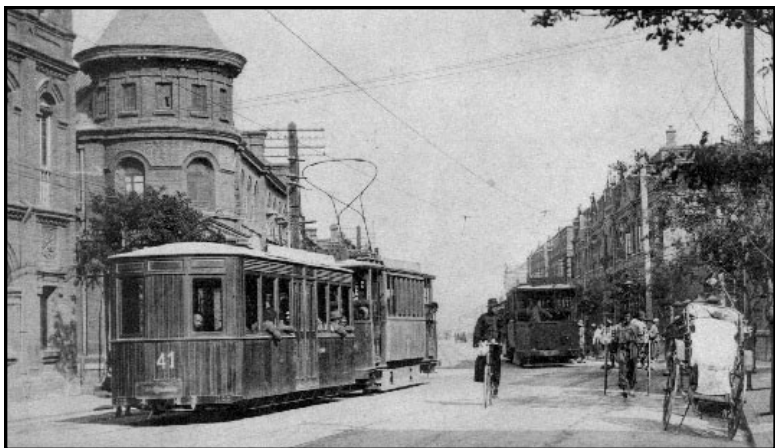
See separate map of Shanghai camps

meanours of the British in the Far East. He produced a large sheet of paper on which, written in badly expressed English, was a statement that Britain had declared war on Japan, and they were now in the custody of His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Japan.

# TIANJIN

We come now to the groups which were sent to Weixian. In Tianjin the British Residents' Committee had been instructed by the Japanese to advise all enemy nationals to prepare for a journey to the internment camp at Weixian, four hundred miles away. They were to go in three groups on the 23rd, 28th and 30th March, 1943, and the luggage for each group was to be sent four days in advance. Eric Liddell, London Missionary Society missionary and former Olympic hero, was appointed captain of the third group. The luggage to be sent ahead for each person could include a bed, bedding and two boxes, and each traveller could take on the train two suitcases as hand luggage. The authorities omitted to mention the need to bring their own cooking utensils and tools.

The Westerners arrived at the chosen meeting place at the Recreation Grounds in Tianjin. The weather was cold and they were all wearing fur hats, thick overcoats and woollen scarves. To make sure that nothing was left behind because of weight, they were pushing all kinds of contraptions - improvised wheelbarrows, prams and Chinese-style poles with buckets on each end. At 7.30 p.m. the Japanese inspected the luggage, and then the ragtag group moved slowly along the street with their awkward burdens to the beginning of the French Concession, then on to the Bund, and across the International Bridge to the railway station. During this mile-long



## TIENTSIN,

on the Hai Ho River 80 miles southeast of Peking, is a major port and industrial center. It was opened as a treaty port in 1860 and developed rapidly with foreign concessions. During the Boxer Rebellion, the city was under siege and afterwards was placed under the control of an international commission. The tram system, which opened on Feb. 16, 1906, was China's second. By 1933 there were nine miles of track and 116 trams in service. A horse-drawn tramway connected the city with a large arsenal to the east. The postcard view shows the Japanese Concession. The last tram ran about 1972.

© <http://www.tramz.com/tva/cn.html>

walk the streets were lined with sympathetic and silent onlookers of many nationalities. Japanese camera men snapped pictures of the crocodile line for propaganda purposes in the home press.

The Allied prisoners were crowded into third class carriages, and the train left at 11.40 p.m. There was nothing to eat or drink, and the adult passengers sat awake all night while the younger ones slept fitfully.

After changing trains at Jinan they arrived at Weixian in the afternoon of the following day. Buses and trucks took them through the massive gates of Weixian city, across three miles of countryside on a rough road which led to the former American Presbyterian mission campus of Weixian.

## WEIXIAN CAMP

Ahead they could see the red-tiled roofs of the camp

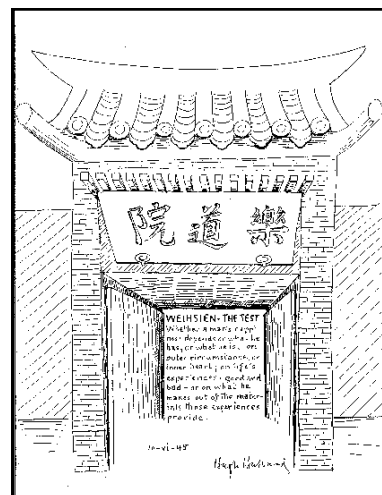


buildings between the trees, and the whole area surrounded by a high grey brick wall. The trucks and buses took them through a Chinese-style gate, over which were three Chinese characters meaning *Courtyard of the Happy Way*.

They were the second group to arrive in the camp. They found that what had obviously been a flourishing mission centre was now in shambles. The property had been alternately looted by Chinese guerrillas and then by Japanese soldiers; and then vacated and left to deteriorate further. The roads of the camp were strewn with rubble, the toilets choked, and the remains of desks and tables were lying around, having been broken up for firewood. The Qingdao internees, who had been the first group to arrive, had already made a bold start to the cleaning up of the property, and the new Tianjin arrivals joined in the massive task.

John Hersey described the camp as follows:

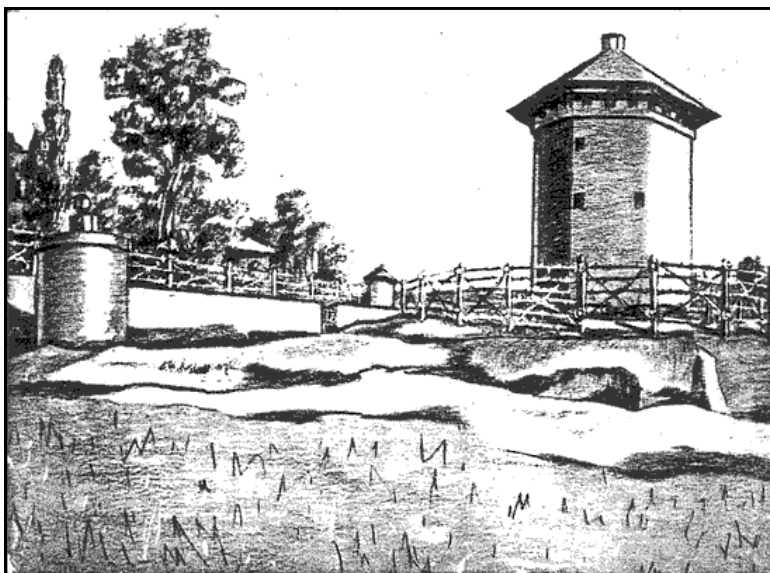
*The compound was large — more than five acres. But it was nevertheless a prison. To the right of the main gate stood the church, and beside it the athletic field. Running southward were two straight alleys, on both sides of which stretched about a dozen rows of long narrow one-storied buildings — evidently former student dormitories. Beyond these dorms to the south were two large classroom buildings, and farther on, strictly out of bounds to the campers, were spacious courtyards with several substantial brick houses,*





*formerly occupied by missionaries — now sheltering the Japanese Camp authorities in fine style. To the west stood a large hospital building, with tennis courts and a basketball court beside it.*

In many ways the Weixian was the ideal camp. It



was a single unit in the countryside, away from the problems of being in a large city. It had its own ready-made hospital, a church building which could be used for religious, social and educational purposes, and many rows of rooms once used by students, now suitable for families, though small in size. But the camp was to be tightly crammed with internees; its distance from the coast made it difficult for the Red Cross to serve it regularly; and its geographical position was eventually to make it vulnerable to the many rival armies of Communists and guerrillas in its immediate vicinity.

## PEKING

The next group to come to Weixian was the Peking community. In this ancient centre of Chinese culture, art and administration were foreign residents who were university professors, teachers, doctors, language students and missionaries, as well as executive business men of the international companies. As had happened in the other centres of north China, the Japanese announced that all enemy aliens must make preparations for being

transported to a camp in Weixian. The Americans were to leave on 25 March and the British on 29 March.

The former group duly assembled in the American Embassy compound. In addition to the local American community were hundreds of Catholic priests, monks and nuns, many of whom had come from as far away as Mongolia. Langdon Gilkey recalled, *"We stood waiting for orders. Each child clutched his teddy bear; single persons and families stood surrounded by miscellaneous heaps of bags, duffles, coats, potties and camp chairs."* The order to march the distance to the station brought shock to this Peking group, as they slowly dragged their valued belongings; resting and then struggling on. The city's populace was there to watch the spectacle, and movie pictures were again taken of the untidy procession by Japanese cameramen.

The journey to camp was rough and bouncy, and the Americans were unable to sleep on the rough seats, and spent the time discussing anxiously what lay ahead of them. The monks and priests brought cheer to the weary travellers by singing Dutch and Belgian folk songs. On arrival at Weixian the large group was taken by trucks to the mission compound.

Laurance Tipton described the departure of the British residents from Peking. They also assembled at the American Embassy, and for them it was a more dignified pilgrimage. Much of the luggage was taken by trucks to the station, and the Military Police were more flexible; and there were no cameramen to take movie pictures. When the two Peking groups arrived four days apart, they were lined up on the sports field, while the Commandant read out the camp regulations, and stressed the need for total co-operation with their overlords. The fifteen hundred people who had come from Qingdao, Tianjin and Peking now had a formidable task ahead of them of removing the rubble in the buildings and on the camp roads, of setting up three large kitchens, cleaning up the large dormitories and small rooms for families, repairing the toilets, organising committees to administer the camp and arranging schooling for the young.

## CHEFFOO

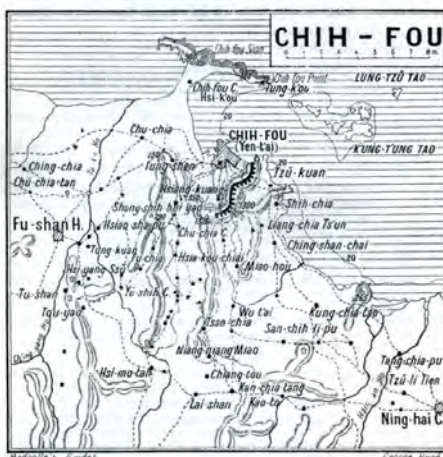
We now describe the events leading up to the arrival of the Chefoo group to Weixian. On Monday morning, 8 December 1941, just after the Pearl Harbor raid, Japanese guards in Chefoo rounded up the business men, as well as P.A. Bruce, headmaster of the Chefoo School, and took them to the Astor House Hotel on the Bund, where they were subjected in the weeks which followed to intense cross examination. James Bruce recalled how his father, P.A. Bruce, was arrested. *"A motor cycle and sidecar roared through the iron gates of our walled compound, and*





*rumbled up to our front door. A grim-faced Japanese officer dismounted, banged on the door and demanded the Headmaster."* His father quickly packed a small suitcase, put on a thick windbreaker coat and tweed cap, climbed into the sidecar and was driven to the hotel.

The business families of these men were placed under house arrest, and the businesses, cars and equipment were taken over. Guards came to the gates of the China Inland Mission (CIM) compound, in which lived some 120 scholars, staff and retired missionaries. The Japanese put a poster on the main road which read, "These premises are under the control of Great Japan's Navy." Soldiers now stood continuously on guard at all the compound exits.



(Old 1912 map of Chefoo (Yantai))

© [http://www.combinedfleet.com/Chefoo\\_t.htm](http://www.combinedfleet.com/Chefoo_t.htm)

Drastic changes immediately took place in this missionary community, now cut off financially from its headquarters in Shanghai. The large staff of Chinese servants was considerably reduced, and the older scholars assumed many of the manual tasks. Food rationing was introduced, and each person had to accept a greatly reduced diet. The food shortage was aggravated by Japanese guards finding their way into the kitchens of the three schools, and helping themselves to the carefully rationed provisions. This problem was effectively solved by the teachers posting on the kitchen doors a notice in Chinese which said, "We have received no instructions to supply food to soldiers in the Japanese Army."

The men held in the Astor House Hotel were interrogated about their movements and activities in past years. They were allowed home for Christmas, and were finally released on the 25 January 1942, with the exception of Bob McMullan, who was transferred to Jinan, where he died in a prison cell ten weeks later.

## TEMPLE HILL CAMP

At the end of October and the beginning of November 1942, eleven months after the Pearl Harbor incident, all enemy subjects in the port were ordered into internment. Four hundred and fifty people of all ages moved into six former family residences of the American Presbyterian Mission at Temple Hill, to the west of Chefoo. The CIM compound was taken over by the Japanese Army, which had been already occupying part of it for some months. The three small compounds of internees in Temple Hill were a mile or so apart, and there were between fifty and seventy people packed into each house.

Most of the internees on Temple Hill slept on mattresses side by side on the floor with barely a foot between them. The water supply, designed for one family

in a house, was insufficient for the sixty odd people who were crammed into it. The winter of 1942 was a cold one, and it was difficult to stretch the coal supplies through the winter season. Toilets were primitive and unhygienic. The food supplied by the Japanese was inadequate for growing children. A German missionary, Rudolph Arendt, brought sacks of rice over the wall, as well as letters from the interior of China, all at considerable personal risk. In the CIM group heavy work fell on the few in the cooking of meals and the washing of clothes, as there were so many children.



The brightest side of the period of internment in Temple Hill was the good relationship which the internees had with the Japanese guards under Commandant Kosaka. Roll call was conducted daily in a relaxed atmosphere. Kosaka's friendliness and concern for the wellbeing of all in his charge (within the limits of war conditions) made this chapter a less unpleasant experience than it might otherwise have been.

It was in August, 1943, that prospects of a change in the cramped lifestyle of this camp were announced. A top-ranking officer at the Japanese Consular headquarters accompanied by Kosaka came to each of the three groups with the curt instructions - "Make immediate preparations to be transferred to the Weixian Civil Assembly Centre." Fifty five Americans and Canadians in the Chefoo group were told that they would be going ahead of the others, and would join a larger group there and be repatriated.

## TRANSFER TO WEIXIAN

The remainder of the Temple Hill group followed a





# TEMPLE HILL

Internment Camp, Chefoo

Nov 5<sup>th</sup> 1942

was the date we were ordered out of our Compound — home of the Chefoo Schools since 1881 — & moved — in lorries, carts & rickshaws — into Internment.

## THE JAPANESE GUARDS

were given a number of nicknames, including:-

### CANDLEBLOWER

(because of the force he pulled during Rail Call) and

### SOUR FACE

(for obvious reasons: he learnt his nickname & found out its meaning, which made him kind with rage!)

## THE COMMANDANT,

The warm-hearted & considerate Inspector Kosaka, is saluting on the extreme left.

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week later to Weixian. Their luggage was sent ahead to the camp. The travellers trailed a mile to the harbour. The steamer waiting for them was a small one,

ahead - rows of juniper trees, long lines of dormitory blocks, the Edwardian-style church, and all of this surrounded by a wall with electrified wires and sentry boxes. A week after their arrival, 390 Americans and Canadians left by train for Shanghai, to be repatriated in a prisoner exchange.

and once the passengers were aboard she was dangerously overloaded. The two-day voyage was difficult - most of the internees were either crowded on the deck or in the hold of the ship. The authorities supplied no food, and the passengers only had some bread to eat, which had been delivered by a launch just as the ship was leaving the Chefoo harbour. At Qingdao they boarded a train, arriving at Weixian in the afternoon. Travelling by buses and lorries, they could see the camp

On 16 August 1943, a month before the arrival of the Chefoo group, 4411 Catholic priests and nuns had been transferred to various Catholic mission compounds in Peking, leaving in the camp ten priests and five sisters. The departing priests had borne a large portion of the heavy work in Weixian, and so the arrival of the Chefoo internees, predominantly children and elderly missionaries, was not welcomed, though, as the scholars got older, the school gained a good reputation for hard and conscientious work.



# TEMPLE HILL

Internment Camp, Chefoo

**Top Left** A new School Crest invented by S.G. Martin

**Top Right** The Temple which gave its name to the area & the camp.

**Centre** Internment 'Compound' for the Boys School, Prep School & old folks.

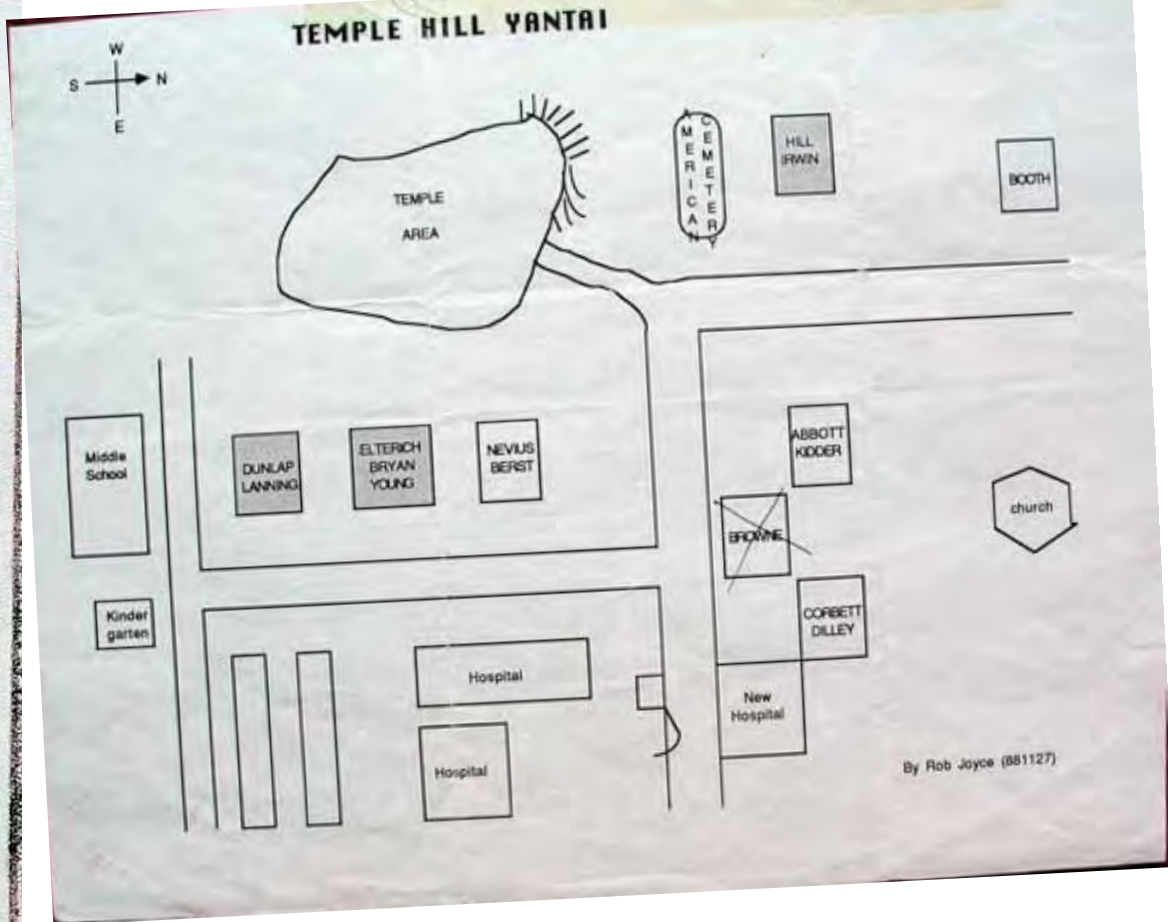
**House 7** Housemaster: S. Houghton. A small group of elderly retired missionaries were housed here with a handful of senior boys for the heavy work.

**House 6** Staff: Headmaster - P.A. Bruce; Housemaster: - S.G. Martin. The bulk of the Boys School were housed here.

**House 5** Staff: Deputy - Head - R. Harris. Housemaster - R.V. Bazire. The Prep School (under Eleens) were housed here, with a handful of senior Boys for the heavy work.

**Bottom** A Chinese Funeral passes on the road below the camp.

**N.B.** The Author 'escaped' over the wall running behind Houses 6 & 7 & headed South West into nearby hills.



Six months had now passed since the Qingdao, Tianjin and Peking communities had arrived in camp. The new arrivals came to a camp whose roads had been cleared of litter,

burned, bare foot and sparsely dressed. But they too were soon to have the same uncivilised appearance.

In July 1944, ten months later, Nurse Annie Buchan

the rooms had been cleaned, the toilets were more hygienic, the kitchens, though with poor menus, were being efficiently run; and an effective administration had been set up with committees on General Affairs, Discipline, Labour, Education, Supplies, Quarters, Medical, Engineering and Finance.

Each Sunday there were services for Catholic, Anglican and Free Church groups. To the arrivals from Temple Hill the community at Weixian looked primitive and strange in appearance - they were sun-



of the London Missionary Society came into internment in Weixian. She had been delayed as a result of having had to nurse some invalids in the British Embassy in Peking. Her impressions on arrival at the camp were as follows: "

*"I was confronted with a mass of faces, peering through the bars of a big iron gate. The internees were terribly thin and thinly clad. They were bleary eyed and nervous, and excited to know who was joining them. The kitchens were dark and dingy room's, smoky from Chinese caldrons. From these came three meals a day, served to men, women and children who waited in long queues. Sometimes there was no food to give out."*

By the end of March 1943, all Allied personnel in north China - apart from some missionaries from Weihai and western Shandong, who had been interned in Shanghai, and the Catholic community now in Peking -





were interned in Weixian, some fifteen hundred in number.

In the war theatre in Europe, Germany had just surrendered at Stalingrad, and would soon be conceding defeat in North Africa. In the Pacific war Japan had been defeated in the summer of 1942 at Midway, and the Americans had landed at Guadalcanal. For the Allies there was still much work to be done to bring the war to a decisive end, and the internees in China were to languish in Japanese camps in deteriorating conditions for over two more years.

The internment of some 6,000 British, Americans and Dutch which started on January 31st is now almost completed. The enemy nationals are living in camps established in Pootung, Chapei, Lunghua and others suburban districts of Shanghai, with each camp holding from one to two thousand inmates. All camps are located in quiet suburban districts of Shanghai, and the houses are well built and in good condition. The internees are all satisfied and appreciative of the tolerant and considerate treatment given them in the camps. Much attention has been given to the environment of the internees, and to the construction of their living quarters, with meticulous care being given to their food.

*In order to maintain their health, walking and*



The morning water queue

© William

*sports grounds have been laid out, where the internees are daily playing tennis and volleyball.*

*The internees have expressed their gratitude for the generous and just treatment accorded them by the Japanese Government authorities, for they are now receiving more protection than ever before.*

*(The Shanghai Times - 22 April, 1943)*

\*\*\*

## ENEMY ALIENS IN NORTH CHINA ARE NOW INTERNED

### Weihhsien And Chefoo Camps Receive 2,108 Persons Last Month

Following the lifting of the press ban yesterday morning, it has been disclosed that a total of 2,108 enemy aliens residing in the North China area were moved to concentration camps at Chefoo and Weihhsien, on the Tientsin-Tsingtao railway, by the competent Japanese authorities toward the latter part of March this year.

The step, which affected 935 Britisbers, 508 Americans, 282 Belgians, 248 Dutch and 45 others, with the exemption of Indians and natives of the Southern Regions now under Japanese occupation as well as those of countries which have severed relations with Japan, these who are being detained by Japanese Army authorities and those who are now sick to bed, was intended, it was explained, not only to forestall enemy espionage activities but also to stabilize the living of enemy aliens.

#### As Comfortable As Possible

The enemy alien concentration camps at Weihhsien and Chefoo, their inmates numbering 1,756 and 352, respectively, are equipped with all facilities to make the living of enemy aliens there as comfortable and healthy as possible, with a dining room, meeting place, canteen and hospital attached; while the inmates there are allowed to lead lives as if they were in their home lands.

A separate room each is allotted to those who are married, while youngsters are supplied with amusement and sporting apparatuses.

Notable among the internees are:

- E. J. Nathan, director of the Kailan Mining Administration; W. B. Cailton, W. Pryor, deputy director of the same; Walting, director of the Yee Tsong Tobacco Co., Tsingtao; L. D. Jones, engineer of the same; J. C. Stewart, factory manager, the Yee Tsong Tobacco Co.; E. W. Torrey, director of the National City Bank, Tientsin; Loucks, director, surgical department, the Peking Union Medical College; Waters, director, the Asia Petroleum Co., Tientsin; German, director, the Texas Oil Co., Tientsin; McLaron, director, the Jardine, Matheson & Co., Tientsin, and others, including some Catholic missionaries.

#### Taken From Mengchiang

Chung-Hwa-Dong-KALGAN, April 22.—One hundred and ninety-four

## Enemy Aliens

(Continued from Page 1)

enemy aliens, living in the Mengchiang area, including Catholic missionaries, physicians and nurses, were ordered to evacuate on March 11 and were interned at the concentration camp at Weihhsien, Shantung province, on March 23, by orders of the authorities of the Japanese Embassy Office here. It has been revealed here today.

It is said that the evacuation and transportation of these internees was carried out smoothly without hitch thanks to the appropriate steps taken by the Japanese embassy authorities concerned as well as to the assistance rendered by the Japanese army and the officials of the Mengchiang government.

No signs of unrest were discernible among two hundred thousand Catholic devotees in the Mengchiang area in spite of the evacuation of their alien missionaries, it was also revealed.

The internees comprise two Americans, four Britons, 191 Belgians, thirteen Dutch and four others. Most of these had for many years been actively engaged in various lines of cultural work as missionaries, physicians and nurses.

## 2 Giant Bombers Crash In America

### Chung-Hwa-Stefani

BUENOS AIRES, April 22.—Two flying fortresses crashed at a United States army air-drome at Boise Idaho, it is learned here from New York.

The mangled remains of five airman were extricated from

## CENTRAL SAVI

an "THE 85th MONTHLY DRAWING OF E efforts cause."

TEAL APRIL



## Les internés du camp de Weihsien dans le Chantong mènent une existence paisible

Pékin 23 août — M. Wedeking, reporter du «Peking Chronicle» a visité le camp de Weihsien, dans le Chantong, où ont été rassemblés 1.794 ressortissants ennemis appartenant à quatorze nationalités.

Les internés mènent une existence calme et paisible. Ils dirigent leurs propres affaires par l'intermédiaire de comités élus. Le comité médical s'occupe de l'état sanitaire du camp, le comité du bien-être veille à l'éducation et pourvoit aux distractions, le comité des finances et des affaires générales exerce un contrôle général, le comité du ravitaillement est chargé du ravitaillement et de la cantine et un comité de discipline répartit le travail et règle les questions de logement.

Les internés, à l'exception des enfants et des personnes âgées, sont astreints à deux heures et demi de travail par jour. Le reste du temps, ils sont absolument libres de leur temps.

Les enfants doivent se rendre à l'école où enseignent des missionnaires catholiques et protestants.

L'hôpital est situé dans un bâtiment bien aéré et bien éclairé. Dix-sept médecins, dont certains sont d'éminents spécialistes, et trente infirmières diplômées y travaillent. L'hôpital comporte une salle d'opérations et une section d'obstétrique. Central Press

## LES INTERNÉS MÈNENT UNE VIE PAISIBLE DANS LES CAMPS DE SHANGHAI

Un correspondant de l'agence Domei qui a visité les centres de rassemblement de nationaux ennemis à Shanghai, en compagnie d'autres journalistes japonais, écrit que la situation dans ces centres est satisfaisante.

Un interné ennemi interrogé par le journaliste n'avait à se plaindre de rien, si ce n'est du manque de livres pour l'école de nuit des adultes. Il a dit que les aménagements du camp sont spacieux et bien aérés.

Le premier camp que les journalistes ont visité était autrefois une école de filles. Le fonctionnaire qui dirige le camp a dit que la plupart des internés vivent avec leurs familles. Il y a un nombre égal d'hommes, de femmes et d'enfants.

Les internés mènent une existence normale et ont un «gouvernement autonome».

Un comité est chargé de la direction générale. Des sous-comités s'occupent des finances, de la santé, du ravitaillement, de la police, de la lutte contre le feu, de l'éducation, des loisirs.

Le programme quotidien des internés est le suivant : réveil à 7 heures; appel à 7h.30; nettoyage et balayage à 9 heures; travail de 10 heures à midi; déjeuner à 12h.30; quartier libre de 14 à 17h.; dîner à 18h.; appel à 21 heures; extinction des feux à 10h.30.

Les internés offrent volontairement de travailler. Ils disposent du gaz et de l'électricité. Ils reçoivent des vivres et des provisions en quantités suffisantes. Ils font leur propre cuisine.

Au second étage se trouvent une salle d'examen médical et une nursery.

En face du bâtiment principal se trouve un local abritant d'anciens employés du S.M.C. Au milieu de la cour est situé un petit bâtiment qui sert de jardin d'enfants.

Le second camp visité par les journalistes est plus grand et servait également autrefois d'école. Dans le corridor se trouvent les malades et les valides des internés. Il y a une installation de coiffeur dans la grande salle de devant.

Ici aussi un comité s'occupe

de la direction générale du camp. Le programme quotidien est le suivant: réveil à 7h.; petit déjeuner à 8h.; appel à 8h.30; travail de 9 à 12h.; quartier libre toute l'après-midi; dîner à 19h.; appel à 20h.; extinction des feux à 22h.

Dans ce camp se trouvent des femmes, des enfants, des vieillards et des personnes malades ou faibles. Toutes les facilités médicales sont fournies aux internés.

On trouve, dans le camp, un jardin d'enfants, une école primaire; une école secondaire et une école de nuit pour adultes. Les internés étudient le japonais, le chinois et l'espagnol. — Central Press



# Chapter - 3 -

## THE END OF THE GOOD LIFE IN SHANGHAI

The Shanghai business community was shocked to hear the wireless on K December 1941 announce the grim news of the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Closer home, during the night the antiquated Japanese cruiser, the Izumo, had called on the H.M.S. Peterel, a small river gunboat, and the U.S.S. Wake, a river patrol boat, to



*HMS Petrel, First Royal Navy Vessel to be Sunk by the Japanese Navy during World War Two. © Wikipedia*

surrender. The latter responded immediately, but the Peterel returned fire and was soon sunk. Her survivors were picked up by Chinese sampans, captured by the



*Still in Shanghai when World War II broke out, Izumo demanded the surrender of the river gunboats USS Wake and HMS Peterel. Wake chose to surrender; ...*

Japanese and placed in Wusong P.O.W. Camp. Lieutenant Commander Otani later expressed his profound admiration for the brave fight put up by Lieutenant Stephen Polkinghorn and his crew.

Events in the metropolis then moved fast. Executives went to their offices, and, as planned, began to burn or flush down the toi-

lets (it being in the days before the use of shredding machines) all code books and key documents. Japanese soldiers entered the International Settlement, in the leafy avenues of which Westerners had for decades maintained their occidental way of life. Newspaper offices were taken over, and new staff put in who would present world affairs from a different viewpoint to that of



the past. Cars were seized and business men began travelling to work on so humble a mode of transport as the bicycle. Equipment such as radios, binoculars and cameras were confiscated. An inventory was taken of all furniture in offices and homes. Foreign banks were taken over, and with this went the freezing of all the bank accounts. Henceforth each customer could only withdraw \$2,000 (Chinese) per month. This entailed a drastic drop in standards of living and keeping to a tight budget. The good old days were clearly over.



*Lieutenant Commander Stephen Polkinghorn in 1946 after receiving the DSC*

It was at this stage that the British Residents' Association (BRA) rose to the challenge of the new situation. Many families could not come

out on these small withdrawals and experienced suffering. Consular and diplomatic personnel had been rounded up and held incommunicado - clearly they could not help. Hugh Collar records that this association had been originally formed "as a means of placing a correct expression of the views of the British residents in China before Parliament in London, as opposed to the previous procedure of reliance solely on the Consular authori-



*Izumo in Shanghai, 1937*





ties". But it had not been successful in fulfilling this role, and so "the outbreak of war in September 1939 immediately provided a new *raison d'être*, and the BRA became a centre of patriotic endeavour on the part of British nationals in China".

From December 1941 to March 1943 the BRA assisted the British community in many ways. Not only did it supply finance and food to the needy, but helped with the passports, documents and certificates which the authorities required as proof of British citizenship for those to be interned. It also worked with the Japanese authorities in making suggestions as to which internment camp the British nationals should go. There was also an American Association which performed the same services for the American community. The two associations worked closely together, and were given offices together by the Japanese on the premises of the American President Line. The two groups closed down in March 1943, when the majority of Allied personnel had been interned, and the Swiss Red Cross assumed responsibility for looking after the welfare of those now in camps.

## BRIDGE HOUSE PRISON

The Japanese acted most promptly and drastically towards those whom they considered to have carried on activities detrimental to their national interests in the past. Immediately after Pearl Harbor a group of leading British and American business men and journalists in Shanghai were arrested and taken to Bridge House, the headquarters of the Gendarmerie in North Sichuan Road. In this squalid place of horror and cruelty many Chinese prisoners had already been incarcerated for four years. These thin and emaciated men and women were now joined by some Western personnel.

A typical case was that of **John Powell**, an American journalist who had been the Editor of the *China Weekly Review* in Shanghai. He was arrested on 20 December 1941 in his room at the Metropole Hotel by six plain clothed gendarmes, and was placed in a cage



*the nightmare of the Japanese takeover of foreign 'concessions' during World War II*  
© [www.military-history.org](http://www.military-history.org)

crowded with prisoners who were covered in body lice. Powell found that the food here consisted almost solely of rice - warm in the morning hut cold at noon and evening. Friends sent in sandwiches, and this saved the day. At Christmas they sent in a roasted turkey, but the guards ate it, leaving only scraps for the prisoner.

Through having to sit for long periods 'Japanese-style', Powell experienced severe pains in his feet, particularly on his heels, and later was to have the entire foreparts of both feet amputated. His weight dropped from 145 to 75 pounds. He was transferred with seven other prisoners to Jiangwan Prison, where *"the food was somewhat better, as we got a bowl of seaweed in addition to the rice, which was all that had been provided at Bridge House"*. He described Jiangwan Prison as *"a new prison which had been built beside a main highway, near the new Chinese Civic*

## JAP SADISM KING IN BRIDGE HOUSE

### Shanghai Prison Was Horror Spot of All Asia.

By Associated Press.

SHANGHAI, Sept. 17.—The story of torture, filth, starvation and death inside the cream-colored Shanghai apartment building named "Bridge House"—perhaps the most infamous Japanese war prison in all Asia—was made known today, now that the last of its living survivors have been liberated.

The full truth as to the fate of many who entered the broad, expansive structure here probably will never be known, for the Japanese jailors made no records of entries or deaths.

Bridge House from the outside looks like a comfortable, modern apartment house. It was that in 1937 when the gendarmerie first converted it into a torture plant at the fringe of the international settlement.

#### Grim Alterations.

The Japanese found the rooms too large for the tortures they had in mind. So they made partitions of wooden bars that crowded six people into a compartment 5 by 12 feet or 20 persons into a space twice that size.

Bridge House conditions of filth, vermin and neglect were the results of general callousness and indifference.

The real tortures of Bridge House were undoubtedly part of a planned program to break down all human dignity and destroy the will until a victim became an abject piece of humanity agreeable to anything his jailors might ask. Chinese, foreign civilians and even some Japanese were subjected to tortures. Two months before Tokyo's plea for peace seven American flyers, who crashed on a bombing mission from Okinawa, were among its victims.

#### U. S. Agent Survived.

One American, suspected of being an agent for the United States, survived four months in Bridge House.



Bridge House - Shanghai, China - 中国上海 |

© Flickr - Photo Sharing!



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One American, suspected of being an agent for the United States, survived four months in Bridge House. He told of extreme sadism. His testimony will be an important factor in trials of war criminals, and for that reason he remains unidentified. He was an agent for the United States.

"I never heard of any one who stayed in Bridge House more than six months—he would be dead. I'm afraid another month would have killed me or driven me insane," he reported.

He said the Japanese stripped him and burned him on many parts of his body with cigarettes and when he refused to give the answers they wanted stuck lighted cigarettes in his nostrils. Calmly describing this procedure he said, "It isn't so bad, that business of the nose, because the nasal membrane puts out cigarettes and you don't feel the pain very long."

The Japanese rigged up a metal plate wired to an electric transformer. The operator would sit beside an American on a bench and apply it to various sensitive parts of the body while another Japanese asked questions. If the American refused to answer or said he did not know the answer the guard with the electric plate would give the prisoner a shock.

#### Used Water Treatment.

The water treatment was another violent torture long used by the Japanese. In the Bridge House version the victim was made to lie flat on a bench with his head hanging over one end. Except for the nostrils the face was covered with a wet towel.

Then the Nipponese guard, using a teakettle, poured water slowly down the victim's nostrils. If the victim did not swallow he drowned and if he did swallow he became bloated and developed terrific stomach pains.

As a variation the guards sometimes mixed kerosene or pepper with the water to intensify the pain.

One American saw a friend beaten nearly to death because he kicked out while under the water treatment and struck a guard. Another guard hit him on the head with an iron bar.

With almost fiendish use of fatigue the Japanese alternated violent torture with long, tiring exercises. Often they questioned victims for 12 solid hours and then forced them to sit on the floor for another 12 hours with their legs crossed in Japanese style.

AMERICAN FOOD

Weather forecast—Spokane and vicinity—fairly cloudy today and a slightly warmer, expected maximum 68. Monday's high, 63 at 5:30 p. m. Low, 47 at 5:30 a. m.

# THE SPOKESMAN-REVIEW

TUESDAY MORNING SEPTEMBER 18, 1943

## STATE DEPARTMENT MAY INVESTIGATE M'ARTHUR STATEMENT

Surprised by Remark Force in Japan Can Be Cut to 200,000 Regulars.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 18.—The state department today announced that it may investigate the statement of General Douglas MacArthur, who said that the Japanese army in China could be cut to 200,000 regulars.

General MacArthur's statement, which was made in a radio broadcast from Manila, Philippines, last night, was the first time he had made such a statement since he was appointed supreme commander of the allied forces in the Pacific.

The state department said that it was "surprised" by the force of the statement, and that it was "not clear" whether the statement was intended to be a statement of fact or a statement of opinion.

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### 4 MILLION DIED IN SINGLE CAMP

Charge Is Flung as 45 Nazi Monks Go on Trial.

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Shanghai Prison Was Honor Spot of All Asia.

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### Wirephoto: Hirohito's Palace Declared Off Limits

TOYOKE, Sept. 18.—(Tokyo)—The Japanese emperor's palace today declared off limits to all foreigners, including the American press.

### EDUCATING JAPS TO PEACE BEGUN

Ambitious Program Is Military Maneuver at Bottom.

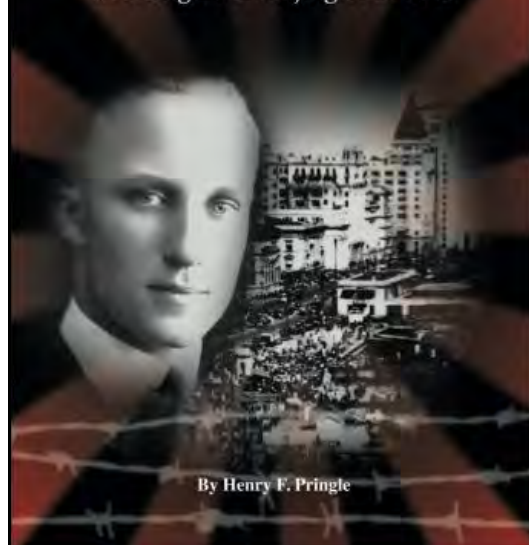
WASHINGTON, Sept. 18.—The state department today announced that it may investigate the statement of General Douglas MacArthur, who said that the Japanese army in China could be cut to 200,000 regulars.



THIS IS AN A. P. WIREPHOTO. A ZAP of the emperor's palace at Tokyo, Japan, showing the entrance to the palace.

## BRIDGE HOUSE SURVIVOR

Experiences of a civilian prisoner-of-war in Shanghai & Beijing 1942-1945



By Henry F. Pringle

In this never-before-seen account, Henry F. Pringle, a Chinese citizen of British parentage, describes the Japanese occupation of Shanghai from a survivor's perspective. From the engine room of Imperial Japanese terror—Bridge House Prison—to the prison camps at Haiphong Road in Shanghai and Fengtai near Beijing, this recollection brings to life the tragedy and courage of World War II-era Shanghai. Deeply personal, this rare history is a timely record of the lasting effects of torture.

© <http://www.amazon.com/>

Centre headquarters, which the Japanese Army had taken over. This prison consisted of solitary cells, each about five feet wide and ten feet long, entered by a door about four feet high. This door had a slot at the bottom through which the food was passed to the prisoner."

H. Pringle was brought to Bridge House on 6 October 1942,

and was shocked by the conditions of filth and misery in the prison. He was pushed into a cage nineteen feet by eleven feet, where twenty prisoners, three of whom were white, were sitting in rows on the floor. There were ten such cages. In one corner was a lavatory bucket, which gave off a terrible stench, and was used by both sexes. At night the inmates were covered with filthy blankets. All were suffering from skin diseases caused by the unhygienic conditions, and many had beriberi, due to the low Vitamin B content in their small ration of food.

Pringle was accused of being a spy, and upon denying this was subjected to many types of torture, including the application of an electrode to various parts of his body, and water treatment. As a result he experienced hallucinations and fell unconscious for two days, and was given medical treatment by a Japanese nurse. After 114 days in Bridge House, Pringle was moved to Haifong Road Camp.'

The abominable conditions in the Bridge House prison, together with the cruel and inhumane treatment meted out to its inmates, were such

that many business men in Shanghai lived in daily fear of being summoned to it. **Hugh Collar**, after describing the critical condition of **G.E. Clark**, who was rushed to hospital from this prison suffering from disease and malnutrition, recalled his own fears. "Whilst I waited at home in the evenings every ring of the doorbell or telephone or every step on the gravel, made me jump perceptibly in my chair, and left me in a cold



sweat."

## HAIFONG ROAD CAMP

On 5 November 1942, nearly eleven months after the business men and journalists had been imprisoned in Bridge House, 300 Allied men were arrested in the early hours of the morning, and taken to Haifong Road, a former U.S. Marine Corps barracks, used by the marines until their evacuation in 1941. As the buildings had been used relatively recently, they were in good condition. Apart from cooking and cleaning there was little manual labour to be organised. **Hugh Collar** described the Haifong Road Camp premises in this way:

*The buildings had originally been built for Chinese, probably for some wealthy family. The old building, which we occupied, consisted of two courtyards with two storeys of rooms on all four sides. The*

*side common to both courtyards had a large hall on the ground floor. The front of the building had three storeys with a large hall on tile ground floor, and good sized rooms in the wings ... The building occupied by the Japanese was far more desirable. It was a little smaller than our building, but never housed more*

*than twenty Japanese, as compared with our 360.*

*There was also a low two-storeyed concrete building which contained the wash, shower and toilet rooms, furnace room and a number of store rooms.*



When the arrests were complete, there were some 360 prisoners, of whom 270 were British, 60 American and 30 Continental. How these particular men had been chosen was a topic of frequent speculation in the camp. **Collar** says, "*We never did find out how the selection had been made. Were we political prisoners? Were we selected as hostages? Had we been picked at random out of the telephone book? None of these explanations fitted the bill.*"

To support this theory of random selection one notes that the following churchmen were among the Haifong Road prisoners - **Bishop Ralph Ward** (Methodist), **Bishop Curtis** (Anglican), **Brigadier George Walker** (Salvation Army) and **Dr. Stephen Douglas Starton** (Anglican medical missionary). These dignitaries were treated no better than those who were business executives. **Collar** recalled that **Bishop Ward** was said to be under suspicion because his mission had received a generous donation from a wealthy Russian Jew. When Ward returned from his interrogation, the torturing which he had received was such that he had to go to hospital for most of the remainder of the war.

But **Pringle**, another prisoner at Haifong Road, took a different view. He described it as "*a camp for those people who had fallen foul of the Japanese, or against whom the Japanese entertained some suspicion, or those whom they thought had at some time or other had*

*dangerous thoughts*". He maintained that the men were those whom the Japanese felt confident that they could expose as having harmed the business or military interests of Japan. Regularly there were "special questionings" - on an average one or two prisoners were taken away each week for periods, varying from ten to forty days. Thus Haifong Road Camp was the halfway house to the dreaded Bridge House prison where the interrogations took place. The men at the camp lived in dread of **Lieutenant Honda**, the camp commandant, calling their name out with the significant instruction, "*Tell him to put his overcoat on.*" The man's colleagues would then pack his pockets with biscuits, cigarettes and toilet paper, and watch him being led away for his terrifying ordeal.

The story of **Brigadier George Walker**, officer of the Salvation Army and prisoner at the Haifong Road Camp is a moving one. Walker was the officer in charge of the Army's work in Shanghai, caring for some 650 orphans and refugees, who had been passed into his care by the Shanghai Municipal Council.

On the same day as the other men who were to enter this camp were arrested, **George and Jessie Walker** heard the sound of heavy boots on the road outside their home. Looking out, they could see torches flashing in the garden and could hear loud voices. Six Japanese gendarmes of the dreaded Kampeitai had come to arrest the Salvation Army officer "for the duration of the war". Walker wrapped some clothes and belongings into a blanket, which he slung over his shoulder. As he marched away in his full uniform, his wife and children started waving goodbye from the door, but were stopped from doing so by the gendarmes.

That night he made his bed on the floor of the Haifong Road Camp with 360 other prisoners. As a result of a message sent through **Yamamoto**, a Japanese civilian, Jessie came to the gate the next day with a camp bed, concertina, cornet and hymn books; but the Chinese Bible which he had also requested was not passed on to him. His family heard in a roundabout way that, at a certain time each morning, **George Walker** swept the front driveway, and so they passed by regularly, and were able to catch a brief glimpse of him.

Walker worked closely with the four clergymen at the Haifong Road Camp in planning regular religious activities throughout the internment period. Each week before the Sunday morning service, he would play on his cornet the American Marine church call to summon his fellow internees to the hour of worship. In the lectures organised in the camp Walker taught Mandarin, and also gave advanced English lessons to Japanese interpreters from outside the camp. His manual work included making coal bricks, preparing vegetables for meals, and gardening.

The biggest problem which Walker had during his internment in Shanghai was the intense pressure put on him to do some work for the Japanese. Yamamoto knew that he had conducted many religious broadcasts in the city over the radio, and in a very subtle way offered the Salvation Army officer his freedom if he would broadcast propaganda for the Japanese over the radio. What



began as attempts by gentle persuasion ended by his having to stand before blinding lights to break down his resistance. Upon his continued refusals he was ordered angrily out of the interviews with the officers. **Jessie Walker**, still free and in Shanghai, was also summoned by Yamamoto and pressured, at first gently with gifts, but later with threats, to influence her husband to obtain his freedom by co-operating with the authorities. She also refused.

Four months after Walker's arrest, his wife and two of their children (the two older ones had already gone to Australia) were interned in Yangzhou, two hundred miles from where George Walker was. They later moved to Pudong Camp, which was nearer to him. During this time Jessie Walker was in constant ill health, and wasted away to 77 pounds in weight. She was taken to a Catholic hospital in Shanghai, and George was permitted to visit her, escorted by a guard, and for the twenty minutes permitted each year to all the Haifong Road prisoners. Walker longed to be with his family at this time of illness, and feared that he himself might not survive, as many of his colleagues had been taken to the dreaded Bridge House and been tortured, some never to return.

When the next annual get-together of twenty minutes was due, Jessie Walker travelled on a stretcher, and then by bus from Pudong Camp to Haifong Road, assisted by her children. During their brief reunion, when the guard was not looking, Walker dropped a handkerchief on his wife's lap, in the hem of which was a microscopic letter. Jessie likewise pushed a handkerchief to him, in which was a letter of Liliputian dimensions.

As with the other inmates, twice Walker's inadequate daily diet was helped by the arrival of Red Cross parcels, in which was food of high vitamin value; and through the Red Cross from time to time Chinese Salvationists sent love gifts of food to George and Jessie at their respective camps. Characteristically Walker shared the contents of these parcels with his fellow prisoners. He was also to go with the other Haifong Road inmates to Fengtai Camp in north

China, as described in chapter 6, where further hardships were to await him.

Haifong Road was the base to which inmates of Bridge House were sent after the Japanese had completed their interrogations and tortures. They were sorry specimens when they arrived back - thin, emaciated, subdued and bearing the marks of their treatment. There was a routine programme of care awaiting them from their fellow prisoners - a hair cut, bath, light meal, hot drinks, and then being placed in the camp hospital. In this camp there was the tragic case of **William Hutton**, a former detective inspector, who had been accused by one of the camp's Indian guards of trying to

smuggle a message out to friends outside through a guard. He was taken to the headquarters of the Gendarmerie in Jessfield Road, stripped and bound tightly hand and foot for several days, and not given food and drink. He had left camp a strong and well built man, and returned a living skeleton, and died soon afterwards.

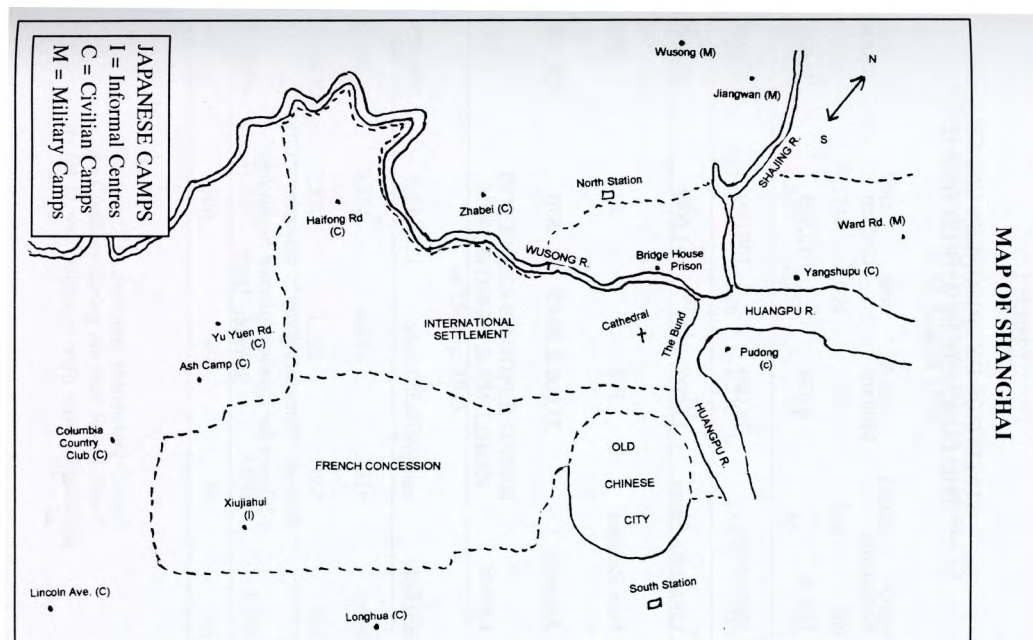
The Japanese regarded the inmates of Haifong Road as prisoners of war with the rank of sergeant, though most of them were in fact civilians. They allowed letters and food parcels to be sent in to the internees through the International Red Cross once a month, and fortunately there was no restriction on the number of parcels each person could receive with the monthly deliveries. Close relatives were allowed to visit Haifong Road once a year. As the war progressed, the treatment of the prisoners deteriorated.

\* \* \* \*

From the end of January to the end of March 1943 some 7,500 "enemy aliens" in and around Shanghai were sent into ten internment camps. Those going to Pudong and the three camps at Yangzhou assembled on the grounds of the Holy Trinity Cathedral at Jiujiang Road, whilst the others gathered at the Columbia Country Club. Their heavy luggage had been sent in advance to the camps. Their first task on arrival was to hand over to the Japanese the keys of the houses and flats which they had vacated. The British and American Residents' Associations were there to assist by checking their documents and supervising their lining up for Rollcall. During the following weeks 34 batches of internees left the two assembly centres to go into internment.

On a bitterly cold day on 29 January 1943, the first batch of Allied personnel waited in a queue at the Cathedral. On the instructions of the Japanese officer they walked apprehensively up Jiujiang Road to the Bund; they were taken across the Huangpu river by launch, and then walked a further half mile to their new home at Pudong. The route by road had been cordoned off, and the traffic controlled by Japanese gendarmes.

The quarters arranged for them were crude and quite inadequate. They consisted of factory buildings and warehouses, formerly owned by the British American



Tobacco Company. They had been originally erected in 1904, and condemned as too dilapidated as far back as 1932. The Westerners walked through a large gate, which was 150 yards from the waterfront; and entered a drab three-storied building, which was rat ridden and vermin infested. The rear windows overlooked a desolate waste which had once been the living quarters of Chinese employees of the tobacco company. The war had reduced this former village to crumbling remnants of brick walls, craters and piles of rubble. A small block of buildings, which had previously been the canteen serving rice to the Chinese workers, now became the camp kitchen. Fortunately the BRA had supplied the camp with cooking utensils and other equipment.

## PUDONG CAMP, SHANGHAI

By 15 March over a thousand people had been packed into the Pudong Camp - 700 British, 350 Americans and 15 Dutch prisoners. They were crammed into large rooms, with as many as a hundred in a dormitory, with an average space of ten foot by five foot per person. It was initially an all-male camp, as many wives and families had returned to Britain and America. They were of a wide diversity of backgrounds - technicians, engineers, doctors, lawyers, business executives and missionaries. There were also 80 survivors of the American merchant ship President Harrison and a large group of Shanghai Municipal Police. **Gompertz** described Pudong as "*an unique experiment in integration*". Many had come to camp with insufficient clothing because they had been given short notice to leave their homes.

Pudong was a large camp, and was fortunate to have a wide range of skilled workers. There was much heavy manual work to be done upon arrival. The large dormitories and kitchen had to be tidied up, cleaned and rendered hygienic, and a basic organisational structure set in motion. Then there was work to be done removing the rubble on the grounds of the former Chinese village. After months of hard work an impressive transformation had taken place. Part of the area became a playing field where Rollcall was held each day, and where sports were played. The remaining area was converted into "Happy Gardens" - small plots on which were tiny gardens with plants and vegetables growing.

Seven months after internment 150 Americans and Canadians were repatriated and 200 were transferred to other camps, whose inmates had complained that they had insufficient manpower to do the heavy work. In the same period 400 internees from the Yangzhou A and B Camps came to Pudong. Mrs. **Frances McAll** described her impressions of Pudong upon her arrival from Yangzhou:

*The huge, grimy, red-brick building looked like a prison, which of course it now was. There were three storeys of it, punctuated by broken windows patched with paper; and surrounded by a high brick wall and barbed wire. It had long been condemned as a warehouse, and had then been used as a coal dump, which had impregnated every corner of the building.*

Among the Shanghai internment camps Pudong gained a reputation as a place of ill repute. **Gompertz**

said that when he heard that a large number of women were coming from Yangzhou he was fearful of the treatment they might receive. But in retrospect he said,

*"I have never seen a greater transformation than took place throughout the camp when the new arrivals were installed."* in Frances McAll recorded her observations on the social and moral side of Pudong when she came there with her family:

*The previous nine months had been anything but easy. The filth, the food, the separation from families had brought out the worst in many of the men. We learned of attempted suicides and attempted murders, theft and violence. Much of the trouble was by a gang of men who had styled themselves the camp police. They commandeered a small hut which they called their 'office', and from here they ruled the camp. The Japanese were unconcerned about the internal running of the place, and so they gave the gang a free hand to do as they pleased. They put*



*The former Pudong Camp Photo: Courtesy of Greg Leck*

*their friends into the kitchen to handle the food as it arrived in camp, and with these men taking their perks it was doubtful how much of the rations the rest ever received.*

There is little evidence of these kinds of problems in the other civilian camps.

## YANGZHOU CAMPS - A, B & C

The other groups which assembled at the Cathedral for going into internment were those going to Camps A, B and C at Yangzhou. In an atmosphere of dread and apprehension they queued up with their basic worldly belongings. To maximize what could be brought to camp, some had brought bamboo carrying poles with their belongings swinging at each end; others were wheeling heavily loaded old prams, whilst others had straps around their shoulders, and hands encumbered with bulging bags. At a given signal from the guards, they struggled down Jiujiang Road, a wide road which was lined with hundreds of staring Chinese. There were undoubtedly a few among them who saw in this strange spectacle the settling of old scores for past actions, but the vast majority had the courage to show their concern and sympathy. Japanese sentries angrily restrained those who broke through the cordon to offer a helping hand.

The prisoners reached the Bund and boarded the ten-



der tied up at the Customs Jetty. They were taken to a vessel lying at anchor in the Huangpu river. Settling on the decks, they had to hand in their passports to the authorities, and then all their funds - for this they would be given credit for the making of purchases at the camp canteen. The ship took them towards the Yangzi river and thence up to Zhenjiang the following morning. The baggage was transferred to flat-bottomed barges, and the prisoners crowded on to them as they travelled up the famous Grand Canal, built in 300 B.C. to provide a means of carrying rice up to the Emperor's court in Peking. In the late afternoon they arrived at Yangzhou, of which city Marco Polo had been the governor in the 12th century.

Having disembarked, the travellers marched with their prams, carts and paraphernalia to the camp chosen for them. There the Commandant gave a speech to the new arrivals, and all were forced to sign a paper saying that they would never lodge a complaint. Eight times ships brought the Westerners from Shanghai to their new home in Yangzhou, and eventually 1,300 had squashed into the dormitories provided. Carey points out that the north bank of the Yangzi, on which the three camps were situated, is a rich and productive area where cereals, pigs, chickens, eggs, vegetables and fruit are plentiful. But in this area of plenty the internees were not to benefit in any way.

## YANGZHOU CAMP A

The three Yangzhou camps had all been missionary institutions which had been taken over by the Japanese. At the end of February 1943, 375 people took occupation of Camp A. Here there had previously been a CIM Ladies' Language School and a hospital. The former was taken over by the Japanese Commandant and his staff, and the hospital became the internment camp. The hospital wards became dormitories crowded with internees, each couple only being separated from others by a curtain. The bathrooms were also converted into rooms, into each of which squashed three couples. At one end of the camp was a toilet, divided down the middle for men and women, and with commode seats. At the other end was a wash house for bathing and laundry, to which all the water had to be carried. There was no soap for the washing of clothes. **Ivy Gallagher** recalled, "You swilled your clothes in water and hung them in the sun, hoping that would freshen them." There was a small kitchen. The internees were served with congee for breakfast, and usually pork soup for dinner. Each person received a minute loaf of bread baked at Camp C. The main drink was plain green Chinese tea.

**Dr. Geoffrey Milledge** of the London Missionary Society was the Camp Doctor, assisted by two (missionary) nurses. He informed the writer that the health of the group was remarkably good, due to strict hygienic procedures. There were a few cases of malaria

and amoebic dysentery. Initially there were no medicines; then the Commandant gave **Milledge** some Japanese patent medicines, but the instructions were only in Japanese, and he was afraid of using them wrongly. Later the Swiss Red Cross supplied some drugs.

The total area of Camp A was small and restricting, with no view to look out upon. There was not a lot of work to be done besides the preparation of food and the cleaning. The worst job requiring to be done regularly was toilet cleaning, in view of the shortage of running water. Chinese women came into the camp daily to clear the sanitation.

## YANGZHOU CAMP B

There were 375 people in Camp A. Further trips up the Grand Canal from Shanghai brought another 300 to Camp B. This property was a former Southern Baptist School for Girls. The main school building had classrooms which were converted into dormitories, and above two floors of dormitories was an attic which was transformed into a chapel and school classroom. Two or

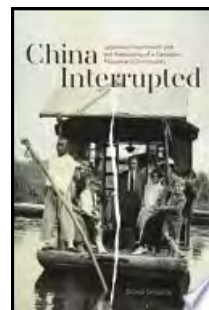
three smaller two-storeyed staff houses also served as family residences. There were washing rooms, showers and primitive toilets. As the internees unpacked their limited belongings they were dismayed to find that some of their carefully selected items had been looted en route, including much needed winter clothes. Food was brought in daily on Chinese wheelbarrows. At first the prisoners found it quite unpalatable and indigestible, but they soon found that to keep alive they had to come to terms with it.

**Dr. Kenneth McAll** was the Medical Officer of Health for Camp B, and **Dr. Geoffrey Gale** his assistant - both were LMS missionaries. Believing that prevention was better than cure, they carried out a daily inspection of the buildings and grounds, and a weekly one of the rooms. As in other camps the monthly arrival of food parcels from friends and colleagues in Shanghai lifted their morale and saved their health.

**Frances McAll** noted, "It was like Christmas each month as we dived into our parcels and pulled out small tins of tomato puree, lard, Nescafe and jam." As with Camp A, a small loaf of bread for each person came each day from the bakery at Camp C.

## YANGZHOU CAMP C

By the middle of March 1943 600 internees had arrived at Yangzhou Camp C. The property had formerly belonged to the American Church Mission. Thus all three Yangzhou Camps were on former mission proper-



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### Yangzhou

扬州市

*During the Second Sino-Japanese War, it endured eight years of enemy occupation and was used by the Japanese as a site for internment camps.*

*About 1200 civilians of Allied nationalities (mostly British and Australian) from Shanghai were transported here in 1943, and located in one of three camps (A, B, and C). Camps B and C were closed down in September, 1943, after the second American-Japanese prisoner exchange, and their inhabitants transferred back to Shanghai camps. Camp C, located in the former American Mission in the north-west of the city, was maintained for the duration of the war.*

© Wikipedia.

ty. The church building at Camp C had been only recently built, and was therefore in good condition. The vestry was used as the Japanese Commandant's office, and the chancel as the camp office. Half the church was used as a boys' school, and the other half as living quarters.

The Japanese used as their residence a large two-storeyed house. One house on the property was made into a hospital, and another into a bakery, which supplied bread to all three Yangzhou camps. Large rooms were divided into cubicles with sheets of reed matting. Water was brought in daily on water carts by Chinese, and had to be boiled in iron cauldrons. There was a well, but it was not planned for serving 600 prisoners, and it was only used for washing. Chinese women came in daily to clear the toilet buckets for the purpose of manuring the farmers' fields.

A camp school was set up for the 150 children of school age.

The camp was fortunate to have the **Rev. P.C. Matthews**, formerly Headmaster of the Shanghai Cathedral Boys' School, as the principal, and **Miss Joan Penfold**, who had been a senior teacher of the Cathedral Girls' School, as a teacher. Toilet paper was used for taking notes in class. There were three male doctors and one lady doctor in Camp C, and two nurses (BMS missionaries). **Dr. Ralph Bolton** (British Methodist Society) and **Dr. Keith Gillison** (LMS) were the leading doctors, and they carried out regular medical examinations.

Breakfast consisted of congee "complete with weevils", and supper was usually a thin stew. Three times in the two and a half years of confinement Red Cross parcels came - with Spam, chocolate, powdered milk and other important foods. Every month a parcel came from Shanghai. These last two sources of supply clearly saved the day.

**Fay Angus** (Westwood) was a teenager in Yangzhou Camp C. She recalls,

*On the whole our captors left us pretty much alone, provided we obeyed all the regulations and attended Rollcall. There were a couple of commandants who were more aggressive; and the fright of being hauled out of bed in the middle of the night to be counted or the interminable standing in the snow with cracked, chilblained feet and eyes cast down, while the guards gave us a closer line-by-line inspection - placed its brand of terror, confusion and hate upon me. You grow up fast in war.*

In the five months after their arrival, all the Yangzhou camps began to feel the effects of life away from Shanghai. Strikes among the water carriers would rob them for a few anxious days of water supply, without which they could not survive. They were very much at the mercy of local politics. Sometimes guerrilla warfare in the countryside around them prevented food entering the city, and therefore the camps. **Frances McAll** asserts, "*We were reduced to tea without milk — plus mushy marrow.*"

## CAMPS A & B TO SHANGHAI

The American Repatriation in September 1943 (see chapter 8) left some spaces in the Shanghai camps, even though they were actually still overcrowded. And so the 600 prisoners of Camps A and B were moved to Shanghai - the elderly, the sick and family groups to Zhapei and Longhua; and the young and physically fit to Pudong. River boats took them to Zhenjiang on the far side of the Yangzi. When they arrived at the Shanghai Bund they were taken by bus to their respective camps."



# Chapter - 4 -

## THE COMPLETION OF INTERNMENT IN SHANGHAI

**W**e have followed the interning of the groups of Allied personnel which assembled at the Shanghai Cathedral - namely Pudong and the three Yangzhou Camps. All the remaining groups met at the American Country Club. In the case of those who were to be interned at this club, where they assembled was where they were to remain. Many had been residing there already. The American Country Club Camp was basically a centre of families and small children.

### AMERICAN COUNTRY CLUB CAMP

This camp was situated on the Great Western Road, and had better facilities than the other Shanghai camps.



© <http://insight.amcham-shanghai.org/shanghai-american-club/>

This former popular American sports club was adapted to serve as an internment camp. There were a dozen large bedrooms upstairs in the one building. These had previously been bachelor quarters for club members, but many families were now tightly squeezed into them. All the public rooms, including the large bowling alley, were also turned into bedrooms. The camp, which was located in the western residential sector of Shanghai, had the fortune of being well supplied with running water, gas and electric light. The club had been surrounded by extensive and beautiful grounds, but they had become neglected and overgrown.

Dr. Geoffrey Gale described the camp as follows:

*The Columbia Country Club lies on the outskirts of*

*Shanghai, and here about 350 of us were quartered - 120 of us men on camp beds in the bowling alley, and another 80 in the bar, whole groups of ladies slept similarly in dining rooms, lounges and corridors; and those with small children in rooms (ten or twelve to a room) upstairs. Feeding was communal, and there was a certain amount of communal space for reading and recreation.*

The camp was opened in March 1943, and over two years later, in April 1945, the prisoners, together with those in Yu Yuen Road Camp, were transferred by the Japanese to a new camp at Yangzipu.

### LONGHUA CAMP

One sunny day early in March 1943, eight French Concession buses of "enemy personnel", led in front by a Japanese officer in a car, left the Country Club assembly point. For the occupants it was a hot, crowded and bumpy journey. They were taken out of the International Settlement, through the busy streets where Chinese



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were selling their wares, and out of the Municipality of Greater Shanghai.

The buses reached their destination eleven miles south of Shanghai. Not far away was the famous Longhua Pagoda, and in another direction the local aerodrome. The vehicles eased their way through large iron gates, past a flag-staff on which a Japanese flag was flapping in the breeze. The internees found themselves in a spacious compound of forty acres, and the whole camp was surrounded by a barbed wire fence. Looking anxiously to see what their new home looked like, they saw some derelict buildings, which had once housed the Jiangsu Middle School. They had only been built in the mid-1930s, and hardly had they been used as a school than they had been badly damaged in the fight for Shanghai. The Japanese had then occupied it as barracks for a cavalry regiment, and erected five army huts on the grounds, which they used for stables.'

The new arrivals had at their disposal two classroom blocks, two residential blocks and two dining rooms - all in a serious state of dilapidation; also the five army huts which had to be cleared to serve as dormitories. By the time all the groups had arrived, in the week which followed, there were 2,000 people packed into these



TOWER OF LONG-HUA, SHANGHAI

crumbling buildings, and 300 of them were children. Longhua was the "family camp" par excellence. Carey says, "Longhua was without doubt the best equipped of all the camps in the Shanghai area, including Yangchow. The British Residents' Association had sent in materials, equipment and supplies in large quantities before being closed down." But that is only to admit how badly

equipped the other camps were, for there were some serious problems encountered in Longhua. Some months of heavy manual labour had to go into eliminating the marshy swamp, repairing the run-down buildings and removing the rubble. With competent engineers and technicians and a sound administrative structure, Longhua became a self-contained and well run community.

Into each of the large dormitories as many as 80 people were crammed - each family with its bed, chair and luggage; and, as with the other camps, improvised curtains gave each family a degree of privacy. When **John and Deirdre Fee**, Methodist missionaries, arrived they were allocated a room on the ground floor of E Block, together with seven other couples, each couple have 14 feet by 412 feet space. When **Herbert Wright** and his family, four in all, arrived they were fortunate to be given a small room all to themselves in D Block, 15 feet by 11 feet. They had the rare luxury of having a door which they could shut at their own choice from the outside world, and a window they could open or close without causing dissension with their neighbours.

At Longhua the quality and quantity of food were similar to those in the other camps - congee for breakfast and bread; stew and boiled rice for lunch, and tea for supper. Monthly parcels came from Shanghai, each person's parcel not being allowed to weigh more than ten pounds. As the months passed, through the ingenuity of the internees and the co-cooperativeness of **Commandant Hayashi**, an ambitious scheme was launched whereby, through the planting of seeds and hard work done on the camp gardens, much food was grown to feed the inmates - tomatoes, cucumbers, melon, beans, lettuce, onions, leeks and carrots. They also established a farm with cows, goats, pigs and chickens. All children under six received half a pint of fresh milk daily, and the sick in the camp hospital were given milk and eggs.

A major problem at Longhua was water supply. Drinking water was brought in daily from Shanghai, and boiled for drinking at "Waterloo" and "Dewdrop Inn", from whence it was served with strict rationing into

thermos flasks. Tap water could only be used for the flushing of toilets. Water for laundry had to be carried two hundred yards from a pond, and then boiled in order to neutralize tadpoles and other creatures. **John Fee** describes the strict rationing system for showers from the water tower: "

*Forty eight females would queue up, and at a given signal by a whistle (having previously undressed) would move into the cubicles, where water would run for one minute, giving the occupant time to soap herself. The water is then turned off for a few minutes. A whistle is again blown, and water comes on sufficient for a rinsing down. You then dry yourself and dress, while by this time another queue is waiting.*

**Herbert Wright** recalled that the internees had no baths in two and a half years. The best they could do was to wash themselves down from a bucket.

Another problem in this camp was the high prevalence of malaria - from which 60% of the community suffered. This was due to the swampy marshes and paddy fields outside the camp, which attracted swarms of mosquitoes. There was insufficient quinine available, and with a twenty-bed hospital only the worst cases could be cared for. As a result of an approach to the Commandant by the camp doctors, selected parties of men (only those with families in the camp) were allowed to go out, accompanied by a guard. The group sprayed the fields with Paris Green (arsenic).

A third problem at Longhua was the poor condition of the buildings. When torrential storms came, the rain poured through the many open gaps in the roof, and soaked the beds and personal belongings of the internees.

There are in the camp missionaries and merchants, teachers and toughs, lawyers and loungers, brewers and brokers, sailors and saints.

(Diary: Owen D. Gander, 28 Jan. 1944)

A fourth problem was the lack of heating. Shanghai is over 30 degrees north of the Equator, and has winter temperatures which descend to freezing point. In Longhua there were no facilities for heating the

rooms, and many suffered from severe chilblains. Because the dormitories were unheated, the inmates piled anything and everything which had weight or warmth on themselves at night time. By day, regardless of their personal appearance, the internees wore layers of ill-fitting clothes, wearing anything with which they could wrap themselves.

But there were brighter aspects to camp life at Longhua. While their health and energy allowed it, the inmates organised lectures, sports, exhibitions, musical evenings and concerts. And, unlike some of the other camps, Longhua had a pleasant view. For those who wanted to lift their morale by ignoring the drabness of life, they need only to look over the barbed wires to the open countryside, and watch the hardworking Chinese farmer toiling in his fields, planting the rice, working the water wheels and tending the crops.



## YU YUEN ROAD CAMP

The Japanese then ordered into internment the employees of the Shanghai Municipal Council, including the foreign police. These were to be interned at Yu Yuen Road Camp on Yu Yuen Road and Tifeng Road,



and Ash Camp on Great Western Road. Yu Yuen Road Camp was situated on a large property, the main buildings of which had previously been a boys' school and a girls' school, and these were surrounded by large playing fields. Some

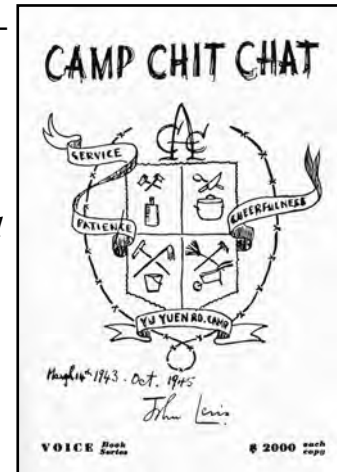
Nissan huts which had formerly been used by British groups were incorporated into the camp property.

The school dining room was converted into the camp kitchen, and a gymnasium into a men's dormitory. Some classrooms were divided up with curtains into rooms for married couples, others for families with children, others for single men and others for single women. Sonic couples were also placed in the Nissan huts, where they enjoyed the luxury of privacy and quiet, whilst on the other hand the thin-walled rooms did not keep out the cold in the winter months. There was no communal dining hall, and so the internees returned from the long queues for food to eat on their beds. "

pectant mothers joined this camp temporarily, while waiting to be taken to hospital. Thus it became the "Babies' Camp". Also, in cases of illness, internees could attend hospital under escort. There were some 870 inmates in this camp.

**Ivy Gallagher** and her husband were later transferred to Yu Yuen Road from Yangzhou A Camp. She was immediately impressed by its spaciousness and better facilities. "We had running water, group showers - usually cold - and a daily delightful Soochow Tub. Compared to Yangchow we were now living in luxury. No longer did we have to rely on water from a canal - we had filtered, chlorinated, running water." *But the glamour wore off as she found the food quite insufficient.* "We soon found that the normal fare was not very different from our Yangchow diet. The men were soon looking like walking skeletons. *"The health of the occupants of the Yu Yuen Road Camp was slowly deteriorating, and was saved by the welcome arrival of Red Cross parcels, the contents of which included much of which they were lacking in the camp food."*

Yu Yuen Road had the distinction of publishing its own magazine, *Camp Chit Chat*, on which was its own coat of



Cover of "Camp Chit Chat", magazine of Yu Yuen Road Camp.

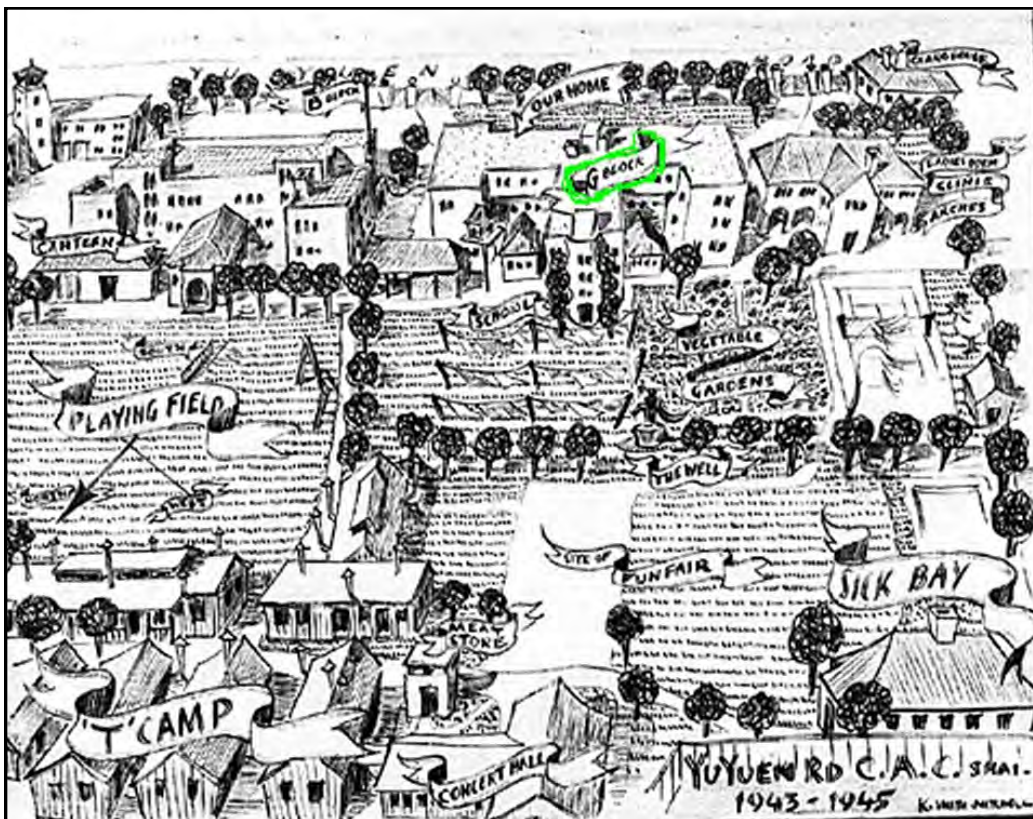
arms. This included brooms, buckets and kitchen utensils, and the apt motto - "Service, Patience and Cheerfulness" - qualities much needed in those difficult war years.

## ASH CAMP

The inmates of Ash Camp, like those in Yu Yuen Road, were largely employees of the Shanghai Municipal Council and their families. **Carey** says of the Ash Camp grounds, *"Ash Camp was not a fit place in which to intern women and children. This camp derived its name from the fact that it had been necessary to fill swampland with a foundation of two feet of ashes before the buildings could be erected for temporary use by British troops some years previously during an emergency."*

Soon 430 people were crowded into this former British barracks. **Chris-**

**tine Akerman** (then Anderson) was a schoolgirl in this camp, and described it favourably. *"As Japanese camps went, it was a model camp. It was set in the centre of a city which still had many neutral European nationals living in it. We were treated far better than other*

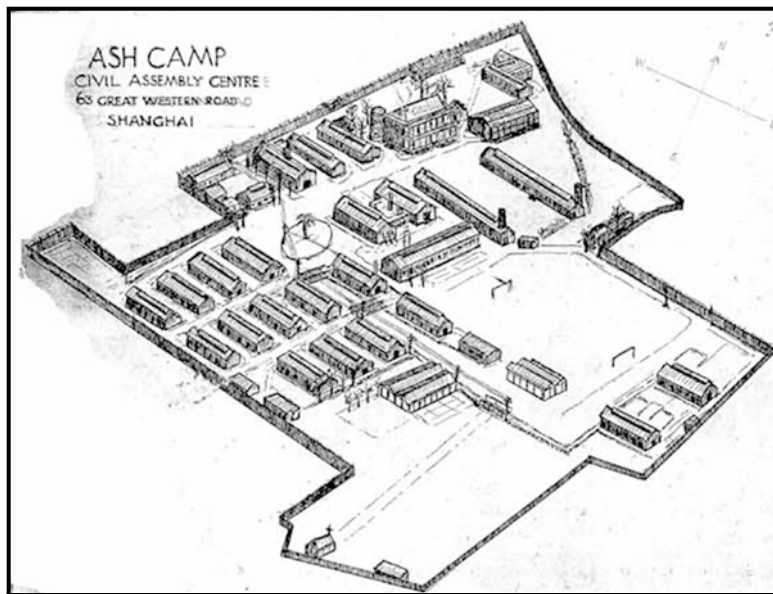


© Map of Yu Yuen Road civilian internment camp drawn by K Smith Mitchell.

One advantage of Yu Yuen Road Camp was its proximity to the Great Western Road Hospital, which was only two miles away. For this reason a number of mothers and children were transferred to this camp. Ex-



*Japanese prisoners of war."* The 1st March 1943, St. David's Day, was a chilly and misty morning when **Christine** with her family, helped by a faithful Chinese servant, pushed their handcart with their allowable quantity of personal possessions to Ash Camp. Their beds and bedding had been sent ahead.



After some delay they were given the key and the number of their hut, and were pleased to find that their beds and bedding were already there; also that the three of them had a room to themselves in a hut twelve feet by ten feet, with their own toilet, wash basin and tub, and also a small stove. Later they were even able to grow "morning glories" up the fence of their hut.

The Ash Camp property consisted of a large stone building, known as "The White House", which was occupied by the Japanese, and about 30 Nissan huts, which were divided into family units. The camp had a large hall which was used as a schoolroom, dining hall and social hall. There was a stage at one end, and beyond it the kitchen. There were several open spaces for outdoor activities.

Among the former employees of the Shanghai Municipal Council there were a number of people with useful qualifications. Among the women there were nurses and teachers, and among the men engineers and police-



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men. There was also a small missionary group, among whom were ministers and doctors. Some of the women had husbands in the Haiphong Road Camp, for whose wellbeing they had considerable anxiety. Numerically the women and children were predominant, and so there was a shortage of men to do the heavy manual work.

As a result of an approach to the Japanese thirty men were transferred to the camp from Pudong. The internees were apprehensive when they saw some rather rough looking men arrive to join the camp, but, as **Christine Akerman** recalls, they soon learned that *"in a camp all are equal, and you learn not to judge people by their occupation or their reputation, but by their courage and humanity."*

There was schooling for the young for two hours a day. Someone had brought to camp a book of Shakespeare's Plays, and so six of them were placed in the syllabus in English Literature. History and Geography were given by teachers who taught by memory as regards dates, distances and topography. The pupils wrote in pencil in exercise books, rubbed the work out and used the hooks again.

As with other camps, the main problem was that of food, and this situation grew steadily worse - congee for breakfast and stew for lunch. When the Shanghai Greyhound Race Track was closed "some very strange meat came in." Soya bean milk was available for the children and the sick. Only two batches of American Red Cross parcels reached this camp. For survival personal valuables were traded over the wall in exchange for sugar, soap and other requirements. Other problems in the camp were the extreme cold of the winter months and being overrun by sewer rats, and the attendant health problem.

There were few crises in Ash Camp. Some of the male inmates had Chinese wives in the city, and some of them would disappear from the camp after evening Rollcall, and return in the morning before morning Rollcall. The Japanese guards suspected that this was going on, and called some midnight Rollcalls, and the culprits were identified and severely beaten.



## ZHABEI CAMP

**E.L. Baker** recalls that for those going to Zhabei Camp there was no humiliating journey, dragging heavy luggage along public roads in front of staring spectators and eager photographers. *"We went into the internment camp in rather a civilised way. On the appointed day we locked up the flat, got into rickshaws with our belongings, and were taken the three miles to the camp. Here we checked in."* The camp was on the campus of the former Great China University, the buildings of which had been badly damaged by fighting. It was situated across the railway line in the western extension of Shanghai, and the property had been moribund for many years.

The **Baker family** of four was allocated some floor space thirteen feet by ten feet, in a room fifty feet by fifteen feet, which was to accommodate six families. Soon sheets and curtains were put up to give some degree of privacy, and a small chatty (stove) was placed in their cubicle for the purpose of warmth and cooking. Fourteen hundred internees were crowded into the



*Zhabei Civilian Internment Camp, Shanghai, August 1945*

© 2012 Sheila Bovell

Zhabei Camp. It was the second largest camp in the Shanghai area, and was also known as a "family camp". There were a large number of Americans here, and they had the initiative and enterprise to erect a wooden shed with a corrugated iron roof, and this was used as a school, a church and social hall. They also built a block of showers and an open air laundry.'

The Japanese supplied provisions for a meal at mid-day, and this was later supplemented by vegetables which were grown on their own farm. There were chickens, goats and rabbits for feeding the young and the sick, and pigs, which were kept for special occasions, such as Christmas. With "Comfort Money" from the Red Cross, the internees were able to purchase milk and eggs; and the Red Cross also brought a monthly parcel of food from their friends and colleagues in the city.

There were 200 children in the camp, of whom 50 attended the camp Nursery School. Percussion instruments were made out of old tins, and to the music which the children produced they sang simple songs. The remaining 150 children attended school in the hut, and, in spite of the lack of equipment and the proximity of the classes to one another, they made progress in their education - six teenagers later successfully sat the Cambridge G.C.E. In the same hut Protestant and Catholic

services were held each Sunday. A choir produced the oratorio *The Holy City*, and Japanese guards attended.

There was a variety of sports in this camp - softball, volleyball, football and cricket - though these tapered off as the war progressed, and the inmates had diminishing stamina. The health of the camp was in the care of two doctors and two nurses, and those requiring operations were taken to hospitals in the city.

Through the resourcefulness and determination of the Zhabei community, life went smoothly and efficiently, though there was a constant struggle against inadequate nutrition and cramped accommodation.

\* \* \* \*

By the end of April 1943 all Shanghai Allied residents were in internment camps, with the exception of the elderly and the seriously ill. During a period of three months some 7,500 - men, women and children - had been placed in camps in and around Shanghai, and also in Yangzhou. A further 2,000 had been interned in that period elsewhere in China - 1,800 in Weixian in the north, plus some 200 in "informal centres" in Canton, Xiamen (Amoy), Peking and Zikawei (in Shanghai), making a total for 1943 of 9,500. In the previous year 800 had been interned in Haifong Road (Shanghai) and Temple Hill (Chefoo), making a total for the two years of 10,300. This excludes Stanley Camp, Hong Kong.

At the forefront of chapter 3 a quotation was given from the Japanese-controlled *Shanghai Times* of 22 April 1943, which painted a rosy picture of the newly opened local camps - the buildings were said to be in good condition; it claimed that considerate treatment and adequate food were being given to the internees, who allegedly were happy and contented. The reader is left to judge the accuracy of this article. Considerate Japanese officials there certainly were - men like Commandant Hayashi, who himself had been interned in Britain, and was in turn determined to treat the prisoners as well as he could within the Army regulations.

As the internees were settling in mid-1943 into their dilapidated and squalid camp buildings (though admittedly there were exceptions to this condition), which had formerly been colleges and missionary institutions which had suffered the ravages of war, and had been working hard with insufficient food to put these premises into some form of order and cleanliness, there were signs that the war in the Far East had at last taken a turn for the better. Following the Pearl Harbor raid, the Japanese had had a series of astounding successes for over a year. But they were now finding that the Allies had turned from desperate defence into the beginnings of an effective fight back.

In February 1943, 2,000 Japanese had retreated from Guadalcanal into the nearby jungles. In the spring of that year, the British, under Brigadier O. Wingate, had launched a new offensive in Burma against the Japanese. Even on the Western Front things were looking up for the Allies. In February 1943 the Russians had trapped the German 6th Army at Stalingrad, and forced it to surrender. In North Africa the Allies were advancing

Name of Camp	Type of Building	Period of Internment	Interned	1942 Repatriation 18/06/42	Total 31/12	1943 Repatriation Transfers 01/10/43		Total 31/12	1944 Interned	Total 31/12	Transfers	1945 Deaths 42-45	Total 16/08/45	
INFORMAL CENTRES														
Peking R.C	Mission Compounds	Aug 43-Aug 45					440	440		440			440	
Other Centres	Schools & Hotels	Feb 43-Aug 45				298	-38	260		260			260	
(Harbin, Siping, Shenyang, Xiujiahui, Xiamen, Canton)														
FENGTAI	Warehouse	Jun 45-Aug 45									307		307	
CHEFOO, Temple Hill	Residences	Nov 42-Sep 43	450		450		-450	0		0			0	
WEIXIAN	Mission Compound	Mar 43-Aug 45				2029	-390	450 } 1649	*87	1736		-34	1702	
							-440 }							
YANGZHOU A	Mission Compound	Mar 43-Oct 43				375	-375	0		0			0	
YANGZHOU B	Mission Compound	Mar 43-Oct 43				300	-300	0		0			0	
YANGZHOU C	Mission Compound	Mar 43-Aug 45				609		609	*38	647		-5	642	
SHANGHAI														
- HAIFONG ROAD	Residence	Nov 42-Jun 45	360		360		-43	317		317	-307	-10	0	
- YU YUEN ROAD	Schools	Feb 43-Apr 45				870	-167	200	903	903	-885	-18	0	
- ASH CAMP	Army Huts	Feb 43-Aug 45				430		30	460	460		-10	450	
- COLUMBIA C. CLUB	Sports Club	Feb 43-Apr 45				358		358		358	-350	-8	0	
- ZHABEI	University	Feb 43-Aug 45				1425	-350	1075		1075		-25	1050	
- PUDONG	Warehouses	Feb 43-Aug 45				1065	-150	-200 } 1115		1115		-12	1103	
							400 }							
- LONGHUA	Schools	Mar 43-Aug 45				2000	-480	245	1765		1765	-40	1725	
- LINCOLN AVE.	Residences	Jun 44-Aug 45										-40	260	
- YANGSHUPU	Convent Hospital	Apr 45-Aug 45							300	300		-40	260	
										0	1235		1235	
HONG KONG														
- STANLEY	College & Residences	Jan 42-Aug 45	2787	-264	2523		-20	2503		2503	-173	-127	2203	
- KOWLOON	Barracks	Aug 45-Aug 45									173		173	
(Technicians)														
TOTAL:			3597	-264	3333	9759	-1638	0	11454	300	11879	0	-329	11550

*Statistics on Internment Camps & Informal Centres in China, 1942-1945 & Informal Centres in China, 1942-1945*

NOTES:

1. Some of this information comes from *The Japanese Internment Camps for Civilians during the 2nd World War* by Dr. D. van Velden. This has been supplemented by information from other sources.
2. The Repatriations included many non-internees - hence the low figures of internees having been repatriated.
3. Deaths have been treated statistically as all occurring in 1945, though they relate to the whole period. The figures for Stanley Camp include 7 executions by the Japanese in Oct. 1943 and 14 killed in an American air raid in Jan. 1945.
4. Total interned during the War:

1942	3,597
1943	9,759
1944	425
TOTAL	13,781

\* Italians  
^ Belgians

ing on Marshall Rommel's forces, and in May the Germans surrendered on this front.

Many internees had entered the camps expecting an imminent Allied victory and a brief six-month stay; and the news which reached them now via the "bamboo wirelasses" and Chinese labourers seemed to confirm their optimism. But in fact the victory was still a long way away, and months of struggling for survival lay ahead of the prisoners. The fanaticism of the Japanese Army and Navy to conquer South East Asia for their Emperor ensured that there was still a long hard haul ahead.



# Chapter - 5 -

## PRIESTS, NUNS AND MISSIONARIES, AND THE "INFORMAL CENTRES" MISSIONARY AND MERCHANT IN CHINA

From the mid-19th century, when Westerners began to settle in the "Central Kingdom", missionary and merchant had had little to do with each other in the China ports and cities. As **Langdon Gilkey** observes, *"There had developed in the Far East a chasm of distrust and contempt."* The quotation at the head of the chapter sums up this strange relationship, though it is perhaps exaggerated. But the two groups learned to understand and appreciate each other and work together in the cramped and restricted living of internment camp life.



In many important camp committees, business executives and missionaries worked together, and pooled their expertise. In many work situations the two groups did some tough manual jobs together. **John March** of Longhua Camp recalled, *"Two missionaries and a qualified engineer volunteered to keep the sewers open, and did so for two and a half years, retrieving false teeth, diamond rings and other valuables otherwise permanently lost, and restoring them to their owners ... They chose a dirty job that no one else wanted to do."* Merchants and missionaries also shared in giving public lectures on a wide variety of subjects of general interest, and co-operated in teaching in the ill-equipped schools.

**George Scott** claims, *"Many came to revise their opinion of the missionary community, and were sincere enough to acknowledge the reality was very far different from the rather despised creature of their imagination. The medical work in many of the camps was largely undertaken by missionaries - doctors, nurses and pharmacists ... A feeling of respect was aroused when it was discovered that a missionary could take his place no less skilfully in the butcher's squad than in the Bible class;*

that he could pave roads, cut hair, stoke fires, run canteens, teach, clean lavatories and prepare meals."

## THE INFLUENCE OF PROTESTANTIS AND CATHOLICS IN THE CAMPS

In Weixian Camp the Protestant and Catholic missionaries together outnumbered the business families in the community. When the Peking group of internees had assembled in the American Embassy compound to travel by train to Weixian, no less than 455 priests (including six bishops) and nuns had converged on this venue from the provinces of north China, including

There had developed in the Far East a chasm of distrust and contempt between merchant and missionary. The missionary saw the business man as hard, immoral, addicted to drink, interested only in mulcting wealth from the poor Chinese. To the merchant the missionary was a loveless, sexless, viceless, disapproving and hypocritical fanatic.

(Langdon Gilkey in Shantung Compound)

Manchuria and Mongolia. They represented various Orders and vocations - Scheut, Franciscans, Trappists, Jesuits, Dominican and Maryknoll. Their morale was high, and they were free from family commitments to serve wherever they were needed. Their austere life in the Chinese countryside equipped them well for the rigours and demands of life in the camp. They performed the most menial and heavy tasks with diligence, and proved to be excellent sportsmen, forming the best baseball and football teams.

Gilkey is fulsome in his praise of this large group. *"The Catholic fathers possessed a religious and moral seriousness, free of spiritual pride. They communicated to others - not how holy they were - but their inexhaustible acceptance and warmth towards the more worldly and wayward laymen, and they remained unchanged in their own character by this intimate and personal contact with the world."* Their participation in the social and athletic life of the camp brought some non-Catholics to Mass on Sundays, and this service was a colourful and attractive event with bishops and priests participating in a variety of colours and costumes. The magazine of Société des Auxiliaires des Missions, published after the war, claimed that no less than twenty five internees in Weixian Camp were baptized into the Roman Catholic Church.

Gilkey is more frank than **George Scott** about the eccentricities of some fundamentalist Protestant missionaries. Langdon Gilkey spoke from personal experience. He was Chairman of the camp Quarters Committee in Weixian, and had to settle disputes between occupants of the camp dormitories. In one crowded ladies' dormitory the occupants complained to him about a lady missionary saying her prayers too loudly. Another missionary who was asked by Gilkey to concede a little space in

order to make way for a new arrival, gave religious reasons for not being able to respond. Then when the American Red Cross parcels arrived, one American missionary insisted that the wishes of the donors should be honoured, and the parcels go solely to Americans. But the Japanese made the final decision, and gave instructions for every internee to have a parcel.

Nevertheless Langdon Gilkey admits to admiring Protestant missionaries. *"They were a remarkable group of people, endowed with both humour and talent. It was natural that they were the ones who took the lead in our intellectual, dramatic and musical enterprises ... There was a quality seemingly unique to the missionary group, namely to respond to a need which everyone else recognised, only to turn aside. Our camp could scarcely have survived as well as it did without it."* He speaks with special appreciation of the Salvation Army officers. *"They won the affection and esteem of the camp as did no other Protestant group. Whenever a layman would express his distaste for the missionaries, he would always carefully exclude the Salvation Army workers:"*

Of the Protestant missionaries in Weixian, none aroused more admiration and affection than **Eric Liddell** of the London Missionary Society, and former Olympic hero. On arrival at the camp, the Employment Committee appointed him half-time teacher of Mathematics and Science, and half-time organiser of Athletics. Later he also became the Warden of Blocks 23 and 24. As sports activities decreased with the diminishing vigour of the inmates, Liddell gave more and more of his time to keeping the restless youth in the camp entertained with chess, square dancing and other pastimes. This beloved leader died in the camp hospital of a tumour in February 1945, six months before liberation.

There were a number of instances which showed the influences of missionaries and church services on the internees during their confinement. **Fay Angus** (then Westwood) in her book *White Pagoda* pays tribute to the influence on her teenage life in Yangzhou Camp C of another LMS missionary, **Harold Wickings**, who instructed her in a Bible study group. She recounts, *"One Sunday I sat in the service in the dining hall, listened to Wickings preach and joined in Holy Communion with the believers. We had no bread to break, but we did share the cup - weak, diluted tea - It was a week past my sixteenth birthday. We had been in camp just over two years."* **Jean Gittins**, who had served on the administrative staff of the University of Hong Kong, tells us that at Stanley Camp she became *"entirely converted to the Christian faith"* (her Chinese mother had been a devout Buddhist), and *"I finally arranged to be baptized."*

It is to the credit of the Japanese that church services were conducted each week without interference or cancellation. The one condition which the authorities made was that all meetings of more than ten people required prior permission, and that a copy of the address or sermon be submitted to them beforehand. In most camps there were separate Catholic, Anglican and Free Church services. Professor **William Sewell**, himself a Quaker, spoke with appreciation of a crowded united service at Easter in the Stanley Camp, and what it meant to the prisoners:

*The lilies, red and white, were in bloom. The sky, seen through the windows, was very blue. The distant hills were becoming a lighter green with new growth. Men and women of different churches, or of none, were bound in a common act of worship. Some knelt on the base, brown boards or on straw mats, some sat on stools or cushions they had brought. Together, with simple earnestness, those imprisoned for an unknown time, prayed in fellowship to God, "in Whose eternal life, the days and years are but as moments".*

The internationalism of the Christian Church proved invaluable during the Japanese War. When the Catholic priests and nuns of Allied nationality went into internment camps, their mission stations and institutions were taken over by colleagues of "friendly nations", such as Germany and Spain. The latter group also sent in parcels of food regularly to those inside the camp.

There was also co-operation between Protestant missionaries across the divide of war. In Chefoo **Rudolph Arendt**, an independent German missionary, regularly brought food and letters at great personal risk to the CIM group interned at Temple Ilill. In Yangzhou an Estonian lady missionary of the CIM did all she could for the missionaries interned there. In Shanghai, German missionaries associated to the CIM, sent food to their missionary colleagues in the local camps.

There were other instances of spontaneous generosity. **Bishop Yu** of the Episcopal Church worked in co-operation with the International Red Cross to ensure that those in Shanghai camps, who were not in receipt of food parcels from friends and relatives, did get one from a Church Co-operative which he had organised. Also, Jewish refugees from Eastern Europe, who had only arrived in China in the mid- 1930s and been assisted by Christian workers, sent in regular parcels to the missionaries who had previously helped them."

## INFORMAL CENTRES

Not all the Protestant and Catholic missionaries went into the official internment camps or "Civil Assembly Centres", as the Japanese called them. The writer has decided to call them "Informal Centres". With these smaller groups there was less supervision by the Japanese, more flexibility about going and coming and less formal regulations.







Jésuiten Kloster mit Meteorolog. Observatorium in Zi-ca-wei bei Shanghai

## SHENYANG

Within a fortnight of the Pearl Harbor raid some sixty missionaries, mostly Presbyterian, but also including Catholic priests and sisters, and some Brethren missionaries, were interned in the Mukden Club in what is now called Shenyang. The wives of the Protestant missionaries were permitted to remain in their homes, and bring food and clean clothes regularly

to their husbands. Likewise French priests at the local cathedral brought supplies to the Catholic internees.

The Catholic bishop was the official spokesman for the group in all negotiations with the Japanese. From what a Protestant missionary later said, it is evident that the bishop was insulted by the Japanese police in carrying out this task. This missionary said, *"The bishop was a great strength to us all. He suffered much indignity and insults from the cavalier treatment of the police, but he smiled through it all."*

## HARBIN

There was also a small camp of missionaries in Harbin. In June 1942, the Shenyang and Harbin internees were transferred to Eastern Lodge Camp in Kobe, Japan. A month later all but seven of them were involved in a prisoner exchange and repatriated to Britain.

In most parts of China Vatican diplomatic channels were able to arrange for a more lenient treatment of Catholic missionaries than could have been arranged for Protestants. Wherever possible "enemy" priests and nuns were cloistered in their own compounds, involving little supervision by the Japanese. But one exception to this was the imprisonment in Manchuria of **Bishop Aldemar Lapierre** immediately after the Pearl Harbor raid, and this was for his firm stand against Shintoism. Sixty Canadian priests were interned for the duration of the war in the bishop's compound in Siping (formerly Szepingkai). Some Belgian priests were interned in Shenyang (formerly Mukden). Both groups had been able to delegate the work of their churches to indigenous clergy and to German priests. But Catholic sisters who were "enemy subjects" were allowed by the Japanese to continue their work.

## SUZHOU AND SHANGHAI

In central China "enemy" priests and sisters in Suzhou and Shanghai were interned in the large Jesuit compound in Xiujiahui (formerly Zikawei) in Shanghai. Here there was no hardship or regimentation. Father Rosario Renaud described it as "twenty months of rest, if not for the body, at least for the soul. We enjoyed rela-



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*The French Cathedral in Old Canton, which dates to 1863-88. Needless to say it was built on the site of a Chinese shrine, thus infuriating the inhabitants. The French, evidently, were not dissuaded*

tive freedom. We had our books and our leisure, and the joys and comforts of communal life in a religious setting." Some cultivated vegetable gardens, while others spent hours every day in the voluminous library.

## GUANGZHOU (CANTON)

In Guangzhou (Canton) in south China British and American missionaries were permitted to remain in their compounds in the months following Pearl Harbor. The majority of them were repatriated in August 1942 in the British and American repatriations. But nine British and American men of military age were interned in the LMS compound in Saiwan. In February 1943 the remaining British and American men, women and children from Canton, Foshan (formerly Fatshan) and Kongchuen were placed in a civilian camp on Honan Island, and three months later the nine men joined them. There were now 60 in the camp, of whom 57 were missionaries and



their children. In September 1943, all but three of the Americans were repatriated. These remaining three, together with 19 British civilians, made up the total of 22 internees.

In an interview with the South China Morning Post after the war, CMS missionary N.V. Halward stated that all had gone well in this camp until March 1944, when the Japanese began to restrict the money for buying food to 7 Yen a day for adults and 3.50 Yen a day for children. With the high inflation these amounts purchased little food. The internees received occasional parcels from friends outside, and also one Red Cross parcel in April 1945. Thus he concluded, *"Towards the end of the war most of us suffered from malnutrition - there was only one severe case of beriberi."*

However, arising from the Vatican concordat, Catholic sisters in Canton were allowed to continue their work in leprosariums, an orphanage and a girls' school.

## TRANSFER OF CATHOLICS FROM WEIXIAN TO PEKING

We come now to the transfer of priests and nuns in Weixian Camp to the compounds of various Catholic orders in Peking, shortly before the arrival of the internees from Temple Hill to Weixian. This transfer, which involved 440 Catholic missionaries took place on 16 August 1943. Ten priests and six sisters remained in Weixian to care for the Catholic community there. This move from Weixian had been negotiated by **Archbishop Zanin**, Apostolic Delegate of the Vatican in Peking, with the Japanese government, who agreed to the move on condition that the Catholic Church was now responsible for the financial support of the priests and nuns. Thus for the Japanese it was a cost-saving exercise. As **Gilkey** points out that some young priests had formed friendships with girls in the Weixian camp, and that this was one factor behind the move. Of the day of their departure for Peking, he says, *"Both priest and girl friend looked grimly into a future bereft of such friendship."*

Arriving in Peking, the 140 Catholic sisters were divided into two convents. The 300 priests were divided into four parties - the largest were sent to the Franciscan House of Studies, a second group sent to the French Jesuit compound, a third to the French Lazarists' property and the last to the House of Studies of the Belgian Scheut Fathers. Father Scanlan says, *"Conditions in Peking were much better than at Weixian. We were able to live regular lives, and to give more time to reading and study. Materially, also, we were much better off. We were not so crowded as we had been in Weihsien - each had his own room. The food too was much better."* The Japanese placed these priests and nuns in the care of Superiors of "friendly nations" - Spain and Germany. Supervision was less formal, though they had to line up daily for Rollcall with tags on. They could obtain passes to see

a doctor or dentist, but these men of the cloth soon learned how to obtain such passes just to have a walk in the city.

## PASTOR KIYOSHI WATANABE

We close this chapter on the religious life in the internment camps with a remarkable story which illustrates the internationalism of the Christian Church. One Sunday a bedraggled group of military prisoners in the Shamshuipo Camp, Hong Kong, were listening to their chaplain, the Rev. H.L.O. Davies, preaching. He was standing on a chair, and the men were standing in front of him, bareheaded. It was in February 1942 - they had only been imprisoned a few weeks.

A Japanese in uniform joined the impromptu congregation, and listened to the words of life from the chaplain. There was a degree of nervousness among the prisoners, who feared that their service was being monitored. But after the Benediction, the stranger introduced himself to Padre Davies as a Christian and Lutheran pastor. He had recently been brought from Japan as an interpreter with the Japanese Army.

Fifty two year old **Kiyoshi Watanabe** soon proved the genuineness of his Christian commitment. At great personal risk he regularly brought letters, food, surgical instruments and drugs into Shamshuipo Camp, where dysentery, diphtheria and other diseases were rampant. When ordered by his superiors to apply a leather belt to prisoners charged with having broken regulations, he



Rev. Kiyoshi "Uncle John" Watanabe



resolutely refused. **Colonel Tokunaga**, Commandant of all the Hong Kong prisons, regarded him as a traitor, and had the pastor transferred to the Bowen Road Military Hospital.

Again he showed much concern for the physical condition of the prisoners and secretly brought in anti-diphtheritic serum, sulpha drugs, vitamin tablets, milk powder, funds and mail. **Lieutenant Roger Rothwell**, who was in hospital suffering from amoebic dysentery and malaria, later described how "**Watty**" one day pushed a parcel under his pillow in the hospital ward. There were eighteen letters from his wife. *"From that time I began to make a rapid recovery"*, he recalled.

Tokunaga, hearing of Watanabe's continued activities on behalf of the inmates of the military hospital, then transferred him to the civilian Stanley camp. It was now late in 1944, and the conditions of the internees had reached a critical state. They had been in the camp since February 1942 - over two and a half years - and in desperation for food were beginning to barter it with such treasured possessions as wedding rings and jewellery.

Shamshuipo Camp and the Bower Road Hospital had been occupied only by male prisoners. Now Watanabe saw women and children also struggling for survival. Their obvious poor state of health caused him much concern. At Christmas 1944, he joined in the children's party, and delighted the boys and girls by singing to them some Japanese carols. One of the teachers recalled later, *"There was something fantastic about the fact that it was a Japanese, one of our enemies, who of all people should be standing there, telling us of Christmas."*

When the writer met Pastor Watanabe in Hong Kong after the war, all the Japanese in the colony were now in camps, but this man of God was deservedly enjoying freedom. Years later the writer was to learn with sadness that in the first atomic bomb attack on Hiroshima the pastor's wife and daughter were wiped out, and his humble home razed to the ground. Such is the harshness of war.

The church services in most internment camps had visits from time to time from Japanese soldiers in their uniform, but no visits were so heart-warming, so dramatic and so welcome as those by Kiyoshi Watanabe in the Hong Kong camps.

\* \* \* \*

# Chapter - 6 -

Some of their wives in Stanley Camp did not know until after the war whether or not their husbands had survived. This was the first of three moves of China prisoners northwards, which appeared to be part of some ominous master plan by their captors.'

## LATE CAMP MOVEMENTS, AND JOURNEYS TO DESTINATIONS UNKNOWN

### ITALIANS SENT TO WEIXIAN

When Italy surrendered in September 1943, a group of 87 Italians (business men, wives and children) were sent by train from Shanghai to

Weixian Camp. They were placed in a camp within a camp, for the Japanese regarded them as traitors. Whilst the British and American prisoners were regarded as honourable enemies, these were considered dishonourable allies. Initially they were kept separate from the other internees, but as the months

At this time all was not going well for Japan.

All Allied military prisoners at Kiangwan camps near Shanghai were ordered to be transferred to Manchuria, and the political prisoners from Haiphong Road camp were sent to Fengtai near to Peking. Civilian internees were to be transferred later on, either to Manchuria or to some distant point in north China.

(A. Carey, The War Years at Shanghai)

Haiphong Road was the first camp on its way to the gas chambers in north China. They were taken to Fengtai, outside Peking, in June 1945, and later rescued by an international team in August.

(Ivy Gallagher, Stone, Paper, Scissors)

went by there was unhindered mingling between the two groups.

### YANGZHOU CAMPS A AND B TO SHANGHAI

The advance of the Allies on all fronts affected the groupings and movements of the China camps. Of the eight moves recorded in this chapter, all but one (Yangzhou Camps A and B) were an indication of the nervousness of the Japanese about the war going against them, combined with anxious preparations for some unknown future Allied initiative.

Soon after this, on 1 October 1943, the internees of Yangzhou Camps A and B were transferred to various Shanghai camps. Unlike the others, this was not a political move related to developments in the war, but the result of pressure on the Japanese by the Swiss authorities. No doubt Camp C would also have been moved if room could have been found in the crowded Shanghai camps for a further 600 prisoners. The transfer of Camps A and B followed close on the heels of the American repatriation, which had left some gaps in the Shanghai camps, though from the point of view of the Shanghai prisoners the easing of the cramped accommodation would have been welcome. In 1944 38 Belgians from Tianjin were interned in Yangzhou Camp C.

### EARLY TRANSFERS TO JAPAN

At an early stage in the war - October 1942 - a large contingent of Shamshuipo military prisoners joined prisoners from other P.O.W. camps in South East Asia on the **Lisbon Maru**, bound for Japan. There were altogether 1,800 prisoners. The ship was torpedoed by an American submarine off the Yangzi estuary. Of the 827 who were drowned, 400 had been battened down for the voyage in the hold of the ship. Of the 973 who survived three were picked up by Chinese fishing boats, and subsequently escaped to Chongqing. The remainder were taken to Japan, of whom 244 later died. Among both the casualties and survivors were Hong Kong Volunteers.



*Lisbon Maru* was a Japanese freighter which was used as a troopship and prisoner-of-war transport between China and Japan.

When she was sunk by USS Grouper (SS-214) on 1 October 1942, she was carrying, in addition to Japanese Army personnel, almost 2,000 British prisoners of war captured after the fall of Hong Kong in December 1941. Over 800 of these men died either directly as a result of the sinking, or were shot or otherwise killed by the Japanese while swimming away from the wreck. The ship should have carried appropriate markings to alert Allied forces to the nature of its cargo but did not do so.

© Wikipedia

### LINCOLN AVENUE CAMP

The month of June 1944 marked the end of "temporary exemption" to Shanghai's sick and elderly from being interned. This action was clearly related to the nervousness of the Japanese, now that America had taken the initiative in the Pacific. The Japanese were now determined to have all Allied personnel, however aged or infirm, under their surveillance. And so on the 28 June 1944 all the remaining "enemy aliens" in Shanghai were instructed to assemble at the American Country Club. **Phyllis Thompson** describes the pathetic scene. "Through the streets they went - some in ambulances, some on stretchers, some on beds, some walking slowly



*supporting those weaker than themselves or leading the blind."*

Of the 300 who converged on the Club, 280 were elderly or sick. The remainder were mostly able-bodied, who had been allowed their freedom up to now for other reasons. From this assembly point they had an uncomfortable ride on buses in the torrid heat, and entered a compound on the corner of Lincoln Avenue and Zhongshan Road, a property which had formerly been used by the Chinese staff of the Bank of China. It had been vacated in the 1937 fighting, and there had subsequently been looting and damage done to the properties.

There were in all thirteen empty houses, and some buildings once occupied by Japanese cavalry and their horses. The buildings were by now quite unfit for human habitation, and in wet weather were not rain proof. In the walls and ceilings there were gaping holes. Each house had two storeys and an attic, and previously accommodated one family. Now 30 people were squashed into each house. Of the thirteen houses, one became the quarters of the Japanese Commandant, one the camp office, one a hospital (which had no equipment or medicine), and one the camp kitchen which had to cater for 300 people. This left nine houses for the 300 inmates. On three sides of the camp there were military establishments, including stables for horses. The latter posed a serious health problem as they attracted swarms of flies.

The Japanese had planned for Lincoln Avenue Camp to be a hospital camp, in which special medical treatment would be given to the sick and elderly who were interned there, but the scheme collapsed and the internees arrived to face broken down buildings and no facilities for the medical treatment which they so badly needed. As a result of an appeal made by the Camp Representatives to all the inmates, medicines were brought in to the hospital building and pooled, so that treatment could be given before further supplies came from the Swiss Embassy.

The elderly and sick tried valiantly to adapt to the harsh conditions which they found at the Lincoln Avenue Camp, but many experienced breakdowns in health. Carey states that, in the sixteen months of internment, 40 inmates died out of the total 300, and another 40 were in hospital when the war ended.

## JIANGWAN AND HAIFONG ROAD CAMPS GO NORTH

In May 1945, three months before the end, the prisoners of the military Jiangwan Prison camp were transferred by train via Nanjing, Jinan and Fengtai to Japan. A month later the prisoners of Haifong Road Camp, which the Japanese regarded as a political camp, took the same route to Fengtai, which is east of Peking, by truck and train. There were 307 in this group, which included twenty who had been in the camp hospital and were totally unfit for such a journey, let alone for the rough conditions of the new camp.

Hugh Collar describes the crude conditions under which the prisoners travelled, the physical strain of

loading and unloading luggage after two and a half years of insufficient food, the difficulties of negotiating on behalf of the sick in the group, the bad tempered Japanese officers and the apprehension of the men as to where they were going and what lay ahead. Scribbled behind a door in the Fengtai Camp they found on arrival an inscription which indicated that the Jiangwan group had been there, and had moved on to Japan. It read, "*Prisoners of War from Shanghai left here on 12th June for Japan.*"

H. Pringle gives his first impressions of Fengtai:

*I remember now that cold feeling that went over me when I first saw the building we were going into, and the barbed wire fence that surrounded it. We noticed that the barbed wire was attached to insulators, which indicated that it was electrified. We passed through the gate of the enclosure in which one building stood. It turned out to be a huge godown or warehouse, with windows very high up on the wall. The floor was made of brick and hard dirt. Fengtai Camp was in reality a huge railway depot. It contained over 37 large godown or warehouses. It was so huge that it was not until the war was over that we discovered that there was another prison camp in another corner, containing 2,000 Chinese prisoners of war. There were no washing arrangements, and there were no facilities for lavatories or latrines. Our first job was to dig a deep trench, and lay two planks over them for use as latrines. The Japanese supplied us with no disinfectants, so that in no time the flies multiplied by the million. The only good thing about the place was good air and good water.*

The prisoners were given two compartments of a warehouse, each measuring 80 feet by 170 feet. Two hundred men were placed in one, and a hundred in the other, leaving room in the latter for storage and administration. It will never be known whether the Japanese intended that the Haifong Road prisoners who went to Fengtai were to proceed to Japan, but here they remained for the last fourteen months of the war, cut off from the outside world, and being unable to send or receive letters. Laundry and cleaning were difficult because there were no facilities or soap. During the day the heat under the corrugated iron roofing was unbearable. The food was slightly improved on the previous camp. The brightest spot of all was the grand view in the distance which the prisoners had of the hills surrounding Peking.

## AMERICAN COUNTRY CLUB AND YU YUEN ROAD CAMPS MOVE TO NEW YANGSHUPU ROAD CAMP

At the same time as the former prisoners of Haifong Road Camp were being moved northwards, the inmates of the American Country Club Camp and of Yu Yuen Road Camp were moved to Yangshupu, on the corner of Lay and Yangshupu Roads. They were forced to ex-

change accommodation with a regiment of the Japanese Army, solely because the two camps had Red Cross symbols on their roofs. They were moved into the industrial area of Shanghai, where the bombings were becoming more and more frequent.

Japanese lorries dropped the prisoners near the new camp, and left them to drag their luggage and belongings along the remainder of the route. **Ivy Gallagher**, who was moving camp for the third time, recalled, *"The guards were tough, and we just had to keep it up. Many a piece of luggage was discarded on the way."*

They found the property in an appalling state. It had formerly been the Sacred Heart Convent, and was subsequently occupied by the Japanese Army, who were moving to the vacated camps to enjoy the protection of the Red Cross signs on the roofs. In this new camp there were Chinese-style toilets necessitating the regular clearing of the cesspools by outside Chinese labour. The big wards of the former hospital were used as dormitories in which twenty couples were housed, and some were occupied by families. There was much hard work to be done to make the buildings fit for habitation, as filth and rubble were everywhere. Food continued to be the major problem. Over twelve hundred people were squashed into these premises, but it was only to be for the last three months of the war.

## TECHNICIANS MOVE BRIEFLY FROM STANLEY CAMP

The last large scale move of internees occurred at the Stanley Camp in Hong Kong, only (as it turned out) a few days before the end of the war. The Japanese were clearly planning some desperate strategy to hold back any imminent Allied initiative, for at short notice they called on certain men in the camp with technical skills to prepare to leave camp with their wives, children and belongings. On 10 August 1945 173 internees were packed on to a junk, taken around the Hong Kong harbour in the dark, and then brought to a centre in Kowloon. But for whatever purpose their skills were intended, they were in fact never used, for the Japanese surrender changed everything.



*Even though you have ten thousand fields, you can only eat one measure of rice a day. Even though your dwelling contains one thousand rooms, you can only use eight feet of space at night.*

(Chinese proverb)

# Chapter - 7 -

## AN OVERVIEW OF THE CAMPS

### THE PROBLEM OF FOOD

**C**learly the major problem in the China camps was the acute shortage of food. A typical day's menu would be congee for breakfast, diluted stew for lunch and some leftovers in the evening, and at the meals a limited supply of bread.

The meat in the camps came from a wide variety of animals. **David Michell** speaks of horse and mule meat in the Weixian kitchen. **Carey** in Lincoln Avenue Camp speaks of water buffalo meat, *"which has a very coarse and tough texture. It had a strong odour and was not palatable. We sometimes received horse meat from the Japanese cavalry lines across the street from our camp. When hungry, one is not too fussy."* **Christine Akerman** (then Anderson) recalls of Ash Camp, *"When they closed the Greyhound Race Track some very strange meat came in."* **Hugh Collar** speaks of camel meat in Fengtai.

The internees went to great lengths to solve the problem of hunger. In Weixian sci-

entists advised the inmates which plants and berries were harmful for eating, and which were not. One scientist in this camp experimented with the making of yeast, as the Supplies Committee reported sometimes of having large quantities of flour, but the delivery of yeast had become irregular. **Ivy Gallagher** recalls of Yangzhou Camp A, *"My memory is of being so hungry that we raided the guards' rubbish bin for the pork rind. This we boiled in a tin set in the smouldering reed ashes, and then let it cool. We called it "brawn" In Pudong Camp they discovered that a certain creeping plant was high in Vitamin C, and not just a weed, and so made use of it for eating. Hunger also forced the prisoners to process and eat food which was in poor condition. John Fee* says of the Longhua Camp, *"It took the ladies of the vegetable cleaning squad a lot of stamina to cope with the lorry load of mixed and decaying vegetables dumped outside the vegetable shed."* It was fortunate that in Stanley Camp and some of the Shanghai camps vegetables and fruit were grown locally, and a small farmyard of animals maintained for the supply of milk and meat.

Another source of nourishment for some camps came in the form of the regular monthly parcel of food. Many internees in Shanghai and Hong Kong had left funds with friends or business associates, who in turn sent them parcels up to the permitted ten pounds in weight. Many continued sending in these parcels long after the funds dried up. Those going into camp had not expected that their captivity would be for very long. The delivery of the parcels by the Red Cross was made easy by the fact that most Shanghai prisoners were within ten miles of their former homes and business colleagues. For those in Weixian and Yangzhou camps, due to their geographical locations, such parcels were far less frequent.

The acute shortage of food meant that its distribution to each internee had to be carried out with precision, or there was trouble. Methodist missionary **Deirdre Fee** was given the unenviable task of being a food server at Longhua Camp. *"It was the place to make enemies, for if you served one person a fraction more than another, there was sure to be a blow up."* The other possibility was that some would re-join the food queue and get double rations. Brethren mis-

**While the Red Cross finds the food "good" and that the Belgian Government wondered whether to grant a "extra" to its nationals interned, here is the daily diet of an internment camp, described by an anonymous Belgian (probably from Kaiping mines):**

**Morning:** kind of gray dust dissolved in water, Sunday, holiday, water with a little rice in it, no salt or sugar

**Noon:** "stew" a little fishy, a mixture of lemon grass, turnips, water dishes, peel potatoes and sometimes vague pieces of buffalo, still earth and sand - 1 or 2 tablespoons rice

**Evening:** red beans or corn flour with water - a ladle. Bread that I never could digest

### MENU OF LAST MONTH

**Morning:** nothing

**Lunch:** a small piece of rotten tripe and green and a spoon rice

**Dinner:** every other day, red beans as I gave in the mine to my cow, the other day nothing, all dirty, disgusting, full of wood and earthworms. They had only boiled water from the river, where there was much drinking as eating.

© Desmond Powers.

sionary **Chris Willis** in Yangzhou Camp C was appointed "to see that no extra-hungry person slipped in and got a second helping." In the same camp the kitchen workers began to claim excessive perks and take extra food home. The management committee had to appoint **George Henderson** of the Scottish Bible Society to police the kitchen, and supervise the opening and locking up of stores.

In Weixian Camp the Discipline Committee had to regularly handle cases of "scrounging", the punishment for which was having one's name "posted" on the official Notice Board, and having certain camp privileges withdrawn for a fixed period of time.

It is clear that the supplies brought into the camps by the Japanese authorities were woefully inadequate for the inmates, whose health and stamina went steadily downhill as the months and years of internment went by. It is doubtful whether the 11,500 civilian prisoners in mainland China and Hong Kong would have survived but for the important services of the Swiss Red Cross. This noble organisation performed a three-fold service as far as food was concerned. First, it arranged the delivery of regular monthly food parcels to the internees from friends and relatives outside the camp. Second, it provided "Comfort Money" to the prisoners, whereby they were given funds for the purchase of food, signing promissory notes to repay after the war. This facility petered out during the last year of the war under the increasing strictness of the Japanese. Lastly, it brought Red Cross parcels from the British, Canadian and American Red Cross organisations.

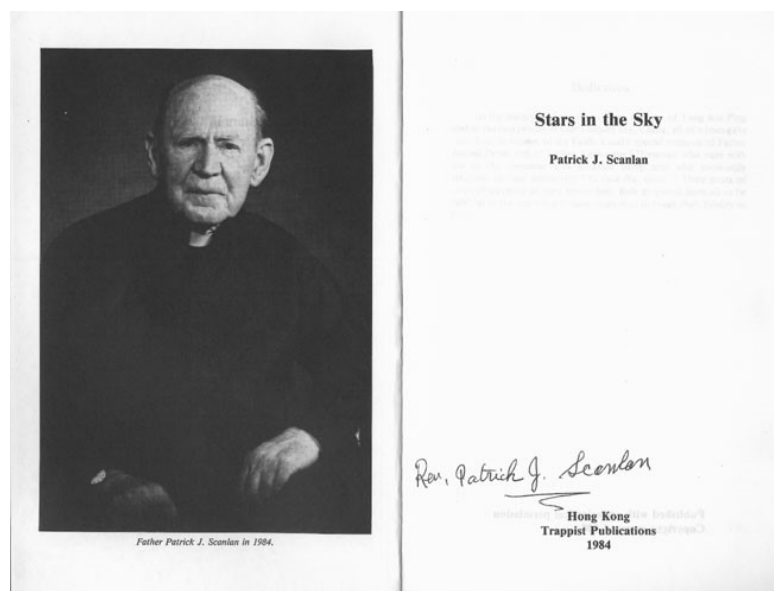
There was a high vitamin value in these carefully selected parcels, in which were powdered milk, tinned butter, Spam, cheese, chocolate, sugar, coffee, jam, salmon and raisins. However, few if any camps received more than two consignments of these boxes of nutritious food. Some parcels were appropriated by the Japanese authorities for their own soldiers." Others were stored in godowns and never delivered." Others, such as the Canadian Red Cross parcels (which were sent at the time of the repatriation in September 1943) were brought to prisoners over a year later.



One solution to the acute shortage of food in the camps was the development of the Black Market. **Bill Ream** describes the form it took in Stanley Camp. *"It created something quite new in camp — a new elite, a moneyed and privileged class, consisting of a very small group of middlemen. Gold etc. went out, and food, cigarettes, bread and other requirements came in. The Japanese had to be seen to suppress the trade, while at the same time some were getting a rake-off. Often the trade was in sterling cheques and IOUs to be honoured after the war."* In the Shanghai camps the regular receipt of parcels from friends in the city rendered large-scale black marketing unnecessary, but still there was some. **Christine Akerman** recalls that at Ash Camp her mother sold a ring in exchange for some sugar and long bars of yellow soap — an indication of the family's desperate need.

But it was at Weixian Camp, with its ideally large circumference and country surroundings, that this black market trade was conducted on a larger scale. **Laurence Tipton** claimed that *"at night thousands of dollars' worth of goods, would pass over the wall in the form of eggs, sugar, preserved fruits, jam, oil, tobacco, cigarettes, canned milk."* To show how highly organised it was he states, *"On the outside [i.e. outside the electrified wires of the camp wall] regular bootlegging gangs were organised — the Hans, the Chaos and the Wangs. In the dead of night or at dawn they would send a representative over. Greased and clad only in G strings, he would slip in, take the orders, run over the accounts, receive payment and quietly disappear."*

The ringleader of this large-scale activity was Trappist priest, **Father Patrick Scanlan**. He was concerned about the mothers and children in the camp, who needed more nutritious food; and, as a man free from family commitments, he felt that he could risk the harsh penalties imposed if he was caught. Scanlan became a legendary figure in the camp, and was spoken about with admiration long after he was transferred with others priests and nuns to Peking. There was a network of internees on the alert for the movement of Japanese guards, ready to pass the warning down the line, but in spite of that there were times when Scanlan was caught





red-handed at the wall when guards turned the corner unexpectedly, and he used the singing of the Breviary to conceal his true actions.

After many narrow shaves the priest was finally caught in the act of black-marketing, and put in solitary confinement for two weeks in a small stone house, near the Japanese officers' houses. Food was brought to him by **Ted McLaren** of the camp Discipline Committee. Scanlan's chanting of hymns at all hours of the night, to the annoyance of the officers in their homes, secured for him an early release. After Father Scanlan was transferred to Peking, black-marketing activities were considerably reduced, and those who carried on in it did so for reasons of profit and not for humanitarian motives.

## THE PROBLEM OF ACCOMMODATION

Next to the problem of food and nutrition in the camps came that of accommodation. It would be true to say that most of the camps had twice as many people as



WeiHsien © Norman Cliff

they could comfortably accommodate, apart from the problem of the condition of the buildings. With such a squash inevitably came tension and conflict. **Langdon Gilkey**, Chairman of the Housing Committee at Weixian Camp, found that people in both the male and female dormitories resisted requests to move their mattresses merely a few inches, in order to make way for a late comer to camp. He observed, "Everyone, having



© Christine & Gay Talbot — Overlooking WeiHsien camp from Block 23 ...

*lost his 'place' in his home and club porch in the treaty ports, and thrown into cramped quarters with insufficient room to establish himself, felt less than real until he made some small corner of space his own."*

**John Fee** shows how the inmates of Longhua Camp craved for mere privacy and independence. "There was frequent friction over the opening and shutting of windows. All slept, washed, dressed and lived every minute of the day in the full blaze of publicity." This basic human need for privacy was particularly true of the many women in the large female dormitories. **Ivy Gallagher** speaks of a woman in a Yangzhou camp who confessed to her, "All I want is to go into my bedroom and lock the door." But few in the camps had such a luxury.

## LETTERS AND COMMUNICATION

Besides the acute problems of food and accommodation was the inability of the civilian prisoners to communicate with family and friends in the outside world. Officially, the 25-word Red Cross form should have sufficed, giving briefly some basic personal news, but in practice few left the Commandant's office, let alone reach their destinations. The Japanese knew that with the richness of the ambiguities of the English language about Uncle Sam, John Bull and the state of the weather, all kinds of messages could leak out, and few of their officers were qualified to censor English mail at this level. Consequently, few letters were permitted to go out. After the surrender in August 1945, **Ken McAll** found in the Commandant's office at Pudong Camp hundreds of Red Cross letters torn up in the waste paper basket.

At Stanley Camp in Hong Kong, a large number of the women had husbands at the military Shanshuipo Camp. The conditions in this latter camp were such that the wives were understandably anxious about their husbands' well-being. **Sewell** says, "It was one of the cruellest hardships inflicted by the Japanese on so many of the women in the camp that, although separated from the men only by the width of the island and the narrow channel to Kowloon, letters were not permitted."

Father Raymond de Jaegher, in the Weixian Camp, was highly competent in both spoken and written Chinese, and found ways around the problem of corre-

American dollar notes, into the Chinese postman's empty bag, which hung on his bicycle, while the postman was delivering the mail in the Japanese administration office.

## CAMP ROLLCALL

156487 616

**To The COMITE INTERNATIONAL DE LA CROIX-ROUGE,**  
**GENEVE (Suisse).**  
 Service Internes Civils  
 Service Civilian Internes  
 Civil-Gefangenen Dienst  
 Please transmit the following message:

**DEMANDEUR—ANFRAGESTELLER—ENQUIRER**

Nom—Name **CLIFF** Nationality **BRITISH**  
 Prénom—Christian Name—Forename **NORMAN**  
 Camp—Gefangenenlager **WEIHSIEN C.A.C.**  
 Matriculation No. **56**  
 Localité—Locality—Ortschaft **SHANTUNG**  
 Province—County—Provinz **N. CHINA.**  
 Pays—Country—Land **CHINA**

**Message à transmettre—Mitteilung—Message**  
 (25 mots au maximum, nouvelles de caractère strictement personnel et familial) —  
 (nicht über 25 Worte, nur persönliche Familiennachrichten) — (not over 25 words,  
 family news of strictly personal character).

**DEAREST MUMMY, DADDY. NO LETTERS YET.  
 ENJOYING WEATHER, GAMES, STUDIES, CONCERTS.  
 UNABLE TO VISIT CALVIN FOR SOME TIME. AMELIA'S  
 FORM TAKING MATRIC EXAM. DECEMBER. LOVE.**

Date—Datum **MARCH 24. 1944** **4 JUL 1945**

**DESTINATAIRE—EMPFÄNGER—ADDRESSEE**

Nom—Name **CLIFF** Nationality **BRITISH**  
 Prénom—Christian Name—Forename **HOWARD.**  
 Rue—Street—Strasse **28, BLYTHESWOOD ROAD,**  
 Localité—Locality—Ortschaft **DURBAN,**  
 Département—County—Provinz **NATAL,**  
 Pays—Country—Land **S. AFRICA.**

ANTWORT ÜBERSETZUNG. RÉPONSE AU VERSO. REPLY OVERLEAF.  
 Bitte sehr deutlich schreiben. Prière d'écrire très lisiblement. Please write very clearly.

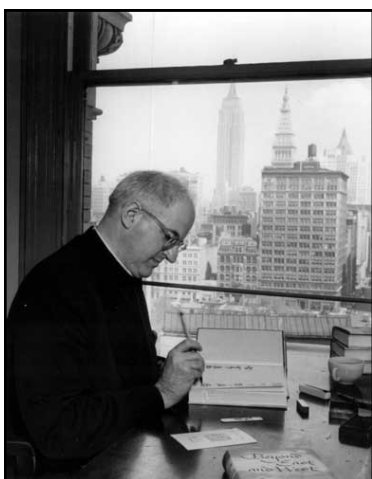
30.7.45



An important feature of camp life was the Roll-call, which was usually held twice a day. In some camps this entailed the internees numbering off in Japanese. If someone in the group was on work duty, a person who was normally number 57 now became number 56; and not all could adjust to this change linguistically. The guard on duty would give a report in front of the prisoners to his superior, which went something like this: "There should be 149 people in this section. There are 139 present, 6 are on work duty and 4 are sick." It was the writer's privilege to follow Eric Liddell in 1945



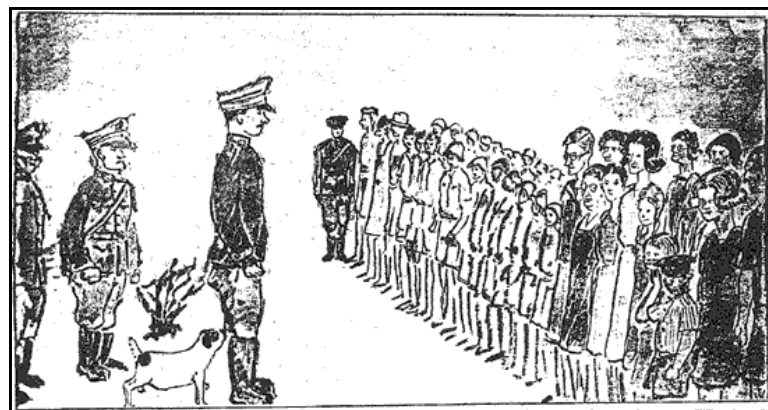
spondence. With a view to obtaining help and information for the beleaguered camp, he found some names and addresses of patients of the former Sunnyside Hospital in the camp, and wrote to them, using Chinese-style envelopes. At first he tied the letters and some American dollar notes to a brick, and threw them over the wall to the Chinese black marketers; but when the Japanese doubled the electrified wires around the camp, he changed his tactics, and made use of the cesspool labourers, having had himself appointed by the Labour Committee as the "sanitary patrol captain". The Chinese labourers, who at that stage were only searched on going into the camp, placed the letters inside their wadded clothes and took them away. But subsequently they were also searched going out. For the remainder of the war, de Jaegher slipped the mail, together with some



Father Raymond deJaegher, New York 1951 ...

For the remainder of the war, de Jaegher slipped the mail, together with some

labourers, who at that stage were only searched on going into the camp, placed the letters inside their wadded clothes and took them away. But subsequently they were also searched going out. For the remainder of the war, de Jaegher slipped the mail, together with some



Rollcall, sketched by Godon Martin.

Attention.... Eyes front .... Number off ....

One of the features of camp life was Rollcall at 9 a.m. and 5 p.m., held in six different parts of the camp. This sometimes involved numbering off in Japanese. In the Guard Room the totals of each section were chalked up, totalled and the number of internees working on shift or sick in bed were allowed for. Then the bell which had called everyone to Rollcall rang once again, authorising us to disperse.

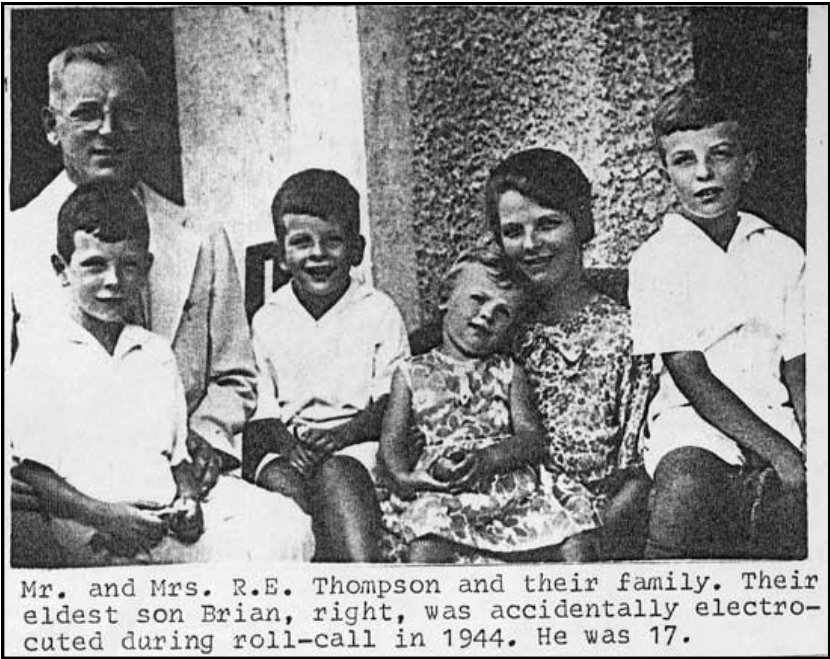
© Norman Cliff



as the Warden for Blocks 23 and 24 in Weixian Camp. Liddell had clearly made a good impression on the guards, and so Rollcall always went smoothly. The writer would then walk to the Guard Room. Guards came in from the five sections of the camp, the figures were chalked up on a blackboard, were duly reconciled (though not with precision), and he would be given permission to ring the bell for the whole camp to disperse and return to their duties. Where there had recently been escapes, Rollcall was considerably prolonged, and extra Rollcalls would be summoned in the middle of the night, partly as punishment and partly to avoid further escapes.

In the winter of 1944, when the temperature was down to 14 degrees below zero, a group of lady missionaries in Longhua Camp, who were in their 60s and 70s, bravely refused to leave their beds and go out into the cold for Rollcall. Fortunately the guard accepted their remaining indoors, and counted them as in their dormitory. In Weixian Camp, a year before the end of internment, a tragedy occurred during Rollcall. While 500 men, women and children were waiting outside the hospital in lines, a scholar of the Chefoo School touched a sagging wire, which ran from the hospital to the guards' watchtower, and was electrocuted.

In some camps, failing to stand fully at attention



or to bow when the guard passed by, earned a hard slap in the face or prolonged Rollcall. Sewell says of Stanley Camp, "Some internees were merely slapped, others had to kneel at headquarters, and quite elderly men were kicked or birched like young schoolboys." To many in the business community to bow was a foreign and degrading gesture, but for the missionary community Oriental bowing was a familiar action.

INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION

All former prisoners, who have written about the China camps, have spoken with appreciation and praise

of the efficient internal running of the camps by fellow internees. While the Japanese authorities clearly failed to provide adequate and hygienic accommodation and sufficient food, leading internees, usually business executives administered the communities with remarkable success, in spite of the severe handicaps under which they worked. The structure within which they worked was a familiar one in the Far East, going back to as far as the Zhou Dynasty. Known as "bao jia", it has the effect of making the individual citizen feel accountable for his actions to the Emperor, which in the camp situation was the Commandant.

Below a cross in the last column means the name of the candidate for whom you wish to vote. You are allowed ONE (1) vote only for each committee.

COMMITTEE	CANDIDATE	VOICES
DISCIPLINE	HOLLAND, E.	
	STRAET, J.G.	X
ENGINEERING	CHAMBERLAIN, W.C.	X
	CHAMBERLAIN, W.C.	
FINANCE	ALLAN, J.	X
	HISCOCK, J.	
GENERAL AFFAIRS	ANDERSON, J.A.	X
	CHILTON, W.B.	
QUARTERS	JARRETT, F.	
	SCHUBERT, R.J.	
	CALVERT, J.D.	
	HALTON, H.C.	X
	ROUSE, JAMES	
	ROUSE, JAMES	

At the top of the pyramid was an elected Camp Representative, who dealt directly with the Japanese Commandant. Under him were the Chairmen of the various committees, and in a large camp these would include General Affairs, Discipline, Labour, Education, Supplies, Quarters, Health, Engineering and Finance. Under this elected council there would be Monitors, each covering a row of houses or a large dormitory. Frequently the Camp Representative vicariously faced the wrath of the Commandant for actions and incidents in the camp. He had the unenviable task of reporting the escapes, and this he usually did after a calculated delay. It fell to him to pass on complaints about food or accommodation, which were often met with outbursts of anger, for had not every internee undertaken at the beginning of camp life not to lodge such complaints? For example, Clause 3 of the Regulations of the Yangzhou "Civil Assembly Centre" stated, "Complaints or manifestations of discontent against the food provided, or against its quantity, or any complaints against living conditions or requirements of the Civil Assembly Centre shall not be made."

SCHOOLING AND ADULT EDUCATION

We come now to some of the achievements in the China camps during those difficult war years, and the first is in the field of Education. In the various centres there were hundreds of children of school-going age, and it was important that the years spent in internment, however long it might last, should be valuably spent, and that the young should not fall behind in learning in this period. Fortunately there were many inmates who were highly qualified to teach on a wide variety of subjects, but there were few text books or maps, and no scientific equipment.

Such things as history dates and geographical boundaries had to be given by memory. In some camps notes were taken down by the pupils in pencil in note



books, rubbed out and the books re-used; in others, toilet paper was used. Before the end of the war, examination papers were taken which were later validated by educational authorities in Britain. The results were invariably good - the very difficulties under which the pupils worked must have brought the best out of them. In Longhua Camp twelve obtained the Cambridge Matriculation Exemption, and 50 obtained the School Certificate. " In Ash Camp the Japanese co-operated by providing foolscap paper and indelible pencils for the exams, and the School Certificate exams were accepted by Cambridge University after the war. In Stanley Camp the school held two sets of matriculation examinations, one in 1943 and one in 1945, for submission to the London Matriculation Board, for both of which there were good results. In Weixian Camp the Chefoo School sat three years of Oxford Matriculation Exemption, which were subsequently accepted and obtained high marks.

Not only were classes organised for the young, but most camps had Adult Education, as well as public lectures on many subjects. In the Haifong Road Camp, under the leadership of A.E. Thornton, formerly the Principal of the Lester Technical Institute, a busy curriculum was arranged. There was even a course on Navigation, though, to avoid arousing the suspicion of the Japanese, it was called "Territorial Mathematics". Collar asserts, "Many men left the camp far better fitted to earn a living in a competitive world than when they entered it." The inmates

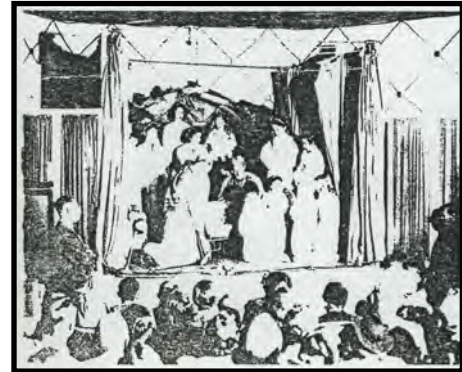
of Pudong Camp had more leisure time than those in the other camps, and set up a Pudong University. No less than 800 attended classes in a single day. In Longhua Camp a Polytechnic was instituted which gave classes in commercial subjects and modern languages. Weixian Camp had adult classes in many Modern Languages, Philosophy and Accountancy.

In most camps there was a weekly meeting of



The Dramatic Club --- © Jacqueline de Saint Hubert

Drama or Music. When there were plays, the Japanese officers usually took the front seats, even though they did not understand everything. In Longhua the inmates formed an Amateur Dramatic Society, and produced Shakespeare's Macbeth and Twelfth Night; and Gilbert and Sullivan's Pirates of Penzance, H.M.S. Pinafore, Trial by Jury, and The Gondoliers. In Weixian the inmates produced, among other plays, Shaw's Androcles and the Lion.



In Pudong Camp a choir sang Elgar's Pomp and Circumstance. One musical event there ended with a flourish of Rule Britannia, and the final bars of God save the King were carefully camouflaged by the violins. The audience leapt to their feet, and the Japanese, not to be left out, leapt to theirs, and joined in the rapturous applause. Haifong





Road Camp produced Oscar Wilde's *The Importance of Being Earnest*.

Stanley Camp produced John Masefield's *Good Friday* and *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Noel Coward's *Private Lives* and *The Housemaster*, J.B. Priestley's *Laburnum Grove* and *White Cliffs of Dover*. In all the camps Gilbert and Sullivan's plays were popular, but the writers all stress that they did not have *The*

*Mikado*. Much ingenuity was needed to furnish the correct scenery and garments for the plays; and life in the camps would have been much poorer without these evenings of entertainment.

## INVENTIVENESS AND IMPROVISATION

One of the qualities which camp life brought out was inventiveness and improvisation. The old proverb says, "Necessity is the mother of invention", and this was a daily challenge in the long war years. **Langdon Gilkey** observes, "*No problem of sanitation, cooking or drama was so difficult that some means could not be devised to cope with it.*" In the Weixian Camp there was a special exhibition of camp inventions and gadgets — all kinds of contraptions were displayed. **Bill Bream** speaks of an ingenious gadget in Stanley Camp. "*We were having trouble with the rice, which came to us in large sacks. Hungry Chinese in Hong Kong had learned the art of extracting rice and replacing it with stones, so that its weight was unaltered. Our engineers came up with a Heath Robinson contraption with a series of grids, in which you turned a handle, and the stones were gathered in one place and the rice in another.*"

There was also ingenuity amid the crises facing the camp doctors, who had little equipment. In Yangzhou Camp C a boy of 16 had developed acute appendicitis. **Frances McAll** recalls, "*Between us we possessed one pair of surgical gloves, two pairs of artery forceps and a very small bottle of chloroform. Within two hours of the diagnosis being established, a table had been made by a carpenter, a mask for the anaesthetic had been produced out of a piece of wire; towels, swabs and the handful of instruments had been boiled, and the room selected as the operating theatre, scrubbed from ceiling to floor.*" **Dr. Godfrey Gale** wore the one pair of gloves, and applied the scalpel, with **Dr. Ken McAll** assisting. **Dr. Frances McAll** gave the anaesthetic, "drop by precious drop". The offending appendix was removed, and the patient made an excellent recovery.

**Dr. Keith Gillison**, in the same camp, had a cavity in one of his teeth, and made an appointment

with the camp dentist, who had only a tooth forceps and a few instruments. He was assisted by a member of the carpentry team using a hand drill. The carpenter supplied the power, and the dentist his expertise in preparing the cavity for filling. The tooth was successfully filled, but the two workers went on to improve their apparatus for the future. They made a wheel and treadle. **Gillison** had brought to camp a length of expanding curtain wire, and this was used to transmit the rotation from the spinning wheel to the dentist's drills.

## INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS

Our final observation centres around the question of whether Japan observed international conventions regarding civilian camps. At the time of World War II, existing international conventions dealt largely with the treatment of military prisoners, though most nations regarded the provisions as also covering civilian prisoners.

Japan had been a signatory to the 2nd Hague Convention of 1907, which required humane treatment of all P.O.W.s in various spheres. The 4th Geneva Convention of 1929 had taken the provisions of the 1907 Convention a step further in the light of experiences of World War I. This had been signed by Japan, but never ratified by its Diet.

Japan's membership of the League of Nations also placed obligations on it in the international field, but in 1932 it left the League after the "Manchuria Incident", alleging that this organisation was purely the instrument of Anglo-Saxon supremacy. This left Japan free to make its plans to conquer South East Asia under only the restraints of its own historic principles of 'Hakko Ichiu' and 'Kodo' - both good codes of conduct going back 2,600 years, though they were to be exploited and misapplied by the Army, which gained the ascendancy in government in 1944.

As regards the treatment of military prisoners, Lord Russell has shown that every single provision of the 2nd Hague Convention of 1907, which Japan had signed and never repudiated, was seriously contravened. Also, a perverted form of the ancient code of Bushido, inculcated into every Japanese soldier, regarded defeat and surrender as ignominious. The Japanese therefore had an attitude of utter contempt towards Allied soldiers who had surrendered. "*They had forfeited all right for consideration.*"

What then was the official attitude of the Japanese Government towards the treatment of civilian internees? The records of communications between Argentina (the protecting power for Britain in World War II) and Britain, and between Switzerland and the United States clearly indicate that the Japanese Government formally declared that it would adhere to the provisions of the

Geneva Convention of 1929, and apply them also to civilian internees.

It was in February 1942, when the wholesale internment of British and American civilians in the Far East was just commencing, that the question was raised as to whether Japan, though not having signed any international conventions, would nevertheless observe their provisions. On 2 February 1942 a telegram was sent from Buenos Aires to the British Foreign Office which stated:"

THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT HAVE NOT YET RATIFIED THE 1929 PRISONERS OF WAR CONVENTION. WHILE, THEREFORE, NOT BOUND BY THE CONVENTION, THEY WILL OBSERVE ITS TERMS "MUTATIS MUTANDIS" IN RESPECT OF ENGLISH, CANADIAN, AUSTRALIAN, NEW ZEALAND AND INDIAN P.O.W.s.

This did not however specifically cover the situation regarding civilian prisoners. But on 14 February 1942 this was clarified by the Japanese Legation at Berne which made this commitment:"

DURING THE WHOLE OF THE PRESENT WAR THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT WILL APPLY, MUTATIS MUTANDIS AND SUBJECT TO RECIPROCITY, THE ARTICLES OF THE CONVENTION CONCERNING PRISONERS OF WAR TO NON-COMBATANT INTERNEES OF ENEMY COUNTRIES, ON CONDITION THAT THE BELLIGERENT STATES DO NOT SUBJECT THEM AGAINST THEIR WILL TO MANUAL LABOUR.

Acceptance of this commitment would involve adhering to the following clauses in the Convention which would be especially relevant to the civilian camps:

— Article Ten. "Prisoners of War shall be lodged in buildings or huts which afford all possible safeguards as regards hygiene and salubrity. The premises must be entirely free from damp, and adequately heated and lighted. All precautions shall be taken against the danger of fire. As regards dormitories, their total area, minimum air space, fittings and bedding material, the conditions shall be the same as the depot troops of the detaining power."

We have seen that the internment camps in China and Hong Kong were seriously overcrowded, and that the buildings on the whole were in extremely bad condition. **Dr. D. van Velden** states,

*In order to facilitate being watched, camps were concentrated as much as possible, as a result*

*of which they became more and more crowded ... In many cases this reduced living and sleeping accommodation of internees to a width of 20 inches per person.*

— Article Eleven. "The food ration of Prisoners of War shall be equivalent in quantity and quality to that of the depot troops. Prisoners shall also be afforded the means of preparing for themselves such additional articles of food as they may possess. Sufficient drinking water shall be supplied to them."

In describing the individual camps it has been made clear that inadequacy of food was the major problem. **Dr. van Velden** says in this regard:

*After 1943 official rations were not equal to those of the Japanese depot troops, as prescribed by the Prisoners-of-War Convention and the Japanese Prisoners of War Regulations. They were much lower, having a value of 1400 - 1600 calories. Owing to 10 - 20% underweight and bad quality, the real value of these rations in many cases was no more than 900 - 1200 calories, being much lower than those supplied to the prisoners of war ... Nowhere had war conditions, shortages of food and transport caused such scarcity and want as to justify to any extent conditions prevailing in the camps. After the Japanese capitulation sufficient supplies could immediately be sent to the internees.*

He goes on to say:

*The higher military and naval authorities in Tokyo and the army commanders probably never had any accurate knowledge of conditions prevailing in the camps. They themselves had given their sanction, however, to rations that were far too low and to bad housing, having taken no notice of the resulting rise in mortality. The great majority of diseases and deaths after 1943 were the result of polydeficiency, caused by insufficient and poor food rations.*

It must also be borne in mind that in the last year of the war the Japanese themselves were acutely short of food.

Our conclusion must be that, though the Japanese Government had not signed any international conventions, they did undertake to observe them both in respect of military and civilian prisoners of war, but in fact fell far short in fulfilling such commitments.

End of Chapter.



# Chapter - 8 -

## PRISONER EXCHANGES AND REPATRIATIONS

Soon after war had broken out in Europe, the American government had set up a Special Division to give urgent assistance to Americans in this war theatre, and after Pearl Harbor this service was extended to include those in the Far East. It sought to "protect Americans in war zones by seeking to facilitate their repatriation." The other side of the coin was that this new division had also to set up a "massive internment programme for Japanese nationals" in the USA. Its head, **Breckenridge Long**, made plans "to effect the return of the greatest number of Americans."

Knowing that conditions for their nationals would deteriorate as the war progressed, the Special Division decided early to adopt a strategy of arranging speedy repatriations, and that this would be their overriding priority in all negotiations with the Japanese government, as against lesser considerations, such as the threat to national security posed by the return of certain Japanese to their country, and the question as to whether Japanese in America should be returned against their will. One Senator had estimated that at least 50% of them preferred to remain.

One problem was the imbalance in the number of prisoners and/ or residents on each side of the divide. Britain, which was also making plans for repatriations, had some 10,000 prisoners in China and Hong Kong (See Table 2), while it had only 345 Japanese resident in the United Kingdom, 2,100 in India, 3,400 in Australia and 64 in New Zealand (See Table 6). The United States, on the other hand, had 12,000 civilian prisoners under the Japanese in the Far East (Table 5), but 11,000 Japanese interned in their country, plus a further 111,000 not yet interned (Table 6). Of the Allies the USA clearly had the bargaining power in any negotiations for prisoner exchanges.

In the negotiations between the USA and Japan both sides were anxious to recover their citizens without delay; and so, although many snags arose, both sides made concessions and pressed on. One internal problem on the

TABLE 1

STATISTICS OF PRISONERS UNDER THE JAPANESE IN WORLD WAR II

	Nationality	Military	Civilian	Total
U.S.A.		6,038	13,995	20,033
Netherlands		28,000	100,000	128,000
United Kingdom		12,000	11,000	23,000
New Zealand		792	80	872
Australia		23,000	870	23,870
Canada		550	200	750
<b>TOTAL</b>		70,380	126,145	196,525

Source: "Internal Affairs", magazine of the  
"Centre for Civilian Internee Rights Inc." -  
Summer, 1992

TABLE 2  
ANALYSIS OF INTERNEES BY NATIONALITY  
at 15 August 1945

	Total	Brit.	Amer.	Dutch	Other
China	9,174	7,074	1,200	400	500
Hong Kong	2,376	2,252	13	56	55
<b>TOTAL</b>	11,550	9,326	1,213	456	555
%	100	81	10	4	5

TABLE 3  
INTERNEES GROUPED UNDER  
MEN, WOMEN & CHILDREN  
at 15 Aug. 1945

	Total	Men	Women	Children
China	9,174	4,464	3,216	1,494
Hong Kong	2,376	1,222	865	289
<b>TOTAL</b>	11,550	5,686	4,081	1,783
%	100	49	35	16

Source: "The Japanese Internment Camps  
for Civilians during the 2nd World War"  
by Dr. D. van Velden - with some adjustments

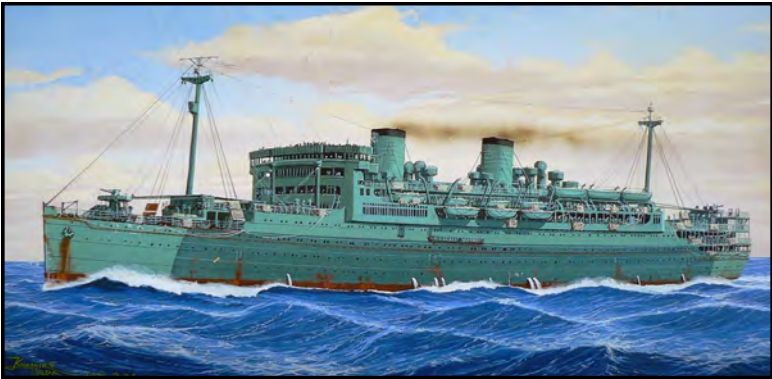
American side was the lack of cohesion between government departments - there were serious clashes between the FBI, the Justice Department, the War Department, the Far Eastern Division and the Special Division. Another factor which arose, as the war proceeded, was the discovery by the Americans that "the Japanese kept a score card of sorts, and meted out reprisals for deemed injustices to Japanese nationals". Complaints were made by the Japanese government about the manner in which Japanese in the USA had been arrested and housed after Pearl Harbor, the FBI's treatment of certain political suspects and the conditions of internment in the Philippines and Manila, prior to 'liberation'.

These and many other areas of disagreement were hammered out and resolved, and finally the first prisoner exchange was underway. On 18 June 1942, the neutral Swedish ship **Gripsholm** went from New York; the **Asama Maru** left Japan on 25 June, and the **Conte Verde** left Shanghai on 29 June. The **Asama Maru** carried evacuees from Japanese ports, as well as from Manchuria and Korea. The **Conte Verde** carried Allied personnel from various China ports, and was manned by an Italian crew of 300 officers and men. These two vessels had the capacity to carry 2,768 passengers, but after members of state departments had been given berths, as well as officers and employees of American organisations, there were only 500 berths available for ordinary citizens - 236 Americans in Shanghai not yet interned, and 264 Americans in Stanley Camp, Hong Kong (Table 4) - the only internment camp running at that stage of the war.



LLOYD TRIESTINO

Piroscalo « CONTE VERDE »



(ASAMA MARU in Wartime Colors by Ueda Kihachiro)  
In 1942, she served as a diplomatic exchange and repatriation vessel. Later, she was used to transport Allied prisoners of war. In November 1944, ASAMA MARU was torpedoed and sunk by an American submarine in the South China Sea.

TABLE 5

AMERICANS INTERNED AT THE BEGINNING OF WORLD WAR II

China	6,000
Japan	1,100
Philippines	5,000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>12,100</b>

Corbett in "Quiet Passages", p. 168 ©  
Source: P Scott

TABLE 6

STATISTICS OF JAPANESE IN "ENEMY COUNTRIES" AT THE BEGINNING OF WORLD WAR II

U.S.A.	122,000	(including 11,000 interned)
Hawaii	157,000	
Canada	23,500	
Britain	345	
India	2,100	
Australia	3,400	
New Zealand	64	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>308,409</b>	

Source: Diary of Owen D. Gander, taken from the Shanghai Times

On the Conte Verde was **John Powell**, former editor of the China Review, who, prior to the war, had in his writings criticized Japanese policies in China. This American journalist had been incarcerated in the Bridge House and Jiangwan prisons. Suffering from swollen feet, he had been treated in a Catholic hospital in Shanghai, and parts of both his feet had been amputated. The missionary doctors and nurses on the ship gave him the tender care and medical treatment which he badly needed.

The first stop of the **Conte Verde** was Singapore, where the **Asama Maru** had preceded her, having picked up some American and Canadians internees at Hong Kong. The two ships now sailed together through the waters of the Netherlands Indies and the Coral Sea. The exchange of prisoners took place at Lourenco Marques (now Maputo) on 27 August 1942. At this neutral port happy reunions took place between men from Stanley Camp and their wives who had been in Shanghai. Also, at this port American officials were able to ascertain the conditions under which their nationals at Stanley Camp had been detained, enabling them to anticipate how other Americans in China, soon to be interned, would be treated.'

On the return voyage the **Gripsholm** rounded the





*Gripsholm brings freedom to 1500*

*This picture and caption appeared in the New York Evening Gazette. New York, Dec, 1943. The diplomatic exchange ship Gripsholm, carrying 1,500 Americans interned by Japan nearly two years ago pushing up the North River and past the Statue of Liberty this morning, on the way to a berth in Jersey City. Each passenger was questioned by FBI and other agents, before being allowed to leave the ship. (Associated Press Wirephoto). From behind Stone Walls and Barbed Wire by M. Philips*



Cape of Good Hope, and sailed directly across the South Atlantic to Rio de Janeiro, and on to New York.

Unfortunately the Americans, with their inter-departmental rivalries, had made a political blunder. America and Japan had mutually agreed that, at the point of departure from their countries of residence, the repatriates would not be subject to body or baggage searches. But J.

Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, had subsequently stepped in, and insisted that such searches were essential for considerations of national security; and so the Japanese leaving America had been searched. In fact important contraband was found in the process. Nevertheless this unilateral action aroused the anger of the Japanese who, in retaliation, were to carry out detailed searches in the second exchange.

The next repatriation was that of British citizens. Embassy and consular staff were the first to be allocated berths, though some temporary and part-time employees slipped through in this category. Also included were some former inmates of Bridge House and employees of the China Maritime Customs and of the Shanghai Municipal Council. A contingent of some 30 British missionaries had been brought from Jinan to Shanghai for repatriation; but there were no berths for them, and they were to go into internment camps for the duration. The **Kamakura Maru** left Shanghai on 17 August 1942 with 908 passengers on board, and proceeded to



*(KAMAKURA MARU as an Exchange and Repatriation Ship)*

Lourenco Marques, where an exchange took place with Japanese prisoners from British colonies.

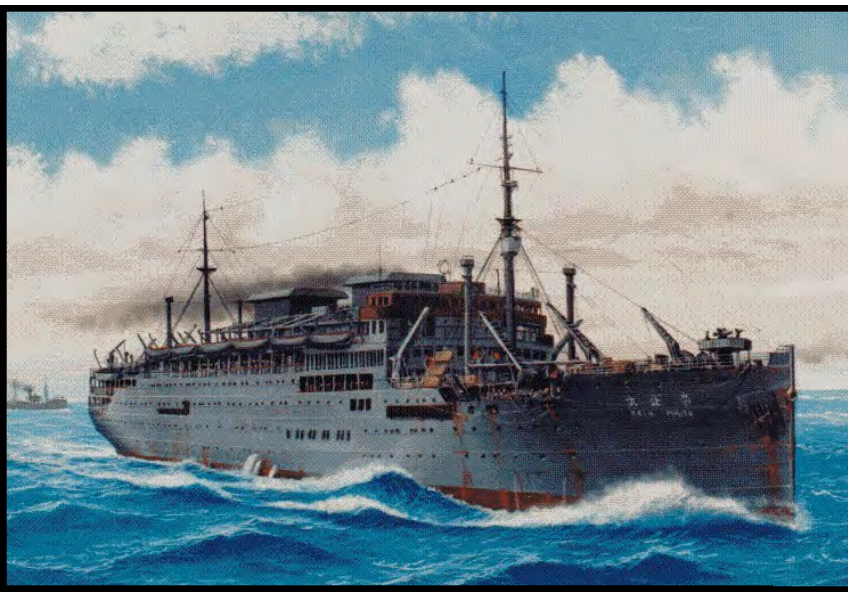
The Special Division in the USA anticipated that, after overcoming many knotty problems in the first exchange, the second one could be finalized quickly, perhaps within three months of the first one; but, with the inter-departmental wrangling, it was to be another fourteen months before arrangements for the second American exchange were completed. The negotiations became all the more urgent when the Special Division realised that some 14,000 American civilians (including those in the Philippines) and 21,000 American servicemen were in Japanese custody, and that recent information indicated that the mortality rate for both groups was high.

On the other side the Japanese government was also eager to press ahead with the exchange. The Upper House of the Japanese

Diet had been informed that no less than 700,000 overseas Japanese were in "enemy territory". Both countries were anxious to arrange a speedy finalization to the negotiations.

On 2 September 1943 the Gripsholm sailed from New York with 1,340 Japanese on board. The **Teia Maru** (formerly a French ship, the **Aramis**) pulled out of the Huangpu river with its 1,600 passengers. The journey to Shanghai to board the ship for this repatriation had been a dramatic and frightening one for the 365 from Weixian and the 25 from Temple Hill, Chefoo. Martha Philips, Chefoo School teacher, describes how 390 Americans and Canadians boarded a train at Weixian, and were crammed into three train coaches. Chinese guerrillas had blown up some trains ahead of them, and the wreckages had to be cleared before the internee party could proceed further. When they reached Nanjing they were desperately hungry, and were given some chunks of bread. Again between Yangzhou and Shanghai they found themselves in a fighting zone. Arriving at Shanghai, they spent the night on "the beautiful grassy St. John's University campus", where they slept precariously on very collapsible camp beds.

The following morning they were subjected to a close luggage and body search (a reprisal for the American action in the first exchange). Sixteen hundred internees (1,540 Americans and 60 Canadians) boarded the **Teia Maru**, the normal capacity of which was 500. No less than 240 women and girls slept on mattresses on the main deck. There were three "shelves" of passengers jammed side by side and vertically. The men and boys slept equally tightly in the hold of the ship. Only the aged and the sick had cabins. During the day there were only a hundred deck chairs for the 1,600 travellers.



## Japanese service

*Aramis* was renamed **Teia Maru** in June and sent to Japan carrying 569 prisoners of war (POWs) and 4,697 tons of cargo. Yard overhaul for naval service by Mitsubishi Heavy Industries at Yokohama was completed on 20 November 1942. On 14 September 1943 *Teia Maru* departed Yokohama on the second Japanese-American exchange voyage carrying 80 American repatriates from Japan. Approximately 975 repatriates boarded at Shanghai on 19 September, 24 boarded at Hong Kong on 23 September, 130 boarded at San Fernando, La Union on 26 September, 27 boarded at Saigon on 30 September, and others boarded at Singapore on 5 October. *Teia Maru* arrived at Mormugao, Goa on 15 October 1943 carrying 1,525 priests, nuns, protestant missionaries, and businessmen with their families who had been stranded in areas captured by Japan. On 19 October 1,340 Japanese officials and businessmen with their families arriving aboard *Gripsholm* were exchanged for 1270 Americans, 120 Canadians, 15 Chileans, and lesser numbers of British, Panamanians, Spanish, Portuguese, Cubans, Argentines, and nationals from other South and Central American countries. *Teia Maru* sailed from Mormugao on 21 October and returned the repatriated Japanese to Yokohama on 14 November.

*Teia Maru* travelled to Singapore with convoy Hi-41 in February 1944, and returned to Japan with convoy Hi-48 in March. She again travelled to Singapore with convoy Hi-63 in May 1944, and returned to Japan in June carrying about 1,000 Australian, British, Dutch and other prisoners of war (POWs) who had worked on the Burma Railway. Three-hundred of these POWs were sent to Fukuoka Camp 6 in Orio, 350 POWs were sent to Fukuoka Camp 21 in Nakama, 100 Dutch POWs were sent to Fukuoka Camp 9 Miyata, and 250 including 150 Australian POWs were allocated to Mitsui to work in their coal mines at PW Fukuoka Camp 17 in Ōmuta.

*Teia Maru* was attached to convoy Hi-71 carrying Operation Shō reinforcements to the Philippines. The convoy sailed into the South China Sea from Mako naval base in the Pescadores on 17 August, and was discovered that evening by USS *Redfish*. *Redfish* assembled USS *Rasher*, *Bluefish* and *Spadefish* for a radar-assisted wolf pack attack in typhoon conditions on the night of 18/19 August. **Teia Maru** was one of several ships which burned when torpedoed that night; and 2,665 passengers and crew perished when she sank at 18°16'N 120°21'E.

The living conditions were not only congested but unhygienic. Flies abounded and everything, including the crockery, was filthy; there were no laundry facilities. They ate rice riddled with worms. Early in the voyage no less than 500 were down with dysentery. After the rigours of internment in China and their consequent low state of health, this ordeal on the **Teia Maru** was a disaster; but the passengers kept going, buoyed up by the knowledge that they were travelling to a land of good food, cleanliness and recuperation.

The ship had picked up more passengers at Hong Kong and Saigon before arriving at Mormugao on the west coast of India on 15 October 1943. The Swedish American ship, **Gripsholm**, arrived the next day. Some Japanese repatriates called across to the Americans, and asked them to ensure that

Bibles were available for Japanese on the next exchange (there were in fact no further exchanges), as their Bibles had been taken from them in New York. It later transpired that an American inspector had found a code book among the Japanese "Bibles". The other side to it was that **Martha Philips** on the **Teia Maru** had spotted an American passenger reading *The Complete Works of Shakespeare* placed inside a Bible cover.

The long-planned exchange then took place. **Martha Philips** recalls, "*The Japanese coming off the Gripsholm were wearing beautiful American clothing, and carrying handsome American luggage. They looked like tourists. Our luggage was falling apart, and so were we and our clothing.*" **Captain Ericsson** of the *Gripsholm* later said of the American repatriates, "*You should have seen them when we picked them up. Some of them were extremely thin and undernourished.*" The crew were sufficiently sensitive to their needs to prepare the right kind of food for these ex-internees, who had been eating strange menus, both in the camps and on the earlier part of the voyage.

The "roomy, luxurious and beautifully clean" **Gripsholm** proceeded to Port Elizabeth, Rio de Janeiro and arrived near the Statue of Liberty in New York harbour on 1 December 1943. Good food, comfortable beds and medical care had done wonders to the war-weary former prisoners. Upon their arrival they were able to give invaluable information to their home government, and this in turn spurred on the Special Division to speed up arrangements for a third prisoner exchange.

But no third exchange ever came to fruition. Issues from earlier negotiations reared their heads again, and new ones arose. Attempts by the Allies for a second British and a third American exchange collapsed, and thousands of British and American prisoners continued to languish in Japanese camps in the Far East. Says **P. Scott Corbett**, "*Like spiders in jars, thousands had to await the end of the war and liberation to be rescued and returned to the United States*". Conversely, some forty five hundred or more Japanese awaited their repatriation, only to have it take place well after the war was over.

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# Chapter - 9 -

## ESCAPES FROM THE CAMPS

Inmates in both the military and civilian prisoners in China were sternly warned at the beginning of their confinement of the serious consequences of attempting to escape.

For example, upon entering Stanley Camp in Hong Kong each internee had to sign an affidavit, *"I hereby swear that I will make no attempt to escape while in the custody of the Japanese Government."* This was a reasonable formality, but the regulations in other camps went a step further, making fellow internees jointly responsible for a person's escape. Clause 7 in the Camp Regulations of Longhua Camp required that a leader be appointed for every group of 20 internees, and Clause 11 provided corporate responsibility for any escapes — *"As all members of each section shall be held responsible and punished for the running away of its members, caution should be taken by each of them to prevent such an occurrence."*

The Geneva Convention of 1929 (which had been signed by Japan, but never ratified by its Diet) forbade collective punishment of P.O.W.s for individual acts. But this renouncing of collective responsibility cut across the strong communal structures of the Orient, especially the system of "bao jia" (explained in chapter 7 under "internal administration"). When Japanese War Minister **Hideki Tojo** was giving instruction to the Commandants of military and civilian camps, he insisted on Japan having a different approach to prisoners than that of the West. He said, *"In Japan we have our own ideology concerning P.O.W.s which should naturally make their treatment more or less different from that of Europe and America."*

With this rejection of international conventions went a harsh approach to the handling of attempts to escape. Thus the military prisoners at Shamshuipo Camp were warned by **Colonel Tokunaga**, Commandant of all the Hong Kong camps, *"You are forbidden by the Japanese authorities to escape. If you are recaptured, you will be tried by Japanese military laws. Reprisals may be taken against your comrades."*

In the China camps there were a number of escapes, as well as attempts at escape; and these incidents brought mixed reactions among the inmates. On the one hand, they broke the monotony of camp life, and there would be animated discussion and speculation about the event. Also, most escapes led to the outside world being

advised of the urgent needs in the camps, and representations were made at government level to improve their lot. But on the other hand the punishments meted out to fellow internees could be quite severe. After an escape from the Longhua Camp, **Peggy Abkhazi** recalls the following deprivations — *"No newspapers, no canteen or library, no chatties (stoves) or entertainment, no garbage coolies ... All private books and gramophone records to be turned in. Two meals a day, and all occupants to be confined to their huts or rooms until further notice."* In spite of these harsh punishments, the internees welcomed the excitement associated with such escapes.

## HONG KONG ESCAPES

As imprisonment commenced in Hong Kong before other parts of China, it is understandable that the first escapes took place here. In March 1942, barely a few weeks after internment, two separate parties escaped from Stanley Camp by a secluded section of fencing, which had been badly secured. Both groups reached Chongqing and brought with them lists of names and addresses of those in the camps, and relatives overseas were duly advised of the prisoners' whereabouts.

But in April 1942, just a few weeks later, four men escaped by the college Science Building, and were recaptured

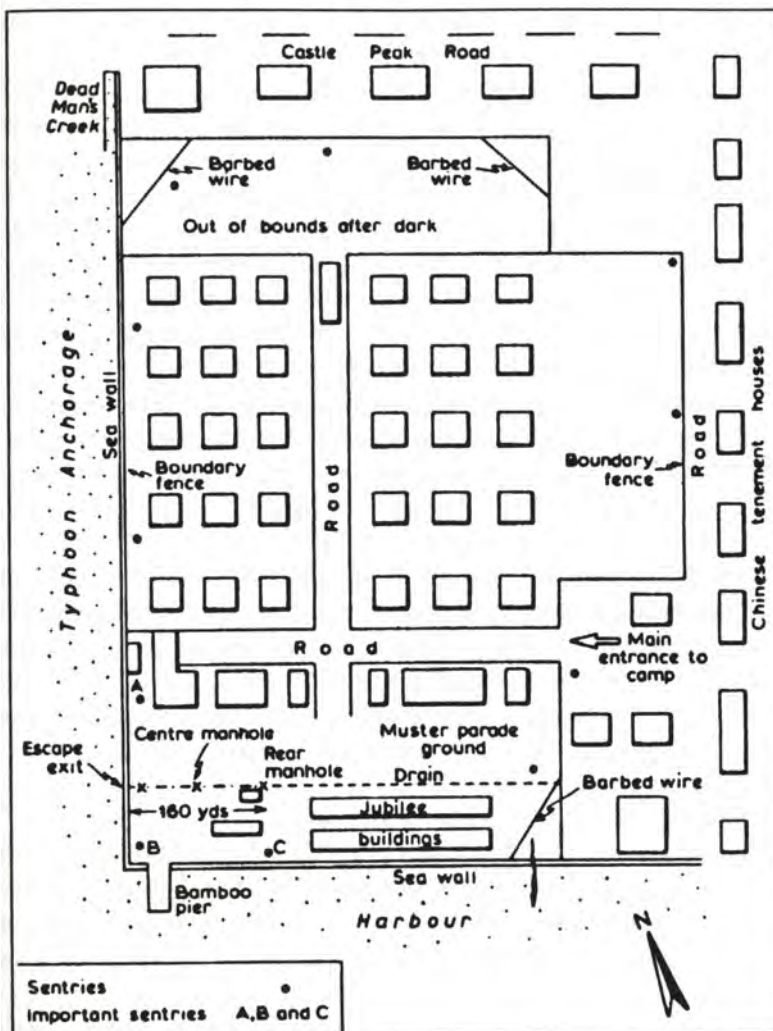
only a short distance from Stanley Camp. The Japanese paraded them through the streets of Hong Kong, and then gaoled them in the nearby Stanley Prison. At the end of 1944, more than two years later, they were brought back to Stanley Camp.

At the same time as the above attempted escape, four prisoners successfully escaped from Shamshuipo Camp. **David Bosanquet** describes this graphically in his book *Escape from China*. One night when the guards were not around, a manhole cover was lifted, as planned beforehand, and the four men crawled through the pipe the 80 yards to the sea, facing the Hong Kong harbour. They swam a distance and then climbed the Kowloon hills in pitch darkness.

Their luck was in when they met a pro-Chongqing guerrilla group, which was glad to assist them. They travelled by foot and by sampan past small villages and rice paddy fields east of Kowloon, and across the New Territories. Some villages afforded shelter, but some harboured Japanese collaborators. They went on by junk to Guangzhou in Free China. Here they were carried by Chinese on the back of bicycles and by barge up the East River. At Kukong, Guangdong's wartime capital, they met **Gordon Grimsdale** and **John Keswick** of the British Embassy staff in Chongqing.

The group then broke up, and Bosanquet travelled with the two officials by train to Hengyang and on to Guilin. He drove by car to Guiyang in Guizhou in west China, and then had the difficult task of driving a military truck through the mountain gorges and hairpin bends to Kunming in Yunnan. On 18 June 1942, nine

*And I said, "Oh that I had wings like a dove.  
For then would I fly away and be at rest. Lo,  
then would I wander far off, and remain in the wilderness."  
(Psalm 55, vv. 6, 7)*



*Sketch of Shamshuipo Camp, showing the typhoon drain and the manholes used in the escape underground to the waters of the typhoon anchorage  
(Escape through China by David Bosanquet)*

weeks after leaving Shamshuipo Camp, Bosanquet arrived by air in Chongqing, where he commenced work in the British Embassy, assembling records of all who were in the Hong Kong camps. Returning to his camp after the war, Bosanquet learned of the reprisals taken for the escape of his group — ten were arrested, beaten and interrogated about the escape, and one prisoner was beaten to death.

## ESCAPE FROM WEIXIAN

The escape of **Laurance Tipton** and **Arthur Hummel** in the Weixian Camp was carefully and scientifically planned. The writer recalls seeing them deep in conversation, their heads shaven and their skins tanned, during the weeks leading to their escape on 9 June 1944.

The countryside surrounding the Weixian Camp was a patchwork quilt of competing military units. The immediate environs of the camp was in Japanese Puppet country, controlled by Chinese working with the Japanese. Further south was a Communist controlled area, and to the north, beyond the Puppet-controlled area, was another Communist area. But to the north east and east of the camp, beyond the surrounding Puppet area, was a large area controlled by Nationalist guerrillas.

It was with the last group that Father Raymond de

Jaegher (who was originally to escape with Tipton, but was restrained by his Catholic superior) had established regular contact. The planning in advance included the strategy of escaping at the time of the full moon, studying the timing of the changing of the guards on the watchtower, and the fixing of a rendezvous with Chinese guerrillas at a point near the camp.

And so it was that on 9 June 1944, as the guards were changing at 9 p.m. and the sentry was doing his ten minute tour of inspection, that Tipton and Hummel slipped into and through the tower, and were helped down the high wall outside by fellow internees. With a hand on the post of the electrified fence, they each vaulted over, and then their knapsacks were thrown to them.

A small group of Chinese were waiting for them as arranged, at a cemetery two miles from the camp. The journey to the headquarters of **General Wang Yumin**'s guerrillas at Suncheng, less than a hundred miles to the north east of the camp, included walking and travelling by wheelbarrows and bicycles. They were to stay in this area for the remaining fourteen months of the war. They found themselves in a large military establishment, which included a munitions factory, home industries and adult educational classes.

They immediately sent reports to Chongqing, giving statistics about the internees, a report on current conditions in Weixian, and a request for funds, vitamin tablets and medical supplies; and finally to ensure the safety of the internees in any political changes which might take place. The reports were delivered personally by two Chinese, and the messages were sown between the layers of the cloth soles of their shoes. The response from Chongqing came in December, six months later, when a plane one night dropped the two Chinese by parachute and twelve packages of supplies. They included a radio transmitter and receiver for regular contact in the future with Chongqing. The money and medical supplies were conveyed to the Swiss consul in Qingdao, and he brought them into camp on his next official visit.

Tipton and Hummel kept in regular touch with the camp through a Chinese carpenter, who went in regularly as a worker. The messages were written in fine silk and folded into a small pellet, which the workman stuffed up his nose. This strategy defied the most exacting body searches. The messages were written in a special code in case they fell into the wrong hands. They were discharged from his nose near a camp toilet where de Jaegher was already waiting.

At the time following the escape of the two men, **Ted McLaren**, head of the camp Discipline Committee, reported their absence in the middle of the day after their departure, thus giving the two men a good start. The Japanese Commandant naturally reacted angrily to the news of the escape, and the men sharing their bachelor dormitories were arrested, placed in the church building for ten days and fiercely interrogated. Accommodation in the camp was rearranged so that the bachelors on the top floor of the hospital, with its view of the countryside, were moved nearer to the officers' quarters; and the boys and girls of the Chefoo School moved to



their rooms. Roll-calls were now prolonged and the numbers present more carefully computed before the bell was rung for dismissal. To the internees the monotony of life had been broken by this dramatic escape. Soon the punishments were withdrawn and normal life resumed.



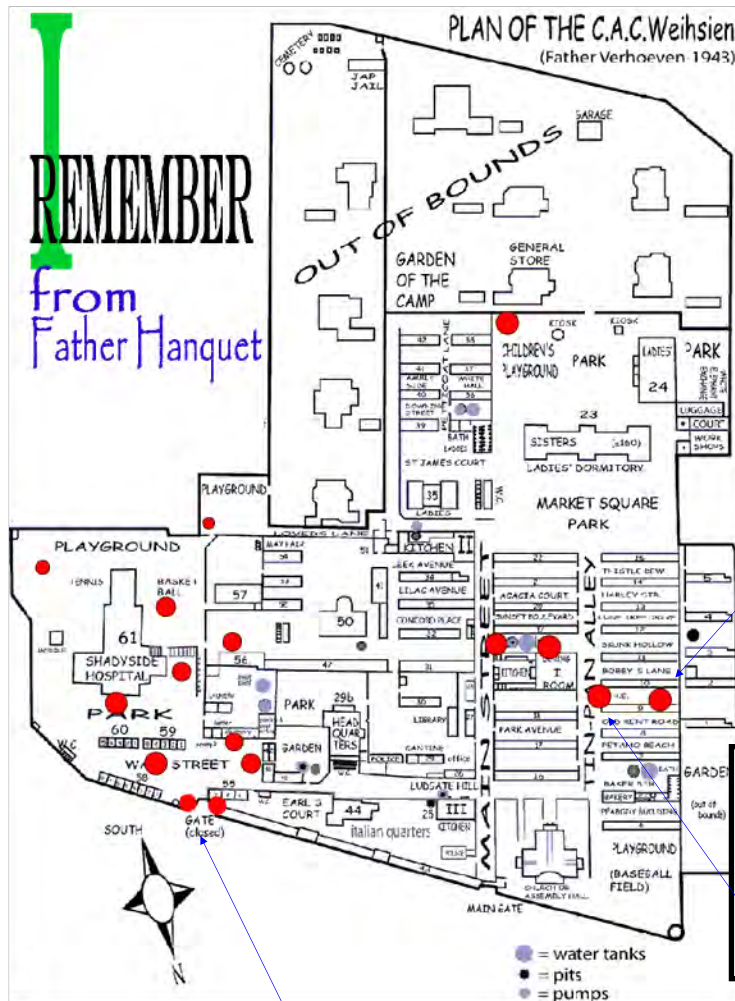
**Beleagued British and Americans**  
Greetings to all. The dwarf islanders, who as brigands and robbers have upset the order of the world, and whose brutality my countrymen have first felt, as war and calamity spread widely and human sacrifice became cruel beyond any comparison in human history, without taking account of virtue and measuring their strength, dared to make enemies of your countries, so that you have met with great misfortune, and have been robbed of your livelihood and happiness.

We can well imagine that your life in Hades must reach the limit of inhuman cruelty. As I write this, I tear the roots of my hair. The Allies are now in the Pacific, in South East Asia and on the mainland of China, where they have attacked with great success. I beg of you to let your spirits rise. My division at the present moment is able to release you, snatching you from the tiger's mouth. But the territory we control is small and restricted. I cannot guarantee your safety for a long period.

If you will request your consuls to send aeroplanes after your release to pick you up, and take you away to the rear, then my division can certainly save you. Regarding this matter, I am asking Miss Wang Juilan to find some way of getting into touch with you, and to make arrangements.

I respectfully hope that you will be able to carry this out, and send you all my good wishes, Wang Shang chih, 33rd year of the Republic, fifth month, fourth day.

Letter to Weihsien Camp from Commander Wang Shang chih dated 4 May, 1944



REMEMBER

from Father Hanquet

I remember that it was from this part of the wall that Tipton and Humel disappeared into the night ---

In the above letter from COMMANDER WANG SHANG CHI DATED 4 MAY, 1944,

I remember that I was on watch here. It was on a late evening in June 1944 when Hummel and Tipton escaped from the Weihsien Concentration Camp.

Wang tried to identify himself with the sufferings of the internees. "We can well imagine that your life in Hades must reach the limit of inhuman cruelty. As I write this, I tear the roots of my

hair." He sought to bring encouragement to the camp leaders as the war is in the favour of the Allies. He would like to use his division of soldiers to "snatch the internees from the tiger's mouth". They on their part must enlist the help of their consuls to send aeroplanes to evacuate them. He would gladly give his assistance.



I remember that It was here that I waited for Tipton and Humel --- We were, however, very anxious to avoid any mishaps, and had previously arranged with them for a recuperation procedure if ever they missed the "contact" at the scheduled location. That is why, between 6 and 7 in the morning, the following day, I had to be waiting for them near the boundary limits not very far away from our bloc n°56 at a place, behind the wall that was invisible from the watch towers. I hid myself just behind the morgue ready with a thick strong rope. If ever I heard the cry of the owl, I had to thrust the rope over the wall to help them back into the compound. ""





RETURN TO CAMP

from left to right ---

---, Arthur Hummel, ---, Laurie Tipton, ---, Father Raymond de-Jaegher, **Zhang Xihong's** father and --- Roy Tchou.

## ESCAPES FROM LONGHUA

Internment in Longhua Camp had commenced in March 1943, and before the year was out there were two incidents of escape, one successful and one unsuccessful.

On 25 September, after only half a year of internment, Jack Conder, an ex-soldier in Longhua, made an escape about which there are few recorded particulars. In order to deter further attempts, the Commandant announced to the camp that Conder had been caught and shot, but in fact he had got away, for three months later his wife received a Red Cross letter from him written in London.

Then on the last day of 1943 the internees had a New Year's Eve dance and Fancy Dress party. Among the revellers was a **Miss MacDonald**, who arrived at the party dressed in the simple garb of a Chinese peasant woman. She was in fact also dressed in this way for a planned escape. Before the night was out, she and two Anglo-Indians had made their escape. But the attempt was amateurish, and the three were soon captured and imprisoned in the much-dreaded Ward Road Gaol.

**Roy Scott**, in his manuscript *Five from Lunghwa*, describes his escape from Longhua Camp; but he first recounts his feelings beforehand. He was deeply aware of the serious risks involved — of being shot at by Japanese guards while affecting the escape, as well as the possibility of being recaptured, and facing torture and imprisonment in far worse conditions than those in Longhua. He speaks of the intense mental strain in the last few days prior to departure, comparing it with his experience in World War I of "going over the top", which he points out was not so prolonged as waiting to escape.

Five men took part in the getaway — **Louis Murray-Kidd**, **Roy Scott**, **Tom Huxley**, **Michael Levy** and **Reg Ulrich** (who could speak both Chinese and Japanese) — and in their planning they had to take cognisance of the obstacles which they would have to overcome. The grounds of the camp were surrounded by ten strong rows of barbed wire eight feet high, and also a tidal creek eight feet wide. The items the five men pro-

cured for the venture included wire cutters, a rubber raft, various tools, tinned food and \$6,000 CRB (smuggled into the camp in a Municipal Council water cart). Each person had his own equipment in case they were separated. One of their last actions before departing was to write a letter to the Japanese Commandant, saying that they were escaping as a protest against the bad treatment and poor conditions of the camp.

They met as planned on the night of 22 May 1944 at 11.30 p.m. They cut the double thickness of wire, crossed the tidal creek which was at low tide, and made their way along a path. During the first night they were challenged by Chinese police; they informed them that they were hikers, and their appearance with heavy ruck sacks gave credence to their story. Then they ran into a Japanese post; and Ulrich, their interpreter, told the Japanese that they were four Germans and a Russian from Shanghai. The Japanese soldiers advised them to be careful of Chinese guerrillas, and helped them on their way. During the day following their escape, they could see Japanese planes searching for them.

As they proceeded, they met some pro-Chongqing guerrillas, who helped them with food, hospitality and money, and directed them on to the next guerrilla stronghold. Each military group, both guerrillas and Kuomintang, was to do the same for them, escorting them on to the next contact by truck, ferry and junk. At Wucong, where they arrived on 4 June, they learned that **Jack Conder** had escaped along this same route, and been given hospitality by the same groups. From this base they sent a telegram to the British government in Chongqing, advising of their escape and plans to reach that town.

A week later, on 4 June, the men sent a further telegram to Chongqing from Tianmoshan, which ended with the sentence, "Conditions in Lunghwa deteriorating rapidly". They hoped that, in spite of the repercussions in the camp arising from their escape, their departure would also bring benefits to the internees through drawing attention to their plight. It was also at Tianmoshan that they learned that Lieutenant **Colonel J.H. Doolittle**, after his raid on Tokyo, had bailed out in this neighbourhood two years earlier, and received hospitality at this same military camp for two days.

Their next stop was Shanjao, where they stayed in the C.I.M. compound with **Mr. and Mrs. Dunn** and **Miss P. Loosley**. Here they had their first three-course English meal in fourteen months. While here, on 24 June 1944, they received a telegram from the British Embassy at Chongqing which said, "Congratulations on your courage and resourcefulness in escaping. Have requested the Chinese Ministry for Foreign Affairs to remit to you by telegraph \$50,000. We are arranging onward transport to Chongqing."

The five men arrived in Guilin, Guangxi Province, on 8 August 1944, ten weeks after their departure from Longhua; and from Guilin they proceeded to Chongqing.

Back in the camp which the men had left, the guards had been angry about the escape, and become short-tempered, resorting to face-slapping the internees.



Also, Rollcalls had become protracted, and had been summoned at irregular times of the day and the night; and camp lights were being turned off earlier. But the punishments soon died away.

Three months after this escape from Longhua Camp there was another from the same camp. This was led by **W.C. Henry**, who has written an unpublished account of his experience. The author of this story had been a mechanic in the Shanghai Gas Company, and on 12 March 1943 had been interned in the Pudong Camp. Initially Henry's wife remained free, as she was a Swede and was working in the Swedish Consulate.

Subsequently **Mrs. Henry** was interned in Longhua, and **W.C. Henry** was able to transfer to her camp. He found that conditions in Longhua at this time were an improvement on those in Pudong.

Later Mrs. Henry was given her freedom, and she returned to work in the Swedish Consulate. At this stage **W.C. Henry, K. Pate and Tom Crossthwaite** began to make plans to escape. They managed to obtain a compass, maps, wire-cutting pliers and tinned food, and packed them into rucksacks.

On the night of 19 August 1944 the three men cut a hole in the wire fence at Longhua, crawled through it and put on their well packed rucksacks. In the first few days they made little progress, having to change their course and return to where they had started.

There were severe thunderstorms followed by heavy rains. Weighed down by soaking rucksacks, they decided to discard one, including some tinned food. They found their way to Hungjao Road in Shanghai, in order to contact a white Russian, **Captain Navyrosky**, who gave them food, washed and dried their clothes and hid them in his garden. Henry gave the captain a message for his wife, and the three proceeded on their long journey to west China.

They travelled by ferry and walked many miles. They found that they were in territory controlled by Japanese and Chinese puppet troops, so they chose their route carefully, walking across paddy fields, wading knee deep in slimy mud, and then travelling by sampans.

When they reached Kashing on 1 September their feet were swollen from walking for so many miles. Here they were given hospitality by guerrilla troops. They learned from the captain that this unit had also helped **Roy Scott** and his colleagues a few months earlier. The three men spent two days here, and were each given \$2,000 for the journey. They were passed from the care of one military group to the next, and given accommodation, food and funds. Through drinking creek water they were all suffering from dysentery. In the province of Zhejiang they had to traverse mountainous country.

**W.C. Henry's** notes end with the three men near to Hangzhou. The three men eventually reached Kunming in Yunnan. But their successful escape, following within a few months of the previous five, had repercussions in the life of Longhua Camp. Hayashi, a fairly reasonable Commandant, was replaced by a tougher individual, **Yamashita**.

As a reprisal, the internees were confined to their billets. There were drastic cuts in food, reducing their already low rations still further; and there were midnight Rollcalls. Those who had been in the same rooms as the three escapers were arrested and cross-examined; and all pleaded ignorance of the escape.

One incident associated with the escape of the three men caused a tense situation. A young man of twenty was being questioned about the escape, and on giving a confused answer was struck by a guard. He ran out of the guard room across the football field pursued by three guards. He fell and the guards kicked him with their heavy boots, and hit him with their revolvers. Internees rushed to the scene to assist him; and there was a confrontation for two hours as prisoners protested at his treatment. Guards then prepared to fire into the crowd. But **Dean A.C.S. Trivett** intervened and calmed both sides down, and a serious crisis was averted.

Japanese guards faced discipline or demotion when prisoners under them escaped, and had to account to their seniors for their failure to avoid such escapes, and so there was understandably tension and anger when such incidents occurred.

End of Chapter.

# Chapter - 10 -

## THE DOOLITTLE RAID AND ITS PRISONERS

**F**or the first four months of the war nothing had gone wrong for Japan, which had made an incredible series of conquests in South East Asia. But an event took place on 18 April 1942 which gave U.S. morale a welcome boost and put Japan on the defensive.

Brigadier James Doolittle led sixteen B25s from the aircraft carrier Hornet in extremely poor weather conditions on a raid on Tokyo, Yokohama and other Japanese cities; then proceeding westwards and with supplies of fuel

"It had always been my motto not to allow Tokyo or the homelands to be attacked from the air, but to-day my pride has been badly hurt."

*(Vice-Admiral Matome Ugaki,  
Chief of Staff of the Combined Fleet  
Headquarters in Tokyo)*

diminishing rapidly, they flew towards the coast of China, mostly landing in the provinces of Zhejiang and Jiangsi.

The aim of the raid had been to bomb munitions and war factories in these cities, as well as to force the Japanese to deploy more ships and munitions to defend against further air attacks, thus reducing the amount of men and equipment available for their far flung battle front; but unfortunately the airmen later admitted that they had strafed children in a playing field and bombed residential areas, killing many civilians.

The raid was not a success in terms of damage done to enemy plants, but the achievement lay in the psychological shock it gave to Japan, which had always been confident that its homeland was safe from assault. But, above all, it gave an enormous boost to American morale after the country's recent humiliations in the war. And as the news seeped through, via the

"bamboo wireless", to thousands of prisoners in camps, fresh hopes of an Allied victory were stirred.

The majority of the airmen landed in central China behind friendly Chinese lines, and eventually they reached Chongqing.

But five from the 8th plane landed near Vladivostok, where they were captured and flown on a Russian DC3 to Khabarovsk to be "guests of the Kremlin". They were subsequently transferred to Penza and then to Okhansk, eventually successfully escaping to India.

The Japanese were understandably angry about the raid, with its killing of many civilians, though this was in fact being done by them daily on Chinese cities. They were determined to have massive revenge both on any airmen whom they captured, and on all who had had any part in the incident, including any Chinese who had helped in the escapes. Consequently all the Chinese bases in Zhejiang and Jiangsi, where the Americans had been assisted, were destroyed. **Dick Wilson** says, "*A quarter of a million Chinese soldiers and civilians were killed in the three-month campaign. The Chinese paid a terrible price for the Doolittle raid, but they never complained.*" The Japanese also destroyed all American mission stations in the vicinity, and damaged the graves and gravestones of American missionaries.

From the 6th plane of the mission only three survived - **Lieutenants Chase Nielsen, Robb Meder and Dean Hallmark**. They had landed





in Zhejiang, and were handed over by Chinese guerrillas to the Japanese who tied them up, took them to a gaol near the Shanghai airport, and kept them in solitary confinement. The three were cruelly tortured by the standard methods. On 25 April 1942 they were flown on a transport plane to Tokyo.

From the 16th plane five were captured near Nanchang - **Lieutenants William Farrow, George Barr, Robert Hite, Sergeant Harold Spatz and Corporal Jacob De Shazer**. They were subjected to similar tortures, and flown to Tokyo on 20 April. The eight men were in a Tokyo gaol for six weeks, and were forced under duress to sign some false statements. On 18 June they were handcuffed in pairs and sent by train to Nagasaki, and from there they went by ship back to Shanghai, where they were kept in the infamous Bridge House prison for seventy days. There they were put in a cell with fourteen Chinese prisoners. Bugs, rats and lice were everywhere; and there was no opportunity to take exercise, or to wash or shave.

On 28 August 1942 the eight were transferred to



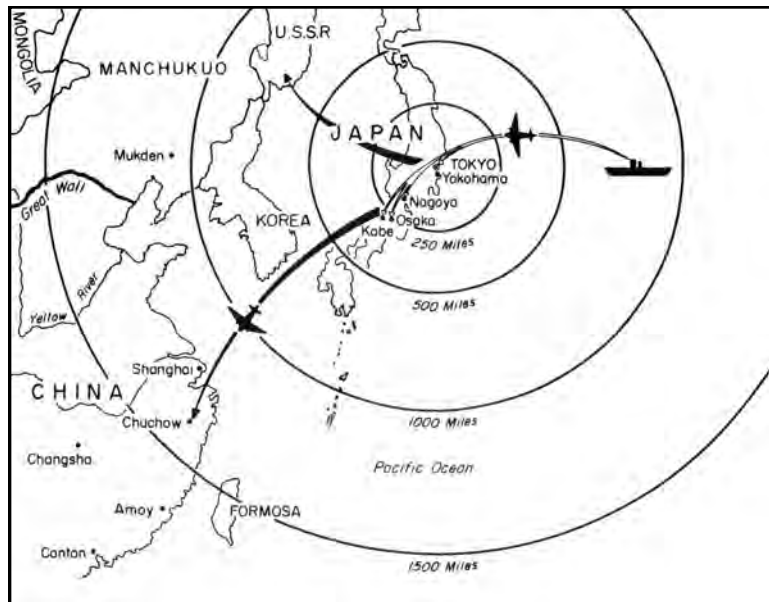
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With the loss of all aircraft, Doolittle believed that the raid had been a failure, and that he would be court-martialed upon returning to the states.

Jiangwan military prison, where dysentery and beriberi were rife. For twenty days they were in solitary confinement, each in cells five feet by nine feet. **Dean Hallmark** was sent back to Bridge House, delirious and weak, for medical supervision.'

On 10 October 1942 orders came from Tokyo for the death sentence on three of the airmen, and life imprisonment for the remaining five. Within a few days the three death sentences were put into execution. The Geneva Prisoner of War Convention of 1929 had stipulated that aircrew captured after raids should be treated properly as prisoners of war in accordance with international law. But Prime Minister Tojo, indignant about the raids on his country, introduced the Enemy Airmen's Act on 13 August 1942, which provided retrospective regulations to permit the death penalty or at least ten years' imprisonment for airmen who carried out air attacks on ordinary non-military people. The trial of the eight airmen had been deferred until the passing of this Act.

On 18 April 1943, on the first anniversary of the raid, the five surviving airmen were transferred to the Nanjing Military Prison. They were all suffering from dysentery, malnutrition and beriberi. **Robb Meder** died on 1

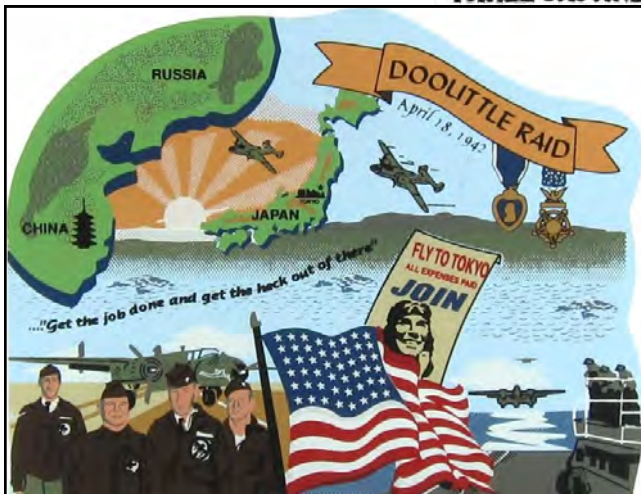


April 2, 1942 USS Hornet



December 1943. For the first time in their imprisonment a Bible was passed around between the four airmen, now in an advanced state of physical weakness. This book brought hope, strength and peace to the prisoners. They had been constantly on the move since their capture, and now their final move was to come. On 15 June 1944 they were transferred by train to a military prison in Peking, where they were once again placed in solitary cells.'

Sitting on a small wooden stool in a dark and confined room, **De Shazer** reflected on the verses in the Bible which he had been reading. Physically he was the weakest of the four American prisoners - he counted 75 boils on his emaciated body. He became delirious, and only a vitamin shot from a Japanese medical officer brought improvement. We shall return to his remarkable story in chapter 13.



### MANILA BAY FORTS SILENCE THREE JAPANESE BATTERIES; RAIDED 5 TIMES

Hero and Bride Reunited

**AMERICAN LEADY CALLED HOME BY U.S. NAVY**  
Observers Believe Appointed Heroine of War  
From Turning Point Over in Germany.

Manila, April 17.—(AP)—The U.S. Navy today announced that it had received word from a Japanese source that three Japanese batteries in Manila Bay had been silenced after being raided five times by U.S. aircraft.

The source, who is believed to be a high-ranking Japanese official, is quoted as saying that the batteries were silenced after being hit by U.S. aircraft on April 15 and 16.

The batteries were part of the Japanese defense system in Manila Bay, and their silencing is a major blow to the Japanese position in the Philippines.

The U.S. Navy is now searching for the source of the information, and is believed to be offering a large reward for anyone who can provide further details.

### DARLAN IS NAMED LEADER OF ARMED FORCES IN FRANCE

Observers Believe Appointed Heroine of War  
From Turning Point Over in Germany.

Washington, April 17.—(AP)—The U.S. Navy today announced that it had received word from a Japanese source that three Japanese batteries in Manila Bay had been silenced after being raided five times by U.S. aircraft.

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### FOUR JAP PLANES HIT OVER PORT MORESBY

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### GERMAN TARGETS BLASTED BY 600 BRITISH PLANES

Observers Believe Appointed Heroine of War  
From Turning Point Over in Germany.

London, April 17.—(AP)—The U.S. Navy today announced that it had received word from a Japanese source that three Japanese batteries in Manila Bay had been silenced after being raided five times by U.S. aircraft.

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### RAIDERS INFLICT CASUALTIES IN A DAYLIGHT ATTACK

Observers Believe Appointed Heroine of War  
From Turning Point Over in Germany.

Tokyo (From Japanese Broadcasts), April 18.—(AP)—The Tokyo regime was today told by enemy planes this afternoon, a Japanese official announcement said today. The raiders came from several directions.

Three planes were declared to have been shot down in the raid, the first of the war at Japan's imperial headquarters.

It is confirmed that three enemy aircraft were shot down when hostile planes attacked the Tokyo-Tokyo region this afternoon for the first time since the war (started), and a communiqué issued by imperial headquarters.

"The enemy planes approached from several directions."

San Francisco, April 17.—(AP)—The Tokyo radio announced tonight that "enemy bombers" attacked Tokyo, the U.S. Navy today reported.

The Tokyo broadcast said:

"Enemy bombers appeared over Tokyo for the first time in the current war, inflicting damage on schools and hospitals. The raid occurred shortly past noon on Saturday (Tokyo time)."

"Several planes failed to cause any damage on military establishments, although casualties in the schools and hospitals were as yet unknown."

"This afternoon attack on these cultural establishments and on residential districts is causing widespread indignation among the populace."

"The Japanese language broadcast said:

"Class after class on the night of the first enemy planes appeared over the city of Tokyo. A number of bombs were dropped."

The enemy planes did not attempt to hit military establishments, although casualties in the schools and hospitals were as yet unknown.

"These planes were repulsed by a heavy barrage from our defense guns."

"The previous training of the Tokyo populace for air raid defense was put into immediate practice. I wish to reveal that our losses were exceedingly light."

### BRITISH BURN OIL FIELDS IN BURMA

Observers Believe Appointed Heroine of War  
From Turning Point Over in Germany.

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The source, who is believed to be a high-ranking Japanese official, is quoted as saying that the batteries were silenced after being hit by U.S. aircraft on April 15 and 16.

The batteries were part of the Japanese defense system in Manila Bay, and their silencing is a major blow to the Japanese position in the Philippines.

The U.S. Navy is now searching for the source of the information, and is believed to be offering a large reward for anyone who can provide further details.

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### RAIDERS INFLICT CASUALTIES IN A DAYLIGHT ATTACK

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Tokyo (From Japanese Broadcasts), April 18.—(AP)—The Tokyo regime was today told by enemy planes this afternoon, a Japanese official announcement said today. The raiders came from several directions.

Three planes were declared to have been shot down in the raid, the first of the war at Japan's imperial headquarters.

It is confirmed that three enemy aircraft were shot down when hostile planes attacked the Tokyo-Tokyo region this afternoon for the first time since the war (started), and a communiqué issued by imperial headquarters.

"The enemy planes approached from several directions."

San Francisco, April 17.—(AP)—The Tokyo radio announced tonight that "enemy bombers" attacked Tokyo, the U.S. Navy today reported.

The Tokyo broadcast said:

"Enemy bombers appeared over Tokyo for the first time in the current war, inflicting damage on schools and hospitals. The raid occurred shortly past noon on Saturday (Tokyo time)."

"Several planes failed to cause any damage on military establishments, although casualties in the schools and hospitals were as yet unknown."

"This afternoon attack on these cultural establishments and on residential districts is causing widespread indignation among the populace."

"The Japanese language broadcast said:

"Class after class on the night of the first enemy planes appeared over the city of Tokyo. A number of bombs were dropped."

The enemy planes did not attempt to hit military establishments, although casualties in the schools and hospitals were as yet unknown.

"These planes were repulsed by a heavy barrage from our defense guns."

"The previous training of the Tokyo populace for air raid defense was put into immediate practice. I wish to reveal that our losses were exceedingly light."

### NUMBER OF BOMBS ARE DROPPED

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### Here's Air View of Bombed Tokyo

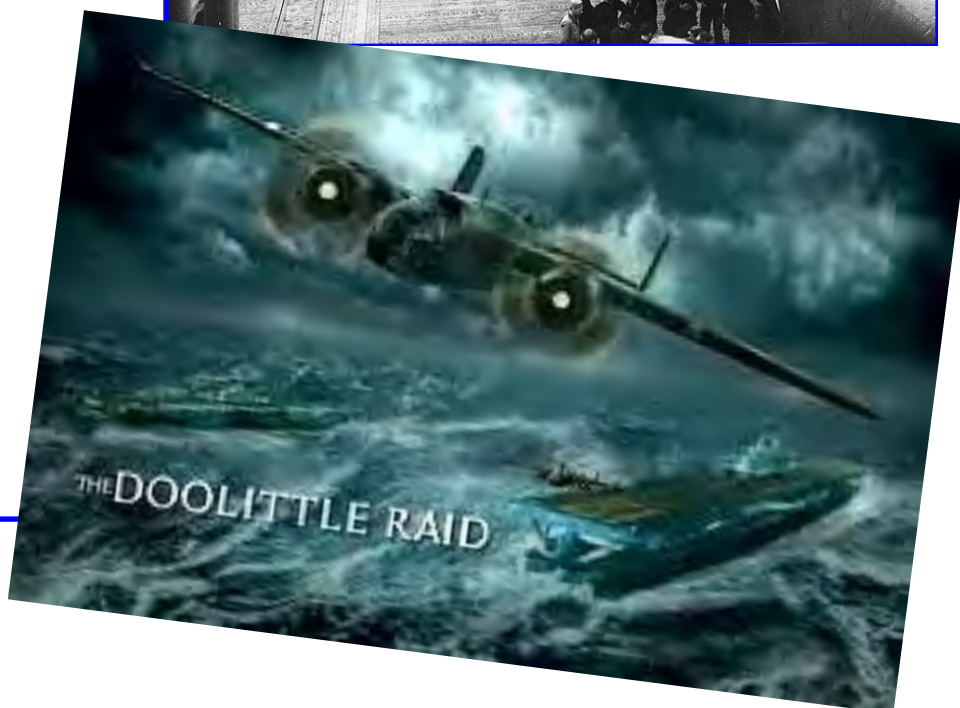
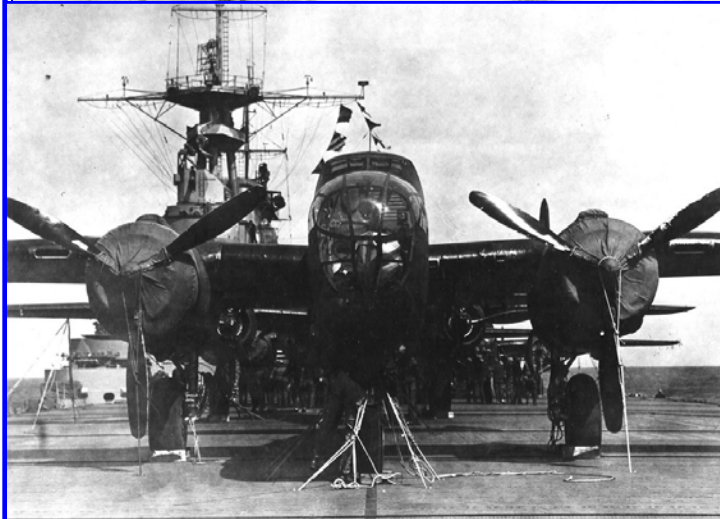
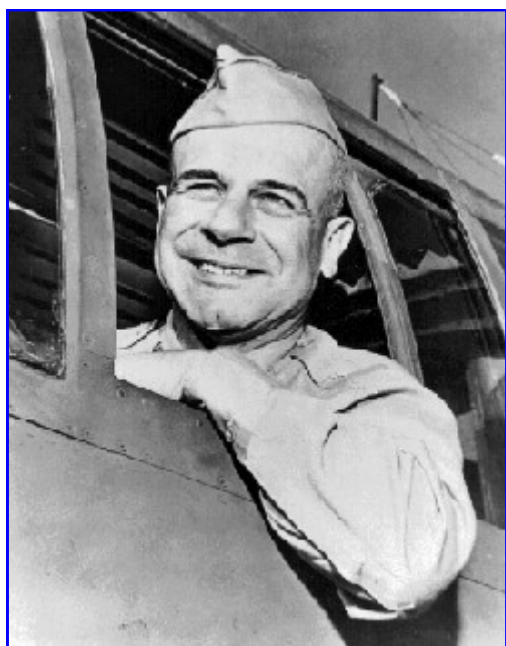




In the beginning of 1942, gloom was descending over the United States like a winter twilight. On all fronts, the United States and its allies were reeling from the blows of the Axis powers. In the Pacific, Japan had taken Malaya, Singapore, Java, Guam and Wake Island and was threatening the lifeline with Australia. On April 9, 1942, the "Battling Bastards of Bataan" in the Philippines finally laid down their arms. In the Atlantic, German U-boats were sinking American ships within sight of the U.S. coast. Britain was being strangled, and the German Wehrmacht was in the suburbs of Moscow.

The Axis powers looked invincible. In the midst of these dark days burst the light of the Doolittle Raid on Japan. The U.S. Navy conceived the raid as a way to raise morale. It entailed launching Army twin-engine bombers from the deck of an aircraft carrier to bomb selected cities in Japan. It was a way to strike back. It was a way to demonstrate that no matter how bleak the future looked, the United States would not give up.

Leading the attack was Army Lt. Col. James H. Doolittle. Jimmie Doolittle was an aviation pioneer and daredevil racer. He pioneered instrument flying. He won the Schneider Race for the Army in 1925. He pushed for higher octane gasoline for aircraft in the 1930s. Doolittle trained the volunteer crews to take off their B-25B Mitchell bombers in only 450 feet instead of the usual 1,200. The planes were loaded aboard the USS Hornet in March 1942. The plan was to launch the bombers within 400 miles of the Japanese coast. They would then bomb their targets and continue to airfields in China.



# Chapter - 11 -

*We're going home, we're going home - Home, sweet home;  
No more queuing for Yangchow stew,  
No more sharing a room with you.  
No more drinking from cheap tin mugs,  
No more hunting elusive bugs.  
No more "ichi" and no more  
No more Rollcall and whistle too.*

*(Yangzhou Camp Song)*

\* \* \* \*

## SURVIVING THE LAST LAP

The months and years of internment were passing, and it was inevitable that reduced vitamins, heavy manual work, living in crowded dormitories and the restriction of staying inside electrified wires were beginning to take their toll on the thousands of prisoners. In addition to all this, the winter of 1944 was the coldest in eastern China for seventy years.

Those in Stanley Camp had been the longest in captivity. **Sewell**, at the beginning of his account of life in this camp, had painted an idyllic picture of the lifestyle there - playing on the sands of Tweed Bay with his children, catching crabs, spotting jelly fish, picking up shells and swimming in the warm refreshing water. *"It was an internment de-luxe"*, he recalled. But two years later things were different. *"We were too weak to make the journey to the beach in comfort."* The games the internees had enjoyed were now discontinued, and the playing fields had been dug up for the growing of food; and early in 1944 the men had no energy for growing the vegetables, however much they needed them. *"Each month as it passed brought a slight change for the worse"*. Many in the camp were now suffering from dysentery and malaria, and general morale was sinking steadily. A sense of foreboding prevailed - how much longer could they keep going, and how and when would the end come?

**Christine Akerman** (then Anderson) was a teenager in Ash Camp. She recalled, *"Conditions in the camp deteriorated after the Christmas of 1944. Our clothes were wearing out and there were no replacements. Shoes were mended with old rubber tyres in the cobbler's shop. Food rations got smaller and smaller."* **Mrs. Beatrice Lack** in Weixian noted, *"There was much unrest as the third winter approached. The food was very poor, and quite a number of people failed to carry out*

*duties for which they were rostered. The Camp Committee therefore faced a difficult situation, for jobs essential to the health of the camp were not being done, and this necessitated a call for volunteers."* But a reprieve came in January 1945, when American Red Cross parcels arrived in Weixian - for the first and last time in the entire war. An earlier batch destined for this camp had been diverted for other purposes by the Japanese. There was much of nutritious value in these parcels - powdered milk, tinned butter, Spam, cheese, chocolate, sugar, coffee, jam, salmon and raisins - and energy to work was lifted briefly, and then slipped down again.

**Dr. Frances McAll** said of Pudong Camp, *"As time went on health became more of a problem. Minor scratches would get infected, and ribs began to break more easily. Baseball had to be stopped because of the risk of serious injury. Many of the women became quite anaemic, and muscles started to ache, making going up and down the stairs hard work, even for those of us who were still young."*

The pre-war League of Nations' standard of nutrition for sedentary workers living in a temperate climate was **2,400 calories per day**. In the Pudong Camp the Medical Officer wrote a letter to the Camp Commandant, **Mr. K. Tsuchiya**, dated 12 July 1944 (a year before the end of internment) charging that the internees had never been worse in health, and that it had become difficult to secure able bodied men to perform the necessary daily work. This complaint was all the more significant because Pudong had a larger workforce of men than the other camps. The Medical Officer supplied in his letter some monthly statistics on the calories per prisoner from October 1943 to June 1944 (See Table-7, ). This showed that the calories had decreased in this period from 2,566 to 1,754, and this included calories in the parcels sent each month to the internees. The letter brought no change. Similar statistics could have been furnished for the other camps, some of which did not

TABLE 7

### LEVEL OF NUTRITION PER DAY IN PUDONG CAMP FROM OCT. 1943 TO JUNE 1944

Month	Received from Japanese Authorities	Received from monthly parcels	Purchased at Canteen	TOTAL
Oct.43	1,786	223	557	2,566
Nov.43	1,682	233	557	2,472
Dec.43	1,961	203	-	2,164
Jan.44	1,977	128	-	2,105
Feb.44	1,964	455	-	2,419
Mar.44	1,886	360	-	2,246
Apr.44	1,798	141	-	1,939
May.44	1,757	57	-	1,814
Jun.44	1,736	18	-	1,754

Source: Diary of Owen D. Gander, 20 July 1944



receive any monthly parcels, making the calorie position still worse.

In the initial internment period the inefficiency of the authorities doubtless accounted for the shortage of food, as well as their failure to deliver Red Cross parcels promptly, or even at all. But by 1945 the Japanese themselves were hard pressed to feed their far flung armies, as well as their home population. The Chinese too were suffering intensely with rice and other staple commodities being appropriated by the occupying Power. The feeding of the internees in the last six months of the war was reduced to starvation level, but in the economic and political conditions then prevailing they were not alone.

In addition to the critical food problem and its effects on health and morale there was a widespread sense of foreboding and apprehension in all the camps about the future. From the "bamboo wireless" the inmates were aware of the German surrender on 7 May 1945, and more importantly of the steady advance of the Americans in the Pacific. But in Shanghai and Hong Kong there was another important indicator of the progress of the war in the East. Allied planes had begun to pass over and drop bombs, and the more frequent the raids became the more obvious it was that the Allies were turning more attention to the China war zone.



HONG KONG — Taikoo Dockyard under US air raid during WWII

Stanley Camp witnessed the first raid on Hong Kong as early as October 1942, in the first year of their internment. But the next such visit was not until August 1943, and then the bombings became more frequent and more intense; and this in turn boosted the morale of the civilian prisoners. But one violent raid on 16 January 1945 killed fourteen in Stanley Camp, when a bungalow near St. Stephens was hit by a bomb, probably in response to gunfire from Japanese soldiers firing from the rooftop of the prison buildings nearby.

The first American raids on Shanghai were on 26 July and 7 August 1944, and largescale and regular raids commenced on 11 November 1944. The Japanese had not allowed Pudong Camp to have a white cross on its main roof, and it was situated in the middle of the Shanghai industrial area. And so during the raids all the internees in this camp could do was to take shelter on

the ground floor of the buildings. One raid had the effect of enlarging existing holes in the walls of the camp, and only then did the Japanese agree to the camp having a white cross on the roof. In a strange way the camp inmates on the coast both looked forward to these raids because of their political significance and dreaded them, being so vulnerable and exposed to danger.

The Japanese were getting increasingly jittery during the last year of the war. Not only were they aware from their own radios that the Allies were advancing, but the raids themselves spoke of increased boldness in bombings. They must have feared an imminent American invasion, for they began expanding their military airports, erecting pill boxes and anti-aircraft gun emplacements. Their discipline, morale and fanatical loyalty to the Emperor began to crumble. In both Weixian and Stanley Camps Japanese guards began to indulge in black marketing, buying jewellery and watches from the internees who were desperate for food, at rock bottom prices, and making large profits when selling them outside the camps. Sometimes the guards were drunk, or could be heard having noisy arguments among themselves. The prisoners found it wise not to provoke any confrontation.

## PREPARING FOR THE END

What would the Japanese do in the event of military defeat? This was the question posed by the leaders in all the camps. The hasty removal of the prisoners of Jiangwan and Haifong Road to north China raised the possibility of the Japanese moving all prisoners, both military and civilian, in that direction, even though the overall purpose of this was not clear. Writing after the war about the stark possibilities facing the prisoners at this stage of internment, **Arthur Clarke**, who had been in Longhua Camp, said, "*Later we learned that peace came just in time for us. It is said that documents were discovered proving that the Japanese had planned to exterminate civilian internees in groups, owing to the increased difficulty of feeding us, and also as a reprisal for the bombing of Japanese cities.*" Hugh Collar, latterly at Fengtai Camp, states that **Lieutenant Honda** "admitted later during interrogation that they had seriously dis-



cussed whether or not they should kill us all and then commit hara kiri themselves."

## Order Telling Guards to Flee to Avoid Prosecution for War Crimes Order to Kill All POWs

[Main Page](#)

N.B. The Japanese had plans to murder all prisoners starting (link) in September of 1945

### Exhibit "J" - The order authorizing brutal guards and commanders to flee

Source: NARA, War Crimes, Japan, RG 24, Box 2011

**Page One** of authorization for Guards to flee because of mistreatment of POWs  
Dated 20 Aug 1945, 5 days after the surrender. For larger image, 72 dpi, 72 Kb file, click on image

Translation of [Exhibit "J"](#)

Complete text as submitted for trial.

If you want higher resolution files (300 dpi), of document, please contact us.

**Page Two** of authorization for Guards to flee because of mistreatment of POWs  
Dated 20 Aug 1945, 5 days after the surrender. For larger image, 72 dpi, 87 Kb file, click on image

### Doc 2701, Exhibit "O" - The order to murder all the POWs

Source: NARA, War Crimes, Japan, RG 24, Box 2015

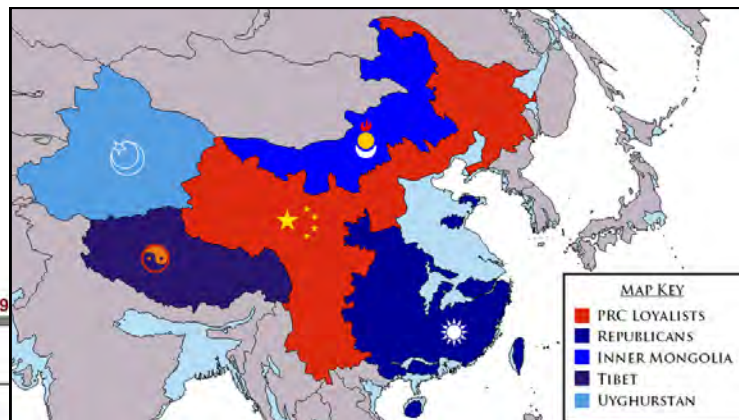
While some claim the author of this "policy memorandum" from the war ministry did not have the authority to issue order such an order, this "policy" was transmitted to every POW Command and POW prison camp commander. Other documents in this same file show that input of suggestion for the "Methods to dispose of the POWs" had been solicited from all commands in the preceding months. Per [Toru Fukubayashi](#): "It appears that the Japanese Army did have a policy to kill all the POWs if Allied Forces landed on Japanese home islands. Some argue that there are few materials to prove that this policy existed. However, Mr. Yamashita, who was the commander of Iruka Branch Camp (Nagoya No.4) in Mie Prefecture, told me in 1998 that ideas about how to kill the POWs had been discussed among the principal members of the branch camp."

**Page 1** of the War Ministry's order for the disposition (murder) of all POWs. For larger image, 72 dpi, 80 Kb file, click on image  
Date of order: 1 Aug 1944

Translation of [Exhibit "O"](#)

Applicable text as submitted for trial.  
If you want higher resolution files (300 dpi), of document, please contact us.

**Page 2** of the War Ministry's order for the disposition (murder) of all POWs. For larger image, 72 dpi, 83 Kb file, click on image.  
Date of order: 1 Aug 1944



© [http://www.mansell.com/pow\\_resources/Formosa/taiwandocs.html](http://www.mansell.com/pow_resources/Formosa/taiwandocs.html)

Another question being asked in the camps was: Would the Allies take a special initiative to save the prisoners and internees, and if so, would it cause reprisals by the Japanese? **George Scott** asserted after the war: *"It was learned later that by so narrow a margin as five days Shanghai had been spared the horrors of invasion. A member of the American military mission in Shanghai stated that August 15 was the date fixed for a major landing north and south of the city."*

But there was yet another area of danger - the bitter civil war in China. Throughout the Sino-Japanese War Kuomintang troops had been fighting the well trained and disciplined Communist armies, in addition to resisting the Japanese. As the Allied victory approached, both sides in the civil war were manoeuvring to turn the Japanese surrender to their own advantage; and there was the likelihood that after the war the fighting between them would increase in intensity.

## GUERRILLAS OFFER HELP TO WEIXIAN

Of all the camps, Weixian, being isolated in the countryside and surrounded by competing military groups, was the most vulnerable. The inmates could be caught in the crossfire of a heightened civil war, or be trapped from departing to the coast by lack of communications and broken railway lines, or exterminated by the Japanese.

As early as 3 May 1944 the Camp Committee re-

ceived a letter from **Wang Shaow-en**, who was in Sun-chen at the headquarters of a group of pro-Chongqing guerrillas. He said that, after consultation with his Commander and Assistant Commander, he had decided to "save you all from Lotaoyuan", and then send you back to your country. Please note that from here to Chungking it is rather difficult to go right through, as the Japanese soldiers have blocked up all the ways. We have to arrange to send you all back by air. In this connection we will have to send a few special men to Chungking to arrange to send down some big aeroplanes for transportation. Before we save you all out from Lotaoyuan we have a lot of things to do, such as an aerodrome being built for the planes to land. We have over 60,000 soldiers staying in the Changyi Area." He went on to ask for information about the number of British and Americans in the camp, and asked for a sketch of the camp.

Chinese Civil War 國共內戰

© [dimensionscollide.wikia.com](http://dimensionscollide.wikia.com)

In the same package which reached the Weixian Camp leaders was another letter written in Chinese dated 4 May 1944, from Wang Shangzhe, Commander of the Shandong-Jiangsu War Zone, saying, '

*"We can well imagine that your life in Hades must reach the limits of inhuman cruelty. As I write this I tear out my hair by the roots. But the Allies in the Pacific, in*



*South East Asia and on the mainland of China have counter-attacked with great success ... My division is able to rescue you, snatching you from the tiger's mouth ..."*

<http://www.weihsien-paintings.org/NormanCliff/escape/p-beleagured.htm>

Subsequent letters from this group showed that they really meant business. They stated that they were preparing an airfield near the camp, and were waiting for the gaoliang (sorghum) to be high, and then they would attack the camp, kill the Japanese guards, transport the internees to the airfield, and have them flown in relays to Chongqing. This ambitious plan had little chance of success and could plunge the whole camp into a disaster.

**Ted McLaren, Father de Jaegher** and other leaders carefully studied these proposals, and on 3 June 1944 sent a tactfully worded reply. After thanking the Chinese for their interest and sympathy in the internees' unfortunate circumstances, they said:

*"We have given careful thought to the plan put forward in your letters, and whilst the idea of our being rescued from our present plight and being transported to Chungking by plane is one that appeals to us, we realise that there are certain circumstances and conditions here in Lotaoyuan which make the successful operation of this plan doubtful. Therefore we cannot at present recommend your plan to our Consuls at Chungking ... There are also other plans that we have in mind by which both you and Commander Wang can be of the greatest help to us... For this reason we are most anxious that you arrange for our representatives to meet you, both in order that we can give you all possible co-operation and so enable our joint efforts to be directed along the most practical lines."*



*From left to right*

*Larry Tipton//Father Raymond de Jaegher//Arthur W.Hummel*

*Centre front*

*Father Tchang// ... and his Chinese friends who helped L.Tipton and A.Hummel to find their way to the Chinese guerrillas ...*

The camp representatives referred to were in fact Laurance Tipton and Arthur Hummel, whose escape from the camp on 9 June 1944 - a week after this letter -

has already been recounted. Their escape had been carried out with the help of this same guerrilla group, and in the year which followed they worked closely with this pro-Chongqing unit in ensuring the continued safety of the internees, and procuring for them urgently needed medical supplies.

But, in addition to an approach from this military group, contact with the camp came from another quarter only a matter of weeks before the Japanese surrender. It came from the Commander of the self-styled **"Communist Government of Shanxi, Hebei, Shandong and Henan"**, and was delivered secretly by a sanitation labourer who went regularly into Weixian Camp. The letter suggested that the internees should revolt one night against the Japanese, whilst simultaneously from outside the camp Communist soldiers would attack, take control of the camp, and evacuate the entire community to Yen-an in north west China. The Camp Committee sent back a diplomatically worded letter through the same labourer, saying that such a scheme would be impractical, as only three hundred out of 1,700 internees were of an age and physical ability to participate in such a rising.

From May 1945 another organisation became active in the Shandong area, charged with the task of protecting and helping Allied prisoners. On 21 May a carpenter, who came regularly into Weixian Camp to do work for the Japanese, spat out a rubber package, which **Father de Jaegher** eagerly picked up. It was from **Laurance Tipton** and said, using a code with which both sides were familiar, *"Representatives from Chungking are now here, discussing the means of protecting and financing the camp."* It then gave some brief war news: *"Foochow recaptured, Still fighting Luchu Islands."*

The representatives referred to in this message were agents of the American "Office of Strategic Studies" (O.S.S.), who had been sent into this area from Chongqing. This new organisation, a forerunner of the CIA, had sent teams of people, mostly of Oriental descent, behind the Japanese lines to search for P.O.W. camps, with a view to being one step ahead of the Japanese, by preventing killings and other retaliatory actions following an Allied victory. Another team of the O.S.S. had slipped incognito into Peking, and had succeeded in locating the Doolittle prisoners, and ascertained from their leaders the size of their cells and the conditions in which they were languishing.

Clearly the Allies were not only winning the Far Eastern war, but were also actively making plans to protect thousands of civilian and military prisoners who were suffering from malnutrition and various deprivations.

#

## Emperor Hirohito, Accepting the Potsdam Declaration, Radio Broadcast.

*Transmitted by Domei and Recorded by the Federal Communications Commission, 14 August 1945*

To our good and loyal subjects: After pondering deeply the general trends of the world and the actual conditions obtaining in our empire today, we have decided to effect a settlement of the present situation by resorting to an extraordinary measure.

We have ordered our Government to communicate to the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, China and the Soviet Union that our empire accepts the provisions of their joint declaration.

To strive for the common prosperity and happiness of all nations as well as the security and well-being of our subjects is the solemn obligation which has been handed down by our imperial ancestors and which we lay close to the heart.

Indeed, we declared war on America and Britain out of our sincere desire to insure Japan's self-preservation and the stabilization of East Asia, it being far from our thought either to infringe upon the sovereignty of other nations or to embark upon territorial aggrandizement.

But now the war has lasted for nearly four years. Despite the best that has been done by everyone--the gallant fighting of our military and naval forces, the diligence and assiduity of our servants of the State and the devoted service of our 100,000,000 people--the war situation has developed not necessarily to Japan's advantage, while the general trends of the world have all turned against her interest.

Moreover, the enemy has begun to employ a new and most cruel bomb, the power of which to do damage is, indeed, incalculable, taking the toll of many innocent lives. Should we continue to fight, it would not only result in an ultimate col-

lapse and obliteration of the Japanese nation, but also it would lead to the total extinction of human civilization.

Such being the case, how are we to save the millions of our subjects, nor to atone ourselves before the hallowed spirits of our imperial ancestors? This is the reason why we have ordered the acceptance of the provisions of the joint declaration of the powers.

We cannot but express the deepest sense of regret to our allied nations of East Asia, who have consistently cooperated with the Empire toward the emancipation of East Asia.

The thought of those officers and men as well as others who have fallen in the fields of battle, those who died at their posts of duty, or those who met death [otherwise] and all their bereaved families, pains our heart night and day.

The welfare of the wounded and the war sufferers and of those who lost their homes and livelihood is the object of our profound solicitude. The hardships and sufferings to which our nation is to be subjected hereafter will be certainly great.

We are keenly aware of the inmost feelings of all of you, our subjects. However, it is according to the dictates of time and fate that we have resolved to pave the way for a grand peace for all the generations to come by enduring the [unavoidable] and suffering what is unsufferable. Having been able to save \*\*\* and maintain the structure of the Imperial State, we are always with you, our good and loyal subjects, relying upon your sincerity and integrity.

Beware most strictly of any outbursts of emotion that may engender needless complications, of any fraternal contention and strife that may create confusion, lead you astray and cause you to lose the confidence of the world.

Let the entire nation continue as one family from generation to generation, ever firm in its faith of the imperishableness of its divine land, and mindful of its heavy burden of responsibilities, and the long road before it. Unite your total strength to be devoted to the construction for the future. Cultivate the ways of rectitude, nobility of spirit, and work with resolution so that you may enhance the innate glory of the Imperial State and keep pace with the progress of the world.

#



*Emperor Showa (Hirohito) recording the surrender speech.*

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# Chapter - 12 -

## THE DAY FOR WHICH WE LONGED - YET DREADED

It was on 6 August 1945 that the Americans dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima, killing 70,000 people and injuring approximately the same number; and two days later they dropped a bomb on Nagasaki killing 35,000 and injuring 60,000. On 10 August Japan surrendered unconditionally, and the Emperor ordered his armies to cease fighting. The nation was stunned and broken - thousands had lost relatives in the two raids, and a whole once proud nation was forced to face the total collapse of its global ambitions.



In China there was immediate relief that a seven-year long war was finally over. Ten million Chinese civilians had been killed, as well as two and a half million soldiers on both sides. Whole cities were lying in ruins from the fighting and bombings, and some forty million people had been driven from their homes and trekked southwards and westwards away from Japanese control.

In the internment camps of China were some 11,000 internees who, with drastically reduced rations after over two years of imprisonment, were struggling to survive. Their health and morale were critically low, lifted only by the "bush wirelasses" which assured them that victory could not be far away.

In the Shanghai camps, immediately after the surrender, the news seeped through to the inmates through various channels. But they had long learned to treat camp rumours with caution - so many had proved to be untrue. At Ash Camp a scientist was sceptical about an atomic bomb, and gave a public lecture on the evening of the first bombing, explaining why it was impossible to split the atom. It must have been "an extra heavy

raid", he concluded. Two Russians who had relatives in Zhabei Camp rushed there with the news which they conveyed by singing it in their mother tongue.

But when the Japanese guard on duty was asked if it was true, he said tersely, "We have no information." ' At Pudong Camp a clandestine radio set gave the welcome news in unambiguous terms, while in another part of the camp Chinese were shouting the information over the wall to their friends inside.° In the Yangzipu Camp the Japanese Commandant gave a speech on 14 August, ordering the internees to continue keeping the camp regulations. "After all", he asserted, *"There are still one million Japanese soldiers in China, and they will go on fighting."* At Longhua Camp no guards turned up for Rollcall.

But on 15 August all uncertainties were removed. On that day the Swiss Consul General summoned all Japanese Commandants and Camp Representatives (representing the internees) of the Shanghai camps to a

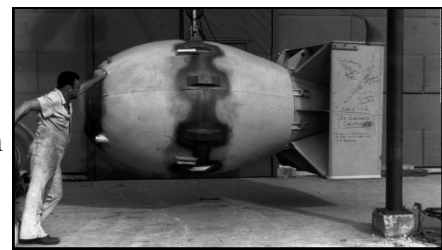
meeting in his office. His instruction were that all Japanese guards were to be withdrawn from all camps at noon that day, and from then on the Swiss Consulate, together with the International Red Cross, would be responsible for the feeding of the internees and their release from the camps.

Following on this important meeting, the Commandants at most camps gave speeches appealing for the maintenance of order until the Americans arrived.

At Yangzipu Camp the Commandant who, the previous day had exhorted the internees to continue submitting to the camp rules, now tersely told them, *"You are all exempted from Camp life from noon to-day."* Gale says of the Pudong Camp, *"The guards left quietly and without incident, and our own pre-arranged camp police took control."*

Throughout the Shanghai camps there were scenes of jubilation, dancing and celebration as the inmates now knew for certain that the end of their imprisonment had come. In some camps there were Services of Thanksgiving. Carey was in a city hospital when victory came. He says that at the Kampeitai headquarters not far away, the notorious Japanese Gendarmerie were hastily burning all records and documents. They then removed all insignia from their uniforms, and could be seen travelling on lorries towards Jiangwan, loaded with food and furniture.

Prisoners in the Shanghai camps were not kept waiting long for their liberation. American planes began dropping leaflets which said that Japan had surrendered, and that humanitarian aid was on the way. Then packag-





# レンゴウグンホリョヘ ALLIED PRISONERS

The JAPANESE Government has surrendered. You will be evacuated by ALLIED NATIONS forces as soon as possible.

Until that time your present supplies will be augmented by air-drop of U.S. food, clothing and medicines. The first drop of these items will arrive within one (1) or two (2) hours.

Clothing will be dropped in standard packs for units of 50 or 500 men. Bundle markings, contents and allowances per man are as follows:

## ATTENTION ALLIED PRISONERS

Allied Prisoners of War and Civilian Internees, these are your orders and/or instructions in case there is a capitulation of the Japanese forces:

1. You are to remain in your camp area until you receive further instructions from this headquarters.
2. Law and order will be maintained in the camp area.
3. In case of a Japanese surrender there will be allied occupational forces sent into your camp to care for your needs and eventual evacuation to your homes. You must help by remaining in the area in which we now know you are located.
4. Camp leaders are charged with these responsibilities.
5. The end is near. Do not be disheartened. We are thinking of you. Plans are under way to assist you at the earliest possible moment.

(Signed) **A. C. WEDEMAYER**  
Lieutenant General, U. S. A.  
Commanding

ATTENTION  
ALLIED  
PRISONERS

surrender. The inmates could see columns of smoke rising from the Japanese Camp Headquarters and the prison nearby, as documents were hastily being destroyed. Sometimes soldiers could be seen walking around the camp in a drunken state, anxious about their future.

Soon the internees found themselves in touch with the outside world. Leaflets were dropped over the camp instructing the prisoners to wait in the camp for relief to come. The Japanese guards vanished one day, and the camp was now patrolled by its own police. It was not until 29 August that British planes dropped food and drugs by parachute, and some of the crates hit the roofs of the camp buildings. The next day Admiral Sir Cecil Harcourt of the Royal Navy arrived, and the flags of the Allied nations were raised over the camp. They were now in safe hands.

Visitors poured into Stanley Camp from the city, but more importantly also from Shamshuipo Camp. This first contact with the military camp

es and drums of food, clothes and medical supplies were dropped by air. **E. Baker** of Zhabei describes how an American plane landed in a field near their camp, and disgorged a jeep which brought an American officer into the camp. *"Relatives and friends were soon pouring into the camps, sharing in the happiness of the war being at last over."*

Yangzhou Camp C, being some distance from Shanghai, officially heard the news after some delay. On Sunday, 12 August, female sanitary workers, coming to work in the camp, brought the news, but a period of confusion followed as to whether this was true. The Japanese guards contradicted it and became aggressive at Roll call, kicking someone who was out of line and causing unnecessary delays. It was nearly two weeks after the Chinese women first brought the news that a letter came from the Swiss Consul in Shanghai confirming the surrender of the Japanese, and advising the inmates to remain in the camp. Then at last things began to happen. American planes dropped drums of supplies, one drum smashing the roof of the main camp building. An American officer arrived in Yangzhou and took charge of the camp, and then British troops came to arrange for the internees' departure and their journey to Shanghai.

In Stanley Camp the Japanese, knowing that events were moving fast in favour of the Allies, began making belated distributions to the prisoners of items they had previously withheld - toilet paper, soap, cigarettes, tins of mutton, biscuits and rice. On 17 August the Japanese Commandant addressed the camp, announcing Japan's





was tinged with sadness - some prisoners were too ill to come, others had been sent to Japan and others had died of malnutrition and disease. "

At the Fengtai Prison near Peking the inmates, formerly in the Haifong Road Camp in Shanghai, were in poor health and living in the railway warehouse in sordid conditions. A Formosan guard, whose sympathies were with the Allies, met **Taffy Davies**, one of the prisoners, regularly in the camp kitchen and kept him promptly informed of each development in the closing days of the war. First he advised Davies on 12 August that the radio that day had declared that an important announcement from Tokyo was imminent. That evening the Emperor told the nation that the war was over, and that all fighting must cease; and this important news the guard again passed on.

At Rollcall the next morning the prisoners were kept waiting for ten minutes - it was normally very prompt and formal. Then **Endo**, an officer of junior rank, appeared and went through the procedures rather passively. The following day **Lieutenant Honda** sent for **Hugh Collar**, and advised him that negotiations were in progress to end the war, and asked what the prisoners wanted "to make them comfortable". Collar soon returned with a list of food items and a request that Rollcall be discontinued.

On 19 August a B29 circled over Fengtai, and flew towards Peking, where it dropped a **Major Wheeler** and his team. The plane returned to a position over the camp, and dropped supplies of food and clothes. On arrival in Peking, **Wheeler** immediately contacted the Japanese Commander-in-Chief, and demanded that all prisoners, both military and civilian, be brought into Peking hotels for immediate care and attention. Another plane arrived with more American personnel. The prisoners were then brought in to this centre, including four Doolittle survivors who were in a critical condition, particularly **Lieutenant George Barr**.



George Barr, 0-431644, Captain - Navigator, ...

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At the Franciscan House in Peking Father Patrick Scanlan was saying his Mass on 15 August, when a fellow priest whispered in his ear that the war was over. After Mass he was told that the Americans "had used some terrible weapons", and that "the Emperor, to save his country from destruction, had called on his forces everywhere to surrender". The Catholic priests remained on their premises to avoid trouble with the Japanese. An American plane dropped leaflets advising them to wait where they were, as Americans would soon be arriving. A radio message advised the Japanese Commander-in-

Chief to expect the arrival of American officers, who were coming to receive his surrender. Soon American servicemen were visiting the priests and nuns in the various mission compounds.

In Weixian on Monday, 13 August, a sanitary worker had spat out on the ashes a waterproof package which brought the welcome news that the war was over. This was shared with the camp leaders, who agreed to keep the news secret until it was confirmed. The writer recalls joining a crowd on the Wednesday afternoon in the Moon Gate courtyard outside the Japanese Commandant's office. Inside, a camp interpreter was tactfully asking the Commandant whether or not the war was over. He was given an evasive reply, and the crowd dispersed none the wiser.

But on Friday, 17 August, all doubts were dismissed when a B24 appeared over the camp. It circled around to find where the camp was, and when the internees brought out flags, long concealed, and waved them the compound was identified. The plane dropped seven men from an altitude of 450 feet, and they landed in gaoliang fields, a mile outside the camp, and took up positions behind mounds, which were Chinese graves, with loaded guns, uncertain of their reception by the Japanese.



The internees rushed the gate, past the confused guard, and welcomed the new arrivals, carrying them into camp shoulder high. Also, supplies of food, clothing and medicine were dropped from the air, and brought into the camp church building for distribution. In the weeks following more crates of supplies were dropped by parachute.



Major Stanley Staiger, the senior member of the American team, made immediate contact with **Koyanagi**, the Japanese Chief of Consular Police, who upon





surrendering his **samurai sword** (a symbol of submission) was surprised to be told that he and his consular police must continue to maintain order in the camp, as there were rival Communist and Kuomintang armies in



the area, fighting for supremacy. **Staiger** and his officers also met the Camp Committee of Nine, and planned with them the future administration of the camp.

By the end of August 1945 all the camps were under Allied control. The next priority was to arrange for the repatriation of internees to their home countries, and, in some cases, the return of business families to their pre-war homes.

After a few weeks the novelty of the dramatic arrival of American and British forces in the various camps was beginning to wear thin, and internees were getting restive. **Sewell** says of the Stanley Camp prisoners, *"Days of weary waiting followed, during which we were neither prisoners nor free, in which we experienced a strange empty deadness."*

On 1 September the sick were transported from Stanley Camp, and placed on a hospital ship for repatriation. During September the remainder of this camp was either repatriated or returned to their homes in Hong Kong.

The hospital patients at Yangzhou Camp C were flown by plane to Shanghai for urgent repatriation, and the remaining internees were escorted by British troops by boat to Shanghai.

Those in the Shanghai camps were overwhelmed with visits from local friends. Some of the professional men left camp promptly with their families, in order to retrieve their homes and offices in the difficult period following the departure of the Japanese. Those unable to return to their homes were accommodated at the Palace Hotel. As the repatriation ships arrived, internee families were assisted by British and American soldiers, who provided them with transport to the Shanghai Bund, whilst Japanese soldiers helped carry their luggage.

Some of the Fengtai prisoners were flown by the U.S. Air Force to Kunming, but the bulk of them, having homes and businesses in Shanghai, were taken to Shanghai from Tianjin on the U.S.S. Lavanca in early October.

In Weixian the internees were cared for by Major Staiger's Duck Team from 17 to 30 August. Lieutenant Colonel H. Weinberg and 18 American officers then took control of the camp, and made plans for the departure of all the civilian prisoners. Communists and guerrillas were fighting in the immediate vicinity, and the political situation was deteriorating. The internees would have to get to Qingdao to board ships for repatriation, but bridges had been blown up and railway lines damaged in the fighting. A truce was arranged temporarily by the Americans, and the internees were able to go by train to Qingdao, from there to Hong Kong, and to their respective home countries.

By the end of October 1945, ten weeks after the Japanese surrender, all internment camps had been vacated.

The final task of the Allies was to repatriate Japanese P.O.W.s and civilians. The tables were now turned, and those who had long been masters were now servants. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jiaoshi) made an appeal to the nation to return love for hatred. In his address he said:





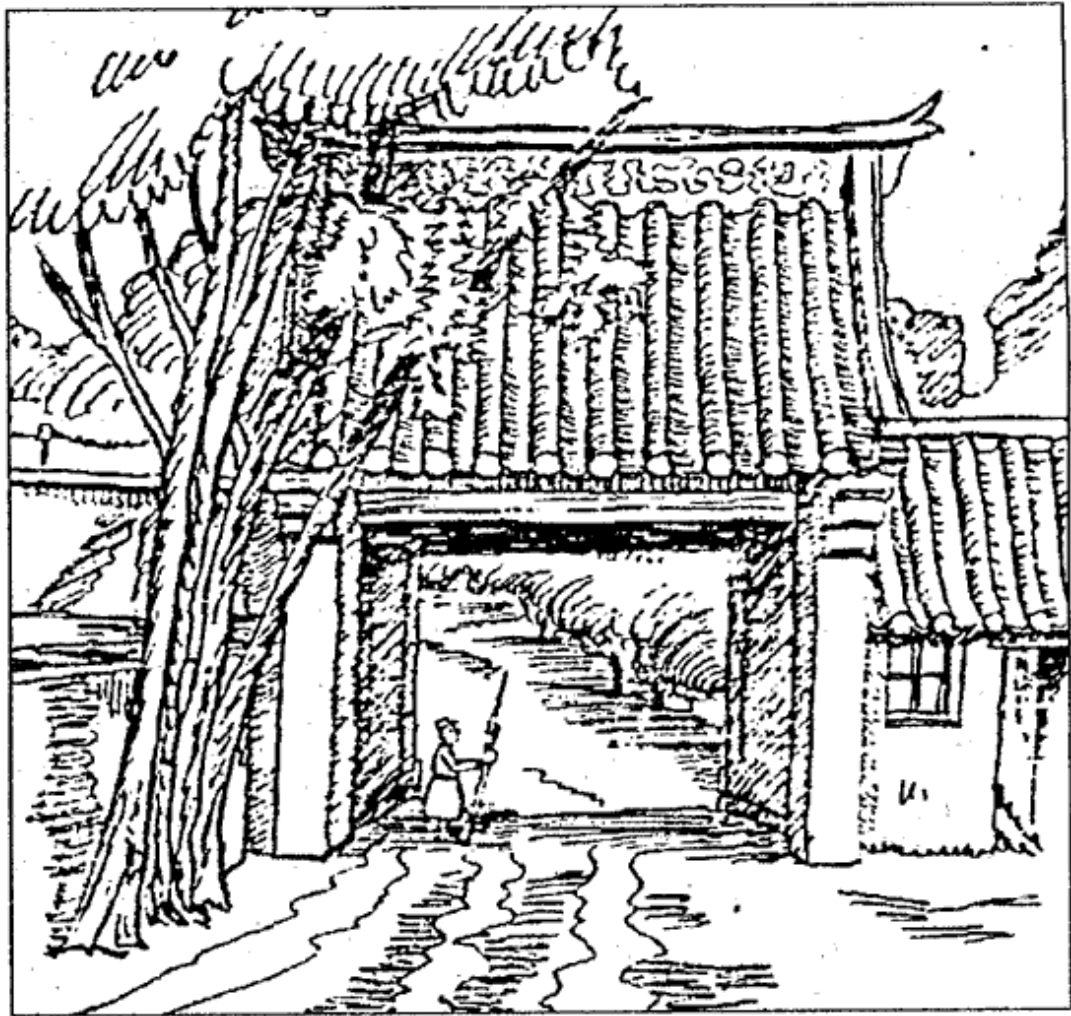
*I am deeply moved when I think of the teaching of Jesus Christ that we should love our enemies. We have always said that the violent militarism of Japan is our enemy, not the people of Japan, and so we should not for a moment think of revenge, or heap abuses upon the innocent people of Japan.*

On the whole the Chinese acted with restraint towards those who had ruled them harshly for eight years, but inevitably there were exceptions. **Father Scanlan** describes how, after leaving his "informal centre" in Peking, he helped some Japanese families get to a large assembly point in Tianjin for repatriation, and en route he had to give them protection from the angry Chinese public.

The U.S.A. and China arranged that Chinese military forces should provide the transportation of Japanese to the assembly points at the coast - which included Tianjin, Qingdao, Lianyungang, Shanghai, Xiamen, Shantou, Guangzhou and Hong Kong - while the U.S.A. was responsible for their transportation by sea back to Japan.

By the end of June 1946 the entire Japanese community in China were in Japan. No less than 2,020,345 Japanese were transported by U.S. ships, including 1,240,471 military P.O.W.s and 779,874 civilians.

But one Japanese who returned to Japan without being confined to an assembly point centre was **Kiyoshi Watanabe**. For his selfless service in the Hong Kong camps and military hospital he had won the right to enjoy his freedom.



# Chapter - 13 -

*Two men looked out of prison bars, The one saw mud, the other stars.  
Langbridge in A Cluster of Quiet Thoughts)*

## LIGHT AND BRIGHT MOMENTS

**W**e end this survey of Japanese camps in China first by describing some lighter moments in those otherwise dark days. Humour has a way of brightening up periods of deprivation, and a good laugh can be as therapeutic in an internment camp as much needed vitamins.

The war started with an ambitious programme to unite East Asia into a massive political entity, the "**New Order in East Asia**". But just before Pearl Harbor the American radio newscaster in Shanghai, when describing this programme, pronounced it in such a way that only the initiated, sensitive to the nuances of the English language, would notice it. He called it "the New Odour in East Asia".

Members of the Shanghai business and missionary community were arriving in Longhua Camp in 1943. Looking for instructions about where the accommodation was for married people, single men and single women respectively, they came to a large dormitory on the door of which were the words, "Loose Women". A Japanese officer had searched his memory for the correct word - it was to be a dormitory for women who were alone, for women who were unattached, not tied. Yes, he had found the word - loose women. The occupants of this room were to be taunted with this label for many months afterwards.

In the Pudong Camp the Camp Representative was given some American cracked wheat, which had been kept in storage by the Red Cross for several years for the purpose of famine relief. By now the wheat was infested by weevils and maggots. In their desperate need for more meat rations, a group of internees of the camp sat at a table picking out and eating the maggots with chopsticks. It was a case of "*Hear no weevil, see no weevil, speak no weevil.*"

In Weixian Camp there was a pompous little Japa-

nese officer, who was prone to constantly utter prohibitions, which he conveyed to the internees in Chinese, "Bo shing, bo shing". The camp came to associate him with these words "Bo shing de", and referred to him in his hearing as "**Sergeant Bo shing de**". The sergeant complained to the Commandant, and soon there appeared on the camp notice boards the following instructions:

Henceforth, in the Weihsien Civil Assembly Centre by Special Order of His Imperial Majesty of Japan, Sergeant Bo Shing de is not to be known as Sergeant Bo Shing de, but as Sergeant Yomikara.

Myra Scovel describes how in Weixian Camp at Easter in 1943 the camp choir was singing Stainer's Crucifixion - "The solemn occasion was not without its moment of humour when the Japanese Commandant walked down the aisle of the church, having arrived late, to the choir singing at its peak,

**Fling wide the gates!  
Fling wide the gates!  
Fling wide the gates!"**

For example, the Commandant complained that internees were being disrespectful to the Japanese guards (and thus to the Emperor of Japan) by getting in their way as they walked about the Camp on their duties. McLaren duly posted on the Camp Notice Board this delightful tongue-in-cheek notice:

*"Internees will give way to uniformed members of His Imperial Majesty's Forces, i.e. internees will alter their course to port or starboard to avoid a head-on collision. E. McLaren (Discipline Committee)"*

This piece of surreptitious mickey-taking had the internees chuckling for many weeks.

Then there are two incidents to recount when the Americans were being repatriated in 1943. While they were travelling on the Teia Maru some passengers made the pleasant discovery that there was some saki (Japanese rice wine) stowed in the hold of the ship. **Martha Philips** says, "*They were slick enough to steal some without being caught. The Japanese authorities were quite furious about it. They could not catch them stealing - they could only catch them drunk.*"

Imagine the disappointment of the repatriates when they arrived at Goa, and the Gripsholm had not arrived from New York, as had been arranged. The repatriates scanned the horizon, but there was no ship in sight, and one of them

expressed his fears - "Goa is as far as we Goan."

In May 1944 five men had escaped from the Longhua Camp. **Peggy Abkhazi** recorded in her diary, "A delightful, if apochryphal story, has just drifted in, to the effect that Hayashi has just received a postcard from Chungking from one member of the escaping gang, Murray Kidd, which reads, "*Arrived safely. Wish you were here.*"

We turn now from lighter moments of humour to brighter moments of kindness and humanity amid the tensions, resentments and distrust between nations at war, and individuals in those nations.

The camp at Longhua was fortunate to have **Mr. Hayashi** as Camp Commandant. He had done a spell of service in the Japanese Embassy in London, followed by internment on the Isle of Man, before being repatriat-



ed on the first exchange ship to Japan. The result was that he was kindly disposed towards the internees. **Carey** recounts how Hayashi worked closely with him (Carey at that stage had not yet been interned), risking his own position to obtain medicines and medical equipment for the Longhua Camp, as well as in arranging for emergency cases to be taken out of the camp to hospital. Carey says of Hayashi, *"He never refused me any reasonable request in matters of help to the internees in his own camp."* But the tragedy of his having performed these acts of kindness was that after two batches of successful escapes from this camp, he was replaced and demoted. His trust in the internees had been misplaced.

**Myra Scovel**, who was repatriated from Weixian Camp in 1943, describes the kindness of a Japanese consular policeman towards her family. Her son was missing for several hours one day, and anxious internees were searching everywhere for the little boy, both inside and outside (with the permission of the Japanese) the camp. Just before dark he was discovered leaving the Japanese Commandant's headquarters with an apple in his hand. He had had a wonderful day. The officers had taken him home, and shown him a cow and some new puppies, and had given him candy and this apple, and *"Mummy, you are crying? What's the matter?"*

Mrs. Scovel also recounts how a Japanese guard knocked at her camp door one day. He beckoned that he wanted a pair of scissors. He was given some, and went to her tomato plants. *"The soldier spent the afternoon skillfully trimming them, and in time the plants were prolific. He did not smile once, in spite of my repeated efforts to be friendly, and I never found out whether he felt sorry for us or for the tomato plants."*

**Frances McAll** says of her experiences in Pudong Camp, *"More than once we had an unexpected visitor - in the shape of one of the guards, who thrust his hand through our door with a couple of apples in it, and then rapidly withdrew."* When her husband was walking in the camp one day, an object was pressed into his hand, and a Japanese just muttered, "Baby." It was a bracelet for their daughter.

**H. Pringle** was incarcerated in the dreaded Bridge House prison. Amid his gruesome account of prolonged trials and tortures in the foul-smelling cages of the prison, comes a bright moment of sunshine. There was a new interpreter there called **Miyabe**, who made no secret of the fact that he was a Christian. Pringle gratefully recalls, *"He was a Christian and behaved like one. He saved me from many a beating by jumping between me and the kindo stick."* One day a minister of religion was being taken out for questioning, and such a summons carried with it many sinister possibilities of physical violence. **Miyabe** whispered to him as he walked slowly and apprehensively to his ordeal, *"I know your calling. I also am a Christian, and I shall do my best to prevent you from being tortured or ill treated."*

In chapter 10 we left **Corporal Jacob De Shazer** in solitary confinement in a Peking prison cell, close to death from malnutrition and disease. The reading of the Bible, which he had been given when in the Nanjing Military Prison, was giving him inward strength amid

his physical weakness.

On 9 August **De Shazer** awoke to hear a voice saying to him quietly, "Start praying."

He asked, "What should I pray about?" The voice replied, "Pray for peace and pray without ceasing." In spite of his ignorance about events in the outside world **De Shazer** obeyed, and prayed fervently for peace. He asserts, "I prayed that God would put a great desire in the hearts of the Japanese leaders for peace. I thought about the days of peace that would follow - the Japanese people would no doubt be discouraged, and I felt sympathetic towards them. I prayed that God would not allow them to fall into persecution by the victims' armies."

**De Shazer** says that at 2 p.m. the Holy Spirit said to him, "You don't need to pray any more. The victory is won." No announcements had yet come over any radio. In fact the second bomb had been dropped that day on Nagasaki, and the Japanese were considering surrender. Later the same voice told him, "You are called to go and teach the Japanese people wherever I send you."

**Jacob De Shazer** later graduated in theology at the Seattle Pacific College in 1948, and went to Japan as a Free Methodist missionary. In Japan he wrote a booklet entitled, *I was a War Prisoner of Japan*. In it he told of his raid on Japan, his parachuting down in Japanese-occupied China, and his capture by the Japanese; how when a Bible reached him in a prison cell at a time of physical weakness and malnutrition, he came into the Christian faith, and his bitter hatred of the Japanese turned to love and forgiveness, and how he had been called to preach to the Japanese.

In chapter 1 I described the brilliantly successful raid of **Commander Mitsuo Fuchida** on Pearl Harbor. Fuchida went on to lead other similar attacks on Rabaul, Darwin and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) from the same aircraft carriers. It had seemed as if the Japanese armada was invincible until the Battle of Midway on 4 June 1942 (six weeks after the Doolittle raid on Japan). Fuchida had again been designated to lead the attack on Midway, but he was just recovering from an appendicitis operation. However, he was not going to miss the fun. Struggling out of bed, he donned his uniform and was helped up to the flight deck. Propped up with pillows, he hoped to have a good view of a repeat performance of the Pearl Harbor success.

There was the scream of American dive bombers, followed by crashing explosions. Flames and smoke began to envelope Fuchida, and, in spite of his weakness, he jumped ten feet to safety to the anchor deck; but in the jump his ankles were broken and the flames were sweeping close to him. Crewmen rush to his rescue, strapped him on a bamboo stretcher and carried him to a lifeboat, which took him to the cruiser **Nagara**. During the four years which followed Pearl Harbor,



Japanese light cruiser Nagara

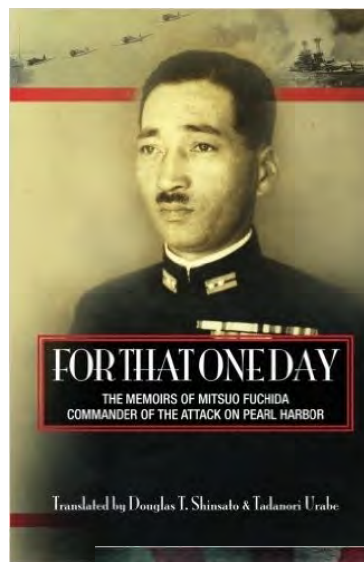
Fuchida, whilst leading further air attacks, crashed into sea no less than six times, to be rescued and sent on further war missions. His life was being miraculously spared.

When Japan capitulated in August 1945, the defeat to this patriot was bitter and shattering. All his twenty five years of naval service for his Emperor seemed to have been for nothing. He was still intensely loyal to the Throne, but now life for him seemed empty and purposeless. Returning to his native land, Fuchida went farming in southern Honshu. As he worked on his fields, surrounded by mountains, cattle and rural scenery, he felt close to nature and began to think about God. He had believed for years in war and conquest, and now began to rethink his philosophy of life.

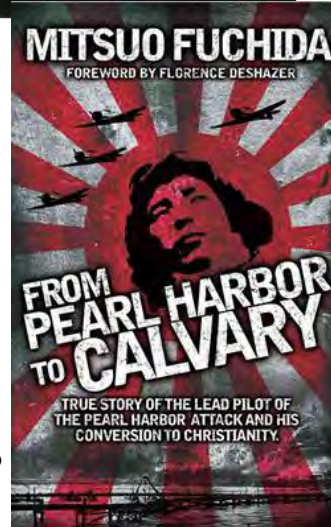
He came to the firm conclusion that, with tensions still in the world between Communism and the West, there was a danger of another fruitless and destructive war. In his spare moments he wrote a book entitled *No More Pearl Harbors*, advocating peace and goodwill between the nations, and pleading for the formation of a world community which would override the conflicting interests of individual nations.

In 1950 Fuchida was summoned from his country farm to Tokyo. General Douglas MacArthur had expressed a wish to meet the leader of the air attack on Pearl Harbor. Puzzled but curious, he boarded a train to meet the American leader, but what happened en route was destined to be more important than the meeting itself. Getting off at the Shibuya Railway Station, he saw a street meeting in progress. It was a Christian service under the auspices of the Pocket Testament League. An American moved towards him as he stood on the fringe of the group, and handed him a booklet in Japanese *I was a War Prisoner of Japan* by Jacob De Shazer.

The story of De Shazer turning from hatred of the Japanese to love and forgiveness through the reading of the Bible fired the imagination of the former leading war ace, and spurred him to also buy a Bible and read it through. When he came to Luke's Gospel and the words



*Mitsuo Fuchida and Jacob De Shazer plan evangelistic meetings in Japan  
(By courtesy of the Pocket Testament League)*



of Christ on the Cross, "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do", he understood how this book had had such an effect on De Shazer. Fuchida became a committed Christian, and then worked as an evangelist for the Pocket Testament League. He preached in the U.S.A., Britain and Germany about his new-found faith.

But a most dramatic thing happened on 14 May 1950, and with this we close our account of the prolonged war in the Far East, and the experiences of civilian and military prisoners of war. De Shazer and Fuchida preached from the same platform in the largest auditorium in Osaka, Japan, to 4,000 people. The pilot who had led the first raid in World War II on American ships was now working with a bombardier who had taken part in the first raid on Tokyo. "

This grasping of hands across bitter political divides in a common faith is the greatest need of this war-weary world.

#



*Mitsuo Fuchida ~ From Pearl Harbour to Calvary*



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*South China Morning Post*, Hong Kong, Oct. 1945  
*Whitting's War*, Article in magazine of British American Tobacco Co.

## 4. INTERVIEWS WITH FORMER INTERNEES

Person.	Date.	Camp
Mrs. C.M. Akerman	24 Jan. 1993	Ash Camp
Mr. R. Blyth	25 Jan. 1993	Yu Yuen Road Camp
Mrs. M. Clement	20 Jan. 1993	Yangshupu Camp
Mrs. H. Crane	4 Feb. 1993	Zhabei Camp
Mrs. R. Cumberbatch	15 Mar. 1993	Lincoln Avenue Camp
Mrs. J. Downie	19 Jan. 1993	Longhua Camp
Mr. F. Dunachie	11 Feb. 1993	Zhabei Camp
Mr. K.J. Flemons	19 Jan. 1993	Longhua Camp
Miss H. Forrest	23 Jan. 1993	Ash Camp
Mrs. I. Gallagher	17 Jan. 1993	Yangzhou, Yu Yuen Road and Yangshupu Camps
Dr. G. Milledge	16 Mar. 1993	Yangzhou Camp A
Mrs. A.E. Middleton	18 Jan. 1993	Ash Camp
Mrs. A.M. Morgan	3 Feb. 1993	Yu Yuen Road Camp
Mr. G. Wright-Nooth	18 Feb. 1993	Stanley & Shamshuipo Camps

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