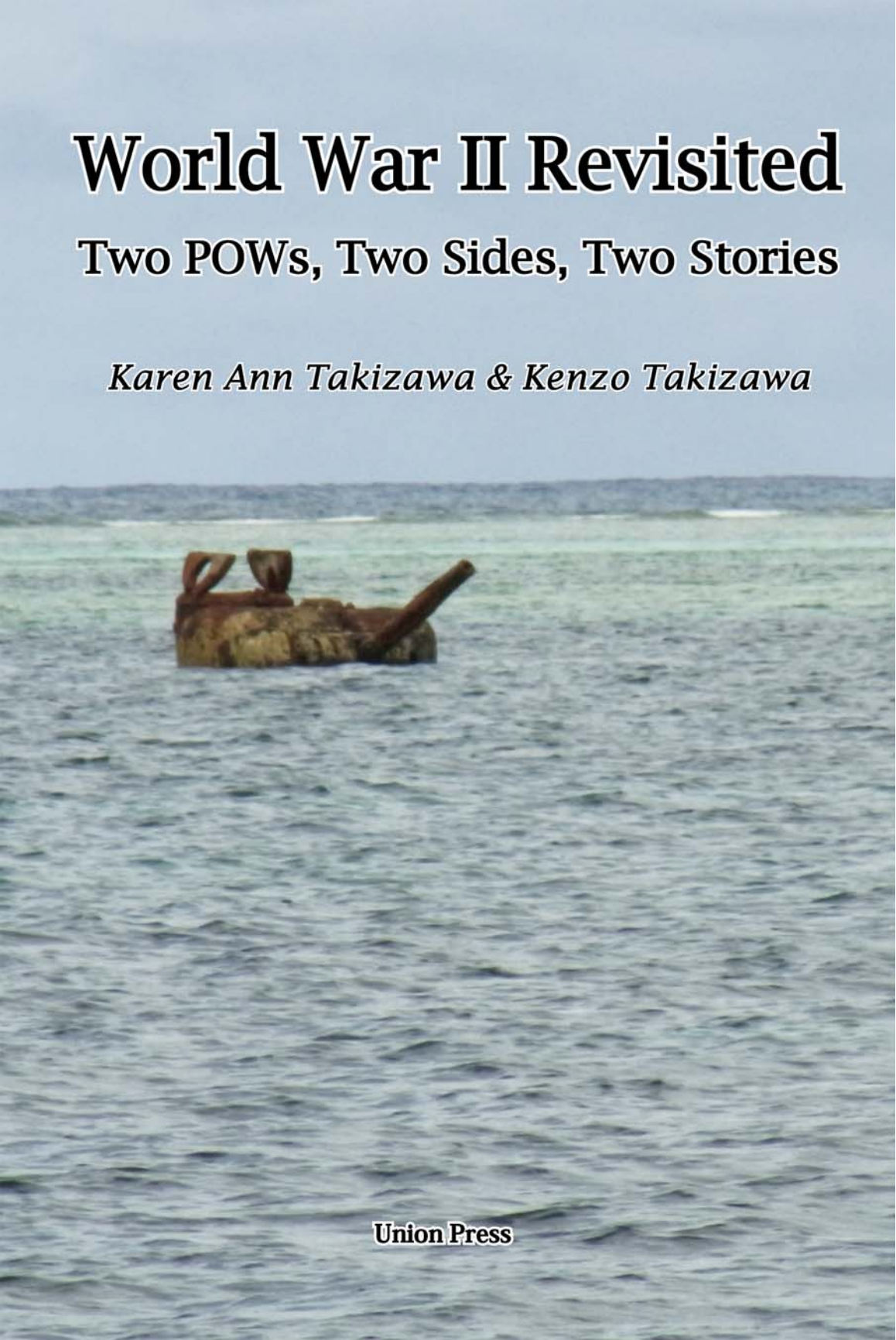
World War II Revisited

Two POWs, Two Sides, Two Stories

Karen Ann Takizawa & Kenzo Takizawa



Union Press

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To the next generation,
and the one after that,
who need to know these stories

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Union Press

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Cover: An American tank that never made it to the beach in June 1944; Chalan Kanoa, Saipan, CNMI (author photo)

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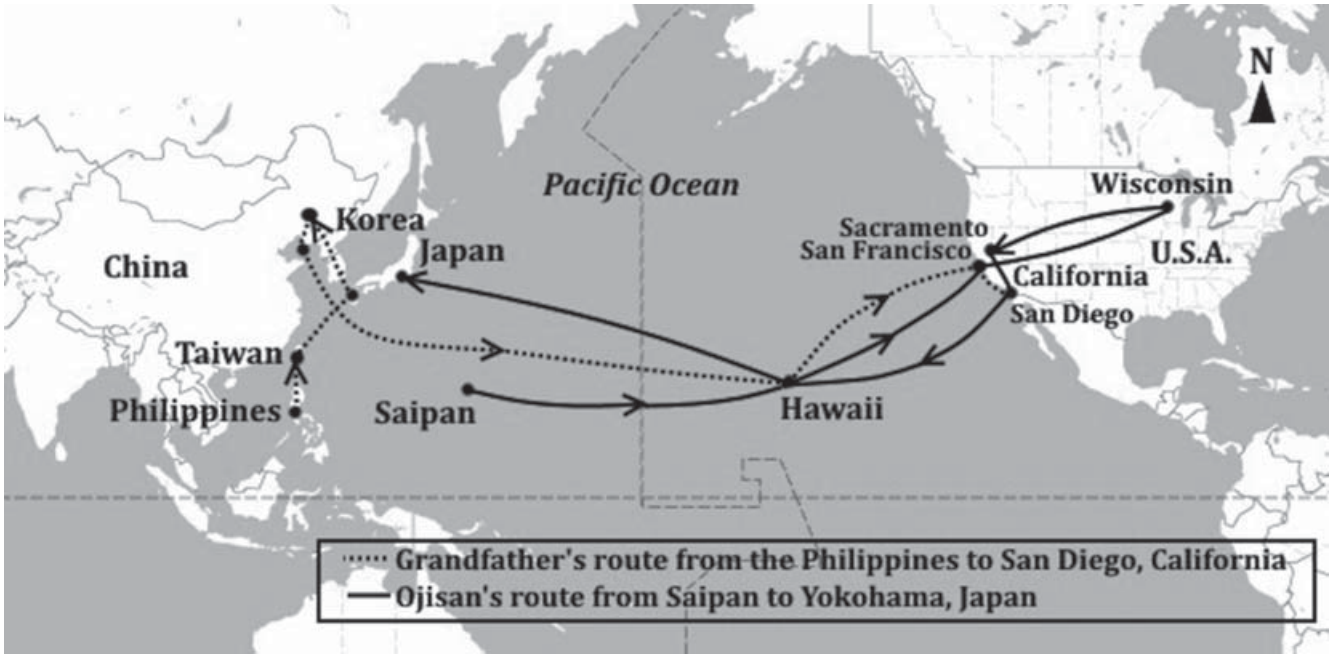


Map 1: Where They Were from Capture to Repatriation

Timeline (1929-1947)

1929 ★ *The Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War* (Geneva, July 27, 1929)
1930
1931 ★ Manchurian Incident (September 18, 1931)
1932 ★ Manchukuo officially recognized by Japan (September 15, 1932)
1933 ★ Japan resigns from the League of Nations (March 27, 1933)
1934
1935
1936
1937 ★ Marco Polo Bridge Incident; Second Sino-Japanese War begins (July 7, 1937)
1938
1939 ★ Germany invades Poland; war begins in Europe (September 1, 1939)
1940 *Grandfather arrives in Manila (October 2, 1940)*
1941 ★ Attack on Pearl Harbor (December 7, 1941); U.S. declares war on Japan (December 8, 1941)
★ U.S. declares war on Germany (December 11, 1941)
1942 ★ Fall of Corregidor (May 6, 1942); *Grandfather captured*
Grandfather arrives at Bilibid Prison (July 2, 1942)
1943 *Ojisan drafted into the Imperial Japanese Army (March 1943)*
1944 *Ojisan arrives in Saipan (April 23, 1944)*
★ Battle of Saipan (June 15 – July 9, 1944); *Ojisan captured*
Ojisan sent to Hawaii, California, then Wisconsin (August 1944)
Grandfather leaves Manila aboard the Oryoku Maru (December 13, 1944)
1945 *Grandfather arrives in Takao Harbor, Formosa (January 2, 1945)*
Grandfather arrives in Moji, Japan, aboard the Brazil Maru (January 30, 1945)
Grandfather arrives at Fukuoka Camp No. 22 (March 15, 1945)
Grandfather arrives at Mukden POW Camp (April 29, 1945)
★ Germany surrenders unconditionally to the Allied Powers (May 8, 1945)
★ Japan surrenders unconditionally to the Allied Powers (August 15, 1945)
★ Instruments of Surrender signed on the USS Missouri (September 2, 1945)
Ojisan sent from Wisconsin to California (September 1945)
Grandfather repatriated; arrives in San Francisco, California (October 22, 1945)
1946 *Ojisan in San Diego, California (January 1946), then sent to Hawaii*
1947 *Ojisan repatriated; arrives in Yokohama (January 1947)*
★ Trial of the escort guard of the POWs on the Oryoku Maru (March 10–May 9, 1947)

Preface

Karen: This is a story about two men, members of my extended family, who were on opposite sides in World War II. They never knew each other, but by chance, their paths crossed in January 1946 in San Diego, California, and decades later, they became related by marriage. They were both stationed on islands in the Pacific where there were desperate struggles with no hope of rescue, and they were both on the losing side: my grandfather on Corregidor in the Philippines, and Kenzo's uncle on Saipan in the Northern Marianas. Both men were among the few who survived these battles and the captivity that followed them, and they were both able to return to their home countries after the war.

There were differences between them, too: Kenzo's uncle was a young, unmarried farmer who was drafted into the Imperial Japanese Army at age twenty; my grandfather was married with three children,[1] a doctor, and a career military man in the U.S. Navy Medical Corps in his early forties. Another important difference was the treatment they experienced at the hands of their respective captors as prisoners of war (POWs), and that is a story that needs to be told and retold in the hope that the worst parts of it, especially, will not be repeated.

I knew both men in their later years, not extremely well, but well enough to have heard them talk about the war. The story of my grandfather, Carey Miller Smith, is based on a manuscript that was written not long after his return to his home in San Diego, California, in 1945, after he had made his official deposition for the U.S. military. According to family lore, it was written in the dining room of his home at that time on Edgeware Road. He paced about the room while dictating the story, sometimes becoming quite

emotional, as his eldest daughter, my Aunt Cathryn, typed it at the dining room table. It begins with his assignment to the Philippines in 1940 and tells about his work in hospitals in Cavite, Manila, Bataan, and Corregidor. Following his capture on May 6, 1942, it describes his three years and four months of life as a prisoner of war in Bilibid Prison in Manila, on transport ships from the Philippines to Japan, and at POW camps on the island of Kyushu, one of the four main islands of Japan, and in the Japanese colony of Manchuria on the Asian mainland, and finally his liberation at the end of the war and return to the U.S. in 1945. The events were still fresh in his mind, and he was known to have a photographic memory, so the manuscript contains concrete dates and detailed descriptions. Writing the manuscript was a monumental, and no doubt cathartic, task for the Smith family, and we are lucky that they took the time to do it.

The story of Kenzo's uncle is based on an interview we recorded with him in the autumn of 1986 at his home in Azumino, a lovely rural area at the base of the North Japan Alps near the city of Matsumoto in Nagano Prefecture. We asked him to tell us about his experiences as a soldier before and during the Battle of Saipan, as a prisoner of war in camps in Hawaii, California, and Wisconsin, and what it was like to return to a defeated nation. About forty years had passed since the end of the war, so he could not always give us concrete dates or details, but we were able to get the gist of his story.

In writing about these two men, we have had to give careful consideration to the question of what to call them. In the 1990s, when we were preparing a manuscript about POW experiences in World War II for publication in Japan, Kenzo's uncle gave us permission to include his story, but not his real name or photograph. In our book, *GI Spoon Yonhaibun no Kometsubu*[2] (Mainichi Shimbunsha, 1999), he was given the pseudonym Kawamura Kazuo, but here he is called "Ojisan," which simply means "Uncle." For my grandfather, there has never been a question about using his real name, but that would not sound natural. When I was a child, everybody in my generation in the family called him "Grandpa" or "Grandpa Smith," but here, I will use the more formal title of "Grandfather."

There are many things that I would like to ask these two men about their experiences in the war, but it is too late. Grandfather passed away in 1984 at the age of 87; at this writing, Ojisan is still alive, but he is now too frail to answer my questions.

Kenzo: The year after the war ended, I was born as the first son of a soy sauce maker in a small village in Nagano Prefecture called Aida, which one hundred years ago used to be a post town on the way to Zenkoji Temple in Nagano City. During the war and for some time after, Japan suffered from a lack of food, but the village people in Aida, who lived surrounded by rice paddies and fields of vegetables and grains, didn't feel hunger. Since Aida is geographically isolated by mountains, it wasn't directly or seriously affected by the war. One bomb was dropped on a factory in Matsumoto, the city nearest to Aida, about ten miles away, and some evacuees from the big, industrial cities came to stay in the village with relatives, but the village itself was neither bombed during the war nor visited later by the American Occupation forces.

From 1940, necessary foods, such as sugar, milk, rice, wheat, saké, beer, potatoes, eggs, fish, sweet potatoes, confections, salt, and miso, were controlled under a system of rationing. Soy sauce was also one of the controlled foods, so the soy sauce business seemed to be rather protected and stable. The main ingredients of soy sauce are wheat and soy beans, which are staple foods. I have heard that my family was even able to help some merchants who were in needy circumstances in the nearby town by giving them some food.

My father, who was running the family soy sauce factory with a brother who was 14 years older, married my mother in the spring of 1942, when he was twenty-seven years old. It was an arranged marriage, and my mother said that she saw him only once through a hole in a paper sliding door before the wedding. They were blessed with their first child, my older sister, at the end of December of that year. Japan had already been fighting in China for ten years, but the situation got more serious after Pearl Harbor, and my father was drafted. My father's elder brother was a leading member of the local *Taisei Yokusankai*, the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, which could influence military assignments. So, thanks to his older brother, my father was sent to guard the coast on the main island of Japan, rather than abroad to fight, during the war.

In my early days, there was always sufficient food for the family, even protein. There was a clean stream behind our house, where even a little child could catch fish. Occasionally, I could enjoy the meat of ducks and pheasants thanks to my uncle, my mother's beloved younger brother. He was a skillful hunter with a rifle and a hunting dog. During the off-season for farmers, he sometimes came to hunt in my mountainous village, and on

the way home to Azumino, he left some ducks or a pheasant for my family. In return, he was invited to important events, such as village festivals, as a special guest.

My uncle, who I called Ojisan, is one of the two main characters in this book. In June 1944, Ojisan was one of the Japanese Imperial Army soldiers on Saipan who was supposed to sacrifice himself for the strategic defense of Japan. He, however, was captured in a nearly-unconscious state, and he became a prisoner of war at the age of 21. He spent two and a half years in American POW camps in Hawaii and on the U.S. mainland, and he returned to Japan in January 1947. The humane treatment he received during that time was an unexpected surprise for him as a lower-ranked Imperial Army soldier.

I didn't hear any POW stories as a child. Ojisan didn't dare to talk about his experiences, and people around him didn't dare ask. Obviously, it was a sore subject. However, I got a positive image about the U.S. through his few casual words, which led to my interest in studying abroad. For example, my mother said she couldn't understand why he wanted to eat a smelly food like cheese, and she explained to me that he learned to like the terrible taste while in prison camp. Cheese was not a familiar food in Japan at that time, so I was curious to know the taste, and I gradually developed an interest in the U.S.

I learned much later that my uncle was concerned about the feelings of the family members and neighbors who had lost their husbands, sons, or brothers. In the same area, there were many soldiers who didn't come back from the war. Even though Japanese society had shifted from totalitarianism to democracy after the war, he and the people around him couldn't rid their minds of the instructions in the *Senjinkun*, the Japanese Imperial Army Field Service Code that was given to the soldiers during the war: "Do not shame yourself by being taken prisoner alive; die so as not to leave behind a soiled name."

After the war, he and the people around him avoided the topic of POWs. However, in 1986, Karen and I asked my uncle to tell us about his experiences as a POW in order to preserve the story for the next generation. He was 63 years old at the time. I had hesitated to ask him, guessing that he would be reluctant to do this, but our proposal was accepted without any fuss because of Karen's interest, enthusiasm, and faith in him.

This book tells the story of my uncle, Ojisan, along with the story of Karen's grandfather, Carey Miller Smith, who was with the American de-

fenders on the island of Corregidor when it was invaded by an overwhelming force of Japanese troops. When reinforcements were not sent to the Americans, the U.S. commander decided to surrender after a fierce fight, and Karen's grandfather became a POW. Unlike my uncle, who was treated well, he suffered a life-or-death experience as a POW in Japanese camps for three years and four months.

In 1973, while I was living in San Diego, Karen took me to meet her grandparents. Karen's grandmother showed me various items inside the house, such as old pictures. Then her grandfather showed me his garden and took me to his workshop, which was a two-story building where he kept gardening equipment and tools in the workshop on the first floor and a billiard table on the second floor. He asked me if I wanted to play billiards with him. I had never played, so I declined. My attention was glued to the wall, where I saw several medals, such as the Silver Star, the Legion of Merit, and the Purple Heart with Star, and two letters of appreciation, one with the signature of President Truman; these were displayed along with several trophies and certificates showing victories in tenpin bowling games. He asked me to play billiards with him, but he didn't say anything about the medals and letters. I wondered why the medals and letters were there mixed up with the bowling trophies.

On that day, Karen's grandfather gave me two assignments. One was to find out a way to contact a doctor he had known and liked in the prison camp in Manchuria named Aoki; he wanted to know what had happened to him after the war. The other was to find out about the money in the postal savings account which the Japanese government was supposed to have kept for him while he was a POW. The second request was easier to accomplish. I contacted the Japanese Ministry of Health and Welfare and found out that the issue had been settled by the Japanese and American governments in the 1952 San Francisco Peace Treaty, and he could not expect to get anything from the postal savings. As for the first assignment, I eventually learned that the doctor's family name was Ooki, not Aoki, but I could not find a way to contact him. Dr. Ooki was a doctor who treated every patient in the same manner and used to say, "No matter who the patient is, a patient is a patient, whether he is Japanese or American." When Japan surrendered on August 15, 1945, a dramatic ceremony was held in which the command of the POW camp in Manchuria was shifted from the Japanese to the Americans. The former Japanese camp officers and guards were imprisoned, and only Dr. Ooki was given freedom of movement. He could go anywhere he

wanted to go. His words and behavior proved to be a universal truth beyond race and time.

Karen and I have collected many books and related materials, and in these past few years, we have traveled to various places where the events in this story took place: Saipan, Corregidor and Bilibid Prison in the Philippines, the Hellships Memorial in Taiwan, and Mukden POW Camp in China. The most recent visit was to the U.S., to Fort McCoy in Wisconsin. The site of the former POW camp there is now a wilderness covered with grasses and bushes. The old gate posts are kept as they were, but there is only a single sign that explains that Japanese prisoners were there. On the other hand, about one-fifth of the Mukden POW Camp was preserved, and we could find Karen's grandfather's name engraved on a wall with the names of about 2,000 POWs in the new museum.

After visiting all of these places, there is one sentence that sticks in my mind: "Your destiny is not yours to design." Written on a monument in American Memorial Park in Saipan, this was for the native people who had been at the mercy of foreign forces that destroyed their lives. The Spanish, the Germans, the Japanese, and the Americans, one after another, came, and fought, and occupied their homeland, and the native people had no say in the matter. Why? When I think that, during the war, the Japanese military sent massive forces to somebody else's homeland and then told the soldiers to fight until death but never surrender, I feel a mixture of shame and anger.

The purpose of publishing this book is to report the outcome of our research on these two POWs, and we want to pass down a record of their experiences without transferring a feeling of hate. The past can be used as a lesson to us not to repeat the same mistakes in the future. Even the negative assets of the past can be changed into positive assets with which the next generation can live a better life. This book is our gift to them.

A note on Asian names in the text:
Japanese nationals, along with other people in Northeast Asia—the Koreans and the Chinese—write their names with the family name first, and this book will follow that convention.

PART ONE

Introduction

Steppingstones on the Path to World War II

The story of World War II encompasses many nations, but we will focus on two of them: the U.S. and Japan. In retrospect, both nations achieved remarkable things, though one followed a path to glory and the other to destruction.

In the early 1900s, it would have been hard to believe that the twentieth century would become known as "The American Century." The U.S. was a middling power on the world stage with a policy of strict neutrality in World War I (1914–1918). In fact, the U.S. did not declare war on Germany until April 1917, and despite the best efforts of President Woodrow Wilson, the U.S. never joined the League of Nations that was organized after that war.

A tendency toward isolationism in U.S. foreign policy continued into the mid-twentieth century, though wars were underway in Asia and Europe: the Japanese had been taking military action in China since the Manchurian Incident in Mukden on September 18, 1931, and their allies, the Germans, had been fighting in Europe since their invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939. This official U.S. policy line changed practically overnight, however, on December 7—December 8 on the Asian side of the International Date Line—in 1941, with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Americans think of this event as the beginning of World War II, and technically, they are correct: the U.S. declarations of war on Japan and Germany in December 1941 united the separate wars in Europe and Asia into a worldwide conflict. After a slow start and a few setbacks, the U.S. was ultimately able to rally its forces and make use of its human and natural resources and its ingenuity to fight this war on two fronts and emerge a superpower in 1945. It was a

remarkable achievement.

The case of Japan was rather different. The war in Asia was the result of careful planning, and the seeds of the tension between Japan and the West had been sown long before. The European Age of Exploration began in the late fifteenth century, when the Spanish and the Portuguese were actively competing with each other in their voyages of discovery. In order to settle a dispute between them following the return of Christopher Columbus from the New World, the Catholic monarchs of Spain and Portugal signed the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494. This treaty drew a line of demarcation (the Tordesillas meridian) from north to south dividing the Atlantic Ocean about halfway between the Cape Verde Islands, which already belonged to Portugal, and the islands of Cuba and Hispaniola, which Columbus had recently visited. The agreement was that all lands outside of Europe to the east of the line would belong to Portugal and all lands to the west would belong to Spain.

In 1512, the Portuguese, traveling around the southern tip of Africa and then east along the coast of Asia, discovered the location of the "spice islands" (now known as the Moluccas in Indonesia), the only world source of the nutmeg and cloves that were worth their weight in gold to people in Europe at that time. Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese navigator who served the Spanish crown, headed a fleet that sought a westbound route to Asia. His fleet arrived in the Moluccas in 1521, claimed that the islands belonged to Spain according to the Treaty of Tordesillas, and years of fighting ensued. In order to resolve this latest dispute, Spain and Portugal signed the Treaty of Zaragoza in 1529, in which a line of demarcation was drawn from north to south in the Pacific Ocean 17° east[3] of the Moluccas, and Spain relinquished its claim to the "spice islands" in return for 350,000 ducats of Portuguese gold. The world was now divided between these two countries, with Africa and Asia belonging to Portugal and the New World and most of the Pacific belonging to Spain. The "Moluccas meridian" ran through the eastern part of the island of Hokkaido, so most of Japan fell into the Portuguese sphere. Needless to say, these treaties were ignored by people in other countries in Europe, namely the Dutch and the English, who were equally interested in establishing their own colonies and trade routes all over the world, but they had a profound effect on the lives of people in Asia.

The Japanese obtained their first matchlock muskets from some Portuguese traders who landed on the island of Tanegashima, south of Kyushu, in 1543. The muskets were soon copied and put to use in battle, and the way wars were fought in Japan changed forever. Along with the traders came the

missionaries: Francis Xavier, the first Jesuit missionary, arrived in 1549 and stayed more than two years. The missionaries found some success among the populace, and at that time, it is estimated that there were around 300,000 Japanese Catholics, many in western Japan and Kyushu, including some of the *daimyo* (feudal lords). In order to finance the propagation of their religion, the missionaries worked with the traders who dealt in, among other things, silk fabrics, gold, musk, military supplies, and slaves. It was a time of civil war in Japan, and these activities were tolerated, but this changed drastically when Toyotomi Hideyoshi reunified the country in the late 16th century and became ruler of Japan. He wanted to maintain trade relationships with European nations, but he became suspicious of the ulterior motives of their foreign religion and disagreed with some of their principles. On July 24, 1587, he issued the *Bateren tsuihou rei* (Purge Directive Order to the Jesuits), and fearing that commoners with divided loyalty could be dangerous to his regime, he had the "26 Martyrs of Japan" put to death by crucifixion in Nagasaki in 1597.

Two years after the death of Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1598, Tokugawa Ieyasu, the first shogun, assumed power in Japan, and like Toyotomi Hideyoshi, he favored European trade, but distrusted Christian activities. The second Tokugawa shogun, Tokugawa Hidetada, issued a statement on "the expulsion of all missionaries from Japan" in 1614, which was followed by decades of religious persecution and the deportation of Christians. Between 1633 and 1639, the third shogun, Tokugawa Iemitsu, enacted a series of foreign relations policies that turned Japan into a *sakoku* (closed country). All people were required to register at their local Buddhist temple. Trade with foreign countries was restricted to a few nationalities in a few limited areas, such as the Dutch at Dejima in Nagasaki. No foreigner could enter, and no Japanese could leave the country on pain of death, and this policy remained firmly in place until 1865, near the end of the Tokugawa era.

Despite being a "closed country," the Japanese were aware enough of events on the Asian mainland, and they realized that the visits by American Commodore Matthew C. Perry and his "Black Ships" in 1853 and 1854, demanding that Japan again open itself to foreign trade, were a threat to the security of the nation. After the Treaty of Amity and Commerce between Japan and the U.S. was signed in 1858, and it was followed in quick succession by similar treaties with Russia, France, Britain, and the Netherlands, there was a widespread, xenophobic movement in Japan to "Respect the emperor, expel the barbarians" (*Sonnō jōi*). By this time, the power and

popularity of the Tokugawa Shogunate had significantly weakened, and it could not resist the patriotic movement that arose to restore imperial rule. This was finally accomplished in 1868 with the Meiji Restoration, when the shogunate was swept away and the emperor returned to a position of power in the new capital of Tokyo.

The new Meiji government, realizing that it was in no position to win a battle against the technologically-advanced Americans and Europeans with their aggressive foreign policies and unequal treaties, embarked on the road to modernization with the goal of accomplishing it as quickly as possible. This policy made the latter part of the nineteenth century a period of great change for Japan, and the country went from an isolated, feudal society to an outward-looking, industrial one. This single-minded transformation in a relatively short period of time was a remarkable achievement. The primary motivation for the Japanese was no doubt to save themselves from becoming a colony of a Western power as other Asian countries had, and in the process of learning how to compete with and protect themselves from Western nations, the leaders of Japan began to nurture a desire of their own for expansion and world power.

The first step was the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), which was fought between the forces of China's Qing dynasty and Meiji Japan. With the signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki at the end of the conflict, Japan gained control of the Korean Peninsula and the Liaodong Peninsula, plus Formosa (Taiwan), the Penghu Islands (Pescadores), and the Ryukyus (Okinawa), though within a week, control of the Liaodong Peninsula was rescinded due to pressure from Russia, France, and Germany. In any case, it was an impressive military debut for Japan on the world stage, and the end result was that the balance of power among East Asian countries shifted from China to Japan.

The next step was the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), which was fought on land in Southern Manchuria and on sea around the Liaodong Peninsula, Korea, and Japan. This conflict ended with the signing of the Treaty of Portsmouth, in which Russia agreed to recognize Japanese control over Korea, evacuate its troops from Manchuria, transfer the rights to the South Manchuria Railway to Japan, and give Japan the southern half of Sakhalin Island. Significantly, it was the first time a European nation had been defeated by a non-European nation in a modern war.

Then came World War I (1914–1918), which Japan entered early on in support of Britain. The Imperial Japanese Navy played a small role in the

Mediterranean, but a major role in protecting sea lanes from Europe to Asia and securing German-held territories in China and in the North Pacific. At the end of this war, Japan was at the table at the Treaty of Versailles and the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, had a permanent seat on the council of the League of Nations, and was granted control of the former German colonies in Asia north of the equator: the Marshall Islands, the Northern Mariana Islands, and the Caroline Islands. Japan had proposed that a racial equality clause be included in the Covenant of the League of Nations, but this idea was rejected by the Western powers. In World War I, the Japanese military suffered over 4,000 casualties. It is interesting to note that Japan had the supervision of about the same number of German prisoners of war, who were treated relatively well and made such cultural contributions as introducing Beethoven's Ninth Symphony and the confection known as *baumkuchen* to Japan.

In less than a quarter of a century, Japan had become a major player on the world stage. Along the way, from Japan's point of view, there had been both victories and disappointments, but the nation had gained confidence and begun to dream of having an empire of its own. The roots of the Japanese militarism that arose in the 1920s and 1930s can be seen in the men who were a part of the Meiji Restoration, descendants of the samurai class who wanted to protect the nation against foreign encroachment in the seventeenth century and again in the nineteenth century. Military power, they felt, would earn them the respect of the world, but military power required resources. The total area of the home islands of Japan is slightly less than that of California. The islands are generally resource-poor, except perhaps for water and people, so the acquisition of colonies with natural resources became a crucial part of the overall plan. For Japan, the underlying idea was to finally rid Asia of Western domination in the twentieth century and to create a new order, and this eventually took the form of the hierarchical Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere (1940), in which Japan would control trade in the entire region. It was a very big dream.

The military "incidents" began in Northeast China, then called Manchuria, in the early 1930s, but the starting point of the Second Sino-Japanese War (usually referred to as the China Incident in Japan) is generally said to be the Marco Polo Bridge Incident in Beijing, when Japanese and Chinese forces exchanged fire on the night of July 7, 1937. War was never officially declared, but battles in various parts of China between the Japanese and the Chinese (both Nationalists and Communists) continued for eight years.

Another step on the path to World War II was the signing of the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy on September 27, 1940. This pact called for technological and economic cooperation and mutual protection in case of attack, and each of the Axis Powers was given its own sphere of influence: Imperial Japan in Asia, Nazi Germany in Europe, and Fascist Italy in North Africa. By mid-1942, Japan held a swath of territory on the Asian continent from Manchuria to Burma and from the Aleutian Islands in the North Pacific to New Caledonia in the South Pacific—one of the largest maritime empires in history,

It all came to an abrupt end in the summer of 1945 with a series of events that rapidly brought World War II to a close: an atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima on August 6, leaders of the Soviet Union ordered troops to invade Manchuria on August 8, and a second atomic bomb was dropped on Nagasaki on August 9. Around noon on August 15, 1945, the emperor announced in a radio broadcast to the nation that Japan would accept the terms of the Potsdam Declaration, surrendering unconditionally to the Allied Powers, and on September 2, 1945, the Instruments of Surrender were signed in a historic ceremony on the USS Missouri in Tokyo Bay. The dream was over.

Codifying the Rules of War and the Treatment of Prisoners

During the nineteenth century, people in Europe began to realize the necessity of establishing international rules for the conduct of war and the definition of war crimes. To this end, the treaties that were signed after the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 resulted in the creation of the Permanent Court of Arbitration to settle international disputes, enforce prohibitions on the use of poisons as weapons, ensure the protection of civilians and their property, and other war-related issues. Japan signed, and then ratified, both of these: the Hague Convention of 1899 in 1900 and the Hague Convention of 1907 in 1911.

The Geneva Conventions—including four treaties and three protocols—specifically focus on the humanitarian treatment of people in time of war. The first Geneva Convention in 1864 resulted in recognition of the work of Swiss businessman and social activist Henry Dunant and the International Committee of the Red Cross. The Second Geneva Convention in 1906, following the Russo-Japanese War, added provisions for the protection of sailors and others fighting at sea. The Third Geneva Convention in 1929

specifically added guidelines on the treatment of prisoners of war (see Appendix 1). The U.S. signed it in 1929 and ratified it in 1932; the Soviet Union neither signed nor ratified it. There were also nine nations that signed but never ratified it, and the significant point is that Japan was one of them. Glusman (2005) has this to say about Japan's possible reasons for not ratifying the Third Geneva Convention:

> During World War I Japan captured 4,269 Germans in Tsingtao, China; they may have been treated well, but Japan's policy toward prisoners of war was about to undergo a profound change. In March 1920 Russian partisans demanded that the Japanese garrison at Nikolaevsk, at the mouth of the Amur River, disarm. The Japanese attacked instead. On orders from their brigade, the Japanese then laid down their weapons, only to be imprisoned and massacred within months. This marked a turning point in Japanese attitudes toward surrender. By 1941 the doctrine of "no surrender" was codified in the *Senjinkun*. If a Japanese soldier would choose death over capture, how could he be expected to respect enemy prisoners of war? Human life, as Japan made clear in its neocolonial exploits in Korea, Formosa, and China—indeed, within the ranks of its own military—was cheap.
>
> Japan was a party to the Fourth Hague Convention of 1907, the Versailles Treaty (whose Article 171 prohibited the use of poison gas), and the Red Cross Convention of 1929. Although it signed the 1929 Geneva Convention, it refused to ratify it. Whether this was because the "no surrender" doctrine prevented the Japanese from becoming POWs themselves and therefore placed a unilateral obligation on Japan; or because the Geneva Convention called for unmonitored meetings between POWs and representatives of a neutral power, which were considered potential security risks; or because Japan recognized that its standard of living was so far below that of the United States and England that there would be an unbridgeable gap between the subsistence provided to POWs by the "detaining power" compared to that of the "protecting power," remains unclear. (pp. 220–221)

Japan did ratify the Fourth Geneva Convention in 1953 and Protocols I and II in 2004. In 1993, the United Nations Security Council concluded that

these guidelines had become a part of customary international law, and thus binding on all nations.

Japanese POW Camps

How many POWs and how many POW camps were there? According to the POW Research Network Japan website, the Imperial Japanese Army captured a total of about 350,000 prisoners of war in Southeast Asia and the Western Pacific. Local native soldiers who had fought for the Allied Powers were released after promising that they would not resist the Japanese. The remaining 140,000 soldiers of European descent were kept in POW camps in the occupied territories, and about 36,000 were kept at POW camps in Japan. Outside Japan, the POW Research Network Japan website lists a total of 138 POW camps run by the Imperial Japanese Army and 5 camps run by the Imperial Japanese Navy. On the home islands of Japan, the website lists 125 POW camps run by the Imperial Japanese Army and 1 run by the Imperial Japanese Navy.[4] A main camp was set up by the military in each area, sometimes only for administrative purposes. Branch camps, detached camps, or dispatched camps were then opened to supply the labor requested by Japanese companies at factories, warehouses, mines, and construction sites as the need arose.[5] Later, some camps were closed when no longer required, or as the war situation changed. As this relates to Grandfather's story, there were 7 camps in the Philippines, 23 in Kyushu, and 6 in Manchuria.

In the course of our research on prisoners of war in World War II, we have had several occasions to visit the Military Archives at the National Institute for Defense Studies in Ebisu, Tokyo. "Why," we asked a researcher on the staff there, "were so many prisoners of war transported from POW camps in the Philippines and other parts of Asia to Japan? Was this official government policy? What was the purpose?" We were introduced to a report, the "*Horyo ni kansuru Shohokirui-shu*" (Anthology of Military Rules Concerning Prisoners of War), which was published in 1946. The following is a translation of the "*Houshin*" (Policy) section on "*Furyo shori yoryo*, May 5, 1942" (The Treatment of Prisoners, May 5, 1942):

1. White prisoners of war will be used as laborers for the enhancement of our industry. They will be used for labor related to military production. They will also be sent as laborers to Korea, Taiwan, Manchuria, and China, where prison camps will be es-

tablished for them.

2. Prisoners who are not white and do not need to be kept in prison camps will be released on the condition they promise not to engage in military activities against Japan, but will be used in some capacity in the local area. (p.168)

According to both Nagai (1995) and Tachikawa (2007), men of European ancestry were thought to have a certain level of skill that would benefit Japanese industry, and since many Japanese men had been sent abroad with the military, it was thought that these prisoners, especially, could supply the necessary labor. The policy of sending the prisoners of European ancestry to Korea, Taiwan, Manchuria, and China was instituted in order to show the dominance and superiority of the Japanese race to people in those countries. The second policy was seen as a way to circumvent international law. Nagai noted that the home islands of Japan were not included in the list of places where prisoners would be taken because of a disagreement among the policymakers in the government, but the final version did not preclude bringing prisoners to Japan. The day this policy was issued (May 5, 1942) should be noted. By the end of March 1942, the Japanese already had captured 200,000 Allied prisoners, and they knew there would be more after the expected fall of Corregidor in the Philippines, which came the next day, on May 6, 1942. Overall, the policy of transporting POWs to the home islands to make up the labor shortage resulted in the loss of about 11,000 men who died during or following the journey.

American POW Camps

By the middle of 1943, the U.S. War Department had a network of 500 main and branch POW camps dotted around the country, mostly for German and Italian prisoners. The bulk of the Japanese prisoners, captured in battles in Asia or the Pacific, were kept in Allied POW camps in Australia, New Zealand, New Caledonia, and western India (now Pakistan). Since the number of Japanese prisoners on the U.S. mainland was relatively small, they were simply moved to existing camps on or near military bases as transportation and space became available. Most of them, though, were kept in Camp Clarinda in Iowa, Camp Livingstone in Louisiana, Camps Hearne, Kenedy, and Huntsville in Texas, as well as Angel Island in California and Camp McCoy in Wisconsin—the places where Ojisan was held.

Krammer (1983) notes that there is still a question about the actual number of Japanese POWs in U.S. camps during the war. He puts the total number of prisoners of war in the U.S. at around 425,000: of these, over 5,400 were Japanese, about 53,000 were Italian, and over 366,000 were German. As Krammer put it, "The incarceration of the 5,424 Japanese soldiers and sailors in the United States, most captured involuntarily during the bloody battles of the South Pacific, tested the formidable ingenuity of the War Department" (p. 67). The United States was, for the first time, fighting an all-out war on two fronts (European and Asian) against enemies who were allies, but not friends. These enemies shared the same basic goal (conquest of their respective continents) and had the same history of venerating their warriors and a strong belief in their respective racial superiority, but they did not share other cultural traits, the same kind of history with their neighbors, or perhaps most importantly, the same kind of military education and training. Krammer (1983) and Straus (2003) list three reasons the United States found dealing with the Japanese POWs a particular challenge:

1. The Germans and Italians had been taught that surrender was possible and they knew about the provisions of the Third Geneva Convention with respect to the treatment of prisoners of war; the Japanese had been taught to prefer death to surrender, so they did not know what to do in case of capture.
2. The Germans and Italians expected to be treated according to the provisions of the Geneva Convention; the Japanese expected to be tortured and killed by their captors.
3. The Germans and Italians had to be questioned in isolation because the older prisoners were likely to pressure them to alter their stories; the older Japanese prisoners were more likely to encourage the younger ones to tell the truth so that the whole group would not be punished later for their lies.

As required by the Geneva Convention, the prisoners of war held by the U.S. were fed, given medical treatment, and through religious or humanitarian organizations such as the YMCA, provided with various amenities of daily life, such as art supplies, musical instruments, sports equipment, books, hobby materials, and other things for use in their free time. They were also put to work, either maintenance work on military installations or contract work for private employers to relieve the domestic labor shortage caused by the war.

PART TWO

An American POW

The Battles of Bataan and Corregidor

The Philippine Islands are relatively close to Japan and they had been American territory since the end of the Spanish-American War in 1898, and because of these unlucky accidents of geography and history, the Philippines became a major battleground at both the beginning and the end of World War II in the Pacific. In order to cripple the American military and discourage the Americans from joining the war, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, and shortly after that, on the same day, they bombed Clark Air Base in the Philippines. Japanese troops landed on the northern part of Luzon Island and rapidly moved south toward Manila. The U.S. armed forces in the Philippines, which at that time consisted of about 12,000–15,000 American troops and about 60,000 Filipino troops, were ordered to retreat to the Bataan Peninsula, and on December 24, 1941, the decision was made to declare Manila an open city. This came into effect on December 26, and it meant that all U.S. military forces would abandon the city that they were unable to defend, and all civilians would be left behind.

On Bataan, the American and Filipino troops fought on until Major General Edward P. King surrendered on April 9, 1942. This episode is known as one of the worst military defeats suffered by the United States in World War II, and it included the infamous Bataan Death March, in which so many Filipino and American soldiers died of heat, exhaustion, hunger, disease, and abuse.[6]

It is impossible to discuss World War II in the Philippines without mentioning the name of Douglas MacArthur, General of the Army and later

Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP) during the Occupation in Japan. He had extensive ties to the Philippines, beginning with his father, Arthur MacArthur, Jr., who fought in the Philippine-American War and was Governor-General of the American-occupied Philippines in 1900–1901. After his graduation from the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1903, Douglas MacArthur began his own military career in the Philippines as a member of the 3rd Engineer Battalion on a tour of duty of one year. In 1935, after his fifth tour of duty in the Far East, he was asked by Manuel Quezon, the president of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, to supervise the creation of a Philippine Army. When the United States entered World War II in 1941, he was recalled to active duty in the U.S. military by President Franklin Roosevelt and named commander of the U.S. Army Forces in the Far East (USAFFE).

On December 25, 1941, after the decision was made to declare Manila an open city, MacArthur and President Quezon moved their headquarters to the Malinta Tunnel on the island of Corregidor. Quezon, who suffered from tuberculosis, was evacuated by submarine in February 1942. MacArthur remained there until March 12, 1942, when, under strict orders from President Roosevelt, he and his wife and son left Corregidor with a group of officers in four PT boats.

After his safe arrival in Australia, MacArthur made his famous speech:

> The President of the United States ordered me to break through the Japanese lines . . . for the purpose, as I understand it, of organizing the American offensive against Japan, a primary object of which is the relief of the Philippines. I came through and I shall return.

According to Manchester (1978), MacArthur's detractors found the phrase "I shall return" to be "silly, pompous, and stupid," and he was asked to change it, which he refused to do. The General's supporters claimed that "he was speaking, not to Americans, but to Filipinos, who had more faith in his pledge than his own countrymen did" (Manchester, p. 312). He was making them a promise that he planned to keep and giving them something to hold onto in the interim.

MacArthur was eventually able to keep his promise to the people of the Philippines by returning with the U.S. Army for the Battle of Leyte (October 20–December 31, 1944), but at this point in the war, in 1942, the situation certainly looked bleak for the Allies. In Asia, the Japanese military

was strong, well organized, and victorious. The U.S. government, faced with fighting a war on two fronts, made the decision to give priority to the European Theater, and because of this, the soldiers and military staff in the Philippines were judged to be "expendable." This meant that they had to fight on with the weapons they had, some of which were left over from World War I, and that no ships, men, or supplies could be sent to relieve or reinforce them.

On December 8, 1941, when the Japanese started to bomb the Philippines several hours after the attack on Pearl Harbor, their plan was to secure Luzon Island and the rest of the Philippines in a fifty-day campaign. The rapid advance of the Imperial Japanese 14th Area Army, under the command of General Homma Masaharu, caused the Americans to retreat, first to Bataan. On the night of April 6, 1942, just before Bataan fell, Grandfather was among a small group of U.S. medical personnel who were ordered to move immediately from Bataan to Fort Mills on Corregidor, where the Americans made their last stand. Thus, Grandfather was not a part of the Bataan Death March, which ended before Corregidor fell and he was captured.

On February 5, 1942, the Japanese began shelling the fortified islands in Manila Bay (Forts Mills, Hughes, Drum, and Frank) from Bataan. The artillery duel continued for two months, but after the fall of Bataan on April 9, the lack of new supplies and the damage to the guns began to take their toll on the Americans. On May 1, when Battery Geary, one of the most effective on Corregidor, was knocked out of action, the defenders began to lose hope. On May 5, General Homma began an assault on the island in two waves, and on the morning of May 6, when three Japanese tanks took up positions at the entrance to the Malinta Tunnel and prepared to open fire, General Wainwright, knowing that he was unable to counter this kind of attack and concerned about the devastation it would cause, decided to surrender. The best that can be said about all of this was that the schedule for the Japanese fifty-day campaign had been somewhat delayed.

Grandfather's Story

Karen: I first read Grandfather's manuscript about his World War II experiences—the fall of Corregidor, Bilibid Prison, the journey to Japan on the transport ships, the stays in camps on Kyushu and in Man-

churia—when I was in junior high school, and I thought of it as a topic for a speech I had to make in one of my classes. I focused on the period beginning in late 1944 when the tide was turning against the Japanese, and they began to ship the POWs they were holding in camps in the Philippines and other parts of Asia to the home islands. When I talked about the amount of food the prisoners were given to eat after the sinking of the first transport ship, the Oryoku Maru, I held out a small handful of Uncle Ben's® uncooked rice as a visual aid. Nobody blinked, but I could tell that my speech teacher, who must have been a young woman during World War II and may have heard similar stories, was intensely interested.

The original manuscript had no title and no chapters, and it was written for people who had lived through the war and understood the references. To help the postwar reader, subheadings and notes have been added, including notes on information Grandfather was not aware of at the time, and I have taken the liberty of moving the sections on the fates of Grandfather's colleagues to the end of the story.

Assignment Philippines

August 20, 1940, I was on duty at Naval Training Station, San Diego, California, having completed about two years and two months shore duty, when I received dispatch orders giving seven days' time to board ship sailing from San Francisco on August 27, 1940, for duty on Asiatic Station. After much rush and excitement, affairs at home were arranged, myself and family drove to San Pedro, spent the day with old friends, and boarded the President Liner US Polk at Wilmington, California, about 10:00 PM August 27, departing port about 3:00 AM for San Francisco. We left that port for Honolulu at 1:00 PM on September 1. Little did I realize then the many hardships that were to be endured before my return, more than five years later. Aboard the same ship were Dr. and Mrs. Wade and family and Dr. and Mrs. Bookout, also en route to Asiatic Station.

We arrived in Honolulu Sunday, September 7 and spent the day with Dr. and Mrs. E. A. Anderson, who were on duty there and were living on Pearl Harbor Naval Reservation. The ship left Honolulu at 10:00 PM September 7, bound for Kobe, Japan. On the journey from Honolulu to Kobe, we encountered a typhoon, which I considered of moderate severity, but the family thought it was very intense. Time of arrival at Kobe was 7:00 AM, Septem-

ber 21. Enjoyed the day ashore in that city. Dick made a tour with acquaintances, with whom he had made friends aboard ship, to a shrine at Kyoto. The ship left Kobe at 11:00 PM the same day bound for Shanghai. During this journey, on September 23, I celebrated my birthday; I was greatly surprised to find a birthday cake on my table. September 24 at 1:00 PM the ship entered the Yangtze River and anchored about 6:00 PM. One of the most striking sights on arrival was the many Chinese junks in the river, all attempting to collect garbage thrown overboard from the ship and begging for food and money. Cathryn made a liberty that night ashore with Dr. and Mrs. Bookout. September 25, the entire family spent the day ashore window shopping. Dr. Wade and family left the ship at Shanghai, as he had received orders for assignment with the Fourth Marines. The ship left Shanghai at 3:00 PM September 26 bound for Hong Kong, arriving there in the early morning of September 29. The entrance to Hong Kong harbor was beautiful. The family went shopping ashore. In Kowloon, at a mission home, they bought an assortment of ivory. While in this city, we took a drive to a hotel at Repulse Bay. Monday, September 30 at 8:00 AM, we left Hong Kong for Manila, where we were to leave the ship.

The US Polk arrived in harbor at Manila about 9:00 AM October 2, 1940. One of the first things to attract my attention was the radio towers at Cavite. I was met at Manila pier by Dr. R. S. Simpson and taken to Naval Hospital Reservation at Canacao in his car. A few days later I drove the family Ford from the port area to Cavite.[7]

Upon my arrival at Canacao Hospital,[8] *I was assigned to duty as Chief of Surgical Service, which duties I performed until late in 1941. Early in November 1941 Captain Davis relieved Captain Camerer as Hospital Commanding Officer.*

Family Returns to the U.S.

My family returned to the States on board the SS Monterey, leaving Manila November 7, 1940, via Australia, New Zealand, Fiji Islands, Samoa and Honolulu. While the family was in Manila we had a great deal of trouble finding living quarters. After a couple of weeks we were able to rent a house near the Hospital Reservation. We lived there until they departed for the States. After they left, I was quartered in bachelors' quarters on the reservation, sharing quarters with Dr. George and Dr. Connell. I spent many hours while off duty driving over Luzon Island taking pictures, of which I had about 1,400 ft of 16 mm movies. Unfortunately, at the time of the surrender

of the Philippine Islands, those films and my old camera fell into the hands of the Japanese. I returned the Ford home to the family via the USS Chaumont in July 1941. In October 1941, I purchased a moderate amount of rattan furniture, shipped it home, and in the last of the weekly airmail letters that I received from my family, written November 15, 1941, I was informed that the furniture had arrived home.

The Outbreak of War

During the year 1941, there had been many rumors of unfriendly relations with the Japanese, and most people felt that a state of war might break out at any time. I personally could hardly make myself believe that the Japanese would start a war with the United States. Later events proved that I was entirely wrong.

Monday morning, December 8, 1941, at 7:30 when I turned on the radio to listen to the morning news while eating breakfast, I first learned of the Japanese aerial attack of Pearl Harbor. Then I realized that it would not be long until the Manila area would be bombed. During Monday and Tuesday, December 8 and 9, practically all the patients in the hospital were evacuated to Sternberg General Hospital[9] *in Manila. At 11:30 AM on December 10, I made a trip from Hospital Reservation to Cavite Navy Yard. I left the yard about 45 minutes before it was bombed by Japanese planes. About 12:30 December 10, I, with the patients and hospital personnel, was under the concrete steel hospital building, when two flights of two-motored Japanese bombing planes, the first flight of 27 and the second flight of 26, bombed and destroyed Cavite Navy Yard. It is estimated that about 600 to 800 were killed during the bombing, mostly Filipino yard workmen. More than 1,000 were injured. Within 20 minutes of the bombing, casualties began to arrive at Canacao Naval Hospital by various means of transportation, such as cars, taxis, truck, calesa pony,*[10] *etc. I spent the afternoon and until 8:00 in the evening in the operating room, working on bombing casualties. I would estimate that about 30 to 40 major operations were performed by three operating teams, Doctors Hayes, Boone, Berley, Fraleigh, and myself. We also treated probably 40 to 50 minor surgical cases in the operating room during the afternoon and evening. All other staff doctors were busy treating patients in other parts of the hospital. By late afternoon patients were being transferred, by small boat, from Cavite to Manila port area and taken to Sternberg General Hospital. During the night of December 10, I slept with a large part of the hospital staff under the main hospital*

building.

About 9:00 AM on December 11, I received verbal orders from Captain R. G. Davis, the medical officer in command of Canacao Naval Hospital, to report, with Dr. Fraleigh, Hospital Corpsmen Jones and Carey, and a Navy nurse, Miss Bernatitus, to Colonel Carroll, the officer in command of Manila Medical Center, Sternberg Hospital, to work as a surgical team. I made the trip from Cavite to Manila via private auto. The road out of Cavite was crowded with refugees leaving that area, taking many of their belongings by all types of transportation. I remained on duty at Sternberg General Hospital with this surgical team until December 18, when I and the rest of the team were sent to St. Scholastica's College, a Catholic girls' school in Manila, to assist in opening up that school as a hospital as a part of the Manila Medical Center. This unit was in command of Colonel Fields, (Dental Corps) U.S. Army. The personnel were all Army, with the exception of the above mentioned surgical team. It was at this hospital that I met Dr. W. H. Waterous, a Manila reserve Army doctor. During the period, December 18 to 24, at St. Scholastica's, we worked very hard converting the institution, which had served as a school, into a working hospital unit. By December 22, we were receiving and treating bombing casualties, admitting about 150 patients in the institution within the next two days.

Sent to the Hospital at Limay, Bataan

Manila was declared an open city on the morning of December 24. All military personnel began evacuating the city. At 10:00 AM, I, with other members of the surgical team, reported to Jai Alai Building in Manila, which was also serving as a hospital unit, for transportation to Bataan. About noon December 24, the Army hospital staff comprising six or eight busloads left Manila for Bataan, arriving at Limay, Bataan, about 4:00 PM. During time of the journey from Manila to Bataan, waves of Japanese planes were flying over the route bombing and strafing military objectives and highways. On four or five occasions during this trip, the truck convoy stopped, unloaded, and personnel took to the ditches during plane attacks.

Upon my arrival at Limay, I met an individual who later proved to be a very good friend in the person of Colonel James W. Duckworth, the senior medical officer on Bataan and the commanding officer of U.S. Army Hospital No. 1 throughout the Bataan campaign. Very soon after our arrival in Bataan, we were assembled by Colonel Duckworth and given instructions to uncrate and set up a hospital unit of 1,000 beds. The materials for this

hospital had been in storage in warehouses on Bataan. By December 26, all hospital material had been uncrated, a complete operating room assembled, and hospital beds in barracks capable of caring for about 700 to 800 patients were set up and ready to receive casualties. December 27, our first battle casualties entered the hospital. A few days later, General Hospital No. 2 was established, 16 to 18 kilometers from Limay. The hospital at Limay was staffed by 25 to 30 Army doctors, 30 to 40 Army nurses, 10 to 12 Filipino nurses, and about 100 Army medical corpsmen. The only Navy personnel on duty at this hospital were Dr. Fraleigh, Miss Bernatitus, Corpsmen Jones and Carey, and myself. Staff personnel had quarters in a bamboo swale [sic] [11] *type of building, very comfortable for wartime conditions. By the end of December, we had received quite a number of battle casualties.*

The operating room force was organized into eight operating teams, each team consisting of an operating surgeon, assistant surgeon, instrument nurse and two hospital corpsmen. I served as chief of the surgical service of this hospital throughout the Bataan campaign. During the first weekend of January 4 and 5, we received a large number of battle casualties. It was at this time that the American and Filipino forces had fallen back on the Bataan Peninsula, and the line was temporarily established along the San Fernando-Olongapo road. On Saturday morning, January 4, 1942, I began work at the operating table at 7:00 AM and worked all day Saturday, all night Saturday night, and until 3:00 PM on Sunday, before all battle casualties brought to the hospital during this period were treated. At times during this two-day period, all eight operating tables were in use, eight or ten patients were in the operating room receiving intravenous saline, eight or ten were on stretchers awaiting their turn for the operating table, and outside the operating room, there were as many as 30 or 40 on stretchers waiting to get into the operating room. In addition to this, there were many minor casualties that were treated through the hospital receiving ward and admitted to hospital directly without going through the operating room.

During period from January 6 to 26, 1942, there was quite a heavy patient load of battle casualties treated at this hospital. Many times, there would be from four to eight operating tables in service most of the day, and usually one to four tables operating during most of the night. As the patient space in hospital became filled, those patients whose condition would permit were removed from Hospital No. 1 to Hospital No. 2 for further convalescence. It was during this period that I began to realize the seriousness of gas gangrene infection.[12] *We had many battle casualties which did not reach*

the hospital until 36 to 48 hours after injury and many of them, by the time of arrival, had already begun to show signs and symptoms of gas gangrene infection. A separate operating room and staff was set aside to handle gas gangrene patients. A special effort was made to prevent contamination of the main operating room by gas organisms.

As the battle on Bataan progressed, the battle lines approached nearer and nearer to the hospital site, and late in January, the main line of defense was within 12 to 14 kilometers from the hospital site, easily within the range of artillery fire. The hospital area was plainly marked with red crosses, and it is my opinion that the Japanese knew definitely the location of the hospital and respected the area as a hospital. I base this statement on the fact that on numerous occasions, flights of Japanese bombing planes over Bataan flew over hospital area at a fairly low altitude, and groups of two or three reconnaissance planes made daily trips over the hospital at an altitude many times of not more than 1,000 feet. On one occasion of the flights over the hospital site, a detachment of Filipino infantry stationed across the road from the hospital, opened fire upon Japanese planes, with rifle and machine guns. The next day about noon, Japanese planes very heavily bombed this area.

During the period of hospital activity at Limay our food supply was fairly adequate, as during the interval from December 24, when Manila was declared an open city, until January 2, at which time Japanese military forces arrived in the city, many truckloads of food and supplies were moved from Manila to Bataan. Much of the credit for establishing, organizing and operating the hospital unit at Limay was due to the untiring effort of Dr. Fraleigh, (Dental Corps) USN, who was a member of my surgical team, and who had gone with the Army from Manila to Bataan.

Description of the Hospital at Limay

It might be well at this time to give a brief description of the hospital site established at Limay. This hospital was established in the compound of what had been a Filipino Army training camp, situated near the little barrio of Limay on the east coast of the Bataan Peninsula about 160 kilometers from the city of Manila. The camp was between the main highway along the east side of Bataan Peninsula and the ocean. It covered an area of about four city blocks square and was constructed around a central patio grove of large oak trees. The 12 main camp barracks, six on the east or ocean side and six on the west or side next to the highway, were used for hospital

wards. Each ward was of swale [sic] type construction, elevated about three feet off the ground and had a rough lumber floor and corrugated sheet-iron roofing. Behind each row of hospital wards were three latrines. The wards were about 16 by 70 feet and were spaced about 15 feet apart.

At the south end of the patio were three buildings, two about 16 by 70 feet each and one between these about 30 by 40 feet. These three buildings were used for nurses' quarters and nurses' and officers' mess hall. On the west side of the compound between the hospital wards and the road there were three buildings similar in size to those on the south end of the compound, which were used as the main galley and mess hall for enlisted and patient personnel. In this space also there were three smaller buildings that were used respectively as storeroom, camp office headquarters, and receiving ward. At the north end of the compound there were four warehouses, 40 by 60 feet, and one building 20 by 60 feet with a "T" extension to the rear 20 by 20 feet. This building had been used for a camp Post Exchange. It was in this building that the hospital operating room was established. The camp had sufficient running water, electric lights, and modern sanitary facilities.

Hospital at Limay Moved to Little Baguio

January 26, 1942, the main line of defense was forced back to Orani, which was only 10 or 12 kilometers from Limay. The hospital thus being too near the front line was moved to a new site, the previous location of an engineering camp, and a place on Bataan about halfway between Cabcaben and Mariveles, known as Little Baguio. This location was three-fourths of a mile from the ocean, overlooking the island of Corregidor, a distance of about three miles across the channel from the Bataan Peninsula. The new hospital site was on a hill about 500 feet above sea level, situated in a shrub pine-wooded area. In very close proximity to the hospital was the Philippine Ordnance Ammunition storage depot and surrounding it on three sides were numerous anti-aircraft gun emplacements.

Description of the Hospital at Little Baguio

The main highway down the east side of the Bataan Peninsula passed within a short distance of the hospital. The buildings were of rough lumber construction, most of the side spaces being filled in with the typical Filipino sea-shell type window. The main operating room was 40 by 40 feet, officers'

living quarters 30 by 30 feet, nurses' living quarters 30 by 40 feet, a small business office 12 by 14 feet, three areas 50 to 60 feet in length and 30 feet in width covered by sheet metal roofing, which had been temporary storage sheds for engineering material. These areas were used for hospital wards. To the rear of the camp office there was erected a small operating room about 12 by 12 feet, in which gas gangrene-infected cases were treated. The hospital galley was a shed 30 by 40 feet.

Treatment of Japanese Prisoner-Patients

This hospital was expanded later in the Bataan campaign to care for as many as 3,000 patients. Additional temporary patient space was constructed of bamboo, and the bed capacity was increased by making double- and triple-deck beds, thus using to better advantage the limited roof covering. We later built an additional hospital ward for the treatment of Japanese prisoner-patients. At the time of the fall of Bataan, Hospital No. 1 at Little Baguio had in its custody, under treatment, 36 Japanese prisoner-patients. These patients were kept under guard and were given treatment and food comparable to that received by American and Filipino patients. I have operated on 12 to 15 Japanese prisoner-patients, performing mostly amputations, as by the time these patients arrived at the hospital, in many instances, other types of surgery were not possible. The majority of these patients seemed to be very appreciative of the medical and surgical care that was given them. They were very courteous and obedient. They had stated at different times during the Bataan campaign that the Japanese air forces would not bomb the hospital. Late in March 1942, when the hospital was bombed, the prisoners made a request that they be moved to another site, stating that they felt the reason the hospital had been bombed was that the Japanese forces had learned that the prisoners were quartered at the hospital. Some of the Japanese prisoners asked on different occasions about their chances of remaining in the Philippine Islands or of going to the United States after the war was over. They stated that after they had been taken prisoner, they would not be permitted to return to their country, or if they did return to their homeland, they would have to serve a prison sentence for having permitted themselves to be taken prisoner.

On the night before Bataan fell, two of the Japanese prisoners escaped, and after the fall of Bataan, when the Japanese military forces had learned that they had escaped, they were very angry and stated that the escaped prisoners must be captured and killed, as after they had been taken pris-

oner, they were morally obligated not to escape. I do not know, nor have I been able to determine, as to whether these two prisoners were recaptured. The only death that I have seen as a doctor that I believe was caused by a blood transfusion was one of the Japanese prisoner-patients who was given a transfusion of Filipino blood. The regular procedure of typing and cross matching, before the transfusion was made, was carried out in this case, but after receiving about 200 cc of this blood, the patient began gasping for breath and died within a few minutes.

Filipino Patients and Soldiers

The Filipino patients seemed to have a great deal of difficulty in understanding the attitude of the Americans in regard to the treatment of the Japanese prisoners. Upon one occasion when there were a number of Filipino stretcher patients arriving at the hospital at the same time that one or two Japanese stretcher prisoner-patients arrived, it became necessary to keep a very close guard over the Filipino patients in order to prevent them from killing the Japanese patients.

During the campaign, I heard nothing but praise for the good soldiery work performed by the Philippine Scouts. The Filipino Army personnel had had much less training and did not measure up to the caliber of the Scouts. I have seen many wounded Filipinos who were very anxious to get their wounds treated in order that they might return to the front to continue fighting the Japanese. I have treated Filipinos that were wounded by hand-to-hand fighting with the Japanese, mostly bayonet cuts. On at least a half dozen occasions, I have heard statements made by wounded Filipinos, while on the operating table, whom I knew had no chance of recovery, to the effect that they were sorry that they had "only one life to give for their country." I have also treated other Filipinos for wounds when in my own mind I knew they were self-inflicted in order that they might be relieved from front-line fighting. In general, I believe that the Filipino soldier, when one considers his training and background, did a very good job in fighting the war on Bataan.

The Hospital at Little Baguio

When it was decided to move the hospital from Limay to Little Baguio, a distance of 30 to 40 kilometers, all of the patients were transferred to Army Hospital No. 2. The staff and equipment of Hospital No. 1 were moved by

trucks and established in an operating condition within one-day's time. I have previously stated that it was my opinion that the Japanese respected the site of the hospital at Limay and to justify that statement I might mention that on the day that the hospital was moved from there, the Red Cross markings on the buildings and in the hospital compound were obliterated. About mid-forenoon the next day, the Japanese bombed the old hospital site and turned artillery fire on it, completely destroying all the buildings and installations.

Very soon after the hospital was in functioning order at Little Baguio, we began to receive a steady flow of battle casualties. From then until the closing days of the Bataan campaign, we worked at a fairly steady gait, usually having four to six operating tables working throughout the day and one or two during most of the night. We continued to receive a large number of battle casualties that showed manifestations of gas gangrene infection. In fact, about 12% of all surgical patients showed laboratory evidence and about 3% showed definite clinical evidence of gas infection. My early experience in surgical treatment of this condition soon taught me that it does not pay to be too conservative, as I believe that a man is much better off with the loss of a leg or arm than with the loss of his life. I have seen cases in which palliative treatment, such as wide incisions to give drainage of fascial planes, have had unfavorable results, causing the loss of human life. It is true that in some instances incision is beneficial, especially in lower extremities involvement.

From Little Baguio hospital, we could see a nearly daily bombing of Corregidor and the fortified islands. I have heard a great deal regarding anti-aircraft and the number of planes that were supposedly shot down, but I have seen many, many planes bomb Corregidor and tremendous amounts of anti-aircraft fire, and only upon one occasion have I ever seen a plane destroyed by anti-aircraft fire. However, anti-aircraft certainly served a good purpose in keeping the planes at a great altitude, thus decreasing their bombing efficiency.

As the Bataan campaign progressed, we began to receive more and more cases of malaria. During my medical experience in the naval service on board ship and within the continental United States, I have seen very little malaria, but during this campaign, I was very much impressed with the seriousness of this disease entity. It was very disabling and the cerebral type caused quite a number of deaths. Dysentery became quite a problem, and it also took its toll. Our supply of emetine[13] *and carabasome*[14] *was very limited. Sanitary conditions were not ideal; thus, it was quite a prob-*

lem to control the dysentery. Many of the patients that came to the hospital after long periods of service on the front line were showing definite signs of insufficient and improper amounts of food. A few cases of beri-beri [15] *and other deficiency diseases were noted at an early stage in the war.*

The hospital, being located very close to military objectives, was frequently under air raid warning, and on many occasions, the military objectives nearby were severely bombed. On March 30, 1942, at about 10:00 AM, a flight of Japanese bomber planes dropped bombs in the area of the hospital, one 500-pound bomb landing in one of the hospital wards, killing 46 of the patients, injuring about 200 others, and partially destroying two or three hospital wards. There seems to have been quite a controversy as to whether this bombing was accidental or intentional. I believe that the bombing was accidental and that the main bombing objective was the great number of troops in the hospital area and in the road about a 50-foot distance from the hospital. During this time, there were probably 3,000 to 5,000 troops in the immediate vicinity of the hospital. After the bombing, which partially wrecked the operating room, we worked on many casualties which came in and transferred many of the wounded and convalescent patients to Hospital No. 2. After a day or so of work cleaning up and repairing the damage, we were again receiving and treating battle casualties. Four or five days later, another bomb landed in the area of the officers' quarters, damaging the quarters and injuring a few patient-personnel who were temporarily sleeping in that area.

One week before the fall of Bataan, I made a day's journey in a jeep with General Weaver, who was in command of the tanks, on an inspection tour of the tank defenses on the Bataan Peninsula. His tank battalions were dispersed on the west coast from Mariveles to Bagac and on the east coast from Orani to Cabcaben. During this trip, I was able to see a great deal of the defense line establishment on the Bataan Peninsula. I was impressed by the large number of artillery gun emplacements and especially by the excellent work that had been done by the engineering corps in building a road across the entire Bataan Peninsula from Bagac to Orani. This road was constructed over very rough terrain and through tropical jungle area. It certainly was a credit to the engineering corps. While crossing over this new sky-line highway, an artillery duel was being carried on between American and Japanese forces. Artillery shells from both sides passed over our heads and burst in close proximity to the road on which we were traveling.

Morale at the End of the Bataan Campaign

The morale of the fighting troops and of the hospital staff during the entire Bataan campaign was high. There were many rumors and much speculation regarding help, but most of the thinking people felt that it was an impossibility for the United States to send reinforcements to the Philippines. We knew it was only a matter of time until our small military force of about 25,000[16] *would be forced to surrender. Nevertheless, I believe that most of the fighting men felt as though they were part of a sacrifice force, whose principal duty was to hold up the greatest number of the Japanese military force for the longest possible time. No doubt, if that were their function, they carried it out to the best of their ability, as it has been estimated that the Japanese used as many as 200,000*[17] *troops in conquering Bataan.*

Ordered to Corregidor

Midafternoon of April 6, word came to the hospital that the Japanese had broken the main line of defense and were rapidly advancing and would soon reach the hospital site. Later in the evening, message was received from Corregidor to send all American nurses and all of the doctors and corpsmen that could be spared to Corregidor. The American and Filipino nurses, about 40 in number, left Hospital No. 1 for Mariveles at 6:30 PM, escorted by Dr. Nelson. No doctors or corpsmen were sent to Corregidor at that time. Hospital commanding officer, Colonel Duckworth, called a conference of the senior staff members to discuss the situation. He stated that he did not believe that it was his responsibility to say which members of the staff should go and which ones should remain on Bataan. His feelings were that to make such a decision would disrupt the morale of the hospital organization. This was concurred on by the other members of the conference. About 9:00 PM, a message was sent to Corregidor from the hospital stating that no doctors would be sent to Corregidor unless specifically ordered by name. All members of the staff were very apprehensive, as there was a great uncertainty as to just what would happen when the Japanese military forces arrived at the hospital, but fortunately, that evening at dark, the main body of the Japanese Army had reached Cabcaben, a distance of about 15 kilometers from the hospital, and had stopped for the night.

At 11:00 PM, a message was received from General King, the senior general on Bataan, ordering Colonel Adamo, Captain Black of the Public Health Service, and myself to proceed to Mariveles for boat transportation

to Corregidor. The first I knew of this order was when Colonel Duckworth told me that within five minutes there would be a car in front of the operating room for my transportation. He did not state where I was to go. I was instructed to pack what personal belongings I desired to take with me. Very soon, the car arrived and after we three doctors were in the car, the order was given to the driver to proceed to Mariveles, and we were told that from there we were to go to Corregidor. The distance from Little Baguio to Mariveles was 12 to 15 kilometers. The road between the two points was terribly congested with traffic, trucks, cars, tanks, guns, etc., moving in both directions, mostly toward Mariveles. The journey was slow, it taking from 11:00 PM to 2:30 AM to make the distance of 15 kilometers. The last kilometer or two had to be made on foot.

The fall of Bataan was inevitable, and during the night of April 6, various demolition tasks were carried out. Many gasoline storage tanks were ignited, much military installation was destroyed by dynamite, and the large storage depot, Philippine Island ammunition dump, was destroyed, this destruction being very noisy and presenting a display of fireworks that might be seen in the accumulated massing of dozens of Fourth of July celebrations. The tunnel spaces at Mariveles harbor area were destroyed by dynamite. While this destruction was in progress, there was an earthquake of moderate intensity.

I arrived on the docks at the quarantine station, Mariveles, at about 2:30 AM and waited there until 4:30 AM for boat transportation to Corregidor. I was transported on this trip on the USS Trabahador, a Navy tug. This ship was damaged by bombing, ran aground, and was abandoned in a sinking condition two days later. While on docks at quarantine station, there were three or four inter-island boats loading military personnel and equipment to be taken to Corregidor before morning. Our journey to Corregidor took three hours. There was so much smoke over the area that we appeared to be traveling in a dense fog. I arrived at Corregidor, south dock area, at 7:30 AM and walked a distance of three city blocks to the main tunnel entrance. I will never understand why the Japanese failed to subject the channel area between Mariveles and Corregidor to bombing on the early morning of April 7, as there were numerous small boats of various types evacuating personnel and materiel over this route.

The Fate of Patients and Staff at Hospital No. 1 on Bataan

After the fall of the Philippines, as a prisoner in Bilibid, I came in contact

with Colonel Duckworth, commanding officer of Hospital No. 1 during the Bataan campaign, and from him I learned the fate of the patients and staff personnel that remained on Bataan when I was sent to Corregidor. The advance Japanese military forces, led by Japanese tanks, arrived on the road in front of the hospital at Little Baguio at 10:00 AM on the morning of April 9. They were met at the hospital entrance by Colonel Duckworth, his adjutant, Captain Lemire, my old friend Dr. Fraleigh, and a Japanese-Filipino mestizo interpreter. The leading tank, carrying the Japanese general and an American Army major, approached the hospital firing machine guns in the underbrush at both sides of the road. When they observed the small group of above-mentioned hospital staff personnel and noted the Red Cross signs marking that area as a hospital, they ceased firing and through the Japanese interpreter, the general was informed regarding hospital installations. He posted Japanese sentries at the hospital entrance and in a half dozen positions surrounding the hospital and left orders that no Japanese military personnel be allowed to enter this area. The general and his tank formation then proceeded toward Mariveles. That evening the general returned to the hospital and used that as his headquarters for operations on Bataan for the next few days. One of the greatest concerns was the Japanese prisoner-patients that were at the hospital. They were assembled and given a lecture in Japanese; the general opinion is that they were given a severe reprimand by the general, after which they were moved from the hospital site, and their further disposition was unknown.

During the interval from the fall of Bataan on April 8, 1942, until the fall of Corregidor on May 6, 1942, General Hospital No. 1 was permitted to operate as a hospital on Bataan under Japanese guards, and it was not molested by Japanese military personnel. Sometime in June, this medical unit was moved from Bataan to Camp O'Donnell, where it functioned as a hospital for Filipino prisoners until it was disbanded and its personnel transferred to the Cabanatuan prison camp in 1942.

About the Island of Corregidor

Upon my arrival at Corregidor, I was assigned by regimental surgeon, Fourth Marines, as a member of the surgical staff of that unit and was detailed to duty in the hospital lateral[18] *with a unit that had been at Fort Mills General Hospital. At that time, this hospital had a census of 500 to 600 patients and staff personnel of about 20 doctors, 90 to 100 nurses, and 100 Army medical corps enlisted men. All personnel quartered within the*

tunnel space on the island of Corregidor. The tunnels were constructed of reinforced concrete, had electrical lighting facilities, and were equipped with steel beds. The hospital unit had its own cooking facilities, moderately large medical storeroom space, and a modern, well-equipped operating room tunnel with space provided for ten operating room tables.

The island of Corregidor is situated about three miles across the water from the Bataan Peninsula on one side and about five or six miles from the Cavite shore on the opposite side. Corregidor is an elongated island about three miles in length, irregular in outline, varying from a few hundred feet to about a half mile in width. Its surface is irregular, having roughly three areas of different elevations, known as Topside, Middleside, and Bottomside. Its proximity to the shore from two sides made it such that a great deal of Japanese artillery could be concentrated against the island.

The main beach defenses of Corregidor were entrusted to the Fourth Marines, consisting of about 1,200 men and officers. This organization had been on duty in Shanghai for a number of years and was moved to the Philippines, arriving on Bataan just a few days before the outbreak of war. They remained on Bataan until December 29, 1941, at which time they were moved to Corregidor. Corregidor was fairly well equipped and defended with large caliber guns, most of which were installed for defense from sea and not from land. It also contained a small airfield and a few anti-aircraft guns. During the period from outbreak of war until the fall of Bataan, Corregidor had been attacked many times by bombing planes. Early in the campaign, there were quite a number of planes in each bombing formation, but later the Japanese seemed to attack this area with small groups of from three to nine planes.

April 29, 1942, Corregidor received its severest shelling. Great emplacements of cement and steel were pulverized. There were 48 75-mm field guns before the shelling, and when it was over, only two remained. That day was Hirohito's birthday—maybe that was the reason. From 7:00 AM until noon of that day, a 240-mm shell fell on Corregidor at the rate of one every five seconds. That's 12 a minute, 720 every hour, and 3,600 for the five hours. Each shell weighed 500 pounds. That's 1,800,000 pounds of steel that fell on Corregidor that morning. It would take a column of trucks more than 16 miles in length to haul it. This attack resulted in quite extensive damage and many casualties, but not as many as the Japanese had anticipated, for when they landed on Corregidor they were surprised at the relatively small amount of damage to property and life done by their

severe bombing.

The Fall of Corregidor

During the period from the beginning of the war to the fall of Bataan, a great deal of work had been done in constructing beach defenses and tunnel areas, so that by the time of the fall of Bataan, Corregidor defenders were fairly well dug in. A few days after Bataan fell, the Japanese massed artillery on this peninsula, only a very short way across the channel from Corregidor, and soon began to lay down heavy artillery barrages from both the Bataan and Cavite shores, in addition to heavy bombing by air. There was hardly a time, during the last month before the fall of Corregidor that one could not hear artillery fire or bomb explosions. During the ten days or two weeks before the Japanese attempted a landing on Corregidor, they laid down intense artillery fire day and night. The surprising thing to me was the small number of casualties, when one considers the amount of shell fire directed at this island. I do not know the number killed at the gun sites, but I believe that during the last month of the defense of Corregidor, the hospital unit received an average of 20 to 30 battle casualties daily, of which four to six would usually be very severe, probably resulting in three to five deaths daily. Undoubtedly the efforts spent in constructing the beach defenses and digging tunnel shelters paid good dividends in the saving of human lives during the intense artillery fire directed at Corregidor.

The only contact with the outside world from Corregidor was an occasional submarine or Navy patrol plane, which would sneak into the island area at night, unload essential supplies, and reload with mail and personnel to be returned to the States. During the entire Philippine campaign, there were probably about a dozen submarine and a half dozen airplane visits to Corregidor.

Food during the latter days of the campaign became a little scarce. We were served two meals daily, one consisting of cracked wheat and the other of canned goods. The tunnel areas on Corregidor were very crowded with various types of military equipment, food and personnel, in addition to the hospital unit. The large number of personnel that had evacuated from Bataan was assigned to tunnel areas. One section of the tunnel system housed naval personnel who had charge of the in-shore defenses around Corregidor. The morale of the personnel maintained at a high level throughout the campaign. It seemed to be the general opinion of most everybody that it was only a matter of time until the Japanese would mass enough military force to subjugate the island. During the day all personnel assigned to the hospi-

tal remained inside tunnels. After nightfall, many of them wandered a short way outside the entrance of the tunnel for a little fresh air and a smoke. Later, this procedure proved hazardous and on one occasion resulted in quite a few casualties when a Japanese artillery shell landed near the entrance of the tunnel. Medical corps personnel, both Army and Navy, worked long hours and under very trying conditions caring for the battle casualties.

I have a great deal of praise to offer for the services rendered by the Filipino nurses both on Bataan and Corregidor. These nurses were very capable, very well trained, and untiring in their efforts in caring for the sick and wounded.

Due to heavy artillery shelling on the beaches, the defenders of Corregidor were becoming a little weary, and in the final stages of the campaign, there was a noticeable change in morale. May 4 and 5, 1942, Corregidor was subjected to very intense military fire, both day and night. There were indications that the island was being softened for a landing. This landing attempt was made in the late evening of May 5, and by about 2:00 AM on May 6, a number of landing barges were approaching and had gained a small beachhead on the island. Fighting was rather intense for the next few hours. Troops from different positions on the island were sent as reinforcements to the landing site and by about 9:00 AM most of the Japanese soldiers who had landed were either killed or isolated in a small section of the island. It was estimated that the Japanese lost between 4,000 and 5,000 soldiers in making this landing. The situation seemed to be fairly well under control. However, at 10:00 AM May 6, 1942, the Voice of Freedom, Corregidor's radio station, began broadcasting an open message to the senior Japanese military general, Homma, in Manila City. I shall never forget the broadcast, stating, "This is Corregidor calling General Homma or the senior Japanese general in Manila asking for terms of surrender." This message was repeated constantly for nearly an hour. By 11:00 AM, terms of surrender had been offered, a flag of surrender raised, and a surrender party was dispatched to Bataan shore at Cabcaben. After some discussion, which seemed to involve the surrender of troops in the Southern Islands, over which the American general in command of Corregidor claimed he had no jurisdiction, the conference temporarily broke up, and there was some question of hostilities being resumed. But an agreement was finally reached, and the fortified islands, their personnel and equipment were surrendered to the Japanese. Throughout the day in different sections of the islands there were scattered skirmishes, as some of the units either had not received surrender

orders or for some reason continued to fight after the islands had been surrendered. By nightfall all fighting had ceased, and a large number of Japanese troops landed on the islands that made up the defense of Manila Harbor.

After the Fall of Corregidor

The Japanese placed a guard at both tunnel entrances to the hospital section and permitted the hospital to function, treating its patients. There were many sightseeing parties of Japanese soldiers, officers, and newspaper representatives conducted through the hospital in the next few days. This, however, interfered very little with the routine care of the patients. During the final landing attack against Corregidor, there was an increasing number of battle casualties, and the hospital tunnel area became very crowded and remained so for the next few weeks.

The main body of Corregidor prisoners was kept in the 92nd Street Garage area for about three weeks after the fall of Corregidor, at which time they were moved to military camps at Bilibid and Cabanatuan on the island of Luzon. Conditions at the 92nd Street Garage were very bad. There was practically no provision for sanitation, very little water supply, very little food, and prisoners were terribly congested, being crowded into a very small space. This area, about three acres in size, contained 10,000 to 12,000 prisoners.

Transfer to Bilibid Prison

After the fall of Corregidor, the hospital staff personnel were permitted to spend a part of the time outside the tunnels in close proximity to the tunnel entrances. Many people took advantage of this opportunity for daylight, sunshine, and fresh air, as living conditions in the tunnel spaces were not at all pleasant, being quite dreary, damp and musty. From the time of the fall of Corregidor until June 26, the hospital functioned as a hospital in the tunnel area that it had occupied during the war. On June 26, the hospital patients, staff and materiel were moved to a section of Corregidor known as Topside, at the old site of what had been the Fort Mills Army Hospital before the war. This structure was on a rather high section of the island overlooking the Bataan Peninsula. It had been heavily shelled during the campaign and was very badly wrecked by bombs and shell fragments. However, the main part of the concrete steel structure of the hospital was still standing, and we were able to improvise places for the care of personnel

who were still hospital patients. The hospital functioned at this site until July 1, when at 10:00 AM orders were given by the Japanese to begin to load its patients and equipment at 2:00 PM, and by 4:00 PM everything was supposed to be on board ship. Loading procedures were actually completed about 6:00 PM. All equipment and personnel, with the exception of the hospital commanding officer and about 100 nurses, slept aboard the prison ship on the night of July 1. On the morning of July 2, nurses were loaded aboard ship, and about 9:00 AM, we got underway for port area in Manila City, arriving there about 2:00 PM. All personnel who were able to walk were marched through the city of Manila, a distance of about three miles to Bilibid prison camp.[19] *Patients who were unable to walk and all hospital equipment were moved from the port area to Bilibid by Japanese military trucks.*

About 3:00 PM on July 2, 1942, I arrived at Bilibid Prison, carrying all of my personal belongings, which consisted of one change of khaki clothing, a bath towel, a washcloth, and a few toilet articles. Upon arrival, we were assembled in the outer compartment of Bilibid Prison, and searched by Japanese guards. Those who had personal items of value lost them at this time, as any time a guard, while searching a prisoner's equipment, came across anything that he wanted, he took the liberty of appropriating it for his own personal use.

The Layout of Old Bilibid Prison

It might be well at this time to briefly describe the Bilibid Prison compound. This prison site is located within the city of Manila and had been used for years as the penitentiary for Filipino civilian criminals. Two years before the war, the New Bilibid Prison outside the city of Manila was completed and civilian criminals were moved to the new site. Thus for two years before the war, the Old Bilibid Prison compound was used by the Philippine government Department of Highways and contained many supplies that were used in maintaining of roads and communications throughout the island of Luzon.

The prison compound is about three city blocks in one direction and two city blocks in another direction, thus enclosing what would be about six square blocks of average size found in American cities. The compound was surrounded by an 18-foot wall constructed of adobe, stone, and concrete. The wall was two feet thick. During the time that this place was used as a prison camp, the top of the wall was equipped with high tension electric

wires to prevent prisoners from escaping. At the entrance to the prison compound was an old two-story frame building that had been used for administration offices by the prison department. This building was used to house convalescent patients and Japanese guards. It also contained the rice storage room, an improvised tailor shop, a cobbler shop and on the second deck was located the camp's library. Between this building and the street were two other Filipino-type-structure houses that were used as living quarters for the Japanese guards and Japanese camp administration personnel.

The compound was separated into two equal-sized sections by a wall similar to that surrounding the compound. One section of this prison was used by the Japanese to imprison Filipino and other national civilians who had undergone court-martial procedures by the Japanese military. It also contained recaptured guerillas, both American and Filipino. There were about a dozen women in the prison in this section of Bilibid compound. The two units of the prison were isolated from each other and the only contact between them was when a prisoner became so sick that he required hospitalization. Then he would be transferred over to the main, or hospital, side of Bilibid.

The section of Bilibid used as an American prison camp was constructed on a semi-circle pattern, the buildings radiating from a central building that had been used for a prison chapel, but was used by the Japanese for a guardhouse for their military guard. The compound contained two L-shaped buildings, 25 feet wide, both wings of the "L" measuring 40 feet; six rectangular buildings 25 feet in width and 120 feet in length; one building 25 feet square. Within the compound there were two small buildings 20 feet square that were surrounded by a wall within the prison wall; these had been used for solitary confinement and the electrocution chamber when the compound was used as a civilian prison. All of the above-mentioned buildings were of stone, adobe and concrete structure, all had concrete deck, and all had galvanized sheet metal roofs; they were all about 20 feet in height. The rectangular buildings had a door on opposite sides at each end. The windows were six feet wide and ten feet high and were closed in with vertical steel bars, spaced at five-inch intervals. These buildings had been used for prison cell blocks. The windows were boarded up with board shutters to keep out the rain and to permit ventilation. The two buildings that had been used for solitary confinement and execution chambers contained one small door entrance and one heavily barred window. Most of the buildings contained one toilet stool and one faucet with running water.

The back section of the compound was walled off from the main section

containing the above-mentioned buildings. In the rear section there were two wooden structure buildings, one 15 by 20 feet and the other 15 by 40 feet. These two buildings were used as hospital wards. A third building and shed-like structure, 30 feet square, was used for the galley storeroom and the galley firebox space for heating the cauldrons in which to cook the soup and rice. Two concrete stone buildings each 16 feet by 30 feet were separated into three compartments each by vertical iron bars. These two buildings were used, one for isolating dysentery cases, and the other for tubercular and psychopathic patients. This section of the compound also contained what had been originally planned as a small hospital for the civilian prison. This was a two-story building 40 feet by 200 feet built of reinforced concrete, it being only half completed. There were no windows in the building, no toilets, and only a part of the roof covering. This building was used to house incoming drafts of prisoners, who were awaiting transportation from Manila to Japan.

The Cemetery

A cemetery was laid out in the back section of the compound. This burial plot was an L-shaped design and contained double rows of graves with a small walk between the rows. I believe that this burial plot contained approximately 200 graves. All graves were marked with a cross made of a two-by-six material, the cross being about three feet high with a crossbar about two feet in length. On the crossbar of each grave was carved the name, rate or rank, and date of death. This burial plot was maintained very attractively throughout the period of prison life. Lawn, flowers, and shrubbery covered the area. This burial plot in some places was only 20 feet from the main camp galley.

Water and Electricity

The compound had electric lights, all buildings being wired, but there was a great deal of difficulty in getting electric light bulbs, so each individual ward was indeed fortunate if it had more than one light bulb. The water on the compound was from the same source as the water for the city of Manila, and in general it was palatable. However, there was a period of three or four months late in 1944 when the water filtering system for the city of Manila was not functioning properly, and it became necessary to boil all of the drinking water that was used. The compound was connected with the

Manila City sewer system, and in addition to the toilet stools in each building, there were provided over the compound three straddle trench structures that drained into manholes of the city sewer system. These straddle trenches were provided with an automatic water-flushing system constructed from a 50-gallon oil drum. They were very sanitary and worked very satisfactorily. On the compound, there were three racks provided with running water for the washing of clothing. There was also an outside shower bath arrangement and racks for dishwashing.

Garbage Disposal

One of the "L" buildings was used for sick officers' quarters, the warrant officers' quarters, and a small section of this building served as the commissary store. The garbage disposal during the time from July 2, 1942, until January 1944 was very satisfactory. The regular Manila City garbage trucks entered the compound and removed the garbage. During most of 1944 garbage disposal was a very difficult and serious proposition, due to the irregularity of the garbage trucks. The greatest problem during this period seemed to be that there was no gasoline available for the city's use in operating the garbage trucks; consequently there would be periods of four or five days at a time in which garbage would remain in the compound in containers which soon became quite a sanitary problem, both as to odor and fly breeding. There were many times during this period when it became necessary to bury the garbage inside Bilibid compound.

Hospital Building Assignments and Use

Buildings No. 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, and 16 were all used as patient wards. Building No. 4 was used as staff officer quarters and as hospital corpsmen quarters. Building No. 5 was used as hospital corps quarters. Building No. 7 served as headquarters building for the hospital administration office, pharmacy, drug storage room, laboratory, eye, ear, nose and throat, dental, and x-ray department and also as a dispensary for holding camp sick call and treating emergency cases.

On one end of Building No. 6, there was a space 16 feet by 20 feet that was walled off and used as an operating room. This operating unit contained an autoclave, electrical instrument sterilizer, instrument cabinet, operating table, and anesthetic machine. All of this equipment had been used by the Army on Corregidor and at the time that the patients were moved

from Corregidor to Bilibid, the hospital equipment was transferred. The Japanese permitted the hospital to keep and utilize these items. There were plenty of surgical instruments, spinal anesthesia, cotton, gauze, and operating room linen to carry out the average major surgical operation. In fact, during the two and a half years that Bilibid Hospital functioned, there was an average of 25 to 30 major operations performed each month. These operations included appendectomies, herniorrhaphies, liver abscesses, cholecystectomies, gastroenterostomy, various amputations, corrective post-war surgery, ruptured peptic ulcers, tonsillectomies, rib resections, sub-mucous resections, hemorrhoids, and urological surgery.

During 1944, one of the busiest departments on the compound was the eye, ear, nose, and throat. At this time, there were a great many cases of beri-beri optic neuritis and optic atrophy. A very careful check including eye grounds and visual fields were kept on all of these types of cases.

Hospital Equipment

The dental department functioned with equipment that was brought from Corregidor. There were two dental units in operation. At times supplies were insufficient, but in general a fair type of dental treatment was given to needy prisoners. X-ray equipment also came from Corregidor. With this equipment it was possible to give x-ray therapy to many skin lesions. The fluoroscopic unit was of great value to the orthopedic department. Early in prison life, a few x-ray films were provided, but in general the film supply was very inadequate. Laboratory equipment also came from Corregidor. This equipment was sufficient to carry out the routine laboratory procedures, such as urinalysis, blood counts, blood sedimentation, Kahn tests,[20] *and so forth. Many of the drugs that were dispensed by the pharmacy unit were from the original supplies of the Canacao Naval Hospital, the Corregidor medical supplies, and the American Red Cross. Facilities were adequate for the compounding and dispensing of available drugs.*

Red Cross Packages

In November 1943, a large supply of Red Cross medicine and food arrived in Manila via the SS Gripsholm. Apparently, a great deal of forethought and consideration had been given in the selection of the medicines and equipment that were forwarded by the Red Cross. This shipment contained the average variety of medicines that could be found in any small modern

hospital in the States. Its arrival was very timely as nearly all of the available war-time medicines were exhausted by late 1943. Bilibid hospital unit was the central storage location of all Red Cross medicines, and from this supply, requisitions were filled and forwarded for use in the various prison camps over the Philippine Islands. The allotting and dispensing of medical requisitions to prison camps was authorized and controlled by the Japanese medical officer in charge of Bilibid.

The medications used in wards in Bilibid were drawn from dispensary upon ward requisition, and while inadequate in amount and variety, they did provide many of the necessary types of medicines. This shipment of drugs contained a large amount and variety of vitamins. These were dispensed not only to Bilibid patients, but to Bilibid camp personnel in general. For many months, the entire population on the compound received two multiple vitamins daily.

Upon arrival of the Red Cross drugs from the States, every packing box and practically every small carton were opened and thoroughly inspected by the Japanese military police. This inspection was done in Bilibid compound. In general, it was a useless procedure, as each packing crate contained a bill of lading, itemizing its contents. However, the Japanese were not satisfied until they had opened and fingered every item in the drug shipment.

Beds and Bedding

Early in prison life, the buildings used for hospital wards were very crowded and contained very few beds. Most of the patients slept on the concrete deck, a space of two feet being allowed for each patient. Their clothing was very meager and likewise their bedding. After the arrival of supplies and equipment from Corregidor, many of the critically ill patients were provided with a steel bed and a mattress. In the compound, there were a few blankets and a very limited number of bed sheets. The hospital corpsmen occupied one and a half buildings. As time went on, from available lumber in the compound, they constructed themselves various types of wooden beds, usually in tiers of two and three in height. These beds consisted merely of platforms on which to sleep, as very few of them had any bedding.

Cooking Facilities

The staff medical officers occupied one-half of one building. They also slept on rudely constructed platform beds. There was enough space so that beds

were single deck with possibly two to three feet distance between each bunk. The staff quarters contained in one end of the building a small galley section, in which we were permitted to have three or four electric hot plates for individual food cooking. The hospital staff had its own mess and drew their allotted rations from the main galley, the same as patients in the wards. In addition to this they were able, at times, to supplement the general mess chow with items purchased through the commissary store.

Use of the Hospital Buildings

Buildings No. 8 and 9 were probably the most dreary buildings on the compound, as they had been used for the prison's solitary confinement and electrocution chamber. When the compound became overcrowded, these two buildings were utilized the same as all other buildings for the sleeping of hospital patients and prisoners. During most of 1944, the electrocution chamber was used for the charting of eye ground visual fields on starvation eye cases. Building No. 12 was divided into three sections. One of these sections was used as an isolation space for active tuberculosis patients. This space would accommodate about half a dozen patients. The other two sections of this building were used to care for psychopathic cases, of which there were usually from 15 to 25 in the compound at all times. Building No. 13 was used for amoebic dysentery cases. This building would accommodate about 25 patients and was full at all times; in fact, late in 1944, it became necessary to allot a section of the uncompleted prison hospital building for the treatment and isolation of dysentery patients. A large number of deaths in the hospital were due to amoebic dysentery. The sanitary facilities and general prison conditions made it very hard to treat and prevent the spread of dysentery. Buildings No. 14 and 16 were both used as hospital wards. These two wooden buildings were really more shed structures than buildings. Many of the senile prisoners were quartered in these buildings.

Building No. 15 served as a galley storeroom and a galley cooking space. The main camp cooking facilities consisted of about a dozen cauldrons, two feet deep and four to five feet in diameter. These cauldrons were fitted in concrete brick fireboxes and were used for cooking rice, fish, and soup. The wood for cooking the food was always a problem in prison camp. Principal source of supply of the wood was from the Cabanatuan prison camp, located in central Luzon north of Manila. The wood was brought to Manila by train and then by truck into Bilibid compound. Usually it came into the compound in the form of small logs, which had to be cut to firewood

length and split into small sticks by prison labor. The usual allowance of wood was one kilogram per day per prisoner. This generally proved inadequate. There were many times when the arrival of wood in the camp was late and irregular, resulting in delay and confusion in cooking the food.

The incomplete two-story prison hospital building served principally as a wood storage and wood chopping space during the rainy season. Late in 1944, when there were many prisoners being assembled in Bilibid for outgoing drafts to Japan, this building was utilized as living and sleeping space for prisoners. It contained no sanitary facilities and usually had one or two electric lights. The prisoners slept on the concrete deck and as the building had no windows, but numerous window openings, and was only partially roofed, it was far from adequate for the housing of human beings, especially in rainy weather.

Camp Library

Bilibid prison camp had a fairly large library of many good recent books. Most of these came from the library of the University Club in the city of Manila. Some came from the school library at Baguio, while others were contributed to the library by prisoner personnel stationed in the camp. The Red Cross shipment arriving November 1943 contained quite a number of recent books, some medical, some religious, some educational, and many fiction. The library also contained a fairly large file of magazines that had been contributed by nationals in the city of Manila. This library was used extensively by both patients and prisoner personnel.

Clothing

The tailor shop was one of the busiest departments on the compound. This shop was manned by prisoner personnel and equipped with three old sewing machines. A great deal of work was turned out by this department, as the issue of new clothing was practically nil. The old clothing that was in possession of the prisoners at the time of surrender began to show evidence of wear and was kept in serviceable condition by frequent repair by the tailor shop. During the entire two and a half years in Bilibid prison, to the best of my knowledge, I received as a general issue from the Japanese the following clothing: four hand towels, about a half dozen pairs of Japanese sox, and about a half dozen g-strings.

Shoes

The cobbler shop was also a very busy department. Upon arrival of Red Cross supplies late in 1943, there were in this equipment a few complete units for the repair of shoes, including leather soles. The shoes for the prisoners who worked on outside work details from Bilibid camp were kept in repair, and there were enough serviceable shoes to provide all prisoners who had to work outside of the camp. Most of the prisoners and patients who remained in Bilibid were not provided with shoes. Most everybody wore self-constructed wooden clops or go-aheads. The Red Cross shipment contained a number of pairs of shoes, but not sufficient to provide shoes for more than about a third of the camp.

The Commissary Store

The prison camp operated a commissary store under the supervision of a Navy pay clerk. During 1942 and parts of 1943, this store was a great asset, as through the store the camp was able to secure a fair variety and a reasonable amount of merchandise from the outside. This merchandise was purchased with the sanction of the Japanese camp administration, the commissary being allowed to purchase merchandise in the amount equal to the Japanese payroll for each month; that is, if the payroll was 7,000 pesos for the month, the commissary was allowed to purchase and resell 7,000 pesos worth of merchandise. The outside source of purchase was through a Japanese merchant who had been in business in Manila prior to the outbreak of war. This Japanese individual apparently did what he could to provide the merchandise; however, it must be recalled that he was a businessman and received pay for all merchandise delivered.

The following items were available to the commissary store during 1942 and most of 1943: bananas, eggs, coconuts, peanuts, papayas, pineapples, tobacco, mongo beans, and a crudely refined type of sugar that had been used to feed calesa ponies before the war. During the year 1944, many of the above-mentioned items were not available; in fact, it must not be assumed that all of the above-mentioned items in amounts desired were always available in the commissary store. The Japanese merchant would deliver merchandise in the compound about once a week, and in general, an individual could consider himself fortunate if during a month's time he was permitted to buy more than a dozen bananas, a ganta[21] *of peanuts, a papaya or two, a dozen eggs, about half enough smoking tobacco to satisfy*

the requirements of an average user, and a proportionate share of other available items.

Prison Salaries

The Japanese paid officers and medical department personnel and, in addition, a small number of camp maintenance or utility men. The amount of pay received was proportioned according to rank, the highest-ranking individual officer, that is, the field officer class, drawing 40 pesos, company officers, 30 pesos, and enlisted medical department rates graduated in scale of pay from 2 to 12 pesos. The entire amount of money paid into the compound determined the amount of merchandise that the camp was permitted to buy. Every individual in Bilibid, regardless of his rate or rank or pay status, had equal purchasing power. In general, the average monthly census of Bilibid over a two and a half year period was 1,200 to 1,400. The average monthly pay roll was 7,000 to 9,000 pesos. Thus, the buying power of each individual in camp would be about 6 pesos per person a month, or about $3.00 American gold. Early in prison life this meant a great deal, but later prices were so inflated that the purchasing of supplies through the commissary store became somewhat of a joke. For illustration, before the war, the price of a coconut in Manila was about 2 centavos, or one penny American money. By late 1944, prices were so inflated that what few coconuts came into the camp were sold at a price of 6 pesos, or $3.00 per coconut; other food items were proportionally high. Thus, it can be seen that a 6-peso purchasing power monthly was not a great asset in supplementing the diet.

The Black Market

In addition to the merchandise that was sold by the commissary, for a while when working parties were taken from the camp into the city of Manila, there was in operation within the camp a black market of merchandise that was smuggled into the camp by members of the working parties. In general, the prices were prohibitive. The principal item was tobacco, not an absolute food necessity; however, strange as it may seem, there were many prisoners who would forego the rights and privileges of using their money and buying power to buy necessary food items in order to buy black market tobacco.

Special Diet Kitchen

The heavy sick,[22] *according to Japanese classification, those patients whom*

in our terminology would be classified as seriously ill, were permitted to have additional food. Food for the heavy sick was provided by issue from the Japanese quartermaster department, Red Cross food that had been set aside for this specific purpose, and food that was purchased through the welfare fund from the commissary store. This special diet food was prepared and dispensed in a special diet kitchen, a small building about 15 feet square. This food was far from adequate for a seriously sick individual, but it did help supplement the regular issue diet. Patients who received special diet from this source were examined by a special diet board and just as soon as their physical condition made it possible to remove them from the special diet list, this had to be done because of inadequate supplies. The special diet kitchen was very ably handled by Lt. King, USA, a very capable man, who in civilian life was associated with International Milling Co., Minneapolis, Minnesota.

All prisoners who drew pay from the Japanese government were privileged to contribute to a general welfare fund. The average contribution of a field officer to this fund was 50 pesos monthly, and in general all other ranks and ratings contributed proportionately considering their pay schedule. This fund was utilized to purchase food for use of this special diet kitchen in supplementing the diet of the seriously sick. The money contributed to this fund was never actually paid to the individual prisoner, but it was a bookkeeping transaction of the Japanese paymaster in allotting a percent of each prisoner's salary to this fund.

Japanese Postal Savings

In order that you may understand the pay situation as regards to prisoners, I might illustrate by saying that according to international law the Japanese were supposed to pay officer and medical corps personnel a salary comparable to that of their corresponding ranks in the Japanese military organization; thus, a commander in the U.S. Navy would draw the same pay as a commander in the Japanese Navy, which amount was 195 pesos, or $87.50 gold per month. Actually, the Japanese did not pay a commander prisoner this amount in cash. A commander's pay was proportioned in the following manner: he was given 40 pesos in cash, allowed to contribute 50 pesos to the camp welfare fund, and the remainder of his pay was deposited in the Japanese postal savings. The Japanese stated that their reason for handling the pay situation in this manner was that when the war was over and the prisoners returned to their homeland as a defeated nation, the Japanese

wanted them to have accumulated some money in the postal savings so that they might get a start in the world in civilian life. To the best of my knowledge at the end of the war, I had deposited in the Japanese postal savings approximately 3,400 pesos. In addition, over the 40-month period that I was a prisoner, the Japanese paid me approximately 1,600 pesos, or $800.00 gold. However, when one considers the purchasing power of this pay at the time that it was received compared with the prewar prices, actually the amount of purchasing power over the 40-month period was very limited.

Plans for Self-sufficiency in Food

Within Bilibid compound, the Japanese at times tried various endeavors to make the camp somewhat self-supporting; thus, there were times in the compound when there were as many as 75 to 100 pigs that were supposed to live on the compound garbage. In fact, many of the pigs, as well as the prisoners, practically starved to death on what little garbage was available, and none of the pigs maintained growth and development anything comparable to their life on the farm in the States. It was criminal and cruelty to animals to have kept them confined. A general procedure that was followed was that just before a pig was ready to die of starvation, it would be turned over to the galley to be prepared for food for the camp. At that time, the pig usually consisted of nothing more than skin and bones. The Japanese also tried the venture of raising ducks in the compound. They provided a flock of about 100 ducks, and within less than three months more than three-fourths of the ducks had died of starvation. The Japanese became disgusted with this venture and permitted the galley to kill and eat the ones that were still alive. They also tried a gardening project. The soil in Bilibid compound was composed largely of cinders, sand, gravel, and rocks. Apparently, this plot had been filled in before it was used as a civilian prison. There were a few places on the compound in which there was enough good soil to at least grow grass. The Japanese idea in attempting a gardening project within the compound was to have the camp raise some of the food products that it consumed, but due to the limited space and type of soil, the end results of this project were practically nil. However, there were small plots in which they planted some camotes, a type of sweet potato, some okra, and tililium, a plant that was used as a substitute for greens. About the only thing that they harvested from these gardening projects was camote vines, which were used in making soup for the camp.

Daily Life

Daily routine of camp life was as follows: morning tenko,[23] usually 6:00 AM. This was a company formation of all prisoners including patients who were able to stand, the purpose being to take an accurate count of the number of prisoners in the camp. Those prisoners living in each building assembled in military formation in close proximity to the building and stayed in formation until they were counted by the Japanese military guards. Those patients who were too sick to stand formation outside the buildings were counted in hospital wards. If the count was correct on the first round, the procedure of taking tenko would consume about 30 minutes, but it was only about one time in three that the count would be correct, thus necessitating a recount, which would take another 30 minutes; and occasionally a third check would have to be taken before a correct camp census was determined. After the tenko formation was dismissed, the morning meal would be served. Each building drew from the camp galley its portion of the meal, depending upon the number of prisoners living in that building. Food was drawn from the galley in five-gallon gasoline tins or wooden boxes and was distributed in the wards equally among all prisoners. After breakfast meal was over, those members who were on the hospital staff would take up their official duties in the wards, caring for the sick patients. Other prisoners who were on camp maintenance detail would carry out their daily camp upkeep work. During the time when the camp was receiving three meals a day, the noon meal would be served about 12 o'clock. It was drawn from the galley and dispensed in the same manner as the breakfast meal. The afternoons were spent in performing routine hospital duties in caring for the patients, much the same type of duty as would be performed in a service hospital in the States. The evening meal was usually served about 6:00 PM, after which there was another tenko, which usually took from 30 minutes to an hour and a half.

Religious Services

The compound was allowed to have lights in the buildings in the evening until 9:00 PM. During the early part of the evening, prisoners were allowed to wander anyplace in the compound, but at 9:00 PM, when the camp lights were turned out, all prisoners had to be in their assigned buildings, which place they stayed until morning tenko. The Japanese did not observe Sunday in the same manner as an Occidental. Their Sunday came on Friday, so as a general rule, Friday would be a full holiday.[24] To most of the prisoners

in the compound, the holiday did not mean much, as the camp maintenance and care of patients must be provided regardless of holiday. However, to those prisoners who were quartered in the compound and worked as a member of the Japanese working party on some working project outside the compound, the holiday routine for them meant a day of rest. The Japanese would usually permit the holding of divine services on Sunday. The camp had a regularly assigned prisoner Catholic and Protestant chaplain. Catholic Mass was held daily and Protestant services once or twice weekly.

Entertainment

Over a period of two and a half years, there were probably a half dozen moving picture shows for the benefit of the camp. The movie unit was a portable affair and was operated by Filipino civilians. The moving pictures were American, usually 10 to 12 years old, and at every showing there would be about a half dozen reels of Japanese propaganda film, in which they would show achievements of their military forces in the Philippines, Singapore, China and the South Pacific Islands. These pictures were so ridiculous that they were indeed amusing. They were not taken very seriously by the prisoner personnel. In general, I do not believe that the prisoners fell for the Japanese military and co-prosperity propaganda line.

About twice a month, the camp prison personnel would stage a musical and comedy stage performance. These programs were at times rather elaborate and entertaining, as among the prison personnel there was a variety of excellent talent along various lines. The entertainment program was under the supervision of Dr. Clyde Welsh of Seattle, Washington. Under ordinary circumstances, I do not think they would have drawn a large attendance. However, in Bilibid, since they were one of the few varieties of entertainment, they were always very well attended. Bilibid compound had a very talented band made up of about a dozen different instruments. Some of the personnel of this group had been in the entertainment field in civilian life and did a great deal for the camp morale in their work.

About three to five times a week somewhere in the compound, there would be an educational lecture by some prisoner who in civilian life had had an interest in a type of work that would be of general interest to the camp members; as, for example, we might have a lecture on the types and manufacture of various cheeses, types of wines, meat packing, fruit canning, various farm projects, or industrial projects, such as construction of Grand Coulee Dam. These lectures were usually interesting, educational and were

attended by a great number of prisoners.

Japanese Language Lessons

Early in prison life, the Japanese attempted an educational program, in which they were going to teach all prisoners the Japanese language, as they thought and stated that their language was the up-and-coming language of the world and that within a very few years English would be a dead language. The attendance at these classes was voluntary. At first, there were possibly 40 or 50 prisoners in attendance at these sessions, but after a few sessions, the attendance dropped to about a half dozen. The Japanese gave up the project and could not seem to understand why the prisoners were not interested in learning their language.

Burials

When a prisoner died in Bilibid, the Japanese would permit a burial service to be held. For those prisoners who were buried in the cemetery within the compound, the body was usually wrapped in a shelter half or gunny sack, and about half of the time they were buried without coffins; other times they were buried in rudely constructed board coffins. As the burial grounds within the compound became exhausted, the bodies were removed to a civilian cemetery within the city of Manila. During the last half of 1944, all those who died in Bilibid were buried outside. The funeral party usually consisted of a chaplain, a Japanese guard, and one or two prison work details. The conveyance to the cemetery was a truck or sometimes a hand-pushed cart. The body was moved to the cemetery in a board box, dumped into the grave and the box returned to Bilibid until used by the next prisoner who died.

Food Supplies

During the period from outbreak of war until December 24, 1941, while the U.S. military forces were still in the city of Manila, food was plentiful; in fact, there was an overabundance, as efforts were made to collect all foods in military warehouses and accumulate them for the use of the military forces. All of the local medical units in Manila were well stocked. On December 24, when Manila was declared an open city and the military forces were evacuated to Bataan and Corregidor, they took with them a large amount of the food from Manila City. During the period from December

24 until January 1, there was nearly a steady stream of trucks transporting food and supplies from Manila to Bataan. On January 2, the Japanese military had reached San Fernando, Pampanga, thus cutting the highway between Bataan and Manila and stopping transport of supplies to Bataan. On Bataan Peninsula, the Army and the Navy had a small supply of food stores. In addition to this, the peninsula produced a considerable amount of rice, bananas, and pineapples.

During the period of campaign on Bataan until the time of the fall of Bataan on April 8, 1942, the military forces were obliged to subsist on foods previously brought from Manila City, those food products that were produced on Bataan Peninsula, and stores from Corregidor. Their meat supply was provided by killing carabao and mules and horses of the cavalry. For the first few weeks of the campaign, most of the soldiers ate fairly well, considering the fact that they were acting as front-line troops continuously. Later in the campaign, as food supplies began to dwindle and transportation difficulties increased, there were many times when a great number of the troops were forced to go without food for a day or two at a time.

The ration at its best was only about half that of the normal Army ration. By the time of the fall of Bataan, many of the soldiers were showing the effects of a reduced diet and many of them were showing signs and symptoms of beri-beri and other nutritional deficiencies. All had lost a great deal of weight. The front line troops never received more than two meals daily, and there was no regularity or assurance that they would receive two meals. The Army quartermaster headquarters was on Corregidor. Before Bataan fell, the Navy Department had transferred all of its foodstuffs to Corregidor.

During the period from the fall of Bataan, April 8, 1942, until the fall of Corregidor, May 6, 1942, the defenders of Corregidor were on a half ration and were served food twice daily. This food was of not much variety, practically all canned goods, as the supply of fruits and vegetables had been exhausted. The hospital unit at Corregidor was fed twice daily and received hardly enough food to keep a well man in good condition and certainly insufficient for the sick. At the time of the fall of Corregidor, it has been conservatively estimated that there was enough food in the storage section of the quartermaster department to provide a minimum amount of food for the troops for about six weeks. All of this foodstuff fell into the hands of the Japanese, and for many days after the fall of Corregidor, many of the prisoners worked loading this food on the ships of the Japanese. Thus, it was no longer available for American use.

After Corregidor surrendered, the main body of prisoners was assembled in an area known as the 92nd Garage, where they remained until May 27, when they were taken to Manila City. During their stay at the 92nd Garage, they received a small daily ration of rice from the Japanese; otherwise, their food supply had to be made up from what they could salvage and from what they had brought with them from the fighting locations to this area when they were taken prisoner.

The hospital staff and patients remained in the hospital tunnel at Corregidor from the time of surrender on May 6, 1942, until June 26, 1942, at which time they were moved from the tunnel to what had been in peacetime Fort Mills General Hospital on what was known as "Topside," where they remained until July 1, when they were loaded on board ship and taken to the city of Manila and to Bilibid prison camp. During the period from the time of surrender of Corregidor until they were moved to Bilibid, the hospital staff and patients were issued a small amount of rice by the Japanese. They were also issued a limited supply of quartermaster food that was stored in the tunnels. This food consisted of canned tomato, corned beef hash, and a small amount of flour. In addition to this, there was a very limited amount of cracked wheat. The sacks containing this food were labeled "American Red Cross," the specific labeling being, "A gift of the American people through the Red Cross." This food had been originally consigned to Hong Kong, but the ship carrying it was in Manila at the outbreak of the war, and the food was unloaded at Corregidor. It was a very welcome item.

Upon arrival at Bilibid on July 2, 1942, that prison camp was established and functioning under the control of the naval medical staff that before the war had operated Canacao Naval Hospital. The Japanese were providing a regular issue of rice and a few vegetables. For about the first year in Bilibid, the rice issue was enough so that practically every prisoner could get all the rice that he cared to eat. Late in 1943, the amount of rice issued was markedly decreased, and there was a period of about a year from October 1943 to October 1944 when there were many times in which there was not sufficient rice issued to provide the amount desired by prisoners. From October 1944 until late in December 1944, the rice issued by the Japanese was very inadequate, there being only enough issued to provide about one meal daily. During the early months of prison life in Bilibid, in addition to rice, the Japanese provided vegetables in the form of beans, tomatoes, onions, camotes, papayas, squash, and leafy vegetables in sufficient amounts to keep those prisoners who were not on work at hard labor

in fairly good health. During the year 1944, the issue of vegetables by the Japanese was markedly decreased in amount so that by late in 1944, the camp was receiving only occasional issues of greens.

During the last half of 1942 and most of 1943, the commissary store in Bilibid was able to procure a few items of food from outside the camp for sale to the prisoners. Such items as beans, peanuts, papayas, bananas, duck eggs, coconuts, and camotes were usually available in limited amounts.

Late in November 1943, the shipment of American Red Cross foods and medicines arrived in Manila and was made available to the war prisoners. This food was received in amounts sufficient to permit the issue of between five and six small boxes of Red Cross food for every prisoner. In addition to the individual issue to prisoners there was also a limited amount of bulk Red Cross supplies which were issued direct to the camp galley for cooking and distribution. These bulk supplies were rather limited and were soon exhausted. The Red Cross food contributed greatly to the welfare and morale of the prison personnel. By the time it had arrived, the Japanese issue of food was very markedly decreased, and many of the prisoners were showing the effects of malnutrition and deficiency diseases. The Red Cross food was a great help to this class of prisoner and undoubtedly contributed a great deal to their health and welfare. Late in 1944, the average calorie value of the diet available to prisoners in Bilibid was 1,200 to 1,400 calories. An individual may be able to subsist on this small amount of food for a short period of time, but it must be remembered that by late 1944 the prisoners had been on a reduced diet for practically three years, and many of them had just about reached the end of their endurance by the time the Philippines were retaken by American military forces.

The Organization of Bilibid Prison Camp Hospital

On May 27, 1942, Bilibid prison camp was organized and put in operation by the Japanese. The camp administration was carried out by U.S. naval medical department personnel. Within a very few days, the main body of prisoners from Corregidor were quartered in Bilibid for a short time prior to their move to Cabanatuan. Many of the patients from Bataan had been brought to Bilibid camp and were under care of naval medical department at the time I arrived in Bilibid on July 2, 1942. The senior medical officer was Commander L. B. Sartin, (MC) USN, the second senior officer, Commander M. Joses (MC) USN. They were acting as commanding officer and executive officer, respectively. The hospital staff was made up of the medical

officers from Canacao Naval Hospital, Cavite Navy Yard, and some of the medical personnel of some units of the Asiatic Fleet. The hospital corpsmen were from the same commands before the war as the medical officers. At the time prisoners from Corregidor were moved to Bilibid, the naval medical staff of the 4th Marines and the Asiatic gunboats and some units of the Asiatic fleet were moved to Bilibid and were made a part of the Bilibid medical staff.

This medical staff operated Bilibid hospital unit until the first of October 1943, when there was a reorganization by the Japanese, when the personnel was reduced by about 50%, and Commander Sartin with about half of his staff was transferred to Cabanatuan prison camp. From October 1, 1943, until October 30, 1944, Commander T. H. Hayes (MC) USN was the senior naval medical officer in Bilibid.

Outgoing Prison Drafts to Japan

During this period, camp difficulties were constantly increasing as the food and medical supplies decreased. Another added burden on the camp was the fact that Bilibid was used as an assembling center for outgoing prison drafts [25] *to Japan.*

Late in 1944, when Japan was attempting to move American prison personnel out of the Philippines in order to prevent them from falling into American hands, Bilibid hospital staff was reorganized and reduced. All of the senior naval medical officers and practically the entire staff of hospital corpsmen were relieved from duty at Bilibid and placed on outgoing drafts for Japan. The hospital was left under the command of Major W. W. Wilson (MC) USA, who had a staff of about six medical officers, one chaplain, two dental officers, and 70 hospital corpsmen. Practically all of these personnel were U.S. Army. All of the doctors were junior reserve doctors.

Leaving Bilibid

Early in October, a prison draft of 1,619 was formed at Bilibid for transportation to Japan.[26] *On this draft were the remaining members of the naval medical corps who had constituted Bilibid's medical staff for the last year. The naval doctors were: Hayes, C. C. Welch, Connell, Wade, C. L. Welsh, LeComte, Nelson, Boone, Barrett, Smith, Lambert, Langdon, and White. There were about 45 naval hospital corpsmen also on this draft. During this period, Manila City was raided at about weekly intervals by U.S. Navy car-*

rier planes, which made their first appearance September 21, 1944. There seemed to be a great deal of difficulty in clearing this draft from Manila area. Finally on December 13, 1944, at about 11:30 AM the draft marched out of Bilibid compound to the port area.

The First Transport Ship—Oryoku Maru

The draft of 1,619 prisoners arrived on the pier at the port area in Manila carrying all of their personal belongings at about 1:00 PM, December 13, 1944, to be loaded on a Japanese prison ship for transportation to Japan. From 1:00 PM until 5:30 PM, while this draft was lying around on the partially-destroyed pier, there was a constant stream of Japanese nationals, women and children, with various articles of their personal belongings loading on the ship. It is estimated that between 1,500 and 2,000 civilians were loaded on one of the five cargo passenger ships that were loading in the port area at this time. The port area had been about 90% destroyed by Japanese and American bombing. There were three or four ships that had been sunk while they were tied to the piers and an estimated 30 to 35 ships inside the breakwater that were partly sunk.

The Oryoku Maru, the Japanese prison ship upon which this group of prisoners was loaded, was a modern passenger cargo liner, a motor ship, built in 1937 or 1938 for service in the Japan Sea on the runs between Japan and Manchuria. This ship was about 7,500 tons, capable of making a speed of more than 22 knots. This ship was in fair condition of upkeep, and from what I saw of it while going aboard, it did not look bad considering it had been operating under wartime conditions. There were five of this same type of ship tied up at the piers in Manila that made up the convoy, accompanied by four small warship escorts. The prisoners were placed in three holds on the ship. The forward hold, or No. 1, contained 580 prisoners; this hold was directly below the forward gun mounts on the ship. No. 2 hold contained 189 prisoners and was just forward of the bridge; the after hold contained the remainder, or approximately 850 prisoners. Conditions in No. 1 hold were moderately crowded; in No. 2 hold there was sufficient room for all prisoners to lie down; but in the after hold, conditions were extremely crowded, the prisoners packed in with insufficient room in which to lie down and conditions of ventilation in this area were horrible, as evidenced by the fact that during the first 36 hours at sea, between 60 and 70 of the prisoners died of suffocation. There were practically no sanitary facilities on board the ship for the use of prisoners; food was delivered to the holds

in five-gallon gasoline tins. This same type of tin was used for toilet facilities.

A Target for Friendly Fire

The Oryoku Maru got away from Manila about 6:00 PM December 13 and steamed out of Manila Harbor during the early hours of the evening. The evening meal, for prison ship food, was very good; it consisted of a sufficient amount of steamed rice mixed with fish and seaweed. Tea was served that evening for drinking purposes. During the day of the 14th, one meal of plain steamed rice was served about midafternoon. Nothing to eat was served on board ship on the 15th. Sometime during the night of December 13 in Manila Bay area, the convoy of five ships with warship escort had assembled and about 9:00 AM on the morning of the 14th, this convoy was steaming somewhere off the southwestern coast of Luzon in Subic Bay area when it was attacked by American dive bombers. The convoy and military escorts put up a very formidable anti-aircraft defense and from the cheering that took place on the topside of the ship, I am of the opinion that at least two planes in the attacking six waves during the day were shot down. From the best of my observations, the attacking waves of planes were in groups of six and nine. The waves of planes would approach the ship, peel off, and dive bomb, releasing their bombs and machine gun fire as they approached the ship. Each wave apparently would make a second run over the ship, strafing with machine gun fire. It is estimated that during the day's attack on the ship, approximately 500 of the Japanese nationals were killed and many more wounded. During this day's attack, the ship was not hit directly by bombs, but a great deal of damage to the superstructure and personnel was done by machine-gun fire. During the day's attacks, the convoy had split up. I do not know the fate of the other ships in this convoy, but considering the number of planes in the attack, I do not think it is possible that any of the ships succeeded in escaping. The last wave of planes attacking the Oryoku Maru on December 14 came over at about 4:00 PM. Sometime during the night of December 14, this ship came to the Subic Bay area, dropped anchor, and unloaded the Japanese men, women, and children who were wounded and still alive. The bodies of the dead Japanese were left on board ship.

Conditions in the After Hold

It was during the night of December 14 that among the prisoners in the af-

ter hold of this ship, where conditions were horrible, a number of deaths occurred from suffocation. The hold was in total darkness. About the only way that air could be kept in circulation was by fanning. There were no open air scoops or cowls for ventilation. The small hatch space was left open, but the part of this section of the ship in which the prisoners were quartered was used for trunk and baggage storage space and was never intended for carriage of personnel and thus had no provision for ventilation. Additional wood platforms were built in order to double deck the space and thus provide more room. Many of the prisoners were quartered in areas that were no more than four or five feet in height and were tunneled back under the overhead a distance of 20 or 30 feet. It was nearly impossible for sufficient air to reach these spaces. During the night many of the prisoners were in a state of mental confusion and wandering, not knowing where they were or what they were doing. Many of them had hallucinations and became belligerent and had to be restrained in order to prevent them from injuring other prisoners. There were many reports of prisoners imagining that they were being attacked by fellow prisoners. There were instances in which they became so confused mentally that they are said to have drunk urine, slashed their arms and drunk human blood, and done many other acts that are beyond imagination and description. It was during this night that about 60 or 70 of them died of suffocation and about 90% of the remaining prisoners in this hold were in a delirious or a semi-comatose state. Many of them had to be restrained to keep them from leaving the hold and attacking the Japanese guards. There was a constant fighting, yelling, and screaming going on during the night, and according to reports a few of the prisoners were killed by the Japanese guards.

About 3:00 AM on the morning of December 15, the ship moved from its unloading position at Olongapo to an anchorage about 800 to 1,000 yards off the beach by a stone retaining wall in the channel between the mainland and an island in the Subic Bay area. The Japanese interpreter informed the prisoners that they would soon be unloaded and taken to the beach. By this time, practically all of the personnel except the prisoners, about a dozen Japanese guards, possibly a dozen Japanese ship personnel, and about the same number of Japanese gun crew members, were ashore. All of the prisoners were anxiously awaiting removal from the ship as it was the general opinion that with the coming of daylight the carrier-born Navy dive bomber planes would again return. No attempt was made to remove the prisoners.

Friendly and Unfriendly Fire

At 8:30 AM on the morning of December 15, the first wave of planes attacked the ship. The anti-aircraft resistance from the ship was very feeble. The first of the attacking planes got a direct hit, with a medium-size bomb, in the after hold. At the time this bomb hit, the ship was at anchor, and it could be felt to settle by the stern quite appreciably. Immediately after the hit, attempts were made to remove from the ship about a dozen prisoners who had been injured in the previous day's raid. They were on the topside as the second wave of planes came over to attack the ship. Some of them were in a small boat just leaving the ship; this boat was hit by bombs, and sank, resulting in killing and further injuring these prisoners and the Japanese boat personnel.

The prisoners in the holds were told to come to the topside for a ship abandoning. They were told to take off their shoes and leave all of their baggage behind. There was a rush from the hold to the topside, and as the planes were again circling for the strafing attack, a great number of the prisoners dived over the side and started swimming the 800 to 1,000 yards to the beach, as they felt that they would be safer in the water than aboard the ship during the strafing. When the attacking wave of planes returned to strafe the ship, as they approached and leveled off for the strafing attack, the plane leader had apparently observed that the people abandoning the ship and swimming to the beach were white and not Orientals. The plane leader dipped the plane wings in the conventional recognition sign, and the wave of planes leveled off, flew over, and did not strafe the ship or prisoners in the water.

At this time, I was swimming in the water about halfway between ship and shore. I do not believe that I have ever experienced a more happy moment as I was certainly dreading the strafing attack. The Japanese guards on board the ship were attempting to get the prisoners off as rapidly as possible and to herd them in the direction towards the mainland. Some of the prisoners who had dived over the side of the ship away from the mainland were killed by machine gun and rifle fire by the Japanese guards. It seems as though the Japanese guards were of the opinion that the prisoners who had left from this side of the ship were attempting to escape, and probably some of them were and would.

Very soon after the bomb had hit the after part of the ship, fire started in that section. Quite a number of prisoners had been killed and injured by the bomb or by falling hatch cover planks and "I" beams. Many of them

were in a semi-conscious state and were unable to get out of the hold even though they were uninjured. It was not long until this hold began to fill up with smoke and undoubtedly there were many prisoners who were still alive but were unable physically, principally because of the effects of suffocation, to get out of this hold. It is estimated that there were probably as many as 100 men in the hold that were still alive, who could have been removed had fire, smoke, and heat not made their removal impossible. Some of the prisoners who came to the topside from this hold were in a semi-comatose, dazed condition, did not know where they were, what they were doing or where they were going. Some of them started to wander over the ship, and it is stated that more than a dozen were shot on board ship by the Japanese guards who were unsuccessfully attempting to get them to leave the ship.

The starboard anti-aircraft gun on the bow of the ship had been hit and completely knocked from its mountings and fell over the side of the ship. Many members of the gun crew were killed and the topside of the ship contained many bodies of the ship's company and Japanese nationals that had been killed during the previous day. The Japanese gunners manning the defense guns on board this ship certainly stood by their guns in their feeble defense and as rapidly as one gun crew would be wiped out by the strafing planes, another crew would take its place. They attempted valiantly to defend the ship.

The Sinking of the Oryoku Maru in Subic Bay

The fire that started in the after hold spread throughout the ship and by midafternoon, the ship was again attacked by planes, and apparently a bomb hit in the forward section of the ship in the area of the magazines, as soon after this attack, ammunition began exploding and continued for some time. The ship probably was completely abandoned by personnel by about noon. The fire and bombing in the afternoon and ammunition exploding caused the ship to finally sink about 5:00 PM on December 15.

The prisoners who abandoned the ship and swam to the shore were met by Japanese beach guards. These guards apparently thought that the prisoners would attempt to escape, and they began firing from the beach, resulting in deaths and wounding many of them after they had swum ashore. It should be recalled that at the same time the prisoners were being fired upon from the ship by the Japanese prison guards. After a short time, the guards on the beach began assembling the prisoners between the water's edge and the retaining wall. Many of them were wounded and practically all of them

had no clothing or very little clothing, as most of them, when they jumped over the side to swim to the beach, threw off most of their clothes.

On a Tennis Court at Olongapo

After about two hours, the prisoners were assembled and organized in groups of 50 and marched by Japanese soldiers on the beach a distance of about one-fourth of a mile and grouped under some trees along the roadway near the site of what had been a tennis court for use of the station personnel at Olongapo in peacetime. This was a standard-size tennis court, concrete deck, with a space of ten feet of grass on each side of the concrete. The area was surrounded by chicken wire netting about 12 feet in height. There was a small gate entrance at one corner of the tennis court, and along one side there was a small shade shelter about 12 to 15 feet in length, under which there was one hydrant with running water. Within this compound there was a platform about 10 or 12 feet high, six feet square on top, surrounded by railing that apparently had been used as a tennis referee stand.

The prisoners were assembled in groups under the trees near this tennis court and kept there until about 4:00 PM. During this time, the wounded prisoners were segregated and given what treatment was possible with available supplies, which was practically nothing. That is, their wounds were dressed, hemorrhaging stopped by using parts of clothing that prisoners had swum ashore in. About 4 o'clock in the afternoon of December 15, all of the prisoners were marched inside this enclosed tennis court. The prisoners were counted as they entered the tennis court, and out of the total of 1,619 that had boarded the ship in Manila, there were 1,340 still alive. The 279 that were missing had lost their lives by suffocation on board the ship, been killed by Japanese guards on board the ship, in the water, and on the beach, drowning in attempting to swim ashore, been killed by the bombing and strafing of the ship, or from being in such a comatose condition that they were unable to leave the after hold of the ship after it was bombed.

The 1,340 prisoners that were crowded into the tennis court were assigned spaces, being grouped into 26 rows of 52 prisoners per row. This left room to lie down, but did not leave space in which to wander around, so that all prisoners spent their time either lying or sitting in their designated space. One section of the tennis court near the gate entrance was reserved as space for the wounded prisoners. No food was served to the prisoners on December 15, 16, 17 or 18. On the 19th, we were issued dry rice in an amount so that each prisoner received four GI spoonfuls.[27] *On the 20th, we*

were issued approximately the same amount of dry rice. On the 21st, we were issued two spoonfuls of dry rice in the morning and received the same amount of rice for the evening meal. There was no provision for cooking in the tennis court area. The dry rice that was issued was eaten in that form.

Just outside the compound there were quarters for the Japanese soldiers in that area and outside their quarters were sacks of rice, crates of vegetables, and small barrels of fish. Attempts were made to get some of this food, but the interpreter stated that that food belonged to the Japanese naval landing force personnel and could not be used to feed prisoners. He stated that he was attempting to get food from Filipino sources, but had been unsuccessful. On December 18, there was received at the tennis court from Manila, presumably from Bilibid, some clothing. This clothing was summer shorts, sport shirts, and a few articles of underwear. All of it was practically beyond serviceable use and was stuff that had apparently been discarded and salvaged from a rag pile. The amount was sufficient to provide one garment of some kind for about one-third of the prisoners, so that by the time we left the tennis court with this clothing and what had been brought ashore from the ship, most of the prisoners had at least one article of clothing. I personally swam ashore in my undershorts, and after I arrived on the tennis court an Army hospital medical corpsman gave me a Japanese baby diaper that he had brought from the ship. I used this to cover my shoulders in the daytime in order to keep from getting sunburned. The water supply on the tennis court was generally speaking sufficient. There were times in which only a small stream of water would flow from the faucet, but by keeping it going 24 hours of the day, sufficient water was furnished for all the prisoners for drinking purposes only. Near the site of the water hydrant, there was an overflow ditch for waste water. This ditch was utilized for a urine trough. Just outside the gate entrance to the tennis court, the prisoners were permitted to dig a small straddle trench, which they used for fecal disposal. Permission had to be secured from the Japanese guards in order to go outside the gate to use this straddle trench, and many times, one would have to wait in line for a half hour before he would be permitted to use it. A few cases of diarrhea had developed, and these prisoners who were unable to get to the straddle trench defecated in the corner of the tennis court near the exit gate. This area was cleaned up frequently, but was still a contaminated mess.

During the six to seven days that the prisoners remained on the tennis court, there were five deaths. After much delay the Japanese permitted the burial of these dead in close proximity to the tennis court. During the day,

the concrete deck of the tennis court became very hot. Even in December the tropical sun in midday with no provision for shade is very uncomfortable. With the coming of nightfall, the temperature dropped markedly, and by the early morning hours it became very chilly, especially when one considers that our beds were the concrete deck of the tennis court and no bedding or covers of any kind were provided. Nearly daily during our stay in the tennis court, the American Navy carrier planes flew over that area bombing military objectives in Subic Bay area. These pilots were definitely aware of the presence of the prisoners on the tennis court and definitely knew that they were white men, as on many occasions they flew directly over the tennis court at a height of not more than 500 to 1,000 feet. We were able to definitely distinguish the planes and could see the pilots. They were bombing anti-aircraft guns within less than 1,000 feet from the tennis court. This is one time when I enjoyed greatly seeing these planes, as I knew that we were not their bombing objective. After three days on the tennis court, the Japanese permitted about two dozen of the sickest prisoners to be removed from the tennis court to an area just outside under some shade trees about 500 feet distant. In the evenings, these prisoners were brought back into the tennis court.

There was a constant effort made to get food and clothing through the Japanese interpreter, a Mr. Watta [sic].[28] *His only reply was that it was very difficult to get anything and that he would try to contact Manila and see what he could do for us. Much of the time during the day in the tennis court was spent in attempting to get a correct census of the remaining prisoners. I doubt very much if the Japanese or anybody knows the identity of the prisoners who had lost their lives since we left Manila, although by the process of elimination it could be determined that there were 279 less in the group than when we left Manila.*

At a Theater in San Fernando, Pampanga

During the morning of December 20, about half of the prisoners were loaded on board a truck convoy and taken from the Olongapo area. On the following morning, the trucks returned for the remainder of the prisoners. Our destination was unknown, but the general consensus of opinion was that we were going to be returned to Manila and probably Bilibid. However, the first group was taken to San Fernando, Pampanga, and confined in what had been a civilian jail and jail yard space. The second half of the prisoners was taken to the same city and placed in an old theater building. The

truck journey to San Fernando took about six hours. Prisoners were very crowded in the trucks, there being only standing room, and on many occasions when planes were flying overhead, the convoy would be forced to stop and seek cover underneath the trees by the road. I arrived at San Fernando with the second group about 5:00 PM on December 21 and was placed in the theater building in that city along with about 650 other prisoners, where I remained until 9:00 AM on December 24.

The prisoners in the theater were moderately crowded, although there was room for all to lie down on the sloping concrete deck. There was running water in the theater, but no toilet facilities. A straddle trench was provided in the theater yard. The food provided at this theater consisted of steamed rice and on one occasion some vegetable soup. The rice was insufficient in amount, being about half of what would constitute a normal ration. No bedding and no clothes were provided while in this theater. Two men died during the period we were here, and six or eight of the injured were taken from the theater by truck, supposedly back to Manila City. However, a later check regarding this small group does not reveal what happened to them, as no trace of any of the six or eight can be made. The general opinion seems to be that they were either taken away from the theater by the Japanese and killed at that time, or were taken somewhere in Manila City area and were killed before or at the time of the arrival of the American forces.[29] *During the stay in the theater, American bombing planes could be heard over the town two or three times daily. They did not, however, bomb the area in close proximity to the theater.*

A Train Ride to San Fernando, La Union

At 9:00 AM on December 24, the prisoners were marched from the theater and jail in San Fernando to the railroad station, a distance of one-fourth mile, and loaded in and on top of freight cars. These cars were small-type Filipino railway cars; about 100 prisoners were crowded into each car, so that there was only standing room. Ventilation in the cars was very poor. There was insufficient room for all of the prisoners to crowd into the car and from 10 to 20 were placed on top of each car. The Japanese interpreter told the prisoners that in case the train was attacked by planes, none of the prisoners were to leave the cars. He did state that those Americans riding on top of the cars would be permitted to wave at the planes in hopes that they might be identified as Americans and that the train would not be bombed. A Japanese guard with rifle was stationed in each car. No food or

water was provided during the day and night train ride in the freight cars. The train was en route from San Fernando, Pampanga, to San Fernando, La Union, a city in the Lingayen Gulf area on the west coast of Luzon. En route it passed within about a mile distance of Clark Field, site of Japanese air forces. During the passage near this area, the air field was being bombed by American carrier planes, but no attempt was made to bomb or strafe the train. Apparently, the air field, and not the train, was the objective of the bombers.

After a very tiresome journey due to no food, no water, and crowded conditions, the train arrived at San Fernando, La Union, about 3:00 AM Christmas morning. The prisoners were unloaded and assembled in an open area near the railroad station, where they were permitted to lie on the ground for two hours until daylight. Then they were marched through the city, a distance of two miles, and assembled in what had been an elementary school building and yard. Some of the weak and wounded prisoners were placed in the school building; the rest of them were assigned spaces in the schoolyard.

On a Sandy Beach near San Fernando, La Union

The Japanese officer, Lieutenant Tashino [sic],[30] *who was in charge of this draft, assembled them for a speech, in which he told them that while at this location they would be fed "as usual." There was sufficient water in the schoolyard, and we were given one meal of steamed rice. 5:00 PM December 25, the prison draft was assembled and marched a distance of about two miles to a sandy beach to await loading on board another Japanese transport. The morale of the prison group at this time was very low, as after our experience in being bombed and sunk at Olongapo, we had all thought and hoped that the Japanese would be unable to continue the journey and that we would be taken back to prison camp in Manila. After we were loaded on board a train, many prisoners thought that our destination was Cabanatuan, but soon after the train got under way it was decided by the people who were familiar with this area that we were not headed for Manila or Cabanatuan, but were probably going to some location in the Lingayen Gulf area. It was nearly dark when we reached the beach area, and we were assembled and assigned spaces on the sand. Off at a distance over the bay, we could see a number of Japanese ships around which there was a great deal of activity unloading war materials, principally guns, small horse-drawn artillery, pack horses loaded with ammunition, etc. The road*

to the beach was crowded with military supplies and equipment that was being unloaded in this area. Their horses were in very good condition. The equipment was suitable for mountain warfare. They undoubtedly intended to use it in northern Luzon. The night of December 25, the day of the 26th, the night of the 26th until about 10:00 AM, and the 27th were spent on the sandy beach. The days were very hot, and the nights were very cold. No bedding or shelter was provided. During this period, we received one ration of one rice ball for each prisoner. The rice ball was a bulk of steamed rice, a little larger than a regulation-size baseball. On the afternoon of the 26th, we received a small ration of water, enough to provide about five GI spoonfuls for each prisoner. During the night of the 26th, American reconnaissance planes were flying over this area, and all lights on board the ships and loading procedures were discontinued for a couple of hours during the air alert. While stationed on the beach one prisoner, a Lieutenant Colonel, USA, died and was buried in this area. The prisoners were still without sufficient clothing, and during the night they were able to partially keep warm by covering with sand. While on the beach, on one occasion we were permitted to bathe in the ocean. The harbor area in San Fernando, La Union, contained about a dozen ships that had been partially wrecked by bombing, being sunk with some of their superstructure standing above the water. There was a small unloading pier. The ships were at anchor a short distance from the shore, and loading and unloading procedures were carried out by barges and tugs. Many troops were being unloaded at this port during our two-day stay here.

Transport Ships No. 1 and No. 2 to Takao Harbor, Formosa

At 10:00 AM on the morning of December 27, the prisoners were marched to the loading pier to be transported to a prison ship in an outgoing convoy. The entire prison draft of approximately 1,328 was supposed to be loaded on one prison ship. However, as the convoy was in a great hurry to get underway, the tugs carrying the prisoners were not all able to load on the one ship, so 1,092 of them were placed on transport No. 1 [31] *and 236, or the last tugboat load, were placed on another ship, No. 2* [32] *of the convoy. None of the ships carried a mark of identification to show that American prisoners were on board. The convoy of eight ships with two small warship escorts got underway very soon after the prisoners were loaded aboard and headed north along the west coast of Luzon. This convoy arrived in the harbor at Takao, Formosa, about 8:00 AM on January 2, 1945, after a rather hectic*

trip. On December 28, while off the coast of Luzon, the convoy was attacked by American submarines, and one torpedo was observed to cross the bow of our prison ship, missing it by only a few feet. This incident was observed by American prisoners who were detailed to work on the topside of the prison ship. During the afternoon of January 1, this convoy was again attacked by American submarines as it was rounding the southern end of Formosa. Many depth charges were dropped, and the ship zigzagged nearly all afternoon and night of January 1.

Three ships of the original convoy of eight ships that had left Lingayen arrived in harbor at Takao, Formosa; the other five had been sunk by American submarines. Of the three ships that arrived, two of them carried American prisoners. None of the five that were sunk had prisoners aboard. On prison ship No. 1, on which there were 1,092 prisoners, living conditions were bad; that is, they were crowded, food was insufficient, water insufficient, no sanitary facilities, no bedding, etc. During this seven-day trip, 195 of the 1,092 prisoners died, principally from starvation, dehydration, and exposure.

Prison ship No. 2 that carried 236 prisoners had five deaths from the same causes. Living conditions on board prison ship No. 2 were not crowded. In fact, prisoners were not supposed to have been carried on this ship; it had recently arrived in Lingayen Gulf and had unloaded horses and war supplies. A small group of the prisoners were permitted to remove some of the wood structure that had been installed in one of the ship's holds for the transport of horses, and it was in this space that the 236 prisoners were quartered. No bedding was provided, although some of the straw and manure that had been in the hold when it contained horses still remained. Upon this we slept. This prison ship was very old, I would estimate probably built in the early 1920s; it was a six- to eight-thousand ton ship, in very poor state of upkeep, estimated speed, probably 12 to 14 knots. The entire ship was filthy, and especially the hold in which the prisoners were quartered. There were many flies, maggots, and much horse manure. The first day on board, December 27, no food was issued and no water. On the 28th, inquiry was made to the ship's officers through a Formosan guard regarding food. We were told that we were not supposed to be on board this ship and that we were supposed to be on transport No. 1, that all of our food and medicine was on that ship, and that there was nothing there for us. The day of the 28th passed by with no food and no water. On the morning of the 29th, further attempts were made to get food and water. A plea was made

to the ship's commanding officer that we must have some food and water, or we would all die. His reply was that he did not give a damn if we died; there was no food and water for us. During the 29th, the Formosan guards, eight or ten in number, gave the draft the extra food or garbage that they did not eat from their ration. This amount of food made it possible for each of the 236 prisoners to receive two spoonfuls of steamed rice each. Late that afternoon, we were also issued water in amount so that each prisoner received five GI spoonfuls of drinking water. On the 30th, the Formosan guards again shared their excess food, and the prisoners received about the same amount of rice as on the previous day. However, water was issued both morning and afternoon on the 30th, so that each man received during that day about 10 spoonfuls of water. On the 31st, the Japanese issued to the draft some dry rations in the form of a hardtack biscuit. Each prisoner received a piece of hardtack biscuit about three inches in width, five inches in length, and one-half inch in thickness. The afternoon of the 31st, we also received an issue of steamed rice, three-fourths canteen cupful to five men. The daily issue of water for that day amounted to a dozen GI spoonfuls. On January 1, we received a ration of steamed rice in midmorning, the same amount as the previous day, and in the afternoon we received a vegetable soup, one canteen cupful of thin soup for ten men.

The ship arrived in harbor at Takao, Formosa, in the early morning of January 2 and tied up at a pier. Five men had died on the trip from Lingayen to Formosa. At this time of year in Formosa, the days and nights were becoming chilly, but prisoners were not provided with any more clothing than they had when they left the Philippines. From January 2 to the afternoon of the 7th, this group of 236 prisoners remained on board prison ship tied up at the pier in Takao Harbor. During this period, our ration and water issue improved. We were issued steamed rice twice daily, one canteen cupful to five men, and water twice daily, from 12 to 20 GI spoonfuls each day. There were no provisions for sanitation. Feed boxes that had been used for the horses on the trip to the Philippines were used by the prisoners for toilets; when full, these boxes were carried to the topside and dumped overboard. Flies and maggots increased in number. The Japanese made no effort to improve conditions. We were entirely without adequate supplies during this trip, and none were provided when we arrived in port.

A Cargo of Sugar and More Friendly Fire

Midafternoon of January 7, this group of 231 prisoners was moved, by

small tugboat, from prison ship No. 2 at the pier to ship No. 1 with the other prisoners, which was anchored in the harbor. The evening meal on board this ship was the usual steamed rice and also a small amount of soup. We learned that prisoners on this ship had fared a little better than on our ship since leaving the Philippines. On January 8, we received two meals of steamed rice and soup. On the morning of January 9, we received the usual ration of steamed rice, and about 2:30 PM on the afternoon of the 9th, when rice was being issued, this ship was bombed by American carrier planes. During our trip on a tugboat which was going between ships in Formosa Harbor, it was observed that there were from 50 to 60 Japanese ships in this harbor. They were anchored singularly with the exception of ship No. 1, which contained the surviving American prisoners and which was tied alongside another ship. During the morning of January 9, a barge tied up alongside this prison ship and loaded a cargo of sugar on it. The process of sugar loading had been completed by the time of the bombing, but the barge that had contained the sugar was still tied alongside the ship. The Navy planes carrying out this raid, from best that prisoners could observe, were only two in number. Apparently, they were reconnaissance planes, or some that had branched off from another bombing formation and had some bombs to get rid of. Apparently, seeing the two ships tied together, they chose that as their target, for they could just as well have gone to any one of the 50 or 60 other ships as the one containing American prisoners. At the time of the bombing, midafternoon of January 9, 1945, the forward hold of the ship held 452 prisoners, and the No. 2 hold the remaining 676. The bombs struck the barge and hatch covers at the side and top of hold No. 1, killing 238 of the 452 prisoners in this hold and wounding many others. No. 2 hold, separated from No. 1 by one bulkhead, was less severely damaged. Only 20 deaths occurred in this hold. However, there were many wounded, including myself. I received a shrapnel wound behind the left ear. This bombing disrupted the ship routine and on the 10th, 11th, and 12th, our food was very irregular and in very small amounts. The Japanese would not permit communication between the two holds. Many of the medical staff personnel in the forward hold had been injured or killed, and there were a few available personnel in the after hold whose services could have been used in caring for these wounded men. If the Japanese would have permitted medical personnel to have gone forward into this hold, many deaths could have been averted.

On January 12, three days after the bombing, a small group of Japa-

nese or Formosan enlisted medical corps personnel came on board the ship with some iodine and a small amount of dressing to treat the wounded. There were about a half dozen corpsmen in this party. They spent an hour on board ship. They only treated those who were wounded in the No. 2 hold on board ship, and they did not go to the No. 1 hold, the site where most of the prisoners had been killed or injured. On the afternoon of January 12, the Japanese permitted American prisoners to remove the dead from the ship, that is, those who had been killed and whose bodies had remained in the hold with other prisoners for about 72 hours. By noon of January 13, the bodies of the 258 that were killed outright, plus the 60 that had died of wounds during the past 72 hours, were removed from the ship. These bodies were taken over the side in cargo nets, dumped on barges, and a detail of American prisoners accompanied them on the barge to the beach in the harbor of Formosa. Here the bodies were unloaded by American prisoners, carried a distance of about 500 feet to the top of a small hill, and turned over to a Japanese working detail. From the best information available, it seems that these bodies were taken by the Japanese and cremated.[33]

From Takao to Moji

About 2:00 PM on January 13, the prisoners were moved to another prison ship in the harbor and loaded on board for transportation to Japan. The previous ship had been so badly damaged in the bombing attack that it was unable to continue the journey. This prison ship, the fourth one that I had been on since I left the Philippines, had neither a name nor a number designation.[34] *It was a very old ship, possibly 30 years, about 5,000-ton size, speed approximately ten knots, general condition and upkeep, very poor. This was a coal-burning ship. After the loading of coal was completed and all the prisoners had been loaded on, this ship, in a convoy with five others and a warship escort of two small ships, got under way about dark, January 13, 1945, from Takao, Formosa, for Japan, arriving in Moji, Japan,*[35] *about 9:00 AM on January 30, 1945. The conditions on board this ship were no better than on previous prison ships.*

All of the prisoners were placed in one hold in the after section of the ship. We were very crowded, although there was room for all to lie down. No bedding was provided; no sanitary facilities. It must be recalled that prisoners had but very little clothing. There probably was not more than two dozen pair of shoes among the entire group of 810 men who were still alive. Many of the prisoners had only one item of clothing, either their sum-

mer shorts or an undershirt. The rest of their bodies were naked. Before this ship had arrived in Japan, the weather had become very cold. There were many days in which it was raining, sleeting, or snowing. The nights were always below freezing.

Upon arrival in Moji, Japan, on January 30, 1945, there was snow on the ground, and considering the general condition of the surviving prisoners and the amount of clothing they had, it was indeed a very uncomfortable time. Practically no medication was provided for this part of the journey. The Red Cross medicine that originally was allotted for the use of this draft on this journey to Japan had been sunk with the first prison ship in Subic Bay area.

Stealing Sugar

Food on board this prison ship was no better than on the previous ones. During the time from January 13 to January 30, the average daily ration would consist of three-fourths of a canteen cupful of steamed rice for four men twice daily. Our water ration would average about ten GI spoonfuls per day per man. Some of the prisoners were able to supplement this diet with additional rice and water by trading personal belongings with the Japanese guards. The amount of food and water secured by this means was very insignificant. In the hold below that in which the prisoners were kept, there was a cargo of sugar. After a few days at sea, when the prisoners learned of the presence of this cargo, some of them at night would go down into the lower hold and steal some of the sugar. This sugar may have added to the diet, but in my opinion, I believe that it was the cause of much diarrhea and probably in general did the prisoners more harm than good. Much of the sugar was only crudely refined. Probably more benefit from the trips down to the lower hold came from the few straw sugar sacks that the prisoners were able to steal that were used for bed covers. The rice consumed during this trip was a type that was known as sigon [sic] rice. This appeared to be a cross between rice and barley. Each grain was surrounded by a fine capsule and unless it is properly cooked and thoroughly chewed it is not digestible and passes through the intestinal tract in the same form in which it is eaten. During this trip, many of the men who were already in a weakened condition died.

This prison ship left Formosa on January 13th with 810 prisoners and arrived in Moji, Japan, on January 30 with 425 still surviving. 385 had died during this 17-day trip. Death was primarily due to starvation, de-

hydration, and exposure. Many of the prisoners developed diarrhea. I am inclined to believe that this was a nutritional diarrhea rather than a specific infection. With the rapid loss of fluids through the intestinal tract and the small amount of fluid intake, they became dehydrated very rapidly. Some of them developed a condition of partial lower extremity paralysis before death. Those prisoners who had died during the night were stripped of their clothing, their bodies were piled near the ladder at the exit from the hold in which the prisoners were kept, and about midforenoon the Japanese would permit a burial detail of a half dozen prisoners to carry the bodies to the topside, where they lay on board ship until nightfall. In the early evening, those that had died during the day were removed from the hold and with those bodies that had been removed in the morning were thrown overboard the ship. It soon became quite a deplorable sight to awaken in the morning and see a pile of from 20 to 35 bodies of men that had died during the night.

Five-gallon gasoline tins were the only containers for the serving of food and disposal of urine and feces. As more and more of the prisoners died, the amount of available clothing increased and by the time the ship had reached Japan, most everybody had enough clothing to nearly cover the body. However, there were practically no shoes or sox.

The Consequences of Stealing Sugar

The Japanese became very mad when they learned that the prisoners had been stealing sugar from the ship's hold. The interpreter, a Japanese named Watta [sic], stated that no food or water would be served to the prisoners until he found out who was responsible for stealing the sugar. A conference was held, and two prisoners agreed to take the blame for the sugar stealing in order that the rest of them could be provided with food. These two prisoners were reported to the Japanese. The Japanese took them to the topside, made them stand at attention, practically unclothed, for many hours, gave them personal beatings and lectures, but finally permitted them to return to the hold with the rest of the prisoners. Both of these men died before the ship arrived in Japan.

The average sailing time between Formosa and Japan should be four or five days. This prison ship took 17 days to make the trip. Most of the steaming was done in the daytime in and out among the islands, and at night a great deal of the time was spent with the ship at anchor. No airplane attacks were encountered on this trip, but submarine alerts were a common occurrence. Only three of the five ships that left in this convoy reached Japan.

For four or five days of this trip the prison ship was used to tow another ship that had been damaged by a submarine torpedo.

Reception in Japan

On the morning of the arrival of the ship in Moji, Japan, the Japanese who came aboard seemed to be a little surprised as well as ashamed of the conditions of this prison draft. However, when they were informed that one member of the draft had died of diphtheria, they forced all of the remaining prisoners to stand around in the cold weather, exposed, while they conducted an examination. Just before the prisoners left the ship, some clothing was issued to those who did not have enough clothes to cover their bodies. It must be recalled that at this time of year the weather is cold in Japan; the ground is frozen, covered with snow and ice. Many of the surviving prisoners were in an extremely poor condition; however, they were herded off the ship and marched barefooted in the snow for three or four city blocks and were quartered in an empty theater building, where they remained most of the day. They were separated into small groups and taken to prison camps on the island of Kyushu.

Physical Condition on Arrival in Moji

During this day's stay in the theater, eight of the 425 prisoners who were alive when we reached Japan died. On January 30, while in the theater at Moji, all of the surviving prisoners were very poorly clothed, no blankets or heat were provided, and there was no drinking water. However, just outside the window there was a rain barrel three-fourths full of rain water that had run off the building roof. As I recall, I drank three canteens-ful of this water during the ten-hour period. I don't believe I have ever experienced a time in which water was more appreciated. About midafternoon of this day, the Japanese served a small box of steamed rice with a second small box of fish, seaweed and vegetable mixture. This was a much better type of food than we had been used to and was very highly appreciated.

The 425 prisoners that arrived in Moji were disposed of in the following manner: 100 were taken to Fukuoka Camp No. 3, of which 35 died within the next few weeks; 96 were taken to Fukuoka Camp No. 17, 15 of whom soon died; 103 were taken to Fukuoka Camp No. 1, nine died within the next few weeks; 110 of the prisoners who were in the poorest physical condition were taken to the Japanese military hospital at Moji.[36] *Of this group,*

73 died within the next six weeks. Thus, out of the total of 425 arriving in Moji, within six-weeks' time 140 of them had died, leaving 285 still living.

On December 13, 1944, the draft of 1,619 left Manila for Japan. Total surviving: 285. On arrival at Moji, Japan, I was probably in no worse general physical condition than many of the other prisoners. My weight when leaving Manila December 13, 1944, was 150 pounds. My weight six weeks later on arrival at Moji, Japan, was 88 pounds. I resembled very much an old, emaciated man. I had not had a bath for six weeks. My skin was dry and scaly. I had no shoes or sox. A pair of dungaree shorts and an old sport shirt were all the clothing I had. I was hardly able to walk and unable to get up unassisted. Dr. Sullivan, an Army reserve doctor from San Francisco, asked me if I would accompany the group of 110 with him to the Moji hospital, as we felt that as doctors we might be able to do something for them upon arrival at the hospital. The group of prisoners that were moved to the hospital was the last to be taken from the theater building, and I was one of the prisoners in the last ambulance trip.

At Moji Military Hospital

I arrived at the Japanese military hospital in Moji after a half-hour's ride by ambulance, about 9:00 PM January 30, and with the 110 other prisoner-patients, I was placed in a wooden barracks in the military hospital compound in the city of Moji. This barracks building was divided into two sections, each containing 55 patients. There was no heat, no beds were provided. However, there were some straw mats and sufficient blankets. The barracks building was of wood construction. It contained many windows, and a sun porch on one side. Our only toilet facility was a five-gallon gasoline tin, which, when full, had to be carried a half block for disposal. Sufficient water for drinking purposes was provided. However, there was no warm water for bathing. The food was brought to the barracks and turned over to the American prisoners for distribution. This food consisted of steamed rice, a vegetable or seaweed soup, and about once a week some fish. The food was sufficient in quantity for sustaining life in individuals who were in good condition. However, it was far from adequate for a diet for patients who were in as generally a debilitated condition as were the members of this prison draft. Practically no medical personnel help was provided, although there were a half dozen Japanese medical men assigned to the ward. All of the ordinary ward duties were carried out by prisoner-patients. About a half dozen of the group of 110 were in better condition than the rest, and this

small group provided the working detail for washing the clothes and blankets, cleaning up the barracks, distributing the food, and looking after the general care of those who were unable to care for themselves. On the day after our arrival at Moji hospital, Dr. Sullivan died. Other medical corps personnel among this group of patients were Major Jacobs, USA, and Lt. Barrett, USN. Both of these doctors were in worse general condition than myself.

The patients were visited twice a week by a Japanese doctor. After a week in the hospital, a small amount of surgical dressings were furnished, and those patients with wounds were dressed about twice a week thereafter. Practically no medication was provided by the Japanese. After a couple of weeks in this hospital, some American Red Cross medicines, such as vitamins and sulfa drugs were provided. The high death rate, 73 out of this group of 110, within the six-week period was caused by the poor condition of the prisoners who had recently gone through great hardships on the trip to Japan, improper food, insufficient clothing, no heat, and insufficient medication.

Signing Death Certificates

Three days after arrival at this hospital, the Japanese interpreter in charge of the prison draft, a Mr. Watta [sic], came to the hospital to get my signature on the death certificates of the more than 1,000 prisoners who had lost their lives en route to Japan. These death certificates were written in Japanese, and I have no way of knowing as to what they listed as the cause of death in each instance. The individual's name, rate, and date of death were written in English. All other information on the death certificate was in Japanese. The Japanese authorities in the hospital did not seem to be concerned as regards to the condition of American prisoner-patients or the large number of deaths in this group. Attempts were made for more food, heat, and clothing, but nothing was gained. Early in March, a small amount of Red Cross food was issued for the use of these patients. This food was again insufficient in amount to accomplish a great deal.

Transfer to Fukuoka Camp No. 22

Those prisoner-patients who died in this military hospital were cremated and to the best of my knowledge their ashes were forwarded from this hospital to Fukuoka Mining Camp No. 22,[37] *and I believe that they were at this*

camp when the war ended. On February 25, 20 of the prisoner-patients who were in the best physical condition were moved from the hospital to Fukuoka Camp No. 22, and on March 15 the remaining surviving members of this group were likewise moved to the same mining camp. I went with the last group on March 15 from the hospital to Fukuoka Camp No. 22. This trip was made by train, a distance of about four-hours' train ride.

Fukuoka Camp No. 22 was a small camp of prisoners consisting of 90 Australian and 10 Dutch, two Australian line officers, one a Captain in command of the camp, an Australian chaplain, and a Dutch doctor.[38] *This group of prisoners was working in a coal mine in close proximity to the camp. Most of the 25 American prisoners that were sent to this camp were in such poor physical condition that they were admitted to the camp hospital and treated as patients. While at this camp, I was not on patient status, but I worked as a doctor in the camp hospital. My weight was still less than 100 pounds. I was hardly able to walk up the hill from the barracks to the hospital, a distance of 200 or so feet.*

The food at this prison camp was probably about the same as that received at the hospital. The gram ration of rice per prisoner was 590 grams for the camp workers, 710 grams for the coal mine workers, and 400 grams for the hospital patients. The Japanese idea of a hospital patient differs a great deal from that in our country. In general, their attitude is that when an individual is a patient in a hospital, he is not producing and not contributing towards the military accomplishment, and therefore he is not entitled to as much food as a soldier who is working or on duty status. They do not consider that his physical condition might justify an increase in diet.

General living conditions at this camp were fairly good. The prisoners were quartered in small individual wooden buildings. Each building housed a dozen prisoners. The camp had a fairly decent mess hall. Sanitary conditions were fair. The work for the camp prisoners was rather strenuous. The men worked ten hours down in the coal mines and spent about an hour going to and from the mines. Thus they were on duty 12 hours out of each 24. The camp had been recently established and was made up of Australian prisoners who were in good general condition. However, they had begun to show the effects of the poor diet and hard work in the mines. The weather was still cold in Japan at this time of year. No heat was provided in the camp. There was hot water for bathing and washing of clothes.

During the period that I spent in this camp from March 15 until April 26, there were many air raid alarms. We would spend an average of two

hours in the air raid shelter out of each 24 hours. Most of this time would be during the daylight hours. However, there were many occasions when there were night air raids. No bombing was done in the immediate vicinity of the prison camp. Planes could be heard flying over the camp, and bombs were dropped in close enough proximity to the camp that they could be very plainly heard. Drinking water was sufficient. The morning chow usually consisted of a mixture that was known as "pap." This was composed of the vegetable soup that was kept over from the previous evening meal to which was added a small amount of boiled rice resembling the Filipino lugao.[39] *The noon meal consisted of a bowl of steamed rice, sufficient to fill a canteen cup. There was a small gardening project within the camp compound. This work was done by camp officer prison personnel who were able to work. Officer personnel at this camp were not used for working in the coal mines. The morning reveille was about 6:00 AM; the evening lights out at 9:00 PM. There were a very limited number of books in the camp; the camp had no commissary and no outside purchase privileges. In fact, there was no food to be purchased in Japan. All food distribution was under the control of the military.*

A Visit to Town to Buy Reading Glasses

While at this camp, about April 1, I made one trip with the Japanese interpreter to a nearby city. I walked a distance of two miles. The purpose of making this trip was to buy some reading glasses. Conditions in the town, which I would estimate had a population of about 15,000 to 20,000, were very similar to what one sees anyplace in the Orient. I was greatly impressed by the poverty. On the streets there were very few people, especially in the group of military age. There were many children and a few old people. Schools apparently were functioning normally, although many of the children of school age were used for laborers in the coal mines and not permitted to attend school. Practically all of the store windows in the town were boarded; there seemed to be very little merchandising activity. An occasional vegetable peddler could be noticed on the street. There was practically no motor transportation, probably due to the gasoline shortage. Throughout the city in vacant lots, alleys, and yards, there were a few air raid shelters of very poor structure. They consisted of a few holes in the ground covered over with boards. They certainly would not be very effective shelter against bombing raids.

Transfer to Fukuoka

On April 26, 1945, I, with about 20 of the American prisoners in this camp, was moved by truck to the city of Fukuoka, where a group of 250 American prisoners, mostly officer personnel, had been assembled from the various camps in that area for transfer to Manchuria. This truck trip took about seven hours. The truck was a charcoal burner type; it had a great deal of difficulty making some of the hills. Prisoners were crowded in the truck; however, there was room for all to sit down. The country through which this trip was made was very hilly. There seemed to be but a small amount of land available for agriculture. However, one would see an occasional small truck garden patch. The highways were in very poor general condition. The towns and villages through which we traveled were far below the average of American communities. We arrived at Fukuoka City about 4:00 PM and were taken to the edge of the city and unloaded in a city park, where we remained until 6:00 PM, at which time we were moved a distance of two miles to the port area in this city.

Meeting Dr. Ooki on the Boat to Korea

About 8:00 PM, the group of 250 prisoners was loaded on board a small, but fast, inter-island boat. Upon this boat, we were not crowded. We had straw mats upon which to sleep. We were on board for two hours when an air raid warning sounded and all of the prisoners were ordered off the ship and assembled in an area along the railroad tracks in close proximity to the ship, where we remained throughout the night. At 8:00 AM on the morning of April 27, we were again loaded on the ship. About 9:00 AM, we got underway, headed for Fusan, Korea.[40] *This voyage of seven hours was uneventful. However, after our recent experience in traveling on Japanese prison ships, the thought of making this trip was very depressing. During the seven-hour trip, the small inter-island passenger boat made a speed I would estimate of 20 to 25 knots. There was practically no time that we were out of sight of land as there are many small islands across the entrance to the China Sea. One prisoner-patient died en route on this trip and was buried at sea. About 75 of this group of 250 were the same prisoner group that had left Manila on December 13. The remaining members of the group of 250 had been assembled from prison camps in Japan. Some of them had been in Japan for as long as two years.*

It was during this journey from Fukuoka to Fusan that I met the Japa-

nese Dr. Ooki,[41] *who was a prison doctor for the camp at Mukden, Manchuria, who had come to Fukuoka to accompany this draft of prisoners to his prison camp. Very soon after going aboard ship, Dr. Ooki contacted me and inquired as to the general condition of the prisoners, informed me as to what emergency medical supplies he had with him, and told me that if any of the prisoner-patients needed medication to contact him and it would be provided. This was the first time in my experience in prison life that I had ever seen a Japanese who willfully volunteered to do anything for American prisoners. During this journey on board ship we received one meal, a very good meal, a mixture of rice and vegetables with an addition of fish. The food was well prepared and considerably more in amount than we had been used to receiving. We arrived in Fusan, Korea, about 4:00 PM on April 27.*

By Train to Mukden, Manchuria

On board this same ship, there was a group of about 300 American prisoners that were en route from Japan to a prison camp in Korea. Both groups of prisoners were marched from the port area in Fusan to a theater building in that city, a distance of a half dozen city blocks. Upon arrival at this theater building, the two groups of prisoners were kept separate; the group going to camp in Korea was to leave by train at 8:30 PM the same evening. There was a rumor that their camp was 12-hours' train ride from Fusan. The group of 249 prisoners, of which I was a member, that was going to camp in Mukden, Manchuria, left Fusan by train at 8:00 AM on April 28. We were told that it was a 36-hour train ride to our camp, but we were not told the location of the camp, and we did not know until after our arrival that we were in Mukden, Manchuria.

The train journey was considerably above the average for the transportation of American prisoners by the Japanese. Train coaches were modern, day coaches, with plush cushions; two prisoners assigned to a seat. There was plenty of drinking water on the train, and during the trip we were served very good chow which was served three times a day. The food was served in small wooden boxes in sufficient amount and consisted of a mixture of rice, fish, chicken, vegetables, and occasionally fruits with cookies or bread rolls. This was considerably different chow from what I had been receiving during my three years of prison life. In fact, it was the first bread that I had had for over three years. There was a noticeable change in the attitude of the Japanese officer personnel and guards who were in charge of the prisoners during this trip. Manchuria had not been visited by warfare

and the military personnel did not seem to be under strain and apprehension of air attacks.[42] *They seemed to be friendly with the prison personnel. The entire civilian population acted considerably different in this country than they did in Japan. They acted more friendly and when they looked at us, it was not with the sulky, despised look the Japanese in Japan and the Philippines gave us.*

Manchuria is a very productive country, and it was a great contrast to the barrenness and poverty that was so noticeable in Japan. The train arrived in Mukden, Manchuria, at 11:00 PM on April 28. The prisoners remained in the railway cars at the station until daylight the following morning, when the cars were switched to the site of the prison camp in that city.

Arrival at the Camp in Mukden

We de-trained and marched a distance of about a mile from the small switchyard station to the main prison camp at the edge of the industrial section of the city of Mukden. This camp was surrounded by a brick and stone wall which was 15 feet in height. It enclosed a space of about eight acres. The camp had been built especially to house prisoners. It was completed and first occupied by prisoners in March 1942.[43] *The main buildings were of concrete brick structure; two deck in height; covered with a composition, asphalt roof. The camp buildings consisted of three main barracks buildings with toilet and bath facilities, a hospital building providing approximately 100 beds, a galley building, power house, a central store room building, an office building, and two buildings which provided the living quarters for the Japanese officer and prison guards.*

Each barracks building was provided with running water and had sufficient coal burning stoves to provide winter heat. The barracks were divided into five equal sections; each of these sections was double decked, so that each section would provide space for approximately 50 prisoners. The lower deck of each section was on a platform ten inches above the main barracks deck. The second deck of the section was a platform five feet higher. No beds were provided, but each prisoner had a straw mattress and sufficient blankets with which to keep warm. Each prisoner had a small shelf at the head of his bed for storing his clothing and personal gear.

The sleeping spaces were provided with mosquito nettings. The windows in the buildings furnished plenty of light and ventilation. Each prisoner was given a number[44] *and assigned a bed space. The chow was cooked at the main galley and distributed proportionately to each section, where it was*

redistributed equally to each prisoner. The morning meal usually consisted of a bowl of corn meal mush or a bowl of maize, a grain very similar to kaffir corn[45] *in this country. The noon meal consisted of a large bowl of soy beans, the evening meal, a mixture of vegetable soup and soy beans. In addition to these three meals each prisoner was issued three to five buns, made of half flour and half corn meal, daily. In general, this diet was considerately better than the prison diet provided in Bilibid or in prison camps in Japan.*

Upon arrival at camp in Mukden, my weight had increased from 88 pounds to 96, but after eating the diet provided in the Mukden camp, I soon began to increase in weight and pick up in general health. By the time that the war ended on August 15, 1945, after three and a half months in this camp, my weight had increased from 96 to 140 pounds.

Officer personnel in the Mukden camp did not work on prison labor detail. However, the enlisted camp prisoner personnel worked on three work projects in that part of the city. The main group of prisoners had worked since the camp was established in November 1942 until the war ended for a machine tool company in a factory known as MKK.[46] *Two smaller groups of prisoners worked at other factories, one at a shoe and leather factory and the other at a cloth and canvas factory, both in close proximity to the camp.*

The prisoners at this camp were in very good physical condition. Their treatment had been very good, their work not hard. In addition to the factory details, there was a small group of prisoners that worked on a garden project just outside the prison wall. This farming project produced a large amount of the vegetables used in the camp. The camp prison personnel totaled about 1,700, of which about 40 were American, 300 Australian and Dutch, and the remainder British. The prison camp commanding officer was a major in the U.S. Army. Most of the prison officer personnel were American Army officers. The camp had a tailor shop, cobbler shop, small commissary, good bathing facilities, good toilet and clothes washing facilities, and adequate bakery and galley space and equipment, and a moderately well-equipped and efficiently staffed hospital.

Impressions of Dr. Ooki

The hospital was under the charge of the Japanese Dr. Ooki, who had a staff of about a half dozen Japanese medical corps personnel who acted in a supervisory capacity. The actual working staff of the hospital was composed of two American doctors and one Australian doctor with a number of

British and American enlisted medical corps personnel. The hospital was provided with beds. The surgical department was sufficient and well enough equipped to carry out the average major operative procedure. Laboratory facilities were sufficient for a hospital of this size. A large amount of medication was American Red Cross medicines. However, the Japanese government provided a small amount of various types of medicine. The actual treatment of the prisoner-patients and the holding of the daily sick call of camp prisoner personnel were carried out by American medical corps personnel.

Dr. Ooki was very cooperative, very much interested in the patients in general, and had a different attitude regarding prisoners than that of most Japanese officers. I became very well acquainted with Dr. Ooki and have more admiration for him as a doctor and as a man than I have for any other Japanese with whom I came in contact. Dr. Ooki stated that primarily he was a doctor and not a military man. I have heard him remark that it made no difference to him as to what rank or nationality that the prisoners were; to him they were patients, whether they were American, British, Australian, Dutch or Japanese. He made no distinction between the groups and treated the Japanese military personnel professionally, just the same as he treated the prisoner personnel. This doctor was held in very high regard by practically all of the prisoners in this camp. At the time that the camp was freed by the Russians and all of the Japanese officer personnel and the Japanese guards who had been administrating the camp were disarmed and made prisoners and confined to their quarters, Dr. Ooki was given permission to remain at large and had free run of the camp. He made daily trips to the hospital and during the three-week period after the end of the war, his attitude and treatment of the prisoner-patients was no different than during the period in which they were prisoners.

Dr. Ooki was a married man, with a wife and three children, who prior to the war had lived in Tokyo. His wife's people were moderately wealthy and were engaged in the bookbinding and printing industry. Dr. Ooki and his family were apparently people of moderate means. He graduated from medical school in 1930, worked for two years in charity practice in Tokyo, then became associated as a member of the teaching staff in a medical school in that city. He served for a few years as associate professor of medicine and by the time of the outbreak of the war, he was a clinical professor of chest medicine. It was compulsory that he enter the military service medical corps. He was certainly not a military man, but he was a doctor.

He had learned to speak English fairly well and had a good command of the written English language. He also spoke and wrote German. He was very interested professionally and stated that after the war was over and he had gotten established in the medical school teaching profession, he would like very much to make a tour of this country visiting medical clinics. He seemed to be fairly familiar with the Mayo Clinic, as he asked many questions regarding it.

It was from Dr. Ooki that I learned that at the time of our arrival in Japan on January 30, 1945, that we were to continue the journey on to the camp at Mukden. In fact, there was a detail of Japanese guards that came to Moji to meet this draft to accompany it to Mukden. But Dr. Ooki stated that when they learned the condition of the prisoners on the draft and that only such a small number of them were still alive, they thought it would be a better thing to do to distribute them to prison camps in the Fukuoka area and to move them to Manchuria later in the year, after their physical strength had improved.

The Isolation Period

Upon the arrival of the draft of 249 prisoners at Mukden, this group was placed in Barracks No. 3 and kept in isolation for a period of three weeks. During this period, the group was fed from the main galley. In addition to this food, there were many gifts of food from other prisoners in the camp. This camp had regularly received a nearly daily issue of Red Cross food. Due to the poor health and the general run-down condition of this draft upon its arrival, the entire camp discontinued the issuance of Red Cross food to the camp and made available this food for the group of 249 new prison arrivals. This Red Cross diet in addition to the regular camp diet made a very ample maintenance food ration, and it was but a very short period until they changed in general physical condition, and the members on this draft showed marked improvement.

During the three-week isolation period, I held daily sick call on the prisoners in isolation. Medicines were provided from the hospital, and twice a week Dr. Ooki and a staff of American hospital corpsmen would hold a general sick call and do dressings on this group of patients. It was during this period that I became better acquainted with Dr. Ooki, and at the end of the isolation period I was informed by Dr. Ooki that I would be made a member of his hospital staff, but was told by him that I was in good enough physical condition to work, but not in the hospital. However, he said that he

wanted me to feel free to come over to the hospital at any time, and if there was anything that I wanted to let him know about it.

May 21, 1945, the Japanese moved a group of about 200 high-ranking officer personnel, composed of generals, colonels and corresponding ranks of the various nationalities of prisoners who had been stationed at another prison camp in northern Manchuria, to the main prison camp at Mukden. In this group were many of the American generals and colonels who had served in the Bataan and Corregidor campaigns.

The camp at Mukden and the city of Mukden had been visited by American four-motored bomber planes on two occasions, December 7 and December 21, 1944. On one of these visits, bombs from one of the planes landed in the camp compound killing 19 of the prisoners and wounding many others. After this raid, there was an open section in the compound in which there were zigzag trenches constructed as fox holes for use, should American bombers return to this area. They never returned again. During my stay in this camp, I never heard an air raid siren, and for all practical purposes one would hardly know that a war was in progress, had it not been for the retention in prison camp.

The weather at Mukden during the summer months was very pleasant and very agreeable. It was not too hot, and there was a cool, gentle breeze most of the time. The days were bright, clear, and sunny, with a moderate amount of rainfall. The nights are cool enough to sleep under a blanket. However, I am told that beginning about the first of September, the weather begins to get a great deal cooler, and by the middle of November, they are having real cold weather, remaining this way until the 1st of April. There is very little snowfall in the winter time.

The news source and supply for the camp at Mukden was very plentiful and usually reliable. The prisoners who worked in factories outside the camp worked with a group of Chinese and Manchurian civilians, and from them they learned the late war news. Also they were usually given the Japanese newspaper that was brought to the camp, where there were about a half dozen Japanese-language-student prisoners who would translate the paper news and put out a small news bulletin to the camp prisoners. This late in the war, the Japanese had discontinued a large part of their news propaganda and were printing a great deal of authentic bits of news. In fact, we knew to the very day in which Russia had entered the war against Japan.[47] *We were watching the progress of their army with a great deal of concern, as there was a feeling of uncertainty as to just what the Japanese*

would do with the prison personnel as the Russian military forces approached the city of Mukden. I believe that there was a period in which the Japanese had planned and considered moving of the prisoners away from Mukden prison camp, probably to some location further into the interior. But the progress of the Russian army was so rapid, and the Japanese had so many more problems of the defense of the country in which they were interested that they could not be concerned with this small group of prisoners.

A U.S. Rescue Team Arrives

On August 15, the camp received the news that the war was ended. It was on this day that a rescue team composed of two Army officers, a Chinese, and a Japanese interpreter landed by parachute in close proximity of the camp. This team had come from an American airfield in the interior of China. There was supposed to have been a plane ahead of this one that was to drop leaflets explaining to the civilian personnel and the Japanese military that the rescue team would arrive. However, the rescue team arrived before the plane with the pamphlets. When the members of this team parachuted from the plane, the civilians and the military personnel were greatly alarmed and excited. They surrounded the members of the rescue team, who had parachuted from the plane, and after a short period of confusion in which they attempted to explain the situation, the rescue team was turned over by the civilians to the Japanese military authorities. The Japanese military authorities at this time had not officially received word of the ending of the war, and this rescue team was given rather rough treatment and held as prisoners of war. Late on the evening of the 15th they were brought into the prison camp at Mukden and kept isolated from the rest of the prisoners. This caused a great deal of excitement in the prison camp, as all prisoners knew that something was happening, but they were not certain as to just what was occurring. During the night, the Japanese prison camp personnel apparently received official word of the war's ending and on the next morning, August 16, their attitude concerning the rescue team was entirely changed. In fact, on the night of the 15th, some of the Japanese guards became very friendly with the prisoners, gave them cigarettes and tried to tell them that now since the war is over, we are all comrades.

The Russians Arrive

August 16, the camp authorities were permitted to contact the members of

the rescue team and learn definitely their purpose in coming to this area and that the war was over. Late afternoon of the 16th of August, two Russian officers and a Russian enlisted man arrived at the prison camp. The advance body of the Russian troops had reached the city of Mukden on the morning of August 16. The Russian army captain assembled the prisoners in the area of the hospital and through an interpreter gave them a speech. He was indeed quite a showman. The general trend of his speech was that from now on "you are free." After he made this statement, there was a period of a great deal of cheering by the prisoners. When this quieted down, he stated that the Russian army had traveled a distance of more than 1,000 miles over hill and valley in a week's time in order to free you. After this brief speech, he held a conference with the ranking prison generals of all nationalities in the camp. This conference lasted for about 15 minutes, after which he assembled all of the Japanese camp officer personnel and the Japanese guards in the area close to the camp barracks, and it was at this assembly through a Russian-American-Japanese interpreter that he informed the Japanese that they were now prisoners of war and that they must surrender their guns and swords.

The camp prison personnel was informed that the camp was under the command of the senior American general, and a camp prison guard of American soldiers was organized. The guns that were taken from the Japanese guards were given to the American guards who took over the guarding of the camp. The previous Japanese camp officers and prison guards were marched through the compound to a section of the camp that had been the Japanese guard quarters and were imprisoned in these quarters and placed under American guards. This changing of the guard was quite a spectacular scene and was very efficiently and dramatically handled by the Russian captain. After this procedure, the Russian captain informed the camp that they were at liberty to leave the camp and to go anywhere in the city of Mukden. However, as a precautionary measure for their own safety, he advised that they refrain from leaving the camp for a day or two, and especially that they do not go to the city at night, as there was still a great deal of unrest in the city. There were still many elements of the Japanese military forces that had not yet been taken prisoner, and there was a great deal of shooting outside the prison wall and in various sections of the city. The Russians were shooting the Japanese, the Japanese were shooting the Russians and Chinese, and the Manchurians and Chinese were also helping to shoot the Japanese. The Japanese were still at open warfare against these three groups, so an

unarmed ex-prisoner of war in the city of Mukden would not be very safe. This state of semi-warfare continued until about August 20, when conditions in the city were fairly well stabilized. The camp ex-prisoners were permitted to make a liberty during the daytime, but they were requested to return to camp soon after nightfall. However, many of them remained in the city day and night. Some of them became very friendly and intimate with the Russian troops; in fact, a few of them helped the Russians, using Russian military equipment, to clear up the situation in Mukden.

First Days of Freedom

The first few days after the end of the war were certainly pleasant days for prisoners, after the long and hard period of over three and a half years in various Japanese prison camps. It was quite a novelty to have freedom and to be permitted to go outside the prison walls anyplace in the city and buy items of food and articles that they had been deprived of for such a long period. The money in purchasing items was of no consequence as the Japanese military currency was of no value. There was no American money in the camp. All of the commercial transactions were carried out on a barter basis. The Chinese and Manchurians were very glad to trade their produce for items of clothing, blankets, shoes, etc. that came from the prison camp. In addition to food, there was a great deal of alcoholic liquor brought into the camp, principally beer, as there was a brewery in close proximity to the camp. In fact, there were a few days when beer was brought in by the truckload.

There was also a great variety of other alcoholic drinks, undoubtedly much of it not fit for human consumption. Attempts were made to control the activities of the ex-prisoners. Many camp rules and regulations were published, but none of them were very seriously heeded. One of the orders soon after the surrender prohibited the bringing of alcoholic liquor into the camp. It was soon learned that it was impossible to consider enforcing this order, and at one of the general information speeches given to the camp personnel by the American Army officer in charge of the processing team, was a simple statement that "it will no longer be considered a violation of the rules to bring alcoholic liquor into the camp." Orders were also issued regarding hours of liberty in the city, but it was soon found out that it was also impossible to enforce this order, as the ex-prisoners left the camp and returned when they felt like leaving, regardless of orders.

Considering the amount of confusion in the city of Mukden for the first

ten days after the end of the war, and considering the recklessness of the ex-prisoners of war, it certainly is amazing that some of them did not get killed or seriously injured, but to the best of my knowledge there were no casualties of any significance. Within a few days, American planes and supplies began to arrive from airfields in China. There was a nightly movie show in the camp and a nightly newscast by service news reporters. There was also a daily service newspaper published somewhere in China, and radios in various sections of the camp were in operation nearly 24 hours daily. American planes from China airfields soon established a daily transport service for the removal of the ex-prisoner personnel who were patients. Later some of the ranking prisoners of different nationalities and some of the other ex-prisoners who were not in too good physical condition were removed by air and returned to the States by way of China, India, Africa, South America, and to the East Coast.

A few days after the ending of the war, the prisoner personnel got a close look at the B-29s, as nearly daily groups of from 6 to 25 of these planes, coming from Okinawa, flew over the camp dropping planeloads of food, clothing, and medical supplies by parachute. There was no airfield in the Mukden area that was constructed so that it was able to permit the landing of B-29s. The supplies from these bombing planes were dropped either within the prison compound or in close proximity and were gathered up by the camp personnel and divided among the prisoners. Within a few days, the personnel had new and sufficient clothing and a great variety of foodstuff that they had not seen for three or four years. It was quite a sight to see a squadron of B-29 bombers parachuting food to the camp. Each plane dumped about 18 parachutes of food. The bombing compartments of the planes were equipped with a wooden platform, and upon this platform were the bundles of food, attached to the parachutes. This platform and the food were dumped from the planes by the same mechanisms that had been used to release the bombs during the war. Many of the parachutes failed to open, and some of the food products were busted open and damaged.

The camp at Mukden operated under the supervision of an Army processing team from the China theater from August 17 until September 12, when the last of the ex-prisoners had been moved to Port Arthur[48] *for evacuation on U.S. Navy ships.*

Dealings with the Russians

When the Russian military forces arrived in Mukden, there were practically

no medical personnel with the advance troops. The Russians used the civilian hospitals for the treatment of their wounded soldiers. About a week after the end of the war, a Norwegian missionary doctor who had been working at a Scotch [sic] missionary hospital in Mukden came to the prison camp for surgical aid in treating wounded Russian soldiers in his hospital. He had one Russian soldier as a patient who had received a gunshot wound in the left eye. He stated that the Russian general had said that he wanted the soldier operated on. The Norwegian doctor was not a surgeon, and he stated that he did not believe the Chinese surgeon was capable of performing the operation. He asked if the camp would provide a doctor. I was sent from the camp to the missionary hospital to examine the case. I recommended surgical removal of the left eye with abstraction of the bullet if it was accessible. This recommendation was made to the Russian general. I talked to him personally, and he agreed that I operate upon the patient, telling me not to worry about it should the patient die. One of the great reasons why the missionary doctor did not want the Chinese surgeon to operate on the patient was that he was afraid that the Russian general would be very mad if the patient should die. This patient was operated on, made an uneventful recovery and about five days after operation, he was removed from the missionary hospital to the main Russian military hospital that had arrived in Mukden.

The Russian hospital unit of personnel and equipment arrived in Mukden ten days after the arrival of the first Russian military forces. This organization was transported to Mukden in a plane convoy consisting of 80 planes. A large percentage of the Russian war equipment was American made. Practically all of their planes were American made, and nine out of every ten trucks were American. I was not familiar with the American tanks, so I do not know if the tanks, with which the Russians entered Mukden, were of American or Russian construction. By September 1, conditions within the city of Mukden were approaching normal, and I made many trips from the camp area to the main section of the city.

The headquarters of the Russian military forces was at the Yamamoto Hotel [sic], a large, modern hotel constructed and operated by the Japanese since their occupation of Manchuria in 1933.[49] *While at this hotel, I met and talked with the No. 2 Russian general, who was in command of the Russian forces in that area. He spoke very highly of American aid and American equipment during the war. He was in the fighting in the area around Stalingrad and stated very definitely that had it not been for the timely arrival*

of American equipment and materiel, the Russians would never have been able to have turned the tide of battle in Stalingrad. This general was also in command of the Russian forces that took the city of Berlin. He spoke a great deal of his contact with the American troops in that sector. He said that he could see no reason as to why there should ever be a conflict between his country and the United States, as neither of them wanted more territory, and there was no reason for them to ever become enemies. As far as Manchuria is concerned, he stated that his country had no interest there, excepting to drive the Japanese out and to obtain an outlet to the sea at Port Arthur. He stated that if conditions passed as expected the Russian forces would be out of Manchuria, with the exception of Port Arthur, within a 90-day period.

Soon after the arrival of the Russians in Mukden, the Chinese Communist troops began to infiltrate into the city. It is the arrival of these troops that will probably delay the evacuation of the Russians, as I believe that it is the intention of the Russians to surrender the control of Manchuria to the

Photo 1: Grandfather at the Mukden POW Camp after the end of the war, 1945

Smith family photo collection

Chinese Nationalist government and not to the Communists.

Repatriation

September 11 about noon, I, with a group of 800 ex-prisoners, left the camp at Mukden, was taken in a Russian truck to the railway station, boarded a passenger train, and late that day departed for Port Arthur, a distance of 200 miles. We arrived at Port Arthur at 8:00 PM on September 12 and boarded the USS Relief for return to the States.

Grandfather's manuscript ends here. It was never published, but each branch of the Smith family was given a copy.

The Number of Deaths in This Draft of Prisoners

Among the papers accompanying Grandfather's manuscript, there was a chart listing the number of men who died on each stage of the journey from the Philippines to Japan and during the six-week period following their arrival. It shows that just 425 (26%) of the men survived their journey on these transport ships as far as Moji, and six weeks after their arrival in Japan, only 285 (18%) out of the 1,619 men in the original draft of prisoners were left.

Decorations, Commendations, and Retirement

In December 1941, Grandfather was Captain Carey Miller Smith, (Medical Corps) United States Navy. After the war, he received a Purple Heart medal for "being wounded in action against an enemy of the United States," a Bronze Star medal for "heroic or meritorious achievement or service in a combat zone," a Silver Star medal for "gallantry in action against an enemy of the United States," and the Legion of Merit (Oak Leaf Cluster) for "exceptionally meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding services and achievements." He also received a World War II Victory medal, an American Defense Service medal, an Asiatic Pacific medal, a Prisoner of War medal, a Philippine Defense ribbon, and a Philippine Presidential Unit citation.[50]

The file of papers with the manuscript contains copies of some old letters, including ones signed by U.S. President Harry Truman and James Forrestal, the Secretary of the Navy, that were written after the war thanking

Chart 1: The number of deaths in this draft of prisoners

	Casualties	Total
Oryoku Maru, December 13, 14, 15, 1944—Total No. Men		1,619
Olongapo (tennis court), December 15 to 21—Died	279	1,340
Returned to Manila—Injured	6	1,334
San Fernando, Pampanga (jail & theatre), December 21, 22, 23—Died	5	1,329
Train from San Fernando, Pampanga, to San Fernando, La Union, December 23 & 24—Died	0	1,329
San Fernando, La Union (schoolhouse), December 25—Died	0	1,329
San Fernando, La Union (beach), December 25, 26, 27—Died	1	1,328
En route San Fernando to Formosa, December 27, 1944, to January 2, 1945, and at Takao Harbor, January 2 to 9, 1945		
Prison Ship No. 1 [Enoura Maru] (1,092 men)—Died	195	1,133
Prison Ship No. 2 [Brazil Maru] (236 men)—Died	5	1,128
Prison Ship No. 1 bombed in Takao Harbor, January 9, 1945		
Forward hold (452 men)—Died	238	890
No. 2 hold (676 men)—Died	20	870
Takao Harbor, Formosa, January 10 to 13—Died	60	810
En route Formosa to Moji, Japan, January 13 to 30—Died	385	425
Moji Theatre Building (425 men), January 30, 1945—Died	8	417
Within 6 weeks of arrival in Japan		
Military Hospital, Moji (110 men)—Died	73	344
Fukuoka Camp No. 3 (100 men)—Died	35	309
Fukuoka Camp No. 17 (96 men)—Died	15	294
Fukuoka Camp No. 1 (111 men)—Died	9	285

him for his service to the nation.[51] There is also an undated letter of commendation written during the war by Thomas H. Hayes, Commander, (MC) USN, the senior medical officer of the Naval Medical Unit at Bilibid from October 1943 to October 1944. It reads:

> This officer [Carey Miller Smith] has been with me or in close contact with me during the entire war in this area. He was my assistant

> at Canacao, was a part of my naval surgical team in Manila, and again came under my direct observation on his arrival here at Corregidor. I was in constant contact with him in Bataan during my period of service as District Medical Officer. He is a competent surgeon, a good executive and organizer, loyal, and has a great capacity for work. He readily assumes responsibility and can both take and give orders. Everyone who has been associated with him in this war has seen fit to comment highly on his capabilities. His commanding officer (Colonel Duckworth of the Army) in Bataan specially mentioned Doctor Smith to me and the dependence he placed in him and saw fit to write a commendatory letter in behalf of this officer for services rendered. It is my personal knowledge that the respect and admiration expressed by Colonel Duckworth for Doctor Smith is shared by everyone of the Army and Navy with whom he has been in contact in this theatre of the war. No officer in this area more rightfully deserves the judgment of: —"DUTY WELL DONE"—

Grandfather joined the U.S. Navy in 1928, soon after graduating from the medical school at the University of Illinois. His prewar service included three tours of duty on ships—USS Argonne, USS Tennessee, and USS Wright—and assignments at hospitals and facilities on the U.S. mainland—including Naval Hospital in San Diego, California, where he was working when he received orders for duty in the Philippines in 1940.

After a career of eighteen years and six months, he left active duty in December 1946. As of January 1, 1947, he became Rear Admiral Carey Miller Smith, (Medical Corps) United States Navy, (Retired), and, in his own words, the "Senior Surviving Naval Medical Officer of the Entire Bataan and Corregidor Campaign."

Ann A. Bernatitus, Navy Nurse

Karen: A few years ago, while browsing through the shelves in the English-language section of a large bookstore in Tokyo, I came across *Eyewitness Pacific Theater—Firsthand Accounts of the War in the Pacific from Pearl Harbor to the Atomic Bombs* (Kuehn and Giangrego, 2008). I flipped it open at random and was surprised to see the name of Ann Bernatitus, the operating room nurse mentioned by Grandfather in

his manuscript, and a photograph of her as a young woman in uniform. The book contains oral histories taken from the databases of the various armed forces, and in the long section devoted to Ann Bernatitus and the campaign in the Philippines, I was able to see another side of Grandfather.

Lieutenant (j.g.) Ann Bernatitus was assigned to duty in the Philippines in 1940, and she started working at Canacao Hospital in Cavite Navy Yard in July of that year, about three months before Grandfather arrived. At that time, she was 28 years old and had been in the Navy Nurse Corps for four years. After the attack on Cavite Navy Yard, she was sent to Sternberg Hospital in Manila with Grandfather and other members of the medical unit, then to Hospital No. 1 at Camp Limay in Bataan, and finally to Corregidor. She was part of the last group of "Angels of Bataan and Corregidor" to be evacuated from "The Rock," as Corregidor was called, aboard the USS Spearfish, and she was the only Navy nurse stationed there to avoid capture and years of internment with the Army and Navy nurses at Santo Tomas in Manila and Los Banos near Laguna de Bay.[52]

In the following excerpt (Kuehn and Giangrego, 2008), she remembers those days, including a humorous operating-room conversation she had with Grandfather, in which she made an interesting request:

> . . . And why did I get picked to go to Bataan? Only for one reason. When he [General MacArthur] declared Manila an open city, they were sending surgeons out to Bataan. They weren't picking general medical men. The fact that I had been Dr. [Carey] Smith's ward nurse and I had a background in operating rooms, he picked me. Anyway, the convoy took off for Bataan. There were twenty-four Army nurses, twenty-five Filipino nurses, and me—the one Navy nurse. . . . The first few days I was assigned ward duty, but this was changed and I was reassigned to the operating room. You know, they really left me alone. I only worked when Dr. Smith worked. He was the one who took care of me. The Army nurses didn't bother me. Everyone was involved in setting up the hospital. All the supplies and equipment were crated and stored in the warehouse on the beach. The crates were neither marked nor stored as units, so the Navy crates had to be opened before you found the items for your particu-

> lar unit. I recall a crate being opened and in it were surgical gowns wrapped in newspapers dated 1917. . . . Every operating table would be filled. They would come in from the field all dirty. You did what you could. There were lice; I kept my hair covered all the time. He [Dr. Smith] did a lot of leg amputations because we had a lot of gas gangrene out there. I remember one patient we were operating on. Dr. Smith didn't want to sew him back up. He had died. I remember telling him that I didn't want him to do that if anything happened to me. He said, "I'll sew him up just to shut you up.". . . On April 8, we [the nurses] were transferred to Corregidor. That's when the front lines collapsed. About 8 o'clock they told us to take what we had—and we didn't have much—and put us on buses. I left Dr. Smith and Dr. Fraleigh there. Later on, Dr. Smith showed up on Corregidor; Dr. Fraleigh didn't. . . . When we got to Corregidor I don't think the people there knew we were coming because that night we had to sleep two in a bunk. . . . I was less scared on Bataan than I was on Corregidor. When the Japanese bombed, the whole place just shook. We were in the tunnel which ran . . . straight through [Malinta Hill] and the laterals went off it. . . . I didn't do much work when I got to Corregidor because I had dysentery. Of course, the Army was in charge, so Dr. Smith wasn't working either. I remember only doing one amputation with him. It was not a clean tunnel. It was just rock. . . . On May 3, we were evacuated from Corregidor. I don't know how I was picked. . . . Your name was called and you stepped out of the crowd, because everybody was gathered around to see this. [Major General Jonathan] Wainwright shook [my] hand and wished [me] Godspeed and he said, "Tell them how it is out here." And then I got in a car and they took us out of the tunnel down to the dock. It was pitch-black. When we got down there, we got on a boat that was even smaller than the one that took us to Corregidor. Then we shoved off. We had to go through our own minefields to get to the submarine [for the 17-day journey to Australia]. (pp. 41-56)

In late 1944, Ann Bernatitus was assigned to the hospital ship USS Relief, which was sent to Okinawa during that campaign in 1945 and then to Port Arthur to pick up the prisoners of war who had been held at camps in Manchuria after the war ended. According to the USS Relief Wartime Chronicle, the ship arrived in Port Arthur on September 8, 1945, and left on

September 12. In an oral history interview recorded in 1994, Ann Bernatitus describes the arrival of the men on the ship:

> — . . . It was not until the 11th [of September] that the prisoners came aboard, 753 of them. That was really something. First of all, music was blaring from the ship and everything was all lighted up. Well, they didn't let them come right aboard. They had to be deloused first—fumigated and then given showers. Then they came aboard at 2050. I remember the supply officer who was in charge of food came to me and said that the senior medical officer was going to give them sandwiches and I said, "Listen, if you can't give them a steak dinner and ice cream or something, we ought to be ashamed of ourselves." They would stand in line waiting from one meal to the next and they ate bread. God, they ate bread! . . .
> — Dr. Fraleigh and Dr. Carey Smith were with that group?
> — Yes. In fact, we had one Army doctor who came ahead of them. I packed a box for Dr. Fraleigh and Dr. Smith—candy bars and oranges, and I don't know what else—for the doctor to take back to them.
> — So it must have been quite a reunion.
> — Oh, yes, it was. . . . (Recollections of Ann Bernatitus)

In this interview, Ann Bernatitus did not say anything more about her reunion with Grandfather and Dr. Fraleigh. The USS Relief took the former prisoners of war as far as Okinawa, where it left them on September 18. Grandfather arrived in San Francisco, California, on October 22, 1945, on board the USS Sanctuary.

In a letter of commendation that he wrote for Ann Bernatitus dated October 19, 1945, just a few days before he reached San Francisco, Grandfather outlined her work with him in hospitals in the Philippines beginning in December 1941, and he concluded the letter with the following words:

> . . . The Navy Nurse Corps may well be proud of the professional services rendered by Miss Bernatitus during the Bataan campaign. She displayed extraordinary courage and devotion to duty in keeping with the traditions of the U.S. Navy.

Grandfather clearly admired Ann Bernatitus, and according to Smith family lore, the relationship between them may have crossed the line from professional to personal in the Philippines. The fact is, however, that after the war their lives went in very different directions. He returned to his home and family in California and a civilian medical practice; she continued her career as a Navy nurse at various military hospitals around the country. In 1942, she was awarded the Legion of Merit for her work during the Bataan and Corregidor campaign, and when she left the service in 1959, she was known as Captain Ann Bernatitus, (Nurse Corps) United States Navy (Retired). In 2003, she died at the age of 91 and was buried in her home state of Pennsylvania.

Some Additional Pieces of Information about Grandfather

In the box with Grandfather's manuscript, there was an eight-page official report (author unknown) about his actions from the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 8, 1941 (Philippine time) until June 8, 1942, a month after the fall of Corregidor. It outlines basically the same story as he told, but it adds the following information about his health problem on Corregidor, which he did not include in his manuscript:

> On 2 April Doctor Smith developed amoebic dysentery and from that time has been under constant treatment with alternating periods of improvement and regression. Except for 3 days in April until after the surrender he has remained on duty in spite of his illness. Following the surrender he was admitted at the station Hospital at Fort Mills, Corregidor (Malinta Tunnel) and remains in that status on this date, 8 June 1942. (pp. 7-8)

Grandfather's manuscript is quite detailed in its description of his wartime experiences, but on the following important points, it was unclear: which hold he was in on the Oryoku Maru and which ships he traveled on for the remainder of the journey. Fortunately, fellow researcher James Erickson, son of Oryoku Maru survivor Major Albert W. Erickson, was able to clarify these points; he also kindly forwarded Grandfather's deposition from the war crimes files in the U.S. National Archives. He writes:

> . . . Your grandfather, along with most of the Bilibid medical group was placed in the middle hold of Oryoku Maru. It was the largest on

> the ship and had the fewest POWs. It was the only one with tolerable conditions on that ship. (The statement about the middle hold in the deposition is backed up by Bilibid and ship's rosters that place him in Group III of those slated for the ship.) Since your grandfather was in the middle hold (technically #2 hold) it is very likely he was taken to Taiwan aboard Brazil Maru. He would have been transferred to the main group of POWs on Enoura Maru on 6 Jan 1945. After that point all the POWs were together for the remainder of the voyage. . . . None of the men knew the names of the 2nd and 3rd ships. They were revealed after the war in war crimes investigations. I think most men in your grandfather's group didn't realize that they were put on the same ship. On the way to Taiwan they were in the 2nd hold (forward of bridge) and to Japan they were in holds 3 and 4 aft. The Brazil Maru was a WWI era cargo ship that looked like any other ship. A few men did recognize it was the same ship, while others have argued for years afterwards that it wasn't. Japanese records and depositions make it clear it was the same ship. (J. Erickson, private communication, September 4, 2013)

This information clarifies the fact that Grandfather was not in the after hold, where conditions on the Oryoku Maru were the worst, with prisoners going crazy in the darkness, doing things "beyond imagination and description" and some dying from suffocation or acts of violence. It confirms that he was on the Oryoku Maru from Manila Bay to Subic Bay, the Brazil Maru from Subic Bay to Takao Harbor, the Enoura Maru in Takao Harbor, and finally back on the Brazil Maru for the final leg of the trip to the port of Moji in Japan. It also explains why Grandfather himself thought he was on four different ships on the voyage from Manila to Moji, instead of three.

The Fates of Grandfather's Colleagues

On the Ship from the United States to the Philippines in 1940

Aboard the same ship (US Polk) were Dr. and Mrs. Wade and family and Dr. and Mrs. Bookout, also en route to Asiatic Station. Unfortunately neither of these doctors returned to the States. Dr. Bookout was killed while on duty aboard a destroyer in the Java Sea Battle, February 1942. Regarding his war service the only remark I have to make is that "he never had a

chance"; the odds against him were too overwhelming. Dr. Wade died on a Japanese prison ship en route to Japan January 22, 1945, from dehydration, exposure, starvation and complications from bombing injuries sustained at Takao Harbor, Formosa, when the ship was bombed by U.S. Navy carrier planes. During the war Dr. Wade performed admirable duty with the Fourth Marines on Corregidor. He maintained a high standard as a doctor and as a man throughout prison life. Beyond doubt, the Navy lost a good man. Such are the fortunes of war. (From the section "Assignment Philippines")

At Canacao Hospital in Cavite Navy Yard, Manila

Capt. C. B. Camerer was the Hospital commanding officer. A few of the staff officers were: Comdr. Louis Johnson, executive officer; Dr. Simpson, x-ray (who was soon to return to the States, his relief, Dr. C. C. Welch having recently reported to the hospital). Dr. Welch remained on duty at hospital until it was abandoned soon after outbreak of war. He then remained with the Canacao Medical unit during prison life at Santa Scholastica, Pasay and Bilibid, leaving Bilibid with the prison draft on December 13, 1944, for Japan. Dr. Welch never reached Japan. He died on board the prison ship on January 25, 1945, at sea en route from Formosa to Japan. The cause of his death, like so many others on that ill-fated trip, was dehydration, starvation and exposure. (Details of the trip given later in this write up.) Dr. Owsley was in charge of the EENT Dept. He was relieved in May 1941 by Lt. Comdr. C. L. Welsh, a reserve from Seattle. This Dr. Welsh's war duties and misfortunes were very similar to those related above for Dr. C. C. Welch. He too spent the war and prison life with the Canacao Medical Unit, leaving Bilibid with the prison draft on December 13, 1944. After many hardships, he reached the harbor at Takao, Formosa, and was killed on board the prison ship in that harbor on January 9, 1945, when the ship was bombed by U.S. Navy carrier planes. Three days later his body, with those of more than 300 other prisoners, including many Naval Medical Corps personnel, was taken ashore and to the best of my knowledge cremated.

Dr. Jack R. George arrived at Canacao Hospital for duty October 22, 1940, to take over Urological service, relieving Dr. Abernathy. Dr. L. B. Sartin reported to the hospital and assumed duties of Chief of Medicine. He later served as executive officer until relieved of that duty by Capt. L. J. Roberts in June 1941. Dr. Silliphant arrived November 1941 and became Laboratory officer, relieving Dr. Ayers. In June 1940, Dr. J. D. Boone

reported from the USS Marblehead as assistant in surgery. He served at the hospital and with the Bilibid Medical Unit in prison camps in Manila. He too left Bilibid December 13, 1944, on the prison ship for Japan. He survived the bombing and sinking at Olongapo December 15, although he nearly lost his life in attempting to swim the 800 yards to the beach. He was also fortunate in being one of those who was not killed or injured in the bombing at Takao, Formosa, but before the prison ship arrived in Japan, he had reached the end of human endurance and died January 23, 1945. Before death he, like some others, became paralyzed from the hips down, developed nutritional diarrhea, and succumbed to dehydration, exposure and starvation.

Dr. Lavictoire reported as psychiatrist. Dr. E. F. Ritter was assigned in medical service, later transferred to sea, and at the outbreak of war, he was again on duty at Canacao Hospital. When Manila was declared an open city and the military forces were evacuating to Bataan, he was ordered to duty with the Fourth Marines, who had recently arrived from Shanghai. During the Corregidor campaign, he performed very commendable service on the beach defense at battalion aid stations. In July 1942 he was moved as a prisoner from Corregidor to Manila, where he joined the Bilibid Medical Unit. At this prison camp he was deeply interested in eye pathology, optic neuritis, optic atrophy due to beri-beri and did a great deal of good and compiled a mass of statistical material on these cases. He was a member of the prison draft of 1,800 that left Bilibid October 11 for Japan. After clearing Manila Harbor and heading south a few days, this convoy was forced by U.S. Navy submarines to return to the Mariveles area, finally clearing Luzon for Formosa on October 19, 1944. The prison ship on which he was taken from the Philippines was torpedoed about 4:00 PM on October 24, 12 hours off the southern coast of Formosa. The ship remained afloat about three hours. All Japanese crew members were removed by Japanese destroyer. None of the prisoners were rescued. Five survivors reached the China coast and were later rescued and returned to the States. Four survivors were picked up by a Japanese warship three or four days later, taken to prison camp in Formosa, where one died the day of arrival and the other three were freed when the war ended. Dr. Ritter was assumed to have gone down with the other 1,800 prisoners in this draft. He was a brilliant, well trained young doctor and undoubtedly would have done a great deal of good for humanity, had it not been for the misfortunes of war.

Dr. Brokenshire was at Canacao on Medical service. He had been a mis-

sion doctor in the Philippines for many years. He remained with Canacao Medical Unit during prison life until October 1944, when he, like Dr. Ritter, Dr. Ferguson, and Dr. Hogshire, left on a prison ship for Japan, on which he lost his life. Dr. Hogshire at outbreak of war was on duty at dispensary at Olongapo. He joined the Fourth Marines and fought the war as a member of the Corregidor beach defense, being assigned to a Marine battalion aid station. After the surrender, he was moved to Bilibid, where he became a member of the Naval Medical Unit at that prison camp. He served at Bilibid until October 1944, when he was placed on the ill-fated 1,800 prisoner draft above mentioned. Dr. Ferguson, who also lost his life on this trip, was en route from China station to the States when war came. He served with the Fourth Marines on Corregidor and performed duties that were a definite credit to the Naval Medical Service.

Dr. Turnipseed, Dr. Ayers, Dr. Vandergrind, Dr. Picciochi, Dr. Roudebush, Dr. Machung and Dr. Berry all returned to the States on the US (President) Coolidge leaving Manila November 27, 1941.

Dr. Connell, the dental officer, relieved Dr. Berry late in 1941. Dr. Connell was with the Canacao Medical Unit during the war and prison life. He left Bilibid December 13, 1944, on the prison ship, was wounded in the bombing of the ship in Takao Harbor, Formosa, January 9, 1945. He died about January 24, 1945 at sea between Formosa and Japan of wound complications and starvation.

Dr. T. H. Hayes came to the Philippines late in 1941, reported as my relief as Chief of Surgery at Canacao Hospital. During the war he served as regimental surgeon, Fourth Marines on Corregidor. He spent his prison camp life at Bilibid, where from October 1943 to October 1944 he was senior medical officer of the Naval Medical Unit. He survived the journey as far as Takao Harbor, Formosa, where he was killed by bombing by Navy carrier planes. He was an industrious, ambitious man. By his death, the medical corps lost an excellent administrator and doctor.

The staff at Cavite Navy Yard Dispensary was: Dr. Erickson, Dr. Berley, Dr. Bookman, Dr. Glusman, and Dr. Lambert. All except Dr. Lambert survived the war and prison camp life and have returned to the States. Dr. Lambert was a member of the December 13, 1944, prison draft. He survived the prison ship bombing and sinking in the Subic Bay area, also the bombing at Takao, Formosa. After this bombing, he did very commendable work in helping care for the many wounded prisoners. During the first few days out of Formosa en route to Japan, he gave all of his strength in caring for the sick

and wounded. He became weaker, developed diarrhea, and died of starvation and exposure. Until the very end, he gave his utmost to his patients. He was one of the most sincere, conscientious doctors with whom I have been associated in the practice of medicine. It is my firm belief that he practically worked himself to death on the above mentioned trip. It can truly be said that "he gave his life in doing everything possible for fellow prisoners."

Senior Dental Officer at Cavite Naval Yard was Dr. Keith; Assistants were Dr. Wanger, Dr. Hertneck, and Dr. Fraleigh. Dr. Keith lost his life in the Battle of the Java Sea, February 1942. From all available reports, it appears that he went down with the cruiser Houston. He too did not have a chance in the war. Dr. Wanger was freed from prison camp in Japan at the end of the war. Dr. Hertneck served during the war with the Fourth Marines on Corregidor. After the surrender he was removed to Bilibid; and spent some time at Cabanatuan and Lipa prison camps. Early in July 1943 he was on duty at the prison camp at Lipa when he became violently ill and was moved to Bilibid hospital prison, where he died 72 hours later, on July 6, 1943, of acute polio. He was buried in Bilibid.

Dr. Fraleigh became a member of the surgical team during the Bataan campaign. He served at U.S. Army General Hospital No. 1 at Limay and Little Baguio. He was a capable organizer and administrator and has the ability to handle men. He served on Bataan after the surrender, was later moved with the Army Hospital Unit to Camp O'Donnell, then to Cabanatuan, and finally to Bilibid. He left Bilibid on December 13, 1944, for Japan. He survived the journey and later was taken to Mukden, Manchuria, where he was freed by the Russian Red Army at the close of the war. (From the section "Assignment Philippines")

Canacao Hospital Medical Unit at St. Scholastica's College

When I left St. Scholastica's College on December 24, that institution was taken over by the staff of Canacao Naval Hospital, which in the interval between December 10 and 24 had occupied the compound known as Philippine Union College, a Seventh-Day Adventist Mission Church compound located at Balintawalk, a section of the city of Manila. The Canacao medical unit was taken prisoner by the Japanese on January 2, 1942. This unit functioned as a hospital at St. Scholastica's until early in April 1942, when they were moved to Pasay Elementary School. They served as the medical unit of the prison camp at this site until May 27, 1942, when the hospital corpsmen and Canacao staff doctors were moved to Bilibid Prison, where

they established a hospital to care for prisoners.

The Navy Nurses were taken to Santo Tomas, a civilian internee camp in the city of Manila,[53] *when the Canacao hospital unit was moved from St. Scholastica's to Pasay. At about the time this unit was moved to Bilibid the commanding officer, Captain Davis, and the executive officer, Captain Roberts, were relieved of command and were transferred to a prison camp near Tarlac, Luzon, 60 or 70 miles north of the city of Manila, where they remained until August 1942, when they were moved to a prison camp in Formosa, remaining there until October 1944, when they were again moved for a short stay in Japan and then to a camp in Manchuria. I later came in contact with them at Mukden, Manchuria, on May 21, 1945, and remained with them in that prison camp until the end of the war, August 1945. Captain Davis left Mukden by plane to return to the States about the 1st of September 1945 and Captain Roberts returned to the States at the same time as myself, arriving in San Francisco October 22, 1945.* (After the section "Description of the Hospital at Limay")

Little Baguio Hospital Medical Unit, Bataan

Among the battle casualties were a great number of orthopedic cases. At Little Baguio hospital, there was at this time no doctor who had had very much experience in treating orthopedic cases. On Corregidor, Dr. Edwin R. Nelson, Lt. (MC) USN, a very highly trained and capable orthopedic specialist, was performing routine dispensary duties. I wrote an official letter to the commandant of the Sixteenth Naval District, stating the urgency for his services on Bataan and requesting his transfer to Army hospital, Little Baguio. Within a day or so, the commandant Sixteenth Naval District ordered Dr. Nelson to duty on Bataan. During the remainder of the Bataan campaign and later at Corregidor, this doctor performed very commendable work in his specialty. I was also on duty with Dr. Nelson in Bilibid prison camp from July 1942 until December 1944, and at this camp his services were urgently needed and greatly appreciated. Dr. Nelson lost his life during the bombing attack on the Japanese prison ship Oryoku Maru in the Subic Bay area on the morning of December 15, 1944. (From the section "The Hospital at Little Baguio")

Bilibid Prison Camp, Manila

Lt. King (who handled the special diet kitchen at Bilibid prison camp) was

one of the prison draft of 1,619 that left Manila December 13, 1944, for Japan. He was placed in the after hold of the prison ship Oryoku Maru, where conditions were so crowded that 70 of the prisoners died of suffocation within the first 36 hours out of Manila. Lt. King was one of the 70 who died of suffocation aboard this prison ship. (From the section "Special Diet Kitchen")

On October 11, 1944, with an outgoing prison draft to Japan, there were four Navy doctors (Hogshire, Brokenshire, Ritter, and Ferguson [54]) and 91 Navy hospital corpsmen. This draft cleared Manila Harbor on October 11, 1944, and from the best available information headed south. After a few days, this prison ship was driven back into Manila area, in harbor at Mariveles by U.S. submarines, where it remained until October 19, 1944, when it again departed for Formosa. On October 24 about 3:00 PM, the prison ship was hit by an American torpedo from a submarine, and it was left in a sinking condition. The ship did not sink until about 6:00 PM, but there was no means of rescue and out of the entire American prison draft of 1,804, all drowned except nine. Five reached the China coast and were returned to American forces. An account of their rescue appeared in Cosmopolitan of April 1945. Four were picked up about three days later by a Japanese destroyer and taken to a prison camp in Formosa, where one of them died of exposure the following day. The other three survived prison life and were freed at the end of the war. (From the section "Outgoing Prison Drafts to Japan")

Relevant Books and Films

They Were Expendable

The film *They Were Expendable*, directed by John Ford and starring Robert Montgomery and John Wayne, was made immediately after the end of the World War II and released in December 1945. It was based on the 1942 bestseller of the same name by William L. White. The book, which was written in the form of a long dialogue with four voices, tells the story of Motor Torpedo Boat Squadron Three in the Philippines in 1941 and 1942. Four men—Lieutenant John Bulkeley, the Squadron Commander, Lieutenant Robert Kelly, one of his skippers, and Ensigns Anthony Akers and George Cox—recount their exploits, from the tense days before the attack on Pearl Harbor to their own evacuation from the Philippines on one of the

last planes out before the fall of Corregidor. The story includes the growing realization that the U.S. armed forces in the Philippines had been judged "expendable" by military strategists back home, so they could expect no support, supplies, or reinforcements. In these difficult circumstances, the men did their best to prove the worth of the relatively small (77 ft/23 m), but highly maneuverable, patrol torpedo (PT) boats in combat, and they played their most dramatic role in the war when they safely and successfully evacuated General Douglas MacArthur, his family, and a group of VIPs from Corregidor in March 1942.

Another piece of Smith family lore held that Grandfather was the model for the character of "Doc" (played by Jack Pennick) in the film. This character appeared in a couple of scenes near the beginning of the film, and in the first one, he was getting emotional at a farewell party being held at the officers' club in his honor to mark his retirement from the Navy after thirty years of service, a retirement which was immediately delayed by the announcement of the attack on Pearl Harbor.

There was also another doctor in the film, who was working as a surgeon in the hospital in the Malinta Tunnel on Corregidor. This character (played by Vernon Steele) was known only as "Army Doctor," and he appeared in a couple of scenes in the middle of the film. He and the patients he was operating on served mainly as a foil for Sandy, the pretty, young nurse who was the romantic interest of Rusty Ryan, the character based on Lieutenant Kelly and played by actor John Wayne. As bombs exploded outside the tunnel, the doctor washed his hands and began to operate on a patient. When that operation was finished, he washed his hands again and got ready to operate on the next patient, with Sandy calmly helping him all the while.

Both of these doctors shared similarities with Grandfather, as well as differences, and were probably fictionalized composites of all the military doctors that the scriptwriter either knew or had heard about in the Bataan and Corregidor campaign. Certainly, "Doc" was somewhat close to Grandfather in age, and the scenes of the "Army Doctor" performing one operation after another without a break matched episodes Grandfather described in his manuscript. Grandfather was not yet on Corregidor when General MacArthur was evacuated, but it would be interesting to know if he was acquainted with the doctor who treated the real-life Lieutenant Kelly's injured hand in the hospital in the Malinta tunnel shortly before MacArthur's dramatic evacuation from the island.

Conduct Under Fire

John Glusman's *Conduct Under Fire* (2005) tells the story of four doctors who knew Grandfather: Murray Glusman,[55] Fred Berley, John Bookman, and George Ferguson, whose death on a transport ship in 1944 was mentioned in Grandfather's manuscript. As the author described them:

> There were differences in upbringing, outlook, and temperament, but their wartime experience—Cavite, Bataan, Corregidor—united them. They had seen men die in the field and in hospital, and in the interests of self-preservation they subscribed to a single ethos: "All for one, one for all." They even had an adopted father, Carey Smith, who at the ripe old age of forty-three had seniority over all of them. (Glusman, p. 207)

In the book, there were 18 references to Grandfather, including three stories about him that he did not mention in his manuscript. This one, for example, about a birthday party that was held for him at Bilibid Prison in Manila in September 1942, illustrates the role he played in the lives of the younger men:

> Ingenuity and improvisation were woven into the social fabric of Bilibid as well, a patchwork of interests, desires, and wide-ranging abilities. Fred loved to bake and seemed to whip up ingredients out of thin air. He presented Carey Smith with a cake on his birthday, then played fiddle while John and George serenaded their "adopted father." Corpsman Johnson drew up a menu with a variety of dishes "à la Bilibid." Signed by the "Chief Chef, Chief Dish & Bottle Washer, and Chief Bookkeeping & Purchasing Agent," it was embossed with the "Bilibid Seal," which showed a man in profile thumbing his nose above two crossed keys on a mock escutcheon, beneath which unfurled a banner that read: "SNAFU." (Glusman, p. 235)

Another story, about a bombing attack on Hospital No. 1 during the Bataan campaign in 1942 shows how extraordinarily lucky he was, and the sentiments he expressed at the time sound exactly like him:

> On the morning of Easter Sunday, a bomb landed at the entrance to Hospital No. 1, blowing up an ammunition truck passing by. . . . Lieutenant (j.g.) Claud Mahlon Fraleigh of the Navy Dental Corps

> was assisting Carey Smith in an operation when a second wave of planes came over the hospital. Smith was furious and refused to leave the OR. "Damn it," he said, "if they get me, they're going to get me on my duty." Then a raft of 500-pound bombs hit the mess and the doctors' and nurses' quarters, and a 1,000-pound bomb crashed through the wards. . . . Ten bombs in all fell on the hospital, killing 73 men and wounding 117. Smith, Fraleigh, [Navy nurse] Bernatitus, and [Army nurse] Brantley were all unharmed. The wounded were evacuated to Hospital No. 2. . . . (Glusman, p. 156)

The third story is about a song the men remember him singing during the war. Grandfather did not possess any particular musical talent, but the black humor in this little ditty must have amused the other men when he sang it:

> We'll be free in '43
> No more war in '44
> Hardly a man alive in '45. (Glusman, p. 268)

Death on the Hellships

In *Death on the Hellships*, Michno (2001) paints a picture of life and death on the ships used by the Imperial Japanese Army and Navy to transport Allied prisoners of war and Asian forced laborers (*romusha*) to other parts of the empire, a lesser-known part of the saga of World War II in the Pacific. He also gives some reasons for the silence of the American military men who survived voyages in hellish conditions on Japanese transport ships and returned home after the war: the onus of being captured, an unwillingness to relive a bad experience, a sense of guilt about surviving, a sense of shame about the things they had to do in order to survive, and the effects of post-traumatic stress disorder. Michno estimates that the Imperial Japanese Army captured more than 300,000 Allied troops in their conquest of Asia in the opening months of World War II. Many of the native Asian prisoners (for example, Chinese, Korean, Indonesian, Indian, and Filipino) were eventually released, leaving approximately 140,000 white men of European ancestry (Americans, Australians, British, Canadians, Dutch, and New Zealanders) as prisoners of war. It seems that the Imperial Japanese Army, with its strict precept for its own soldiers on not becoming prisoners, was rather unprepared for this contingency. Michno (2001) explains:

> By the fall of 1942, Japanese prisoner distribution had formed a pattern. First, the large manpower pool still in Java and Singapore would be tapped for the Burma Railway project, resulting in a flow of men from the outer islands to the Asian mainland. Second, the successful experiment to bring white POWs north for the edification of the Koreans would be continued. Realizing, however, that the POWs could be used for more than propaganda purposes, they were shipped in droves to the empire as slave laborers. Prisoners could work at scores of jobs, in dockyards, factories, cottage industries, shipyards, coal and copper mines, and on construction gangs. Third, on a smaller scale, and almost as a cross-current of the first two trends, ad hoc prisoner groups continued to be shipped among the conquered islands for a number of reasons. . . . (p. 42)

In the Appendix to his book, Michno lists 156 voyages of 134 transport ships in the years 1942 to 1945, but he says that the list is far from complete. The majority of the prisoners on the ships he listed were white men of European ancestry, which made their stories easier to gather and document; it is not possible, he says, at this time to estimate the number of additional ships that transported the Asian *romusha*.

Grandfather's story about his experience on the Oryoku Maru, Brazil Maru, and Enoura Maru is corroborated in the sections of this book that cover the last of the transport ships in the period from December 1944 to January 1945. According to Michno's calculations, from 1942 to 1945, a total of 126,064 POWs of European ancestry were transported on voyages totaling 1,639 days, and 21,064 (16%) of them died. The number of deaths on the combined voyage of the Oryoku Maru, Enoura Maru, Brazil Maru was not the largest—that was the Junyo Maru on which 5,620 out of 6,520 POWs died—nor was the percentage of deaths the highest—that would be the Arisan Maru on which only 8 (0.4%) out of 1,800 POWs survived—nor did it take the greatest number of days to travel from the Philippines to Japan—that was the Canadian Inventor, which took 62 days to make the trip in the summer of 1944. It was, however, among the last of all such voyages, undertaken at a time when the Japanese were in a great rush to evacuate all civilians as well as POWs from the Philippines, and it included all of the worst elements of the hellship experience. According to Michno's account, Lieutenant Toshino Junsaburo, who was in charge of the draft of prisoners that included Grandfather, and his interpreter Wada Shusuke were "both

merciless in their dealings with the POWs," the "conditions in the holds matched or exceeded the worst of the hellships," and prisoners who went crazy in the darkness "were killed to keep them from killing others in the frenzy." (pp. 258–261)

As if the lack of fresh air, food, water, clothing, sanitation, and medical care were not enough for the men to bear, they were also the victim of multiple attacks of friendly fire. So many prisoners were dying at sea in the European Theater that in 1940, the Red Cross proposed that the combatants refrain from attacking ships carrying prisoners, but the Allied and Axis powers were unable to agree on this or any other proposal concerning the fate of prisoners at sea, with devastating results. According to Michno (2001):

> In November 1942, the Allied Joint Chiefs of Staff concluded that "in view of the extreme importance of attacking enemy shipping and of the relatively small number of casualties to prisoners of war so caused, no prohibition should be placed at present" on the attack of enemy ships. The directive was specifically focused on Mediterranean operations. Apparently the Joint Chiefs did not think through the implications of their decision for the POWs in the Far East. (p. 88)

Indeed, by the end of 1943, the Allies were able to exert ever-increasing pressure on Japanese shipping. There were several reasons for this: there were more submarines stationed in the Pacific, problems with the design of torpedoes had been remedied, and most importantly, Japanese codes had been broken. Radio intelligence, known as Ultra or Magic, became a powerful weapon in the war effort, allowing submarines to more easily find and destroy major warships, as well as slow-moving convoys of ships carrying supplies and often prisoners. In fact, Ultra, which was not declassified until 1974, was so effective that according to Michno's calculation, only about 7% of the deaths of POWs at sea were caused by intolerable treatment. The other 93% were caused by friendly fire from Allied submarines or planes:

> It was a no-win situation for both sides. The Allies often knew the names of the ships carrying POWs, but even so, the submarines could not identify individual ships in a convoy. There were no flags saying "POWs here," and since subs could not get close enough to

> see ship names, even if not painted out, there was no way to distinguish one from another. They were ordered to go after a convoy. It would not be prudent to mention POWs; it would be counterproductive, would perhaps make sub captains tentative in their attacks, would raise ethical and moral arguments, and it would open up avenues for possible legal actions by victims seeking reparations. (p. 295)

These transport ships were called "hellships" for a good reason. After reading this book, it was easy to understand why many of the ex-POWs said that their time on the transport ships was by far the worst part of their time in captivity, and for the men who were on Bataan or Corregidor in the Philippines, it must have been horrible to know they were doubly "expendable."

In his book, Michno included one example of a ship called the Toyama Maru that was sunk by a U.S. submarine in June 1944. Of the 6,000 men aboard, 5,600 were lost, and the survivors described conditions on board as "life for beasts." The level of the amenities on this ship was the same as that of the Oryoku Maru or any of the other hellships; the difference was that the Toyama Maru was carrying soldiers of the Imperial Japanese Army at that time, not prisoners of war. He writes:

> This was the Japanese version of hell—not far different from the Allied version. It does not justify Japanese treatment of Allied prisoners, but it does open a window to their perspective. At his trial after the war, General Tojo said that there had been no intention of cruel or inhumane behavior. "It was unfortunate that standards which a Japanese soldier would not find unbearable had apparently proved to be inadequate for western prisoners." (p. 286)

At the time we interviewed Ojisan about his experiences as a soldier in the battle of Saipan and later as a POW in American prison camps, we never thought to ask him detailed questions about conditions on the transport ships he was on during the war, and he said nothing about them. It is now, though, a question of great interest.

Never the Same: The Prisoner of War Experience

Jan Thompson is the current president of the American Defenders of Bataan and Corregidor Memorial Society, as well as a professor in the College of

Mass Communication and Media Arts at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale and a filmmaker. Her documentary, *Never the Same: The Prisoner of War Experience*, basically follows the story of her father, Robert Earl "Tommie" Thompson, a pharmacist on the submarine tender USS Canopus, who knew Grandfather during the war as a member of the medical corps in the Philippines and shared many of the same experiences, including arriving at the Mukden POW camp on the same day.

On August 15, 2013, there was a showing of *Never the Same: The Prisoner of War Experience* at the Museum of Tolerance in the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, California. Representatives from the media were there to interview the filmmaker, as well as actress Loretta Swit, who narrated the film, other members of the cast, and about a dozen veterans who had survived the Bataan and Corregidor campaign and subsequent internment in Japanese POW camps. In the speeches before the showing, the audience learned that the film was 22 years in the making, and it had just had its world premiere in Chicago in the spring of 2013.

The film itself lasted about two hours. It began with the fall of Bataan and Corregidor in 1942 and included scenes from life at Bilibid and other prison camps in the Philippines and Manchuria, as well as the voyage on the hellships. The story was told through the use of historical footage, reenactments of events, interviews with surviving veterans, excerpts from journals kept by the men containing a record of their daily lives, plus cartoon drawings, poems, and songs. Because food was in short supply, the men in the camps spent a lot of time fantasizing about it, and long sections of the film were about the recipes they discussed, the menus they planned for future meals, the food they attempted to grow, or the food that was traded, shared, or stolen at the camps. Life-sustaining humor was evident in the journals, and the most memorable line in the whole film was, "If I get back home, I'll never complain about anything again." The film ended with some historical film footage of a group of Oryoku Maru survivors, including Grandfather, at the Mukden POW camp which was probably taken in early September 1945. The face of a young man with dark hair near the end of the first row was circled, and Jan Thompson had drawn an arrow to him and written "My Dad" over his head.

Karen: In June 2013, Jan Thompson forwarded some historical footage taken at the prison camp in Mukden and asked me to see if I could

recognize Grandfather in any of it. At the beginning of the clip, there was the group shot of the Oryoku Maru survivors in front of a brick building that she used at the end of her film. As the camera panned the group, I looked carefully at the men. After several tries, I finally spotted Grandfather crouching down in the front row with a hat on his head and something like a towel tied around his neck, and at that moment, I felt goose bumps. There were not many smiles on the men's faces, mostly just neutral expressions, as they patiently waited for their photograph to be taken. The rest of the clip showed men walking around or sitting in the walled prison compound; some of the men were working, using rope to pull a large roller to smooth some ground. The camera panned the camp, so I could also see a number of two-story buildings made of wood and brick with chimneys and laundry drying on lines and fences. One notable feature was the lack of trees; there were just a few scrubby bushes to be seen in the area. It was only 53 seconds of film, with no sound, but it made the story real for me like nothing else had.

In August 2013, I attended the showing of Jan's documentary *Never the Same* at the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles with my son Kiyoshi. Words are inadequate to describe the feelings evoked by the powerful images in the historical footage showing the pitiful condition of the men at the end of the war, but on the whole, we agreed that it was a forward-looking film with a positive, rather than negative, message about survival and the human spirit.

PART THREE

A Japanese POW

Karen: When I graduated from high school in 1969, my maternal grandmother gave me a copy of the newly-published *Reader's Digest Illustrated Story of World War II* as a gift. At that time, Vietnam was in the news, and World War II seemed to me like something from the far distant past. I looked at the book, of course, and when I read Captain Love's account of the banzai attack that began on Saipan in the pre-dawn hours of July 7, 1944, I must have noticed the word *gyokusai* (death with honor; literally "crushed jewel"). It slipped my mind, however, until years later when I heard it again in some of the many documentaries about the war that are shown on Japanese television during August every year and met Kenzo's uncle, one of the few Japanese soldiers who somehow did not die on *gyokusai-no-shima* (suicide island) Saipan either by chance or by choice.

The concept of *gyokusai* (death with honor) appears in the *Senjinkun* (the Army Field Service Code), a pocket-sized booklet that was first issued to soldiers in the Japanese military on January 8, 1941, in the name of then War Minister, later Prime Minister, Tojo Hideki. It was a supplement to the *Gunjin Chokuyu* (Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors) that had been issued on January 4, 1882, in the name of the Meiji Emperor. These two documents laid out the official code of ethics for all military personnel. They were relatively short, and all military personnel knew them by heart. The *Senjinkun* listed military regulations and stressed combat readiness, a common spirit of comradeship, filial piety, veneration of Shinto gods, and

Japan's national polity. The military code specifically prohibited surrender or retreat. Lieutenant General Saito Yoshitsugu, head of the Imperial Japanese Army on Saipan, quoted lines from the *Senjinkun* in his farewell speech to his troops on July 6, 1944: "As it says in the *Senjinkun*: 'I will never suffer the disgrace of being taken alive,' and 'I will offer up the courage of my soul and calmly rejoice in living by the eternal principle' " (Toland, 1970). He made plans for the final banzai attack by soldiers and civilians and then committed ritual suicide in a cave on July 10, 1944, fully expecting his men to follow his example.

The Battle of Saipan

Unlike the European Theater in World War II, where fighting largely took place on the European continent or in North Africa, many battles in the Asian-Pacific Theater were fought from island to island. In September 1943, the Japanese Imperial Headquarters determined the perimeter of the *Zettai Kokuboken* (Absolute National Defense Sphere), which included Chishima (the Aleutian Islands), the Ogasawara Islands, the Marianas, the Carolines, the western half of New Guinea, the Sunda Islands, and Burma. The purpose was to define the minimum amount of territory that was needed to keep the oil and other resources they wanted to control in Indonesia and to protect the shipping lanes to and from Japan. In 1942, the amount of territory controlled by Japan reached its furthest extent and also included Attu and Kiska in the Aleutians, the Gilbert Islands, and Guadalcanal in the Solomons. The line of the Absolute National Defense Sphere was inside the line for the territory Japan held in 1941 before the attack on Pearl Harbor, and it was considered absolutely essential to defend and maintain this area to protect the homeland.

For many Americans, "D-Day" stands for June 6, 1944, the start of the Allied invasion of Normandy. There were, however, many more amphibious invasions in World War II; in the Asian-Pacific Theater, in fact, there were a total of 126 D-Days. The U.S. plan for the invasion of Saipan was code-named Operation Forager, and it followed a pattern begun in previous amphibious assaults in the Pacific. All accounts of these amphibious invasions describe the same chronology of events: the U.S. surrounded the island with ships, began a few days of bombardment by air and sea, and then sent troops ashore. On D-Day on Saipan, the 2nd Marine Division under Major General Thomas E. Watson and the 4th Marine Division under

Major General Harry Schmidt landed men, weapons, and supplies on color-coded beaches on the southwestern side of the island around Chalan Kanoa. The 2nd Marine Division landed on the northern ones (Red and Green); the 4th Marine Division landed on the southern ones (Blue and Yellow). The Army's 27th Infantry Division under Major General Ralph C. Smith landed there the next day. The Japanese defenders under Army Lieutenant General Saito Yoshitsugu and Navy Vice Admiral Nagumo Chuichi, who had commanded the forces that attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941, were ready for them in man-made bunkers and natural caves around the island. They fought for control of the island inch by inch, first across to the eastern side, then north to Marpi Point, for 25 days. As for the intensity of the battle, the numbers speak for themselves. Out of a total of over 70,000 on the American side, almost 3,000 were killed and over 10,000 were wounded. Out of a total of about 30,000 military personnel on the Japanese side, over 29,000 died and about 900 were taken prisoner. In addition to this, many thousands of Japanese civilians either were killed or committed suicide.

The Battle of Saipan was notable in the course of war for several reasons. First, one of the most critical events of the war took place on July 19–20, 1944, when the Japanese Navy suffered a decisive defeat in the Battle of the Philippine Sea; with this, all lines of supply for the Japanese troops on Saipan were cut off. Second, the island was declared secured by the U.S. military on July 9, and nine days later back in Tokyo, General Tojo Hideki, the militaristic prime minister, and his entire cabinet fell from power. Third, Saipan was inside the Absolute National Defense Sphere, and the outcome of the battle put the home islands of Japan within the range of U.S. bombers. It was, in retrospect, the beginning of the end.

Ojisan's Story

As Kenzo said in his introduction, Ojisan never talked much about his experiences in the war, but in 1986, he agreed to tell us about them. The following is a translation of the interview we recorded with him at his home in Azumino, Nagano Prefecture.

Drafted into the Imperial Japanese Army

I was drafted when I was 20 years old. The day I left my home in March 1943 to join the Army, I went to the village shrine to pray for good fortune

in battle. Then, surrounded by a crowd of people shouting "Banzai," I went to Ariake Station and joined the group of foot soldiers going to the training camp for the Matsumoto 150th Regiment.

In 1944, I had the rank of Superior Private in Captain Ushiyama's "Black Leopard" Corps in the Matsumoto 150th Regiment, which included soldiers from Nagano, Toyama, and Ishikawa prefectures. The Ushiyama Corps had about 700 members, and it was a replacement unit that had been ordered to go to Truk in the Caroline Islands in the Western Pacific. In Yokohama, we joined another group that was heading for the Marianas, and on April 15, 1944, we left for Truk in a convoy of 30 ships. At this time, we knew that the situation in the war was difficult. I imagined that 70% of the soldiers would die, so I had a 30% chance of returning home, but I never thought that Japan would lose the war. After we passed the Ogasawara Islands, we began to see U.S. submarines. Along the way, nine ships split off from the convoy. Four headed for Chichijima, and five headed for Guam.

Arrival in Saipan

On April 23, 1944, the remaining 21 ships docked in Garapan Harbor on Saipan. We picked up our guns and went ashore. At this point, our orders were changed because it was now deemed impossible for us to move any further south. Instead, the Ushiyama Corps was combined with another group and ordered to stay and defend Saipan. Every morning, we lined up and shouted together, "Ware taiheiyou no bouhatei to naran" (We are the breakwater of the Pacific). We expected a U.S. attack on the island any day.

On June 11, 1944, it started. Like a flock of birds, 30–50 U.S. planes appeared from every direction and bombed and strafed the port and military installations repeatedly. The next day, they came again. It was said that there were 1,000 planes that came in that one day. It was feared that U.S. ground forces would land, so we were ordered to go to Mount Tapotchao to make a base.

Two days later, the shelling started. Among the 500 to 700 vessels that appeared, I counted eight battleships, two cruisers, and 22 destroyers.[56] *On June 15, 1944, U.S. troops landed on Saipan. On June 19, the Japanese military moved its headquarters to some of the natural caves that can be found here and there on Mount Tapotchao. We were shelled day and night, and the military radio communication system broke down. Late that night, there was a plan for us to make a raid on the Americans, but it was chaotic and complicated by poor communication.*

Photo 2: A young soldier (name unknown) in the Japanese Imperial Army who had surrendered to the Americans on Saipan, June or July 1944. Ojisan would have worn a similar uniform.
Accessed from: http://ww2db.com

Wounded in the Battle

I was ordered to be a messenger. I was to tell the soldiers in the smaller companies in the Ushiyama Corps not to die unnecessarily. They should try to survive and effectively use their lives in service of the emperor. It was night, but the shells lit up the sky. I left the cave, and I was soon hit by shrapnel in the foot, leg, and buttocks. I looked down and saw two to three centimeters of metal sticking out of my left shoe. I had been injured between my big toe and my second toe. Later, when it was removed, I found that the piece of metal was four to five centimeters long. The wound in my right leg and buttocks was deep, and I lost a lot of blood. I held on to my left shoe and tried to stand up and walk, but I couldn't move.

I managed to return to the cave the next evening. All of the members of my group had left and only a few injured soldiers I did not know were there. U.S. ships encircled the island and shelled it constantly from morning to night. A lighted cigarette or a flash of metal from an aluminum box of kanpan (dried biscuits) drew fire from the ships off shore. Order broke down among the soldiers. During the night, we dodged bullets and moved from cave to cave and hole to hole. I could see the bombing and the fires on neighboring Tinian Island. I left the cave and went to the beach, dragging my injured leg behind me. I went into the sea and stayed there with only my head out of the water. After I had been separated from my group for about ten days, I got amoebic dysentery. Even though I had not had anything to eat or drink, I often felt the call of nature. I could no longer remember the day or the location of the military headquarters.

Captured in a Cave

My wounds began to fester and smell bad, and it became very difficult for me to move. Everything was chaos as the U.S. attack continued without interruption. I couldn't stay for two days in the same place; I continually moved around trying to escape. At some point, I lost my gun, so I had only a walking stick and, in my jacket pocket, a hand grenade which I was supposed to use to kill myself if I were captured. One day, I was lying in a cave in a state of exhaustion when I was awakened by the sound of boots and loud voices speaking English. When I opened my eyes, I saw the point of a gun in my face and the boots of three or four American soldiers. I was on my stomach with my arms stretched out over my head. Through a hole in my pants, they could see my buttocks and my wound, which was full of maggots. Somewhere outside of my field of vision, I could hear someone say in English, "Stand up! Stand up!" At that moment, I resigned myself to the situation, thinking, "If you are going to kill me, do it quickly." One soldier, when checking me for weapons, tore my shirt pocket, and the grenade fell out. My watch and my military handbook[57] *were taken away. My pants' pockets were torn, and my clothing on the upper body was removed. Conscious thought of becoming a prisoner ran through me like an electric shock. An image of my parents and my hometown flashed through my mind. I knew that becoming a prisoner meant that I would never see them again. As their image disappeared, I felt lonely and bleak, and I mentally said good-bye to them.*

I was put on a stretcher, carried about 100 meters to the U.S. frontline,

and put in a jeep. "I'll never get back to Japan," I thought. Because I had a malarial fever of 40°C (104°F), my consciousness was hazy. The words of the Senjinkun (Army Field Service Code) drifted in and out of my mind: "Ikite ryoushu no hazukashime wo ukezu" (A soldier must never suffer the disgrace of being captured alive). These words, which we soldiers had memorized during our training, haunted me because I was exactly what I knew I should not be—a prisoner. The idea that a prisoner is not human was so deeply engraved on my mind. For a Japanese soldier, becoming a prisoner was the worst thing, and I wanted to kill myself. I had been taught to expect the worst from the Americans, but it didn't happen. Instead, they treated me kindly, and in my turbulent frame of mind, this was almost a letdown.

After we arrived at a field hospital, a medic wiped my whole body with alcohol, and medicine was put on my wounds. In Japan, things such as alcohol, gasoline, or ethanol, were as precious as blood. I was surprised that the Americans used so much alcohol on their enemies, and memories of becoming a prisoner include the smell of alcohol. A military doctor removed the metal from my wounds, and the medical staff worked hard to treat me. Watching them almost made me forget that I was a prisoner. In response to their kind treatment, I had a feeling of gratitude. Near my bed at the field hospital, I remember seeing three dead American soldiers who looked like wax figures. In the middle of July, after the battle was declared over, I was put on a hospital ship with some wounded Japanese and Korean prisoners and American soldiers. None of the Japanese prisoners knew where the ship was going.

Arrival in Hawaii

Some said there might be a prisoner exchange. I wondered what would happen if I were to be sent back to Japan. Would I be punished? One morning five or six days later, the ship arrived in Hawaii. As I looked at the island of Oahu, I keenly felt that I had come a great distance, and I definitely thought I had to give up the idea of returning to Japan. I felt like a man without a country. From the ship, I could see thousands of jeeps lined up from the pier to the main road along the shore, mountains of sea mines, and large amounts of other military supplies, and I realized that Japan could never win the war.

In August 1944, I spent about ten days at a camp near Hickam Field on Oahu. It was very clean, and I felt I was treated like a guest. There were about 150 Japanese at the camp. We were given beds covered with clean

white sheets to sleep in and khaki-colored clothing, underwear, a hat, and leather shoes. Breakfast was served on a metal tray with six indented sections, large and small, and it included bacon, green peas, a boiled egg, and two pieces of bread. On the table were coffee and milk, and we could have as much as we wanted, just like a first-class hotel. I ate cornflakes with milk for the first time. There was meat for lunch and cake or ice cream for dessert. For dinner, there was Japanese food made by the prisoners. I remember hearing another prisoner say, "They'll bill the Japanese government after the war is over."

We didn't work, and we had given no information to the U.S. military, so we could see no reason for this service. We were physically weak and in a state of collapse. We had been released from our hard training and the tensions of battle, and we didn't know what to do. In the morning, we idled our time away by staying in bed. When we heard the MPs shout, "Hey! Get up!" we got up, washed our faces, shaved, and cut our nails. Razors and nail cutters could only be used when MPs were watching us. Even though we were very dirty when we arrived at the camp, we were treated well, and we began to feel an appreciation for our humane treatment. I was questioned by an officer in his thirties who had spent 15 years in Yokohama and spoke Japanese well. Japanese soldiers had not been taught what to say or do if taken prisoner. I answered the officer's questions truthfully. I told the officer the name of my unit, the name of the leader of my unit, my branch of service, my hometown, the names of my parents and siblings, my age, my rank, and my own name. My mixed emotions made it hard for me to speak. I mumbled and choked on my words, but the officer encouraged me to pull myself together and speak more clearly. "Be tough! Speak up! I know everything about Japan," he said. The tone of his voice was harsh, but it was not coercive. The officer was a clever man who spoke logically.

Some of the Japanese prisoners started to become "Shinbeiteki" (pro-American) and to cooperate with the officers who interviewed them. Most of us, however, had become prisoners in states of extreme exhaustion or injury in which we couldn't kill ourselves. When we recovered, not only did we feel sorry for ourselves for being prisoners, but we began to feel various other things. We could not serve our country in any other way, so some among us decided to waste American supplies, for example, by using a lot of toilet paper in the flush toilet. The officer knew we hadn't been educated about being prisoners and that we felt uneasy. He told us:

> *Fight until everyone dies; if you become a prisoner, kill yourself. That's what you were taught. But, if you look at Japanese history, it wasn't like that. That was not Japan's old tradition. If you look at history, soldiers didn't do that. Before everyone died, they used a white flag to surrender. In the Sengoku era,*[58] *soldiers would kill their own lord and go over to the other side. The rule against being a prisoner is only a modern rule, not a traditional one in Japan. On the battlefield, you had no chance of winning and no reinforcements. It is not necessary for you, brave men who fought to the last moment and were captured in a situation in which there was no way out, to feel such sadness and to blame yourselves or hurt yourselves.*

The officer's skill in Japanese, the way he tried to make the POWs feel better, and the consideration he paid to us all impressed me.

Sent to the U.S. Mainland with Other POWs

The prisoners were divided into two groups: "Shinbeiha" (the pro-American group made up of those who had an understanding of democracy) and "Aikokuha" (the patriotic group made up of those who could not get rid of their Japanese spirit or military training). I was sent with other prisoners from the patriotic group to the prison camp on Angel Island in San Francisco Bay. We were there for about one month, and then we were put on a train. It was an old train, but everyone could sit in a regular seat, and at night, I remember that a conductor came through to light the lamps. During our three-day trip, we could see the Great Salt Lake in Utah for one whole hour, and I remember crossing the lake on a bridge that was caked with salt. We continued traveling east until we arrived at Camp McCoy in Wisconsin. All around, there was nothing but flat land and trees, and in the camp, there were Germans, Italians, and Japanese in separate areas surrounded by fences. In the Japanese section, there were more than 2,000 Japanese prisoners from all over Japan who had been captured at Midway, Attu, Iwo-jima, and the Nanyo-shoto (the Carolines, the Marianas, the Marshalls, and the Palaus). Inside of the fences, several prefab buildings dotted the area, including dormitories, shower buildings, and kitchens where prisoners took turns working and preparing meals. Around the edge of the fences were watchtowers for the MPs. The towers were stern and imposing, but daily life in the camp had a relaxed atmosphere.

In the morning, there was a roll call by a non-commissioned officer, and this was reported to a commissioned officer. Then, we listened to a record playing the U.S. national anthem while the American flag was raised. In the Japanese military, we had lined up in four rows, but here, we were told to line up in five rows. I remember an argument between the Japanese prisoners and the non-commissioned officer in charge of the roll call over whether we should line up in four rows or five. This man was the person we had the most contact with at that time, a very methodical person who had lost two fingers in a battle during the war. One day when he said, "I cannot count you unless you line up in five lines," we found a reason to stop arguing by deciding that we must be smarter than he was after all, and we started lining up in five lines.

After breakfast, from 0900 to 1600, we worked. There were more jobs outside the camp than inside the camp. We were taken in groups of ten prisoners and an MP by truck to various places to mow grass and cut weeds or do laundry. It was easy work with no quotas. If we were not well, we could say "sick" or "cold" and be absent from work. It was not at all what I had expected; actually, I wondered if this was a real prisoner's life because it was so leisurely. On Sunday, there was no work, only sports or recreation. There were variety shows and plays, ping-pong tournaments, sumo tournaments, and baseball games. The baseball games developed into a tournament with a German baseball team. There were games every week, and eventually an MP team played with us, too. The games were fair, and everyone forgot about their actual status for a while. Sunday dinner was Japanese food with fish. The people we met when working outside the camp did not seem to feel ill will toward Japanese; civilian employees at the camp were also polite and gentlemanlike.

The MPs in the camp did not bother themselves with the minor details of our daily lives, but they were very strict with prisoners who were idle and intentionally neglected their work. The punishment for this was solitary confinement. Those prisoners who were put into a solitary cell were given only bread and water. If the prisoners who brought them their food also brought them cigarettes on request, the MPs activated a shower in the ceiling to put them out when they smoked them. The MPs were not violent toward us, but they did use coarse language. I remember hearing words like "bullshit," "goddamn," and "SOB."

I never had any direct contact with the German prisoners, but I heard that the German prisoners stood up resolutely to the MPs without the guilty

conscience the Japanese prisoners seemed to have. They even seemed to have pride, and unlike the Japanese prisoners, they knew the details of the Geneva Convention. In talking to the MPs, they knew exactly what to say; in particular, they wanted to know whether or not their work was related to the defense industry. Many Japanese, who did not know the rules of international treaties and lost their self-esteem because they were prisoners, gave themselves up to despair, argued with others, betrayed others, and broke camp rules.

At times, we thought the people outside the camp were worse off than the prisoners. This was just before the Germans surrendered. Generally, older American civilians explained the content of our work and directed us, but they had less soap and tobacco than the prisoners. Some of the prisoners shared their rations of soap and tobacco with them.

News about the Progress of the War

In the camp, a prisoner found some radio parts in the garbage dump, and he put them together to make a radio. There were college graduates among the Japanese prisoners who understood English or German, and at breakfast, there was a prisoner-translated news announcement. Most of our news came either from the illicit radio or from the German prisoners. We heard about the desperate battle on Iwo-jima, the landing on Okinawa, the nuclear bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and finally Japan's surrender. We were so tense that we were unable to breathe, and we clenched our fists as we heard the news about the progress of the war. We were dumbfounded when we heard the news about the nuclear bombs and when, the next day, some American religious leaders and scientists voiced anti-bomb sentiments. We could never imagine that kind of broadcast in Japan, where the military controlled the media. We sank into despair on hearing the news of Japan's surrender, but we began to have a flicker of hope in our hearts that we could return home. On the day I heard about Japan's surrender, I recall thinking that the people who had been captured in battle were not the only prisoners. All Japanese had now become prisoners, so my feeling of shame was somewhat lessened.

A Change in Attitudes

The prisoners were given adequate amounts of nutritious foods that were not available in Japan at that time, but two times during this period at

Camp McCoy the quality of the food dropped, we had to work more, and the MPs and civilians treated us more harshly. The first time was in February 1945, when MacArthur liberated Manila, and the Americans on the U.S. mainland heard about the reality of the Bataan Death March and about the abuse of American POWs in the Japanese prison camps in the Philippines. When the MPs saw photos of the thin and weak American POWs who had been liberated, their attitude toward the Japanese prisoners at Camp McCoy changed. The civilian who oversaw our work became stricter, and he made us do more. Instead of white bread, we were given brown bread, and for a while, there were no eggs. But, these changes lasted for only a short time before things returned to their previous state.

The second time the MPs' attitude and treatment changed was just after Japan accepted the Potsdam Declaration to end the war on August 15, 1945. We were silent when we were told about the surrender, while the MPs around us rejoiced loudly and boisterously. When the Germans had surrendered three months earlier, the atmosphere was solemn and the American flag was at half-mast, and the prisoners did not have to work that day. The atmosphere was much different when Japan surrendered, and the solemnity was replaced by a festival air. The attitude of the MPs was arrogant, haughty, and disdainful, like people from a developed country looking down on people from a developing one, the work was harder, and the quality of the food decreased.

The Long Road Home

At the beginning of September 1945, I was released from Camp McCoy with the group of about 2,000 Japanese prisoners. We were taken by train through Detroit and then west to a camp in California near Sacramento. For four months, we worked there picking cotton on a farm. At Camp McCoy, there had not been any quotas for our work, but in California, our work had a quota. At first, the quota for picking cotton was 22.7 kg (50 lbs) a day, and it gradually increased as we became accustomed to the work to a maximum of 81.7 kg (180 lbs) a day. The MPs were strict about the quotas, so some prisoners added small stones to their bags to make up the weight. This period was the most difficult time for us from the point of the amount of work and the harsh attitude of the Americans. I remember two or three times, when we went through Sacramento by bus, a few adults who saw us threw stones at the bus. I also remember that when the MP who was driving the bus broke a traffic rule, the bus was stopped by a civilian traffic police-

man, and the driver was scolded. In Japan, it would not have been possible for a civilian traffic policeman to scold a military person.

A Stopover in San Diego, CA

In January 1946, we were taken south to the port of San Diego, where we stayed in barracks in an old military camp near the sea. The buildings were old and dilapidated, but there were clean white sheets on the beds. It was winter, but the climate of San Diego was mild, so it was much warmer than the winters in Wisconsin or in my home in Azumino. It was also a place of scenic beauty, with rows and rows of tall eucalyptus trees in the camp and a view of the Pacific Ocean. In San Diego, there were American soldiers who had come back from the war with Japanese swords, flags, and helmets as souvenirs. They jeered at us and made rude comments like "Tokyo no more" or "Tokyo bombed" and made gestures with their hands. The hopeful idea that we could return home was replaced by a feeling of despair that Japan had been destroyed, and there was nothing to go back to.

Life at Schofield Barracks in Hawaii

In January 1946, we left the port of San Diego on a transport ship bound for Pearl Harbor, so I was once again on the island of Oahu in Hawaii. I spent about one year at Schofield Barracks, a camp 12 km (7.5 mi) north of Pearl Harbor, with the group of about 2,000 prisoners. We stayed in a domed two-story building with beds for 20 people in each room. In the camp, there were showers, a Japanese-style bath, a barber, a small store for daily necessities, a medical clinic, and other facilities. The toilet was just boards over running water in a concrete trench in a simple, roofed structure, but it was adequately sanitary. In the clinic, there were always an American doctor, a dentist, and three or four nurses on duty, and they took care of the prisoners well. I remember being surprised that the nurses received equal treatment with commissioned officers because they would not have been treated that way in Japan. When I had a tooth pulled, and I saw dentistry tools with marks that indicated they were made in Japan, I felt pleased. Every morning for breakfast, there were about six things on the plate, including two pieces of bread, an egg, and bacon, and on the table there was as much coffee, milk, and sugar as we wanted.

After breakfast, we put coffee in a canteen and went off to work in groups of five or six at various jobs related to the military: cutting grass

around the officers' quarters and pulling weeds in the camp flower beds, using the press machine in the laundry, making sheets in the sewing room, cutting wood in the workshop, taking apart truck engines in the garage, taking apart gas masks, shining door knobs in the general headquarters, working on farms and construction sites and in storehouses, hospitals, shops, box-making factories, and broadcasting studios. Depending on our talents and wishes, some of us also did plumbing, electrical work, furniture-making, machine repair, and loading and unloading of ships, and some translated Japanese military documents that the U.S. had gotten during the war into English. Among the Japanese prisoners, there were two officers, one Navy medical doctor and one Army lieutenant, who were exempt from all manual labor. In the sewing room, the Japanese prisoners used the sewing machines during the day, and American women used the same machines at night. I remember that the prisoners who worked there often found candy or other things in the drawers of the machines, kind gifts from the women, and the same kinds of gifts were left for the prisoners at the laundry facility.

Kitchen jobs were called "KP," "kitchen police," like MPs were "military police." The jobs included peeling potatoes, washing dishes, serving food, cutting up meat on the bone using a saw, frying cod, and cutting up large wheels of cheese. I had learned to like cheese, which is not a traditional Japanese food, during my time at Camp McCoy in Wisconsin, so I found the cheese especially impressive. When the food was ready, the American soldiers lined up holding their plates, and the prisoners served them. I remember that the seats in the mess hall were divided into areas for blacks and whites. The food and furniture in each area were the same, but among the blacks, the highest rank was sergeant; there were no officers. While doing KP, there were many chances to meet American soldiers who were on their way home from Japan. Some soldiers smiled and said "Thank you" when they were served; others were spiteful or malicious toward us. They pretended to cut off their heads with their hands and using a few words of Japanese, and they said that Japan had been totally destroyed. Some had things that had belonged to Japanese officers, such Japanese swords, flags, and helmets, as souvenirs.

After work, we went back to our dormitories. There, we were mainly allowed to organize ourselves autonomously. For each dormitory, there was a leader who wore a white armband. Among the prisoners, the Japanese military structure still existed, but we gradually lost our tense "Kougunseishin" (Imperial Army spirit). We began to feel like civilians again, and

thoughts that had been repressed for a long time were set free. Many of us had lost confidence in ourselves, and we had many questions: Is my family still alive? Does my place in my "koseki" (family register) still exist? When can I go home to Japan? What kind of welcome will I get?

There was trouble between some of the Japanese prisoners and a group of Koreans who had been civilian employees of the Japanese military. "We are here because of you Japanese," they said. "You could not even fight until death or kill yourselves. You just ran away. What nerve you have! Now that the shoe is on the other foot, you just have silly smiles on your faces!" In reaction to their release from Japanese oppression after the war, the group of Korean prisoners exploded with anger, but the Japanese couldn't understand their feelings. One night a fistfight started, but the MPs broke it up.

Japanese-American citizens of Hawaii tried to sooth our agitated feelings. Every Sunday, they, mostly first-generation Japanese immigrants, visited the camp to express sympathy, and they brought us gifts of food. They called us "Nihon no heitai-san" (Mr. Japanese Soldier) and sang songs to cheer us up. Some threw bags of food into trucks carrying Japanese prisoners outside the camp. Other people were kind to us, too. I went with a group of five to six prisoners to cut the grass and clean the gardens at American officers' residences on a hill with a view of Pearl Harbor, and among the officers, there were some who were kind. I remember that one German-American petty officer invited us into his own house, and we sat at the table with his family and ate bread and milk during a break. We were paid 15 cents a day in coupons in compensation for our work. Using the coupons, we shopped for drinks, cigarettes and other things at the camp store. Cigarettes (Lucky Strikes and Camels) were five cents a pack. The rest of our payment was automatically deposited into an account.

Repatriation

In January 1947, after two and a half years as a prisoner, I was repatriated. In Yokohama, I changed my American money and got about ¥3,000. At that time, issho of uncooked rice (1,800 cc; a traditional measurement for sake and rice) was ¥40. I appreciated this money, and I felt that it was a lot for an ex-prisoner to receive. From there, I was taken to the old Japanese military school for communications training (radio and telegraph) in the Kurihama district of Yokosuka. I returned the clothing the Americans had given me with "POW" written on it, and I was given civilian clothes

and shoes. With my precious ¥3,000 in my hand and a cloth bag containing cigarettes and soap on my shoulder, I was once again a free man in my home country.

Return to Azumino

When I got off the train at Ariake Station in Azumino, I had a joyful and unexpected reunion with a sister I had not seen for the three years I had been away from Japan.[59] *In the newspaper and on the radio, my family had heard that a group of prisoners was returning to Japan from Hawaii, but they didn't know if I was among them. A little while before, they had found my name in the newspaper, but they had been disappointed to find out that it was someone else with the same name. There had been no official report about me, and because I had been on "gyokusai-no-shima" (suicide island) Saipan, where all Japanese soldiers were expected to fight to the death, I was presumed dead. The sister who met me at the station had heard that some of the returnees from Hawaii on the ship were survivors from Saipan, so she timed her visit to our parents' home carefully, and she went to the station just in case I was among the people who arrived. In front of the station, she recognized me in one repatriated soldier with a shaggy beard who was looking around in all four directions as though in a daze.*

Shinano Mainichi Shimbun, the local newspaper, printed a small announcement about my return to Azumino entitled "Ikita eirei kaeru" ("Living Spirit of a Dead Soldier Returns Home"). As a matter of fact, that is what I felt like: a man who had returned from the dead. Through the Swiss government, the Americans had given the Japanese military government a list of prisoners during the war, but because the existence of Japanese prisoners was denied by the military government, in many cases the families were not told that their relatives were on the list. A few days after my return, I went to the village office to register my discharge from the military. It was very different from the hoopla, the cheering, and the celebrations that I remembered when I joined the army four years earlier. In the village office, there were several people I recognized, but they took care of my discharge procedure in a simple and business-like manner. After a while, the area women's association held a tea party for the three or four of us who had returned. They served us green tea and red and white manju (sweet bean-jam buns). Other than in my own family, that was the only welcome I received, but it was enough.

In my neighborhood in Azumino, there were many families in which

husbands and sons did not return from the war, and because I had been on Saipan, where every soldier had been expected to either win the battle or die for the emperor, they wondered why I had come back alive. The situation was painful for everyone, and I just realized it was best for me not to talk about it.

Ojisan's story ended here. We took some photographs of him in his garden holding his old cloth bag and went into the house for tea with his wife.

From the Military Archives in Tokyo

In December 2011, we visited the military archives at the *Bouei Kenkyusho* (The National Institute for Defense Studies) in Ebisu, Tokyo, where a researcher on the staff introduced us to various documents related to Saipan. The following is a translation of a report on the Matsumoto 150th Infantry Regiment which corroborates Ojisan's story, and his name is mentioned in one of the lists that follow it. The report includes a description of the banzai attacks on Saipan by Japanese soldiers and civilians that so surprised the Americans:

150th Infantry Regiment (Ushiyama Corps)—Outline of the Battle

(Date and author unknown)

> In March 1944, within the Matsumoto Tobu 50th regiment (the traditional name for this regiment), a supplementary battalion was formed for the purpose of sending reinforcements to Truk; the leader of this battalion was Captain Ushiyama Kazuyoshi. On April 3, 1944, the battalion left Matsumoto. On April 15, they sailed from Yokohama Harbor, and on April 23, they arrived in Saipan. Because of worsening conditions on Truk, the battalion was temporarily quartered in civilians' houses in Garapan. From April 24 until June 10, their job was to unload the accumulated supplies of weapons, ammunition, and food. On June 11, from about 1300 until June 12 at about 1200, there were major air raids by American planes taking off from aircraft carriers near Saipan. American planes bombed Donnay ammunition dump, and the Ushiyama Corps moved there to help. Fifty soldiers under Second Lieutenant Kobayashi were given guard duty for the food supply depot at Donnay. The rest of the Ushiyama Corps

was sent to wait at the Mount Tapotchao headquarters. On June 13 from 1000, the island was surrounded by a task force of American ships; at 1300 they began shelling the island. This lasted until June 16 at 1000. On June 16 at 1000, four companies of American troops landed on the south coast near Asulito Field. Some groups within the regiment tried a night attack on the Americans, but because of the star shells which lit up the sky, they were almost all killed in the shelling. On June 17, the Americans landed on the beach at Laulau. At that time, part of the regiment near Asulito Field moved to Laulau, and they killed two companies of American troops. On June 20, Captain Ushiyama was injured. At 2100, 35 soldiers were selected from each platoon in the Ushiyama Corps and were sent to the south side of Saipan Shrine (near Sugar King Park) for a night attack. They were almost all killed, and the number of soldiers left in each platoon was very small. On about June 22, the Ushiyama Corps engaged repeatedly in hand-to-hand fighting with the Americans. Nearly one half of the Ushiyama Corps combatants were killed. On about June 24, the Americans who had landed on Laulau Beach moved to Donnay and occupied the water source. The Americans attacked the Ushiyama Corps from the side when they moved around the north side of Mount Tapotchao. From June 24, the Ushiyama Corps was not able to get water supplies. From around June 26, the west coast area was put under the command of Chief of Staff Kuroda; the Ushiyama Corps was included in this command. Around June 29, the left flank of the Ushiyama Corps was destroyed in an attack. At 2000, the remaining members of the Corps moved to Radar Hill. Around July 1, the troops under Chief of Staff Kuroda, including the Ushiyama Corps, moved to Hell Valley. American troops reached this area, and they engaged in hand-to-hand combat from July 3 to the evening of July 5. Chief of Staff Kuroda and most of the soldiers were killed in this action. On the night of July 6, they were ordered to move to Banaderu Air Field. By this day, of the original 50 soldiers who were guarding the food depot at Donnay, two remained. After assembling at Banaderu, there is no more record of the Ushiyama Corps. (Most had been killed in action; a few survived and acted on their own.) On July 7 beginning at 2300, the remaining soldiers and many civilians began to move as a group. In the early morning hours, they made an all-out attack on the Americans that extended as far as Matansha

Elementary School, and they returned the way they had come. The leader was Captain Kobayashi, the mayor of Garapan. On July 8, for the purpose of *gyokusai* (death with honor), they made a second attack; 700 people survived. They had almost no weapons or ammunition. On July 9, they made a third attack; 400 people survived. They had almost no weapons or ammunition, so they attacked using stones and the branches of trees. On July 11, they made a fourth attack; 150 people survived. On July 13, they made a fifth attack; 18 people survived. After that attack, they moved to Marpi Point, joined with other survivors and made a group of 120 people. They had no weapons. Of the group, about ten were professional soldiers; the rest were civilians. After July 13, they broke up into small groups and went to the beaches or into the jungle to wait for the (Imperial Japanese) Navy to rescue them.

The above is a report made by the known survivors. After July 13, the survivors attacked American supply depots to get food and weapons. They fled into the jungle and into caves to hide. Many people died of nutritional deficiencies and fevers. A few were cared for by the Americans, but some are still returning to Japan from the jungle.

Attached to this document, there were two lists. The first was a list of *Seikan seru mono* (soldiers who survived and returned to Japan); it contained nine names and addresses in the Matsumoto area. The second was a list of *Seizon suru to mitomerareru mono* (soldiers who were recognized as survivors and were in the U.S. as POWs or on Saipan); it contained eleven names and included Ojisan. So, according to this information, out of the original 700 in the Ushiyama Corps, 20 survived the war.

Why the Japanese POWs Were Treated Well

Ojisan referred to the officer who interviewed him at Hickam Field in Hawaii in 1944 as "Captain Hagirisu." It is possible that he was the Lt. Commdr. Frank Huggins mentioned by Cary (1976) and Straus (2003) as a notable interrogator in Hawaii during the war who received high accolades from Japanese POWs for being gentlemanly and having an understanding of the Bushido code of honor. In dealing with the Japanese, Huggins and other intelligence officers soon realized that the "tough" approach that was commonly used with German POWs in Europe was much less effective than a

"soft" approach. They first attempted to create a rapport, sometimes shared a cigarette, and slowly tried to get the Japanese POWs to talk. It is clear from everything Ojisan said that he had been surprised by the kind treatment he received at the hands of his captors, and he was untutored in the way he was supposed to behave in that situation. Huggins and other military interrogators made use of these things to get what they most wanted: as much information as possible about Japan and Japanese military operations.

Krammer (1983) described the three distinct phases the Japanese POWs went through:

> Immediately after capture, and up to forty-eight hours afterwards, the Japanese prisoners were of little value to the American interrogators. They were certain that they would be tortured and killed, and were either unresponsive or the information they offered was confused and unreliable. After several days, the army found that a second phase set in, as the prisoners realized that they were not to be tortured or in any way mistreated. That was the moment that the intelligence officers awaited; the prisoners' fear was changing to gratitude and they were anxious to reciprocate by talking freely. For the next ten days to two weeks, the prisoners were most receptive and informative. Then came the third and final phase, when the Japanese captives grew accustomed to the plentiful food and kind treatment, and became annoyed at being questioned. Continued interrogation only drove them into a shell of indifference and they were no longer reliable sources of military information. (p. 72)

Nothing could mitigate Ojisan's feeling of shame at being captured, though it lightened a little when Japan was defeated and, as he said, "all Japanese became prisoners." In the chaotic period after the war, soldiers and civilians, including over six million Japanese, had to be repatriated from areas all over the world on a limited number of ships. Grandfather and other liberated American POWs were given top priority and repatriated in 1945. Ojisan was not repatriated until January 1947, but this was still relatively faster than Japanese POWs who had been captured by the Soviet Union and were not able to return to Japan even five or ten years later. In any case, there was no hurry because many of Japan's largest cities had been devastated in the war, and many Japanese POWs had nothing to return to.

A Farming Family in Azumino, Nagano Prefecture

Using information from family members still living in the Matsumoto Basin and official information from the city offices in Azumino and Matsumoto, Kenzo put together a family tree. Though still incomplete, it now lists seven generations of his mother's family, going back to the early nineteenth century. He found that his maternal grandparents had had a total of nine children over a period of 20 years (six girls and three boys). Ojisan (born 1923) was the third son and youngest child. Kenzo's mother (born 1919; the one who met Ojisan at Ariake Station on his return after the war) was the fifth daughter, and the sixth daughter was her twin sister, who died at the age of two months.

The official *koseki* (family register) states that the eldest son died at the family home in Azumino on May 3, 1932, at 1:00 AM, at the age of twenty-one. According to family lore, this son had been a member of the Imperial Guards, an elite division whose job it was to protect the Imperial Family. He had suffered from health problems and been sent home to recuperate, and out of a sense that he had failed in his duty to the emperor, he took his own life. The second son, who was a soldier in the Imperial Japanese Army, died in the fighting in China in 1939 at the age of twenty-four.

Kenzo's mother came from a farming family. Before World War II, they had had more than two *choubo* [60] of rice paddies, which is more than 6,000 *tsubo*,[61] and a *kura* (storehouse) for the rice they produced, so they could be said to have been relatively well off. To put the old measurements for land into perspective, 300 *tsubo* was the amount of land needed to grow enough rice to feed one person for a year, so one *choubo* was enough land to support ten people. Because they had had no word of him, his family gave up hope of Ojisan's return. During the war, their land was rented out to other farmers in the area for three years. After the war, due to the Agricultural Land Reform Policy, which transferred ownership of land from the landlords to the farmers who were using it for a nominal fee, the family lost over one *choubo* of rice paddies.

Ojisan's father died about six months after his return to Japan after the war. Ojisan stayed on in the family home in Azumino as the head of that branch of the family and grew rice on the remaining land. At the time, many, perhaps most, marriages were arranged, but Ojisan was able to marry a woman of his own choice, a war-time evacuee from Tokyo, though some family members objected to the fact that she did not know how to do agri-

cultural work. Ojisan and his wife had three children, and to bring things full circle, when their eldest son married, he took his new bride to Saipan for their honeymoon.

A Relevant Book

The Chrysanthemum and the Sword

During World War II, cultural anthropologist Ruth Benedict worked for the U.S. government Office of War Information, and in June 1944, she was assigned to study Japan. By this time, the tide was beginning to turn against the Germans in Europe, and the landing of the American forces on Saipan brought the war in the Pacific one step closer to an end. In the opening chapter of her now-classic account of Japanese culture, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (1946), she explains:

> Whether the issue was military or diplomatic, whether it was raised by questions of high policy or of leaflets to be dropped behind the Japanese front lines, every insight was important. In the all-out war Japan was fighting we had to know, not just the aims and motives of those in power in Tokyo, not just the long history of Japan, not just economic and military statistics; we had to know what their government could count on from the people. We had to understand Japanese habits of thought and emotion and the patterns into which these habits fell. We had to know the sanctions behind these actions and opinions. We had to put aside for the moment the premises on which we act as Americans and to keep ourselves as far as possible from leaping to the easy conclusion that what we would do in a given situation was what they would do. (pp. 4–5)

One of the aspects of Japanese culture covered in Benedict's book is the policy of "no surrender" in the war, and Benedict explains the difference in the way of thinking as follows:

> Any Occidental army which has done its best and finds itself facing hopeless odds surrenders to the enemy. They still regard themselves as honorable soldiers and by international agreement their names are sent back to their countries so that their families may know that they

> are alive. They are not disgraced either as soldiers or as citizens or in their own families. But the Japanese defined the situation differently. Honor was bound up with fighting to the death. In a hopeless situation a Japanese soldier should kill himself with his last hand grenade or charge weaponless against the enemy in a mass suicide attack. But he should not surrender. Even if he were taken prisoner when he was wounded and unconscious, he 'could not hold up his head in Japan' again; he was disgraced; he was 'dead' to his former life. (p. 38)

On Saipan, the policy of "no surrender" affected Japanese civilians as well as soldiers. According to reports from American GIs, one of the most puzzling and appalling things was the behavior of the Japanese adults after the battle was over: Many of them chose to end their own lives, and those of their children, by jumping off either Suicide Cliff onto the sea of rocks and trees or off Banzai Cliff onto the rocks in the water below. The U.S. military dropped leaflets, broadcast promises of good treatment, and sent out leading citizens to talk to people, but the results were not encouraging. Educated to believe that the Americans would treat them cruelly, urged on by the Japanese military, and in a state of panic because the end was near, many of the survivors of the great banzai attack fled to the Marpi Point area to commit mass suicide.

PART FOUR

Our Journey into the Past

World War II Revisited

Karen: Shortly after *GI Spoon Yonhaibun no Kometsubu* was published in 1999, the annual International Conference on Language Teaching and Learning sponsored by JALT [62] was held in the city of Kitakyushu, Fukuoka Prefecture, on the island of Kyushu. Kitakyushu is the metropolis created by the 1963 merger of five towns in the area. Kokura, the ancient castle town that is now the center of Kitakyushu, was the backup target for the first atomic bomb, so, if it had been cloudy in Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, "Little Boy" would have been dropped there. It was the intended target for the second atomic bomb. Cloud cover and heavy smoke obscured the city, however, on that fateful morning of August 9, 1945, so "Fat Man" was dropped on the next target on the list, which was Nagasaki. Moji, the port where Grandfather arrived on the Brazil Maru, is now a suburb of Kitakyushu. From the conference hotel window, the wharves and warehouses of the port were visible in the distance, and I tried to picture the scene on that cold day in January 1945.

That trip to Kitakyushu piqued my interest and my imagination, and the idea of visiting the places Grandfather and Ojisan had been in World War II was born. What had happened in those places, and what did they look like now? I wanted to know, though it was more than ten years before I was able to start the journey.

Following Grandfather's Footsteps from the Philippines to Taiwan to Northeast China

A Brief History of the Philippines

The Republic of the Philippines is a nation made up of 7,107 islands in the Western Pacific Ocean, about 3,000 kilometers southwest of Japan. Its land area is slightly larger than the state of Arizona and slightly smaller than Italy. To the north across the water is Taiwan, to the west is Vietnam, to the south and southwest are Brunei, Malaysia and Indonesia. It is a nation made up of multiple ethnicities and cultures, as waves of people from the Asian continent or other islands settled there, bringing influences from Malayan, Hindu, Islamic, and Chinese societies. This was then overlaid with the influence of its colonizers: the Spanish, who stayed for 333 years, followed by the Americans, who won it in the Spanish-American War in 1898, the Japanese for an interval of three years during World War II, and the Americans again for a short time before it gained its independence in 1946.

The city of Manila, the capital of the modern Republic of the Philippines, in pre-colonial times was known as the Islamic Kingdom of Maynila and engaged in trade with merchants from various parts of Asia. According to Francia (2010):

> Islam predated the arrival of Christianity by at least a century and a half. Towards the end of the fourteenth century, Muslim missionaries from the by then mostly Islamicized Malaysia and Indonesia brought the word of the Messenger . . . a persuasive argument can be and has been made that the archipelago would have evolved towards an Islamic state or states, either as an independent nation, or part, say, of Indonesia or Malaysia, were it not for the Iberians. (pp. 45–46)

From the late fifteenth century, the Iberians—the Spanish and the Portuguese—were actively pursuing their dreams of world conquest. After a short visit to the Marianas in early March 1521, navigator Ferdinand Magellan and his expedition continued on, and in mid-March of that year, he and his men landed in the Philippines. In April 1521, Magellan was killed in a dispute with a *datu* (chief) in Cebu, and the famous first circumnavigation of the globe that bears his name was eventually completed by his men, but his visit marked the beginning of Spanish interest in the Philippines. The Philippine Islands were not specifically named in the Treaty of Zaragoza

signed by Portugal and Spain in 1529, but being to the west of the line of demarcation in the Pacific, they were in the Portuguese sphere. The Spanish later decided to colonize the Philippines, however, under the justification that they had no spices, so could be of little interest to the Portuguese. In 1543, Ruy López de Villalobos, a Spanish explorer on another expedition to establish a foothold in the East Indies, made stops on the islands of Leyte and Samar and named them the *Felipinas* in honor of the crown prince, later King Philip II of Spain.

In 1565, navigator Miguel López de Legazpi founded the first successful Spanish settlement in the Philippines in Cebu, and in 1571, he established a settlement in Manila and proclaimed it the capital of the Spanish East Indies, which included the Philippines, the Marianas, and Guam. He is also credited with starting the lucrative trans-Pacific Manila-to-Acapulco trade route in which giant galleons loaded with soldiers and workers bound for the Spanish colony in Manila and cargos of silver, gold, cacao, cochineal,[63] oil, and wines would leave Acapulco for the Philippines in March or April and return to New Spain (Mexico) with cargos of cinnamon, porcelain, and silks from Asia, a lucrative trade that lasted for 250 years. During his term as governor, Legazpi ordered the construction of the walled city of Intramuros, and he worked to convert the native population to Christianity. These efforts unified the diverse population and made the Philippines something unique in Asia—a nation in which the majority of the people are Christian.

From the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, during the years that the Philippines were a part of its empire, the Spanish fought off internal challenges from the Moros (Moors) on the southern island of Mindanao and external challenges from Chinese pirates and European colonizers—the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the British. In the nineteenth century, ports in the Philippines were finally opened to world trade, and ideas of independence began to spread through Philippine society. When much-admired doctor and writer José Rizal was executed by the Spanish in 1896 on charges of rebellion, a true Filipino martyr was created, and there was no turning back from the people's desire for independence and self-government.

Commodore George Dewey's defeat of the Spanish fleet at Manila Bay in May 1898 during the Spanish-American War was considered a great victory by the Americans. The war, which had started in Cuba in January of that year, ended with the signing of the Treaty of Paris in December. At that time, control of the Philippines (along with Guam, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and parts of the West Indies) passed from the Spanish to the Americans for a

price of $20 million. In June 1898, the government of the First Philippine Republic, with Emilio Aguinaldo as its president, declared its independence. The failure of the U.S. government to recognize this republic then immediately led to the conflict known as the Philippine-American War, which lasted from 1899 until 1902, when the Philippines became an unincorporated territory of the United States. In 1935, Commonwealth status was granted to the Philippines with the promise of eventual independence. This plan was interrupted by the outbreak of World War II and the occupation of the Philippines by the Japanese for almost three years from 1942 until 1945. The government during this period was known as the Second Philippine Republic, with José Paciano Laurel as its president. Finally, in 1946, the independent Third Philippine Republic, with Manuel Roxas as its president, was founded. It was one of the first post-colonial Asian nations of the twentieth century.

The Fortified Islands

Strategically located at the mouth of Manila Bay, Corregidor was first fortified by the Spanish and given the role of protecting Manila from pirates and usurping colonial powers and for checking commercial shipping in and out of the harbor. In 1902, after possession of the Philippines had passed to the United States, Corregidor was designated as an American military reservation, and a convalescent hospital for soldiers from the Philippine-American War was constructed. The Americans appreciated the beauty and the peaceful atmosphere of the island, but they also recognized its strategic value. Most importantly from the point of view of the planners at that time, any attack on the island was expected to come from the sea. As Hubbard and Davis (2006) explain:

> At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, the European powers constructed massive battleships that could be used both for mobile defense and aggressive, imperialistic ambitions. The United States, caught up in this imperial surge, joined the naval arms race. The best military minds of this era, before the invention of airplanes and air power, expected to rely on these powerful ships to protect and assault island possessions like the Philippines. (p. 44)

In 1908, a regular army post, named Fort Mills after Brigadier General

Samuel M. Mills, was established on Corregidor, and in 1909, development and construction began in earnest. Between 1904 and 1910, the island was transformed into a fortress, with nine major batteries mounting 25 guns. By the time the Corps of Engineers left in 1912, Corregidor had become "a great military bastion," and the U.S. military had spent over $150 million on the fortifications at Fort Mills and Forts Hughes, Drum, and Frank on three smaller, neighboring islands.

After the end of World War I in 1918, the U.S. government concentrated on reducing military expenditures, and this, coupled with the signing of the Washington Naval Treaty of 1922, prevented any further improvements in the fortifications on the islands in Manila Bay. Construction on a tunnel under Malinta Hill on Corregidor was begun that year, but the project lagged, and when it was taken up again a few years later, it was necessarily a low-budget operation. It was called a rock quarry, and its stated purpose was to supply material to surface the roads on the island. Much of the labor was supplied by civilian Filipino convicts from Bilibid Prison in Manila, and the cement used to line the tunnel was apparently purchased from Japan. When it was completed in 1932, the main tunnel was high enough and wide enough for a double-tracked streetcar to run down the middle. Over the years, laterals were built on either side of the main tunnel for the storage of ammunition and supplies. Two additional tunnel systems were later added to contain, respectively, the 1,000-bed hospital where Grandfather was assigned to duty during the time from the fall of Bataan to the fall of Corregidor in 1942 in a lateral to the north of the main tunnel and the quartermaster siege reserve in a lateral to the south. By 1938, work on the tunnel system was finished.

In 1940, the U.S. government began to react to the military actions of the Axis Powers in Europe and Asia by passing the Selective Service Act and allocating budgets for weapons and military construction. Fort Mills on Corregidor was among the places whose status was upgraded to "active" at that time.

A Trip to the Philippines

Manila is a five-hour flight from Tokyo. In the early spring of 2013, we made a trip to Luzon, the main island in the archipelago, and spent four days touring sites related to Grandfather's story. Having heard about the horrendous traffic jams in Manila, we decided to hire a driver/guide to take us to the various places we wanted to see. When we got there, we found

Map 2: Luzon Island, Republic of the Philippines

that the traffic in the city was every bit as bad as we had feared—roads are shared by many forms of transport, including buses, trucks, private cars, and colorful local jeepneys, all crowded closely together, and horns are used frequently—and we did not regret that decision.

The first stop on Day 1 of our tour was Makati, the upscale business and residential area of the city, to pay our respects at Manila American Cemetery and Memorial. It was dedicated on December 8, 1960, and is the largest of the sites around the world operated by the American Battle Monuments Commission, an agency of the U.S. government which maintains 24 cemeteries and 25 memorials, monuments, and markers in 15 countries. The memorial covers 152 acres of beautifully manicured grass and trees on a hill surrounded by new and ever-higher buildings. The 17,097 headstones are arranged in concentric circles around the central Memorial and Mall, and 36,286 names are listed on the Wall of the Missing, including a relative of our driver/guide.

Our second, third, and fourth stops that day were at places where prisoners of war were held: New Bilibid Prison, the University of Santo Tomas, and Old Bilibid Prison (now known as Manila City Jail).

New Bilibid Prison is located in Muntinlupa, the southernmost city in the Philippine National Capital Region (Metro Manila). Construction on New Bilibid Prison was begun in 1936, and in 1940, the prisoners and equipment at Old Bilibid were relocated to the new site. We arrived in the late morning with the intention of taking only a few photographs in front of the gate, but two overly-enthusiastic members of the prison guard staff who spoke some English offered to show us around. We saw the small prison museum, which contained a model of the original buildings surrounded by a high wall and now used as the maximum security section, a collection of old photographs, a display of clothing worn by prisoners at various times in history, a display of homemade weapons that had been confiscated from the inmates, and an old electric chair which had been used for executions from 1926 until 1976. After visiting the museum, we toured the small building nearby where prisoners were executed by lethal injection from 1993 until 2006, and then we were taken on a drive to see other parts of the compound. During the war, some of the Americans and Filipinos who survived the Death March were interned in New Bilibid Prison, and after the war, Yamashita Tomoyuki, the commander of the Imperial Japanese 14th Area Army in the Philippines from October 1944, was held there during his trial for war crimes.

The next two stops were in a part of Manila north of the Pasig River. The University of Santo Tomas, a private, Roman Catholic university founded in 1611, is the oldest university not only in the Philippines, but in all of Asia. The original campus was in Intramuros, but in 1927, the university moved to its current location in Sampaloc. The campus is a lovely place, as befits a prestigious university. During the Japanese occupation of Manila from 1942 to 1945, this campus was used as an internment camp for over four thousand civilians, mostly American and British, of all ages and from many walks of life; it was also the camp where U.S. Army and Navy nurses captured on Bataan and Corregidor were held.

Old Bilibid Prison is just a few minutes' drive from the University of Santo Tomas, but a world away in atmosphere. It was built by the Spanish in 1865 as a correctional jail and military prison. Though the bulk of the prison population in the Manila area is held at New Bilibid Prison, the downtown Manila City Jail is still in use, and it houses several thousand in-

mates. The outer wall of the prison is now completely surrounded by shanties and the small stalls of the old bazaar, and it is not visible from the main street (Quezon Boulevard). In order to see the main gate, our driver/guide had to take us down some narrow, twisting alleys, and after taking some photographs there, we had no wish to linger. According to a Military Intelligence Division Report dated September 20, 1944, on the Mansell website, Old Bilibid Prison was first used as a transfer center for POWs, then as a POW hospital, which would explain the reason Grandfather spent his entire stay there.

The last stop for the day was Intramuros, the historic heart of the city, where calesas with ponies were waiting to take tourists for rides. During World War II, this area was the scene of very heavy fighting during the final Battle of Manila (February 3–March 3, 1945).[64] When it was over, Saint Agustin Church was the only building left standing in Intramuros. We admired the carved wooden doors and the stone lions outside the church, which was consecrated in 1607 and has been a UNESCO World Heritage site since 1993. At neighboring Fort Santiago, with its strategic location at the mouth of the Pasig River, we made a literary pilgrimage to the Rizal Shrine Museum, where we found displays of items owned by Dr. José Rizal, the ophthalmologist, polyglot, writer, artist, and national hero of the late Spanish colonial period.

Photo 3: Entrance to Old Bilibid Prison (now known as Manila City Jail), Manila, Republic of the Philippines, 2013
Author photo

On Day 2, we made a trip to Corregidor. The ferry from the harbor in Manila to "The Rock" takes about ninety minutes each way. Most of the people on our ferry were local Filipinos enjoying a day out, but there were also a few foreign tourists among the passengers who were either history buffs or the children or grandchildren of war veterans. There was a TV monitor in the cabin, and after boarding, it showed historical footage from World War II. We watched and listened intently to this to prepare for what we would be seeing that day, but we could not help noticing that the young Filipino men and women sitting in front of us chatted merrily, put on make-up, fixed their hair, took photos, used their cell phones, and totally ignored the video. On the return trip, these same young people were absolutely quiet as they slept through the feature film that was shown.

Once we reached the island, the passengers were assigned to open buses (called tramvias) by language. On Tramvia No. 6, our guide spoke mostly Tagalog and English, but he added some Japanese explanations for the three other tourists from Japan. Before the tour started, we introduced ourselves to the guide and explained the reason for our visit. During the tour, he wove Grandfather's story into his commentary, and he was kind enough to point out places that would be of special interest to us, such as the North Exit from the Malinta Tunnel system, which hospital personnel would sometimes use to step outside "for a little fresh air and a smoke" at night.

The tramvias took us around the island, stopping at various places along the way. Fort Mills on Corregidor was considered "a great bastion" in its day, and the big guns that we saw at Batteries Way, Hearn, and Geary, for example, were most impressive. The island proved to be vulnerable to air power, however, and it also suffered from the serious weakness of having no good source of fresh water. As we drove around, we saw monkeys and a variety of birds, and in a concrete bunker, two very large geckos. The vegetation was burned off in the battles, but it was replanted in the 1950s, and the island is again covered with green.

The island is 4 miles (6.5 km) long, 1.2 miles (2 km) at its widest and has a narrow "tail" like a tadpole. The layout of the fort, the number of guns, the living accommodations and recreational facilities for the men who were stationed there, and, especially, the size and extent of the famous Malinta Tunnel system, came as a surprise. They had all of the amenities on the island and the city of Manila across the bay for entertainment. Structures on the island were badly damaged in the Battle of Corregidor in 1942, and in 1945, when the U.S. re-took the island, the Malinta tunnel system was

destroyed from the inside. The main tunnel has since been cleared, and we were able to walk through it from the East Entrance to the West Entrance and see light-and-sound shows with commentary in the entrances to some of the laterals.

The tour that day ended with stops at the Pacific War Memorial, whose open-topped dome was designed to exactly catch the light of the sun on May 6, the anniversary of the fall of Corregidor, and the Pacific War Memorial Museum, where we learned that Corregidor had been sadly neglected in the years immediately following World War II. As the plant life grew back, bunkers and installations were overgrown, roads were washed away in storms, and looters took pieces of metal to sell to scrap-iron dealers in Manila, but in 1953, a commission was finally formed to build a war memorial on the island. The American Memorial was completed in 1968, and later, both Philippine and Japanese Memorials were added. Since 1989, the island has been overseen by the Corregidor Foundation, a non-stock, non-profit corporation organized by the Department of Tourism and the Philippine Tourism Authority, whose mission, according to their website, is to "maintain and preserve war relics on Corregidor Island and manage the development of its potential as an international and local tourist destination." Funding is always an issue, and in recent years, as the number of World War II veter-

Photo 4: Malinta Tunnel (West Entrance), Corregidor Island, Republic of the Philippines, 2013
Author photo

ans has dwindled and donations have decreased, they have not been able to afford to keep the water features around the memorial full.

After our tour, while we waited at the dock to board the ferry for the trip back to Manila, there was time to see the monument to "The Angels of Bataan and Corregidor"—the U.S. Army and Navy nurses and the Philippine nurses who worked so hard during the campaigns—and we found the name of Ensign Ann A. Bernatitus, Grandfather's operating room assistant.

On Days 3 and 4, we toured the Bataan Peninsula, and our first stop was Subic Bay to see the Hellships Memorial commemorating the sinking of the Oryoku Maru in December 1944. At Bagac, we saw one of the two Zero Kilometer Markers for the Death March (the other is in Mariveles), and we stopped for photographs at the Philippine-Japanese Friendship Tower (built in 1975) and the Flaming Sword of Pilar (built in 1967), which is at the intersection where the two groups of prisoners met and continued their sorry march to San Fernando, Pampanga, then on by rail to captivity in Camp O'Donnell in Tarlac.

The most important stop was the Shrine of Valor at Mount Samat, the

Map 3: Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor Island, Republic of the Philippines

Photo 5: Hellships Memorial, Subic Bay, Republic of the Philippines, 2013
Author photo

scene of some of the heaviest fighting during the Bataan campaign. This monument was completed in 1970. It consists of a Colonnade with an altar backed by an impressive stained glass mural, a museum with a collection of war-era artifacts and historic photographs, and an area where annual ceremonies are held. There is also a 92-meter Memorial Cross made of steel and reinforced concrete on the top of the mountain. The steps on the path that zigzags up the slope to the cross are made of "bloodstones," a type of beige stone with large patches of red which had been brought from Corregidor. We rode up in the small elevator in the Memorial Cross to the gallery in the arms of the cross to see the view of the surrounding area. To the north, on the coast, we could see the Bataan Nuclear Power Plant, which was completed in 1984 during the Marcos era, but never put into use because its location near a fault line and an active volcano made its safety questionable; it is now a tourist attraction. In her commentary, our guide referred to the body of water that we could see in the distance by two names: South China Sea and West Philippine Sea. When asked about it, she explained that the Philippines had decided to re-name the sea due to its dispute with neighboring countries over control of the Spratly Islands.[65]

The last place we visited related to the war was the Surrender Site and Memorial under a large mango tree on the grounds of Balanga Elementary School. It consists of life-size statues of a group of men sitting around a

table on which is placed the Instrument of Surrender; the statue of Major General Edward P. King with his fingers touching his forehead is especially poignant.

The parts of Bataan that we drove through were largely rural and agricultural, with small towns or villages surrounded by rice paddies, fields of vegetables, and groves of mango trees. In one paddy, the farmer was using a small tractor, but most of the farmers were using hand plows pulled by carabao (water buffalo). It was hard to imagine that 70 years ago, this lovely and peaceful area was the scene of such fierce fighting and tragic events.

Karen: This visit to the Philippines was accompanied by a feeling of déjà vu: the ocean, the palm trees, and the Spanish place names reminded me very much of where I lived in Southern California, a place that was also at one time a colony of Spain. Grandfather never returned to the Philippines, but he would be pleased, I think, with the way the memorials on Bataan and Corregidor have been organized. He would also be pleased to know that the rattan furniture that he purchased in Manila and shipped to the U.S. in October 1941 is still, the last I heard, in use somewhere in the extended Smith family.

A Brief History of Taiwan

On visiting the Hellships Memorial at Subic Bay in the Philippines, we found out that there was a sister memorial in Taiwan. According to "Never Forgotten," the website of the Taiwan POW Camps Memorial Society:

> The Taiwan Hellships memorial was erected in early January 2006 and dedicated on the 26th of that month. It was built to honour all the prisoners of war who suffered and those who died on the terrible hellships in Taiwan waters while being transported by the Japanese to places of enslavement. Taiwan was a Japanese colony and secure base and port of call for many of the hellships en route from Singapore and the Philippines to Japan. Almost 30,000 POWs went in and out of the ports of Takao (Kaohsiung) and Keelung from 1942–1945. Over 4,350 POWs stayed on Taiwan to slave for the Emperor and many later left from here on these ships to go to Japan and Manchuria.

After reading this, we realized that we would need to know more about how Taiwan fit into the puzzle that was World War II.

The island Grandfather called Formosa is now known as the Republic of China (ROC), which includes the main island of Taiwan, the Penghu islands (Pescadores), and several other small islands in the Western Pacific Ocean. Across the Taiwan Strait, about 80 miles (130 km) to the west, is the southeast coast of mainland China, and about 160 miles (250 km) to the south is the Philippine island of Luzon. Taipei, the capital, is about 1,300 miles (2,100 km) southwest of Tokyo, but only about 170 miles (280 km) from Ishigaki-jima, one of the southernmost islands of Okinawa prefecture. The island of Taiwan is often described as having the shape of a tobacco leaf or a sweet potato. In size, it is a little larger than Belgium.

The present population of Taiwan is about 98% Han Chinese and 2% aboriginal. Human remains dating from 20,000 to 30,000 years ago, when Taiwan was still joined to the mainland by a land bridge, have been found. The ancestors of the Taiwanese aborigines are thought to have migrated to the island by sea about 4,000 years ago from the mainland. After that, contact was sporadic, but beginning in the fifteenth century, the Hoklo from Fujian Province, who were dissatisfied with conditions on the mainland, began to make their way to Taiwan. They were later joined by the Hakka, another group of ethnic Chinese that left the mainland in large numbers.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to see the island, which they called *Ilha Formosa* (Beautiful Island), in 1544, and other European colonial powers soon cast their eyes on Taiwan. The years from 1622 to 1662 are known as the "Dutch Formosa" period, when the Dutch had a trading route that stretched from Batavia (Jakarta, Indonesia) to Japan with a trading port in Taiwan along the way. The Spanish also tried to establish a foothold in the northern part of Taiwan in 1626, but they withdrew in 1638 due to the effects of natural disasters, disease, and attacks by local aborigines, and the Dutch took over their territory.

In the closing days of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), disaffected Ming loyalists began moving to Taiwan. Koxinga (Zheng Cheng-gong), who was born of a Chinese father and a Japanese mother in Nagasaki Prefecture, Japan, is credited with driving the Dutch out and setting up the first Han Chinese government on the island. It was his intention to return to the mainland to overthrow the Qing dynasty (1644–1912), but in 1683, his forces were defeated by Qing forces in the Battle of Penghu. Taiwan was governed by the Qing as a part of Fujian province until April 1895, when it was ceded to

Japan—along with the Penghus (Pescadores) and the Liaodong Peninsula, as well as control of the Korean Peninsula—in the Treaty of Shimonoseki after the First Sino-Japanese War. In reaction to this unwanted development, a group of Taiwanese issued their own declaration of independence and tried to form the Taiwan Democratic Republic in May 1895, but after five months of fighting, the Republican forces surrendered to the Japanese.

The Legacy of Colonization

There followed about fifty years of colonization, and during that time, the Japanese did much to modernize the island by building roads, rail lines, factories, hospitals, and schools. Taiwanese joined the Japanese military, and Taiwan became the site of major Japanese military bases, a supply hub for bases in other parts of Asia, and the location of POW camps during World War II. The island was subject to U.S. bombing raids, but in spite of its extensive military and industrial infrastructure, Taiwan, unlike the Philippines, was never used as a battlefield during the war. According to Roy (2003):

> Taiwanese responded enthusiastically to the opportunity to serve in the Japanese armed forces, which came with the expansion of the campaign in China in 1937. Indeed, until the Japanese resorted to general conscription on Taiwan in the last few months of the war, many more Taiwanese applied for service in the Imperial army and navy than the Japanese could take in. . . . Over 80,000 Taiwanese served Japan as soldiers and sailors during the war. Another 126,000 Taiwanese were employed by the Japanese military in noncombatant roles (nurses, porters, interpreters, etc.). Some 30,000 lost their lives. This enthusiasm for Japanese military service is partly a testament to the success of the colonial education system in inculcating pro-Japan values and attitudes among Taiwanese youth. These young Taiwanese may also have perceived that military service offered a chance to move from the status of colonial subjects to that of equals with the Japanese. And, of course, raised on glamorized stories of Japanese military gallantry and inevitable success, most recruits would not have anticipated the wretched fate that awaited their units during the latter stages and aftermath of the Pacific War. (p. 53)

What is the legacy of the Japanese colonization of Taiwan? Roy describes the Taiwanese attitude toward the half century of Japanese occupa-

tion as "ambivalent"; Manthorpe (2005) describes it as "ambiguous and subject to partial interpretations." In his view:

> It remains pertinent today because so many Taiwanese of the older generation are inclined to view that period as, on balance, beneficial to the island. This judgment is in marked contrast to the abiding hatred of Japan in other colonial territories such as Korea and Manchuria. This is in part because Japanese rule was a good deal more brutal in those territories than on Taiwan. But Beijing remains outraged that Taiwanese retain a mild affection toward Japan. It is seen as ethnic and spiritual corruption. This reaction certainly prompts some Taiwanese to espouse a gentler view of the Japanese colonial experience than they truly feel or is justified. Many island nationalists are willing to see merit in any stance that enrages Beijing.
>
> There is a wider and less provocative strand of thought among islanders that sees the period of Japanese rule as an essential element in Taiwan's story, for both good and ill. The regimentation and cultural indoctrination of the Taiwanese as well as the ever-present, insufferable demonstrations of racial superiority by the Japanese made aspects of life grim. But there was the benefit of dramatic social and economic development in the half century of rule by Japan. It brought the islands standards of efficient and clean government against which the Qing administration before and the Kuomintang after compared poorly. In their battles for some voice in their own government, Taiwanese developed a sense of their own identity and their island's distinction as a community. This experience formed the base for today's attitude toward independence and mainland China. (p. 177)

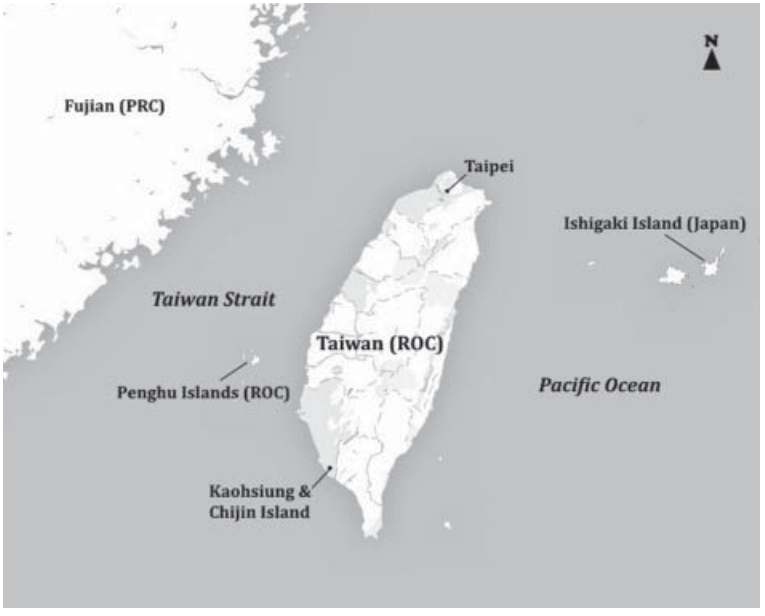
It wasn't until after World War II that the history of Taiwan really became an international case study in politics with a capital "P." In 1945, after the war ended, it was handed over to the Republic of China, and within a short time, it was embroiled in the postwar conflict on the mainland. Chiang Kai-shek and the remains of his Nationalist government (the Kuomintang) fled to Taiwan after the Chinese civil war ended in 1949, and once again, Taiwan became the staging area for a group of Chinese who thought they were there only temporarily while they prepared to re-take the mainland. For decades, the Kuomintang forcefully dominated the island while they remained at loggerheads with the Communist government of the People's

Republic of China (PRC) on the mainland. These days, however, as the Old Guard of the Kuomintang has passed away, Taiwan has evolved into a multiparty democracy. There are extensive economic ties between the ROC and the PRC, tourists from the mainland are much in evidence, and relations could almost be described as "friendly." Neither Japan nor the United States are among the handful of countries (now 23) that recognize the Republic of China as a sovereign state, but the plucky people of Taiwan are finding ways to survive.

A Trip to Taiwan

In the late spring of 2013, we made a short trip to the port city of Kaohsiung (known as Takao when it was a Japanese colony) in southern Taiwan, to see the Taiwan Hellships Memorial.

The flight from Narita to Taipei took about three hours. From there, we got on the High Speed Rail (HSR) that travels through the fertile plains on the west coast, passing farmland and factories, and we arrived in Kaohsiung ninety minutes later. Even for first-time visitors who do not speak Chinese, the transportation system was very easy to navigate, and our impressions



Map 4: Taiwan (ROC)

were of a clean, well-organized country with friendly people. Our hotel overlooked the Love River and the "Soaring Dragon Fish" statue, and in the distance we could see the busy harbor and the area where the Enoura Maru had been docked on that fateful day it was hit by "friendly fire" in January 1945. May is the beginning of the rainy season in Taiwan, and in the middle of the first night, we were awakened by a crack of thunder that sounded eerily like a bomb explosion.

On our first full day in Kaohsiung, we headed for our main objective on this trip: the Taiwan Hellships Memorial. We got up early, took the ten-minute ferry ride from Gushan Ferry Pier to Chijin Island, then a taxi to the War and Peace Park, arriving there at about 8:00 AM. No one was around, and the Taiwan Veterans' Museum, which is located in the park, was not scheduled to open until 10:00 AM. We had printed out a photograph of the Taiwan Hellships Memorial that we had found on the Internet, so we wandered around the park looking for the monument. A short while later, it came as something of a shock to realize that the pile of rubble on the other side of the chicken wire fence with the large "Keep Out" sign had indeed at one time been the monument. It must have been an act of vandalism, we speculated, probably for political reasons, but we could not imagine who could have done it.

We tried to ask a woman, a caretaker at the park who had come to pull weeds, but she only shook her head in a way that meant "I don't know." A man who was taking a walk through the park said that the damage had been done by a typhoon, and later, another young man who had a small, radio-operated car and spoke English fairly well said the same thing—a typhoon. But, we knew that this could not be the whole story. We decided to go to the open field across the street to try to find the location of the mass grave where the men who died in the attack on the Enoura Maru had been buried. We had printed out a map that we found on the Internet, so we knew approximately where it should be, but there was no marker. We tried showing the map to a man who was working in a small factory nearby. He consulted with his wife, but they only shook their heads in a way that meant "We don't know." We went back to the field, and after pacing off the distances on our map, were pretty sure that we had found the right location. Part of the time, we were followed by a pack of the stray dogs that seem to be quite common in Taiwan.

It was getting close to the time the museum should open, so we returned to the War and Peace Park to wait. Promptly at 10:00 AM, several people

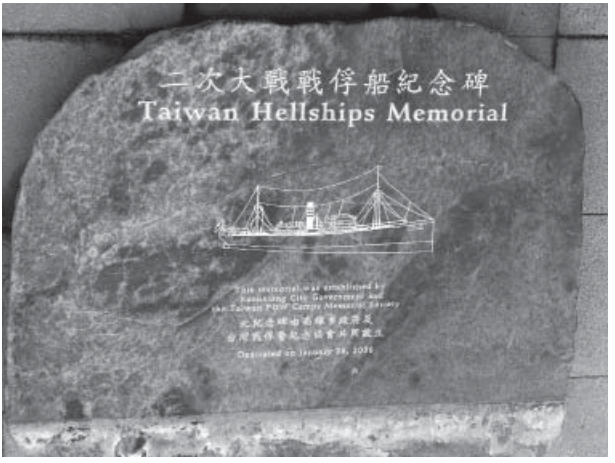


Photo 6: Taiwan Hellships Memorial Stone, War and Peace Park, Chijin Island, Kaohsiung, Taiwan (ROC), 2013
Author photo

from the museum arrived in a car, along with a visitor from Japan who had made arrangements for a special tour, and by lucky chance this visitor happened to be someone we had met before through the POW Research Network Japan in Tokyo. We fell into conversation with them, and they graciously allowed us to join them that morning. In answer to our pressing question about what had happened to the Taiwan Hellships Memorial, the museum director explained that indeed the typhoon season the previous year (July–August 2012) had been unusually destructive, and about 100 meters of the cliff on the outer (ocean) side of the island near the monument had been lost to erosion, so it had been taken down. They then took us around to the back of the museum and removed the tarp that was covering the memorial stone to prove to us that it was safe, and they said that plans are now being made to redesign the War and Peace Park and rebuild the monument.

Inside the museum, they pointed out displays that would be of particular interest to us, explained the history of the War and Peace Park, and gave us a selection of pamphlets and books, alas, all in Chinese. They were interested in hearing Grandfather's story and our reasons for making the trip to Kaohsiung. We learned that the Enoura Maru had been docked on the inner (harbor) side of the island about 200–300 meters to the south. They also confirmed the location of the mass grave in the field across the street, but

Photo 7: Left to right: Jeff Juang, Kenzo, Karen, Wu Tsu-jing, and Arimitsu Ken; Taiwan Veterans' Museum, War and Peace Park, Chijin Island, Kaohsiung, Taiwan (ROC), 2013
Author photo

they said that the bodies were no longer buried there.

Everything on display in the museum was sad, including the story of Hsu Chao-Jung, the man who worked for many years trying to establish it. Out of frustration at the lack of progress in planning, funding, and building it, he committed suicide by self-immolation on May 20, 2008. The park and museum were finally opened the following year, and a marker now stands at the place where he died. He was like a father to Wu Tsu-Jung, the executive director of the museum, and we were presented with a book Mr. Wu had written about him.

For further information about the Taiwan Hellships Memorial and the mass grave, Jeff Juang, the manager of the museum, put us in touch then and there with Michael Hurst, the director of the Taiwan POW Camps Memorial Society, using his cell phone. According to Mr. Hurst, the U.S. government had the bodies exhumed several years ago from the mass grave across from the War and Peace Park on Chijin Island and transferred to the Punchbowl Cemetery in Honolulu, Hawaii. Unfortunately, very few could be identified. Mr. Hurst was present at the dedication of the Hellships Memorial at Subic Bay and also at the dedication of the Taiwan Hellships Memorial, which was held three days later on January 26, 2006. He and his organization are responsible for the 11 memorials that have now been

put up in Taiwan in memory of the 16 Japanese POW camps that were on the island, and they are working on getting a suitable memorial for the men from the Enoura Maru and other transport ships who are now in the Punchbowl Cemetery.

Grandfather's manuscript contains a story about sugar that was loaded onto the Brazil Maru when the ship was in Kaohsiung harbor, sugar that was stolen and eaten by the American POWs on the way to Japan and was then the cause of further ill health and punishment for them. When we began to make arrangements to visit Taiwan, we discovered that sugar refining was among the many industries in the Kaohsiung area. One day during our trip, we took the Red Line train to the northern part of the city to visit the old Ciao-Zih-Tou Sugar Refinery, which is now a large, historical park. We walked through the old, abandoned buildings and around the park, pausing to read the many informative signs that were posted in Chinese and English. We learned that the Ciao-Zih-Tou Sugar Refinery, the first modern sugar refinery in Taiwan, was established on February 15, 1901, by the Japanese Mitsui Consortium. Machines were shipped from Japan to Kaohsiung harbor that year, and the factory was completed in October. It was used to manufacture sugar using raw sugar cane grown on the island from January 1902 until February 1999. On September 19, 2002, Ciao-Zih-Tou Sugar Refinery was declared a Kaohsiung County historical site that now occupies a total area of 23 hectares and contains 19 places of historical interest, as well as shops and restaurants.

That afternoon, we returned to the downtown area of Kaohsiung via the Red Line train to walk through the century-old covered market, where traditional Chinese dried foods of every description are sold, and along the Love River. In the Japanese colonial period, Kaohsiung (Takao) was turned into an industrial area, and it was an important base and transport hub for the Japanese military, two factors which made it a target for American bombers. It is now the second-largest city in Taiwan, still the center of heavy industry as well as the largest port in the country, but it is reinventing itself. In the last ten years, the industrial focus has shifted toward high technology and automation, and an effort has been made to clean up the air and water pollution that accompanied rapid industrial growth, to expand the tourism industry, and to attract artists and designers. It feels like a city on the move.

A Brief History of Northeast China

The place Grandfather refers to as Mukden, Manchuria, in his manuscript

is now known as Shenyang, Liaoning Province, Northeast China. In order to understand why Grandfather ended up in a POW camp there, it is necessary to go back several centuries to the time when this area was the home of a number of small tribes, including the energetic Manchus. After a series of successful military campaigns, the Manchus started to unify other tribes in the region, and Mukden was an early Manchu capital. In 1644, the Manchus seized control of Beijing, made it their new capital, and established the Qing dynasty that controlled all of China for over 260 years. Han Chinese were not allowed to migrate to Manchuria, so the area "above the Great Wall," became something of a backwater. The Qing dynasty ruled China until 1912, when the last Qing emperor, Pu Yi, was dethroned, and the Republic of China was founded.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to arrive in China, founding their colony at Macau in 1557, and by the early twentieth century, when the Qing dynasty was falling apart, many other European countries—including Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Russia—and the United States, had gained trade concessions or territorial rights there. Manchuria was the homeland of the founders of the Qing dynasty and nominally a part of China, but in the nineteenth century, the Russians and the Japanese also began to have an active interest in the area for reasons of their own.

In 1905, after the Russo-Japanese War, Japan replaced Russia as the leaseholder of the Kwantung Leased Territory in Manchuria. This territory included the South Manchuria Railway and the adjacent area, and it was guarded by the Kwantung Army.[66] On September 18, 1931, members of the Kwantung Army set off an explosion near the South Manchuria Railway line outside Mukden. The plan was that Chinese dissidents would be falsely accused of trying to destroy Japanese property, and the Imperial Japanese Army would retaliate with an invasion of Manchuria. This became known as the Manchurian, or Mukden, Incident, a pretext for expanding the Japanese area of influence.

The explosion near the railway, at around 10:20 PM on September 18, 1931, was fairly minor, and in fact, a train was able to pass over the damaged section of track just a few minutes later. Chinese troops under Zhang Xue-liang, the warlord of Manchuria after the assassination of his father Zhang Zuo-lin, were stationed not far from the site of the explosion. The following morning, soldiers from the Kwantung Army opened fire, destroying the small Chinese air force and causing the Chinese troops to flee. Though the Japanese were outnumbered, they were much better organized,

and they declared Mukden secured on the afternoon of September 19, 1931.

Japan was one of the founding members of the League of Nations in 1919. Zhang Xue-liang's policy of non-resistance after the Manchurian Incident was much criticized in China, so the Nationalist government, under Chiang Kai-shek, decided to apply to the international community for a solution. On October 24, 1931, the League of Nations issued a resolution calling for Japanese troops to withdraw from the area by November 16, but this was rejected by the Japanese government. Over the next few months, a Japanese-controlled state called Manchukuo was formed. Pu Yi, the deposed last emperor of the Qing dynasty, was called back to act as head of state, and Manchukuo was officially recognized by Japan on September 15, 1932. The Nationalist government of China did not officially recognize Manchukuo, nor did the League of Nations, which issued the Lytton Report on October 2, 1932, rejecting the claim that Manchukuo was an independent state and censuring Japan's actions in Manchuria. This led to Japan's resignation from the League of Nations on March 27, 1933.

During the Manchukuo era, many cities were modernized and the country became an industrial powerhouse. Its economy, however, was often subordinated to the interests of Japan and the Japanese war effort, and during the war, it became a base from which to invade China. Han Chinese from "below the Great Wall" steadily migrated to the area in search of jobs, and in 1934, the population of Manchukuo was estimated to be just under 30.9 million: 96% Han or Manchurian Chinese, 2% Japanese, 2% Korean, and less than 1% other nationalities, such as White Russian or Mongolian. The Japanese-owned South Manchuria Railway Company built an impressive and efficient railway system and had big investments in many of the industrial projects in the area.

In the years following the political, cultural, and economic changes of the Meiji Restoration in 1868, Japanese began to emigrate in significant numbers to escape overpopulation and poverty at home. Many went to Hawaii and the West Coast of the United States; others went to Brazil and Peru. In response to the unease of the local population in California, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 was passed in the U.S., and in 1907, a Gentleman's Agreement was made between the governments of Japan and the U.S. which prohibited the immigration of unskilled workers, but allowed Japanese businessmen, students, and spouses to enter the country. Seventeen years later, the U.S. Congress passed the Immigration Act of 1924 (Reed-Johnson Act, enacted May 26, 1924), which included the Na-

tional Origins Act and the Asian Exclusion Act. This established quotas for the number of immigrants from each country and banned the immigration of people from most countries in the Asia-Pacific region, including Japan.[67] In light of this, the Japanese government saw the potential of Manchuria as a destination where their emigrants would be welcome in Asia, as well as a place for industrial development in conjunction with the South Manchuria Railway Zone. According to Matsusaka:

> Compared to other areas of China of interest to the Great Powers, Manchuria lent itself more readily to this kind of scheme because of its character as a frontier region, much like the American West in the second half of the nineteenth century. It encompassed an area roughly 400,000–500,000 square miles in size, depending on how imperial cartographers construed its western boundaries, and with only seven million inhabitants at the turn of the twentieth century, it remained thinly settled by Chinese standards. Commercial transportation in the area suffered from severe limitations. The two major navigable rivers, the Liao in the south and the Sungari in the north, remained frozen for much of the year and, even in the best of times, served only a portion of the territory. Primitive roads rendered travel difficult and became almost entirely unusable during the spring and autumn rains. Endemic banditry added serious hazards to any movement of people or goods. On the other hand, the land offered great potential for development. Fertile plains beckoned to farmers, and soy emerged as a major cash crop, particularly in the Liao valley, where the river made possible the shipment of crops to Yingk'ou, Manchuria's single commercial seaport before the coming of the Russians. Coal deposits existed in great abundance in various parts of the territory, particularly near Fushun. Such mineral wealth, however, remained commercially unexploitable without modern transportation facilities. All these factors tended to magnify the importance of railway power in this territory, essential for defense, law and order, and economic development. (p. 66)

In 1922, the South Manchuria Railway Company published a "handbook of the resources of Manchuria" for the American market called *Manchuria, Land of Opportunities*. Manchuria was a showcase:

> Perhaps nowhere else in the world today is there presented so amazing a transition from primitive agricultural life to twentieth century industry and scientific organization. Manchuria, since the close of the Russo-Japanese War, when the Open Door [68] was inaugurated, has gone forward with great strides, absorbing Western ideas and developing her rich material resources.
>
> The record of this fifteen-year achievement in colonial enterprise is here set forth in facts and figures, with a careful avoidance of debatable questions of international politics. (Preface)

The handbook covered the geography, history, government, natural resources, development of manufacturing, commerce and finance of Manchuria, plus photographs, and an entire chapter about "The South Manchuria Railway and Its Work." One of the selling points was the fact that:

> The South Manchuria Railway has purchased in the United States $50,000,000 worth of locomotives, cars, rails and other materials, and the industries developed by it in the railway zone have imported $25,000,000 worth of machinery and materials. In contrast to this open door for American products in Manchuria the Far Eastern Review stated that railways in neighboring provinces of China have purchased $67,500,000 of materials in Europe, but none in America. (p. 60)

The handbook was aimed at the international tourist industry as well as the business community:

> New towns, built by the Japanese, have sprung up along the railway—not mushroom towns, but cities, planned and built after the best Western models, with spacious streets and boulevards, parks, hotels, clubs, schools, hospitals and markets. Today, strange as it may seem, the traveler in these old Manchu provinces of China finds express trains with luxurious dining and sleeping appointments, towns with palatial hotels and Continental service, travel bureaus and clubs where he is made welcome—Occidental civilization transplanted overnight in an Oriental setting. (pp. 6-7)

With regard to Japanese emigration to Manchuria and the aftermath of

the war, a current Japanese high school textbook on Modern Japanese history (Takamura, et al., 2014) says:

> The government-planned sending of emigrants to Manchuria began the year after the Manchurian Incident (1931) and continued until the end of the war in 1945. During this period, 270,000 people were sent. The plan to send groups of armed farmers was supported by the Kwantung Army and approved in 1932, and that year the 20-year plan to send 1,000,000 households [69] began. That autumn, the first organized group of armed farmers, who would be used as reservists in case of need, was sent to northern Manchuria. The next year, the second organized group was sent. These two groups were organized in a military fashion and members were given a rifle, trench mortar, and heavy machine gun which they could use to confront anti-Japanese guerillas. From the third organized group, the members were just farmers rather than armed farmers.
>
> From 1936, there were movements in areas such as the Tohoku region and Nagano Prefecture to find land for the second and third sons of farming families who did not have land of their own. Local economic and agricultural policy was joined with national, and the Japanese government implemented a policy of sending groups of these younger sons to set up branch villages in Manchuria. Because of the Second Sino-Japanese War, this policy did not prove to be sufficiently popular. To make up for this, boys from ages 16 to 19 were organized into *Mammo Kaitaku Seishonen Giyuugun* (Volunteer Youth Corps for the Development of Manchuria). They received military training and went to Manchuria.
>
> At the end of the war, all men in Manchuria were drafted and sent to battlefields further south; the old people, women, and children were left behind unprotected. In August 1945, the Soviet Army invaded, and the Kwantung Army was destroyed. Those who had been left behind were attacked by the Russians and the Chinese. The survivors tried to evacuate [to Japan]. Some [Japanese] children were abandoned and raised by Chinese families as *zanryukoji* (war orphans). (p. 147)

One of the war-related issues that is still controversial is the existence of Unit 731, a part of the Japanese Imperial Army that had its headquarters

at Ping Fan in northern Manchuria where human experimentation was performed on prisoners. Much of the research done by Unit 731 was designed to develop new weapons and to test the limits of human endurance, but there was never informed consent from the subjects used in the experiments.

Dr. Ishii Shiro, the commander of Unit 731, was a long-time advocate of biological weapons (BW) research. Because he had invented a water filter that could be used in the field to purify water for the soldiers, and he possessed excellent PR and networking skills, he was appointed the chief of the *Kanto-gun Boeki Kyusui Bu* (The Epidemic Prevention and Water Purification Department of the Kwantung Army, also known as the Water Purification Bureau) and given a large budget to work with. According to Harris (2002):

> The Water Purification Bureau was an ideal cover for Ishii. No one could question the value of military units that provided drinkable water to the armed forces. Ultimately, eighteen or more water purification branches proliferated in Manchuria and in China proper. All of the units were under the direct control of Ishii Shiro. And virtually every one of the units at one time engaged in secret BW research using human subjects. (p. 42)

The research subjects, referred to as *maruta* (logs) by the members of Unit 731, for these unspeakable experiments were mostly Chinese, Russians and Koreans, but Nishisato (2008) and Holmes (2010) give evidence that Unit 731 visited the Mukden POW camp in February 1943 for two weeks and used some American POWs as subjects.

A Trip to Northeast China

In the late spring of 2014, we made a trip to the city of Shenyang for the purpose of visiting the Shenyang Allied POW Camp of WWII Site Museum.

The flight from Tokyo to Shenyang takes about three hours. Shenyang, the capital of Liaoning Province in Northeast China, has a population of 7.2 million and is growing rapidly. The airport, a 40-minute ride from the city center, looks quite new, having been completed in August 2013 in time for a national athletic meet that is held somewhere in China every four years. For this trip, we hired a driver and Japanese-speaking guides to help us get to

Map 5: Japan, Korean Peninsula, and Northeast China

the places we wanted to go.

Our hotel was conveniently located within walking distance of a number of buildings left over from the days of the Japanese occupation, including three that were built by the South Manchuria Railway Company. From the window of our hotel room, we could see the old South Manchuria Railway Hospital (now known as No. 1 Hospital Affiliated with China Medical University) just across the street. About two blocks from our hotel was Mukden (now Shenyang) Station, which looks very much like the old Tokyo Station, though not so busy, and had lovely plasterwork ceilings and stained glass windows in the entrance hall where tickets are sold. About a block away, facing Zhongshan Square, was the old Yamato Hotel (now known as the Liaoning Hotel), where Grandfather met the No. 2 Russian general. It was run by the South Manchuria Railway Company and was the most elegant hotel in the city at that time. It now feels a bit rundown, but in the lobby and public areas on the first floor, there are old dishes and utensils in display cases, and the blue-green tile on the walls, the plasterwork on the ceiling, and the carved wood of the bannisters are all attractive. Historic photographs on the walls of the corridor showed the hotel and the surrounding area in another era. According to the photographs, there used to be a tall obelisk in the

Photo 8: Old Yamato Hotel, Shenyang, Liaoning Province, Northeast China (PRC), 2014
Author photo

middle of Zhongshan Square; in 1970, it was replaced with a large statue of Chairman Mao, his arm raised, pointing to the sky, on a plinth surrounded by statues of enthusiastic workers.

As the crow flies, it was approximately eight kilometers from our hotel to the Shenyang Allied POW Camp of WWII Site Museum, but it took about 40 minutes to get there by car due to heavy traffic and the circuitous route we took on the ring road around the city center. This allowed us a chance to see more of the city: industrial areas, new high-rise apartment blocks, and the coal-fired power plant with its three huge chimneys that produces electricity for the Shenyang area.

The Shenyang Allied POW Camp of WWII Site Museum is operated by the governments of the city of Shenyang and Liaoning Province, with the support of the national government, and no admission fee is charged. It officially opened in 2013, after many years of work by American ex-POWs and Chinese historians. It is located in the Daodong district of Shenyang, an older section of the city, and is surrounded by old, low-rise apartment buildings and factories. The walled area containing the museum is about one-fifth of the size of the original camp and contains an outdoor memorial area with plaques for former POWs, a few preserved brick prison buildings, the old water tower, the chimney of the boiler room, a rebuilt wooden

guard tower, plus the new, black museum building with its modern design. Inside the museum, there were numerous photographs, some historical film clips and narrations by former POWs, artwork inspired by the history of the camp, displays of objects such as uniforms, medals, military equipment and books, a scale model of the camp, and explanations for everything posted in both Chinese and English.

On one wall, there was a list of the approximately 2,000 men from the United States, Britain, Canada, Australia, the Netherlands, and New Zealand who were kept here from 1942 to 1945. We spotted Grandfather's name (Prisoner No. 1891—Smith, C. M.), and we found the name of Jonathan Wainwright, the general who had surrendered the American forces at the fall of Corregidor.[70] During our visit, we met Sun Zhong-mei, the museum director, and explained the reason we had come. During the course of our conversation, Ms. Sun asked if we had anything that we would be willing to donate to the museum, and we offered to send them a copy of our book *GI Spoon Yonhaibun no Kometsubu* after our return to Tokyo. Before leaving that day, we signed the museum guestbook after briefly looking at the comments other visitors had written.

That same day, in addition to the Shenyang Allied POW Camp of WWII

Photo 9: With Sun Jhong-mei; Shenyang Allied POW Camp of WWII Site Museum, Shenyang, Liaoning Province, Northeast China (PRC), 2014

Author photo

Site Museum, our guide took us to two historical sites. The first was the compound of the Old Imperial Palace, which was built by Manchu emperor Nurhachi and his son between 1625 and 1636 and served as the residence of the Qing dynasty rulers until 1644, when the Manchus moved their capital to Beijing; it is now a World Cultural Heritage site. The second was the compound known as Marshal Zhang's Mansion which contains several buildings and is a fascinating mixture of Chinese and Western styles. It was the official residence of Zhang Zuo-lin, the warlord of Manchuria in the 1920s, and his son Zhang Xue-liang, the warlord who followed a policy of non-resistance to the Japanese after the Manchurian Incident in 1931. The Japanese had supported the father, Zhang Zuo-lin, but they became disillusioned by his failure to stop the progress of Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Nationalists. According to our guide, soldiers of the Kwantung Army set off an explosion near the train in which Zhang Zuo-lin was riding just outside Shenyang on June 4, 1928, about three years before the Manchurian Incident. Zhang Zuo-lin was severely injured in the bombing, but not killed outright, and we were shown the room in his mansion where he was said to have died several days later.

Following Ojisan's Footsteps from Saipan to Wisconsin, U.S.A.

A Brief History of Saipan

On planet Earth, Saipan is a mere speck. It is a Micronesian island about 12.5 miles (20.1 km) long and 5.5 miles (8.9 km) wide in the Pacific Ocean about 1,460 miles (2,349 km) south-southeast of Tokyo. For thousands of years, it has been home to an indigenous group of people called the Chamorros, traditional trading partners of another indigenous group of people living in the Carolines, and over the last 400 years, it has been the territory of a succession of foreign powers: the Spanish, the Germans, the Japanese, and since World War II, the Americans.

According to *History of the Northern Mariana Islands to Partition*, a textbook written for use in social studies classes in high schools in the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas and the Territory of Guam, no one really knows when the first people arrived, where they came from, or why. When the work of archaeologists, anthropologists, geneticists, and linguists is put together, however, a picture of migration to the islands emerges. For example, comparison of blood types and DNA shows that there is a

connection between Mariana Islanders and Southeast Asians. According to carbon dating on artifacts found in the Marianas, habitation of the islands of Micronesia began 3,500 to 4,000 years ago, after the people of Southeast Asia had learned how to do the following three things: grow their own food, build ocean-going outrigger canoes, and navigate. The oldest piece of pottery (called Marianas redware) found so far on Saipan is 3,700 years old and is similar to pottery found in the Philippines and Indonesia. Chamorro is an Austronesian root language related to the languages spoken by groups of people in the Philippines, Indonesia, and Taiwan; Carolinian is a non-Austronesian language related to Maori, Hawaiian, and Tahitian.

For the Marianas, recorded history began in 1521, the year Ferdinand Magellan and his expedition visited the Marianas, most likely the island of Guam. Due to language and cultural differences, their short stay was fraught with difficulties, and Magellan named them the *Islas de los Ladrones*, the Islands of the Thieves.

The next important visitor, Basque Spanish expedition leader Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, left New Spain (Mexico) in November 1564 and landed on Guam on January 22, 1565, where he formally claimed the Ladrones for Spain and informed the Chamorros that they were now Spanish subjects. The Ladrones became a regular place for the galleons to stop for supplies of food and water along the trans-Pacific trade route from Acapulco to Manila.

In 1668, the Spanish sent soldiers and priests to found a colony in the Ladrones, and the islands were renamed *Islas Marianas* after the Queen Regent Mariana. A Jesuit priest, Diego Luis de Sanvitores, was given overall responsibility for the *reducción* of the Marianas, that is, making the local people adopt Spanish culture, convert to Catholicism, and live in church-centered communities called *pueblos*. The last battle between the Chamorros and the Spaniards was fought in 1695 on Aguiguan, when all surviving Chamorros in the Northern Marianas, except for a few on Rota, were rounded up and resettled on Guam and Saipan. The Chamorro population continued to decline after that, and the Spanish Governor decided to close the colony on Saipan and move the remaining Chamorros to Guam in 1722.

The people of the Caroline Islands were skilled navigators with a long history of trading with the Chamorros in the Marianas. Contact between them ceased during the period of Spanish rule in the Marianas because the Carolinians found it too dangerous to go there, but trade resumed in 1804. Around 1815, a group of Carolinians displaced from their homeland by a typhoon was granted permission to live on Saipan, which was then uninhab-

ited, and they founded a village on the site that is now known as Garapan.

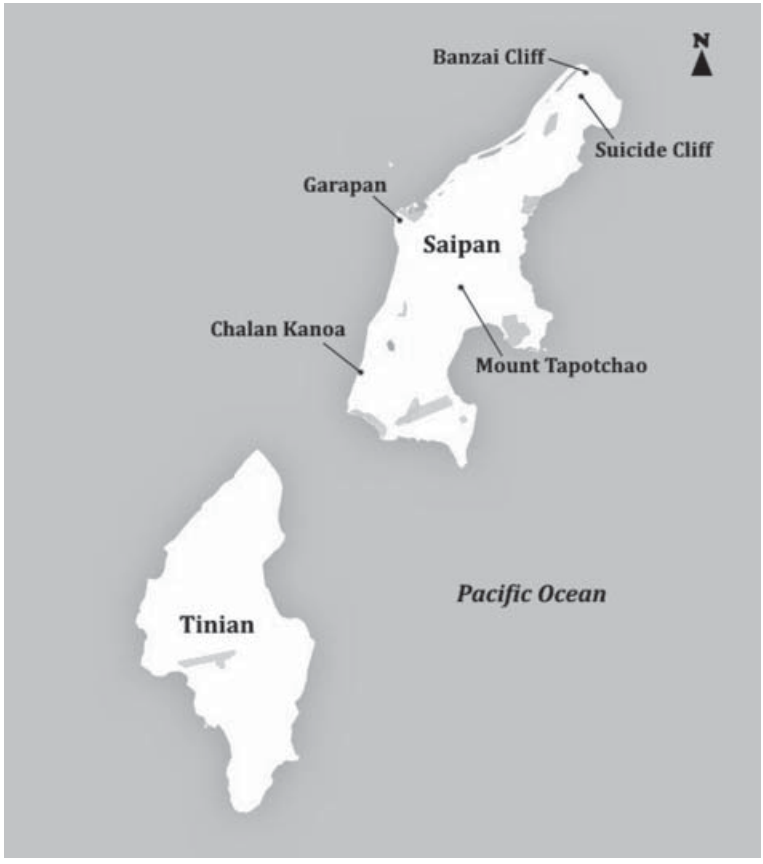
Events in the outside world in the nineteenth century affected the Marianas. In 1813, the Mexican Congress signed its declaration of independence from Spain, and in 1815, the last galleon sailed the Acapulco-Manila route. Foreign ships from other countries began to arrive in the islands, and by the 1880s, Spain could no longer afford to support or defend its colonies. Germany and Japan were becoming world powers, and the United States was recovering from its Civil War. As a result of the Spanish-American War, the United States took Guam and the Philippines as spoils of war, and Germany made a deal to buy the rest of Micronesia from Spain for $4.2 million. With this, the years of Spanish rule came to an end, and the Marianas were partitioned: they became the U.S. Trust Territory of Guam and the Marianas District of German Micronesia.

Over the next half century, the islands changed hands three times in rapid succession. Germany controlled the islands from 1899 until the end of World War I. Japan took over under a mandate provided by the Treaty of Versailles, which was signed after the war in 1919, and from 1922 until the end of World War II continued to rule under a League of Nations Mandate. From 1947, the Northern Marianas were administered by the United States as part of the United Nations Trust Territory of the Pacific, and since 1978, they have officially been the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands in political union with the United States. Saipan is the center of government for the CNMI.

A Trip to Saipan

Saipan is a three-hour flight from Tokyo. In September 2011, we visited the island and spent five days exploring as many of the sights related to World War II as possible using a rental car. It was the first of the five trips we have taken to places related to the stories of Grandfather and Ojisan.

From the window of our "mountain view" room at our hotel in Garapan, we could see Mount Tapotchao, the highest point on the island at 1,555 feet (474 meters); the word "Peace" written in large white letters halfway up the mountain was distinctly set off by a background of dark green trees. The road to the top of Mount Tapotchao passes through a residential area that includes both large, beautiful homes and gardens and lower-income properties. Not far from the top, the asphalt ends, and the last section of the road is an unpaved washboard. This ends in a small parking lot, and there is a walking path to the peak. The 360° view of the island of Saipan, neighbor-



Map 6: Saipan and Tinian, Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas

ing Tinian, and the surrounding ocean is spectacular. For a while, we were alone on the peak on the morning we visited, but gradually groups of tourists began to arrive.

At the northern end of the island along Chalan Pale Arnold (Highway 30), there is a string of four war monuments within walking distance of each other. Driving north from Garapan, the first of these is the Korean Memorial, which was constructed in 1978 to honor the Koreans who were brought to Saipan as conscripts in the Japanese military or as *romusha* (forced laborers). Next is the Okinawa Memorial, constructed in 1968, which honors the approximately 10,000 Okinawans who had moved to Saipan to work

Photo 10: Top of Mount Tapotchao, Saipan, Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas, 2011
Author photo

in the sugarcane fields and had died in the war. The liveliest monument was the third one, the Last Command Post, concrete bunkers riddled with bullet holes, with several heavy guns still in place out front. Most of the tour vans parked here, and food and souvenirs could be purchased at stalls near the road. Last in the line was the Japanese Peace Memorial, which was constructed in 1974. The monument itself is quite simple in design, almost stark, but the location, at the base of Suicide Cliff, gives it considerable impact.

Maybe it was just the wind, but when we drove up to the top of Suicide Cliff or walked out to the Banzai Cliff Memorial on the northern tip of the island and peered over the edge, it was easy to imagine that we could hear the sound of feet and sense the lingering feeling of desperation of the Japanese civilians after the Battle of Saipan. The row of monuments at the Banzai Cliff is not actually at the place where most of the people flung themselves and their children to their deaths, but a few hundred yards farther along, so that one looks back from the monuments to the curve of the cliff where so many gave up their lives. Among the monuments, it was a surprise to find one that had been donated by Zenkou-ji, the largest and most prominent Buddhist temple in Nagano City, where we lived for 21 years.

South of Garapan along Chalan Pale Arnold (Highway 30), we wandered around the grounds of the Old Japanese Hospital, the Commonwealth

of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI) Museum, and Sugar King Park, with its large statue of Matsue Haruji (1876-1954), which was erected in 1934. Matsue, the "Sugar King" of Saipan, studied agriculture at Louisiana State University in the United States. He developed the sugar industry on the island through his company, *Nanyo Kohatsu Kaisha* (South Seas Development Company), in the 1920s and 1930s and built the Sugar Train, a narrow gauge railway that went around the island. It was amazing to note that the statue had somehow escaped damage in the fighting in 1944.

Further south of Garapan along Beach Road around Chalan Kanoa, we found the U.S. World War II Soldiers Memorial and the Veterans Memorial in the area where the U.S. troops came ashore on June 15, 1944. Along the beach, there are still some partly-destroyed concrete bunkers and one Japanese tank is on display on a raised platform, and out in the water, stuck on the reef, parts of two U.S. tanks that never made it to the beach are still visible. What was once a battleground is now a pleasant recreation area. There are many picnic tables, and there is a good path for walking, jogging, or cycling. As we walked along the sand, we saw local families enjoying a day out, and four little local girls playing in the water near the shore called out to us to take their picture with our camera.

American Memorial Park was within walking distance of our hotel, so we visited it several times during our stay. It was established in 1978 and is managed in cooperation with the U.S. National Park Service. Spread over 133 acres, the park contains recreational facilities, a museum, and various monuments. Walking through the forest in the area that was once a Carolinian village, we saw some of the large land crabs that had bothered the American GIs when they got into their foxholes during the battle. In the museum, we watched a 20-minute film, looked at the exhibits, and shopped in the bookstore. The ranger on duty, a middle-aged local woman, told us that her mother had survived the war and had many stories to tell like the ones in the museum. The Court of Honor and Flag Circle, which was dedicated on June 15, 1994, the 50th anniversary of the invasion, lists the names of over 5,000 American Marines, soldiers, seamen, and airmen who gave their lives in Operation Forager and the Battle of the Philippine Sea. We paused before the section containing the names for the 4th Marine Division to recall that Major General Harry Schmidt, the division commander of "The Fighting Fourth" that landed on the Blue and Yellow beaches on June 15, 1944, was the grandfather of a friend in San Diego, California. The most poignant monument, however, was the Marianas Memorial, which was ded-

icated in 2004 and lists the names and ages of the almost 1,000 Chamorro and Carolinian civilians who lost their lives in the conflict.

The areas of the island related to World War II have been well preserved and organized (complete with informational signs in four languages: English, Chamorro, Carolinian, and Japanese), and they are important places for tourists to visit. Like the island of Corregidor, the vegetation on the island was essentially burned off by the bombs and flame-throwers used during the battle, but it has grown back. Once again, there is plenty of lush greenery, and the sea around the island is clean, very warm, and many wonderful shades of blue.

A Brief History of Wisconsin, U.S.A.

In order to get to Wisconsin, in the Great Lakes region of the U.S., Ojisan had to travel a long way: Madison, the capital city, lies about 6,098.8 miles (9,815 km) east of Tokyo. The state is a little less than half the size of Japan. Lake Michigan forms its eastern border, and it is surrounded by the states of Michigan, Minnesota, Iowa, and Illinois.

Like the Philippines, Taiwan, Northeast China, and Saipan, evidence of human habitation in Wisconsin dates back a long time. Based on finds of chipped stone spear points, people known as Paleo-Indians were living in the area that is now Wisconsin around 10,000–12,000 BC. Effigy mounds, burial places with markers in the shape of animals, birds, or people that were built by some tribes during the "Woodland" period (700 BC–1300 AD) can still be found. The first Europeans to visit the area were most likely French explorers in 1643, who were followed by French fur traders. At that time, the area was inhabited by Native American tribes such as the Ho-Chunk, Menominee, Ojibwa, Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, and Potawatomi. This contact with Europeans did not prove to be fortuitous to the Native Americans in the long run. Nesbit (1973, 1989) describes the effect of the fur trade on the Native population of Wisconsin in this way:

> The Indians were a primitive people, but not simple: they recognized the advantages which European utensils, tools, and weapons gave them over neighboring peoples who did not have them. Nor were they a rootless, nomadic people. On the contrary, they had a strong sense of communal ownership of a customary range, and of its boundaries. This, combined with a quick perception of relative values once the trade was established, brought predictable results. . . .

> European social and epidemic diseases were catastrophic enough to the Indians to obliterate entire communities. European tools, weapons, utensils, and textiles made the natives dependent on the fur trade. Skills and crafts of their former way of life fell into disuse. A man owning a gun lost the art of using bow or lance and went hungry if the tenuous supply lines of the trade failed to bring him powder and shot. The requirements of the trade turned the warrior into an exterminator of the game which had provided his livelihood, or into an irregular soldier in the wars of European empires. Liquor gave the Indian a temporary refuge from his degradation, while it confirmed for the European his belief in his own superiority. (pp. 21–22)

Under British rule following the French and Indian War (1755–1763), Wisconsin was a part of the Northwest Territory (the Territory Northwest of the Ohio River), an area covering 260,000 square miles. This was set aside for the Native Americans, and by Royal Proclamation in 1763, King George III forbade all settlers from moving past a line drawn along the Appalachian Mountains. This prohibition lasted until 1783, when the Northwest Territory became a U.S. territorial possession following the American Revolutionary War. During the age of empires, European countries had to travel great distances to found colonies in Africa, Asia, and the Americas, but the young United States discovered ample opportunity for expansion right on its doorstep. In 1803, during the presidency of Thomas Jefferson, the Louisiana Purchase, for example, added 828,000 square miles east of the Mississippi River to U.S. territory.

The idea of "Manifest Destiny"—the belief that Americans of European descent were destined to settle and control the whole continent—became widespread, and in 1830, during the presidency of Andrew Jackson, the U.S. Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, which claimed that the U.S. government had the authority to move tribes of Native Americans who lived east of the Mississippi to lands in the West. Through a series of skirmishes, wars, negotiations, and treaties, the Native Americans either lost or gave up their land. Wisconsin was found to have considerable mineral wealth, in addition to extensive forests, abundant fish and game, plenty of water, and land that was suitable for farming. All of these attributes attracted more and more settlers, both Americans from the eastern part of the U.S. and immigrants from Ireland, Germany, Norway, and other European countries. The

land was surveyed and sold, a government was formed, towns and cities grew, and statehood came in 1848.

Thanks to its European immigrants, Wisconsin is now known for its excellent cheeses, sausages, and beer, and for its fervent sports fans. Its people are hardworking and proud of their achievements, but in a modest, Midwestern way, and visitors admire both their friendliness and the scenic beauty of their state.

A Trip on the Transcontinental Railroad to Chicago, Illinois, and on to Fort McCoy, Wisconsin

In September 2014, we traced Ojisan's path from San Francisco to Wisconsin by taking a trip on the transcontinental railroad and visiting Camp (now Fort) McCoy, where he was interned. We spent one night in San Francisco before our departure, and while strolling along Fisherman's Wharf, we could see Angel Island, where Ojisan spent about a month, out in the middle of San Francisco Bay. The Amtrak train we rode from Emeryville, a small town just north of the Oakland side of the San Francisco–Oakland Bay Bridge, to Union Station in Chicago was called the California Zephyr.

Map 7: Great Lakes Region, United States of America

Photo 11: A stop during the trip on the California Zephyr, U.S.A., 2014
Author photo

It leaves daily from both directions for a journey of 2,438 miles (3,924 km) that takes 51 hours and 20 minutes and crosses three time zones. Unlike Ojisan, who traveled coach, we decided to reserve a "Superliner Roomette" in one of the sleeping cars. This gave us a private compartment with seats by a big picture window during the day and converted to a sleeper with bunk beds at night; toilets and showers for communal use were nearby in the same car. Meals were included in the price of the ticket, and one of the most enjoyable parts of the trip was getting to talk to fellow passengers from the sleeping cars over meals in the dining car. All the while, the North American landscape glided by outside the picture window. We were impressed by the changes in the scenery as we went over the Sierra Nevada in eastern California, across the deserts of Nevada and Utah, along the Colorado River and over the Rocky Mountains in Colorado, across the Great Plains in Nebraska and Iowa and then across the Mississippi River into Illinois, toward Chicago. The Great Salt Lake in Utah was the only place along the way that Ojisan mentioned by name, but unfortunately, we passed through Salt Lake City in the middle of the night while we were asleep. Japan also has beautiful mountains and great variety in the scenery, but it is not on the same scale. It is no wonder that Ojisan felt overwhelmed by the vastness of North America.

Ojisan made the entire journey in 1944 by train, but we rented a car for the last leg from Chicago Union Station to Fort McCoy, which is located

along I-90 between the towns of Sparta and Tomah in southwest Wisconsin. It is possible for members of the public to visit Fort McCoy by contacting the Fort McCoy Public Affairs Office. Individuals or small groups can obtain a leaflet with maps, text, and photographs for a self-guided driving tour, and groups of twenty or more can arrange a free, one-hour tour with a guide. When we explained the reason for our visit to Fort McCoy, however, the office offered to arrange a guided tour in a van with their historian.

On the afternoon of the appointed day, we met the historian outside the gate, and she began with a brief history of the area. We learned that it is named after Major General Robert Bruce McCoy, a prominent local citizen who served as district attorney, county judge, and city mayor and whose 31 years of military service included duty in the Spanish-American War, in Mexico, and in Europe during World War I. His experience in the Spanish-American War, especially, convinced him that "future conflicts were inevitable, weapons would be improved, and training had to be emphasized," and he began purchasing land east of Sparta with the aim of creating a training camp for soldiers. In 1909, the 4,000-acre McCoy property, along with the adjacent land, was purchased by the U.S. government, and Sparta Maneuver Tract was established. Over the years, the area grew in size and had a dozen different names, but in 1926, after the death of its founder, it officially became Camp McCoy, which is the name Ojisan knew it by. In 1974, in rec-

Photo 12: Stone entrance gate to the South Post, Fort McCoy, Wisconsin, U.S.A., 2014
Author photo

ognition of its status as a military training and support center, the name was changed to Fort McCoy, as it is known today.

The first place we visited was the South Post, the original site of the Sparta Maneuver Tract, and the place where Ojisan and the other Japanese POWs were interned in 1944–45. In 1933, during the Great Depression, Camp McCoy was designated as a quartermaster supply base for all Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) companies in Wisconsin, and from 1935 to 1941, programs sponsored by the Works Public Administration (WPA) contributed to the nation's defense and provided much-needed economic support for the local area. On January 15, 1942, as the U.S. military began taking prisoners of war at battles in Europe and Asia, the Civilian Conservation Corps Discharge and Reception Center at the South Post was converted to an enemy internment camp. At that time, there were 35 buildings in a 20-acre enclosure, but now there are only the stone entrance gates that were constructed by the Works Public Administration (WPA) in 1940 and a large, empty field.

According to the historian, Camp McCoy had been chosen as a mobilization site, and orders were already on the books for new and expanded facilities when war was declared in December 1941. As explained in her book:

> More than 45,000 additional acres were acquired, expanding Camp McCoy's size to 60,000 acres. A new cantonment area [71] was constructed at a cost of more than $30 million. With 1,500 buildings, the camp's support capacity was 35,000 personnel. The massive construction project involved some 8,000 workers and took approximately nine months to complete. When the "new" Camp McCoy opened August 30, 1942, visiting officials described it as the largest and most beautiful installation anywhere in the U.S. Army. (p. 8)

The cantonment area is laid out in a large triangle, or triad, and we drove around the area, stopping at landmarks, such as Building 100, the installation headquarters in the center of the triad, with a flagpole, historic gun, and "Fort McCoy" written in large, white letters on the traffic circle in front, and the Fort McCoy Equipment Park, where twentieth-century Army vehicles and equipment are on display. Many of the 1,500 "temporary" rectangular, two-story, red-roofed buildings that were constructed in 1942 for the "new" camp are still in use at Fort McCoy, and some of these house the history center. This was undergoing renovation at the time of our visit, but we were able to learn about the history of the camp and hear about their

plans for preserving and organizing their archives for future generations. In the display cases, on the walls, and in exhibits using life-size mannequins, we could also see many items of particular interest, such as GI spoons and the GI metal mess trays with indentations on which food was served at meals that had so fascinated Ojisan.

Life at Camp McCoy during the War

Camp McCoy was ideal as both a military training center and a prisoner of war camp because it was isolated in a rural area, yet it was connected to the cities of Milwaukee, Minneapolis, and Chicago by railroad. It was the largest and most representative of the camps that housed Japanese POWs, and it is interesting to note that during the war, Camp McCoy was home to three groups of Japanese: enemy aliens [72] who had been relocated, Imperial Japanese Army or Navy POWs who had been captured in battle in the Pacific, and Nisei (second generation Japanese-Americans) from Hawaii of the U.S. Army 100th Infantry Battalion, who were undergoing training, later joined the 442nd Regimental Combat Team in Europe, and distinguished themselves as the "Purple Heart Battalion."

At Camp McCoy, the Axis prisoners were kept in separate compounds on the South Post: the 2,700 Japanese in Compounds 1 and 2, the approximately 3,000 German POWs in Compounds 3 and 4, and the 500 Koreans, who had been captured while serving with the Japanese military, in Compound 5. They all used the same canteen, barber shop, and PX facility, but according to Krammer (1983), there were obvious signs of strain: the Japanese remained aloof, the Germans openly gestured, mimicked, and ridiculed the Japanese, and the Koreans took the opportunity to assert their independence after the hated years of Japanese colonization. Among the Japanese themselves, the traditional rivalry between Army personnel and Navy personnel, who made up the majority of the captives, persisted, each wanting to blame the other for military failures. Later arrivals felt less shame and dishonor because they had held out longer in the war, and they greeted those already in captivity with disdain.

The German prisoners did their assigned work, both at the camps and out in the community, because they knew it was inevitable and perhaps it helped to pass the time. The Japanese prisoners struggled with their personal inner conflicts, were poorly led by their officers, and were distrusted by their captors. As a result, the majority of the Japanese prisoners did work on military installations under guard rather than contract work in the community. Some

of the Japanese prisoners, and according to Krammer's statistics, fifteen to twenty percent of those at Camp McCoy, simply refused to work. In these cases, the camp commander was authorized to cut their rations, reduce their privileges, or give them two weeks in the stockade or at hard labor.

Straus (2003) describes McCoy as a well-run camp and says the camp commander, Lieutenant Colonel Horace Rogers, was praised for being fair and courteous in his dealings with the POWs. In the reminiscences of the POWs in his book, Straus lists some of the same things that Ojisan talked about, such as the GI indented metal mess trays and the popularity of playing baseball. Many of the Japanese POWs also mentioned wondering how Japan's rulers could ever have thought they could beat a country with such an abundance and variety of modern weapons in a war, as well as the shock and disbelief they felt when they heard about the atomic bombs and the emperor's speech announcing the surrender.

There was always the fear that prisoners in U.S. camps would escape and cause harm to people in the surrounding community or to national security. There were many obstacles to escape, including security measures taken at the camps and programs of work and recreation that kept the prisoners occupied, but some still attempted to flee. Most of the escapees from U.S. camps were German: 1,036 out of the more than 366,000 German POWs. Japanese POWs only attempted fourteen escapes during the war; all of these were from Camp McCoy, and all of the men were recaptured.

When it came to the Japanese prisoners, another fear was the question of "honorable death." Committing suicide in a prison camp was not as glorious as dying in a battle, but for some it was preferable to living in shame or being severely punished for surrendering after returning to Japan. Particularly, as the war was coming to an end and reports were coming in of mass suicides on Okinawa, there was the fear of mass suicide among the Japanese POWs at Camp McCoy, but in the event, this did not happen.

Ensign Sakamaki Kazuo: Prisoner of War No. 1

According to the historian at Fort McCoy, there is no list of the names of the Japanese prisoners kept at the POW camp there during World War II in the records at their history center, but she did know one of them: Ensign Sakamaki Kazuo (1918–1999, born in Awa, Tokushima Prefecture on the island of Shikoku and graduated from the Imperial Japanese Naval Academy in 1940). He was perhaps the most famous one of all because he was the very first prisoner of war to be captured by American forces. On December 7,

1941, he was one of the ten men who were sent in five midget submarines to attack the ships in Pearl Harbor. Nine of the men died, but Sakamaki, along with the midget submarine he commanded,[73] was captured after running aground on a coral reef near Kaneohe Naval Air Station on Oahu.

Sakamaki was first kept at a detention camp on Sand Island, Hawaii, until February 29, 1942, when he was moved to Angel Island in San Francisco Bay. After that, he was in a series of camps on the mainland: Camp McCoy in Wisconsin until May 1942, Camp Forrest in Tennessee, and then Camp Livingston in Louisiana. From May 1943 until early 1945, he was sent back to Camp McCoy for a second time, which means he would have been there when Ojisan arrived in August 1944. When the war ended, he was at Camp Kenedy in Texas. While he was in the camps, Sakamaki became something of a spokesman for the Japanese POWs. He led meetings, explained rules, set up a daily schedule, and organized evening classes. He read and studied a variety of subjects, including the English language, and he tried to talk to the other Japanese POWs about life and philosophy. He was kept at Camp Kenedy in Texas until December 1, 1945, when he and 800 other POWs left this camp to start their long journey home.

After repatriation, he became a public figure. In January 1949, he published a book in Japan called *Four Years as a Prisoner of War, No. 1*, which was translated into English and published the same year in the U.S. under the title *I Attacked Pearl Harbor*. In the first three chapters of this book, he writes about his military education, the plans for the attack and his capture, his life as a prisoner in American POW camps, and the gradual softening of his feelings and change in his outlook on life. Then he begins the fourth chapter, titled "On the Surface, Harmony," with these words:

> The life in the prisoners' camps was not as simple as I have just described it. There were endless internal conflicts among the men. But the most persistent and difficult problem was the rivalry and jealousy between army and navy personnel. (p. 73)

In addition to this inter-service tension, there were also problems of age and rank among the Japanese, problems that were only partly solved when the officers and conscripted men were finally segregated. For example:

> The trouble with work is that the conscripted men do physical labor and according to the Geneva Convention receive eighty cents a day.

> But the officers are not supposed to stoop to such work, so they get ten cents a day. Some superiors must wash the inferiors' underwear in order to earn spending money. Then the men who work in the vegetable gardens act as if they are feeding the officers. (p. 82)

Sakamaki thought that rivalries between the services and tensions between men of different ages and ranks probably existed in prisoners of other nationalities as well, but he did feel that the psychology of suicide was unique to the Japanese POWs. He explained it in this way:

> Our life was one of dilemma. We wanted to die and yet we could not die. We wanted to kill ourselves and we could not. The dilemma had a decidedly deteriorating influence upon us. Under this dilemma everyone lost all surface dignity and pretense and became human with human problems, behaving like a human with many acute problems. This process was often sudden and crude. It exposed how much of our behavior under "normal" conditions was "put on" and how easily it peeled off.
>
> When we were stripped naked behind the barbed wire, we were compelled to look at ourselves as we truly were—a picture of failure.
>
> "But it was not entirely our fault," we said. "Fate has had something to do with it."
>
> We had no hope for the future. We were at the very bottom of life. We despised ourselves. We were in a perpetual state of spiritual shock as prisoners of war. Death demanded our allegiance and yet life claimed our bodies. Images of past combat experiences kept coming back. The future was utterly bleak.
>
> Strong-bodied men went out of their minds.
>
> The fact that they were Japanese and prisoners at the same time and in the same person had made them insane. (pp. 92-93)

After the war, as Prisoner of War No. 1, he received many letters from people in Japan, some of which were supportive:

> Your past is not wrong at all. You need not feel ashamed. On the contrary, we owe you thanks. With a new heart, please work for the reconstruction of our beloved country. (p. 109)

There were also letters from other people, who wrote to him more than once, which were not:

> I cannot understand how you could return alive. The souls of the brave comrades who fought with you and died must be crying over what you have done. If you are not ashamed of yourself, please explain how come. And if you are ashamed of yourself now, you should commit suicide at once and apologize to the spirits of the heroes who died honorably. (p. 109)

Sakamaki, however, felt that he was received warmly by the people who knew him when he returned to his hometown:

> Human hearts were bitter. But I found affection in abundance when I returned home. My folks were surprised to see me. I changed their surprise to joy, and together we changed that joy into a prayer of thanksgiving for the good treatment I had received in the camps in the United States. My friends and neighbors welcomed me. (p. 110)

Like Ojisan, Sakamaki came from a large farming family; he was one of eight sons, and after the war, he returned to the farm. Also like Ojisan, he was able to choose his own bride, a woman with no agricultural experience who had come to the area with her mother after her father and brother were killed in the bombing of Hiroshima. Despite the opinion of some members of the public, Sakamaki's war experiences did not ultimately prevent him from achieving some success in life. He joined the Toyota Motor Company, rose to become chief of its operations in Brazil, and returned to Japan for a quiet life after retirement.

Repatriation of Japanese POWs from Camp McCoy

The historian at Fort McCoy did not have any information on what had happened to the Japanese POWs after they left the camp in 1945, but according to Krammer:

> Beginning in October 1945, the Japanese POWs at McCoy, Clarinda, Hearne, Kenedy, and Huntsville were sent to a cluster of holding camps at Lamont, California. There they kept busy with the usual military post-related tasks as carpenters, cooks, and janitors, and also

> as contract workers on local farms. By the end of December 1945, vessel space became available for 1,120 men (including 675 sick and badly wounded) and the captives were trucked to the Los Angeles Port of Embarkation for immediate shipment overseas. . . . A week later, on January 5, 1946, another 1,462 Japanese departed; on January 20, three days after a third group of 441 prisoners left Lamont for Los Angeles, that camp was deactivated. Also during January the remaining 2,376 Japanese departed from a similar system of camps in Corcoran, California, to the piers of San Francisco and Japan. (pp. 89–90)

We know from Ojisan's interview that his route back to Japan was slightly different from the one described above. He was also sent to do agricultural labor in California after leaving Camp McCoy, but he said that he was somewhere near Sacramento. Lamont, California, is near Bakersfield, which is quite far south of Sacramento, and Corcoran is halfway between Bakersfield and Fresno. Also, Ojisan said that he left the mainland from the port of San Diego in January 1946, not from Los Angeles or San Francisco. He was quite sure of all of these place names. This last POW camp where Ojisan was kept is of special interest because Grandfather had returned to his home by that time. So, by a quirk of fate, their paths crossed during the month Ojisan was in San Diego.

Karen: Ojisan described the place he was kept in San Diego as "an old military camp with rows of eucalyptus trees and a view of the Pacific Ocean." My first thought was that he must have been at Camp Calvin B. Matthews in La Jolla, which was decommissioned in 1964 and is now the campus of the University of California at San Diego, where I later went to school. It certainly fits his description in some ways. Old photographs taken during the war, however, when it was also known as the Marine Corps Rifle Range, show rows of Quonset huts and rifle ranges, but no rows of eucalyptus trees; they must have been planted at a later date. In the summer of 2014, I talked to three historians: one at the San Diego History Center in Balboa Park, one military history specialist at the Cabrillo Monument in Point Loma, and one from the Rancho Santa Fe Historical Society in North County. Nobody knew anything about the Japanese POWs, and a suggestion was made that they were kept in a temporary, undocumented camp.

PART FIVE

Judgment at Yokohama

In addition to his manuscript about his experiences during the Bataan and Corregidor campaign and as a POW during World War II, Grandfather left behind a stack of additional material, including an 895-page transcript of the 1947 war crimes trial of nine of the Japanese men who were assigned to escort the draft of 1,619 prisoners of war that left Manila on the Oryoku Maru on December 13, 1944, and arrived in Moji on the Brazil Maru on January 30, 1945. Grandfather did not attend the trial in Yokohama in person, but he did send a statement that was submitted in evidence.

On the transcript of the trial and some of the other documents, there are some handwritten marks. For example, on p. 1 of SCAP File No. 014.13, the following sentence is underlined: The Japanese themselves refused to keep a record and later forced an American medical officer to sign more than a thousand death warrants to the effect that the prisoners had succumbed due to natural causes, and in the left margin there is a squiggle, the word "me," and my grandfather's initials "CMS." In his manuscript, Grandfather told a story about signing death certificates three days after his arrival in Moji, so it is very likely that he saw himself here and made these marks as he read the pages carefully and with great interest.

International Military Tribunals

Article 10 of the Potsdam Declaration of July 26, 1945, stated that:

> We do not intend that the Japanese shall be enslaved as a race or destroyed as a nation, **but stern justice shall be meted out to all war**

> **criminals, including those who have visited cruelties upon our prisoners**. The Japanese Government shall remove all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people. Freedom of speech, of religion, and of thought, as well as respect for the fundamental human rights shall be established. (Emphasis added)

On August 15, 1945, the Showa Emperor announced that Japan would surrender unconditionally, and the fighting ended in the Asian-Pacific Theater; the reckoning for the Axis Powers began shortly afterward. The first International Military Tribunal was held in Nuremberg, Germany, to prosecute, punish, and leave a historical record of the "crimes against peace," "conventional" war crimes, and "crimes against humanity" committed by the Nazi political, military, and economic leaders of the war in Europe. The first and most well-known of the Nuremberg trials, for 23 major German war criminals, had four presiding judges (from France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States). It began on November 20, 1945, and ended a little more than ten months later when the sentences were read on October 1, 1946. Three of the top Nazi leaders—party leader Adolf Hitler, military commander Heinrich Himmler, and propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels—were never tried because they had all committed suicide in April and May of 1945.

The second one, the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, was held in Tokyo for the same reasons to prosecute Class A (major) Japanese war criminals. On April 29, 1946, the Showa Emperor's birthday, indictments were issued for 28 defendants, a list that did not include the emperor himself. The opening statements for the prosecution were made on May 3, 1946, and the defense finally rested its case almost two years later on April 18, 1948. The panel of 11 judges, including nine from nations that had signed the Instruments of Surrender—Australia, Canada, China, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States—plus India and the Philippines, then spent another seven months making their judgments. During the trial, two defendants died and one was declared mentally incompetent. On November 12, 1948, about 31 months after the trial began, all of the remaining 25 defendants were found guilty, including General Tojo Hideki, the prime minister at the time of the attack on Pearl Harbor, who had attempted, but failed, to commit suicide at his home on September 8, 1945, the day he was served with a warrant for his arrest.

Between 1945 and 1951, trials for roughly 5,700 minor Japanese war criminals in Classes B and C were held by various countries—Australia, Britain, China, France, the Netherlands, the Philippines, the Soviet Union, and the United States—in their own occupied territories in Asia according to their own laws. Formally, Class B war criminals were those who had committed "conventional" atrocities or "crimes against humanity," and Class C war criminals were those who had been involved in planning, ordering, authorization, or failure to prevent such transgressions. Approximately three-fourths of all Class B and Class C trials dealt with cruelties to prisoners of war. In Japan, during the American Occupation, the Class B and Class C trials were held in Yokohama under the authority of General Douglas MacArthur, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers in Japan.

One of the aims of the International Military Tribunals held in Germany and in Japan was to establish the individual responsibility of the war criminals through a legal process. This was done to psychologically separate them from the majority of the population in both the eyes of the local people and the eyes of the rest of the world, and to allow the countries to move forward in a new direction. It was more easily accomplished, however, for Class A, the military and political leaders who had led those countries into the war, than for those tried for Class B and Class C war crimes. Futamura (2008) has this to say about Japan:

> The tribunal's individual criminal punishment was not applied to the Emperor, the Supreme Commander of the war. The extent to which the Emperor played an actual and vital role in planning and waging the wars of aggression has been fiercely debated. However, it is undeniable that the Japanese fought the war in the name of the Emperor, and all orders followed by soldiers during the war were given in his name. Many of those tried under Class B and C war crimes trials were soldiers from the battlefield who had followed orders from an immediate superior, which were taken as orders from the divine Emperor. (pp. 120–121)

General MacArthur and others in charge of running the Occupation of Japan, in consultation with President Harry Truman, decided that the most effective policy for getting the country back on its feet would be to retain the Showa Emperor in his position rather than symbolically executing him for the war crimes of all Japanese. For the Class B and Class C war crimi-

nals, this meant that "just following orders when fighting for the Emperor" was not a mitigating circumstance in their defense. It also meant, as Dower (1999) said in *Embracing Defeat*, that the trials in Yokohama were "another example of how, in war and peace, individuals lower in the hierarchy of authority had to pay for the misdeeds of men with real power" (p. 449).

The Trial of the Escort Guard

The trial of the escort guard of the draft of 1,619 POWs who boarded the Oryoku Maru on December 13, 1944, in the Philippines bound for Japan began on March 10, 1947, in the Yokohama Courthouse. Present were five U.S. judges, three U.S. prosecutors, three U.S. defense attorneys, five Japanese lawyers, three interpreters, and one reporter. The nine defendants, all of whom had served in or were employed by the Imperial Japanese Army, were being held at that time in Sugamo Prison in Tokyo and were also present. They were:

- First Lieutenant Toshino Junsaburo (age 43, guard commander for this draft of prisoners of war)
- Sergeant Hattori Sho (age 38, second in command, guard)
- Lance Corporal Aihara Kazutane (age 38, guard)
- Superior Private Kobayashi Risaku (age 40, guard)
- Private Ueda Jiro (age 35, guard)
- Private Yoshida Hisao (age 37, guard)
- Sergeant Major Tanoue Suketoshi (age 30, medical non-commissioned officer)
- Captain Kajiyama Shin (age 46, civilian, ship master for the Brazil Maru)
- Wada Shusuke (age 41, civilian employee of the Japanese Imperial Army, the official interpreter for Lieutenant Toshino)

(Note: age at the time of the trial, rank or status in the Imperial Japanese Army at the time the events took place)

On the second day of the trial, each of the nine defendants was charged with violating the Laws and Customs of War; all pleaded "Not guilty." The number of specifications for this charge for each one of the defendants varied from 18 for Toshino to one each for Kobayashi, Ueda, Yoshida, and Tanoue; to all the specifications, all pleaded "Not guilty."

The main issues covered in the trial were 1) how the plan and the orders

for the transport of these 1,619 POWs from the Philippines to Japan were made, 2) why so many of these POWs died as a result of being transported, 3) who gave the orders for the execution of 15 of these POWs at San Fernando, Pampanga, on or about December 23, 1944, and 4) the role of Wada, the official interpreter. Only two of the accused (Toshino and Wada) were mentioned by name in Grandfather's manuscript. The ship master (Kajiyama) was also mentioned, but not by name, and it is not clear from the manuscript whether or not Grandfather had any direct knowledge of any of the other men, though one assumes that he must have seen some or all of them. In the section on his stay in San Fernando, Pampanga, Grandfather wrote that six or eight of the injured men were taken away by truck and never seen again, and he speculated that they had been killed by the Japanese, either at that time or later.

The trial lasted about two months. After testimony from the nine defendants and 31 other witnesses, including five former POWs who were part of this draft of 1,619 men, and a review of 63 documents that had been submitted in evidence, including one from Grandfather, the trial ended on May 2, 1947. The judges deliberated for one week, and on May 9, 1947, the verdicts and sentences were announced.

The Accusations

All nine men were charged with violating "the Laws and Customs of War," i.e., "conventional" war crimes as defined by the Third Geneva Convention of 1929. The specifications for the charges against these nine men were related to Part III: Captivity, which covers the evacuation of prisoners of war, the installation of camps, food and clothing, hygiene, intellectual and moral needs, internal discipline, and penal sanctions.

Toshino, the senior ranking military officer and guard commander for this draft of 1,619 prisoners of war, had the longest list of specifications. Nos. 1–5 dealt with his responsibility for the prisoners of war during the time they spent on the Oryoku Maru, and Nos. 6 and 7 dealt with the time they spent at Olongapo Naval Base after the sinking of that ship. Nos. 8–13 dealt with the time the prisoners of war spent at San Fernando, Pampanga, and San Fernando, La Union, and Nos. 14–18 dealt with the time the prisoners spent on the Enoura Maru and the Brazil Maru. Some of the specifications charged Toshino with the deaths of specific men who were named in specific incidents, such as No. 9, which dealt with the execution of the

fifteen POWs in the cemetery at San Fernando, Pampanga. No. 5 dealt with the mistreatment of the group as a whole on the Oryoko Maru and is representative of the charges against Toshino:

> Specification 5. That between 13 December 1944 and 15 December 1944, inclusive, aboard the Japanese Troop Transport "Oryoku Maru", the accused Junsaburo Toshino, then and there being the Prisoner of War Guard Commander, did willfully and unlawfully mistreat, abuse and cause intense mental and physical suffering, temporary insanity, impairment of health, injury and death to numerous other American and Allied Prisoners of War, by:
> a. Neglecting and refusing to provide adequate quarters;
> b. Neglecting and refusing to provide adequate food;
> c. Neglecting and refusing to provide adequate drinking water;
> d. Neglecting and refusing to provide adequate ventilation;
> e. Neglecting and refusing to provide adequate sanitary and hygienic facilities;
> f. Neglecting and refusing to provide adequate medical attention;
> g. Neglecting and refusing to provide reasonable measures for protection from the hazards of war;
> h. Shooting them;
> i. Ordering Military personnel under his command to mistreat, abuse, beat and shoot them and neglecting to restrain military personnel under his command from abusing, beating and shooting them;
> j. Neglecting and refusing to make reasonable provisions for the safe debarkation of the said Prisoners.
>
> (United States of America vs. Junsaburo Toshino, p. 3)

There were 16 specifications listed against Wada, the official interpreter for this draft of prisoners of war for the entire journey from the Philippines to Japan. As in Toshino's case, some referred to his role in the deaths of specific men in specific situations and others dealt with his role in the mistreatment of the group as a whole. Specification No. 8 dealt with Wada's actions on the night of the execution of the fifteen POWs at the cemetery in San Fernando, Pampanga. No. 2, the example below, dealt with the death of a POW who had been shot by a guard on the Oryoku Maru and whose gangrenous arm had to be amputated with a mess kit knife and no anesthetic

while the POWs were being kept on the tennis court at Olongapo Naval Base after the sinking of the ship, an incident which was recorded in SCAP File No. 014.13 and Proceedings of a Military Commission (pp. 120–121), but not in Grandfather's manuscript. The charges listed here are representative of those against Wada:

> Specification 2. That between 15 December 1944 and 22 December 1944, inclusive, aboard the Japanese Troop Transport "Oryoku Maru", the accused, Shusuke Wada, then and there being the assistant of and the official interpreter for the Prisoner of War Guard Commander, did willfully and unlawfully cause the death of Corporal Eugene Specht, an American Prisoner of War by:
> a. Neglecting to restrain Japanese military personnel subject to his supervision and control from shooting said Corporal Specht;
> b. Refusing on his own responsibility and neglecting and refusing to transmit to his superiors, requests for adequate quarters, food, drinking water, clothing, sanitary and hygienic facilities and medical treatment.
>
> (United States of America vs. Shusuke Wada, p. 2)

There were five specifications against Aihara, all of them accusing him of committing acts of violence against the Prisoners of War on the Oryoku Maru, Enoura Maru, and Brazil Maru. No. 4 dealt with his actions on the night of the execution of the fifteen POWs at the cemetery in San Fernando, Pampanga. No. 5 is representative of the charges against Aihara:

> Specification 5. That between 27 December 1944 and 30 January 1945, aboard the Japanese Troop Transport "Enoura Maru" and "Brazil Maru", the accused, Kazutane Aihara, did willfully and unlawfully mistreat and abuse numerous American and Allied Prisoners of War by beating them.
>
> (United States of America vs. Kazutane Aihara, p. 2)

There were four specifications against Hattori. No. 3 dealt with the execution of the fifteen POWs at the cemetery in San Fernando, Pampanga; the others dealt with his actions on the Oryoku Maru and the Brazil Maru. No. 2 is representative of the charges against Hattori:

> Specification 2. That between 13 December 1944 and 15 December 1944, inclusive, aboard the Japanese Troop Transport "Oryoku Maru", the accused, Sho Hattori, did willfully and unlawfully cause serious injury and death to numerous American and Allied Prisoners of War by shooting them, by ordering Japanese military personnel subject to his supervision and control to shoot them, and by neglecting and refusing to restrain Japanese military personnel subject to his supervision and control from shooting them.
>
> (United States of America vs. Sho Hattori, p. 2)

There were two specifications against Kajiyama, the ship master of the Brazil Maru. The first one contained a long list of the names of men who were known to have died on that ship; the second one is representative of the charges against Kajiyama:

> Specification 2. That between 27 December 1944 and 30 January 1945, inclusive, aboard the Japanese Troop Transport "Brazil Maru", the accused, Shin Kajiyama, did willfully and unlawfully mistreat and abuse and cause intense mental and physical suffering, impairment of health and death to numerous other American Prisoners of War by:
>
> a. Neglecting and refusing to provide adequate quarters;
> b. Neglecting and refusing to provide adequate food;
> c. Neglecting and refusing to provide adequate drinking water;
> d. Neglecting and refusing to provide adequate sanitary and hygienic facilities.
>
> (United States of America vs. Shin Kajiyama, p. 2)

There was one specification each for Tanoue, Ueda, Yoshida, and Kobayashi, all of whom were present at the execution of the fifteen POWs at the cemetery in San Fernando, Pampanga.

> Specification 1. That on or about 23 December 1944, at or near San Fernando, Pampanga, Luzon, Philippine Islands, the accused, Suketoshi Tanoue/ Jiro Ueda/ Hisao Yoshida/ Risaku Kobayashi, did, in conjunction with other persons, willfully and unlawfully kill Lieutenant Dwight D. Edison, Lieutenant John W. Elliot, Lieutenant Colonel Samuel W. Freeny, Pharmacist's Mate Second Class Deenah

R. McCurry, Lieutenant Colonel Ulysses J. L. Peoples, Jr., Second Lieutenant Herman W. Sherman, Major Wendell F. Swanson, and eight other unidentified American Prisoners of War by stabbing and decapitating them.

(United States of America vs. Suketoshi Tanoue, p. 2)
(United States of America vs. Jiro Ueda, p. 2)
(United States of America vs. Hisao Yoshida, p. 2)
(United States of America vs. Risaku Kobayashi, p. 2)

How was the plan for the transport of these 1,619 POWs from the Philippines to Japan made, and how were the orders given?

Information about the origin of the plan to transport this draft of 1,619 prisoners of war from the Philippines to Japan in December 1944 was found in the testimony of Colonel Odashima, the Vice Director of the Prisoner of War Information Bureau (PWIB) in Tokyo under General Hamada, chief of the PWIB, during the war. In March 1944, Odashima was ordered to visit all prisoner of war camps in Japan and in Formosa, Hong Kong, Siam, Malaya, Java, and the Philippines. He arrived in Manila on April 18, 1944, and conferred with General Kou, the main camp commandant, and Major General Kawase, the other POW Chief. General Kou advised Odashima that all POWs should be removed from the Philippines as quickly as possible because the situation was becoming tense. Odashima sent a radiogram to General Hamada in Tokyo, who consulted with General Tojo, the prime minister of Japan at that time, and a policy was formulated. The order to evacuate non-officer POWs from the Philippines was issued in Tokyo in July 1944, and the order to evacuate the officer-level POWs was issued in September 1944. Lieutenant General Ikeda of the Kwantung Army in Manchuria and Major General Ihara of the Korean Army agreed, in September 1944, to accept the officer-level POWs.

On or about December 16, 1944, General Kou sent a radiogram to Odashima that the draft of POWs had been shipped from Manila on the Oryoku Maru, and he kept Tokyo informed each step of the way as the various disasters hit. General Kou also requested supplies. Odashima testified that he was there in Moji when the Brazil Maru arrived on January 30, 1945. He boarded the ship and was shown around by Toshino. He noted the poor condition of the surviving POWs, and he personally recommended that they temporarily be sent to POW camps run by the Western Army in various

parts of the island of Kyushu to recover before being sent to work at camps in Manchuria and Korea.

As for the logistics of this plan, it was possible to establish the chain of command for organizing the transport of this draft of 1,619 prisoners of war from the testimony of four witnesses, Nukada, Isoya, Inada, and Toyama. According to them, it was as follows: The order to send a draft of about 1,600 prisoners of war to be used as labor in Manchuria and Korea originated in Tokyo. It went down from General Sugiyama, the War Minister, to Major General Nukada, the Chief of the Third Bureau of Transportation and Communication, to General Saiki of the Shipping Command, and finally to Isoya, the Chief of Staff of the Shipping Command. From there it went out to General Yamashita, the head of the 14th Area Army in the Philippines, and then to Inada, who was head of the Third Shipping Transport Command in Manila. Toyama, who was in the Operation and Planning Section of the Third Shipping Transport Command, made the actual plan to use the Oryoku Maru to ship this draft of prisoners of war, and Inada approved Toyama's plan. The order then went down to Lieutenant Colonel Morishita, the Anchorage Commander, who allocated the number of men to be kept in each hold of the Oryoku Maru and placed a requisition for food and water to the Provisions Depot of the 14th Area Army, and to the ship's captain, who was to send a report to the Anchorage Headquarters as to the amount of supplies already on the ship.

Only after all of the above preparations had been made was the order then given to Toshino, who had been working in the office at Cabanatuan Prisoner of War Camp in the Philippines, to be in charge of the escort guard for this draft of prisoners. The following testimony by Toshino explains the order as he received it:

Q: *Now, Lieutenant, who gave you your orders appointing you guard escort commander for this trip from Manila to Moji?*
A: *From the Prisoner of War Transporting Commander who was the commanding officer of the prisoner of war camps, Lieutenant General Kou.*
Q: *What did those orders command you to do?*
A: *The order was to transport approximately 1,600 prisoners of war to Taiwan and to the home country. We were supposed to transport thirty prisoners of war to the Taiwan Army, 580 to the home country, 450 to Korean Army, and 550 to the Manchurian Army.*

My order was to turn over these POWs when we reached Moji.

Q: *Were these orders oral or written?*

A: *I received a written order in the main camp on December 5. . . .*

Q: *Could you have refused assignment as guard escort commander?*

A: *As to this order assignment I could not refuse it.*

Q: *Now, were there any regulations available to you which set forth the duties of a guard escort commander?*

A: *There was no regulation as to the duties; however, at the Philippine Prisoner of War Main Camp there was a report and diary of the previous transport commander. I read this report and diary and followed it.*

Q: *And was this the first time you had ever served as a guard escort commander?*

A: *Yes.*

(Proceedings of a Military Commission, pp. 682–683)

Why did so many of the POWs in this draft die as a result of being transported?

Among the miscellaneous papers found with the transcript of the war crimes trial was the following short letter from Grandfather to the Casualty Section at the Pentagon, dated February 4, 1948:

Sir:

I have very carefully studied the mimeographed list of American prisoners of war reported killed in the bombing and sinking of Japanese prison ship "Oryoku Maru" on December 15, 1944.

I am definitely able to state the dates of death in the following tabulated list. The causes of death are rather difficult to state, as there are many contributing factors. However, in those cases not listed as "killed by bombing" the primary causes of death were starvation, dehydration, dysentery, and exposure.

Very truly yours,
Carey M. Smith
Rear Admiral (MC) USN, ret.

Of the 1,619 men in this draft of prisoners of war who left Manila on December 13, 1944, 425 (26%) were alive when they reached Moji, Japan, on January 30, 1945, and only 285 (18%) were left six weeks after their arrival. The reasons more than 1,300 of these men died as a result of being transported to Japan are, as Grandfather wrote, "rather difficult to state, as there were many contributing factors." Certainly, injuries sustained in the "friendly fire" attacks by American planes and submarines, a lack of equipment and supplies to treat those injuries, and other health problems, such as dysentery, were factors. According to the information in the previous section on planning, a ship, the Oryoku Maru, had been found to transport the draft of 1,619 POWs from the Philippines to Japan, and food and other supplies had been requisitioned by the people who organized the journey. The testimony in the trial, however, revealed that the supplies of food and water that were actually obtained for them were very inadequate, or nonexistent, and this lack of supplies also contributed to the number of deaths.

The Oryoku Maru lacked something in its accommodations and amenities for the prisoners of war, and according to Toshino's testimony, from the beginning, it also lacked adequate supplies:

Q: *Now, if you will look at sub-paragraph b of Specification 5. Will you tell us what, if anything, you did relative to food aboard the Oryoku Maru?*
A: *As for food, the time when I boarded the ship I made an immediate connection with the purser, as to the prisoner of war's quantity of food, amount of serving, and water. Furthermore, I gave him my opinion.*
Q: *What amount of food did you order for the prisoners of war per person?*
A: *In answering that question I would have to explain.*
Q: *Before you explain, will you tell the Commission whether or not they got the amount of food that you ordered? Answer yes or no to that.*
A: *No.*

(Proceedings of a Military Commission, p. 686)

Toshino goes on to explain that the attitude of the purser on the Oryoku Maru toward him was very cold, and his requests for more food and water for the prisoners of war were denied. He then consulted with the liaison

officer on the ship about the food situation, but shortly afterwards, the bombing of the Oryoku Maru in Subic Bay began and whatever supplies there were went down with the ship. The surviving POWs made it to the shore and were herded onto the tennis court by the guards, and Toshino dispatched Private Kenjo from Olongapo to Manila to report the situation to General Kou, the main camp commandant:

Q: *What were your instructions to Kenjo?*
A: *I ordered Kenjo to go to Manila and meet the main camp commandant and to report the following: the bombing incident on December 14th and December 15th, the casualties we received and also the bombing we received while disembarking, and to report that the prisoners of war were temporarily housed in the tennis court, and also the food was not available in Olongapo. I ordered him to send food, clothing, medical supplies, and a medical officer and to send an additional guard right away to Olongapo.*
Q: *Now until relief came from Manila was there any food available for the prisoners of war on the tennis court?*
A: *No.*
Q: *Had you made any effort to obtain food for them from the Navy?*
A: *Yes.*
Q: *And had they refused?*
A: *At first we were refused, but I contacted the Army guard unit and had them consult with the Navy and under agreement that the Army will return the amount that was furnished to the prisoners of war we obtained four bags of rice, sixty kilos per day, and two bags of salt.*
Q: *Was it possible to have the rice cooked?*
A: *No.*
Q: *Why?*
A: *I requested to the Navy to cook our food but their kitchen was bombed. This, I personally saw. The Navy was eating their food uncooked also. Then I went to the Army unit to have them cook our food but they were evacuating about ten kilos into the mountains and each soldier was cooking his food in his mess kit. . . .*

(Proceedings of a Military Commission, pp. 696–697)

Tanoue and another non-commissioned officer arrived from the main camp and handed Toshino an order from General Kou to transport the prisoners of war from Olongapo to San Fernando, Pampanga, which he did:

Q: *As regards the food, what would you say the condition was as regards the feeding of the prisoners of war at Pampanga?*
A: *At Pampanga we furnished the food that was brought from the main camp and Lieutenant Kimura ordered Sergeant Shoji to buy all the food he could from the vicinity, so I cannot say that the food was abundant. However, I think it was enough to get along.*
Q: *Was it cooked or uncooked?*
A: *It was cooked food.*

(Proceedings of a Military Commission, p. 700)

Lieutenant Urabe arrived in San Fernando, Pampanga, from Manila and handed Toshino an order from General Kou, the main camp commandant, to transport the prisoners of war on a train from San Fernando, Pampanga, to San Fernando, La Union, and from there, to escort them on an available ship to Japan, as originally planned:

Q: *Were they given food while they were being carried by rail from San Fernando, Pampanga, to San Fernando, La Union?*
A: *No.*
Q: *Why?*
A: *According to the schedule we were supposed to depart from San Fernando, Pampanga, at 10:00 AM and they all had their lunch. If the train reached San Fernando, La Union, as scheduled we would reach around 7:00 or 8:00 PM that evening and the food would be available to them after they reached their destination. But the schedule was interfered with by the air raids and when we departed San Fernando, Pampanga it was 1:00 PM and between San Fernando, Pampanga, and San Fernando, La Union, there was no station in between where they would permit us to eat so we could not obtain any food and the time we reached San Fernando, La Union, was on December 25th around 2 AM.*

(Proceedings of a Military Commission p. 707)

During the few days they stayed at San Fernando, La Union, the prison-

ers of war were kept at a schoolhouse and on a beach:

Q: *Now, what about food and water at the schoolhouse?*
A: *As for food, a cooked rice ball and some sort of sustenance food, which I have forgotten, was supplied by the Army unit. As for water, about eighty meters from the schoolhouse there was a well there and they were able to obtain abundant water from that well.*
(Proceedings of a Military Commission p. 708)

At first, under written orders from Anchorage Headquarters, all the prisoners of war were to be transported to Japan aboard the Brazil Maru. That order was then changed to the Enoura Maru, most likely due to the objections of Kajiyama, the ship master of the Brazil Maru. About three hundred of the POWs were loaded on the Brazil Maru anyway, for reasons that were never clarified in the trial. No members of the escort guard were put on board the Brazil Maru, and Toshino testified that he did not know about the quarters, food, water, clothing, and sanitary facilities on that ship. About food on the Enoura Maru, he said, "On board the Enoura Maru the ship master and the rest of the crew were very good to the prisoners of war compared to other ships. They tried to give them as much water and food as possible. The prisoners that I contacted were very pleased" (Proceedings of a Military Commission p. 711).

When the two ships arrived in Takao, Formosa, Toshino testified that he made a request to Anchorage Headquarters to disembark the prisoners of war on January 1, 1945, but this was denied. On January 6, he received an order to transfer the prisoners from the Brazil Maru to the Enoura Maru, then, on January 9, there was the attack of "friendly fire" on the Enoura Maru. On January 10, Toshino went to Takao Anchorage Headquarters to make a report, request first aid, and request that the bodies of the approximately 400 POWs who had died be removed. On January 11, the dead bodies were unloaded, and they were buried on nearby Chijin Island on January 12 and 13. All surviving POWs were transferred to the Brazil Maru on January 13. Toshino testified that he put in requests for clothing and medical supplies at the Takao Anchorage Headquarters, the Fortress Command, the Supply Depot, the Taiwan Army Headquarters, and the Taiwan Prisoner of War Camp, but was not able to get even one item.

The following testimony related to food refers to unauthorized dealings between the prisoners of war and the crew of the Brazil Maru during the

voyage from Takao to Moji:

Q: *Did you ever on that phase of the voyage tell the captain or his crew to keep away from the POWs on pain of being shot if they didn't?*
A: *I did not state they will be shot.*
Q: *Did you threaten them in any way?*
A: *I would have to explain the answer to that question.*
Q: *Go ahead.*
A: *After the embarkation of the Brazil Maru, I don't recall whether it was the 17th or the 18th, but the ship crew of the Brazil (Maru) were sleeping next to the hold in which the prisoners of war were in, and I received a report that the ship crew were exchanging food, cigarettes with prisoner of war personal items such as rings and watches. I personally saw this myself. And in order to put a stop to this act I called the liaison officer and the ship crew into the saloon and asked that the quarters of these ship crew be changed. At the same time I asked that the persons who were not authorized in the hold not be permitted to go in. This request was made through the liaison officer to the ship. And at that time, I also stated if the persons were caught in exchanging with prisoners of war again they would be court-martialed.*

(Proceedings of a Military Commission p. 740)

In the testimony of Kajiyama, the ship master of the Brazil Maru, he mentioned the following suggestion that he made to Toshino on the voyage from Takao and Moji:

Q: *When you were near Shanghai did you communicate with the convoy commander with reference to leaving the convoy and going into Shanghai?*
A: *Are you referring did I communicate with the convoy commander?*
Q: *Yes.*
A: *Yes.*
Q: *What was the subject of the communication?*
A: *I informed him that the conditions of the POWs on board my ship was very bad and if they were to continue this voyage up to Moji*

there is fear that all prisoners would die and I asked him to permit me to enter the Shanghai harbor, and further informed him if there was permission from the troop commander I would go into the port of Shanghai.

Q: *What reply did Toshino give to your suggestion?*

A: *His reply was that there was no sense in going into Shanghai because there was no place to quarter the prisoners of war there and he also stated that the death rate of the prisoners was gradually going down and the prisoners of war also wanted to reach Japan as soon as possible because they could recuperate. He further stated he was following the International law in handling the prisoners of war, so there is nothing to worry about, and he asked me to perform my duty as ship master and put in every effort so that we could reach the destination as soon as possible.*

(Proceedings of a Military Commission p. 869)

It was all too much for Kajiyama. At San Fernando, La Union, he had vigorously protested taking the POWs aboard the Brazil Maru because of inadequate supplies of food and water and having a dirty and damaged ship. He was told, "All you have to do is carry out the order and make this voyage"; in other words, he was threatened with court-martial if he didn't comply. At Takao, he couldn't get supplies, Toshino refused to stop in Shanghai to try to get some there, and the trip from Takao to Moji took much longer than usual, all of which exacerbated the misery of the POWs and increased number of deaths. At Moji, he made a report on the voyage to the military authorities and requested his immediate dismissal as ship master of the Brazil Maru. He also told the officer in charge of unloading the sugar at Moji harbor that he knew the prisoners of war were stealing some, but he did nothing to stop them, and if the Army wanted to punish anyone for this matter, he would take the responsibility.

In Toshino's final statement before the court, he said:

A: *Transporting of the prisoners of war at that time was a difficult task. Various requests that I received concerning to water, food and clothing, the requests which were made by senior prisoner of war officer Colonel Beecher, Pyzick, Englehart, and various other prisoners of war which were made to me directly or*

> *through Interpreter Wada were not fully satisfied. Even though myself, Wada, Hattori and my other subordinates put in their utmost efforts. While in the harbor, after receiving these requests, we made various requests to Japanese units but were always rejected, stating that "Did we know or realize the conditions of the war?" I sincerely regret that the requests which were sent in by the prisoners of war were not fulfilled. . . ."*
>
> (Proceedings of a Military Commission, p. 763)

Who gave the orders for the execution of 15 POWs at San Fernando, Pampanga, on or about December 23, 1944?

SCAP File No. 014.13, Summary No. 510, describes the execution of these fifteen POWs as follows:

> About 1800 on the 23rd of December [74] Wada came to the two group commanders and wanted the 15 sickest men to be selected for return to Manila for hospitalization. Among the group selected were Lieutenant Dwight D. Edison, Lieutenant John W. Elliot, Lieutenant Colonel Samuel W. Freeny, Pharmacists Mate 2/c Deenah R. McCurry, Lieutenant Colonel Ulysses J. L. Peoples, Jr., Second Lieutenant Herman V. Sherman, Major Wendell F. Swanson and eight other unidentified American Prisoners of War.
>
> About 1900 a truck was brought to where the group was waiting and the sick men were driven in the truck to a small cemetery on the outskirts of San Fernando, Pampanga. When they arrived at the cemetery there were a group of soldiers who had dug a hole about 15 feet square. When the guards on the truck had dismounted they took up positions about the hole. Two of the guards brought one of the prisoners to the hole. He was told to kneel at the edge of the hole and take a position as though in prayer. The prisoner was then decapitated, and allowed to fall into the hole. Another prisoner was brought to the hole and he was bayoneted and decapitated. This procedure was followed until all fifteen of the prisoners had either been decapitated or bayoneted. It is alleged that at this execution both Wada and Toshino were present, that they supervised and took part in it. (pp. 6–7)

The order to execute the 15 POWs originated in Manila in the office of General Kou, the main camp commandant. Lieutenant Urabe, who worked under General Kou in that office, was given the assignment of relaying the order to Lieutenant Toshino in San Fernando, Pampanga, and seeing that it was carried out. The following excerpt is from Toshino's testimony:

Q: *Lieutenant, will you look now at Specification 9; at Pampanga was any selection made of certain of the prisoners of war who were critically ill to be placed aboard a truck?*
A: *Yes.*
Q: *What was the purpose of their being placed aboard that truck?*
A: *The reason that the ill prisoners of war that were placed on the truck was to be decapitated under the order of the main camp commandant.*
Q: *Who did you talk with relative to this decapitation?*
A: *The order was passed down to me from Lieutenant Urabe.*
Q: *Tell the Commission that conversation.*
A: *. . . Lieutenant Urabe passed the order which was from the main camp commandant that the sick and injured prisoners of war were to be executed here at San Fernando. . . . I asked him to send these prisoners back to the Manila Hospital. There Lieutenant Urabe told me that when he left Manila he was informed by Lieutenant General Kou that the sick and injured prisoners of war would interfere with transportation, and also stated that "if they were to be taken back to Manila, on the way back through the long hours of the voyage on a truck they will suffer and it will be more pitiful, and furthermore if the injured prisoners of war were taken back to Manila the incident of Olongapo would be known in Manila. It is a pitiful thing. However, tell Lieutenant Toshino to carry out the execution at that place with the mercy of a knight.". . .*

(Proceedings of a Military Commission, pp. 701–702)

All of the accused at this trial, with the exception of Kajiyama, the ship master of the Brazil Maru, were charged with taking part in this execution, and they were closely questioned about the events that took place that night. This account was given by Tanoue, a non-commissioned officer in the medical section of the main prisoner of war camp who often traveled between

there and Bilibid; Captain Nogi was Tanoue's immediate superior. According to Tanoue:

Q: *A few days prior to December the 23rd 1944 did you receive an order from Captain Nogi to go any place?*
A: *Yes.*
Q: *What did Captain Nogi tell you?*
A: *He stated that he received a word that Lieutenant Toshino's guarding the prisoners of war received a bombing from the American planes and they were at Olongapo without anything so he ordered me to take a medical supply which I was to receive from the Bilibid Hospital, and after turning over the medical supplies he told me I was under Lieutenant Toshino's order and was to help transporting prisoners.*

(Proceedings of a Military Commission, p. 551)

Tanoue went on to explain that he picked up about 15 boxes of American Red Cross medical supplies from Bilibid and left Manila with four officers and 20 or 30 soldiers and *gunzoku* (civilian army employees) in a convoy of approximately 30 trucks. Lieutenant Urabe, General Kou's assistant, left Manila the next day. At Olongapo, they loaded 1,200 to 1,300 POWs on the trucks and traveled to San Fernando, Pampanga. On Urabe's orders, the POWs were placed in a theater and the provincial jail there. During the time they were in San Fernando, Pampanga, four of the POWs died:

Q: *What did you do in reference to their burial?*
A: *With the help of the guard we took the dead body [sic] to the San Fernando cemetery and buried them one by one.*
Q: *Did you do anything after that?*
A: *After burying the bodies I picked a wild flower around there and placed it on their grave, gave a prayer, and then left the cemetery.*

(Proceedings of a Military Commission, p. 553)

On December 23, 1944, Tanoue received an order to report to Lieutenant Urabe's office:

Q: *What did you do?*

A: *I went to Lieutenant Urabe's place.*
Q: *When you arrived at Lieutenant Urabe's office who was present?*
A: *As far as I can recall, Lieutenant Urabe, Lieutenant Kimura, and Lieutenant Toshino, and Sergeant Nakanishi was there.*
Q: *Now tell us in your own words just what was said in Lieutenant Urabe's office after you got there, what did you do, and what did anyone else in the office do? Tell it in your own words.*
A: *Yes.*
Q: *Go ahead.*
A: *I went into Lieutenant Urabe's quarters, stood in front of him and gave a salute. After this, Lieutenant Urabe told me to sit in the chair. I sat down and at this time it seems to me that Lieutenant Toshino left the room. He told me that the fifteen most serious prisoners of war that could not make the trip will be executed tonight and told me, "Sergeant Tanoue will used [sic] your sword and execute this fifteen prisoners of war." After I heard that fifteen prisoners of war will be executed I was so stunned at that time I could not say (anything) for a while. For a few minutes I just sat there. Then I told Lieutenant Urabe that I was a medical sergeant and up to the present moment I never cut anyone yet and I also told him that my duty as a medical of [sic] sergeant was not that there was an enemy or friend and my duty was to help anyone and I asked him to have someone else perform this duty and furthermore I asked Lieutenant Urabe to send these fifteen sick prisoners of war to Bilibid Hospital for treatment. . . . The answer was that they could not be sent and he stated that if we send these sick prisoners of war to Manila the incident, the bombing incident, and the condition that occurred at Olongapo will be known to the prisoners of war in Manila, so therefore we could not send them.*

(Proceedings of a Military Commission, p. 554)

In his testimony the next day, Tanoue continued answering questions about the execution:

A: *Then Lieutenant Urabe mentioned to me that the execution is tonight, and I was to receive the detailed orders from Lieutenant Toshino and further stated that this execution is top secret to*

other non-commissioned officers or the soldiers. Then Lieutenant Urabe stated that the severe patients will be brought out by Lieutenant Toshino, through Interpreter Wada, and Master Sergeant Tanoue will go in front of the theater when the patients are brought out. . . . For a few minutes I just sat there; then I asked Lieutenant Urabe two times whether this was an official order. . . . In the Japanese Army when you receive an official order you stand to attention and receive the order. The reason I asked Lieutenant Urabe twice whether this was an official order is because Lieutenant Urabe was sitting in a chair and I was sitting in a chair; therefore, I asked him twice if there [sic] was an official order.

Q: *What did Urabe say?*

A: *In a strong voice he told me it was an order; then I left Lieutenant Urabe's room.*

(Proceedings of a Military Commission, p. 556)

That evening, Tanoue went to the cemetery in the truck with Lieutenant Toshino, Wada, the guards, and the 15 prisoners of war. On arrival, Lieutenant Toshino ordered him to carry out the execution, and Tanoue asked to have someone else do it. Toshino's answer was "What's the matter, you are an active service senior non-commissioned officer, so carry it out." As a non-commissioned officer, Tanoue did not carry a rifle, pistol, or revolver, but his uniform did include a sword, which he then used to decapitate seven or eight prisoners of war near the hole that had been dug there. He was in such a state of mental strain by that time that he went back to where Lieutenant Toshino was standing a few meters away and asked him to have someone else continue the job. This request was granted, and he stayed with Toshino until all 15 of the prisoners of war had been killed, then he went back to help fill in the hole, now the grave of the 15 POWs, with dirt. Lieutenant Toshino, Wada, Tanoue, and the guards immediately returned to San Fernando, Pampanga, in the truck. Tanoue's testimony continues:

Q: *After you returned to San Fernando, Pampanga, did you make a report to Lieutenant Urabe in any way?*

A: *Yes, I did.*

Q: *Where was Lieutenant Urabe at that time?*

A: *He was in his own quarters.*

Q: *What did you say to Lieutenant Urabe?*
A: *I reported that the fifteen sick prisoners of war were executed and stated to him I never had such an unpleasant job as this.*
Q: *Did you say anything further to him?*
A: *No.*
Q: *Where did you go from there?*
A: *He thanked me for my trouble, then I left Lieutenant Urabe's quarters and I am not sure but I think I washed my sword and went back to my quarters and to rest.*

(Proceedings of a Military Commission, p. 563)

Other sections of Tanoue's testimony dealt with his training in the Imperial Japanese Army:

Q: *Tanoue, were you taught as a member of the Japanese Army anything about an inferior obeying a superior officer's order?*
A: *Yes.*
Q: *Tell the Commission what you were taught in reference to the question I have asked.*
A: *First of all, when we joined the Army, the first thing we learn is order(s) and anything that pertains to order(s); next, the Emperor's Mandates; next, the interior Army Regulations, Army criminal law, then the power of court-martial. These are all the things that we learned.*
Q: *What have you learned in reference to refusal to obey a superior's order during war time, if anything?*
A: *Yes; if you refuse the superior officer's order, you will be tried by army court-martial and the sentence will be the death penalty.*

(Proceedings of a Military Commission, pp. 563–564)

After returning to Manila, Tanoue told the court that he made a report about the execution of the 15 POWs at San Fernando, Pampanga, to Captain Nogi, his immediate superior, and the topic of obeying orders came up again:

Q: *Didn't they teach you in the Japanese Army that a soldier did not have to obey an illegal order given by his superior officer?*
A: *No.*
Q: *Lieutenant Urabe gave you an order not to talk when you got*

back to Manila, didn't he?

A: *Yes, he did say that to me when I was in San Fernando.*

Q: *You disobeyed the order quick enough when you got back to Manila, didn't you?*

A: *It is not disobeying an order, because whatever we do we would have to report to the direct superior officer. And in the Japanese Army we would have to make a report and also a repetition of an order or message.*

(Proceedings of a Military Commission, pp. 589–590)

Toshino's testimony also contained some information on the way the POWs were executed and the cultural significance of executing someone by decapitation:

Q: *Did Urabe give you orders in writing from General Kou that these POWs were to be executed?*

A: *No, it was verbal.*

Q: *Did Urabe tell you that it was General Kou's order that the prisoners of war should be bayoneted before they were beheaded?*

A: *I have heard from Lieutenant Urabe to decapitate or bayonet the prisoners of war.*

Q: *Didn't you say the other day that they were to be executed with what you called "the mercy of a knight"?*

A: *I have heard from Lieutenant Urabe that Lieutenant General Kou ordered it in such a manner.*

Q: *And did that, in your opinion, include other methods of execution than beheading?*

A: *What I heard from Lieutenant Urabe is that the order was to decapitate or bayonet and not to let the prisoners of war suffer.*

Q: *Now, isn't it a fact in Japan it is considered an honorable way to die by being beheaded?*

A: *As I recall, this decapitation is one way to relieve a person. In other words, when a person is suffering and is close to death they are decapitated to relieve them from suffering.*

Q: *It wasn't the custom in Japan or in the Japanese Army to relieve a person from suffering by bayoneting him, was it?*

A: *In Japan, bayoneting is considered in connection with the knights. Also, in the Army it depends on the time and occasion*

when the bayonet would be used to execute.

(Proceedings of a Military Commission, p. 754)

One part of Wada's testimony about his own actions on the night of the execution of the 15 POWs was of particular interest:

Q: *. . . Now, I want you to tell this Commission, and you can go into detail on this, everything you did on this particular day and this particular night—the day and night of the execution.*

A: *Lieutenant Urabe told me that the sick prisoners of war were to be sent to Manila Hospital so he told me to select these prisoners of war. . . .*

Q: *After you were told by Lieutenant Urabe to perform a mission, what did you do?*

A: *I don't recall exactly what time it was but it was still day time. I first went to this provincial jail and met Lieutenant Colonel Englehart and asked him how many wounded and sick prisoners of war were in that jail. When I inquired about these wounded and sick prisoners of war I was referring to the very serious patients who would have to receive medical treatment in Bilibid Hospital. There Lieutenant Englehart consulted with the prisoner of war medical officer and told me there were three very serious sick prisoners of war. I received the list of names of these seriously sick prisoners of war. Then I went to this theater which was about one mile from this jail. I don't think I met Colonel Beecher at that time. However, the person I met was the senior prisoner of war officer who was at Bilibid. It may have been because of the shock he received at Olongapo but he didn't seem to understand what I was trying to say. Therefore I called another medical officer. There I told this medical officer that twelve very serious sick prisoners of war were to be sent to Manila to the Bilibid Hospital for treatment and asked him to select them. At that time I don't recall whether I told him to have a physically fit medical doctor attend with them.*

Q: *Well, did they select any sick prisoners of war from the theater and turn them over to you?*

A: *Yes.*

(Proceedings of a Military Commission, p. 787)

It was of interest because of some handwritten marks on this page of the transcript. In the right-hand margin, two names, **Joses** and **Hayes**, were written next to the sentence, "However, the person I met was the senior prisoner of war officer who was at Bilibid." In the left-hand margin, there was a bracket around the sentences, "Therefore I called another medical officer. There I told this medical officer that twelve very serious sick prisoners of war were to be sent to Manila to the Bilibid Hospital for treatment and asked him to select them" with the word "**me**" written beside the bracket. If these words were written by Grandfather, it means that he had an unwitting hand in choosing the men who died later that night.

What was the role of Wada, the official interpreter?

In the opening statement of the prosecution on March 11, 1947, there was the following paragraph:

> The Commission will also note that the specifications against Wada are almost parallel with those against Toshino. This was done because the Prosecution intends to prove that although Wada's official position was that of a civilian interpreter, his authority, powers, and activities were those of an administrative assistant to the Guard Commander; that he had the assimilated rank of a commissioned officer, wore a military uniform with insignia of rank and enjoyed all the privileges of commissioned rank so far as quarters, mess and authority and respect were concerned; that he actually had the authority to and did issue orders and grant or deny requests of the Prisoners on his own responsibility. The evidence will show that Toshino remained for the most part quite aloof from the Prisoners, leaving the dirty work to the able hands of Mr. Wada.
>
> (Proceedings of a Military Commission, p. 15)

It is clear from the transcript of this trial that the POWs had more contact with Wada than with any other member of the escort guard. He supervised the work of the other guards and received and replied to the prisoners' requests. In the charges against Wada, Specifications 1–7 and 9–15 contained the phrase "by refusing on his own responsibility and neglecting and refusing to transmit to his superiors requests for . . . ." During the trial, an effort was made to determine how much authority he actually had. Perhaps

the most useful information about this came from the testimonies of Toshino and the guard Aihara. According to Toshino:

Q: *Lieutenant Toshino, during the course of this trial there have been constant references to Wada directing the loading of the prisoners aboard the Oryoku Maru and directing the transfer of the prisoners at Takao and directing the prisoners off the boat at Moji. Now, were these things done under your orders or by Wada on his own initiative?*

A: ***Interpreter Wada had no authority to order anyone.*** *I passed him the orders and he merely carried out as to the directing. However, he could not even direct the guards or the soldiers. The only persons he could direct are the prisoners of war. The orders and directions pertaining to the prisoners of war would have to be explained.*

Q: *Where did these orders and directions come from?*

A: *As for this order, I passed all the orders. And there was a time when I directly contacted Colonel Beecher through Interpreter Wada and passed the order down. There were other occasions when Wada would carry my order and pass it to Colonel Beecher himself and in turn Colonel Beecher would pass the order down to the prisoner of war senior officers.*

(Proceedings of a Military Commission, p. 719; emphasis added)

In SCAP File No. 014.13, Aihara was described as "the most hated guard at Cabanatuan. The prisoners nicknamed him 'Air Raid,' and he was said to have been very vicious." While he was on the stand, he was cross-examined about inconsistencies in his written and oral statements. This section of his testimony included some information about Wada and Toshino:

Q: *You were then asked, "We know all through the trip, right up to Moji, Wada took responsibility on himself and gave orders to the soldiers; that is true, isn't it?" To which you replied, "We treated Wada as an officer. . . . He gave us orders and we listened to him as an officer." Is that correct?*

A: *No, I did not mention anything that we received direct orders from Wada for what I meant was that the order that was given down from Toshino was carried out by Wada. . . . We treated*

Wada and respected him because he was older than the rest of us. Another thing I would like to mention is that Wada was the one that directly contacted the prisoners of war. This, he had to do because Lieutenant Toshino did not contact with the prisoners of war. This is the reason why the prisoners of war misunderstood that they thought Wada was giving the orders. . . .

Q: *You were asked, at the same time and place, "As a matter of fact, throughout the entire voyage Wada gave you more orders than Toshino did, didn't he?" To which you replied, "Yes, instead of receiving orders from Lieutenant Toshino we would rather have them from Wada because we didn't like Toshino. He used to stay up on the bridge so I didn't see him so much, so whenever Wada gave an order we would think it was directly from Toshino." Is that right?*

A: *Yes.*

(Proceedings of a Military Commission, pp. 664–665)

In his manuscript, Grandfather never offered a direct opinion of Wada's English ability or of his character. He did, however, refer to Wada by name three times, and two of those times he used a certain phrase, "a Mr. Watta [*sic*]," the nuance being that he did not admire him. During the trial, three of the former POWs who testified were specifically asked questions about Wada's language ability, and they all said that his English was difficult to understand and sometimes he spoke quite rudely to them. According to Mr. Threatt, a civilian prisoner of war who had been captured at the fall of Bataan:

Q: *And Wada would talk to the group commanders in the English language, wouldn't he?*

A: *He would talk to the group commanders in English—usually it took another interpreter to interpret what he said, though.*

Q: *Are you trying to tell this Commission that Wada's English is not understandable?*

A: *That that he used with us was atrocious.*

Q: *And you testified that Colonel Beecher had many conversations with Wada; you have testified that others had many conversations with Wada. Do you mean to say now that they had difficulty in understanding his English?*

A: *Colonel Beecher and the other commanders always had one of the POW interpreters near; they possibly could understand what Mr. Wada said, I don't know. I only speak for the conversations I heard.*
Q: *Mr. Threatt, do you mean to say that when Wada was talking with Colonel Beecher that either Mr. Bolney or Mr. Lynch was always present?*
A: *Mr. Bolney and Mr. Lynch—I would not say that Mr. Bolney or Mr. Lynch were always present but either Bolney, Lynch, Major Pyzick or Colonel Englehart or one of the other interpreters was usually with him.*
Q: *In what language during these times would Wada speak?*
A: *He spoke in English but if something came up which he couldn't put over in English he would turn to the American interpreter and tell him in Japanese.*

(Proceedings of a Military Commission, p. 244)

Captain Mittenthal, who had been captured on Bataan and endured the Death March, said the following about Wada on the Oryoku Maru after the bombing:

Q: *Did the men at that time shout up to him for aid?*
A: *The only thing I heard the men holler up was asking for food and water and what he would say was "Shut up—I don't care if you all die."*

(Proceedings of a Military Commission, p. 254)

Schwartz, the doctor from the U.S. Army Medical Corps who amputated Specht's arm on the tennis court at Olongapo, reported the following about Wada after evacuating the Oryoku Maru:

Q: *What were Wada's activities at that time?*
A: *Wada appeared at the tennis court several times daily; at each of his appearances, requests were made to him with no results. The morning after the first night on the tennis court, Colonel Beecher and I interviewed Mr. Wada at his first appearance at the tennis court. We talked to him through the wire netting near the entrance to the tennis court. Colonel Beecher described our crowd-*

> *ed conditions on the tennis court, which were very evident, he described the terrific cold we had endured the previous night, laying on the concrete of the tennis court, requested food since we had had nothing to eat for over 36 hours, and requested clothes. I, in turn, requested that the sick and wounded be evacuated to a hospital, or failing in that, we be issued medical supplies which at that time had been completely exhausted. Mr. Wada said that many medical supplies had been on board the ship but had been sunk with the ship; he said that we had to wait where we were until they received instructions from Manila and then tore into a tirade about our lot being the result of our own American bombers. This statement I heard innumerable times from him. His attitude and demeanor was very unsympathetic and hostile.*
>
> (Proceedings of a Military Commission, p. 358)

Compare this to the testimony of Colonel Montgomery, who had known Wada at Davao Penal Colony in somewhat calmer circumstances. He testified that Wada was on good terms there with a Colonel Olson:

> Q: *Can you tell this Commission whether or not Colonel Olson and Wada were very good friends?*
>
> A: *That requires some additional explanation. . . . Colonel Olson and Wada got along very well; Wada on occasions gave Colonel Olson some presents in the form of food, cigarettes and occasionally candy. Now, I don't say that classifies Olson as a good friend of Wada but Wada showed kindness to Olson on occasions. Now, I was Colonel Olson's adjutant and from time to time we discussed the matter of Olson and Wada and he thought it was expedient for the benefit of the camp for him to keep on good terms with Wada. . . .*
>
> (Proceedings of a Military Commission, p. 173)

In SCAP File No. 014.13, Wada was described as "merciless in his dealings with the prisoners, they received absolutely no consideration at all." Yet, towards the end of the trial, the Defense was able to call one witness who introduced as evidence three letters in support of Wada. The witness was Dr. Bunce, an American who had known Wada in his hometown of Matsuyama on the island of Shikoku for about three years from 1936 to

1939. He said:

Q: *Do you know Mr. Wada's general reputation insofar as honesty, integrity and peaceful character are concerned?*
A: *Yes, I think I do.*
Q: *Will you please state that to the Commission?*
A: *In Matsuyama and Shikoku Wada had an excellent reputation. He was well known to the foreign community in Matsuyama and was commonly referred to as the "Foreigners' Friend".*

(Proceedings of a Military Commission, p. 840)

Dr. Bunce also read out the three letters in court. The first two were from Lieutenant Colonel Lentz, who was in the U.S. Army Medical Corps and who knew Wada when he was an interpreter at Bilibid prisoner of war camp in 1942 and later at Zentsuji Camp in Shikoku, where Colonel Lentz was later held, in April or May of 1945. In his official letter for the court, Lieutenant Colonel Lentz described his dealings with Wada and said that he had "a high regard for him as a gentleman." In his personal letter to Dr. Bunce, he wrote:

> . . . I feel very much as you do regarding Mr. Wada, as he was always kind to me. As far as I know, everything he is charged with concerns his position as interpreter on that ill-fated December ship 1944, from Manila to Japan, which was bombed and sunk twice, plus overcrowding, inadequate ventilation, food, water, medical supplies, medical care, and disposal of the dead. . . . I personally feel that he was caught, as one of the misfortunes of war, in a "hell of a situation" between one Toshino and a large shipment of POWs. I project myself to ask, "What would I do under the circumstances?". . . Give Mr. Wada my best regards and best wishes. I am also enclosing a dollar bill, hoping you can send him a carton of cigarettes or something.
>
> (Proceedings of a Military Commission, p. 842)

The third letter was from Dr. and Mrs. Gulick of Chicago, Illinois, who had known Wada in Matsuyama when they lived there from 1926 to 1937, while Dr. Gulick was the principal of the Matsuyama Night School. It said:

> . . . All of his actions and words were clearly indicative of genuine and straight-forward helpfulness, so that he was welcome in other American and English homes besides our own. In fact, Mr. Wada put himself out to give aid to foreigners in their negotiations with the local authorities, even at a time when to do so meant ostracism by his Japanese friends for helping potential enemies.
>
> Wada never showed himself aggressive nor argumentative and was unusually self-effacing, even for a Japanese. We point this out because if he has seemed to have committed war crimes, we believe that this very timid nature would make him readily follow out orders which he would shun if left to his own tendencies. . . .
>
> This affidavit is presented on our own volition in certifying to the many years of knowledge concerning Shusuke Wada, of his unimpeachable character during that time, and his helpfulness to English-speaking people. . . .
>
> (Proceedings of a Military Commission, p. 844)

When Wada took the stand toward the end of the trial, we learned that he had gone to a business school in Matsuyama, worked for the prefectural government for about ten years, then for an export-import company in Kobe for about five years, and his family consisted of a stepmother, a wife, and two children. In June 1942, when he was 37 years old, he had gotten a job as a civilian translator with the Imperial Japanese Army. In several references in English, including Weller (1945) and Glusman (2005), Wada is described as "a hunchback." Grandfather never mentioned a physical deformity, and the photograph of him online on Yahoo! Images, probably taken at the time of the trial, shows him from the front seated behind a desk or podium. When we tried to confirm this point with a researcher at the Military Archives at the National Institute for Defense Studies in Tokyo, we received a very polite reply, but no answer to the question, perhaps because this was considered a breach of privacy. Wada testified that he had applied for the position of interpreter with the Japanese Imperial Army, and it is possible he did this because his size and shape may have made him ineligible for the draft, which was taking men up to the age of 40 during the war.

Wada testified that he had not refused or neglected to transmit any requests for "adequate quarters, food, drinking water, ventilation, sanitation and hygienic facilities, medical attention, and reasonable protection from the hazards of war" from the prisoners of war to Toshino, his superior offi-

cer (Proceedings of a Military Commission p. 792), but he did admit to having struck some prisoners as punishment (Specification 16 of the charges against him):

Q: *There is one thing I want you to tell this Commission about. In Takao Harbor, I believe aboard the Enoura Maru, did you slap any prisoner of war?*
A: *Yes, there is one time.*
Q: *Tell about it.*
A: *While on the Enoura Maru the lower hold was loaded with sugar, and the prisoners of war were in the 'tween deck. I went through these holds at various times and I was informed by the chief mate that the prisoners of war were stealing sugar. I think at that time Sergeant Hattori and Lieutenant Toshino were not aboard the ship that day. I told Colonel Beecher that the prisoners of war were stealing sugar and I was told by the chief mate. This was repeated several times. Later, Colonel Beecher told me that he would place a sentry by the sugar. But even though again the chief mate caught prisoners stealing sugar and informed me. Then I told Colonel Beecher again I was informed by the chief mate and was scolded again by the chief mate. However, this stealing of sugar was still continuing. There Colonel Beecher told me he could not do any more. I knew if this kept up the prisoners would be punished by the chief mate or the ship's crew, and I knew that I did not have any authority to punish these prisoners of war but I called three prisoners of war who were caught by the chief mate and punished them by bringing them up to the hatch board and I made them sit there and told them if they were taken care of by the chief mate or other ship crew I did not know what type of punishment they would receive, therefore I did take it on my own and there I slapped each prisoner of war two times and made them sit there approximately thirty minutes. During this time I was straightening out these identification cards on top of the hatch board with Pyzick. Later, when Lieutenant Toshino came back I informed him about the incident and he scolded me and also told me not to strike the prisoners of war. I know I made a mistake and the chief mate was satisfied.*

(Proceedings of a Military Commission p. 793)

This story is similar to one Grandfather told in his manuscript. That incidence of stealing sugar from the lower hold happened on the Brazil Maru on the last leg of the journey from Takao Harbor, Formosa, to Moji, Japan. In that case, Wada threatened the prisoners with withholding food and water until he found out who had been stealing the sugar. The two prisoners who volunteered to take the blame had to stand at attention for a long period of time and were given lectures and beaten, and they later died, but Grandfather did not specify who actually had given them the physical punishment.

If Wada had sought out the company of foreigners in Matsuyama such as Dr. Bunce and Dr. and Mrs. Gulick, he must have been somewhat unusual for his time and place. He seems to have gotten along well with the foreign community in Matsuyama before the war, but during the war, as an interpreter for the Imperial Japanese Army, he seems to have been unable to establish much of a rapport with the POWs.

Karen: "Don't shoot the messenger," meaning one should not blame the person who brings bad news, is a saying known to most speakers of English. Essentially, the job of an interpreter is to be a messenger who relays news and information, both good and bad, from one group to another when they do not share a common language. I have never worked as an official interpreter, but as a part of my job at universities in Japan, I have had opportunities to act as a liaison between speakers of Japanese and speakers of English on school business, and I have learned that it is imperative for the person acting as a liaison to remain calm at all times. It has sometimes been hard work, but it has never involved the life-or-death matters that an interpreter would experience during wartime, and I have always been able to rest at the end of the day. I try to put myself in Wada's shoes in that situation—one interpreter versus a group of bruised, battered, weary, starving, frustrated, and angry men who knew about the provisions for prisoners of war laid out in the Third Geneva Convention of 1929 and were helplessly watching their fellow POWs die in increasing numbers, with imperfect language skills, no downtime, and only pressure from his superior to get something done in an impossible situation—and as jobs go, I can only imagine how stressful it must have been. As Colonel Lentz said, Wada must have been in a "hell of a situation," but he clearly stepped outside the standard job description of an interpreter when he raised his hand against the POWs.

Death Certificates

In both his manuscript and in his official deposition, Grandfather mentioned the more than 1,000 death certificates with the individual's name, rank, and date of death written in English, but everything else written only in Japanese, that he was required to sign a few days after his arrival in Moji, Japan. At the beginning of the trial, on March 13, 1947, his affidavit about these death certificates was received in evidence as Prosecution's Exhibit No. 58. Later in the trial, however, the testimony of Dr. Schwartz revealed the existence of other death certificates as well:

Q: *By the way, while you were on the tennis court did you sign any death certificates?*
A: *On one occasion Mr. Wada brought a stack of death certificates. The number of which I would guess to be 250 and gave them to me to be signed in blank, which I did. . . .*
Q: *Was that the only time that you signed death certificates prior to arrival at Moji?*
A: *Yes.*

(Proceedings of a Military Commission p. 361)

After arrival in Moji, Dr. Schwartz was asked to sign another stack of death certificates:

Q: *About this time did you sign any death certificates? "Yes" or "No."*
A: *Mr. Wada, accompanied by some Japanese guard, brought over to me approximately 1,000 plain death certificates with instructions for me to sign them. I started in signing them and it was his idea that I was signing them too slowly and he removed about half of them and took them over to Major Williams, also in the Medical Corps, who signed the remainder.*

(Proceedings of a Military Commission p. 372)

In the cross examination of Dr. Schwartz the topic of death certificates came up again:

Q: *Now, at Moji, I believe you stated you signed about 500 death*

certificates and Major Williams signed the other 500; is that correct?

A: *That is correct.*

Q: *Were those the only death certificates signed at Moji?*

A: *To the best of my knowledge they were.*

Q: *Now, were you the senior medical officer among the prisoners of war?*

A: *At the time of our departure from Manila, Colonel Craig and Colonel Sullivan were both senior to me. When we arrived at Moji, Colonel Craig had already died and Colonel Sullivan was in a very critical condition and died a few days later.*

Q: *Do you have any explanation as to why you neglected in your affidavit of September 16, 1945, mentioning these death certificates?*

A: *I think I have previously explained that—the affidavit I submitted is not a very detailed account of our trip.*

Q: *I have in my hand Prosecution's Exhibit No. 58, made by Lieutenant Commander Carey Miller Smith, on the last page of which he states, "As senior surviving naval medical officer at the hospital, I was required to sign more than 1,000 death certificates which were brought to me by Mr. Wada, which certificates were written in Japanese." To your knowledge, did Lieutenant Commander Carey Miller Smith sign any death certificates?*

A: *This is the first I have heard of that incident. Of course, Commander Smith and I were at different camps.*

Q: *I have in my hand some 1,000 death certificates all of which were signed by Commander Smith and which were filed with the Prisoner of War Information Bureau; do you have any explanation to make as to why you would be required together with Major Williams to sign 1,000 of the certificates when these certificates were the ones which were filed with the Prisoner of War Information Bureau?. . .*

A: *I can't explain that. The thousand death certificates, approximately a thousand that Major Williams and I signed were not the type death certificates as I see there. The ones we signed were about probably one and a half times that size, were a printed form, were printed in English, and were signed in blank. There was no Japanese writing on them.*

Q: *Then as I understand it, you are not able to state whether any official use was made by Mr. Wada or Lieutenant Toshino of the certificates signed by you and Major Williams.*
A: *That is correct.*
(Proceedings of a Military Commission pp. 386-387)

One last point about the death certificates is the discrepancy between the cause of death listed on them in Japanese and the actual cause of death as remembered by Dr. Schwartz. He was recalled to the stand at a later time during the trial and asked to look at a list of names of prisoners of war who had died during the journey from the Philippines to Japan. He was asked to find the names of men he knew personally and whose cause of death he could confirm. An interpreter then read the cause of death listed on the death certificates for these men so they could be compared. Here is one example:

A: *This is the death certificate of Portz, Warner P.; he was a commander; I know he died on the Enoura Maru, approximately 6 January 1945 of dysentery, of malnutrition, and dehydration.*
Q: *Will the interpreter now state what the certificate states?*
Q: *Look at it and see what the cause of death is as entered there on that death certificate—the purported cause of death.*
Interpreter: *According to this death certificate it shows that Commander Portz, Warner P. United States Navy, had died of wounds received from bombing—bomb shrapnel; died aboard the Enoura Maru, the date, 7 January 1945.*
Q: *Is that signed by some Japanese official?*
Interpreter: *It does not bear any Japanese official's name, just the signature of Commander Smith.*
(Proceedings of a Military Commission p. 402)

Death certificates for a total of 13 men were examined, all with discrepancies as to the cause of death. Among the names were Eugene Specht, whose arm was amputated by Dr. Schwartz on the tennis court in Olongapo, and Ulysses J. L. Peoples, Jr., who was executed at the cemetery in San Fernando, Pampanga, in December 1944, and for both men the cause of death was listed as "wounds received in the bombing of the Oryoku Maru." Enough about death certificates.

The Verdict

All charges against Captain Kajiyama Shin, the ship master of the Brazil Maru, were dropped midway through the trial on April 9, 1947, when the Prosecution finished its case. On the morning of May 9, 1947, at Yokohama Courthouse, the findings against the other eight men were read:

- Toshino Junsaburo—18 specifications; guilty of 9. Sentence: to be hanged by the neck until dead.
- Aihara Kazutane—5 specifications; guilty of 4. Sentence: to be hanged by the neck until dead.
- Wada Shusuke—16 specifications; guilty of 8. Sentence: to be confined at hard labor for the term of his natural life.
- Tanoue Suketoshi—1 specification; guilty of 1. Sentence: to be confined at hard labor for twenty-five years.
- Ueda Jiro—1 specification; guilty of 1. Sentence: to be confined at hard labor for twenty years.
- Hattori Sho—4 specifications; guilty of 1. Sentence: to be confined at hard labor for ten years.
- Kobayashi Risaku—1 specification; not guilty of 1. No sentence.
- Yoshida Hisao—1 specification; not guilty of 1. No sentence.

In the testimony at this trial, it was noted that Lieutenant Urabe, who had worked under General Kou, the main camp commandant in Manila, and delivered the order to Toshino about the execution of the 15 POWs at San Fernando, Pampanga, in December 1944, was already dead. We asked a researcher at the Military Archives of the National Institute for Defense Studies in Tokyo where, when, and how he died, but were politely told that this information could only be made available to family members; as with the question about Wada, it was considered a privacy issue. In the testimony, it also came out that at another trial, in March 1946, General Kou had been sentenced to death by hanging for having ordered the transfer of this draft of approximately 1,619 American prisoners of war from the Philippine Islands to Japan and failing in his duties and responsibilities to protect them from mistreatment, abuse, neglect, and the hazards of war.

Epilogue

Karen: World War II, an all-out struggle for power on an epic scale, was a turning point in the lives of everyone who experienced it. After the war was over, people were left with military statistics, environmental destruction, social upheaval, and many, many individual stories that showed the best and worst of human behavior. Eventually, the buildings were rebuilt, the plants grew back, and people got on with their lives again, but the stories remain to help us remember that (to borrow the words on the Marianas Memorial) "our destiny is not ours to design."

When I think about Ojisan's story, especially after visiting the island of Saipan and Fort McCoy in Wisconsin, some new questions come to mind:

- What kind of experience did he have on the Imperial Army transport ship to Saipan?
- Did he ever enjoy a night out in Garapan?
- After the arrival of the Americans, did he ever stand on the top of Mount Tapotchao and see the whole island ringed with ships?
- Did he kill anyone in the battle?
- Why didn't he use his grenade either before he was captured, or at that critical moment, as he had been taught to do?
- And why, so many years later, would he still not allow his real name to be used?

Toward me, Ojisan has always been mild-mannered, friendly, and perfectly natural in his behavior, and I am glad that he chose life over death on Saipan. I could tell that he never would have thought of leaving his birth-

place if he had not been caught up in the whirlwind of events at that time, and I always wondered how much his desire to be as inconspicuous as possible after his return from the war was due to the fact that he did not die in spite of his training, or the fact that he dared to return to his home.

Grandfather left behind a detailed record of his wartime POW experiences, but there are still a few questions that I would like to ask him, too:

- How did he manage to survive in the camps, and what sustained him during his years as a POW?
- What did he think about some of the still-controversial issues related to Japan that he did not mention, but come up in other accounts: the activities of Unit 731 in Manchuria and the "comfort women"—the Japanese euphemism for the women who worked in their military brothels.
- And, what were his personal opinions about two important decisions made by the U.S. government: to use atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945 and to retain, rather than punish, the emperor after the war.

Grandfather lived from 1896 to 1984 and experienced an extraordinary amount of social, political, economic, and technological change during his lifetime. His was the generation that went from traveling by horse and buggy to automobiles and rockets to the moon, and along the way, experienced two World Wars and the Great Depression. His father was a dirt farmer in Illinois, and Grandfather was the second-youngest of eight children. According to family lore, Grandfather worked hard to learn to read and write when he was young. Unlike Ojisan, he apparently never wanted to stay on the farm, and he joined the U.S. Army in World War I. Because of his ability to spell words correctly, he was given a noncombat position as a typist; in later years, he jokingly referred to himself as a "Chocolate Soldier" in that war.[75]

Things were different for him in World War II, and he was extremely lucky to have survived. Somehow he did, though, and he returned to his home in San Diego, California, to pick up the threads of his life. He ended up with a total of ten grandchildren, all living in the area, and by the time I was born, six years after the end of the war, the people who had lived through it were focused on the future rather than dwelling on the past. He did not talk much about the war, but occasionally he would start a sentence with "When I was in prison . . ." or refer to things like "playing cricket"

(meaning "I cut this piece of food; you choose first"). If anybody asked him about the war, he would just say something like "They did their job; I did mine." In retrospect, I would now describe his attitude as "objective," almost "Olympian," and not at all mean-spirited.

Though I lived in the same city and saw him throughout the year, to me, he was a somewhat distant figure who was always busy with his work as a doctor, his bowling team, and with repairs on various properties he owned around the city. For several years in a row in the 1960s, he surprised the grandchildren by dressing up as Santa Claus at Smith family Christmas parties, and probably for most of us, that is our favorite memory of him. It wasn't until junior high school, when I first read his manuscript, that I had any idea what he had been through. And now, after visiting the places where he was in the Philippines, Taiwan, and China and getting a much clearer picture of the pain and the horror, I can only be amazed that he came through World War II relatively unscathed and wonder what he really thought of us, his spoiled postwar grandchildren with our petty squabbles.

Kenzo: This is something that happened in May 1998 on a street in London near Buckingham Palace: As a form of protest, a group of elderly British ex-POWs turned their backs on the carriage in which the current Japanese emperor, Akihito, son of the war-time emperor, Hirohito, was riding with Queen Elizabeth II. I saw a photo of this incident in the newspaper around the time we were preparing *GI Spoon Yonhaibun no Kometsubu* for publication. More than a half century had passed since the end of the war, but some of the British ex-POWs carried placards that said, "No compensation, no visit." What did this mean?

During World War II, 142,317 British POWs were held by the Germans and Italians; of these 7,310 (5.1%) died before the end of the war. On the other hand, about 50,016 British POWs were held by the Japanese; of these 12,433 (24.8%) died during the war. This data was used at the Tokyo Tribunal as evidence of the brutality of the Japanese military. From these figures, it cannot be denied that the way the Japanese military treated the POWs was harsh.

The Third Geneva Convention of 1929, which protected the rights of POWs, was a proud point for mankind to reach. Though before World War II, Japan signed the 1929 Geneva Convention, it never ratified it, so there was some distance between Japan and the international community on this matter. The reason is that the military teaching in Japan didn't allow for sur-

render or being taken prisoner, so many parts of the 1929 Geneva Convention were inconvenient for Japan. "Choose to die so as not to be captured" was one of the basic rules of the *Senjinkun*, the Army Field Service Code, and because of that strict teaching, few Japanese soldiers, sailors, and officers became prisoners. If Japan had ratified the treaty, Japan would get hardly any benefit, and it was thought that caring for POWs from other countries was an unreasonable expense for Japan to shoulder. In other words, with the POWs, Japan went its own way and acted according to its own policy. At the Tokyo Tribunal, the prosecutor declared, "In the statement in the court, Japan's policy was to use only the parts of the Geneva Convention that were convenient, and prisoners had no rights" (Utsumi, 2014).

Japanese who did become prisoners were surprised when they were treated by their captors in more or less humane ways that accorded with the 1929 Geneva Convention, and Ojisan told us about his feelings of admiration for an enemy who could do this. On the other hand, the British ex-POWs received inhumane treatment from the Japanese, and they had been used as slave labor during the war by the Japanese military-industrial machine. Those who had survived were not satisfied with the standard answer that "all issues had been settled by the 1952 San Francisco Peace Treaty," and they turned their backs because they still wanted both an apology and compensation.

Ojisan was captured in a cave on "Suicide Island" Saipan in July 1944 in a fuzzy state of mind due to injuries, lack of food, and general ill health. He thought he would surely be tortured and then killed on the spot, but contrary to his expectations, he was taken to a field hospital, where his body was wiped with alcohol and his wounds were treated by the hospital staff. Then he was taken to a POW camp in Hawaii, where he was given a breakfast that seemed to him like a meal in a first-class hotel, and he was impressed by the officer who interviewed him. The Japanese POWs were in a sad and depressed state because they were ashamed of being prisoners, but the intelligence officers tried to help them recover their energy and restore their spirits.

By chance, one of those officers in Hawaii was the young Navy Ensign Otis Cary, whose American Culture and History class I took at Doshisha University in Kyoto in 1968. This university has a strong connection with Amherst College in Massachusetts, where its founder, Niijima Jo, had studied. Otis Cary's grandfather knew Niijima at Amherst and later moved to Japan to teach at Doshisha. Otis Cary's parents worked as missionaries in

Japan, and Otis Cary himself was born and grew up there. In 1941, he went to the U.S. Navy Language School, where he was one of the 1,100 men who were trained to serve as Japanese interrogators, translators, and interpreters after the attack on Pearl Harbor. From February 1943, he was stationed at Pearl Harbor, and he would have been there when Ojisan arrived and known the officer who interviewed him. Otis Cary's years in Japan and his deep understanding of the language and the culture made him a sympathetic, knowledgeable, and effective intelligence officer, and after the war, he had a long career as a professor at Doshisha University.

The point of view of American ex-POW Doctor Smith was different from that of the British ex-POWs who protested the emperor's visit to London in 1998. His idea that "they did their job; I did mine" helped him settle his mind, adjust to postwar life, and overcome negative feelings. On the day I visited his house in 1973, he welcomed me warmly. He repeated a few Japanese words related to medical treatment and body parts that he remembered from his wartime experience: *houtai* (bandage), *nankou* (ointment), *kata* (shoulder), and *koshi* (waist and hips), and he said to me, "Individual Japanese are polite and well-mannered, but Japanese in an organized group. . . ." He grimaced and then continued, "I don't have any mind to hate individual Japanese. I know that they didn't have much food in Japan. I don't hate individual Japanese," stressing the word "individual." He was almost talking to himself. When I heard this, I felt that he, as a former POW, was forgiving me as an individual Japanese.

Why was it possible for Doctor Smith to be tolerant of individual Japanese? The reason is, he had the heart of a doctor. During the war, as a surgeon, he treated not only American patients, but Filipino, Russian, and Japanese prisoner-patients as well. In his report, he wrote about the admiration he had for Dr. Ooki as a doctor and as a man because it made no difference to him what rank or nationality they were; "to him they were patients whether they were American, British, Australian, Dutch or Japanese." Doctor Smith realized he had found a person who thought the same way he did, and nationality didn't matter.

From the time of the fall of Bataan and Corregidor in 1942, when Doctor Smith was captured, until the end of the war, his wife Marjorie lived in a state of uncertainty. She did not know where he was or whether he was dead or alive. She wasn't able to receive proper military family support payments because he was "missing," and she had to take care of their home and three children by herself. I have heard that the family ate a lot of cornmeal mush

and cheaper meats like mutton during this time. Early in the war, there was also the threat that, after attacking Pearl Harbor, the Japanese would try to invade California, and then came the news about the mistreatment of American POWs in the Philippines, which must have caused her great anxiety.

In the case of my own mother, she worried about her brother, Ojisan, but she always knew where my father was and that he was alive. During the war, she was busy helping to make soy sauce at the Takizawa family soy sauce factory, she had only one child to take care of, and unlike Marjorie, who was far from her family in Illinois, my mother lived near family members in an agricultural area where there was always enough food to eat. Toward the end of the war, there was a fear that their village would be bombed by the Americans, but that never actually happened. People who lived through the war in Japan always say that they had a really hard time, but I can see that American women had a hard time, too.

The medals and honors Doctor Smith received after the war were not kept in a prominent place in the main house, but on the second floor of another building on their property that contained the garage, a workshop, and a recreation room with a pool table. In my way of thinking, this indicates that for the couple, their feelings about these honors, which were won at great personal cost, were really complicated, and recently, I heard a story about the Smith family that reinforces that impression. Karen's father, Marjorie's son Richard, had a collection of weapons that he bought in various places the family visited in Asia and the Pacific in 1940, and he hung some of them up on the wall of his room in San Diego, including a bow and arrow, a boomerang, and a Japanese officer's sword from the war that someone had given him. Soon after he left home in 1946 to attend the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland, Marjorie took them down and threw them away because she did not want to look at war-related things in her house. Apparently, the sanitation worker whose job it was to collect the trash from in front of their house that day saw these items in the garbage can, rang the doorbell, and asked her if they had been put out by mistake. She took the weapons back quietly at that time, but she threw them into the garbage can again soon after that.

Some things are never forgotten, and some wounds never heal.

Acknowledgments

First of all, I would like to thank the principal characters in this story, my grandfather and Kenzo's uncle, for the sacrifices they made in World War II and for leaving their stories behind. There was a line on p. 1 of my grandfather's manuscript that has always impressed me—Such are the fortunes of war—and I have kept it in mind as I have visited World War II battlegrounds, prison camps, and museums for this project. The twists and quirks of fate in the course of war, as well as life, are sometimes quite inexplicable.

Next, I would like to thank the following people who helped us along the way: in the Philippines, our guides (Dennis in Manila, Armand in Corregidor, Ed in Subic Bay, and Roselle in Bataan); in Taiwan, Jeff Juang and Wu Tsu-jung of the Taiwan Veterans' Museum in the War and Peace Park on Chijin Island in Kaohsiung, Taiwan, for their assistance and advice and for the much-appreciated lunch, Michael Hurst of the Taiwan POW Camps Memorial Society for the time he spent on the phone telling me about the Hellships Memorials in Kaohsiung, Subic Bay, and Honolulu, and Arimitsu Ken of Tokyo for graciously allowing us to join his private tour; in China, Sun Jhong-mei, the director of the Shenyang Allied POW Camp of WWII Site Museum, for the time she spent with us on the day of our visit; on the California Zephyr, Lonnie White, our efficient sleeping car attendant, and in Wisconsin, Linda Fournier for the excellent tour of Fort McCoy that she gave us on a cold and rainy day. Also, in Japan, the members of the POW Research Network Japan and Wada Tomoyuki, a researcher at the National Institute for Defense Studies, for their help with this project.

For several decades, I was out of touch with members of my generation in the extended Smith family, as we went our separate ways after growing

up to seek our fortunes in the wide, wide world. The eldest of my cousins, Bedel Richard Mack, stayed in San Diego and worked for many years for the S*an Diego Union-Tribune*. His untimely death in 2007, shortly after his retirement, started off a chain of events that led to several unexpected reconnections. At a party on one of my visits to San Diego, just in passing, I asked my friends Sharon and Carl Larsen, who also wrote for the *Union-Tribune*, if they had known Bedel. It was a surprise to discover that Bedel had been a kind of mentor to Carl in his early days at the newspaper, and Carl reconnected me with Bedel's widow, Suzanne Marie Mack. She in turn reconnected me with my cousin Janice (Jani) Armstrong Gray, who reconnected me with our cousin Kathleen Mack Hastings, who introduced me to Don Harrold, a newly-discovered Smith family relation. For me, this has all been wonderful.

Thanks to this project and to my rediscovered connections, I have had the chance to talk in depth about family history with my brother Gary Richard Smith and my cousins Jani and Kathleen. I can see that all three of them spent more time with our grandfather while we were growing up and knew him better than I did, so their insights and information have been invaluable. For my sons Kiyoshi and Mikio, it has been a chance to learn about their family history, and along the way, they have provided opinions and much-needed technical help. Two other people who need to be mentioned here are my nephew Nathan Richard Smith, who contributed the section on his experiences in the military, and my friend Terri Peterson Reed, whose insightful comments and useful suggestions have improved this book as a whole. Grandfather himself might well be surprised that I am the one who is putting this story down on paper, but the forty-some years I have spent in Japan and the fact that my husband's uncle also had a POW experience have given me a personal interest in the topic, motivation for understanding the differences in the pre- and postwar behavior of the people I have lived among for so long, and a desire to preserve these stories for future generations.

It has been a joy working on this project over the years with my husband Kenzo Takizawa, first on our book *GI Spoon Yonhaibun no Kometsubu* (1999) and then on this one, the updated and expanded English version. In some of the countries we visited in Asia, he may have felt something like I would feel if I ever visit Vietnam, an unavoidable and overwhelming sense that, though I was not personally responsible, I am still a citizen of a country that behaved in a very questionable manner in that place. For both of us,

it has been a time of both soul-searching and growth.

Finally, special thanks go to the Ikedas at Union Press for making this book a reality, with patience, flair, and attention to detail. I would also like to thank Hakuoh University for the generous support it has given to this project and the Faculty of Social Sciences at Hosei University for giving me the precious gift of time away from classes and meetings to do research and put this material together in time for the 70th anniversary of the end of World War II.

Karen Ann (Smith) Takizawa
Tokyo, Japan
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Notes

1. Cathryn (born 1921), Evelyn (born 1923), and Richard (born 1927, Karen's father)
2. Literal translation: Four GI Spoonfuls of Dry Rice
3. About 892 miles (1,487 kilometers)
4. These numbers were supplied by the Japan POW Information Bureau. The Mansell website also has comprehensive lists of POW camps both inside and outside Japan, but with slightly different numbers.
5. A detached camp was the same as a branch camp, but smaller in size. For these, the Imperial Japanese Army supplied all housing, food, and clothing for the POWs. For a dispatched camp, the housing, food, and clothing were provided by the companies that had requested the labor.
6. Reported death tolls vary widely: It is said that 2,500–10,000 Filipinos and 100–650 Americans died before reaching their final destination, Camp O'Donnell in Tarlac.
7. Their car was shipped to Manila with them, along with their clothing and household items.
8. At Sangley Point, a part of Cavite Navy Yard
9. Near Intramuros and the Pasig River
10. A type of small carriage drawn by a pony that was introduced by the Spanish in the eighteenth century
11. *Sawali* – Tagalog word for woven mats made of split bamboo, often used for walls of huts in the Philippines
12. A deadly form of gangrene caused by soil-borne bacteria; often seen in combat injuries
13. Medicine used for the treatment of amoebic infection or to induce vom-

iting
14. Medicine for the treatment of diarrhea
15. A deficiency of thiamine; affects the nervous system and the cardiovascular system
16. He is referring to the number of American soldiers, but estimates vary. According to Willmott, Messenger, and Cross (2004), there were about 12,000 Americans on Bataan; Toland (1970) lists 15,000.
17. In the report General Homma wrote in Yokohama Prison after the war, he said that he had a fighting strength of 50,000 men on Bataan.
18. A part of the Malinta Tunnel
19. General Jonathan Wainwright, who had surrendered the island to the Japanese, had been taken off Corregidor and confined to the University Club at the corner of Dewey Boulevard and South Avenue in Manila; he and his staff watched this sorry parade from the window. (Hubbard & Davis, p. 144)
20. For the diagnosis of syphilis
21. Tagalog word meaning a unit of dry measure equivalent to three liters
22. A literal translation of the Japanese word for "serious illness"
23. Japanese word for "roll call"
24. Friday has no religious meaning for the Japanese. The schedules for the prison camps, including the holidays, were determined by the camp commandants.
25. Groups of people who are selected or conscripted for something, in this case, to supply needed labor in the home islands of Japan
26. In this draft of prisoners, which included Grandfather, 1,100 were officers, a majority being of field grade. All were American, except for 30 who were Allied nationals.
27. The title of the book we published in 1999—*GI Spoon Yonhaibun no Kometsubu* (4 GI Spoonfuls of Dry Rice)—comes from this episode. A GI spoon is about the size of a standard American soup spoon.
28. Wada Shusuke, the official interpreter for the guard commander of this draft of prisoners.
29. It was later clarified at the war crimes trial in 1947 that these men were killed at a cemetery near San Fernando, Pampanga.
30. Lt. Toshino Junsaburo
31. The name of this ship was Enoura Maru.
32. The name of this ship was Brazil Maru.
33. The bodies were buried in a mass grave on Chijin Island.

34. Grandfather was actually on a total of three different ships, not four. He did not realize that he had been put back on transport No. 2 (Brazil Maru), but this has been confirmed by other sources.
35. A port city on the island of Kyushu, the third largest of Japan's four main islands
36. They were taken to the Kokura Military Hospital, which is about 3.4 miles (5.5 kilometers) from Moji.
37. On the island of Kyushu
38. According to the POW Research Network Japan, this was Branch Camp No. 22 of the Fukuoka Headquarters. It was a coal mine run by *Sumitomo Kogyo Tadakuma Kogyojo*, which was opened on January 15, 1945. At the end of the war, it held 302 people (190 Dutch, 88 Australian, and 24 American).
39. A kind of porridge made of rice with meat and vegetables
40. Busan (Pusan), a city on the southeastern tip of the Korean peninsula
41. Ooki Juro
42. The Japanese and the Americans never fought a pitched battle in Manchuria during the war, but it was the scene of various conflicts and "incidents" involving the Japanese and the Chinese or the Russians.
43. According to the POW Research Network Japan website, this camp was in operation from November 11, 1942, to August 15, 1945.
44. Grandfather was Prisoner No. 1891.
45. Another name for the grain sorghum
46. MKK was the acronym for *Manshu Kosaku Kikai Kabushiki Kaisha* (Manchurian Machine Tool Factory), a subsidiary of Mitsubishi.
47. This happened on August 8, 1945. In August 1939, the Soviet Union entered a non-aggression pact with Germany, but changed sides in the conflict when Germany began an invasion in June 1941. After Germany surrendered in May 1945, the Soviet Union joined the war against Japan. The Soviets notified the Japanese of their intent on the night of August 8, 1945, and the (Soviet) Manchurian Strategic Offensive Operation lasted from August 9 to September 2, 1945.
48. Port Arthur is now known as the Lushun District of the city of Dalian on the tip of the Liaodong Peninsula. It was a major point of contention between the Japanese and the Russians during the Russo-Japanese War in the early twentieth century.
49. Grandfather is referring to the Yamato Hotel in Mukden, which was run by the Japanese South Manchuria Railway Company.

50. The information on his medals, ribbons, and citations was provided by the United States Navy Bureau of Naval Personnel (BUPERS).
51. Unfortunately, his first name was misspelled "Garey" in the letter from President Truman.
52. The story of Ann Bernatitus and the other "Angels of Bataan and Corregidor" is covered in Norman (1999).
53. On the campus of the University of Santo Tomas in Sampaloc
54. George Ferguson was one of the four Navy doctors whose story is told in Glusman (2005). The transport ship they were on was called the Arisan Maru, and Dr. Ferguson was not among the few who survived.
55. Father of author John Glusman
56. Saipan and Tinian were surrounded by eight Fire Support Units, for a total of 42 large ships. In addition to these, there were hundreds of support vessels and landing craft.
57. The *Guntaitecho* contained the *Senjinkun* (Imperial Army Field Service Code) and other military regulations, plus personal information about the soldier it belonged to.
58. The "Warring States Period" (c. 1467–1603), a time of civil war before Japan was unified under the Tokugawa Shogunate
59. Kenzo's mother
60. 1 *choubo* = 99.2 acres
61. 1 *tsubo* = 3.3 m^2
62. The Japan Association for Language Teaching
63. A scarlet dye made of the dried and crushed bodies of female cochineal insects; used in food and cosmetics
64. According to estimates, 38,000 American and Filipino troops and 17,000 Japanese troops took part in the Battle of Manila. The re-taking of the city led to the worst urban fighting of the Asian-Pacific Theater and the deaths of 100,000 Filipino civilians.
65. Six nations (Brunei, China, Malaysia, Taiwan, Vietnam, and the Philippines) now lay claim to all or part of the Spratly Islands. The issues at stake include rights to fishing areas around the islands, rights to possible oil and natural gas reserves under the water, and control of shipping lanes. On the locally-produced map of Bataan that we purchased there, it was called the West Philippine Sea.
66. A branch of the Imperial Japanese Army based in Manchuria
67. The Magnuson Act (also known as the Chinese Exclusion Repeal Act) was passed in 1943, the year China became an official ally of the U.S.

in World War II. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (Hart-Celler Act, enacted June 30, 1968) abolished all national origins quotas.

68. The Open Door Policy proposed that all nations, including the United States, could have access to trade in the Chinese market on an equal basis.
69. About 5,000,000 people
70. By the time Grandfather arrived at the camp in Mukden, General Wainwright had already been sent to another camp in the northern part of Manchuria.
71. Housing area for the troops
72. U.S. citizens of Japanese, Italian, or German ancestry who were considered to be a risk to U.S. security. Soon after the "new" Camp McCoy was completed in 1942, the FBI brought in 5 Italians, 106 Germans, and 182 Japanese who were classified as enemy aliens.
73. This midget submarine was later taken on a nationwide tour to sell War Bonds. It is now at the Admiral Nimitz Museum in Fredericksburg, Texas. In 1991, Sakamaki saw it again during a symposium on the attack on Pearl Harbor.
74. For the record, Toshino testified at the trial that this execution took place on the night of December 22, 1944.
75. An expression referring to a good-looking but useless warrior that was popularized by George Bernard Shaw's 1894 play *Arms and the Man*

Appendix

1. The Third Geneva Convention on the Humane Treatment of Prisoners of War of 1929

The Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, Geneva, 27 July 1929, contained 97 articles. The following article in Part 1: General Provisions specifically addressed the issue of humane treatment:

> Article 2. Prisoners of war are in the power of the hostile Government, but not of the individuals or formation which captured them. They shall at all times be humanely treated and protected, particularly against acts of violence, from insults and from public curiosity. Measures of reprisal against them are forbidden.

Convention (III) Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, Geneva, 12 August 1949, which replaced the Convention of 1929, contained 143 articles and addressed new issues created by the tremendous numbers of deaths in internment camps run by the Japanese in Asia and the Germans in Europe. According to the explanation on the website of the International Committee of the Red Cross:

> It became necessary to revise the 1929 Convention on a number of points owing to the changes that had occurred in the conduct of warfare and the consequences thereof, as well as in the living condition of peoples. Experience had shown that the daily life of prisoners depended specifically on the interpretation given to the general regu-

> lations. Consequently, certain regulations were given a more explicit form which was lacking in the preceding provisions. Since the text of the Convention is to be posted in all prisoner of war camps (see Article 41) it has to be comprehensible not only to the authorities but also to the ordinary reader at any time. The categories of persons entitled to prisoner of war status were broadened in accordance with Conventions I and II. The conditions and places of captivity were more precisely defined, in particular with regard to the labour of prisoners of war, their financial resources, the relief they receive and the judicial proceedings instituted against them. The Convention establishes the principle that prisoners of war shall be released and repatriated without delay after the cessation of active hostilities (Article 118)

The following article in Convention (III) of 1949 addressed the issue of humane treatment and included a prohibition on unlawful acts which may cause death or injury to prisoners of war:

> Article 13. Prisoners of war must at all times be humanely treated. Any unlawful act or omission by the Detaining Power causing death or seriously endangering the health of a prisoner of war in its custody is prohibited, and will be regarded as a serious breach of the present Convention. In particular, no prisoner of war may be subjected to physical mutilation or to medical or scientific experiments of any kind which are not justified by the medical, dental or hospital treatment of the prisoner concerned and carried out in his interest. Likewise, prisoners of war must at all times be protected, particularly against acts of violence or intimidation and against insults and public curiosity. Measures of reprisal against prisoners of war are prohibited.

For the full text of the Geneva conventions, see the ICRC website at www.icrc.org

2. A Postwar Letter to Grandfather from the Philippines

The letter below (dated March 29, 1946) was included in the stack of miscellaneous documents Grandfather left behind with his manuscript. It was

written by Dr. W. H. Waterous, an Army reserve doctor whose name appears in Grandfather's story in the section called "The Outbreak of War" in connection with the hospital that was set up at St. Scholastica's College in Manila in December 1941. After the war, Dr. Waterous was apparently still living in the Philippines, and his letter gives a picture of the situation there in those chaotic days. The names of some other American doctors from Grandfather's manuscript were also mentioned in this letter—Dr. T. H. Hayes (the senior medical officer at Bilibid), Commander L. B. Sartin, Commander M. Joses, and Dr. C. C. Welch—and it was a surprise to read that Grandfather had talked to Dr. Waterous about possibly returning to the Philippines at some point. (He never actually did.) This was a private communication, not a public one, which perhaps accounts for Dr. Waterous's use of frank and sometimes derogatory language about both his American colleagues and about the Japanese, though such sentiments about their former enemy were no doubt common at the time:

Dear Cary [*sic*]:

Your letter mailed Feb 19, arrived today and was most welcome. I received your message sent from Guam and records were recovered in the place stipulated. I took the instructions to the Office of Recovered Personnel, told them the facts and requested them to let me know when they went to Bilibid in order that I might accompany them and secure whatever of a personal nature might be found. That outfit is composed of a lot of constantly changing Officers and nothing was said to me. As a result the first information which I had was when I was shown the diary of Tom Hayes. I again requested that any personal records be sent to you through the Bureau of Navigation. God only knows what they may have done. Diary of Tom Hayes was used at the trial of General Kou, the SOB who was in command of Prison Camps when you were sent out of Bilibid. I testified at the trial as I have been doing in many other trials of top flight Japs. I have been able to contribute plenty toward their convictions. Some have been executed and others are on the way to the Gallows or to face a shooting squad. My only regret is that I am not allowed to do the shooting or spring the trap. You should see the contrast between the overbearing, arrogant animals who were our keepers and the same cringing, patronizing, cowardly so and sos who face these

courts and fear death worse than anything in the world. I have been busy since getting out of Bilibid, with the CIC CID, FBI? and the claims Section, and recently with these trials. For the first six months after liberation I felt pretty punk but am alright again and back to my normal weight.

Manila is an awful mess. City was about 75% destroyed and will take time to rebuild. Business is fast picking up and there is already plenty of medical activity. I am sure that you'll have no trouble with this Board in securing a license and I shall be more than happy to have you with me on a 50 50 basis whenever you can come. I was placed on terminal leave yesterday and have 120 days leave coming after which I shall revert to the Reserve. Have rented an Office and am starting as soon as I can get Office arranged. We saved a great deal of our office equipment and have plenty to get going. Ordered new X Ray and cardiograph and it will be here soon. The old companies are all back in the fold and many of the Civilians. Many of the latter were killed by the Japs before their departure. They really raised hell in general. There was plenty of fighting here after I was released.

Should like very much to see copy of what Dr Sartin had to say about our organization, and also I should like to have his address in order that I may write him. He was a grand Man. Diary of Tom Hayes was about what one would expect of him. It was full of scathing criticism of various and diverse individuals in Bilibid. You escaped. He particularly saw no good in the Army. Thru it all he remained the Martyr and always right. He gave Drs Sartin and Joses Hell and was vitriolic in his condemnation of their period in office.

A Brother in Law of Cecil Welch was here a week or so ago seeking further information about him. I was able to tell him some facts which I had learned from those who came thru Manila on their way to the States from Japan. His son was killed out here flying out of Leyte. I felt sorry for him.

I appreciate your attitude in sending check. It wasn't necessary and I wouldn't keep it if it weren't for the fact that I know you mean business.

Practically all my property was damaged by the Japs. Ranch was completely devastated, Baguio place is a wreck. These houses in San Juan are not hurt too much altho the big house was completely

looted. Have fixed things up and everything looks alright again with flowers and garden luxurious.

Army and Navy pretty well cleaned out of the PI. For a long time Manila was a mad house but no longer. I am glad to see the streets less congested and fewer drunks on the streets.

I shall try to find out what was done with the rest of the records from Bilibid. Those in command at Bilibid were not anxious to let me inside the gates so long as Jap Prisoners were kept there. I wish you could see what these Prisoners are being fed and their general set up. They are so fat they can hardly walk: in comparison with the treatment we received.

More later. Thanks for the letter. Shall be glad to see you when you get out.

Sincerely,
Waterous

23 Pilar St San Juan Rizal PI
29 March 46

Write me again and send me Sartin's address.

The last sentence was handwritten at the bottom of the typed letter.

3. An Email from a Smith Family Nephew about His Experience in the U.S. Navy

In 1947, during the Occupation, Japan adopted a new Constitution. Article 9 of this Constitution renounces war as a way of settling international disputes. This means that Japan does not maintain military forces with the potential to fight a war, but Japan does have a Self-Defense Force for the purpose of national security. None of the members of Kenzo's generation in the Takizawa extended family joined this group.

In my generation in the extended Smith family, no one joined the U.S. military, though two of the girls married military men; in the following generation, one of the boys chose to do so, my nephew Nathan Richard Smith. This is what he had to say about his military experience:

Dear Aunt Karen,

As a great-grandson of Carey Smith I'm honored to be a part of the heritage of a true hero who risked his own life so many can enjoy freedom. My experience in the United States Navy was vastly different than my great-grandfather's for various reasons. When I enlisted on November 14, 2005, I was a recent high school graduate with ambitions to serve my country and travel the world. I can still remember that day clearly: my grandfather, Richard Smith, gave me a farewell hug and a connection with his eyes that spoke to me louder than his words, saying, "everything is going to be fine" as I walked out the door of my parents' house in Palm Desert, California, to make the trip to San Diego for processing into the military.

I spent the first six months of discipline and training in boot camp and schooling in Great Lakes, Illinois, which can be best summed up as "six months of doing exactly as you are told." If not followed, there were plenty of consequences, such as threats of being held back, extended physical training, and painful long sessions of standing at attention. After finding out I placed in the top ten percent of my school, I was privileged to choose where I would be stationed for the next three and a half years, and I chose beautiful San Diego, California. I served those years on the cruiser USS Lake Champlain in the repair division as a Damage Controlman. Some of my daily routines included making repairs to the ship's firefighting equipment and piping systems, standing watch as a fire marshal and roving security watch in the many engine/auxiliary rooms. I also participated in plenty of the firefighting training sessions given to the ship's crew and fire teams.

Aside from my rating, or what is known as a job, I volunteered to be a part of a special team aboard ship. This team was called "Visit Board Search and Seizure." As part of this volunteer team, I was trained like a Navy policeman at sea. I specialized as a breacher in the event our team needed to break through locked doors and hatches with various tools, including a 12-gauge shotgun, torches, crowbars, and bolt cutters. While on deployment, we would search for suspicious ships that were thought to be involved in human trafficking or the transport of illegal cargo, such as weapons, drugs, and other goods.

The USS Lake Champlain is named after the Battle of Plattsburgh, also known as the Battle of Lake Champlain, which ended the final invasion of the Northern states during the War of 1812. The third ship to bear this name, the USS Lake Champlain was commissioned on August 12, 1988, as an Aegis Missile Cruiser with around 350 Navy personnel stationed onboard. Some of its main armaments include Tomahawk missiles, Mk 46 torpedoes, harpoon missiles, 2 Mk 45 5-inch guns, 2 Phalanx CIWS, and 2 Mk 38 Mod 2 25mm machine guns. It is capable of supporting 2 SH-60 Sea Hawk helicopters on deployments. Some fascinating characteristics of the vessel are: It is moved by four General Electric LM 2500 gas turbine engines each capable of putting out more than 33,500 horsepower, it contains approximately 650,000 gallons of JP-5 fuel when full, and it can reach speeds of 30+ knots, which converted equals 35 miles per hour.

While stationed on the USS Lake Champlain, I was privileged to serve on two deployments. The first was called a "surge deployment," meaning it was short in length, and we were given a short notice to prepare for our journey. From January 27 to April 20, 2007, the ship was tasked with supporting and protecting the USS Ronald Reagan, an aircraft carrier, during their flight missions in the Western Pacific. A main mission of the deployment was to participate in exercises with the South Korean military and political leaders to build up our countries' relationship and military readiness. This deployment lasted roughly three months. During this time, we were able to visit ports such as Sasebo in Japan; Hong Kong in China, Busan in South Korea, and Pearl Harbor in Hawaii.

From January 9 to July 30, 2009, the ship departed for my second deployment as part of the USS Boxer Expeditionary Strike Group in support of maritime security operations. For close to seven months, we were tasked to find and search for pirates off the Horn of Africa, near Somalia. With little success after months of tracking and misleads, we came in contact with human smugglers on a small boat with a broken-down engine in the Gulf of Aden in the Arabian Sea. Four smugglers were charging Somalians sums of money to leave that war-torn country for Yemen. As we came to their rescue, 54 Somalians were on the verge of dying from dehydration and hunger. They had gone without water for two days and without food for six

days.

I served in the U.S. Navy during Operation Iraqi Freedom and the Global War on Terrorism. Times had changed after the 9/11 attacks hit America, which could be felt by the country and especially by the military. Senior sailors who had served in the Navy before 9/11 told me many changes took place because of the terrorist attacks. Security was strengthened onboard ships while docked at ports, more security measures were put into place to gain access to military bases, and various scenario drills were required for the ships' personnel to make us more prepared if another attack was to take place.

Aside from the many great experiences I had and the skills and discipline I learned in the Navy, there were quite a few things I would love to forget. I was disturbed, for example, by the behavior of some of the other sailors, and this took a toll on my faith as a Christian. So, after four years, I decided to get out and go back to school. One of the great privileges of serving in the Navy is the option to have college paid for if you choose to further your education. With the government willing to cover my tuition, I decided to attend college and pursue an Agriculture Business degree. This privilege came to me thanks to my great-grandfather and his fellow soldiers, sailors, and medical personnel in World War II, many of whom may have endured tougher situations than I experienced.

(N. Smith, personal communication, November 19, 2014)

Nathan benefited from the Post-9/11 Veterans Educational Assistance Act of 2008 (also known as the "New G.I. Bill"), which expanded the educational benefits for military veterans who served three or more years on active duty after the attacks on the U.S. on September 11, 2001. The original "G.I. Bill"—formally known as the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944—provided millions of World War II veterans with payments for educational expenses and low-interest loans for buying houses and starting businesses. This helped them make a new start in life and contributed greatly to the growth of the American middle class in the second half of the twentieth century.

4. Organizations Related to POWs

In addition to the American Defenders of Bataan and Corregidor Memorial

Society, which was introduced in the section on the documentary film *Never the Same: The Prisoner of War Experience*, there are two more groups that need to be mentioned.

POW Research Network Japan

The POW *Kenkyukai* (POW Research Network Japan) was organized in 2002 by two professors, Utsumi Aiko of Keisen University and Fukubayashi Toru of Waseda University. It just so happens that one of the members of this organization is a graduate of the Faculty of Social Sciences at Hosei University, where I began to work in April 2002, and through him, we got to know about their activities.

In July 2007, members of the POW Research Network Japan took us to visit the Yokohama War Cemetery, which is run by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, in Hodogaya Ward, Yokohama. It was constructed after World War II and contains the graves of 1,555 Commonwealth servicemen who died in Japan as prisoners of war or as part of the postwar Occupation forces. The cemetery is beautifully landscaped and well-manicured, with four separate sections: United Kingdom, Australia, Canada and New Zealand, and Indian forces. Of special interest to us was the Yokohama Cremation Memorial, which houses an urn that contains the ashes of 335 prisoners of war from the British Commonwealth, the Netherlands, and the United States, most of whom were survivors of the Oryoku Maru who died after arriving in Japan in January 1945.

Karen: In October 2007, Kenzo and I were invited to speak about *GI Spoon Yonhaibun no Kometsubu* at a meeting of the POW Research Network Japan. I gave an outline of Grandfather's story, and Kenzo talked about Ojisan's experiences. After the meeting, in the informal Q&A session, the most thought-provoking question was whether or not Grandfather was a religious person, and if so, was his faith a reason for his survival. After thinking about it for a moment, I had to reply that as far as I knew, he was not a religious person, and this was confirmed in later discussions about him with my cousins.

In contrast to the above speech, I cannot help remembering another one I was asked to make on the same topic at an alumni event for graduates of the Faculty of Social Sciences of Hosei University, also in 2007. I was very conscious of my all-Japanese audience, so at the be-

ginning of my speech, I carefully laid out my theme, "transmit the facts; do not transmit hatred," before I told the stories of Grandfather and Ojisan in the war. Because of delays and time constraints, my speech had to be shortened, but it went well enough. At the reception following the event, however, there was a daunting question from a man of about my age who, in a somewhat agitated state, asked me, "What about Iraq?" He was referring to the serious human rights violations that had been committed by members of the U.S. Army against prisoners held at Abu Ghraib prison near Baghdad during the Iraq War. These had been widely reported by Amnesty International and the Associated Press in 2004 and later confirmed in investigations done by the Red Cross and Human Rights Watch. While the United States military may have been on the moral high ground with regard to the treatment of prisoners of war during World War II, the same cannot be said for the United States military in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Guantanamo in more recent times. I knew that I could not successfully argue with him on this point, just as I find it hard to argue with a person who asks me in similar circumstances, "What about The Bomb?"

Since 2010, the Japanese government has been inviting groups of former POWs and their families to visit Japan under the Japanese/POW Friendship Program. The POW Research Network Japan website reports this about the origin of the program:

> In America, in 1999, the Laws of California were revised, permitting those victims who had been forced to work by Germany and other Axis powers during WWII may [*sic*] ask for compensation and apology from the government of those countries, which made them work like slaves and yielded high profit. Former POWs, Dr. (Lester) Tenney (leader of the first group in the program in 2010) and others started a law-suit to the Japanese corporations where they had worked. However, this law-suit was turned down by the US Supreme court in 2003, which closed an avenue for them to complain to the court. Dr. Tenney and others have tried various appeals, however, in vain. Furthermore, former US POWs were excluded from the Japanese Government's invitation project for former Allied POWs and their families, which invited some British and Dutch POWs and their

family members.

However, in May last year, the Japanese ambassador to the United States, Ichiro Fujisaki, appeared at the General Assembly of the American Defenders of Bataan and Corregidor (ADBC), and officially apologized (to) them for the Japanese treatment of the POWs in WWII, which became a turning point to improve the situation greatly. This year, 65 years after the war, visiting of former US POWs and their family members to Japan has (been) realized for the first time. (Reported by T. Sasamoto)

Fourteen people, including six former POWs and their family members, took part in the first group led by Dr. Tenney in 2010; Jan Thompson, maker of the documentary film *Never the Same: The Prisoner of War Experience* and head of the American Defenders of Bataan and Corregidor Memorial Society, came to represent her father. Similar groups have been invited to come on the Japanese/POW Friendship Program every year since, and during the week they are in Japan, they meet government officials, visit sites related to their war experiences, give interviews, and hold open meetings for the public.

Karen: Every year since 2011, I have attended the open meetings for the former POWs, either sponsored by the POW Research Network Japan (in cooperation with the US-Japan Dialogue on POWs and the Japanese Society for Friendship with ex-POWs and Families) or by Temple University Japan. In 2014, the youngest of the seven men who took part in the Japanese/POW Friendship Program was 91 years old, and the oldest one celebrated his 99th birthday during the trip. I listen carefully to their stories, and I can see that time has helped to soften their hearts. I also try to talk to each one individually after the meeting, but I have never found one who knew Grandfather.

The Mukden Prisoner of War Remembrance Society (MPOWRS)

According to the website of the US-Japan Dialogue on POWs, a California-based non-profit organization, the idea for building the Shenyang Allied POW Camp of WWII Site Museum got started when writer Yang Jing, a resident of Shenyang who was employed at the U.S. Consulate in the

1990s, received an inquiry from a former POW that piqued his interest. He says, "I started checking into finding the prison and could find no records at all. It got me interested and I wondered why. . . . I stopped in an area where I thought it might have been and asked an older man if he knew anything about the camp. He sent me right to it. . . . It was basically hidden in plain view." Chinese computer engineer Ao Wang, who had gone to the United States as a graduate student in the 1960s, had connections to Shenyang because his parents were born there. He also became interested in the old POW camp, researched the topic in depth, made connections, and began to organize trips to Shenyang for former Mukden POWs and their families. He and his wife Pat were instrumental in the organization of both the Mukden Prisoner of War Remembrance Society and the Shenyang Allied POW Camp of WWII Site Museum. In 2007, a memorial service was held at the site of the camp, and in 2008, a group of former POWs returned to unveil a monument to the restoration project and donate artifacts to the planned museum.

On the MPOWRS website, there is a list of the names of all POWs who were kept at the Mukden POW camp, plus their place of enlistment in the U.S. military, serial number, date of arrival in Mukden, name of the transport ship they traveled on, POW number at the Mukden camp, branch, arm and unit of service, rank, date and cause of death, and miscellaneous notes. The information about Grandfather listed the date of his arrival at the Mukden camp as May 29, 1945, which differed from the date he had mentioned in his manuscript (April 29, 1945) by one month.

After our return to Tokyo from Shenyang, we asked Pat Wang, secretary of the MPOWRS, about the possibility of correcting the information about the date of Grandfather's arrival at the camp in Mukden on their website and received an immediate reply which included the following information:

> How wonderful to hear from you!! Of course we will be glad to make the change. . . . His number indicates that he did indeed come into the camp in April. From the notes on the website POW #s 1888 and above arrived on 29 April 45. Most of this group consisted of survivors of the Oryoku/Enoura/Brazil Marus. Some of these were men who had been taken to Japan from Taiwan in March '45 and there were a small number of men who had been held in various camps in Japan since mid-1944 or earlier. . . . (P. Wang, personal communication, June 10, 2014)

In her book on the Mukden POW camp, Holmes (2010) discusses the history of the camp and memories of the men who were kept there, as well as the organization of the Shenyang Allied POW Camp of WWII Site Museum and the Mukden Prisoner of War Remembrance Society. She has this to say about the final months of the war, when Grandfather was at the camp:

> . . . During the first few months of 1945, the prisoners at Mukden began wondering just how long it might be before the war ended. Weeks? Months? Surely it will be soon, because U.S. aircraft were obviously dominating the airspace all over Japanese-occupied territory, even Manchuria.
>
> Australian private George Harriss had arranged to pay some of his gambling winnings to a Japanese civilian working at the MKK factory in exchange for Japanese newspapers. Capt. Des Brennan stated in his oral memoir that a New Zealander, a Lieutenant Gregg, could read Japanese. Suddenly the POW grapevine was able to circulate daily updates of American victories throughout the Pacific and the relentless progress toward Japan's home islands. But POW optimism was tinged with apprehension, as some prisoners said they noticed Japanese machine guns placed in the towers around the perimeter of the main camp and pointing inward. This was widely reported at many other POW camps, from Thailand to Formosa to the Philippines and the home islands, especially during July 1945, along with the burning of camp records during the first weeks of August. Finally the POW apprehension turned to real fear during the week of August 8, after prisoners learned that Russian troops had invaded Manchuria and were rapidly heading toward Mukden. What might happen to them in Russian custody? (Holmes, pp. 93–94)

In his manuscript, Grandfather mentioned hearing news about the progress of the war that the prisoners had gotten via Japanese-language newspapers. He also mentioned the concern they felt about the arrival of the Russians at the camp and their worry about what the Japanese prison personnel would do to the prisoners. Based on past experience, they simply could not predict what would happen: would they be used as "bargaining chips," or would the camp guards commit mass suicide as directed in the *Senjinkun* and take the POWs with them? Fortunately for the POWs, the U.S. military decided that speedy rescue missions, such as Operation Cardinal at

the Mukden camp, would be the best way to ensure their survival. So, the U.S. military forces in the Philippines in 1942, including Grandfather, were "expendable," on the hellships on the way to Japan in 1944, they were a target of "friendly fire," but in the closing days of the war in August 1945, a serious effort was made to save those who were left. There is some comfort in this.

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