

# A Numerical Study of the Nanking Incident

## Part II

(南京事件の数的研究 第Ⅱ部)

Akira NAKAMURA

### IV The number of the killed in and near the city of Nanking

#### 1. THE NUMBERS ACCEPTED BY THE TOKYO TRIAL COURT

*The majority ruling.* Today the Chinese authorities persist in asserting that more than 300,000 Chinese were victimized by the Japanese army that captured Nanking. The number can be interpreted as including soldiers as well as civilians, though the Chinese would like to contend that the majority of the victims were civilians. In Japan today there are few even among the pro-Chinese researchers who persist in the number 300,000, but there are still many who estimate the number of the murdered to be 200,000 or more. It was in the majority ruling at the Tokyo trial court that the number of the Nanking victims was estimated to be over 200,000. The ruling in part goes:<sup>1</sup>

Of the civilians who had fled Nanking over 57,000 were overtaken and interned. These were starved and tortured in captivity until a large number died. Many of the survivors were killed by machine gun fire and by bayoneting.

Large parties of Chinese soldiers laid down their arms and surrendered outside Nanking; within 72 hours after their surrender they were killed in groups by machine gun fire along the bank of the Yangtze River. Over 30,000 such prisoners of war were so killed.

There was not even a pretence of trial of these prisoners so massacred.

Estimates made at a later date indicate that the total number of civilians and prisoners of war murdered in Nanking and its vicinity during the first six weeks of the Japanese occupation was over 200,000. That these estimates are not exaggerated is borne out by the fact that burial societies and other organizations counted more than 155,000 bodies which they buried. They also reported that most of those were bound with their hands tied behind their backs. These figures do not take into account those persons whose bodies were destroyed by burning or by throwing them into the Yangtze River or otherwise disposed of by Japanese.

***The sources of the number 200,000.*** The Tokyo International Military Tribunal's estimate of the victims' number at 200,000 or more is based on such numbers as 57,000, 155,000 and so on which appeared in the prosecution document.

The number of victims killed totaled 279,586, of which 2,873 were killed in the HSIN-HO District. (This evidence furnished by SHENG Shih-Cheng and CH'ANG K'ai-sing, who buried the bodies.) More than 7,000 were killed in the neighborhood of the Army Arsenal just outside the South Gate of NANKING and in HUA-SHEN-MIAO. (This evidence submitted by JUI Fang-yuan, CH'ANG Hung-ju, and YANG Tu-t'sai, who buried the bodies.) Approximately 57,418 persons were killed in the TS'AO HSIEH-HSIA District (this evidence submitted by a victim, LU Sia). More than 2000 were killed in the HAN-CHUNG-MEN District. (This evidence submitted by two victims who later recovered, WU Chang-te and CH'EN Yung-ts'ing.) More than 3,000 were killed in LING-KU-SZU. (This evidence submitted by KAO Kuan-wu, a traitor, and also obtained from an epitaph, WU-CHU-KU-SI-PEI, meaning 'a tombstone extolled by nobody.') Furthermore, the total number of bodies buried by the CH'UNG-SHAN-T'ANG (Translator's note: a charity institution)

and the HUNG WAN TZU HUI (Translator's note: A religious organization) totaled more than 155,300. The foregoing facts are shown on attached papers.<sup>2</sup>

This is a portion of the document the prosecution tendered in evidence, called 'Summary Report on the Investigation of Japanese war crimes committed in Nanking' prepared by the Procurator of the District Court, Nanking. The above statement may be broken down as the following chart.

**CHART 2 Summary Report on the Investigation of Japanese war crimes committed in Nanking prepared by the Procurator of the District Court, Nanking**

①	279,586	the total number of victims killed	
	of which	killed in	evidenced by
②	2,873	the Hshinho District	Sheng Shih-cheng & Ch'ang K'ai-sing who buried the bodies
③	more than 7,000	near the Army Arsenal just outside the South Gate & in Huashenmiao	Jui Fan-yuang, Ch'ang Hung-ju & Yang Tu-t'sai, who buried the bodies
④	57,418	the Ts'aohsieh-hsia District	Lu Sia (or Lu Su)
⑤	more than 2,000	the Hanchung-men District	Wu Chang-te & Ch'en Yung-ts'ing
⑥	more than 3,000	Lingku-szu	Kao Kuan-wu
⑦	more than 155,300	buried by the Ch'ung-shan-t'ang & the Hung-wan-tzu-hui (Red Swastika Society)	

***Examination of the prosecution document on mass murder in Nanking.*** CHART 2 is of great importance in that it is probably the first official document by which the so-called mass murder in Nanking became known to the Japanese and also probably the first that disclosed to the world the numbers of the victims killed so minutely.

① On 279,586 or the total number of victims killed. This figure is of historical significance in that this was the first time that the Chinese disclosed their official estimate of the number of victims murdered in

Nanking as around 300,000. However, the Tribunal apparently found the figure too large, and in the majority ruling estimated the total number of murdered civilians and prisoners of war at 'over 200,000'.<sup>3</sup> Incidentally, it is embarrassing to note that at another place the Tribunal's ruling goes that (in the same period) 'upwards of 100,000 people were killed.'<sup>4</sup> This great gap between the total numbers killed in Nanking in the ruling by one and the same court seems to show how it was difficult and even dangerous to make any definite estimation of the total number of Nanking victims, civilians and soldiers combined.

- ② On 2,873 allegedly killed in the Hshinho District. This district corresponds to Sector G where, as I have already mentioned, the Japanese 45th Regiment smashed about 2,300 Chinese in a fierce combat in the early morning of December 13. The 2,873 corpses that Sheng Shih-cheng and Ch'ang k'ai-sing allegedly buried are very likely those of the said Chinese soldiers killed in the battle. If so, this is not a case of mass murder.
- ③ It is true that a fierce battle was fought between the Japanese 6th Division troops and China's 88th Division troops at the South Gate, but seeing that the Chinese fought entrenched on and inside the wall, deaths of as many as 7,000 or more soldiers (there being not a single civilian) is quite unthinkable. And if the said three persons had actually buried as many as 7,000 or more bodies, it could certainly have been impossible without the cooperation of such a large burial organization as the Red Swastika Society, but according to the burial record of the Red Swastika Society there is not a single corpse found or buried just outside the South Gate. When we take all this into consideration, the statement by Jui, Ch'ang and Yang is incredible.
- ④ As we have already seen in Part I, p. 114, Lu Su's statement is very likely to have been based on what he heard of what happened between the Morozumi Regiment and the large number of Chinese captives near Mufu-shan Hill and on the nearby bank of the Yangtze or in Sector G. The estimated number of the Chinese prisoners of war varies roughly

from 4,000 to 15,000, from person to person and from memory to memory, and it is impossible to estimate the exact number of the executed, lacking records or materials to draw on. But no matter what it is, most people would agree that the number 57,418 given by Lu Su is preposterous and even laughable. How could this man, Lu Su, have counted the number of the killed so exactly, without being detected in the act of counting and himself remaining safe and alive? Apart from the absurdity of Lu Su's statement, what strikes me as far more unbelievable is the fact that the majority ruling at the Tokyo trial blindly believed his statement and the preposterous number he gave. This one instance might be enough to imagine what the Tokyo military tribunal was like.

- ⑤ Wu Chang-te, who evidenced the murder of over 2,000 Chinese to the procurator of the Nanking district court, appeared at the Tokyo trial and testified as follows:<sup>5</sup>

I am 38 years old and am a food merchant in the city of Nanking, China. In December 1937 and for a number of years prior to that time I was a policeman in the city of Nanking. I was never a member of the Chinese Army. After the fall of the city of Nanking I along with some three hundred other policemen was at the Judicial Yuan. We were not armed as all of our arms had been turned over to the International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone. The Judicial Yuan was a refugee camp and there were many civilians there in addition to the policemen. On Dec. 15, 1937 the Japanese soldiers came to the Judicial Yuan and ordered all the men there to go with them. Two members of the International Committee told the Japanese that we were not former soldiers but they ordered these two men away and forced us to march to the main west gate of the city.

When we got there we were ordered to sit down just inside the gate. Machine guns were set up by the Japanese soldiers just outside of and on either side of the gate. There is a canal outside this gate and a steep

slope leading down to it. There is a bridge across the canal but it is not directly opposite the gate.

These persons in groups of over one hundred at a time were forced to go through the gate at the point of bayonets. As they went outside they were shot with machine guns and their bodies fell along the slope and into the canal. Those who were not killed by the machine gun fire were stabbed with bayonets by the Japanese soldiers. About sixteen groups each containing more than 100 persons had been forced through the gate ahead of me and these persons were killed.

When my group of something over 100 was ordered to go through the gate I ran as fast as I could and fell forward just before the machine guns opened fire, and was not hit by machine gun bullets and a Japanese soldier came and stabbed the bayonet in my back. I lay still as if dead. The Japanese threw some gasoline on some of the bodies and set them afire and left. It was then beginning to get dark. The bodies scattered along the bank and no gasoline was thrown on me. When I saw the Japanese soldiers had left I climbed out from among the dead bodies and went into a vacant house where I stayed for 10 days. Some one near there sent me a bowl of porridge each day. I then made my way into the city and went to the University Hospital. Dr. Wilson attended me. I stayed in the hospital for more than 50 days and when I got out I went to my native home in Northern Kiangsu. On the occasion I have described around two thousand persons former policemen and civilians were killed.

The foregoing statement is true and I make affidavit to it this 18th day of June 1946 and hereto affix my signature.

Signed in Chinese characters by Wu Chang Te.

I am sure that the above statement by Wu is based upon an incident which actually happened, for there is in John Rabe's diary an entry of a very similar incident that took place not on Dec. 15 but just on the following day. The entry for December 16 goes in part as follows:<sup>6</sup>

I've just heard that hundreds more disarmed Chinese soldiers have been led out of our zone to be shot, including 50 of our police who are to be executed for letting soldiers in.

We can find an account of probably the same incident in the International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone's Letter No. 6 to the Japanese Army Commander in Nanking, dated December 17:

Our police were interfered with and yesterday fifty of them stationed at the Ministry of Justice were marched off, 'to be killed' according to the Japanese officer in charge, and yesterday afternoon forty-six of our 'volunteer police' were similarly marched off.<sup>7</sup>

Checked against the accounts in the above two documents Wu's testimony sounds suspicious. In the first place, if Wu's and the other two accounts refer to one and the same incident, the figure of the executed, over 2,000, given by Wu is unnaturally large as against those given in the other documents. It is most likely that he overstated or was made to overstate the number killed with a vengeance.

In the second place, Wu's description of the Japanese way of execution is quite unbelievable. To make groups of over one hundred persons walk at a time through the gate one after another — more than sixteen groups in all — and shoot them with machine guns set up on either side of the road is certainly too slovenly a way of execution. By shooting at groups of over one hundred persons you cannot expect to mow down all of them; it is highly probable that not a few will manage to escape being shot down. What's more, for the Japanese soldiers to set up machine guns on either side of the road (when Wu says 'Machine guns were set up ... just outside of and on either side of the gate,' he no doubt means 'They were set up ... just outside of the gate and on either side of the road.') and open fire is most likely to shoot at one another, killing among themselves, with the road in-between. All in all, it is highly inconceivable that the Japanese troops should have executed over 2,000 Chinese in a slovenly way like this. Wu's

statement cannot be accepted at face value. It would be reasonable to estimate the number of policemen and others concerning the said incident at around 100.

⑥ The figure, more than 3,000, evidenced by the epitaph on the tomb of unknown victims built by Kao Kuan-wu in January, 1939 is about the only figure that can be trusted to a considerable degree. The reason is that Kao Kuan-wu, who built the tomb and composed the epitaph for unknown victims, was Mayor of the city of Nanking after the pro-Japanese government was established there in March 1938. He certainly had no reason whatever to engage in anti-Japanese political propaganda by fabricating a mass-murder story, though here again we have to make some reservations regarding the figure 3,000, for the Chinese as a race have traditionally had a liking for an exaggerated way of expression, especially showing a peculiar preference for the figure 3, such as 3,000, 30,000 and 300,000. Therefore, the actual number of the bodies buried by Kao at the Lingku Temple must have been much smaller than 3,000 and it would be safe to estimate it to be somewhere between 1,500 and 3,000.

It is also important to note that not all of the victims were civilians. You should take a look at what the epitaph says. It goes like this:<sup>8</sup>

On October 1938, I was ordered to supervise the city of Nanking. It was nearly one year since the Nanking Incident and there were remains at the gates, in the grass and about the waterside. I gathered 26 corpses within the walled city and buried them. In February, villagers came to me and said that, corpses being particularly numerous at Maoshan, Machun, Maan and lingku-szu, they would like to bury them. Thereupon, I ordered the sanitary bureau to select members, had them collect all the 3,000 and more corpses, and buried them in the east of the Lingku-szu Temple. We buried them deep and piled earth over the grave as a landmark to show the burial place. Erecting a gravestone on the mound of earth, I composed an epitaph for the unknown victims:

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一九三七年十二月，侵  
 华日军疯狂实施南京大屠杀，  
 我东郊一带，惨遭杀害之无  
 辜同胞，尸骸丘陇，骨暴荒  
 原，因久无人收，而致腐烂  
 腥臭。迨至翌年四月，始由  
 崇善堂等慈善团体从事收殮  
 计于中山门外至马群一带  
 收尸三万三千余具，就地掩  
 埋于荒丘或田野。越数月，  
 察及于丘壑丛莽间尚遗其余  
 故时或恶气四溢。一九三八  
 年十月，复经伪市政警办  
 责成其卫生局，又于马群、  
 苏山、马鞍山、灵谷寺等处，  
 收集死难者遗骨和残骸三千



The new epitaph near the Lingku Temple, photographed by Nakamura on Oct. 11, 1999.

Alas! A number of troops met with disasters, have exposed their flesh and blood over the wilderness and on the hillsides. *There is no knowing whether they were soldiers or civilians, men or women, old people or children*, had heirs or not. There is nothing so grievous in life as to have nobody to support you while alive or nobody to mourn for you when dead, to speak nothing of persons like you who, with no relatives, have exposed your remains. Life or death is up to heaven's will and some live long, while others die soon, but anyway, death ends all. What people talk about is not the length of your life but your virtuous deeds and spirit that never die. I bury you with my deepest sympathy and also would like to convey it to you.

January 1939

Mayor of the city of Nanking

Kao Kuan-wu

It is small wonder that many corpses were found in the above-mentioned places, for it was in those places, all to the east of the city of Nanking, that fierce battles were fought between the Japanese and the Chinese prior to the fall of Nanking. Most of the corpses, therefore, must have been those of soldiers, and only a few were probably those of the citizens who had failed to leave their villages before the fighting started. All considered, it is impossible that massacre of any sort could have taken place there, and in this sense, Kao's epitaph may be said to be an honest description of what actually happened there, except for the exaggerated number of victims.

***Where is the gravestone gone?*** In October 1999, I went to Nanking to inspect the places where massacres are reported to have taken place. When, however, I visited Lingku-szu, I was astonished as well as disappointed to find Kao's gravestone gone. Instead I found a large new monument there with an epitaph inscribed on it, which goes as follows: **(See the photos on page 9)**

In December 1937, the Japanese army invading China committed a

frantic massacre all over this eastern suburb. The corpses of our cruelly murdered countrymen lay exposed near the marshes and over the hills, their bones over the wilderness. Since those remains had long been left as they were, they had begun decomposed and stinking. In April the next year the Chungshantang and other charity organizations engaged for the first time in collecting them, and all over the area from the Chungshan Men Gate to the village of Machun they gathered more than 33,000 bodies. They were buried on wuthering hills or in fields where they were found. After several months there still remained on hillsides, in valleys and in bushes corpses and remains, filling the air with foul smells.

Again, in December 1938, the bogus mayor of the city ordered the sanitary bureau and at such places as Machun, Maoshan, Maan and Lingku-szu collected in all 3,000 and more remains and corpses, burying them in the east of Lingku-szu. And in January 1939, he erected a gravestone for the lonely souls of unknown persons, thereby showing his condolence. The rubbed copy of the epitaph is still existent, but regrettably, the original gravestone has become extinct and is no more. Now we specially build this monument and thereby show our sorrow. We inform this to all.

Built by

People's government of the  
Chihsia district  
Administrator's office of  
the Chungshan mausoleum

And on the other side of the monument there is an inscription which means: A monument. An east suburban mass grave for our countrymen massacred by the invading Japanese army. People's government, the city of Nanking. August 1985.

***Another forgery of history?*** For one well versed in the Chinese old tactics it is by no means difficult to understand what all this means. The

first half of the above epitaph was not in Kao's original epitaph; it was newly composed and added by the communists who erected the new monument in 1985. What for? To propagandize 'a massacre of 33,000 by the Japanese army,' of course. To the Communists Chinese authorities, the figure of 3,000 and more victims given by Kao was certainly too small to impress Japanese atrocities on the minds of people both at home and abroad. Thus they set out to forge a history as they had long been used to doing, and successfully wrote in the figure 33,000 in the epitaph, thereby making the total of victims more than eleven times larger than forty-six years before.

The reason why the newly-added part of the epitaph is a fabrication is very simple. If the Chung-shan-tang had actually gathered and buried more than 33,000 corpses, Kao Kuan-wu would certainly, sooner or later, have been informed of it, for such a large-scale burial activities would have been impossible without financial assistance by the municipal authorities. And had he known of it, he surely would have recorded it in his epitaph, for even the gathering of as few as 26 corpses was specially mentioned in the epitaph. The fact, therefore, that he made no mention of the burial of 33,000 and more corpses means that there was no such large-scale burial work going on near the city of Nanking at that time. Now we can conclude that the massacre of more than 33,000 Chinese by the Japanese army is a downright fiction.

This is their old tactics and another distortion or rather forgery of history. Then, where is the original tombstone gone? In all probability, it was destroyed and no more in this world. Thus the Chinese have again erased their own record of truth. Anyway, this is how they have been rewriting history, undetected, more often than not, by the outside world.

⑦ More than 155,300 is the total number of bodies buried by the two burial societies, the Chungshantang and the Red Swastika Society.

According to the prosecution document, the former buried 112,267 bodies during the five months from December 1937 to April 1938, while the latter buried 43,071 bodies during the period between December

1937 and October 1938.<sup>9</sup> The question, however, is how far we can trust these figures. Can we accept them as they are or should we take them with a grain of salt? We will discuss it in the following sections.

## 2. THE CHUNG-SHAN-TANG, A SUSPICIOUS ORGANIZATION

*Did it really do burial work?* What seems strange about this society is that, in spite of such large numbers of bodies they claim to have buried, it remained curiously obscure at the time after the fall of Nanking.

1) The most striking example would be the diaries of John Rabe, Chairman of the International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone, in which, though entries are found here and there of the Red Swastika Society and its burial work,<sup>10</sup> no mention is made of the Chung-shan-tang or its burial work. If the Chung-shan-tang had really buried more than 110,000 bodies in a matter of five months, it would certainly have been a burial organization of a far larger scale than the Red Swastika Society which buried 40,000 or so corpses over a period of more than ten months. If so, it is quite impossible that its burial activities or even its existence went unnoticed by John Rabe, Chairman of the International Committee, who repeatedly made entries of the Red Swastika Society and its activities in his diary. This cannot be accounted for unless we conclude that Chung-shan-tang's report of burial of over 110,000 corpses<sup>11</sup> was a fabrication and that it was actually doing little or no burial work whatever at the time after the fall of Nanking.

2) Maruyama Susumu's statement will be of great help to understand what this organization is. Maruyama entered the city of Nanking on December 28, 1937, as a newly-appointed member of the Nanking Special Service Organization. Maruyama, who was then in charge of burial work, says that the Chung-shan-tang was a small-scale charity group, utterly incapable of burying as many as 110,000 or more corpses, and in fact, when he arrived in Nanking, it was not doing any kind of burial work, says Maruyama.

Maruyama's account is as follows:

To bury 110,000 or more corpses, 140,000 to 160,000 coolies would have been needed, and seeing that they were hired at 0.3 yuan or so per capita a day in those days, the said burial work would have cost at least 42,000 yuan (equivalent to Japanese yen). However, the Chung-shan-tang was an obscure group, even its name hardly known, so it could not have afforded such a large sum of money nor did I hear of any financial supporter assisting their activities. Even the revenue of the Nanking Autonomous Government for January 1938 was little over 30,000 yuan and could not in any way give financial assistance to such large-scale burial work. It was utterly impossible for such a small charity group as the Chung-shan-tang to bury as many as more than 110,000 corpses nor did I see any record of their burial work while I was in Nanking. All in all, I must conclude that the Chung-shan-tang's burial report is a pure fabrication and a lie.<sup>12</sup>

3) That the Chung-shan-tang was not doing burial work is undeniably proven by China's official report.<sup>13</sup>

For example, the Municipal Report, Nanking City, 1935 (original in Chinese) gives a list of 46 charity groups in Nanking, including the Red Swastika Society and The Chung-shan-tang. Of them 27 are selected and their work is shown by classifying it into five categories — ① taking care of babies ② helping widows ③ free dispensation of medicine ④ distributing materials and ⑤ burial of corpses. Of charity groups engaging in burial work, seven are listed but not the Chung-shan-tang. We find from this list that the Chung-shan-tang was doing only such work coming under ①, ② and ④. It was not doing any burial work in that year.

Then how about the year 1938, the year after the fall of Nanking? Here the Municipal Report, Nanking City, 1938 helps us to understand the situation. This report, compiled by the Nanking Municipal Office and published in March 1939, gives a detailed account of the 15 charity groups then working in Nanking City. Among the main charitable activities listed,

there is no 'burial' work for the Chung-shan-tang, and more than that, its scope of activities is described as 'narrowing.' It should be remembered that as for seven other charity groups including the Red Swastika Society, 'burial' of corpses is among their main charitable activities.

Furthermore, according to the same municipal report, the amount of subsidies granted by the Nanking City Government to charity groups in the period from May to December 1938 were 200 yuan each for eight groups including the Chung-shan-tang, while 1,000 yuan was granted to the Red Swastika Society. 200 yuan was barely enough to hire 600 coolies or to bury 400 corpses over the period from May to December 1938. From these Nanking municipal reports, we have to conclude that the Chung-shan-tang was doing hardly any burial work in the city of Nanking and that its burial report is a pure fiction hastily fabricated after the end of the war to present to the Tokyo war tribunal.

### 3. THE RED SWASTIKA SOCIETY

*The Red Swastika Society's burial statistics.* Lastly, we will discuss the Red Swastika Society's burial work and how far its burial statistics are true. Unlike the Chung-shan-tang, nobody questions that the said burial group did actually engage in burial of a large number of corpses within and outside the walls.

For example, the Nanking Special Service Organization Report 2 says:

Since the early part of January (1938) the Red Swastika burial team (about 600 members) has been engaged, under the direction of the (Japanese) Special Service Organization, in the burying of corpses within and outside the walls day after day, and as of the end of February has buried nearly 5,000 corpses. They are doing very good work.<sup>14</sup>

At the Tokyo tribunal, the prosecution tendered the burial statistics made by the Red Swastika Society concerning Japan's 'rape of Nanking'

(see **Table A**). According to the above statistics, more than 43,000 victims were buried by this charity organization. The Tokyo tribunal court, indifferent to the truthfulness of its legal proceedings, raised no question whatever as to the truth and accuracy of the figure and adopted it as evidence. Since then, the figure, 43,000, has been playing a major role in the Chinese contention of the 300,000 massacre in Nanking.

But Maruyama Susumu, who came to Nanking on December 28 as a member of the *Tokumu-kikan* or the Japanese Special Service Organization and directed the Red Swastika Society in the work of burying corpses, expresses strong doubts as to the truthfulness and reliability of the burial statistics by the said society.

***Maruyama's criticism of the Red Swastika Society's burial report.*** Being the very person that was in charge of the direction of burial work in Nanking, Maruyama strongly questions the validity of the numbers of buried corpses given in the Red Swastika Society's report. **Table A** is the Red Swastika Society's burial statistics and **Table B** is Maruyama's criticisms and corrections of **Table A** and his reasons for them.

Maruyama says in his recollections of the Nanking Incident:<sup>15</sup>

Through the Nanking Autonomous Committee I cooperated with the burial work of the Red Swastika Society. The burial statistics (**Table A**) are different in their contents from the daily burial report I received at that time through the Autonomous Committee and are suspicious in many respects.

In the first place the RSS began their burial work around January 20, 1938, and started working in earnest at the beginning of February, but the RSS report says that it buried 779 and 6,468 corpses as early as December 22 and 28 respectively in the previous year. This is unbelievable. It is perhaps true that it was already doing burial work at this period, but it had at most 50 or so hands for their work and they apparently were not working every day. So I cannot accept the report that the RSS buried as many as 7,247 corpses in only two days

at this period.

I remember that it was about the beginning of February (1938) that the Red Swastika Society set about burying in earnest and that the number of bodies they could bury a day was 200 at the most and the bodies it buried during February did not far exceed 5,000 in number. In March its working capacity increased considerably, and yet, if I remember correctly, they could bury only 800 or so corpses per day. Therefore, such vast numbers of buried bodies as reported for February 9 and 21 are not to be accepted as they are .... I should say that the grand total of 43,123 corpses that the Red Swastika Society report says they buried is a figure largely padded out at some later date.

From these viewpoints Maruyama corrects nearly half of the reported numbers in the RSS burial statistics and gives his reasons for the correction (**Table B**). As a result of such corrections, he estimates the number of corpses buried by the Red Swastika Society to be 21,817 or about half the number adopted by the Tokyo trial court.<sup>16</sup>

***The Tokyo trial ruling on the number of Nanking victims should be rectified.*** Now we know that the ruling reached by the Tokyo war tribunal that the total number of Chinese civilians and prison-

**CHART 3**

	<b>wrong</b>	<b>correct</b>
	② 2,873	0
	③ 7,000+	0
	④ 57,418	min. 4,000 max. 15,000
	⑤ 2,000+	100
	⑥ 3,000+	min. 1,500 max. 3,000
	⑦ 155,300+	22,000
<b>Total</b>	① 279,586 (227,591+?)	<b>min.30,600</b> <b>max.40,100</b>

ers of war killed by the Japanese during the first six weeks of the Japanese occupation of Nanking was over 200,000 was entirely wrong because the ruling was based on the fabricated document prepared by the Chinese procurators in Nanking. The figures in **CHART 2**, therefore, should be rectified as **CHART 3**.

**Table A Burial Statistics by the Red Swastika Society  
Within Walls**

	Date	Corposes were found at	Corposes were buried at	Men	Women	Children	Total
①	1937 12.22	around Shouping chiao	behind Chingliang-shan	129			129
②	1938 1.26	around Hsichiaotang	Chinling Univ. farm	124	1		125
③	2.2	around Hanchung Rd	Wutai-shan Hill	17	2		19
④	2.6	around Lungfanli	Chingliang-shan graveyard	49			49
⑤	2.7	around Hsitsangtang	Hsitsang Hill	149		2	151
⑥	2.11	around Shanghai Rd	Wutai-shan Hill	16		4	20
⑦	2.14	around Kulin Temple Hill	hill near Kulin Temple	107	2		109
⑧	2.19	all over northern city	Nanhsiu Village	650	2	20	672
⑨	2.20	Lungtian	hill behind Kulin Temple	154			154
⑩	2.22	all over northern city	hill behind Kulin Temple	29	1		30
⑪	2.27	all over northern city	Peihsiu Village	337			337
			Total	1,759	8	26	1,793
			(Corrected Total)	(1761)	8	26	(1795)

**Table B Maruyama Susumu's Correction of the Red Swastika Burial Statistics Within Walls**

	Numbers to be subtracted	Corrected Numbers	Reasons for Correction
①	129	0	No burial work at this time. See Note 1 below.
②		125	
③		19	
④		49	
⑤		151	
⑥		20	
⑦		109	
⑧	500	172	Too many. The number of buried corpses was at most 200 or so during February.
⑨		154	
⑩		30	
⑪		337	
Total	629	<b>1,166</b>	

## Outside Walls

	Date	Corposes were found at	Corposes were buried at	Men	Women	Children	Total
⑫	1937 12.22	all over the city	Wangchianchi, outside South Gate	100	9		109
⑬	12.22	all over the city	Kaonianpai Village, outside South Gate	250	11		261
⑭	12.22	all over the city	Pute Temple, outside South Gate	280			280
⑮	12.28			6,468			6,468
⑯	1938 1.10	around Shanghsinhe	Heichiao, Shanghsinhe	996	2		996 (998)
⑰	1.25	all over the city	Wanchiangchi, outside South Gate	407	21	3	431
⑱	2.7	riverside, outside Shuihsi Gate	Erhtaokantzu, outside Shuihsi Gate	843			843
⑲	2.8	downstream, Taiyangkung	Taiyangkung, Shanghsinhe	457			457
⑳	2.9	all around Shuihsi Gate	outside Shuihsi Gate	124	1		125
㉑	2.9	Erhkeng, Shanghsinhe	the same site, being decomposed	850			850
㉒	2.9	around Chiangtungchiao	Chiangtungchiao	1,850			1,850
㉓	2.9	Mienhuati, Shanghsinhe	the same site, being decomposed	1,860			1,860
㉔	2.11	all around Hanhsi Gate	Kuangtung graveyard, outside Hanhsi Gate	271	1		272
㉕	2.11	a pond, outside Shuihsi Gate	Tawang Temple, outside Shuihsi Gate	34			34
㉖	2.12	Tukuli, Hsiakuan	the same site, being decomposed	1,191			1,191
㉗	2.14	near Central Athletic Field	Graveyard, the same site	82			82

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Outside Walls

	Numbers to be subtracted	Corrected Numbers	Reasons for Correction
⑫	109	0	No burial work at this time. See <b>Note 1.</b>
⑬	261	0	No burial work at this time. See <b>Note 1.</b>
⑭	280	0	No burial work at this time. See <b>Note 1.</b>
⑮	6,468	0	See <b>Note 2.</b>
⑯	998	0	Burial work for this day was done by the Japanese troops.
⑰	200	231	Too many for this period.
⑱	600	243	See <b>Note 3.</b>
⑲	200	257	Too many for this period.
㉔		125	See <b>Note 4.</b>
㉕		850	See <b>Note 4.</b>
㉖	1,850	0	See <b>Note 4.</b>
㉗		1,860	See <b>Note 4.</b>
㉘		272	
㉙		34	
㉚	500	691	See <b>Note 5.</b>
㉛		82	

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	Date	Corposes were found at	Corposes were buried at	Men	Women	Children	Total
⑳	2.14	in Central Prison, Shanghsinhe	the same site	328			328
㉑	2.15	Kuanyinan, Shanghsinhe	the same site	81			81
㉒	2.16	Hsichieh, Shanghsinhe	Fenghuangchieh, Shanghsinhe	244			244
㉓	2.18	riverside, outside Hanchung Gate	the same site	1,123			1,123
㉔	2.18	around north river-mouth, Shanghsinhe	open spaces, the same place	380			380
㉕	2.18	banks of the Yangtze, Hsiakuan	Chiuchiakan, Hsiakuan	480			480
㉖	2.19	Torpedo Barracks, Hsiakuan	the same site, being decomposed	524			524
㉗	2.20	wharf, Torpedo Barracks	open spaces, Tsaohsiehcha, Hsiakuan	197			197
㉘	2.21	wharf, Torpedo Barracks	open spaces, Tsaohsiehcha, Hsiakuan	226			226
㉙	2.21	wharf, Torpedo Barracks	the same site, being decomposed	5,000			5,000
㉚	2.21	beside Mufu Hill	Shihliuyuan, Hsiakuan	147			147
㉛	2.21	behind Tsaohsiehcha	foot of Mufu Hill	115			115
㉜	2.21	Wufu Village & elsewhere	Wufu Village, Shanghsinhe	217			217
㉝	2.22	wharf, Torpedo Barracks	open spaces, Tsaohsiehcha, Hsiakuan	151			151
㉞	2.22	wharf, Torpedo Barracks	the same site, being decomposed	300			300
㉟	2.23	all over the city	Graveyard, Pute Temple, outside South Gate	106			106

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	Numbers to be subtracted	Corrected Numbers	Reasons for Correction
②⑧		328	
②⑨		81	
③⑩		244	
③①	600	523	See <b>Note 6.</b>
③②	100	280	
③③	200	280	
③④	300	224	
③⑤		197	
③⑥		226	
③⑦	3,000	2,000	See <b>Note 7.</b>
③⑧		147	
③⑨		115	
④⑩		217	
④①		151	
④②		300	
④③		106	

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	Date	Corposes were found at	Corposes were buried at	Men	Women	Children	Total
④④	2.25	all over Hsiakuan	Chiangchiayuan, Hsiakuan	85		85	
④⑤	2.26	beside Mufu Hill	Shihliuyuan, Hsiakuan	1,902			1,902
④⑥	2.26	wharf, Coal Harbor, Hsiakuan	eastern battery, Hsiakuan	194			194
④⑦	2.27	inside Shangyuan Gate	outside Shangyuan Gate, Hsiakuan	591			591
④⑧	2.28	all over northern city	Graveyard, Wangchiangchi, outside South Gate	87			87
④⑨	3.1	near Mufu Hill	Shihliuyuan, Hsiakuan	1,346			1,346
⑤⑩	3.1	all around Sanchahe	open spaces, south-west of Sanchahe	998			998
⑤①	3.2	Tawotzu near	Yungchin Temple, outside Heping Gate	1,409			1,409
⑤②	3.3	near Mufu Hill	Shihliuyuan, Hsiakuan	786			786
⑤③	3.6	riverside, Coal Harbor, Hsiakuan	the same site, being decomposed	1,772			1,772
⑤④	3.14	embankment behind Navy Hospital, Hsiakuan	the same place & the wharf	87			87
⑤⑤	3.15	all around Sanchahe	behind Sanchahe	29			29
⑤⑥	3.15	all around Kanlu Temple, Shanghsinhe	open spaces, the same site	83			83
⑤⑦	3.19	all around Ante Gate	hilltop, Huayen Temple, outside South Gate	100			100
⑤⑧	3.23	all around Kanlu Temple, Shanghsinhe	open spaces, the same site	354			354

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	Numbers to be subtracted	Corrected Numbers	Reasons for Correction
④④		85	
④⑤	1,000	902	At this period there should not have been as many corpses as 1,900 or more still left beside Mufu Hill.
④⑥		194	
④⑦	300	291	
④⑧		87	
④⑨	1,000	346	At this period there should not have been as many corpses as 1,300 or more still left beside Mufu Hill.
⑤⑩		998	
⑤⑪	1,000	409	The burial site is too distant from the site along the Yangtze where corpses were found. We cannot accept the number as it is.
⑤⑫		786	
⑤⑬		1,772	Considering that the corpses were buried just at the same site where they were found, we make an allowance for the possibility of this large-scale burial and accept the reported number.
⑤⑭		87	
⑤⑮		29	
⑤⑯		83	
⑤⑰		100	
⑤⑱		354	

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	Date	Corposes were found at	Corposes were buried at	Men	Women	Children	Total
⑤⑨	3.24	all over Shanghsinhe	hilltop, west of Anteli, outside South Gate	133			133
⑥⑩	3.25	all over the city	Anlitang, west of Pute Temple, outside South Gate	799			799
⑥⑪	3.27	Wallside, outside Taiping Gate	the same site, being decomposed	500			500
⑥⑫	4.14	all over northern & southern city	Graveyard, Pute Temple, outside South Gate	1,177			1,177
⑥⑬	4.16	all over Shanghsinhe	open spaces Chiachia-Sangyuan, Shanghsinhe	700			700
⑥⑭	4.19	all around rivermouth of Sanchahe	open spaces of Sanchahe	282			282
⑥⑮	4.27	riverbank & in the river	open spaces, Coal Harbor, Hsiakuan	385			385
⑥⑯	4.29	riverbank, Hsiakuan	riverbank, supply base, Hsiakuan	102			102
⑥⑰	4.30	arsenal & in the city	Pute Temple, outside South Gate	486			486
⑥⑱	5.1	riverbank, supply base	Shihliuyuan, Hsiakuan	518			518
⑥⑲	5.15	riverbank, supply base	Embankment, Laochiangkou	94			94
⑦⑩	5.18	riverbank & in the river	riverbank, Hsiakuan	65			65
⑦⑪	5.20	riverbank, Shanghsinhe	Heichiao, Shanghsinhe	57			57
⑦⑫	5.26	all over the city	hilltop, Pute Temple, outside South Gate	216			216
⑦⑬	5.31	riverbank, Coal Harbor, Hsiakuan	Coal Harbor, Hsiakuan	74			74
⑦⑭	6.30	all over the city	hilltop, Pute Temple, outside South Gate	26			26

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	Numbers to be subtracted	Corrected Numbers	Reasons for Correction
⑤⑨		133	
⑥⑩		799	
⑥①		500	
⑥②	500	677	
⑥③		700	
⑥④		282	
⑥⑤		385	
⑥⑥		102	
⑥⑦		486	
⑥⑧	518	0	No burial work at this period.
⑥⑨	94	0	No burial work at this period.
⑦⑩	65	0	No burial work at this period.
⑦①	57	0	No burial work at this period.
⑦②	216	0	No burial work at this period.
⑦③	74	0	No burial work at this period.
⑦④	26	0	No burial work at this period.

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	Date	Corposes were found at	Corposes were buried at	Men	Women	Children	Total
㉔	7.31	all over the city	hilltop, Pute Temple, outside South Gate	29	5	1	35
㉕	8.31	all over the city	hilltop, Pute Temple, outside South Gate	14	4		18
㉖	9.30	all over the city	Pute Temple, outside South Gate	31	8	9	48
㉗	10.30	all over the city	Pute Temple, outside South Gate	42	13	7	62
			Total	41,183	75	20	41,278
			(Corrected Total)	(41,235)	75	20	(41,330)

The Red Swastika Society Statistics				
	Men	Women	Children	Total
Within walls	1,761	8	26	1,795
Outside walls	41,235	75	20	41,330
Grand total	42,996	83	46	43,125

**Note 1** Probably, the total of 779 bodies for Dec. 22 (㉑ ㉒ ㉓ ㉔) were buried by the Japanese troops, not by the Red Swastika Society. What the latter was doing at this period was a very minor part of work such as covering the bodies with earth at the finishing stage of burial, but this report deceitfully enters the whole work to the credit of the Red Swastika Society.

**Note 2** The number 6,468 may correspond to the number of Chinese POWs executed by the Japanese 7th Regiment, yet here again their bodies were buried by the Japanese troops, not by the Red Swastika Society. Besides, while in the original statistics drafted in Chinese, there is no mention of where corpses were found or buried, the Prosecution Document No. 1704 tendered at the Tokyo trial says that they were found 'all over the city' and buried at 'Pute Temple, outside Chunghua Gate' or 'South Gate' in the list. This contradiction makes the entry the more suspicious. Maruyama concludes the number 6,468 is invalid.

**Note 3** On this day, Feb. 7, 151 bodies are buried within walls (See ㉕), so the total comes up to 994, but there being no entry of burial work for Feb. 3,4,5, it may be that bodies were moved during these three days. Hence only partial subtraction.

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	Numbers to be subtracted	Corrected Numbers	Reasons for Correction
⑦⑤	35	0	No burial work at this period.
⑦⑥	18	0	No burial work at this period.
⑦⑦	48	0	No burial work at this period.
⑦⑧	62	0	No burial work at this period.
Total	20,679	<b>20,651</b>	

Maruyama's Correction		
	Numbers to be subtracted	Corrected numbers
Within walls	629	1,166
Outside walls	20,679	20,651
Grand total	21,308	<b>21,817</b>

- Note 4** This is the area where the Japanese 45 Regiment encountered the Chinese 51 and 58 Divisions and in a fierce battle caused 2,300 or so Chinese soldiers to die on the morning of Dec. 13, so large-scale burial work may well have been done. But the number 1,850 for entry ②② is most likely to be a duplication of the 1,860 for entry ②③, so it should be left out.
- Note 5** Too many for this period, but since corpses were buried at the same place where they were found, it is possible that burial work was done on a relatively large scale, so we subtract only 500.
- Note 6** Too many for this period, but seeing that Second Lieutenant Orita Mamoru of the 23rd Regiment writes in his diary for this day that he heard 1,000 or so Chinese soldiers were found hiding in the basement of a building and were executed outside Hanchung Gate, we allow about half the number to be valid.
- Note 7** Partly because the number of abandoned corpses was largest around here and partly because they were buried just where they had been found, we cannot dismiss the number altogether, but there being no space around Torpedo Barracks spacious enough for the burial of 5,000 corpses, we subtract 3,000.

#### 4. DR. LEWIS S. C. SMYTHE'S WAR DAMAGE SURVEY

*Dr. Smythe's statistical method.* It is next door to impossible to objectively estimate the number of victims, soldier or civilian, in Nanking. Dr. Smythe's *War Damage in the Nanking Area*,<sup>17</sup> therefore, provides us with a valuable means of approaching this subject.

From March to April, 1938, Dr. Smythe, professor of sociology at the University of Nanking, authorized by the Nanking International Relief Committee, conducted war damage surveys in the city of Nanking and in the farming areas of 4.5 hsien (prefectures) around Nanking. Using investigators (probably Chinese), he conducted fieldwork to seek the facts, and after several weeks of such efforts, drew up tabulations of his findings. I am not going to say that the numerical results he achieved are 100 percent accurate, but just that the figures he gives are well worthy of notice and consideration as they were obtained not for propaganda purposes but by, as I assume, purely statistical means. His findings regarding the number and causes of deaths in the city and rural districts are shown in **Tables C** and **D**. Percentages of sex and age of persons killed by soldiers' violence<sup>18</sup> and of persons taken away in the city survey are shown in **Table E**.<sup>19</sup>

Table C NUMBER AND CAUSE OF DEATHS, BY DATE

Date (1937-1938)	Deaths by			Taken away**
	Military operations*	Soldiers' violence	Unknown	
Before Dec. 12	600	—	—	—
Dec. 12, 13	50	250	—	200
Dec. 14-Jan. 13	—	2,000	150	3,700
Jan 14-Mar. 15	—	—	—	250
Date unknown	200	150	—	50
Total	850	2,400	150	4,200

\*By "military operations" is meant bombing, shelling, or bullets fired in battle.

\*\*Most of those "taken away" have not been heard from in any manner.

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**Table D NUMBER AND CAUSES OF DEATHS  
(during 100 days covered by study)**

<i>Hsien</i>	<i>Total resident population represented</i>	<i>Total deaths</i>	<i>Deaths per 1,000 residents</i>	<i>Causes of Death</i>			<i>Total killed</i>	<i>Number killed per 1,000 residents</i>	<i>Deaths from sickness per 1,000 residents</i>
				<i>Violence</i>		<i>Sickness</i>			
				<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>				
Kiangning	433,300	10,750	25	7,170	1,990	1,590	9,160	21	3.7

**Table E SEX AND AGE OF DEATHS BY MILITARY VIOLENCE,  
AND OF PERSONS TAKEN AWAY  
shown in percentages**

<i>Age group</i>	<i>Death of</i>				<i>Taken away (males only)</i>
	<i>Males by</i>		<i>Females by</i>		
	<i>Soldiers' violence</i>	<i>Others*</i>	<i>Soldiers' violence</i>	<i>Others*</i>	
Under 5 years	—	—	—	—	—
5–14	6	8	8	—	—
15–29	25	25	23	—	55
30–44	22	8	15	14	36
45–59	19	42	15	57	9
60 and over	28	17	39	29	—
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Number per 1,000 in family members represented**	8	3	3	2	19
Number of persons	1,800	600	650 (600?)	350 (400?)	4,200

\*\*Others” includes both by “Military Operations” and “Unknown” as shown in **Table C**.

\*\*A total of 221,150 persons.

**Comparison of the two reports.** The number 2,400, given in the Smythe report as that of the victims of military violence within the walls, may look too small as against the widespread number of more than 300,000 victims. This number, however, is by no means unreasonable when com-

Table F The Number of Corpses found within the Walls

Reference numbers	The Red Swastika Society Report	Maruyama's Correction	Reference numbers	The Red Swastika Society Report	Maruyama's Correction
①	129	0	⑰	431	231
②	125	125	⑳	106	106
③	19	19	㉑	85	85
④	49	49	㉒	87	87
⑤	151	151	㉓	799	799
⑥	20	20	㉔	1,177	677
⑦	109	109	㉕	486	486
⑧	672	172	㉖	216	0
⑨	154	154	㉗	26	0
⑩	30	30	㉘	35	0
⑪	337	337	㉙	18	0
⑫	109	0	㉚	48	0
⑬	261	0	㉛	62	0
⑭	280	0	Total	6,021	<b>3,637</b>

pared with the number of corpses found within the walls as shown in the Red Swastika Society's burial report.

The number of corpses found within the walls by the RSS burial teams are as below (See **Tables A** and **B**):

When we compare **Tables C** with **Tables F**, we can easily notice how closely the total number of deaths as shown in Dr. Smythe's city survey, that is 3,400, approximates to the corrected number of corpses found within the walls in the Red Swastika Society report, that is 3, 6 37. Viewed in this light, the number of deaths given in the Smythe report may safely be said to faithfully reflect the reality of what happened, at least so far as its city survey is concerned.

What should be remembered is that Dr. Smythe survey was conducted both on behalf of, and authorized by, the Nanking International Relief Committee. Due credit, therefore, should be given to the numerical findings by Dr. Smythe and his assistants in the discussion of the Nanking Incident. It should also be remembered that the Red Swastika Society's

burial report was produced in evidence to the Tokyo tribunal court by the prosecutor representing China. That these two official documents agree in stating that the number of deaths in the city of Nanking is just 3,000 or so would be enough to disprove the contention that more than 300,000 Chinese were massacred in Nanking.

9,160, the number of deaths by violence in Kiangning hsien, may seem large enough, but we should remember that this is the number for the whole Kiangning hsien and so far as the walled city of Nanking and its neighborhood are concerned, the number will naturally be much smaller, perhaps several thousand. How far can we trust the Smythe report? Some researchers seem to doubt the purpose and truthfulness of Dr. Smythe's report on the grounds that he was working on behalf of the International Propaganda Office of the Kuomintang.<sup>20</sup> Can this, however, be good enough reason to doubt the objectivity and academic reliability of his report? Suppose his report had been drawn up to serve the propaganda purposes of the Kuomintang, it surely would have been subjected to the censorship by the same and the number of deaths would have been modified to serve the Kuomintang purposes. Suppose, again, that he had been acting as a faithful agent for the Kuomintang, he would have been able to exaggerate the scale of Japanese atrocities as freely as he liked. Even if Dr. Smythe's survey was conducted at the request of the International Propaganda Office of the Kuomintang, he apparently remained faithful to his scholarly conscience rather than to the Kuomintang.

It is of course not easy to check the accuracy of the findings in this survey. We cannot ascertain how far those surveyed replied correctly. How were they able to specify their family member's death as by soldiers' violence when they themselves were not on the scene of the atrocity? Some may question even the reliability of investigators, Dr. Smythe's Chinese assistants. Were they completely free from animosity and prejudice while working? Were their reports not exaggerated at all? There may have been errors and mishandling of facts by individual investigators, it is true, but so far as the survey as a whole is concerned, it will be safe to conclude that it

was conducted with a fair degree of objectivity and accuracy.

***At the Tokyo trial.*** The strange thing about the Smythe report is that the prosecution did not tender it as evidence of the Japanese atrocities in Nanking to the Tokyo war tribunal court. They presented only Dr. Smythe's affidavit, and though the defense were opposed to the presentation of the affidavit without presentation of the witness himself, the court, after some discussion with the defense, admitted the said affidavit.<sup>21</sup>

It is true that in the affidavit Dr. Smythe did refer to his survey of war damage in the Nanking area and the publication of the report on its findings, but he made no mention of numerical data he had obtained by the survey. If the report had been made for the purpose of Chinese propaganda, how is it that it was not tendered in evidence to prove the scale of Japanese atrocities in Nanking in terms of the numbers of the killed.

The reason, I presume, is that for the Chinese as well as for the prosecution, the numbers of deaths given in Dr. Smythe's report were too small to use as evidence of Japanese massacre in Nanking, coming far short of 200,000 or more. Had the numerical findings in Dr. Smythe's report been discussed at the Tokyo trial, it surely would have shed much light on this matter and greatly contributed to the search of the truth.

## 5. THE NUMBER OF VICTIMS

***How many civilians were killed?*** So far we have been able to estimate approximately how many Chinese were killed in the city and in its immediate neighborhood. But when it comes to the breaking down of the total deaths by the number of combatants or noncombatants, we have no data or documentary record to base our estimation upon. This is because, when defeated, Chinese soldiers almost always take off their military uniforms and change into civilian clothes to escape the enemy's eye. So when their corpses are found, there is no knowing whether they are soldiers or civilians if they are in their manhood, that is, aged roughly

between 15 and 60.

That being so, when the Red Swastika Society's team members buried the bodies, they could not tell whether they were those of soldiers or civilians except when the victims were women, children or very old males. So their burial report makes no distinction whatever between soldiers and civilians.

Likewise, Dr. Smythe's investigators did not make sure whether those killed in military operations or by soldiers' violence were soldiers or civilians, so the Smythe report says nothing about the distinction between soldiers and civilians. We cannot, therefore, say anything definite from these reports about how many of the victims were civilians or soldiers.

If so, it is quite incomprehensible that Dr. Smythe in one of his footnotes in the said report writes: 'A careful estimate from the burials in the city and in areas adjacent to the wall, indicates 12,000 civilians killed by violence. The tens of thousands of unarmed or disarmed soldiers are not considered in these lists.'<sup>22</sup> This number of 12,000 civilian deaths is completely groundless as well as utterly inconsistent with his own findings.

Why, then, is this blatant contradiction? My reasoning is that the said irrelevant footnote was inserted at the suggestion of Dr. M. S. Bates, professor of history at the University of Nanking, who wrote a foreword to Dr. Smythe's report, for Dr. Bates was a confirmed believer in 12,000 civilian deaths. Some of the evidences showing his firm, though groundless, conviction are:

1. his statement as a witness on behalf of the prosecution at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East:

Professor Smythe and I concluded, as a result of our investigations and observations and checking of burials, that twelve thousand civilians, men, women and children, were killed inside the walls within our own sure knowledge. There were many others killed within the city outside our knowledge whose numbers we have no way of checking, and also there were large numbers killed immediately

outside the city, of civilians. This is quite apart from the killing of tens of thousands of men who were Chinese soldiers or had been Chinese soldiers.<sup>23</sup>

2. his written account of what happened in Nanking:

Evidences from burials indicate that close to forty thousand unarmed persons were killed within and near the walls of Nanking, of whom some 30 per cent had never been soldiers.<sup>24</sup>

I would repeat once again that, historian as he was, Dr. Bates' argument on the number of civilian deaths was not based on any grounds, documentary or otherwise. In fact, even to this day there have not been any investigation results or any burial reports which make clear the number of civilian deaths. This is no wonder when we consider the fact that all the Chinese soldiers found dead within the walls wore civilian clothes; there certainly was no means of telling civilians from soldiers in burial work. Therefore, the number of 12,000 civilian deaths given by Dr. Bates is nothing but his mere guesswork unworthy of serious argument or consideration.

***Ignorance or distortion?*** Iris Chang writes in *The Rape of Nanking*, now a world-famous anti-Japanese book, '... experts at the International Military Tribunal of the Far East estimated that more than 260,000 *noncombatants* died at the hands of Japanese soldiers at Nanking in late 1937 and early 1938 ....'<sup>25</sup> Was the author deliberately trying to deceive the reader or had she never seen the IMTFE documents at first hand? I don't know which, but anyway, this is a gross distortion of the facts: as we have already seen,<sup>26</sup> the judgment at the IMTFE states just that over 200,000 civilians and prisoners of war were killed in Nanking and its vicinity during the first six weeks of Japanese occupation. Even in the Tokyo tribunal no numerical distinction was made between civilians and soldiers or POWs killed. We are sorry but we still do not have any objective data to enable us to make such distinction.

***Other estimates ever made.*** General Ho Ying-chin, Commander-in-

chief of the Chinese Ground Forces during the eight-year war with Japan, says in his collection of speeches *The Future of China and the World*: ‘... In the massacre after the fall of Nanking, the number of civilians murdered reached over 100,000.’<sup>27</sup> When Tsuge Hisayoshi, a journalist, visited ex-General Ho at Taipei, Taiwan, in 1979, he ventured to ask him about the Nanking Incident.

Tsuge: Your Excellency stated in your speech of September 9, 1972 that more than 100,000 Chinese were killed in Nanking. Am I right? (At this Ho said nothing but gave a little nod.)

Tsuge: The generalissimo and Your Excellency left Nanking on December 7, 1937. Six days later the Japanese army occupied Nanking and the occupation lasted for nearly eight years. Your Excellency came back to Nanking in August 1945.

Ho : That’s right. The ceremony for Japanese surrender took place on September 9, with General Okamura representing Japan.

Tsuge: I understand the Chinese army had not yet contended that a massacre had taken place in Nanking.

Ho : It seems that it came to be known later. It was reported that as people gradually came back to Nanking, the truth of the matter came to be disclosed.

(This statement is contradictory, for how was it possible for those who had evacuated from Nanking to testify to the occurrence of a massacre that allegedly took place soon after the city fell?)

Tsuge: Am I to understand that the number of over 100,000 deaths was in that report?

Ho : I think the report said that, though not an exact number, it was over 100,000.

Tsuge: Peking insists that it was more than 300,000.

Ho : That’s strange. At that time the number of Nanking citizens were 150,000 and the strength of our garrison army was 50,000.

So even if they had all been killed, it would have been 200,000. It is unthinkable.

The above conversation shows that even as late as 1979, General Ho was convinced that over 300,000 victims in Nanking was unthinkable. Considering Ho's position in the Chinese Army, his statement should not be made light of in the discussion of the Nanking Incident.

***70,000 was an official estimation?*** Fang Yu-hsiang, the 'Christian General' as people called him, writes about the Nanking Incident in his memoir, first published in 1949, as below:

As the Japanese army approached Nanking, the first thing Tang Sheng-chih did was to burn down a large number of houses outside the Nanking walls so that they might not be used by the enemy. But when the enemy closed in on Nanking, our troops completely collapsed. Some troops surrendered to the Japanese. In less than three days the Japanese invaders shot to death over 70,000 Chinese who surrendered.<sup>28</sup>

Feng Yu-hsiang wrote this memoir in 1947 by dictating it to his wife Li Te-chuan, but we should note that this was not the first time that the number of deaths in Nanking was estimated as 70,000 or more.

For example, on March 12, 1938, just three months after the fall of Nanking, the Chinese official Hankou radio station delivered a Japanese-language propaganda broadcast which in part goes like this:

The Poantui in Nanking were believed to have died in battle, but they were killed by machine guns and hand grenades while they were being transported by the Japanese. The Japanese were cruel and savage like beasts and in the ponds are reportedly 70,000 or so bodies of those who were murdered.<sup>29</sup>

The Hankou propaganda broadcasts at this period made no mention of such large numbers of victims as 200,000, 300,000 and so forth. Then, why

the number 70,000 at this period? This can be accounted for by two reports that were already known in some official quarters at that time.

One is the Red Swastika Society statistics reporting the burial of more than 40,000 bodies. We have already seen that over 40,000 corpses were an exaggeration and therefore not true, but anyhow, their burial report was presented to the Nanking Autonomous Committee and, no doubt, to the Chinese Government authorities then in Hankou.

The other is the military report by General Ho Ying-chin containing the statistics of war dead.<sup>30</sup> Chart No. 30 appended to it is the statistics of the number of Chinese soldiers wounded and killed during the 1937–40 period, and according to them the number killed in the Shanghai and Nanking war areas in the period from July to December 1937 is just 33,000. These statistics were prepared by the Chinese Military Administration Department in June, 1940 or only two years and a half after the fall of Nanking. Some may feel the number dead is too small, but anyway, this was an official estimation by the Chinese military authorities.

The number 70,000, therefore, is very likely the result of a mental combination of the above two numbers, 40,000 and 33,000, and in the years before the Tokyo trial it seems that no other real numbers appeared or was mentioned as an estimate of the number of victims in Nanking.

***The population of Nanking.*** To make up a story of Japanese army's massacre of Nanking citizens, it is of course convenient to estimate the population of Nanking at the time of its fall to be as large as possible.

For instance, Iris Chang, the Chinese American woman who wrote *the Rape of Nanking* in 1997 and is apparently willing to accept the total death toll of more than 400,000 people,<sup>31</sup> writes that the population of Nanking at the time of Japanese occupation was 'approximately 600,000 or perhaps even 700,000.'<sup>32</sup> But these are figures invented just for propaganda purposes and nothing more, for all reliable documents written at the time of Japanese occupation record that the population of Nanking was 200,000 or thereabouts as follows (*Italics mine*):

**Dr. Lewis S. C. Smythe:**

The city of Nanking had before the war a population of just 1,000,000, which was considerably reduced by repeated bombings and latterly by approaching attack and the removal of all Chinese governmental organs. At the time the city fell (December 12–13), its population was between *200,000 and 250,000*.<sup>33</sup>

**John Rabe:**

I told the [German] embassy to reply:

For Siemens Shanghai from Rabe. Thank you for your telegram of 25 November — have decided to remain in Nanking — have accepted chairmanship of International Committee for creation of neutral zone to protect *over two hundred thousand noncombatants*.<sup>34</sup>

Wang Kopang, the chief of police, has repeatedly declared that *200,000 Chinese* are still living in the city.<sup>35</sup>

Why didn't they force the well-off inhabitants, *those 800,000 propertied citizens who fled*, to stay? Why is it always the poorest people who must forfeit their lives?<sup>36</sup>

**The International Safety Zone Committee's official letters to the Japanese authorities in Nanking:**<sup>37</sup>

Document No. 6 December 17, 1937

It is hard to see how starvation may be prevented amongst many of *the 200,000 Chinese civilians* if order is not restored at once among the Japanese soldiers in the city.

Document No. 7 December 18, 1937

We are very sorry to trouble you again but the sufferings and needs of *the 200,000 civilians* for whom we are trying to care make it urgent that we try to secure action from your military authorities

to stop the present disorder among Japanese soldiers wandering through the Safety Zone.

We twenty-two Westerners cannot feed *200,000 Chinese civilians* and protect them night and day.

Document No. 9 December 21, 1937

We come to petition in the name of humanity that the following steps be taken for the welfare of *the 200,000 civilians* in Nanking:

1. That the burning of large sections of the city be stopped and what remains of the city be spared from either reckless or systematic burning.

All of the above documents were written by such persons as were closely connected with the Chinese Government and of course severely critical of the Japanese acts in Nanking, so there is no reason whatever for Iris Chang and other anti-Japanese propagandists to deny the fact that there were only 200,000 citizens in Nanking at the time of the Japanese occupation. Their unwillingness to accept this figure shows conclusively that their aims are not in any way to seek historical truth but merely to serve some political purposes.

The fact of there having been 200,000 or so civilians in Nanking throughout the occupation period leads us to pose a question: if the Japanese soldiers had massacred over 300,000 or even 400,000 civilians in the city of Nanking, how is it that the same ‘ferocious and bloodthirsty’ Japanese, as they are described by Iris Chang and other anti-Japanese propagandists, left those 200,000 civilians safe and intact throughout their occupation when those refugees in the safety zone must have been the easiest prey for them? Or we might say like this: even if the Japanese had murdered the whole 200,000 population then in Nanking, it would still be far short of the mass murder of more than 300,000 people.

NOTES

- 1 The International Military Tribunal for the Far East [hereafter cited as IMTFE], pp. 49,607–49,608.
- 2 Ibid. pp. 4,547–4,548. Exhibit No. 327.
- 3 Ibid. p. 49,608.
- 4 Ibid. p. 49,815.
- 5 Ibid. pp. 2,604–2,606.
- 6 John Rabe, *The Good Man of Nanking: the Diaries of John Rabe* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1998) p. 75.
- 7 H. J. Timperley, *Japanese Terror in China* (N.Y., Modern Age Books, 1938), Appendix D, p. 178.
- 8 Chungkuo-tierh-lishi-tangan-kuan [The Chinese second Historical Archive] et al., *Chinhuaqijhchun-Nanching-tatusha-tangan* [Materials on the Massacre Committed by the Japanese Invading Army in Nanking] (Chiangsu Province, Chiangsu-kuchi-chupanshe [publishing company], 1987), p. 95, translation by Nakamura (Italics mine).
- 9 IMTFE Exhibit No. 324.
- 10 See, for example, J. Rabe, op. cit., pp. 76, 190, 197 and 212.
- 11 Chungkuo-tierh-lishi-tangan-kuan et al., op. cit., pp. 423–424.
- 12 Nakamura's interview with Maruyama at Kogoshima where he lived, Sept. 24, 1998. Tape-recorded. See also, Maruyama, *The Truth of the Nanking Incident*, No. 6, *Kaiho [Bulletin] No. 138* (Tokyo, Mantetsu-Wakabakai, 1998), p. 77.
- 13 Ara Kenichi, *A Made-up Evidence of the Nanking Massacre, the exposed truth of the Chung-shan-tang* (Tokyo, Sankei-shinbun, *Seiron* monthly magazine, Oct., 1985), pp. 166–178.
- 14 Nanking Tokumu-kikan Hōkoku [Nanking Special Service Organization Report] (2), included in *the Higashi to Nishi* [East and West] (Tokyo Ajia Daigaku, Gengo-bunka-kenkyujo [Asia Univ., Language-culture Research Institute], 2000), No. 18, p. 97.
- 15 Maruyama, op. cit.
- 16 Maruyama's letter to Nakamura, dated Apr. 8, 2001.
- 17 Dr. Lewis S. C. Smythe (Professor of Sociology, University of Nanking) and assistants, *War Damage in the Nanking Area|December, 1937 to March, 1938|Urban and Rural Surveys* (Shanghai, Mercury Press, 1938).
- 18 In his report Dr. Smythe seems to deliberately avoid using the terms 'Chinese' and 'Japanese' when referring to, say, 'soldiers' violence.' So when it says 'soldiers' violence,' we cannot determine whether those soldiers are Chinese or Japanese. Deaths must have been caused in many cases by

violence done by both Chinese and Japanese soldiers. Likewise, 'Taken away' in his tables may mean either 'by Chinese soldiers' or 'by Japanese soldiers' or both. It is objective and fair to avoid using the term 'Chinese' or 'Japanese' when the nationality of victimizers is not definitely known, but in the Japanese translation of Dr. Smythe's survey included in *Nitchu-senso Nanking-daizangyaku-jiken-Shiryōshū* [Documents on the Nanking Massacre] (Compiled by Hora Tomio, Tokyo, Aoki-shoten, 1985) vol. 2, original 'Soldiers' are all translated as 'Nihon-hei' or Japanese soldiers, thereby misleading, deliberately perhaps, the readers into thinking that all violence in and around Nanking was done by Japanese soldiers.

- 19 **Table C** and **Table D** are based respectively on Table 4 and Table 25 in Dr. Smythe, op. cit. but are both simplified. Table 25 gives the number and causes of deaths for five hsien including Kiangning hsien, but here we have extracted from Dr. Smythe's Table 25 only those data covering Kiangning hsien in which the city of Nanking is located. **Table E** is based on Table 5 in Dr. Smythe, op. cit.
- 20 e.g. Kitamura Minoru, '*Nanking-jiken' no Tankyū, sono jitsuzō o motomete* [An Inquiry into the 'Nanking Incident,' in search of the truth] (Tokyo, Bungeishunjū-sha, 2001), pp. 164–178.
- 21 IMTFE, pp. 4,451–4,459.
- 22 Smythe, op. cit., p. 8.
- 23 IMTFE, p. 2,630. (Italics mine)
- 24 Timperley, op. cit., Ch. III, p. 51. The said chapter is presumed to have been written by Dr. Bates. See, for example, the introduction to Hora, op. cit., p. 2.
- 25 Iris Chang, *The Rape of Nanking* (NY, Basic Books, 1997), p. 4.
- 26 IMTFE, p. 49,608. See ante. p. 266.
- 27 Quoted in Tsuge Hisayoshi, *Yōhei Kenbunki* [A Mercenary Soldier's Experience] (Tokyo, Shūei-sha, 1991), pp. 234–235. For the following conversation, see *ibid.*, pp. 235–238.
- 28 Feng Yu-hsiang, *Wo-so-Jenshi-te-Chiang Kai-shek* [Chiang Kai-shek as I understand him], quoted from its Japanese translation *Waga-Gitei-Shōkaiseki* [Chiang Kai-shek, my brother-in-law] (Tokyo, Nagasaki-shuppan Inc., 1976), p. 93.
- 29 The (Japanese) Cabinet Information Department, *the Fall of the Chinese Army Seen from the Chinese Propaganda Broadcasts, March 1938* (Chōjō No. 1).
- 30 Ho-Shangchiang Kangchan-chichien Chunshih-paokao [General Ho's Military Report for the Anti-Japanese War Period] (China, Wenhsing Bookshop, 1949), vol. 1.

- 31 Chang, *op. cit.*, p. 103. According to the press, Iris Chang was found dead on the morning of November 9, 2004. She had reportedly killed herself with a gun.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 100.
- 33 Smythe, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
- 34 Rabe, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
- 35 *Ibid.*, p. 39.
- 36 *Ibid.*, p. 52.
- 37 Timperley, *op. cit.*, Appendix D.