

**English Language Primary Sources on China at War, 1937-1945**

Steven Phillips  
History Department  
Towson University

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## Introduction

I have seen nothing of the China so eloquently depicted by Pearl Buck nor that depicted by international journalists who write with their tongues in their cheeks but find Buckism pays. (A friend of mine said the other day that we had already suffered two major disasters in the Pacific War--Pearl Harbour and Pearl Buck). The China I do see is interesting but not inspiring. One or two heroic figures like Chiang, a few very fine minds, a lot of intriguing politicians and a mass downtrodden by landlords, moneylenders and profiteers, tolerating with smiling faces and full but undernourished bellies what could not stand for a moment with us.<sup>1</sup>

This quotation from Frederic William Eggleston, Australia's wartime Minister Plenipotentiary to China, introduces two aspects of the English-language documentation of Sino-Japanese conflict: the facts that these documents bring to light, and the interpretation of these events by Americans, British, Australians, and Canadians. In short, what do primary sources tell us about the 1937-1945 period, and what do they tell us about how outsiders understood China and its struggle against the Japanese?<sup>2</sup> In the same way, this paper will divide its attention between the facts by discussing the location and content of various English-language sources, and interpretation by placing these materials into a larger context. The archives and authors discussed below also serve as a guide for those beginning research into a wide variety of topics related to eight tumultuous years of warfare in China.

An examination of a broad range of English-language primary source materials suggests several themes relating to the interpretation of Sino-Japanese conflict. First, through official documents, private papers, memoirs, and oral histories observers have placed the 1937 to 1945 period into many different contexts. Each context influences what observers deem worthy of

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<sup>1</sup> Letter from Eggleston to Prime Minister Robert G. Menzies, July 5, 1942, Papers of Sir Frederic W. Eggleston, Canberra, National Library of Australia, Manuscript Section.

<sup>2</sup> The years 1937 to 1945 is the period of all-out war between China and Japan. The war began with the Marco Polo Bridge Incident near Beijing in July 1937, and quickly spread from Northeast China to the Yangzi River region. It did

recording--or ignoring. Obviously, whether defined as the China-centered War of Resistance, the regionally based Second Sino-Japanese War or Pacific War, or the global World War II, the military conflict between Chinese and Japanese is the most prevalent theme for these eight years. The war can become part of other narratives, such as Sino-American relations or the rivalry between the Nationalists and the Chinese Communists. These topics all center around conflict between nation-states, or the attempt by Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) or Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) to build a strong nation-state in China. There do exist, however, English-language primary sources that are not so neatly connected to the political or military history of the Nationalists or Communists. This is particularly true for those who write about life in occupied China, examine topics such as Christianity in China, or focus on the impact of the war at the local or provincial level.

Second, debate over images of China and Jiang Jieshi's Nationalist government dominates much of the English-language material. Although written over forty years ago, Harold R. Isaacs' *Scratches on Our Minds: American Images of China and India* offers a useful model for understanding these primary sources.<sup>3</sup> Isaacs deems the 1937-1944 period the "Age of Admiration," when the Chinese were idolized as "Heroes Risen" for their resistance against the Japanese.<sup>4</sup> He explains: "It

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not end until Japan's surrender to the Allied powers in August 1945.

<sup>3</sup> Harold R. Isaacs, *Scratches on Our Minds: American Images of China and India* (New York: John Day Company, 1958). Isaacs' straightforward framework begins with the 1700s, which he calls the Age of Respect, a time when Americans and Western Europeans idealized China's bureaucratic political system and Confucian culture. The 1800s is called the Age of Contempt, as increased contact and Unequal Treaties led to the image of China as a weak and backwards nation. The period from the early 1900s to 1937 is the Age of Benevolence, when China became a nation that required American education and improvement. Isaacs' volume is also useful for its extensive discussion of books and memoirs written by Americans during the war period.

<sup>4</sup> First among many works that evoked Western sympathy for the Chinese is the Pulitzer (1932) and Nobel Prize (1938) winning novel by Pearl S. Buck, *The Good Earth* (New York: John Day, 1931). Despite her private concerns over Nationalist rule, she continued to write and speak in support of China during the war, which she portrayed as a land of honest and hardworking farmers--the "Buckism" to which Eggleston referred. She also wrote three novels that used the Sino-Japanese War as a backdrop: *The Patriot* (New York: John Day, 1939), *Dragon Seed* (New York: John Day, 1942) and *The Promise* (New York: John Day, 1943). Buck's writings and speeches gave her a great deal of influence over how Americans perceived China. As Peter Conn notes in his study of Buck, "Never before or since has one writer so personally shaped the imaginative terms in which America addresses a foreign culture. For two generations of Americans, Buck invented China." Peter Conn, *Pearl S. Buck: A Cultural Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge

[Sino-Japanese conflict] began the process by which a popular picture of the Chinese heroically defending their homeland against an infinitely more powerful invader gradually grew to much more than life-size proportions."<sup>5</sup> As was the case with many of the primary sources examined in this paper, China often became synonymous with the Nationalist government--a conception Jiang and his supporters promoted.<sup>6</sup> Those who criticized the Nationalists, however, almost without exception separated the Chinese nation or people from Jiang and his regime. In this sense, English-language sources formed an important part of the critique of the Nationalists' claim to national legitimacy. The years 1944 to 1949 were the "Age of Disenchantment," as Americans increasingly focused on the defects of the Nationalist government. Chinese, or at least the Nationalists, became the "The Heroes

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University Press, 1996), xiv. Regardless of Buck's intentions, Nationalist propaganda efforts built upon the sympathy sparked by her novels in order to transform general feelings of goodwill into concrete support for Jiang's government. The best complete bibliography of Buck's writings is contained in Kang Liao, *Pearl S. Buck: A Cultural Bridge Across the Pacific* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1997). Henry Luce and his publishing empire was also an influential force in shaping how Americans perceived China, particularly by providing a positive image of Jiang Jieshi and his American-educated wife. T. Christopher Jespersen has examined the creation of positive images of China and the Nationalist Government in the United States, focusing on the efforts of Luce. Jespersen concludes: "Americans came to profess faith in a China developing along the path blazed by their own nation. The Chinese people appeared willing and eager to adopt Protestant religion and democratic political ideology, especially under the guidance of their nominal leader, Chiang Kai-shek." T. Christopher Jespersen, *American Images of China, 1931-1949* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), xviii.

<sup>5</sup> Isaacs, *Scratches on Our Minds*, 167-168.

<sup>6</sup> There exists an extensive body of works praising Jiang Jieshi in order to build an image of a Nationalist government leading a united nation in a struggle against the Japanese. The emphasis on Jiang's leadership became the topic of a large number of English-language publications, particularly those by the Nationalist government, such as *China Fights On: War Messages of Chiang Kai-shek*. Chiang Kai-shek, translated by Frank Wilson Price, *China Fights On: War Messages of Chiang Kai-shek* volume I, October 1938-January 1940 (Chungking: The China Publishing Company, c. 1940). See also *Statements and Speeches by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek*, volumes I and II (International Publishers, c. 1946); *The Collected Wartime Messages of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, 1937-1945*, volumes One and Two (New York: The John Day Company, 1946); *Resistance and Reconstruction: Messages During China's Six Years of War, 1937-1945* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1943); *The Voice of China: Speeches of Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, December 7, 1941-October 10, 1943* (London: Chinese Ministry of Information, 1943). See also the series of articles on the Nationalists' accomplishments during the war edited by Hollington K. Tong, Vice Minister of Information. Hollington K. Tong, *China After Seven Years of War* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945). Lin Yutang, another influential author during the war, portrayed the Nationalist war effort as a valiant struggle led by a dedicated government. He focuses on the sacrifices by Nationalist officials and Chinese citizens. Lin's volume also provides insight into the difficulty faced by the Nationalists after their retreat to Chongqing. Lin Yutang, *The Vigil of a Nation* (New York: The John Day Company, 1944). See also Adet Lin, Anor Lin, and Meimei Lin (daughters of Lin Yutang), *Dawn Over Chungking* (New York: John Day, 1941). There also exist works by Western journalists which glorify the Nationalists. For example, see J. Gunnar Anderson, *China Fights for the World* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1939) and Rhodes Farmer, *Shanghai Harvest: A Diary of Three Years in the China War* (London: Museum Press, 1945).

Fallen," who were defined by corruption, cronyism, and ineptitude.<sup>7</sup> The divide between the two images of China is not purely chronological. Isaacs emphasized that the public image of China's heroic resistance existed simultaneously with a private one of Nationalist defects that burst into the American consciousness during the last year of the war, particularly after the recall of General Joseph Stilwell.<sup>8</sup> The conflict between images (or illusions) of the Heroes Risen and the Heroes Fallen represents the heart of a debate over China and its war effort among Americans and, to a lesser extent, British, Australians, and Canadians.

The legacy of Communist victory in China's Civil War is the third issue confronting those who research Sino-Japanese conflict. Post-1949 memoirs, oral histories and the secondary literature on the 1937-1945 period often present the war as a prelude to Communist victory, or as a case study in Nationalist defects that would lead to the regime's collapse.<sup>9</sup> As Steven Levine writes in *China's Bitter Victory: The War with Japan, 1937-1945*, "If not for the Sino-Japanese War, it is doubtful whether the Chinese Communist party would ever have come to power."<sup>10</sup> Similarly, these

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<sup>7</sup> Isaacs notes that "The brief hours of enchantment ticked swiftly away and then, as if at the last stroke of midnight, they ended and disenchantment set in. Americans who came to China on war missions carried with them the shining slipper left by the propaganda of the heroic period before Pearl Harbor." Isaacs, *Scratches on Our Minds*, 176.

<sup>8</sup> As Isaacs notes, "Chinese-American wartime relations finally exploded in public with the recall of General Stilwell, in October 1944. The rash of 'revelations' of conditions in China which filled the press on this occasion began the process by which the Chiang Kai-shek regime in China became powerfully identified with the single theme and single idea of corruption." Isaacs, *Scratches on Our Minds*, 188.

<sup>9</sup> Those who seek to explain Communist victory in 1949 by focusing on the war years include scholars with a wide variety of materials and approaches, including a focus on peasant nationalism (Chalmers A. Johnson, *Peasant Nationalism and Communist Power: The Emergence of Revolutionary China, 1937-1945* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962)); the development of the "mass line" at Yen-an (Mark Selden, *The Yen-an Way in Revolutionary China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971)); effective organizing of China's peasants (Yung-fa Chen, *Making Revolution: The Communist Movement in Eastern and Central China, 1937-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986)); effective mobilization of the population in both rural and urban areas (Tetsuya Kataoka, *Resistance and Revolution in China: The Communists and the Second United Front* (University of California Press, 1974). Even works examining the Nationalists tend to see the wartime experience through the lens of 1949. For example, Lloyd Eastman writes that "the Nationalist movement by 1945 was utterly debilitated, its weaknesses evidenced by in the limited reach of its political sway, the corruption and ineffectiveness of its administration, the self-destructive fighting of its several factions, and the pervasive incompetence and demoralization of its army." Lloyd Eastman, *Seeds of Destruction: Nationalist China in War and Revolution, 1937-1949* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984), 225.

<sup>10</sup> He attributes this to an "ideal environment" for the growth of Communist power and the war that "fatally sapped the energies of the Chinese Nationalist government, whose defeat in the civil war of 1946-49 cannot be explained without

eight years are often remembered by politicians, diplomats and others only as the period relates to the establishment of the People's Republic of China in October 1949. This is not to suggest that these interpretations are incorrect, but to point out that the attempt to explain one aspect of China's history—Communist victory in the Civil War—can determine what observers consider worth remembering and recording from the 1937-1945 period. Finally, many of the English-language documents are "second best" when compared to Chinese or Japanese records. For example, many of the source materials examined in this paper are based upon Chinese documents. A United States Department of State report on the Nationalist government may, in fact, combine information from interviews, intelligence, and articles in Chinese-language newspapers.

This paper will trace these four general themes through five sections. *Contending Images of the Nationalists* introduces the most abundant type of records, American official documents, memoirs, and private papers related to Jiang's government. *Alternative Views of Nationalist China* examines the most important materials from British, Australian, and Chinese officials. These sources often provide an interesting counterpoint to American perspectives on Nationalist China. The third section, *Documenting Military Conflict*, is a brief overview of primary source material from military or intelligence services. *Yenan: The Opposite of Chongqing* follows. This section discusses the English-language documentary materials available to researchers, and places these records in the context of the inevitable comparison between the Nationalist and the Communist regimes. The final section, *Occupied China: Outside the Nation's History*, describes sources related

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reference to the antecedent experience of the Sino-Japanese War." James C. Hsiung and Steven I. Levine, eds., *China's Bitter Victory: The War with Japan, 1937-1945* (Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 1992), xvii-xviii. In his book *Nationalist China at War*, Hsi-sheng Ch'i follows this thesis, writing that "the Sino-Japanese War of 1937-45 represented a stress beyond the KMT's coping capabilities and eventually forced it to collapse." He makes clear that political problems at war's end "had reached such a massive scale that the KMT's political fate was probably sealed even before civil war erupted." Hsi-sheng Ch'i, *Nationalist China at War: Military Defeats and Political Collapse, 1937-45* (Ann Arbor:

to the Japan's invasion, occupation, and administration. These records also provide information on Chinese who did not oppose the Japanese, or whose resistance occurred with little reference to Jiang or Mao--in effect placing themselves outside China's history of resistance led by these two claimants to national legitimacy.

### **Contending Images of the Nationalists**

English-language sources tend to focus on political and military issues, and are most detailed for areas under the control of the Nationalists, the officially recognized government of China until 1949. From the perspective of Washington and London, China represented a small and frequently troublesome part of a global war effort or a potential "Great Power" in the post-war era. Allied leaders attempted to balance conflicting information about the Nationalist government, which represented China to many of them, with the needs of wartime unity. American sources provide the best opportunity to see the process of creating, protecting, and attacking images of China. The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park, New York, contains documentation of top-level policy making, consultation with the Nationalists and other allies (particularly the British) as well as reports from the Department of State, the Department of War, and other sources. The Secretary's Files at the Library have some of the most valuable materials, and are divided into five parts: Safe Files, Confidential Files, Diplomatic Files, Departmental Files, and Subject Files. Of particular interest are Roosevelt's Safe Files, which include correspondence between the President and Jiang, reports to the President on events in China, and discussions of American policy. Researchers should also consult the files of Harry L. Hopkins (Secretary of Commerce until 1940, then Advisor to Roosevelt), Henry Morgenthau, Jr. (Under Secretary, then Secretary, of the Treasury), Lauchlin

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University of Michigan Press, 1982), 3, 240.

Currie (Administrative Assistant to Roosevelt and head of the Lend-Lease program for China), and Sumner Welles (Under Secretary of State, 1937-1943), the American War Production Mission in China, and materials related to the activities of Ambassador Patrick Hurley in China.<sup>11</sup> Many of the documents in these collections evaluate the willingness and ability of the Nationalists to meet American expectations for contributing to the war effort.

Whether investigating the events of 1937-1945 or the American interpretation of them, documentary collections represent a key tool for researchers. The *Foreign Relations of the United States* series publishes policy recommendations to the Secretary of State and President, reports from Nanjing (Nanking) and Chongqing (Chungking), talks with Nationalist officials and Communist leaders, as well as summaries of news reports and discussions with missionaries, reporters, and other foreigners in China.<sup>12</sup> The volumes, which consist primarily of Department of State documents, include telegrams from officials like John M. Service, one of several Foreign Service Officers who would come under attack for alleged sympathies for the Communist cause.<sup>13</sup> Much of

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<sup>11</sup> The library also holds 11 microfilm reels of documents of the Production Mission that contain reports on industrial development and economic problems faced by the Nationalist Government. A finding aid also offers a helpful list of microfilm collections at the library, as well as a directory of the location of private papers belonging to Americans prominent during the Roosevelt years. *Historical materials in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library*, 10th ed. (Hyde Park: Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, National Archives and Records Administration, 1996). Information on the Roosevelt Library is also available on-line at [www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/fdr](http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/fdr). Patrick Hurley's personal papers are held at the Western History Collection at the University of Oklahoma.

<sup>12</sup> See *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1937, volumes III and IV, The Far East (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1954); 1938, volumes III and IV, The Far East (1955); 1939, volume III, The Far East (1955); 1940, volume IV, The Far East (1955); 1941, volumes IV and V, The Far East (1956 and 1962); 1942, volume VII, China (1956); The Conferences at Washington, 1941-1942, and Casablanca, 1943 (1968); The Conferences at Washington and Quebec, 1943 (1970); The Conferences at Cairo and Tehran, 1943 (1961); 1943, volume VII, China, 1962); 1944; volume VI, China (1967); The Conference at Quebec, 1944 (1972); The Conferences at Malta and Yalta, 1945 (1955); 1945, The Conference of Berlin (The Potsdam Conference), 1945, (1960); and 1945, volume VII, The Far East: China (1969). *Foreign Relations* is compiled and edited by the Office of the Historian at the Department of State.

<sup>13</sup> Because the volumes compiled for this period are comprised almost exclusively of Department of State documents, researchers should also consult the Franklin Roosevelt Presidential Library and Department of War files at the National Archives. Another key resource is the famous "White Paper" released by the Department of State in August 1949. This volume, entitled *United States Relations with China: With Special Reference to the Period 1944-1949*, examines American policy and emphasizes that Communist victory was the result of Nationalists' errors and misrule, not the lack of American support. United States Department of State, *United States Relations with China: With Special Reference to the Period 1944-1949* (Washington: United States Department of State, 1949).

the American diplomatic reporting falls within the context of Isaacs' book by engaging in a debate between the positive image of the Nationalists during the early war years, and the almost uniformly negative view which held sway by 1944. *Foreign Relations* also serves as a useful roadmap for more in-depth research in the files of the Department of State, now housed at the National Archives in College Park, Maryland.

The Department's topical "decimal files" (Record Group 59) represent the largest single collection of materials, and are vital for detailed research into the political, economic, or military situation in China.<sup>14</sup> As is the case with the *Foreign Relations* volumes, the most extensive documentation in the original files focuses on Sino-American relations, Nationalist politics, conflict with the Japanese, and military affairs.<sup>15</sup> Department of State records contain more limited data on the Communists' government and military efforts, life under Japanese rule, or topics such as peasant problems. Also, these sources often rely upon translations of materials in the Chinese language press, or information (or misinformation) gleaned from talks with Nationalist officials. Besides the decimal files, researchers should examine "lot files," collections of documents from individual offices or bureaus such as the Division of Far Eastern Affairs.<sup>16</sup> The records of individual foreign service posts (both embassies and consulates) are contained in Record Group 84, also at the National

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<sup>14</sup> Besides the original paper copies of these documents, the National Archives has a 96 rolls of microfilm of decimal file records concerning Sino-Japanese relations (1930-1944) taken from the Department of State's central files (microfilm number M976).

<sup>15</sup> These files also hold information on Taiwan, which had been under Japanese rule since 1895. See Douglas Fix, ed. *Taiwanshi dang'an, wenshu muliao (12) Meiguo gongchang ji lianheguo dang'anguan suocang youguan Taiwan shiwu dang'an muliao* (A Bibliography of Books and Taiwan Historical Archives, Volume 12: An Archival Bibliography of Materials Related to Taiwan's History Held in Public Archives and the United Nations Archives in the United States) (Taipei: Guoli Taiwan daxue, 1997). This volume lists many English-language documents from the 1937-1945 period.

<sup>16</sup> The best single guide to Department of State lot files is from Gerald K. Haines, *A Reference Guide to United States Department of State Special Files* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1985).

Archives.<sup>17</sup> This collection includes a wide variety of materials, much of it related to administrative matters, but also many copies of telegrams and reports on political, economic, and military affairs; messages to and from the Chinese or Japanese; and correspondence between American officials. The post files often have press clippings or materials given to Americans by Chinese on a wide variety of topics. These documents served as the "raw material" that was summarized and interpreted in reports telegraphed to Washington.

English-language materials can be useful when delving into the four years between the Marco Polo Bridge Incident and Pearl Harbor because these memoirs and official documents straddle the battleline between the Nationalists and the Japanese.<sup>18</sup> For example, Department of State records from Nanjing offer information on talks with Nationalist officials and evaluations of China's capability to continue to resist the Japanese. These materials also touch upon peace feelers from the Japanese, including an attempt made through the Germans in late 1937.<sup>19</sup> Reports by American diplomats provide information on the Japanese perspective on this conflict, as well as limited amount of information on military matters. Although these documents provide relatively little data on Japanese atrocities in Nanjing, they contain anecdotal reports on brutality elsewhere, often gained from American or European travelers, missionaries or businessmen. Department of State documentation also offers first-person reports on the puppet regimes established by the Japanese in Manchuria, North China, and in Nanjing. For example, United States Ambassador to China Nelson

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<sup>17</sup> The National Archives has detailed finding aids listing all consulates and their years of operation. Most of the post files up through the late 1940s are now on microfilm, which is also available at the National Archives.

<sup>18</sup> For example, see *Foreign Relations of the United States*, volumes III and IV, 1937, The Far East (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1954). Hereafter cited as FRUS. The volumes include sections on conflict between Japan and China, and relations with and politics in China and Japan, and efforts to protect American interests in occupied China. After 1941, the content of the volumes shifted, as there were few documents on Japan, and more concerning internal political affairs in China and relations between the Nationalists and the Communists.

<sup>19</sup> Oskar Trautmann, German Ambassador to China, served as the mediator in these failed negotiations.

Johnson cabled his observations from a trip to Beijing, Shanghai, and the Yangzi region in early 1940, where he discussed Japanese political, economic, and military control.<sup>20</sup> Diplomatic records include reports of significant events such as the ceremony marking the establishment of Wang Jingwei's government in Nanjing.<sup>21</sup>

The Cold War and the legacy of Communist victory has shaped the presentation and selection of primary source materials on Sino-Japanese conflict. For example, some of the wartime dispatches of United States Foreign Service Officers in Chongqing are contained within the two-volume collection of documents and commentary entitled *The Amerasia Papers: A Clue to the Catastrophe in China*.<sup>22</sup> These 315 documents offer strong criticism of the Nationalists for their military and administrative failings, and a generally positive assessment of the Communists' war effort. Besides Department of State documents, the volume has items such as an Office of Strategic Services report entitled "Who's Who in the Nanking Puppet Regime." These documents were selected in order to bolster claims made in the commentary that some American officials sympathized with or even covertly supported the Communists.<sup>23</sup> Researchers using these volumes, particularly the introductory narrative that discusses the *Amerasia* case, should consult a response

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<sup>20</sup> Telegram from Chungking to the Department of State, March 8, 1940, in *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1940, volume IV, The Far East (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1955), 294-296. This document and many not printed in *Foreign Relations*, are found under categories 793 and 893 of the Department of State decimal files, now stored at the National Archives.

<sup>21</sup> Telegram from Chungking to the Department of State, March 30, 1940, in *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1940, volume IV, The Far East (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1955), 306-308.

<sup>22</sup> U. S. Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, *The Amerasia Papers: A Clue to the Catastrophe in China* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1970). There were two aspects to the *Amerasia* Case: first the documents were harshly critical of Jiang Jieshi and his government, and became seen as evidence of support for the Communists during the Cold War climate of the late 1940s and early 1950s, and second, these Department of State documents turned up in the New York office of *Amerasia* magazine in June 1945. They were seized after an investigation by the FBI. Eventually, Department of State employee E. S. Larsen pled *nolo contendere* and publisher Philip Jaffe pled guilty to charges of passing classified information. Charges against six others were dropped.

<sup>23</sup> "No hoax in recent history has been more complete and convincing than that which deluded the American people at large into a belief that Mao's followers were fighting the Japanese valiantly and almost alone, that they had been abandoned by a selfish and deceitful Chiang, and that they could 'easily be enlightened by American concepts of

by one of those Foreign Service Officers involved, John S. Service, *The Amerasia Papers: Some Problems in the History of US-China Relations*.<sup>24</sup> Service's volume also includes several of his reports from China, a narrative history of American policy in China during the war, and a helpful list of reports from Yen-an, the Communists' wartime headquarters.

Private papers, oral histories and memoirs provide highly subjective yet quite detailed accounts of the Nationalist war effort. One tactic for locating these sources is to build a list of names of those in China during the 1937-1945 period, then search for materials by or about these individuals. Department of State publications can guide researchers. The *Foreign Service List*, a collection of names and titles of American diplomats around the world, is a useful way to build a list of individuals whose personal papers or memoirs might assist in research into Sino-Japanese conflict. The indices to the *Foreign Relations of the United States* volumes contribute to this effort, because they contain the names of persons and organizations worthy of further investigation.<sup>25</sup> Scholars could turn their attention to sources such as the Foreign Affairs Oral History Project, housed at Georgetown University's Lauinger Library. This collection contains over 650 interviews with United State Foreign Service Officers, and has an on-line index that provides a brief biography of each subject.<sup>26</sup> The Project includes the reminiscences of American diplomats in China during the

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democracy and representative government." Anthony Kubek, "Introduction," *The Amerasia Papers*, 19.

<sup>24</sup> John S. Service, *The Amerasia Papers: Some Problems in the History of US-China Relations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971). See also Joseph W. Esherick, ed., *Lost Chance in China: The World War II Despatches of John S. Service* (New York: Random House, 1974); and Service's oral history at the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley. For more information on the problems faced by American diplomats who criticized the Nationalists and praised the Communists, see E. J. Kahn, Jr., *The China Hands: America's Foreign Service Officer and What Befell Them* (New York: The Viking Press, 1972).

<sup>25</sup> Another valuable reference work is *Principle Officers of the Department of State and United States Chiefs of Mission, 1788-1900* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1991). This volume is now available only on-line through the Department of State, Office of the Historian, website.

<sup>26</sup> The on-line guide to the collection, created under the auspices of the Association for Diplomatic Studies, is at [www.library.georgetown.edu/dept/speccoll/diplo.htm](http://www.library.georgetown.edu/dept/speccoll/diplo.htm). Also worth examining are the 110 oral history transcripts of interviews of Foreign Service Officers during the Truman Administration (1945-1952) held at the University of California at Berkeley Regional Oral History Office. These transcripts include information on the pre-1945 careers of the

war, including John S. Service, Everett Drumright, and Ambassador Arthur W. Hummel. The *China Yearbook*, an annual almanac of events published by the Nationalists' Ministry of Information, and Harold L. Boorman's *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China* also provide the names of Chinese whose papers, memoirs, or oral histories might contain information on the 1937-1945 period.<sup>27</sup>

Many of the Americans sent to China during the War traveled under the auspices of a program managed by the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the Department of State. For an overview of the program, and a list of Chinese and American participants, see Wilma Fairbank's *American Cultural Experimentation in China, 1942-1949*.<sup>28</sup> One useful work for understanding how Americans perceived China is Stephen R. MacKinnon and Oris Friesen's *China Reporting: An Oral History of American Journalism in the 1930s and 1940s*.<sup>29</sup> This book contains recollections of Nationalist efforts to shape American understanding of the war through pressure and outright censorship. Participants include Doak Barnett, Dorothy Borg, Hugh Deane (*Christian Science Monitor*), Peggy Durdin (*Nation, Atlantic*), Tillman Durdin (*New York Times*), Israel Espstein (*New York Times, New York Herald Tribune*), John King Fairbank and Wilma Fairbank, Annalee Jacoby Fadiman, and others. The people and publications detailed in *China Reporting* are

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Officers. Note that Georgetown University has many of the Berkeley oral history transcripts.

<sup>27</sup> The *China Yearbook*, which includes brief biographies of important persons in China, was produced annually by the Republic of China's Ministry of Information, and published in the United States by Macmillan Company of New York. See also Howard L. Boorman, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, volumes I-IV and Index (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967-1979).

<sup>28</sup> Wilma Fairbank, *American Cultural Experimentation in China, 1942-1949* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1976).

<sup>29</sup> Stephen R. MacKinnon and Oris Friesen, *China Reporting: An Oral History of American Journalism in the 1930s and 1940s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

important aids to further research. Secondary works such as Michael Schaller's *The U.S. Crusade in China, 1938-1945* have useful bibliographies of personal papers and memoirs.<sup>30</sup>

The list of names and organizations drawn from the sources mentioned in the previous paragraphs can guide research into a variety of materials that bear upon contending images of the Nationalists. For example, the memoirs and private papers of Owen Lattimore, who served as a personal advisor to Jiang Jieshi, provide a great deal of first hand information on life in Chongqing and Yanan during the war.<sup>31</sup> His book also examines some of the personalities of Nationalist and Communist leaders, particularly Jiang Jieshi and Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai), their troubled United Front efforts against the Japanese, and American policy toward China. The papers of John King Fairbank, dean of American Sinologists, contain interesting information about his tenure in China with the Office of the Coordinator of Information. His correspondence and other papers provide insight into the ideas of leading political and intellectual figures in Nationalist China, "Third Force" politicians, and Communists, as well as the development of America's wartime cultural policy toward China.<sup>32</sup> Some of the most devastating criticism of the Nationalists came from those associated with the Institute for Pacific Relations (IPR), an international organization founded in 1925 to increase understanding of the region and to promote regional cooperation. The IPR sponsored a wide variety of conferences and publications, many of which examined Japanese

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<sup>30</sup> Michael Schaller, *The U.S. Crusade in China, 1938-1945* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979). Another useful bibliography is contained in Hsi-sheng Ch'i, *Nationalist China at War*. The bibliography to Dick Wilson's *When Tigers Fight: The Story of the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945* (New York: Penguin Books, 1982) includes a useful list of English-language memoirs.

<sup>31</sup> Owen Lattimore, compiled by Fujiko Isono, *China Memoirs: Chiang Kai-shek and the War Against Japan* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1990). This volume is the result of a series of interviews with Fujiko Isono. He also directed the Pacific Operations in U.S. Office of War Information Overseas Operations Branch during World War II. Lattimore's private papers are at the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. See also Robert P. Newman, *Owen Lattimore and the "Loss" of China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

<sup>32</sup> The best overview of the contents of Fairbank's papers, held at Harvard University, is available in Paul M. Evans' *John Fairbank and the American Understanding of Modern China* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1988).

aggression toward China. Other publications contained strong criticism of the honesty and effectiveness of the Nationalist government. Beginning in the late 1940s, the American Council of the IPR was accused of sympathies for the Chinese Communists.<sup>33</sup>

The Hoover Institution is a valuable repository for personal papers. Among the collections related to the Sino-Japanese War, most numerous are accounts from Americans who focus on the policies and personalities of Jiang Jieshi's government in Chongqing. For example, the collection of materials of Lauchlin Bernard Currie, sent by President Roosevelt as a personal emissary to Jiang Jieshi, include correspondence with Jiang, his wife, and other Nationalist officials, information on the American Volunteer Group, and records from his trips to China in 1941 and 1942. Hoover holds the papers of Foreign Service Officer Stanley Hornbeck, Chief, Division of Far Eastern Affairs (1928-1937), Adviser on Political Relations (1937-1944), and Director, Office of Far Eastern Affairs (1944). These materials include folders on Japanese bombings of Chinese cities, Sino-Japanese hostilities in 1937, as well as a chronological file of Hornbeck's correspondence. The papers of Norwood F. Allman, who served as American consular officer and lawyer in China, editor and publisher of *Shen Pao* from 1937-1941, and chief, Far East Section, Secret Intelligence Branch, United States Office of Strategic Services, are held at the Hoover Institution. This collection contains correspondence discussing China's war effort, Japanese military in China, and the activities of the Chinese Communists scattered among the 26 boxes of correspondence files.

There also exists a wealth of information on economic problems in wartime China. For example, the published works and private papers of Arthur N. Young, who served as an advisor to Jiang's government on financial matters, details the impact of United States economic and material

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<sup>33</sup> Over 260 linear feet of files from the Institute of Pacific Relations, covering the years 1927 to 1962, are held at

aid.<sup>34</sup> Young's papers are comprised of 119 boxes of materials held at the Hoover Institution, including his diary, correspondence, reports, and press releases. For information on economic problems with less focus on Nationalist policy, see the *Studies of Relief and Rehabilitation in China*, prepared originally by the Institute of Pacific Relations in 1942 and 1943. Several have been reprinted as part of the Modern Chinese Economy series published by Garland Publishing. These reports provide useful information about a wide variety of topics related to the impact of the war upon China, including agriculture and food distribution.<sup>35</sup> Columbia University's Rare Book and Manuscript Library offers almost 100 linear feet of English and Chinese-language records related to industrial cooperatives (known as Indusco, Inc., or the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives) established during the war in areas under Nationalist control. Finally, papers from the China Office of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration at the Hoover Institution shed light on economic, industrial, and agricultural problems in China from 1943 to 1948.<sup>36</sup>

Investigating topics outside the framework of the political, military or economic issues related to the Nationalist government requires a creative use of sources and archives. For example, the National Agricultural Library (NAL), located in Beltsville Maryland, holds America's most comprehensive collection of materials on agriculture, environmental problems, land tenure, and rural life. This includes publications by John Lossing Buck, English-language materials from the Nationalist government's Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, and translated reports from

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Columbia University's Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

<sup>34</sup> Arthur N. Young, *China and the Helping Hand, 1937-1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963); and *China's Wartime Finance and Inflation, 1937-1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965).

<sup>35</sup> Owen L. Dawson, *Studies of Relief and Rehabilitation in China* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1980).

<sup>36</sup> For information on trade issues see Record Group 151, the records of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce (a discontinued bureau within the United States Department of Commerce), at the National Archives. The Archives hold reports from commercial attaches in the major coastal cities of China up to 1941. The files of United China Relief, now at Princeton University, include materials from a wide variety of organizations, including American

universities in China. Researchers can use the *Dictionary Catalog of the National Agricultural Library, 1861-1965* and the *Bibliography of Agriculture*. The *Bibliography*, published annually, contains citations to journal articles, monographs, and technical reports.<sup>37</sup> These materials are a starting point for research on individuals like Walter Lowdermilk, who traveled to China in the early 1940s in order to advise the Nationalists on environmental and agricultural issues.<sup>38</sup> His papers, located at the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, the office of the Historian of the National Resources Conservation Service, the National Agricultural Library, the Hoover Institution, and the files of the Department of Agriculture's Soil Conservation Service (Record Group 114) contain information on agricultural problems that were exacerbated by immigrants from coastal China. Lowdermilk explicitly connected agricultural problems to Sino-Japanese conflict, writing, "From 50 to 70 million refugees fled the coastal areas from Japanese occupation back into mountainous Free China. This great population, equaling one third to one half of the total population of the United States, has put a heavy extra burden on the lands of Free China."<sup>39</sup> In his

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Bureau for Medical Advancement in China, the American Friends Service Committee, Indusco, Inc., the Institute of Pacific Relations, and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

<sup>37</sup> From 1970 on, the *Bibliography* is available online or on CD-ROM and on-line. Alan E. Fusonie's *Guide to Manuscripts in the National Agricultural Library* (Washington, 1979) and Theodore Besterman's *Agriculture: A Bibliography of Bibliographies* (Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield, 1971) are also useful research tools. The first step in research at NAL is to review the "Guide to Historical Research at the National Agricultural Library," Special Reference Brief SRB 94-02, by Susan Chapman of the Reference and User Services Branch (February 1994).

<sup>38</sup> The Hoover Institution's holdings include reports from Lowdermilk's 1942-1943 trip to China to examine agriculture and soil conservation issues. Researchers at the Hoover Library may also wish to examine the papers of Oliver J. Todd, an engineer with the China International Famine Relief Commission and other organizations from 1935 to 1938. His papers and numerous articles detail problems of flood control and transportation. See also Oliver Julius Todd, *The China That I Knew* (Palo Alto: O. J. Todd, 1973).

<sup>39</sup> Walter C. Lowdermilk, "Collaboration with China's 'Farmers of Forty Centuries,'" Paper presented to the Canadian Club of Montreal, January 5, 1945. This paper, along with Lowdermilk's report to the Executive Yuan and other materials on agriculture in wartime China, are found in the Historian's office at the National Resources Conservation Service, Department of Agriculture, in Washington, DC. Limited information on China is also available in the records of the Foreign Agricultural Service (Record Group 166) I am grateful to Dr. Douglas Helms, Historian, Natural Resources Conservation Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, and Renee M. Jaussaud, Archival Research Assistant, for bringing these materials to my attention.

oral history, he briefly discusses the Nationalists' attempts to resettle migrants from coastal China, and detail information concerning problems in agriculture and the environment.<sup>40</sup>

### **Alternative Views of Nationalist China**

British, Canadian, Australian, and Chinese primary sources offer valuable information on Sino-Japanese conflict, and often reach conclusions quite different from those of the Americans.<sup>41</sup> The British, for example, observed China through the lens of an empire in decline, and exhibited little enthusiasm for Roosevelt's goal of a new international order within which Jiang Jieshi's Nationalist China would play a prominent role. They showed a great deal of concern over the possibility that China might support India's drive for independence, or that its unwillingness to fight the Japanese could mean the permanent loss of Burma and a greater threat to India. In general, the British were less positive than the Americans about the Nationalists' wartime governance or postwar potential. While the American materials formed the heart of a debate over images of China--Heroes Risen or Heroes Fallen--the British, Australian and Canadian sources portrayed China almost exclusively as a problem that diverted United States attention and resources.

The most important British sources are the Churchill Archives Centre, and the Foreign Office and War Office materials at the Public Record Office (PRO), Great Britain's central

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<sup>40</sup> Walter Clay Lowdermilk, interviewed by Malca Chall, University of California, Bancroft Library, Regional Oral History Office, 1969, 379-413.

<sup>41</sup> The National Archives of Canada also contains materials on Sino-Japanese conflict and conditions in China. Many of the documents held in Record Group 25, External Affairs, are copies of British documents, while others were created by Canadian officials in China. The files include reports on a wide variety of topics, such as Japanese prisoners in China, the finances of puppet regimes, conditions in various provinces, reports from the Canadian embassy and information on Major General V. W. Odlum, Canadian Minister to China. Record Group 24, National Defense, contains monthly intelligence reports from Shanghai and Hong Kong, reports from military attaches, and special reports from the Canadian minister in China. Some records remain "restricted" and must be reviewed before being made available to researchers. Using some of the names located in finding aids and these original documents, one can create a list of prominent Canadians in China during the 1937-1945 period, which in turn can be searched in the *Union List of Manuscripts in Canadian Repositories*. Robert S. Gordon, ed., *Union List of Manuscripts in Canadian Repositories* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968). This *Union List* has been updated several times since 1968.

repository of government records. For examining top level decision making and reports concerning China, the best introduction to sources on the British and Australian side are the bibliographies of unpublished material, private papers, published official documents, and memoirs in Christopher Thorne's landmark works on wartime diplomacy, *Allies of a Kind: The United States, Britain, and the War Against Japan, 1941-1945* and *The Issue of War: States, Societies, and the Far Eastern Conflict of 1941-1945*.<sup>42</sup> Another useful resource is volume IV of *British Foreign Policy in the Second World War*, which includes chapters devoted to Anglo-Chinese relations.<sup>43</sup> The citations in this volume can direct research in Foreign Office materials held at the PRO.<sup>44</sup>

The Churchill Archives Centre possesses the same types of materials as are held at the Roosevelt Library. Most of the documentation focuses on British policies toward China and India, coordination with the United States and members of the Commonwealth, and messages between Jiang Jieshi and Churchill on a wide variety of topics, particularly the war in Burma (many of which were then passed on by the British to Roosevelt). There exist interesting reports and correspondence on problems of Anglo-Chinese cooperation against the Japanese, and problems of India's role in the war against Japan.<sup>45</sup> Most useful to scholars will be the letters and reports of Lieutenant General Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, Churchill's Special Military Representative and the

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<sup>42</sup> Christopher G. Thorne, *Allies of a Kind: The United States, Britain, and the War Against Japan, 1941-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978) and *The Issue of War: States, Societies, and the Far Eastern Conflict of 1941-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

<sup>43</sup> Sir Ernest Llewellyn Woodward, *British Foreign Policy in the Second World War*, volume IV (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1975).

<sup>44</sup> Understanding the filing system of the British Foreign Office is difficult, but there exist several useful guides that explain the overall organization of papers in the Public Record Office. Louise Atherton, *'Never Complain, Never Explain': Records of the Foreign Office and State Paper Office, 1500-c. 1960* (London: Public Record Office, 1994); and *The Second World War: A Guide to Documents in the Public Record Office*, Public Record Office Handbook No. 15 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1972). See also the volumes entitled *Index to the Correspondence of the Foreign Office*, annual volumes listing documents and their locations.

<sup>45</sup> The PRO has the Operational Correspondence and Papers of Prime Minister Winston Churchill (Class PREM 3), which hold materials related to Churchill's activities as Minister of Defense, as well as the papers of the Cabinet (CAB). This includes summary reports on Sino-Japanese conflict.

highest ranking British officer in China. De Wiart's telegrams touch upon topics such as the Nationalists' war effort against the Japanese, and his meetings with Jiang or other Nationalist leaders. His reports also shed light on specific events in the Sino-Japanese War, such as the Japanese military offensive of 1944 (Operation Ichigo), which sparked hints from the Nationalists that they might withdraw from the war. The Centre also holds the papers of Sir Horace James Seymour, British Ambassador to China from 1942 to 1946. Although this collection only comprises five boxes of materials, it contains several folders devoted to Seymour's tenure in China, as well as a series of sketches and paintings of Chongqing.<sup>46</sup>

Like the United States Department of State records, the British Foreign Office files encompass documents collected from London-based experts and policy-makers, and overseas embassies, legations or consulates. Class FO 676, Various Embassies and Legations, China, General Correspondence, Series II, contains many documents related to the war. This includes materials on Sino-Japanese relations and conflict in North China in 1937, Nationalist politics, and Japanese-sponsored puppet governments. One of the largest Foreign Office collections is Class FO 371, Political Departments, General Correspondence since 1906, which has files such as "Rumour of peace negotiations between China and Japan" and many reports on the political and military difficulties faced by the Nationalist government.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> A detailed finding aid is available from the Churchill Archives Centre.

<sup>47</sup> For example, these files contain a rumor from the spring of 1943, picked up through the Portuguese in Macao, that because Jiang Jieshi was dissatisfied with the amount of aid he was receiving from the Allies, he was considering a peace agreement with the Japanese. A British diplomat noted that "It is of course probable that Chiang Kai-shek has unofficial contacts with some of the puppet Chinese officials in Nanking. That would be entirely in keeping with Chinese practice and precedent. There is no reason to suppose, however, that he is conducting negotiations with the Japanese, and in fact we can be fairly certain that he is not." FO 371/35840, F2224/10, Political Departments, General Correspondence since 1906, Rumour of Peace Negotiations between China and Japan, 1943, Public Record Office.

A variety of private papers and memoirs also shed light on Sino-Japanese conflict from the British perspective. For example, although Earl Mountbatten of Burma (Louis Francis Albert Victor Nicholas Mountbatten), Supreme Allied Commander in Southeast Asia from 1943 to 1946, had little direct involvement in affairs in China, his papers at the University of Southampton contain correspondence with Lieutenant General Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart and Sir Richard Stafford Cripps, Minister of Air Production who made a wartime visit to Chongqing, as well as files concerning Jiang Jieshi and Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs T. V. Soong.<sup>48</sup> The memoirs of Sir Berkeley Gage, a British diplomat in China from 1935-1938 and 1941-1944, provide a brief overview of the political and military situation of the Nationalists, as well as a colorful description of wartime Chongqing: "a vast overcrowded collection of hovels built over open sewers, the stench of which permeated the whole place." Gage's book also provides information on the personalities and foibles of Chinese, American, and British diplomats.<sup>49</sup>

The Australian approach to the war in China combined the American hope for a strong China under Nationalist rule with the British concern for the empire--or exhibited cynicism toward both. The best introduction to Australian official records comes from *Documents on Australian Foreign Policy, 1937-1949*, a multi-volume series of documents printed during the 1970s.<sup>50</sup> The Australian volumes focus on diplomatic issues, particularly relations between Australian, Great Britain and the United States, but contain some information on domestic politics in China. The

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<sup>48</sup> See L. M. Mitchell, K. J. Sampson, and C. M. Woolgar, eds., *A Summary Catalogue of the Papers of Earl Mountbatten of Burma* (Southampton: University of Southampton, 1991). Sir Richard Stafford Cripps' papers are held at the Nuffield College Library, Oxford University, and in the Cabinet Papers (CAB) at the Public Record Office.

<sup>49</sup> Berkeley Gage, *It's Been a Marvellous Party: The Personal and Diplomatic Reminiscences of Berkeley Gage* (London: Berkeley Gage, 1989).

<sup>50</sup> For example, see R. G. Neale, ed., *Documents on Australian Foreign Policy, 1937-1949, Volume I: 1937-1938* (Canberra: Department of Foreign Affairs, Australian Government Publishing Service, 1975). The citations for these documents direct researchers to more detailed information. The appendices to these volumes explain the filing system

*Australian Documents* volumes also contain brief reports on talks with Zhou Enlai and other Communist leaders. Most official materials are found in the National Archives of Australia, but some documents are still held by the originating agency: Department of Defense, the Department of Foreign Affairs (called the Department of External Affairs during the war years), the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet.<sup>51</sup>

The Australian National Archives holds the files of the Australian Legation to the Republic of China, which offer many insights into the military or political situation in areas under Nationalists control, Sino-Japanese relations, Japanese administration in occupied China, and the activities of puppet governments in Nanjing and Beijing.<sup>52</sup> Australian reports from Nanjing, then Chongqing, provide a great deal of information about Nationalist China at war, often with less optimism than American sources provide. For example, on the eve of Pearl Harbor Frederic William Eggleston reviewed the possibility that the Nationalists would be forced out of the war, observing, "The Chinese show a strong disposition to argue that unless the Democracies assist them to the extent of risking war with Japan, China may be forced to give up the struggle."<sup>53</sup> Eggleston also reported on his meetings with Jiang and other Nationalist leaders, and outlined the difficulty of coming to grips with Nationalist Chinese politics:

Briefly the dual nature of the Government arises from the fact that the seat of power is the Kuomintang, a political party which is in many ways a Fascist organisation, but the actual administration is carried on by a National Government, the personnel of which is appointed by the Kuomintang.<sup>54</sup>

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and location of archival materials.

<sup>51</sup> General information on the Australian National Archives is available on-line at [www.naa.gov.au](http://www.naa.gov.au).

<sup>52</sup> Of particular value are the Files of the Australian Legation in China, Correspondence Files, located in file series A4144 at the Australian National Archives, and the Correspondence Files of the Department of External Affairs, Alphabetical Series, 1925-1942, located in file series A981.

<sup>53</sup> Eggleston to the Minister for External Affairs, November 17, 1941, Despatch No. 4, Australian Legation Nanking Despatches 1-57, 1941-42, Series Number A4231/1, Australian National Archives.

<sup>54</sup> Despatch No. 12 from Eggleston, January 24, 1942, Despatch No. 12, Australian Legation Nanking Despatches 1-

Many of the private papers of prominent Australians living in China during the 1937-1945 period, such as Eggleston, are at the Australian National Library.<sup>55</sup> His papers offer a wealth of information about China's war effort, Nationalist politics, life in Chongqing, and Sino-British-American relations. Eggleston had his staff type short summaries of almost every meeting he attended (including conversation with dinner guests), creating a record that combined official information and wild rumors. For example, he discusses the secret police, political factions in Chongqing, banditry, problems in Jiang's army, and pro-Japanese sympathies among Nationalist military leaders. His papers include notes on meetings with British, American, and Chinese diplomats and military officers, creating a record on topics such as Jiang's willingness and ability to continue to fight the Japanese, peace proposals from the Japanese, and trade between occupied and unoccupied China.

For obvious reasons, the volume of primary source material in English written by Chinese is relatively limited. Columbia University's Chinese Oral History Collection, however, contains reminiscences from some of the most prominent politicians, diplomats, and generals in the Republic of China. While this resource presents an opportunity to investigate the war from the Chinese perspective, researchers should note that many of the memoirs in English are based upon works originally written or compiled in Chinese. Many of these oral history transcripts or translated memoirs are accompanied by private papers, letters, and occasional documents. The images of

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57, 1941-42, Series Number A4231/1, Australian National Archives.

<sup>55</sup> A finding aid is also available: *Sir Frederic W. Eggleston: A Guide to His Papers in the National Library of Australia* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1972). The Australian National Library is the largest single repository of private papers in Australia. Some of the China-related collections include the papers of Selwyn Speight, a correspondent for *The Sydney Morning Herald* in China and Burma during the war; the small collection of materials from Bill Harman, describing the Japanese capture of Hangzhou in 1938 and Hong Kong in 1941; the papers of Ralph Goodwin, a New Zealand military officer in China who was captured by the Japanese but escaped in 1944; and the

China in the Collection can be compared to Department of State or other evaluations of the Nationalists' war efforts. For example, the American fixation on corruption as one of the primary defects of the Nationalists is not demonstrated in the Chinese oral histories. Nationalist Chinese oral histories acknowledge many defects with Jiang's rule and the war efforts, but tend to place greater emphasis upon economic and material deficiencies than do other English-language sources.

Some of the most well-known individuals in the Collection include Ch'en Kuang-fu, founder of the Shanghai Commercial and Savings Bank, and advisor to the government on economic issues. The oral history of H. H. Kung, Minister of Finance from 1933 to 1944, is also very important for understanding the Nationalists' economic problems during their war against Japan. The reminiscences of Ch'en Li-fu, one of the most controversial Nationalists, shed light on politics in Nationalist ranks.<sup>56</sup> Li Tsung-jen's reminiscences are also important, as they examine the war years from the perspective of a military commander for the Nationalists who possessed his own regional powerbase and a difficult relationship with Jiang Jieshi. The English translation of the memoirs of Li Huang, one of the founders of the Young China Party (*Qingniandang*), offers an interesting counterpoint to the Nationalist understanding of the War of Resistance. He sums up the problems of the war against Japan as "the lack of knowledge amongst the soldiers and civilians, the mere formalities of the armed forces political workers, and lack of organization in the logistics headquarters, the paucity of highway and communication facilities, and the scarcity of anti-aircraft

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memoirs and oral history of Mary Andrews, a missionary in China and India from 1938 to 1951.

<sup>56</sup> See also Ch'en Li-fu, ed. by Sidney H. Chang and Ramon H. Myers, *Storm Clouds Clear over China* (Stanford: Hoover Institution, 1994).

guns and an air force to confront enemy planes."<sup>57</sup> Except for the lack of military equipment, these problems correspond to issues raised by many American officials who criticized the Nationalists.

Franklin L. Ho, who participated in agricultural reconstruction and economic planning efforts for the Nationalist government during the war years, places his work in the context of bureaucratic rivalries and intraparty politics.<sup>58</sup> He describes the chaos of the Nationalist retreat from Nanjing, as the central government dispersed to Hunan, Guangxi and Sichuan provinces. He also pointed out some of the problems with the Nationalists' wartime agricultural policies. For example, he decried the attempts to increase grain production in areas that were clearly about to fall into Japanese hands.<sup>59</sup> The Nationalists sought to stabilize prices and assist farmers by purchasing cotton and tobacco—products that Ho complained were difficult to transport and could never be exported from central China to the outside world.<sup>60</sup> One of the most interesting sections of his oral history is his description of wartime politics in the Nationalist ranks, and the Political Science Clique, which he calls “a group of friends. It had no defined leadership and no followers. It had no clique organization; in fact, it had no organization whatsoever, and certainly there was no oath and no symbolism that bound and defined its members.”<sup>61</sup> Ho, who acknowledges his association with the Political Science Clique, portrays other factions as more tightly organized.

Columbia University also holds the memoirs of Dr. Ting-fu F. Tsiang (Chiang T'ing-fu), a government official and diplomat for the Nationalists. Tsiang examines the personality of Jiang

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<sup>57</sup> Li Huang, translated by Lillian Chu Chin, *My Memoirs*, Chinese Oral History Project, East Asian Institute, Columbia University, 1975, 577.

<sup>58</sup> Ho also addresses sensitive issues, such as debates over the wisdom of fighting the Japanese, noting that Hu Shih “said that we had to bear in mind that we, more or less a medieval country, could not fight a modern army.” Franklin L. Ho, interviewed by Crystal Lorch Seidman, 1965-1966, Chinese Oral History Project, East Asian Institute, Columbia University, 1966, 184.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 205.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 206.

Jieshi, and his growing conflict with Wang Jingwei in 1938 (shortly before Wang fled to establish his regime in Nanjing). Like Franklin Ho, he notes that financial problems and inflation were among the most serious problems faced by the Nationalists. Yet Tsiang also suggests that the economic travails of the Nationalists did not always translate into difficulties for the Chinese people. While it would seem counter-intuitive to expect that war could be beneficial to Chinese farmers, in Tsiang's tours of China, he noted, "We found, in the first place, a lusty subsistence economy everywhere, stimulated by good wages and good prices." He concluded that "It was obvious that the common people, in response to the pressure of supply and demand, made the most of wartime opportunity on their own accord, not because of government exhortation and regulation, although individual officials would have had us believe that the prosperity was due to their own wisdom."<sup>62</sup>

### **Documenting Military Conflict and Intelligence Gathering**

The debate over various images of the Nationalists and of China--a corrupt regime unwilling to fight the Japanese or a valiant people engaged in a national struggle for survival--is an important aspect of English-language source materials related to military affairs. One of the most useful guides for research in this area is Eugene L. Rasor's *The China-Burma-India Campaign, 1931-1945: Historiography and Annotated Bibliography*.<sup>63</sup> This volume includes an annotated bibliography of about 1,600 items, as well as lists of major research institutions, scholarly journals, and archives. Although this volume focuses on military conflict, it is a very useful source for gaining information on the opinions of American, British, Australian, or Canadian military officers in China.

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 308.

<sup>62</sup> Ting-fu F. Tsiang, edited by Crystal Lorch Seidman, Chinese Oral History Project, East Asian Institute, Columbia University, 1965, 225.

<sup>63</sup> Eugene L. Rasor, *The China-Burma-India Campaign, 1931-1945: Historiography and Annotated Bibliography* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1998).

The writings and career of General Joseph Stilwell represents one of the most well-known case studies of these contending images. The General proved to be a strong critic of the Nationalist government and military, even as he exalted the Chinese people and common soldiers along the model of the Heroes Risen. Stilwell not only helped to shape American perceptions of Nationalist China, his experience has been used by others as an example of the defects of Jiang's political and military leadership. His diary and correspondence provides valuable detail on Nationalist politics and military efforts, and directly addresses the problem of image.<sup>64</sup> A typical entry from Stilwell: "Our [America's] fool publicity 'heroic resistance--five years' struggle' etc., etc., have set it up for Chiang K'ai-shek--he can say to us, 'Sorry, we've reach the limit: without help we can't go on.'"<sup>65</sup> Stilwell touched upon corruption, explaining how Nationalist-owned companies profited by selling goods to the United States military in China, as well as the political considerations that dominated military decisions made by Jiang.<sup>66</sup> He also praised the apparent willingness of the Chinese Communists to fight the Japanese, creating a mirror image of his portrayal of the Nationalists. The United States Army's Office of the Chief of Military History produced several volumes that rely heavily upon Stilwell's papers and other United States Army documentation. While these histories focus on United States military operations, they provide a window into the conflict between Chinese and Japanese forces, and offer an excellent overview of the types of documents and personal papers available from military sources.<sup>67</sup> Another important first-person source are the

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<sup>64</sup> Joseph W. Stilwell, edited by Theodore H. White, *The Stilwell Papers* (New York: William Sloan Associates, 1948). The more complete version of Stilwell's papers is published in five volumes edited by Riley Sunderland and Charles F. Romanus, *Stilwell's Personal File: China, Burma, India, 1942-1944* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1976). It includes messages between Stilwell and his staff, messages to Washington, and notes made by the General.

<sup>65</sup> Stilwell, *The Stilwell Papers*, 125.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 126.

<sup>67</sup> Charles F. Romanus and Riley Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China* (Washington: Department of the Army, Historical Division, 1953); *Stilwell's Command Problems* (Washington: Department of the Army, Historical Division,

books by Frank Dorn, an aide to General Stilwell. In particular, his *The Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1941: From Marco Polo Bridge to Pearl Harbor* is one of the most detailed accounts of military conflict and Nationalist defeat, often viewed from the battlefield level.<sup>68</sup>

Other American military officers, combining their perceptions of China and their reaction to Stilwell's critique of the Nationalists, have emphasized that Jiang and the Chinese people were largely united in a vigorous struggle against the Japanese. Claire Chennault's memoirs of the war, *Way of a Fighter*, tends to focus as much on the defects of General Joseph Stilwell as it does on the war against the Japanese.<sup>69</sup> This volume highlights the eagerness of Jiang Jieshi and the Nationalists to fight the Japanese, and denounces Stilwell's alleged attempt to "use the Chinese Communist government in Yenan as a lever to move the Generalissimo."<sup>70</sup> Chennault claims that the Communists made little effort to fight the Japanese after the New Fourth Army Incident of 1940.<sup>71</sup> The volume does, however, provide information in the problems of the Nationalist military, particularly the air force, during the years prior to 1941. Although the vast majority of the secondary sources have highlighted American aid to the Nationalists, he notes that early in the war the "Italians were in

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1956); and *Times Run Out in the CBI* (Washington: Department of the Army, Historical Division, 1959). See also Jack Belden, *Retreat with Stilwell* (New York: Knopf, 1943). The best secondary source for information on the tenure of General Joseph Stilwell comes from Barbara W. Tuchman's famous work, *Stilwell and the American Experience in China, 1911-1945*. The bibliography of Tuchman's work is also a valuable introduction into American materials related to military and political affairs in wartime China. Barbara W. Tuchman, *Stilwell and the American Experience in China, 1911-1945* (New York: Macmillan, 1972). For information on Australia's military relations with China, see *Australia in the War of 1939-1945*, Series 1 (Army), 7 volumes (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1952-1968). See also Stanley Woodburn Kirby, *The War against Japan*, History of the Second World War, United Kingdom Military Series, 5 volumes (London: HMSO, 1957-1969).

<sup>68</sup> Frank Dorn, *The Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1941: From Marco Polo Bridge to Pearl Harbor* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1974). See also *Walkout: With Stilwell in Burma* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1971). A vital secondary work on military aspects of the war is Edward L. Dreyer, *China at War, 1901-1949* (New York: Longmans, 1995). Also useful is James William Morley, ed., *The China Quagmire: Japan's Expansion on the Asian Continent, 1933-1941* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

<sup>69</sup> Claire Lee Chennault, edited by Robert Horz, *Way of a Fighter: The Memoirs of Claire Lee Chennault* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1949).

<sup>70</sup> See also Anna Chennault, *Chennault and the Flying Tigers* (New York: Ericsson, 1963).

<sup>71</sup> Chennault, *Way of a Fighter*, 317.

complete control of the Chinese Air Force and had cornered the Chinese aviation market."<sup>72</sup> He also briefly discusses Soviet aid to Jiang's army. Chennault's private papers are held at the Hoover Institution, and include documentation on the Nationalist government's war effort during his tenure as commander of the American Volunteer Group and the United States Army Air Force in China.<sup>73</sup> Albert C. Wedemeyer, commanding general of United States forces in the China theater and, after Stilwell's recall, chief of staff to Generalissimo Jiang Jieshi until 1946, proved to be a staunch supporter of the Nationalists--connecting Jiang and the Nationalists to China, and portraying both as Heroes Risen.<sup>74</sup> His papers at Hoover contain correspondence with most important political figures in Nationalist China, as well as with other Americans concerning the Communist headquarters in Yen-an (the Dixie Mission), and correspondence concerning O.S.S. operations in China. These files also contain a variety of articles and reports concerning China, including one by John Service entitled "The Need for Greater Realism in Our Relations with Chiang Kai-shek."

Less prominent individuals also engaged in the debate over the nature of the Nationalist regime. The memoirs of Paul W. Frillman, who served with the American Volunteer Group in China, discusses wartime problems related to the air war against the Japanese. This work is quite critical of the Nationalists' military strategy and Jiang's "monopoly of power."<sup>75</sup> Frillman reflects

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 37.

<sup>73</sup> See Dale Reed, compiler, Robert Hessen, ed., *General Claire Lee Chennault: A Guide to His Papers in the Hoover Institution Archives* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1983). Chennault was an adviser to Jiang Jieshi from 1938 to 1941, then the Commander of the American Volunteer Group until 1942, then commander of U.S. Air Forces in China. For more information see the Flying Tigers Project, a series of oral histories collected at Columbia University's Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

<sup>74</sup> See also Albert C. Wedemeyer, *Wedemeyer Reports* (New York: Holt, 1958).

<sup>75</sup> Paul Frillman and Graham Peck, *China: The Remembered Life* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1968). His memoirs, written with Graham Peck, include insight into other foreigners in China. For example, they discuss the political agendas and writings of "four unusual women" Anna Louise Strong, Ilona Rolf Sues, Agnes Smedley, and Freda Uteley, who had written favorable accounts of the Communists' war effort against the Japanese.

both the legacy of Communist victory in 1949 and a critique of American foreign policy when he writes:

Looking back I can see now the historical pattern and realize that I was witness to one of the major events of our times--the collapse of the old order in China, which opened the way for our problems in Korea and Vietnam and will no doubt continue to shake Asia for years to come.<sup>76</sup>

For every account like Frillman's there exists a work favorable to Jiang Jieshi and the Nationalists, such as that by Captain Royal Leonard, who served as personal pilot for the Generalissimo from 1935 to 1941.<sup>77</sup> He also provides insight into the use of Soviet pilots against the Japanese, the problems of the Nationalists' air force, the effectiveness of the Japanese air war over China, and Jiang's efforts to lead China's war effort against Japan.

Other sources are more difficult to place in the context of the on-going debate over China and the Nationalists, but offer detailed information on military and political events. The National Archives at College Park Maryland stores the records of United States military, including Record Group 338, Records of United States Army Commands. These are files from the China-Burma-India (CBI) theater of operations, and the United States military mission to China (also called the American Mission to China), the organization charged with overseeing lend-lease aid from the United States. This collection has translations of Chinese documents, and the records of the China Combat Command and the Civil Affairs (G-5) section. These files should be examined in conjunction with Record Group 332, Records of Theaters of War, World War II, which include files of various U.S. Army organizations such as the headquarters of General Joseph W. Stilwell,

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<sup>76</sup> Frillman and Peck, *China: The Remembered Life*, 4. Frillman's papers are held at the Hoover Institution. They contain only a few items related to Sino-Japanese conflict, and instead focus on the post-1945 period or American military activities in China. See also Graham Peck, *Two Kinds of Time* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967).

<sup>77</sup> Royal Leonard, *I Flew for China* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1942).

Commanding General of American forces in China.<sup>78</sup> The files of the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations (OCNO), Record Group 38, also contain materials related to Sino-Japanese conflict, including the records of the Far Eastern Section of the Navy's intelligence service. This collection includes a subject file for the 1936-1946 period, intelligence summaries from United States Marines stationed in Shanghai (1934-1940), copies of Department of State telegrams and documents, translations of captured documents, weekly summaries of conditions, and intelligence reports on Japanese shipping and military activity in China. Finally, six thousand linear feet of files from the Military Intelligence Division (MID, G-2) at the National Archives contain information on a wide variety of topics related to the war in China.<sup>79</sup>

The United States Office of Strategic Services (O.S.S.), precursor to the Central Intelligence Agency, has some of the most extensive English-language wartime documentation on Sino-Japanese conflict. These reports sometimes relied upon information from the Nationalist government or American expatriates in China, but often included reports from O.S.S. operatives (usually military officers) or Department of State officials.<sup>80</sup> One of the most fruitful areas to investigate is the approximately 650 linear feet of "Records of Major Field Offices and Bases of Operations, 1941-1946," which include 40 linear feet of records from the O.S.S. base in Kunming, Yunnan Province.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> These files, like many of military records related to World War II, are also available on microfilm at the National Archives.

<sup>79</sup> The most important collections are the General Files, which are indexed by name, subject, and location. General Files also include English-language translations of documents and reports. The MID also holds reports on interrogations and captured enemy documents. In 1942, the Military Intelligence Service (MIS) was established within the MID. The MIS files include materials from the Far Eastern Branch. Many of these materials are now available on microfilms prepared by the National Archives.

<sup>80</sup> Carolle J. Carter's interesting article on O.S.S. involvement with the Dixie Mission, which sent American military officers to Yanan to investigate the Communists' anti-Japanese efforts, includes valuable citations that guide researchers. Carolle J. Carter, "Mission to Yanan: The OSS and the Dixie Mission," in George C. Chalou, ed., *The Secrets War: The Office of Strategic Services in World War II* (Washington: National Archives and Records Administration, 1992), 302-317.

<sup>81</sup> Researchers should consult a brief article by Lawrence H. McDonald, who helped arrange and describe the O.S.S. records at the National Archives. This article provides important information on how to search the files, as well as an

There also exist smaller collections for Chongqing and Shanghai. These files include intelligence reports, maps, photographs, and administrative materials. These files often contain the "raw" intelligence that was occasionally summarized and passed along to Washington, where it may have ended up among the 630 linear feet (193 rolls of microfilm) of the "Records of the Office of the Director of Strategic Services." Many items may be found within the "Records of the Secret Intelligence (SI) Branch, the organization charged with the clandestine collection of intelligence outside the Western Hemisphere."<sup>82</sup> A few O.S.S. operatives have chronicled their activities in China. One interesting work that discusses espionage in wartime China, combined with a strong critique of Jiang's government is Oliver J. Caldwell's *A Secret War: Americans in China, 1944-1945*.<sup>83</sup> Others involved with the O.S.S. in China have donated their papers to the Hoover Institution.<sup>84</sup>

The MID and O.S.S. were not the only American intelligence organizations in China. Through his papers and memoirs, Milton E. Miles, head of the Sino-American Cooperative Organization (SACO), sought to promote the image of the Nationalists as an eager and effective

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overview of the history of the O.S.S. Lawrence H. McDonald, "The OSS and Its Records," in George C. Chalou, ed., *The Secrets War: The Office of Strategic Services in World War II* (Washington: National Archives and Records Administration, 1992), 78-102. See also Douglas Fix, "Cultivating Oysters, Running Canaries: U. S. Wartime Intelligence on Taiwan," *Taiwan shiliao guoji xueshu yantaohui wenji*, June 1994. This article is a good review of the kind of materials available from the O.S.S. files.

<sup>82</sup> There also exist microfilm records of many O.S.S. reports such as "Morale and Social Conditions in Japan and Occupied Areas as Reported by American Expatriates" (75 pages, March 1944), "Social Conditions, Attitudes, and Propaganda in Manchuria" (33 pages, June 1942), and "Japanese Occupation of Southwest China" (7 pages, July 1945). One collection has been compiled and microfilmed by a private company, University Publications of America (UPA). The series is entitled "O.S.S./State Department Intelligence and Research Reports, I, Japan and Occupied Territories During World War II" (16 reels) and "III, China and India (6 reels)." The latter collection has reports such as "The Guerilla Front in North China" (26 pages, May 1943) and "Chinese Views of the Japanese Emperor" (5 pages, August 1945), and also contains documents dated as late as 1949. These microfilm collections are available from most research libraries and at the Library of Congress. University Publications of America, O.S.S./State Department Intelligence and Research Reports (Washington: UPA, 1977).

<sup>83</sup> Oliver J. Caldwell, *A Secret War: Americans in China, 1944-1945* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972). Caldwell's papers are at the Hoover Institution.

<sup>84</sup> The bibliography of Maochun Yu's monograph, *OSS in China: Prelude to Cold War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), contains a useful list of personal papers and official materials at the National Archives and the Hoover

fighting force against the Japanese. SACO, primarily staffed on the American side with United States Navy officers, was devoted to protecting Jiang's government from internal and external opponents.<sup>85</sup> Miles' materials include wartime correspondence with Nationalist and American leaders, and three boxes of materials related to China. His memoirs focus on the anti-Japanese aspects of SACO and contributions of General Dai Li, one of Jiang Jieshi's close associates and head of the secret police.<sup>86</sup> He also provides information on interesting topics such as SACO's efforts to enlist pirates in order to monitor Japanese merchant shipping. Miles' account also attacks Stilwell and Department of State officials who praised the either the war-fighting ability or the governance of the Communists in Yenan. He declares that the Communists' claims of fighting the Japanese were wildly exaggerated.<sup>87</sup>

The files of the British War Office and the Special Operations Executive held at the Public Record Office also offer interesting detail on the war effort in China. These materials include reports from Chongqing, intelligence provided by the Chinese or the Americans, as well as data obtained from military officers, particularly those in southwest China (near Burma). For example, within the holdings of Class WO 208, War Office: Directorate of Military Operations and Intelligence, and Directorate of Military Intelligence for the years 1917 to 1968, is a detailed report concerning possible "bacteria warfare" waged by the Japanese against the Chinese. The 1946 report examines several incidents of Japanese aircraft dropping grain that were followed by outbreaks of

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Institution.

<sup>85</sup> The role of SACO is controversial, as it has been accused of being little more than a secret police force devoted to eradicating critics of the Nationalists. See Frederic Wakeman, Jr., "American Police Advisers and the Nationalist Chinese Secret Service, 1930-1937," *Modern China* 16: 2 (April 1992): 107-137.

<sup>86</sup> Milton Miles, *A Different Kind of War: The Little-Known Story of the Combined Guerilla Forces Created in China by the U.S. Navy and the Chinese during World War II* (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1967).

<sup>87</sup> Clayton Mishler's account of SACO's activities discusses the organization's attempts to obtain intelligence, rescue downed fliers, and undertake guerilla operations against the Japanese in China. This memoir emphasizes the

bubonic plague, but concludes that "the evidence is not sufficient to justify the charge of bacteria warfare."<sup>88</sup> The War Office's Directorate of Military Operations and Military Intelligence also has a great deal of documentation, including "Most Secret" telegrams from the British military attaché in Chongqing. An August 1943 report stated:

Anxiety among both Chinese and foreigners on account of potential effect of increasing tempo of economic deterioration seems to be growing. While it is impossible to gauge this anxiety accurately, the alarm occasioned in high circles by Japanese advance in Hupeh last May/June amounting almost to panic may be some measure of current uneasiness. Outbreaks of peasant unrest which have occurred this year in widely separated areas are further indication anxiety is NOT without cause.<sup>89</sup>

The Special Operations Directorate has fascinating materials related to anti-Japanese guerilla warfare. For example, one can compare Chinese accounts and American War Department materials with a British report from 1942, "Notes on the Failure of Guerilla Warfare in North China and Suggestions for a Plan of Campaign." Reasons for the "failure" included the lack of weapons, lack of military knowledge, lack of discipline, poor leadership, and conflict between the Nationalists and the Communists.<sup>90</sup> These British materials can be compared to American military or intelligence files, although the British materials related to events in Yenan are somewhat limited. In other areas, such as Hong Kong, these files are often more detailed than those available in the United States.

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Nationalist war efforts against the Japanese, and places Jiang's rule in a very positive light. Clayton Mishler, *Sampan Sailor: A Navy Man's Adventures in WWII China* (Washington: Brassey's, 1994).

<sup>88</sup> David Nelson Sutton, Associate Counsel, International Prosecution Section, "Bacteria Warfare," April 23, 1946, WO 208/4291, War Office, Directorate of Military Operations and Intelligence and Directorate of Military Intelligence, Japanese Biological Warfare in China, Public Record Office.

<sup>89</sup> Military Attaché, Chongqing, to the War Office, August 4, 1943, WO 106/3582A, 1091, War Office Directorate of Military Operations and Military Intelligence, Correspondence and Papers, 1837-1962, China: Intelligence, 1942 Mar.-1944 Feb., Public Record Office. Class WO 106 files also contain information related to political or diplomatic issues, such as the establishment of the Wang Ching-wei government. See WO 106/6231, War Office, Directorate of Military Operations and Military Intelligence, Correspondence and Papers, China: Political History; Desertion of Wang Ching Wei, 1938 Sept-1939 Jan, Public Record Office.

<sup>90</sup> W. Lewisohn, "Notes on the Failure of Guerilla Warfare in North China and Suggestions for a Plan of Campaign," and attached covering memorandum dated November 18, 1942, HS1/180, BB/IN/723, Special Operations Executive, Far East, Registered Files, 1940-1946, China General: Guerrillas; Chungking General; Proposals for Formation of Sino-British Resistance Movement 1944, Public Record Office.

Accounts by Nationalist military leaders provide a useful counterpoints to American and British perspectives. For example, Columbia University's Chinese Oral History Collection includes reminiscences of Chang Fa-k'uei, military commander involved with the fighting around Shanghai and Wuhan in 1937-1938, then commander in the Fourth War Zone. He provides information on Jiang's decision to attack Japanese invaders around Shanghai in 1937: "First, we wanted to open a second front, to launch an offensive to split the enemy's forces in China. Secondly, as Shanghai was an international center, it was hoped that outbreak of hostilities there would provoke international intervention."<sup>91</sup> Chang's reminiscences include fascinating detail on Jiang Jieshi's leadership of his generals, concluding that "I admire him for his resolution but not for his strategy."<sup>92</sup> Chang provides examples of poor discipline among Nationalist officers, who often relied upon their personal relationship to Jiang instead of the chain of command. Chang's recollections of events around Shanghai can be compared to the oral history of Li Han-hun, a military commander and governor of Guangdong province from 1939 to 1945. He discusses topics such as Japanese preparations for war in southeastern China, and the problems of command and cooperation among Nationalist generals. From his perspective as provincial governor, he describes problems such as the difficulty of obtaining military draftees (those with money often hired substitutes), the fact that the wealthy parts of the province were under Japanese control, and the lack of funds for famine or relief efforts. He concludes: "Financial difficulty was the leading one which I encountered as wartime governor."<sup>93</sup>

### **Yenan: The Opposite of Chongqing**

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<sup>91</sup> Chang Fa-kuei, interviewed by Julie Lien-ying How, Chinese Oral History Project, East Asian Institute, Columbia University, 1982, 454.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 788.

<sup>93</sup> Li Han-hun, interviewed by Minta Chou Wang, 1961-1962, Chinese Oral History Project, East Asian Institute, Columbia University, 1962, 125.

At times it is difficult to ascertain whether the Communists' military forces, government, and party were described as what they were, or as a polar opposite of the Nationalists. English-language government documents, oral histories, and memoirs relating the Chinese Communists at their base in Yen'an provide more than facts, they also represent part of a heated debate over the legitimacy of the Communists as an alternative to Jiang's government. In addition to the sources useful for building a list of Americans, British, Australians, and Canadians in China referenced earlier in this paper, *Foreigners in Areas of China Under Communist Jurisdiction Before 1949* includes brief biographies and bibliographies of those in contact with Mao's forces.<sup>94</sup>

Journalists are key sources of information on Yen'an. Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby's *Thunder Out of China* set the pattern for many works examining the Chinese Communists during the war era.<sup>95</sup> The authors provide an overview of Nationalist politics and Communist strategy, as well as specific events such as famine in Henan and Japan's military offensive in 1944. The authors emphasize the brutal, corrupt, and incompetent nature of the Nationalists, and praise the Communists: "The new governments and reforms constituted half of the Communists' appeal; the military leadership of the Communist armies made up the other half."<sup>96</sup> Jack Belden's *China*

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<sup>94</sup> Margaret Stanley, edited by Daniel H. Bays, *Foreigners in Areas of China Under Communist Jurisdiction Before 1949*, University of Kansas, Center for East Asian Studies, Reference Series Number Three, 1987.

<sup>95</sup> Among Americans, positive images of the Chinese Communists at Yen'an begin with journalist Edgar Snow's famous work based on his 1936 visit to China, *Red Star Over China*. A later version of the work includes an epilogue written in 1944. Edgar Snow, *Red Star Over China*, First Revised and Enlarged Edition (New York: Bantam Books, 1968). Snow was a strong critic of the Nationalists and emphasized the Communists' role in opposing the Japanese and improving the lives of the rural poor. See also Edgar Snow, *The Battle for Asia* (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1941) and *Random Notes on Red China, 1936-1945* (Cambridge: East Asia Research Center, Harvard University, 1971). The papers of Nym Wales, the pen-name of Helen Foster Snow, wife of Edgar Snow, includes correspondence and articles related to labor in China, and Sino-Japanese conflict. Her papers also include articles by others concerning labor policies in Yen'an. See also Nym Wales, *Inside Red China* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1939), which details her meetings with Mao Zedong and the activities of the Communists' Eighth Route Army; and Helen Foster Snow, *My China Years* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1984).

<sup>96</sup> Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby, *Thunder Out of China* (New York: William Sloan Associates, 1946), 205. White and Jacoby described the Nationalists: "The easiest way to understand China was to decide first that the government was only a false front for the Kuomintang, whose politics and cleavages were the main determinants of decision, and that behind the party was a personal despotism, the oldest form of rule known to mankind." White and

*Shakes the World*, like many accounts written by Western reporters in China during the war, attacks the corruption and incompetence of the Nationalists, and paints a mirror image of the Communists--eager to fight where Jiang's generals hold back, honest where the Nationalists are corrupt, enjoying popular support while the Nationalists rely on force to rule.<sup>97</sup>

Agnes Smedley's, *China Correspondent* is extremely favorable toward the Communists.<sup>98</sup> Her book offers detailed information about life in areas under Communist control, and also discusses the battle between Nationalist forces and the Japanese in the Yangzi valley. Anna Louise Strong not only portrays the Communists in a very positive light, but also questions the Nationalists' commitment to the struggle against the Japanese. For example, she accuses Nationalist general Ho Ying-chin of cooperating with the Japanese in order to limit Communist power, and also includes the Communists' version of the New Fourth Army Incident, a conflict between Communist and Nationalist armies that marked the end of Second United Front in all but name.<sup>99</sup> As was the case with many of her peers, her earlier works are much more sympathetic to the Nationalists, highlighting the regime's efforts to unify China against the Japanese. Her 1938 book on the war even includes an endorsement from Madame Chiang Kai-shek.<sup>100</sup>

Many first-person accounts focus on the anti-Japanese nature of Communist-led guerillas, as well as their democratic reforms. Ilona Ralf Sues, a League of Nations employee and free lance

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Jacoby, *Thunder Out of China*, 99.

<sup>97</sup> Jack Belden, *China Shakes the World* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970). Originally published in 1949. Belden's private papers are held at the Hoover Institution. A very detailed and positive first person account of Communists' war effort, life in areas under Communist control, and the personalities of a wide range of Communists ranging from Mao Zedong to author Ding Ling is found in Gunther Stein, *The Challenge of Red China* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1975).

<sup>98</sup> Agnes Smedley, *China Correspondent* (Published first as *Battle Hymn of China* in 1943) (London: Pandora Press 1984).

<sup>99</sup> Anna Louise Strong, *China's New Crisis* (London: Fore Publications, 1941).

<sup>100</sup> Anna Louise Strong, *One-Fifth of Mankind: China Fights for Freedom* (New York: New Age Books, 1938). See also *China Fights Back: An American Woman with the Eighth Route Army* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1938). This

journalist, wrote a first-hand record of warfare in China, as well as politics in Chongqing and Yen-an.<sup>101</sup> Like many journalists, he is more critical of the Nationalists than of the Communists. He concludes with an interesting division of China into the Democratic Camp (including most Chinese, parts of the Nationalist Party, and the Communists) and the Feudal Camp, "though ostensibly participating in the war against Japan, is in reality pursuing contrary aims." The latter camp included much of the Nationalist government, particularly Minister of War Ho Ying-ch'in, Chen Li-fu, and "a handful of corrupt financiers and bureaucrats".<sup>102</sup> Journalist Israel Epstein's account of the anti-Japanese struggle up to 1939 provides information on events on the battlefield and the growing nationalism that resulted from the Japanese invasion--in many ways supporting Chalmers Johnson's thesis on peasant nationalism in China.<sup>103</sup> He also provides first hand accounts of guerilla attacks against the Japanese, and the success of the Communist Party at gaining support in rural areas. This 1939 book by Epstein is not as strongly anti-Nationalist as many of this genre, however, as it represents efforts to build a broad united front against fascism. His 1947 history of the Sino-Japanese War is much more negative in its portrayal of the Nationalists, and emphasizes the popularity of the Communists due to their anti-Japanese efforts and promise of social revolution.<sup>104</sup> Some observers expanded their positive evaluations of the Chinese Communists into adulation. For example, Harrison Forman's *Report from Red China*, first published in 1945, compares the Communist military to the American revolutionaries, and calls the People's Militia "North China's

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volume details the Nationalist retreat and Communist guerilla warfare in late 1937.

<sup>101</sup> Sues worked briefly with the Nationalists' Central Publicity Board, traveled to areas controlled by the Communists' Eighth Route Army, then on to Yen-an to meet with Mao Zedong, and finally served as a broadcaster for the Military Affairs Commission led by Nationalist General Chen Cheng and Communist leader Zhou Enlai.

<sup>102</sup> Ilona Ralf Sues, *Shark's Fin and Millet* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1944), 328-329.

<sup>103</sup> Israel Epstein, *The People's War* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1939). For information on Chalmers Johnson's contribution to the field of modern Chinese history, see footnote 9.

<sup>104</sup> Israel Epstein, *The Unfinished Revolution in China* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1947).

Minutemen." He concludes that Mao Zedong and his followers "do not, at the present time [1945] either advocate or practice Communism."<sup>105</sup>

The personal accounts by journalists or activists complement Department of State or Department of War records mentioned earlier in this paper. Besides *Foreign Relations* and United States Army's Historical Division volumes, those interested in Yenan should consult *The Chinese Communist Movement: A Report of the United States War Department, July 1945*.<sup>106</sup> This lengthy report, written by the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department, reviews communism in China--its history, relations with the Nationalists, economic policies, military capabilities, and organization--with a focus on the 1937-1945 period.<sup>107</sup> For example, the report contains a chapter on the wartime economy in areas under Communist control, acknowledging that Mao's troops had been able to "revitalize the spirit of the peasantry, to increase agricultural production, and to develop handicraft industries to meet civilian and military needs."<sup>108</sup> Among the interesting sections to this work is an investigation of relations between the Communists and puppet governments under Japanese control. The report claimed that the Communists were no more eager to fight the Japanese than were the Nationalists, as both parties engaged in a "war within a war" against one another from 1940 to 1945.

American images of the wartime Communists were also shaped by the experience of the Dixie Mission, formally known as the United States Army Observer Group in Yenan. Colonel David Barrett, who led this effort to investigate the ability of Mao's forces to fight the Japanese,

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<sup>105</sup> Harrison Forman, *Report from Red China* (New York: De Capo Press, 1975), 177.

<sup>106</sup> Lyman P. Van Slyke, *The Chinese Communist Movement: A Report of the United States War Department, July 1945* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968).

<sup>107</sup> Researchers should note that since 1949 this volume has been used by those seeking to "prove" that the Nationalist regime could and should have been victorious against the Communists. This interpretation is based upon a summary attached to the report more than the contents of the actual report itself.

wrote a short overview of the mission, its interaction with Communist leaders, and the failure to forge a meaningful united front between the Nationalists and Communists.<sup>109</sup> His account examines interesting issues such as the Communist intelligence organization in occupied China and Communist efforts to forge a "Japanese Peoples Liberation League" with Japanese prisoners.<sup>110</sup> Colonel W. J. Peterkin, a military officer who participated in the Dixie Mission in 1945, has published his diary from that period. Peterkin addresses life in Yen-an, and the Communists' efforts to obtain American assistance for their struggle against the Japanese. He describes life under the Nationalists and corruption in their military, and compares this to the Communist government. Finally, this work is a damning indictment of American policy, particularly support for Jiang Jieshi and the replacement of General Stilwell by General Albert Wedemeyer.<sup>111</sup> This volume provides useful lists of the Americans who visited the Communist base, which can be utilized for further research.

Reflecting American interest in defeating the Axis, many wartime works focus on the anti-Japanese nature of the Communists.<sup>112</sup> Evans Fordyce Carlson has documented his eighteen months (from 1937 to 1939) as an observer for the United States Navy in China. Carlson's work is equally favorable to the Nationalists and to the Communists. His recollections are a detailed account of

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<sup>108</sup> Van Slyke, *The Chinese Communist Movement*, 175-176.

<sup>109</sup> David D. Barrett, *Dixie Mission: The United States Observer Group in Yen-an, 1944* (Berkeley: University of California, Center for Chinese Studies, China Research Monographs, Number Six, 1970).

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 34-35.

<sup>111</sup> W. J. Peterkin, *Inside China, 1943-1945: An Eyewitness Account of America's Mission in Yen-an* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1972). Peterkin's personal papers are held at the Hoover Institution. See also the papers of Ivan Yeaton, commanding officer of the 1945-1946 Yen-an Observer Group in China, at Hoover Institution.

<sup>112</sup> One can also learn about conditions in China and Communist guerilla efforts through an account of James D. McBrayer, Jr., a Marine guard at the embassy in Peking, who, along with four other Americans, escaped from Japanese captivity near Shanghai in May 1945. His account provides some information about the Communists' intelligence networks and organizational efforts. James D. McBrayer, Jr., *Escape! Memoir of a World War II Marine Who Broke Out of a Japanese POW Camp and Linked Up with Chinese Communist Guerillas* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 1995).

Nationalist and Communist military operations, beginning with the Japanese victory around Shanghai in late 1937. He also devotes a great deal of attention to the Communists' Eighth Route Army, the leadership qualities of Communist guerilla leaders, and life in Yen-an.<sup>113</sup> This volume also provides information on Americans in China during this period, which serves as a tool for further research into English-language sources. A shorter work by Carlson includes his letters to Roosevelt, who had ordered him to China, offering his observations of the Nationalists and Communists at war against the Japanese. His account is not entirely positive, as he notes that he was "disgusted with the attitude of the intellectual class" in Hangzhou in late 1938: "The town is filled with men and women who take no apparent interest in the war. They have no feeling of responsibility for the future of their country. It is these classes that should be shaken out of their lethargy and indifference by mass mobilization."<sup>114</sup> Carlson's observation suggests an aspect of Sino-Japanese conflict that has attracted relatively little attention--those Chinese who were not participants in the Nationalist or Communist war efforts, many of whom remained in occupied China.

### **Occupied China: Outside of the Nation's History?**

Occupied China has received less attention because it falls outside the narrative of national resistance led by the Nationalists or the Communists.<sup>115</sup> There do exist, however, sources that allow

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<sup>113</sup> He calls Mao Zedong "the man whose mind had provided the foundation for China's modern liberal thought and whose flare [sic.] for organization had established the bases on which rested the structure of the present Communist Party in China." Evans Fordyce Carlson, *Twin Stars of China: A Behind the Scenes Story of China's Valiant Struggle for Existence by a U.S. Marine Who Lived and Moved with the People* (Westport: Hyperion Press, 1975), 167.

<sup>114</sup> Evans Fordyce Carlson, edited by Hugh Deane, *China at War, 1937-1941* (New York: China and Us Publications, 1993), 46.

<sup>115</sup> There exist only a handful of secondary works that focus on occupied China, most of which use few English-language sources. See John Hunter Boyle, *China and Japan at War, 1937-1945: The Politics of Collaboration* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972) and "The Road to Sino-Japanese Collaboration: The Background to the Defection of Wang Ching-wei," *Monumenta Nipponica* 25, 3-4 (1970): 267-301; Gerald E. Bunker, *The Peace Conspiracy: Wang Ching-wei and the China War, 1937-1941* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972); Lloyd E. Eastman, "Facets of an Ambivalent Relationship: Smuggling, Puppets, and Atrocities During the War, 1937-1945," in Akira Iriye, ed., *The Chinese and the Japanese: Essays in Political and Cultural Interactions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 275-303; Ke-wen Wang, "Collaborators and Capitalists: The Politics of 'Material Control' in

researchers to examine the Japanese invasion and administration, Chinese regimes allied with the Japanese, or those Chinese who wished to avoid being involved in the war. These materials often focus on events at the local or provincial level, with little reference to any national government. The presence of Americans, British, Canadians, and Australians in occupied China's major cities between August 1937 and December 1941 present a unique opportunity to observe Sino-Japanese conflict. In addition to the official materials discussed earlier in this paper, the United States Marine Corps' History and Museums Division has an extensive collection of oral histories, some of which provide information on life in Shanghai and Beijing.<sup>116</sup> For example, the recollections of Ray Albert Robinson, Commanding Officer for Marine Forces in North China in 1939, and DeWitt Peck, Commanding Officer of Marine Forces in Shanghai in 1940 and 1941, both focus on rising tensions between Americans and the Japanese, but touch upon Sino-Japanese relations. This collection also contains a transcript of an interview with former Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence Agency and Commandant of the Marine Corps, Robert Everett Cushman, Jr., who also served with the Marines in Shanghai. The collection contains a few oral histories of those not in the Marine Corps, such as Foreign Service Officer Frederick D. Hunt's recollections of the situation in Shanghai in late 1941.

Detailed information on occupied China rests at the Public Record Office, which stores materials from both military and civilian agencies. One interesting collection are the files of the War Office Directorate of Military Operations and Military Intelligence, and Predecessors (Class WO 106), which includes 1939 reports on the activities of Wang Jingwei, as well as military and

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Wartime Shanghai," *Chinese Studies in History* 26, 1 (1992): 42-62; and Poshek Fu, *Passivity, Resistance, and Collaboration: Intellectual Choices in Occupied Shanghai, 1937-1945* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993).

<sup>116</sup> See Benis M. Frank, compiler, *Marine Corps Oral History Collection Catalog* (Washington: History and

intelligence situation reports throughout the war. These files reveal British efforts to reconcile sympathy for the Chinese, concern over the expansion of Japanese power, and the reality of Japanese rule over much of coastal China. One can use the British materials to trace the negotiations and swirl of rumors surrounding Wang Jingwei's negotiations with the Japanese in early 1940.<sup>117</sup> Researchers should also consult Class FO 262, Embassy and Consulates, Japan, General Correspondence, for files on the Japanese invasion of 1937 that focus on the military and political situation in North China. British efforts to reach a *modus operandi* with the Japanese military in China, even as they attempted to moderate the invaders' behavior, is documented in the files of the British embassy in Tokyo.<sup>118</sup> The War Office's Directorate of Military Intelligence (Class WO 208) holds similar materials, including files on the "Creation of a Japanese sponsored Central Government of China at Nanking," reports on tours of China by military attachés, Japanese military operations and strategy, conditions in Hong Kong, and "Trade between China and Free China."<sup>119</sup>

Cooperation between the Japanese and Westerners in the cities of occupied China has received little attention in the secondary literature because this topic does not fit with a history of the Allies' struggle against the Japanese. The Australian National Archives contains documents such as a copy of an agreement between British and Japanese to limit "terrorist" activities, and a lengthy review of "Measures Involving Cooperation Between the Japanese Gendarmerie and the

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Museums Division, 1989).

<sup>117</sup> Various draft agreements between Wang and the Japanese (some of questionable accuracy) are found in FO 676/429, Foreign Office, Embassies and Legations, China: General Correspondence, Series II, Files of the Chongqing Embassy, Japanese Sponsored Governments, 1940, Public Record Office.

<sup>118</sup> See FO 262/2013, Foreign Office, Embassies and Consulates, Japan, General Correspondence, North China Incident, 1938, Public Record Office.

<sup>119</sup> Another large collection of War Office materials is Class WO 32, the Registered Files of the War Office and Successors.

British Municipal Council Police."<sup>120</sup> These files also hold documents concerning Wang Jingwei's Nanjing government, as well as translations of Japanese press and government reports on China. British and Australian sources are uniquely useful for information on Hong Kong, Macao, and the surrounding province of Guangdong. For example, the Australian archives have a 256-page report, "Conditions in Hong Kong, Canton, and Macao Under Japanese Administration," dated May 1944. The report introduces topics such as police activity, smuggling routes, ship building, and air bases.<sup>121</sup> Some of the interesting detail includes the Japanese use of Indian police and other colonial subjects to help maintain control over the Chinese in Hong Kong.

As was the case with English-language documentation on the Chinese Communists, journalists are key resources. Haldore Hanson wrote a lengthy account of his experiences as an Associated Press correspondent in China in 1937 and 1938.<sup>122</sup> His work also illustrates the ambiguity that characterized many works written prior to Pearl Harbor--he addresses Nationalist blunders, Chinese violence against Japanese, and even hints at some legitimacy for Japanese war aims. For example, he discusses not only Japanese atrocities, but also urban Chinese attacks against Japanese civilians.<sup>123</sup> He reveals that in November 1937 fires devastated much of Changsha, but attributes this disaster to rivalries and the breakdown of discipline within the Nationalist ranks, rather than warfare against the Japanese. Hanson concludes: "Without feeling the least sympathy for Japanese methods in China, I see considerable justice in the Japanese demand for a more equitable

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<sup>120</sup> Undated Memorandum and "Measures Involving Cooperation Between the Japanese Gendarmerie and the British Municipal Council Police," China - General 4 Relations with Japan Part 3 Sino Japanese Hostilities; Intelligence Status Reports, Series Number A981/4, CHIN 4 PART 4.

<sup>121</sup> Conditions in Hong Kong and Southern China under Japanese Occupation, May 1944, Series Number A3269/12, Item Number W1.

<sup>122</sup> Haldore Hanson, *Humane Endeavor* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1939).

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 65.

share of the world's economic opportunities."<sup>124</sup> Hanson devotes a chapter to the "Sack of Nanking," and his volume is one of the first to reference John Rabe, a German manager with Siemens Company who chronicled Japanese atrocities.<sup>125</sup>

Few works have provided the detail on the Nanjing Massacre as the Rabe's diaries, which have been translated into English and published in 1998.<sup>126</sup> Rabe describes the Nationalist retreat from the city, the Japanese takeover and atrocities, and efforts by a committee of foreigners, the Nanking Safety Zone Committee (also called the International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone), to pressure the Japanese to restore order and to discipline their troops. The diary is interspersed with Rabe's correspondence and documents from the German Foreign Ministry, which provides more information on life in Nanjing, the problems of refugees, and the Committee's efforts. Rabe confirms both the scale and scope of Japanese brutality, including the execution of civilians and surrendering soldiers, mass rapes, and looting. Lewis S.C. Smythe, a sociologist at the University of Nanking, took a completely different approach in his report entitled *War Damage in the Nanking Area, December 1937 to March 1938*. He attempted to quantify the impact of Sino-Japanese conflict through "family investigators in the City Survey in Nanking [who] were instructed to fill out a family schedule for every family in every 50th inhabited house." In this case, the scientific survey method rings less true than personal, anecdotal accounts such as Rabe's. In this report, Smythe reviews the Nanjing Massacre, estimating that "The reports made in the Survey indicate that 3,250 were killed by military action under known circumstances. Of those killed 2,400

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid., 385-386.

<sup>125</sup> Hanson, *Humane*, 142.

<sup>126</sup> John Rabe, edited by Erwin Wickert, translated by John E. Woods, *The Good Man of Nanking: The Diaries of John Rabe* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998).

(74 percent) were killed by soldiers' violence apart from military operations.<sup>127</sup> He also estimates that 4,200 Chinese were taken away by the Japanese military police, and had not been heard from again.<sup>128</sup>

One relatively lengthy account of Sino-Japanese conflict in the Yangzi Valley and the takeover of Nanjing and other major cities comes from H. J. Timperley, correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian*. The author states that he was motivated to write this work in order to reveal information on the "outrages committed against Chinese civilians by the Japanese troops which occupied Nanking" that had been censored by Japanese authorities in Shanghai. He also depicts atrocities in North China, the impact of Japanese bombing, and the destruction of factories and businesses. Timperley includes an appendix documenting several hundred cases of Japanese brutality, as well as letters presented to the Japanese by foreigners in Nanking who led the International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone.<sup>129</sup> This book is particularly valuable because it cites many foreigners in China, providing their title and affiliation. This is a valuable tool for researchers who wish to find the memoirs or private papers of witnesses to Sino-Japanese conflict or the Rape of Nanjing.

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<sup>127</sup> Lewis S. C. Smythe, *War Damage in the Nanking Area, December 1937 to March 1938* (Shanghai: Nanking International Relief Committee, 1938), 7.

<sup>128</sup> The Nanjing Massacre remains an extremely contentious issue in Sino-Japanese relations. Most recently, Iris Chang's book has sparked renewed interest in this event. Iris Chang, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of WW II* (New York: Basic Books, 1997). Many Japanese authors have expressed doubt over Chinese and American portrayals of the scale of the atrocities by Japanese troops. For example, see Hata Ikuhito, "The Nanking Atrocities: Fact and Fable," *Japan Echo* 25, 4 (August 1998): 47-57. A balanced appraisal of the historiography of Nanjing is provided in Daqing Yang, "Convergence or Divergence? Recent Historical Writings on the Rape of Nanjing," *American Historical Review* 104: 3 (June 1999): 842- . See also the records of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, 1946-1948, in record group 238 at the United States National Archives. These 174 linear feet of records are also available on microfilm; and the records of the Legal Section of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, in record group 331 at the National Archives.

<sup>129</sup> H. J. Timperley, *What War Means: The Japanese Terror in China* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1938). Reprinted as *Japanese Terror in China* (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1969).

Although the area around Shanghai and Nanjing attracted the most attention, there exist many first-person accounts of warfare and its aftermath in other parts of China. For example, George Taylor, Professor of Political Science at Yenching University in 1937, has written one of the most detailed English language reports on the puppet government established in Beijing, as well as Communist-led resistance activities in North China. He provides information on the personalities and policies of the Provisional Government, which became part of the larger Wang Jingwei government in 1940.<sup>130</sup> To the south, the Japanese air assault on Guangzhou in 1938 is chronicled in Shuhsi Hsu's *Three Weeks of Canton Bombings*.<sup>131</sup> Most of this volume, written under the auspices of the Council of International Affairs in Hangzhou, represents both an attempt to sway public sympathy for the Chinese and an examination of Japanese actions in light of international law. He also authored *The War Conduct of the Japanese*, which includes reports concerning the Japanese takeover of Nanjing and the failed attempts by the International Committee to limit the invading army's brutality there. Much of his information came from the English-language press and missionaries. He also includes a few pages of information on the Japanese takeover of Suzhou and Hangzhou.<sup>132</sup> Robert S. Ward, American Consul in Hong Kong at the time of the Japanese occupation in December 1941, examined not only military conflict, but also the political, economic, cultural, and propaganda policies implemented by the Japanese.<sup>133</sup> The 104 page report also includes a variety of interesting enclosures, including the text of many Japanese decrees and announcements, lists of Chinese who cooperated with the Japanese, and even a list of new street

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<sup>130</sup> George E. Taylor, *The Struggle for North China* (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940).

<sup>131</sup> Shuhsi Hsu, *Three Weeks of Canton Bombings* (Hong Kong: Kelly & Walsh, 1939).

<sup>132</sup> Shuhsi Hsu, *The War Conduct of the Japanese* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1938).

<sup>133</sup> Robert S. Ward, *Hong Kong under Japanese Occupation: A Case Study in the Enemy's Techniques of Control* (Washington, 1943).

names assigned to Hong Kong (a useful way to see the values of the new government). Ward's documentation of Japanese propaganda efforts fits well with the discussion of Pan-Asianism that John Dower would explain in his famous work, *War without Mercy*.<sup>134</sup>

Another interesting account of life under Japanese rule comes from Elizabeth Lee, wife of a professor at National Tsing Hua University, who spent the war in Shanghai.<sup>135</sup> Her five-hundred page book is most interesting for the hundreds of selections from Japanese propaganda materials and newspapers published in China. Lee also includes information on inflation and the efforts of Wang Jingwei's government in Nanjing to manage the economy. Some fascinating English-language reportage on the battle for Shanghai is found in materials produced by Western reporters. Journalist Hallett Abend provides graphic detail on the effects on bombing near Shanghai, particularly failed Nationalist attempts to sink Japanese warships, which led to hundreds of Chinese casualties on land. Abend addresses the Nationalists' military strategy, stating that Jiang had expected in early 1937 to fight to prevent the Japanese from taking the five northeast provinces of China (Hebei, Shandong, Shanxi, Chahar, and Suiyuan), which he felt was the short-term goal of the Japanese, who were saving the Yangzi Valley region for a few years later.<sup>136</sup> This volume examines the increasingly strained relations between Japanese military and Americans in China prior to Pearl Harbor.

John B. Powell, editor of *Millard's Review of the Far East*, then *China Monthly Review*, built a reputation as a strong critic of Japanese imperialism in China. Although based in Shanghai until his internment in late 1941 by the Japanese, his memoirs contain information on topics ranging from

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<sup>134</sup> Ward, *Hong Kong*, 90. John Dower, *War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986).

<sup>135</sup> Elizabeth Lee, *A Letter to My Aunt* (New York: Carlton Press, 1981).

Japanese influence along the southeast coast of China to the spread of anti-Jewish propaganda by Nazi sympathizers with Japanese acquiescence.<sup>137</sup> His volume also adds to our knowledge of the fighting in and around Shanghai in 1937, including Black Sunday (August 14, 1937), when damaged Nationalist warplanes accidentally dropped bombs on the International Settlement in Shanghai. He also summarizes the Japanese takeover of financial institutions in Shanghai. *Shanghai Under Fire: July 1937-March 1938*, produced by the *Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury*, includes a narrative of the military conflict, and hundreds of photographs documenting the results of Japanese bombing.<sup>138</sup>

There also exist materials on topics other than military or political affairs. For example, the Head of the Department of Foreign Languages at the University of Nanjing (after its move to Chongqing), William P. Fenn, wrote a 50-page overview of educational and cultural institutions in China during the 1937-1940 period.<sup>139</sup> This book provides narrative description and statistics about the movement of colleges and universities to the interior, as well as the conditions of these institutions. Fenn's volume also includes a comprehensive list of institutions of higher education and their location before and after the Japanese invasion. A related series of reports by the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations includes sections on topics such as, "The Effects of the Sino-Japanese Conflict on American Educational and Philanthropic Enterprises in China." These short documents include a narrative summary and statistical data on university enrollments, the Japanese bomb damage to hospitals and universities, the availability of medical care, and rural

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<sup>136</sup> Hallett Abend, *My Life in China, 1926-1941* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1943), 245

<sup>137</sup> John B. Powell, *My Twenty-Five Years in China* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945).

<sup>138</sup> *Shanghai Under Fire: July 1937-March 1938* (Shanghai: Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury, 1938).

<sup>139</sup> William P. Fenn, *The Effect of the Japanese Invasion on Higher Education in China* (Hong Kong: China Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940).

reconstruction projects between 1937 and 1939.<sup>140</sup> The memoirs of John Leighton Stuart, founder of Yenching University in Beijing and American Ambassador to China in the late 1940s, includes an interesting chapter on the difficulty of living under Japanese occupation while maintaining an independent institution of higher education.<sup>141</sup>

Missionary accounts were neither part of the "national" narratives of the Nationalists or the Communists, nor did they fit neatly within the histories of the War of Resistance, Pacific War, or World War II. There exist a variety of sources on American missionaries in China, including the Ecumenical Library of the Interchurch Center in New York City and the General Commission on Archives and History of the United Methodist Church, housed at Drew University in New Jersey.<sup>142</sup> Both the Interchurch Center and the General Commission hold biographies and organizational records from missionaries around the world. Other important locations for information from missionaries include the China Records Project at the Yale Divinity Library, the Archives of the Council for World Mission at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, the China Missionaries Oral History Collection at the Claremont Graduate School, and the Billy Graham Center at Wheaton College.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Galen M. Fisher, ed., *The Effects of the Sino-Japanese Conflict on American Educational and Philanthropic Enterprises in China, I. General*, American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1939; B. A. Garside, *II. Higher Education*; Earl H. Cressy, *III. Secondary Education*; Edward H. Hume, *IV. Medicine and Popular Health*; John H. Reisner, *V. Rural Reconstruction*.

<sup>141</sup> John Leighton Stuart, *Fifty Years in China: The Memoirs of John Leighton Stuart* (New York: Random House, 1954). See also Graham Peck, who served with the American Office of War Information in China during the war, has written a detailed account of his time in China. The final chapters focus on Sino-Japanese conflict and the atmosphere in Beijing in late 1937. Graham Peck, *Through China's Wall* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company 1940).

<sup>142</sup> The most important single reference work on archival materials is *Christianity in China: A Scholar's Guide to Resources in the Libraries and Archives of the United States*. It includes thousands of entries grouped by location, as well as name and subject indices. Crouch, Archie R., et. al., *Christianity in China: A Scholar's Guide to Resources in the Libraries and Archives of the United States* (Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 1989).

<sup>143</sup> See also the Catholic Mission Society of America papers, as described in Murray Rubinstein, "China in Maryknoll: The Sinologically-Related Holdings of the Catholic Foreign Missionary Society of America," *Jindai Zhongguo shi yanjiu tongxu* (Newsletter of Modern Chinese History) 13 (1992): 179-190. Another key resource is Peter M. Mitchell, Margo S. Gewurtz, and Alwyn Austin, compilers, *Guide to Archival Resources on Canadian Missionaries in East Asia: 1890-1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto-York University, Joint Centre for Asia Pacific Studies, 1988).

Some missionaries have written their own accounts of the Japanese invasion and its impact.<sup>144</sup> The account of Ernest M. Wampler, American missionary with the Church of the Brethren during the late 1930s, examines five counties in southern Shanxi prior to the Japanese invasion and under occupation, then describes relief efforts further to the west, outside of Japanese control. Wampler's mission was viewed as "neutral territory" and he and others in his compound had contact with those on both sides of the conflict. He points out the difficulty faced by peasants--who required Japanese passes to travel, but were "arrested" by Communist guerillas if they had passes. This volume provides an interesting image of the conflict between Communist guerillas and the Japanese: "In Shansi and in territories where the Eighth army operates, the mopping up operations [of the Japanese] are very much like the work of the woman who tried to mop up the water off her kitchen floor with the faucet turned on at the clogged sink."<sup>145</sup> E. H. Clayton's memoir of his experience as a missionary in China discusses the Japanese invasion, and life under Japanese military rule, including brutality of Japanese soldiers, and the failed attempt by missionaries to control this activity.<sup>146</sup> This book also touches upon the problem of Chinese refugees.

The General Commission on Archives and History of the United Methodist Church has files related to the missionary work around the world, including China.<sup>147</sup> These materials approach the "problem" of Sino-Japanese war with different priorities and goals than are revealed in the files of diplomats or military officers. To missionaries, the war was not simply a harbinger of chaos--it was

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<sup>144</sup> One useful overview of Christianity in China under Japanese occupation is Timothy Brook, "Toward Independence: Christianity in China Under the Japanese Occupation, 1937-1945," in Daniel H. Bays, ed., *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 317-337. The citations in Brook's article offer a useful introduction to the kinds of materials related to Canadian missionaries in China. This work includes a very useful bibliography.

<sup>145</sup> Ernest M. Wampler, *China Suffers or My Six Years of Work During the Incident* (Elgin, Illinois: Brethren Publishing House, 1945), 111.

<sup>146</sup> E. H. Clayton, *Heaven Below* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1945).

seen as an opportunity to expand the Church's influence in the context of Japanese brutality and the collapse of the Nationalist state. Careful examination of these files also reveals that many of the reports about life in China were designed to spur financial support from the Methodist Church and wealthy individuals in the United States. In short, what is recorded may be true, but the selection of this information is shaped by the needs of missionaries. A report by a missionary in Beijing addresses the dilemmas of working in wartime China. He notes that the Chinese population was divided between a small number of individuals who supported the Japanese and the majority who avoided political activity. He concluded, "If the Association [a Methodist organization devoted to relief work] ties to the minority it will lose the majority. If it ties to the majority for the time being, it must forego the help of the aggressive group. So far the Association has unanimously chosen the slow pace."<sup>148</sup>

Scholars could begin with the published journals of the annual meetings of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church. These volumes often have short summaries of materials in the missionary files, and can highlight individuals whose files are worth pursuing further. The General Commission also has the most complete collection of minutes from the annual conferences held among Methodist missionaries in various regions of China. The annual minutes for the Central China conference includes short reports from "districts," which usually comprised part of a province.<sup>149</sup> Most important are the Missionary Files, materials arranged first by continent, then by nation, and finally by the names of individual missionaries or Chinese pastors or employees. These documents include letters among missionaries, newsletters, and reports from the

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<sup>147</sup> I am grateful for the assistance of Dr. Dale Patterson at the General Commission on Archives and History.

<sup>148</sup> "Fellowship Notes," October 15, 1938, Papers of James L. Ding, Missionary Files, 1912-1949, United Methodist Church Archives-General Commission on History and Archives, Madison, New Jersey.

field. For example, Dr. G. L. Downie, who ran a hospital in Fujian, provides the sort of rich detail on local conditions that are typical of these files. He describes the breakdown of the public health system, and the demands on church-sponsored institutions: "Our hospital is jammed full. The porches are lined with patients who sleep there despite the hot sun, rain, and wind. They beg for a space on the floor if there is no available bed."<sup>150</sup>

The files of James L. Ding, President of the Anglo-Chinese College in Fuzhou, Fujian, contain correspondence detailing the impact of the war. In a May 1939 letter to the United States, Ding discusses the problems of Japanese air raids and the Nationalists' attempt to move schools, factories, and other institutions away from the coast.<sup>151</sup> Ding's files also include "Fellowship Notes" which chronicles bomb damage, relief work, and the fate of many Chinese church members in occupied China. These materials reveal the Church's attempt to forge a cooperative relationship with both the Japanese and the Nationalist government--as Church officials sought to avoid antagonizing the Japanese even as they stepped-up relief services and proselytizing among anti-Japanese guerillas.<sup>152</sup> This is not to suggest that the letters and reports from missionaries were entirely apolitical or neutral. Many clearly sympathized with the Chinese, even as they expressed grave doubts about the Nationalists. Evaline Gaw, Secretary of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Jiangxi, observed the military conflict near her church, and concluded: "I wonder if this is not perhaps the key to China's trouble? She expects the servant class to fight her battles for her. She

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<sup>149</sup> Note that these do not correspond to the districts (*xian*) used as political divisions in China.

<sup>150</sup> Dr. G. L. Downie to Frank L. Cartwright, October 30, 1941, Papers of Mrs. Gerald L. Downie, Missionary Files, 1912-1949, United Methodist Church Archives-General Commission on History and Archives, Madison, New Jersey.

<sup>151</sup> James L. Ding to Dr. Frank T. Cartwright, May 8, 1939, Papers of James L. Ding, Missionary Files, 1912-1949, United Methodist Church Archives-General Commission on History and Archives, Madison, New Jersey. The missionary files are presently being microfilmed by Scholarly Resources, a private company, and may soon be available at many research libraries.

<sup>152</sup> Several copies of the "Fellowship Notes" from 1939 are *ibid*.

sends to the battle field her coolies, her superstitious ignorant folks, and then expects victory, while the educated class try to keep out of the fray."<sup>153</sup>

One of the most interesting sources is the Archives of the Billy Graham Center at Wheaton College.<sup>154</sup> The Archives include oral histories as well as private papers and microfilm collections taken from other collections related to American, Canadian, and British missionary efforts in China. None of these accounts focus on Sino-Japanese conflict, but almost all provide a short discussion of the war. For example, the oral history of Helen Grace Howack Frame, who was with the China Inland Mission in Henan until 1950, describes the arrival of Japanese troops in rural China. She discussed the chaos as many Chinese fled before the invading army or sought refuge within missionary compounds. David Howard Adeny, also in Henan when the Japanese invaded, relates the experience of Japanese bombing. One missionary, Eleanor Ruth Elliott, related the experience of a possible Japanese gas attack. She also related how their compound became a refuge for Chinese, and the difficulty they encountered with the Japanese military because of this.<sup>155</sup>

The Claremont Graduate School's China Missionaries Oral History Collection contains a series of oral histories from missionaries. Although none of these transcripts focus exclusively on Sino-Japanese conflict, they do examine the impact of the war at the local level. For example, Merrill Steele Ady was a Presbyterian missionary in Guangdong who cooperated with the O.S.S. His account discusses Nationalist military officers trading wolfram, a mineral vital for hardening

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<sup>153</sup> Evaline Downie to Frank L. Cartwright, December 25, 1937, Papers of Miss Evaline Gaw, Missionary Files, 1912-1949, United Methodist Church Archives-General Commission on History and Archives, Madison, New Jersey.

<sup>154</sup> A complete list of finding aids is available on-line through the Wheaton College website.

<sup>155</sup> Finding aids, brief biographies, and transcripts are available at the Billy Graham Center: Helen Howack Frame (collection 255), David Howard Adeny (collection 393), Margaret Rice Elliott Crossett (collection 287), and Eleanor Ruth Elliott (collection 187). See also the transcript of the oral history of Martha Henrietta Philips (collection 314), which relates the experience of interaction between Chinese, American and Japanese Christians during the late 1930s.

steel, with the Japanese, and American efforts to purchase covertly the supply.<sup>156</sup> He also touches upon life under Japanese rule and puppet governments in South China. Far to the north, Rowland McLean Cross's recollections of his missionary work in and around Beijing provides fascinating information on life under the Japanese, including allegations of Japanese efforts to promote the sale of drugs "not only because it was quite financially profitable but to break down the morale of the people."<sup>157</sup> Cross also reveals that the brutality of this conflict was reciprocal by describing the massacre of over 200 Japanese and Koreans in Tungchow, near Beijing (also called Dongxian). Missionaries actually offered refuge to Japanese and Korean civilians from Chinese Peace Preservation Corps, which had revolted against the Japanese.<sup>158</sup>

Missionary contact with Japanese soldiers was extensive, and many of the collections discussed here include information on meetings with Japanese Christians in China. Some were disappointed to find that military discipline and national loyalty overshadowed Christian identity among the invading troops. Nevertheless, missionaries had unique insight into Japanese rule. This paper ends where it began, with the problem of China's image and Pearl Buck. As one missionary remarked in her oral history interview, "Did you ever read this book of Pearl Buck, *The Good Earth*? They had that translated into Japanese and all their officers had to read it. They wanted them to get an idea of what China was like."<sup>159</sup>

## Conclusion

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<sup>156</sup> Merrill Steele Ady, interviewed by Cyrus Peake Georgania Irwin, and Arthur Rosenbaum, 1970, China Missionaries Oral History Collection, Claremont Graduate School, 54-55.

<sup>157</sup> Rowland McLean Cross, interviewed by Cyrus Peake Georgania Irwin, Arthur Rosenbaum, and Enid Bouglass, 1969, China Missionaries Oral History Collection, Claremont Graduate School, 98-99.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 127-131.

<sup>159</sup> Grace May Rowley, interviewed by Georgania Fry Irwin and Arthur Rosenbaum, 1970 and 1971, China Missionaries Oral History Collection, Claremont Graduate School, 18.

This overview of English-language primary sources related to the Sino-Japanese War is admittedly an exercise in "looking at flowers while on horseback." Nevertheless a few generalizations can be drawn about the value to historians of official documents, oral histories, private papers, memoirs, and other first-person accounts. One framework for understanding these diverse materials comes from Poshek Fu's history of occupied Shanghai. Fu details three responses by Chinese intellectuals to Japan's invasion--resistance, collaboration, and passivity--categories that can be used to summarize the English-language primary sources as well. Concerning resistance, the materials are abundant; on collaboration they are adequate; and on passivity they are quite limited. The secondary literature has followed a similar pattern. While the English-language sources alone are inadequate for addressing most topics related to the Sino-Japanese War, the materials detailed in this paper suggest several areas worthy of further research.

Military conflict from 1937 to 1945 focused the attention of observers then and scholars today upon the activities of the nation-state. The vast majority of the sources examined the war as it related to China's two claimants to national legitimacy, the Nationalists and the Communists. So, too, the secondary literature has centered around these two parties and their struggle against the Japanese--or each other. English-language sources, however, suggest that further research is needed into anti-Japanese activity, particularly in occupied China. For example, missionary archives could shed light on the political views of Chinese Christians. Are they more likely than other Chinese to resist the Japanese and, if so, why and how? Some of the materials detailed in this paper mention attacks on Japanese civilians in occupied China with little reference to the Nationalists or the Communists. To what extent did there exist armed resistance to the Japanese outside of the

leadership of Jiang or Mao? Could this resistance be described as the result of Chinese nationalism, or did it merely represent local reactions to Japanese atrocities?

The English-language primary sources reveal three types of collaboration. First are those who actively supported or participated in Japanese-sponsored governments, such as Wang Jingwei's regime. Second are Nationalist officials or military officers whose relationship with the Japanese was a key factor in buttressing the "Heroes Fallen" image of China. Third, and least studied to date, is the collaboration between Westerners and Japanese occupying forces in China from 1937 to 1941. There exist many English-language sources that detail the efforts by British, Americans and others in the major port cities to reach a *modus operandi* with the Japanese military. How did the Chinese in these cities react to this? While English-language sources often emphasized Westerners' attempts to moderate Japanese behavior, is there evidence that these efforts were successful? Did urban Chinese deliberately seek to use foreigners to limit Japanese brutality, or were they purely bystanders?

Although resistance and, to a lesser extent, collaboration have dominated the primary sources and secondary literature related to China at war, there is less information on those who sought to avoid these political or military struggles, or felt such struggles had little relevance to their lives. For example, the abundant American scholarship on the development of civil society in Qing and Republican China has not been followed into occupied China. In the absence of any government--Japanese, Nationalist, or Communist--how did people in rural areas of occupied China maintain law and order, or promote local welfare? The English-language sources show how missionaries and other foreigners often assumed the work of the state--providing protection and relief services, for example. Do Chinese or Japanese language material exist that add insight into these missionary activities or similar efforts by China's rural elite?

Finally, many literate, politically-active Taiwanese viewed their island as “Asia’s Orphan” (*Yaxiya de gu'er*), a place cast off by China and accorded second-class status by Japan.<sup>160</sup> Does this image have any validity on the mainland? English-language sources from the 1937 and 1941 period such as missionary records or accounts by journalists provide clear evidence of the war's destruction and Japanese brutality. However, these materials also add to our understanding of the extent to which those in occupied China attempted to do business, teach, or farm. Did they feel that they had been orphaned? Another, more provocative way to look at this question would be to ask: Did Chinese in occupied areas or areas of ambiguous control—intellectuals, businessmen, or farmers—miss the Nationalists and their administration?

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<sup>160</sup> A famous novel of the same title by Taiwanese author Wu Zhuoliu details the difficulties the islanders had in defining themselves. The novel's protagonist, Hu Taiming, is closely modeled after Wu's own experiences, but symbolized the fate of many educated youth under colonial rule. During his study in Japan, Hu found his resistance to the Japanese awakened by other Taiwanese students. Yet, when visiting the mainland, Chinese cursed him for his ties to the Japanese. In the end, Hu, unable to stand the competing pressures for his loyalty, goes insane. Wu's stories and reminiscences are important source material for understanding Taiwan's experience of oppression and ambivalence under both Japanese, then Nationalist rule. Wu Zhuoliu, *Yaxiya de gu'er* (Asia's Orphan) (Taipei: Caogen chuban shiye youxian gongsi, 1995); *Wuhuaguo: Taiwan qishinian de huixiang* (The Fig: Looking Back at Taiwan over Seventy Years) (Taipei: Qianfeng chubanshe, 1993); and *Taiwan lianqiao: Taiwan de lishi jianzheng* (Taiwan Forsythia: Witness to Taiwan's History) (Taipei: Qianwei chubanshe, 1993).