

## Diaries of General Joseph W. Stilwell (1900–1939, 1945–1946)

### Introduction

These diaries of General Joseph W. Stilwell are those remaining in the Stilwell Papers at the Hoover Archives that had not been placed on the Hoover Archives web site. In addition to chronicling his career and activities up to and following World War II, they offer insights into his developing character, as he matured from a twenty-one-year-old second lieutenant, fresh out of West Point, to a mature four-star general officer. They provide evidence of his early passion for exploring and observing different cultures and people and his innate curiosity, which led to an expanding mind and widespread interests. The entries also reveal his keen sense of humor, his ability to assess the character of others, his command of the English language, his artistic abilities, and his warmth for his family.

The diaries were Stilwell's private writings and notes; he never intended others to see them. Some of the language used in the diaries was commonly accepted during the periods in which they were written; it is not appropriate or valid to apply today's standards to it to draw conclusions about Stilwell's character or views. Writing about some of the language and labels in the diaries, Barbara Tuchman, in her book *Stilwell and the American Experience in China*, makes the following statement, "Lesser vulgarities he used easily and seemingly without pejorative content."

Often the diaries contain short notes and observations made by Stilwell. Some of those entries he incorporated into the daily entries, some he later crossed out, some were simply meant to remind him of something, and some are so cryptic they make no discernible contribution to the diaries' historical significance. In those cases such entries have not been transcribed. When they are of interest or add to the daily entries, however, they have been incorporated into the transcripts.

The diaries were first transcribed several decades ago, when his widow and a daughter-in-law, Bettye Stilwell, manually typed them. The diaries, along with the rest of Stilwell's papers, were deposited at the Hoover Institution in stages from 1951 on. In 1998, my cousin, Deborah Bunce, began entering the manually typed transcriptions into a computer database. When Richard Sousa (senior associate director) and Linda Bernard (deputy archivist) agreed that the diaries should appear on the Hoover Archives web site, I began proofing the computer database text against the original diaries. Lisa Miller (associate archivist) provided the impetus for the project and coordinated formats, scanning of drawings and maps, and integrating the various elements into the final product. Lisa Nguyen (East Asia curator) transcribed and translated the Chinese characters Stilwell used in the diaries. Russell Rader (digital archivist) and Daniel Jarvis (digitization production specialist) did the scanning of the drawings and maps and the integration.

### Principles of Transcription

Stilwell's spelling throughout the diaries was remarkably correct. Distinguishing between his handwritten n's and u's, however, was sometimes difficult, and errors in place names or names of people containing those letters could have made their way into the transcripts. Based on Stilwell's superb spelling elsewhere, then, any such errors must be attributed to the transcriber, not to Stilwell.

In some of the diaries Stilwell included drawings of maps, people, places, and things that interested him. Those drawings have been incorporated into the transcripts, with the exception of partially completed drawings or those not germane to the diaries.

Where Stilwell wrote Chinese characters in the diaries, those characters have been translated using the Wade-Giles convention, which was in use at the time he wrote them.

### **SYMBOLS USED IN THE TEXT**

\* Indicates Stilwell's use of military unit designations that have been translated into words because the designators are not reproducible online.

\*\*\* Indicates words or sentences redacted. Redactions were made where the words or sentences might negatively affect persons still living or where words or sentences are personal and have no impact on the historical content of the diaries. Redactions were made in the 1935, 1938, and 1946 diaries.

Words written in italics are editorial comments for which explanations were warranted.

### **Select Bibliography**

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Schaller, Michael. *The U.S. Crusade in China, 1938–1945*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1979.

Tuchman, Barbara. *Stilwell and the American Experience in China, 1911–45*. New York: Macmillan Company, 1970.

-John Easterbrook, 2012

### **Copyright Statement**

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Please refer all requests to publish excerpts or quotations to the Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, Stanford, California, 94305-6010, or to [archives@hoover.stanford.edu](mailto:archives@hoover.stanford.edu). Such requests will be forwarded to the Stilwell family, who owns the rights to the diaries.

**1936**

**Thurs Mar 5:** 11:45 left Peking. Compartment full of noisy slimy japs. One guy with 2 boxes of am. Bawled them out, but it did no good at all.

**Fri Mar 6:** Shih Chia at 8:02. Had breakfast at hotel. Walked in town. Went to look up T.C. Yen. He was in Shanghai. Dubbed till train time around the town. 11:27 – out. Pretty ride up. Lot of water on east side. (Liang Ko Kuan is the gorge @ 1/3 way to T'ai Yuan.) After Yang Ch'uan, very dull. In T'ai Yuan at 7:40. Met Wang the 9<sup>th</sup>. To hotel & had chow. Then went to look up the Mei Mei Hui. Dumb la-chê-ti. Wasted a ½ hr. Didn't know where he was going. Finally broke in on a missionary, Mr. Price who took me to Myers, where I found Mathews. Arranged to go to Fenchow with them in A.M. Bed 11:30.

**Sat Mar 7:** Up at 6:30. Told the 15<sup>th</sup> lads about Meyers. Got breakfast. Mathews came in at 8. Walked down to car. Usual missionary affair, with a trailer. Everything dirty or broken. Soon found I could pay my way. O, yes. "We make a regular charge of \$8.00" – The usual spoiled missionary clerk "Mr. Chou". Got to Fenchow at noon. Fuss getting in – Mathews boy recognized me from 1921. Had lunch with Mathews. Probably down as a crook because I didn't offer to pay. Up on wall to see the defenses. (2 men & a field gun at each corner.) Dr. Judd came in – an energetic scrappy lad. Lots of pep. With him to call on Yang Yao Fang, the local shih 長 (*chang*), a guy from Yen's home town. Impossible to understand. A fair sample of Chinese general. Phoned to the Reds where his troops would be. Then out to T'ai ku in the Fenchow car. Held up at corner of wall by excited pings. Utter stupidity, of course. The sgt. came out, said "all right" & then everybody smiled. Dirty ride – detour at river – Emergency repair on trailer tire (stuff with straw). – Good resourceful chauffeur. – Went to palatial Nan Yuan to ask about train & just then it whistled. Rushed down & caught it by an eyelash. Pretty good line. Yü Tze at 8:15. Crowd waiting. "No beds" "All sold." Well, it developed that there was a seat in 1<sup>st</sup> cl. compart. Managed to sleep by shifting around occasionally.

**Sun Mar 8:** Shih Chia at 7:30. – Train out at 8:05 – crowded. –1<sup>st</sup> cl. open. Then I asked about time of arr, in 北京(Peking). 6:00 P.M! So I went over & got breakfast at the hotel. (The 11:45 makes it at 7 P.M.) (This place is lousy with japs).

北平(PEI P'ING) – 南寧(NANNING) APR 3-25 1936

**Fri Apr 3:** Cold & windy – off at 10:20. Jocko not aboard. Slept all day – & all night.

**Sat Apr 4:** Still cold – Spring backward all the way S. So. Honan very dry. 82 D. along here. Arr. Hankow at 10:35. Rickshaw to Little Hotel – 43 Huang Pei. Hell of a time getting in. Nasty mess with 2 rickshaw coolies. Pretty bad actors. Hotel servants scared. Did not pay tribute. Big room on top floor.

**Sun Apr 5:** Breakfast at hotel. To consulate. Saw Jarvis. Then Taylor, & his god dammed dachshund with the pups. Continuous unchecked barking. Tried to bite me. Taylor is pretty dumb; I got a few facts out of him & beat it. Said he sent in a report on his trip, but I never saw it. Jarvis seems to have brains – thus standing out at Hankow. Walked. Got R.R. tickets at

China Travel Bureau. No boats – no planes to Ch'ang Sha. Lunch at hotel. Movie & vaudeville at Bund joint. (Russian dancers.) Saw Josselyn & Mrs. J. & the brat. (J. is hard as nails with the kid. Mrs. J. is as usual, looking for slights & crabbing about everybody.) – 7:00 P.M. ferry to Hsü Chia Pan & got on train. 3 oranges for 20 cents – long battle. Limey aboard.

Notes: What carries the communists? Some moral support there. What is it? How about a letter to Ho Lung, asking him. They have good intell. work, good org., good tactics. They do not want the cities. Content to rough it in the country. Poorly armed & equipped – yet scare the gov't troops stiff. Loot, rape, murder, etc., – questionable if approved by leaders. – Jarvis does not fall for Fraser's opinion. – High praise for new Hupeh Gov.

The Marshal complex: "General" is now too lousy for the big boys. "The Marshal" in a low voice. And of course the "Generalissimo." When generals are as common as majors in the U.S.A., you have to differentiate. "O, that's the Marshal's personal force."

I'm poisoned. 中毒

→The blockhouse rash .... MUD.

→"....adjourned for a brief session of rest and procreation."

→Hu chaos & official smuggling at Canton. Stuff sent thro. to Wuchow – no fuss – How can there be friction? Some of this stuff appeared for sale in Canton. Official lumber on sale in town.

→Foreign advisers or instr. at Canton school?

→B&B to Spikers. (INTERESTED IN ADOPT. AT WHAT AGE DO THEY ENTER THE SCHOOL? REQUIREMENTS?)

→Give the Chino something to chew on that he can't understand very well. Then work hell out of him.

**Mon Apr 6:** Rainy. Train lurching like a ship at sea. Long waits at stations. In the paddy & bamboo belt. – Got washed up & had eggs & tea in the compartment. Train crew pleasant & obliging. Cleared up at 9:00. Stop for bridge out – 3 hrs!! Turned out to be one, – in Ch'ang Sha at 11:30. To Y.M.C.A. Usual battle with rickshaw gangsters. Shaved, walked all over the town – waterfront & out south up on hill – 天心 (*T'ien Hsin*) yuan – & back – right to the Y.M.C.A. That takes some sense of direction in a town like this. Got Mr. Yen to fix up ticket. (Yale '30) Good kid ping pong players. – Continual amusement of chinks seems to be on account of my face. It can hardly be clothes, because they wear them too. Got mad once or twice & went after them. – They are too damn hêng down here, & I don't care who kills them. (Lin Yu Tang – add the characteristic – Complacent conceit & Haughty contempt for anything different.) Had one hell of a wait getting ticket for bus, & a bitch of a time to get anything to eat. Finally got it at 8. Yen has been very helpful & sticking close.

**Tues Apr 7:** Up at 5:30 – No breakfast. Of course. To bus station by YMCA ch'ê – & then a bitch of a time over the seat. Stuck fast & it was O.K. Out at 7:15 in fog. Did not lift until 10:00. Heng Chow at noon. Crossed to E. Heng Chow & left again at 2:00. Bought a can of

Del Monte pears & ate them for lunch. Heng Chow entirely surrounded by block houses – Every 400 yds. The whole of So. Hunan is broken out in pimples on every hill. Brick & fairly well built. Towards Ch'in Chow, just mud, & a baseball would go through them. Rice paddy all day. R.R. not ready yet. Ch'in Chow is just a x roads dump. Stayed at the 郴江旅館 (Ch'en Chiang Lü Kuan), which was the best, but pretty lousy. – Even the kids down here are detestable. Everybody gives the foreigner the horse laugh. I insult them as best I can & let it go. This lü kuan is a pip – cuspidor in my room, full of stale piss. Night can right outside my door. At supper my fellow voyagers unbent a little as we competed for tid-bits. Can put over a few ideas but their 口音 (k'ou yin) is terrible. Strolled around & turned in at 7:00 to the tinkle of the night can.

**Wed Apr 8:** Hell of a rain again, & a high wind. Bright clear A.M. Bill 50¢; of course they pawned some junk bills on me. Chow with the boys & then dogged the bus station, jumping with every rush to the ticket office. Finally my friend flagged me & took me under his wing. A good egg, – & I could get 10% of his talk & guess another 40. All day we ganged up, one watching junk, the other buying tickets, – holding seats & passing baggage. He made the trip for me. Left Ch'in Chow at 8:30 & at 9:30 was at Hsiao T'ang, border of Kuangtung. Depression – can't catch the train at P'ing Shek – must spend night there. Finally the bus came & we had a spring practice getting on. Up over the mountain & down to T'u Ping Shih. (The enraged coolie who couldn't get his bags off & went juramentado when I pitched baskets at him.) At P'ing Shek there was a train! We threw our junk on, got tickets & she pulled out. Chalk up one good break. Fine ride down river through gorges all the way to Lok Cheong (Lo Ch'ang). Changed trains. The new one left after an hour's wait, & then waited another hour down the line for the up train. Then we had a wait of ½ an hour while the thunderstorm came up. (3<sup>rd</sup> day in succession.) Then on to Shao Kuan at 6:00. My friend took me across the bridge to the Chung Yang Chin Tien – which looks clean. – Suggestions of Japan to-day, also very much like Baguio. – Very steep wooded banks along river sough of P'ing Shek. – At Shao Kuan the big river comes in. Well built town – fine new bridge. – Just as I arrived, a boat accident stirred them all up. Family sunk without a trace. Had a hell of a time getting chow ordered. The boss finally came in, an old Chino who spoke some English. – Buying tickets – the game is to jam your arm through the hole & yell your station. After a suitable interval, the ticket & change is put in your mitt, & you back out with some of your skin & let another madman forward. – Today – Ch'in Chow (郴) to Hsiao (小) T'ang – to P'ing Shek – to Lok Cheong (gorges) – to Shao Kuan – river plain. Easy from now on. WARM.

**Thurs Apr 9:** Up at 6:00, the other guests saw to that. Add characteristic – TOTAL LACK OF CONSIDERATION FOR OTHERS. →DREAM: Barnes & Art – “So that's the apple that made me a grandfather.” I went around the block (Warburton – Ravine – to Ashburton), to avoid them. Errand at Mrs. Timm's on corner. Into an alley so as to come so. on Warburton. Kid on bike wetting pants. I twisted his wheel. His papa called etc. Then the girl I tossed my dress hat to – no pom pom, hadn't noticed till then.)

-- Pigs carried in So. Hunan slung between two poles. Also in basket-work, feet sticking out. Lantern basket for carrying chickens. – Left at 8:40 crowded 3<sup>rd</sup> cl. train. 125 in our car. Got seat in corner & butted them off with a prick I ganged up with. We kept it clear all day. Canton about 4:15 – just beyond the Shamen. Not interesting below Shao Chow except in spots. Scenery all the time – rice paddies, low hills, no cultivation, scrubby growth. – These people are



**Sat Apr 11:** Still gray & rainy. Suspicious guy after me this A.M. (Jap spy?) Went to Consulate & at 10 left by car for Yen T'ang ½ hr. out. Met Gen. Liu & spent 2½ hrs. talking & looking. Back to YMCA at 1:30 P.M. (\$8). The school – flat terrain, big drill field & athletic ground. Target range adjacent against a hill. Crude & insufficient. Target practice is 5 shots a week all thro. the year. M.G. practice 5 to 50 rounds. Roads bad, no surface, narrow, winding. Stables O.K. Yards mud. 1000 horses to be obtained for cavalry. Bldgs. Brick barracks – 1 Co. per each. Not crowded, much. Each side of center aisle, 4 bunks, 2 deep & 2 long. All students are org. into units & live as soldiers. No rank Equipment of soldier. 1100 cadets, 360 instr. Rest of 6,000 are studes, – off & e.m. up to major. Classes for all branches ex. aviation. G.S. class of 2 yrs. (?) for 1<sup>st</sup> Lt., capt. & maj. Cadets have 2 yrs. preparation & 2 yrs. in branch instr. Age of entrance 18-22. Instruction is individual – classroom & applied. “Maneuvers” twice a year. 2 to 5 days each. All arms, some phase of action, with aviation. G.S. class have same kind of staff stuff as we do. 57 tank students. All graduates held here. New repair shop Machinery coming from U.S.A. Motors – 4 Chevs., Buick Page – 20 BSA mtc. 8 Thorneycroft arm. cars. 1/2 track – white elephants. 10 Vickers light tank 1933 – 1 M.G. each. Out each week 5 mi. or so; 2 new Renault trucks, one with a 4 in parallel M.G. & one with 2 fan out. Modern concrete bldgs. in tank area. No demons. troops. Orderlies, Studes, do it all, – Cav. Inf. Art. Tanks, Com. etc. Inf. weapons. Czech. auto rifles, 20 old Hotchkiss 30 cal. M.G., 4 German sled mount Maxims, 4 Vickers M.G., 1 Fr. 50 cal. Hotchkiss A.A.M.G., double. 2 or 4 75 T.M.'s Fr., 1 50 mm. Fr. T.M. with base plate., 2 Jap 37's, 2 Krupp 37's, 1 105, 4 75's, 2 short 75, small wheeled mount, – about 24” long – 3 or 4 mt. 75's (8 mules to pack, or 1 to haul). There are some 75 A.A. guns on tractor mounts – did not see them. – Personnel looks scratchy, the officers in soldier clothes looked like tao soldiers. All weapons clean & oiled. Quarters crude. Attempts to clean up for inspection. School going 8 years, still untidy. Grads go to regts. Cadets have 6 mos. probation in a regt., then become 2<sup>nd</sup> Lts. – This School is a Kwang Tung affair, (no connection with Nanking) (ha-ha) & the center of instruction for “1<sup>st</sup> Group of Armies”, consisting of 1<sup>st</sup>, 2d, and 3d Chün. Probable results – good close order & weapon drill, little tactics, poor target practice. Excellent discipline – no trouble – suppression of privileges about all that is necessary.

P.M. down to Shameen at 4:00 & talked to Spiker. Tea with LITTLE & his dog George. George opens the gate. Then back to Spikers'. Cocktails – Fletchers & Chases from consulate. Nothing to write home @. Dinner with Spikers & back at 10:30.

→Headline, Manch. News; “Wife beats ass off husband with niblick.”

→“And now in the presence of God Almighty and C.J. Spiker, I pronounce you man and wife.”

→How can the two Kwangs be on outs when shipments go to Wuchow without paying duty & come back to compete in Canton itself? Mil. huchaos bring in everything – lumber, cigarettes, hops & malt, sugar, etc.! – The kerosene (\$19 a ton duty), & “distillate” (colored, at \$2 a ton duty). Then the boys distill & drive off color & sell as kerosene. 10 million dollars customs dues lost in one year is Little's estimate.

Silk goods come in as “mil. supplies” for the textile mill. No wool produced here, & no cotton, but they have a mill. Now they want a \$10 million steel mill. No iron ore, but the mill might stimulate production. The sugar mill keeps afloat – also the cement mill.

→Ch'en Chi T'ang stopped all dancing because a couple of flatheads crashed two planes after an all-night session. This drives the dancing all over to the Victoria Hotel in Shameen.

**Sun Apr 12:** Cold & still gray. Usual Y.M.C.A. admin. – no one around. Pd. room boy & went to ferry at 10:00. Boat at 11:30. Big parade went by – all sorts of junk paper stuff – animals, gods, flowers, etc. Over to the Kwang Tam station & out at 12:00. 30 mi. to Samshui & we made it at 2:15. Got a kid coolie & went to landing. Howling mob of sampan girls. Went right out to the boat by sampan & got a cabin. Good ship Kwang Hung gets to Wu Chow to-morrow at 8:00 (\$4 for ticket – or < \$1 gold). This is Easter, so the sun came out. Cold, though; north wind. Off at 3:00 & out to main West River. About 5:00 at the beginning of the gorge. At 6:00 had a six-course dinner & we reached HSIU HING. ½ a mile of stone steps along water-front. Turned in at 8.

**Mon Apr 13:** Up at 6:30. – Big breakfast. Wuchow about 8:15. Paid off – \$2.95 for food. Went to Tong Tin (洞天) Hotel & then walked all over. Up to S.O. Co. to call. Mr. Harris had just left for Nanning. A reverse break for fair. Clerk says 4 days, Nanning to Kweiyang. Climbed hill, walked the beach. Boat-building – bamboo rope walk, rock-cracking are the beach sports here! Demonstration of what can be done with bamboo. Making stools & beds. Entire town remodeled. Concrete streets & colonnades everywhere. Good shops. No smells. Not finished yet, but remarkable change from 25 yrs. ago. Big P.O. bldg. Most bldgs. 3-4 stories. Ad for small-pox vaccination in main street. No one hostile here, as in Hunan. Curious, but no nasty work. – Exchange is a bit better. \$1 Canton = \$1.07 Kwangsi.  $3.30 \times 1.38 \times 1.07 = 480.28$  – almost 5 to 1. Big dollar here is \$1.30. God knows why. – The hotel is good – clean & all prices. I took a \$3 room. Nap till 3:00 then out till 5:00. Down to temple on hill – river looks a little like the Rhine here. – Got my ticket bought for to-morrow. Had a 50¢ chungkuo supper and turned in early.

**Tue Apr 14:** Up at 5:10 & down to boat in dark & drizzle. Opened up & we left at 7:00, with the horn-tooter drumming up trade. Up river to Hung Yü, & thro. a long narrow street to the bus station. Off about 8:00. Sand & gravel roads – good at the start. Rain. Paddy & bamboo. – Hilly; nothing of interest all the way. X streams by ferry. – Only small bridges in. Miles of graves at Watlam. Long muddy walk into town. The lü kuan is big & filthy. These people are more friendly than in Canton. Even gave me a piece of yu-tze – the best I ever ate, – & stopped me from buying more. – Could easily be in Nanning except for delays & stops. (Fell on slippery stones in Hung Yü – What if I broke my arm?) – The priest at Wuchow. “Fan kuan ah” was the motif, on 4 notes; constantly strike mu lan yeh’rh & once in a while the bell. Watlam is being modernized. Streets in concrete. Good bldgs. replacing the old. I am a wonderful curiosity here. Apparently foreigners very scarce.

**Wed Apr 15:** Arranged for seat in small car, but the 2 swine ahead of me didn’t like my looks. They sent the driver in with my money & drove off. So I took the bus again. Same one, same crowd. Horrible muddy entrance to Watlam (玉林). Sun came out for a while. Dull ride. Rice to Kuei Hsien & the river – (new sugar plant on bank.) Crossed on scow. On to Hing Hien & Nanning. Country like Texas, & in spots, Georgia. Pine & red sand & clay. Wide stretches of waste-land. Thin population. N.N. at 4:15. Customs inspection; & all the usual questions, written down. To Hotel at Nanning with a gentleman runner. Coolies wanted 4 mao for one suitcase & he just smiled. I carried it myself, & he had to relieve me to save his face. Got a room facing river. The hotel is the usual dump. At 5:00 started for Standard Oil – caught in rain. Finally went back, wet. Greeted by police – again. This time, go to chü for inspection –



cursed & went. First impressions of N.N. very low – usual repetition at an chü. Then decided to crash the ssü ling pu; so took the police officer, scared to death, along. Late – fu kuan chang gone. Left card & another page of data on where I was born. – No taxis – no cars for rent in town. Out to Standard Oil & my fortunes went up with a burst. Mr. Tam took me in & we talked. Then Harris – then guests for dinner began to come in. I went to hotel in car & brought stuff up here. Chinese dinner. Li – chemist, & Mrs. Lo Lai – printer – Wu – B.A.I. – Rodier & Mrs. R. same. Liang, – Tel & Tel – & Ch'en – rubber factory. Fine chow & lot of dope. Turned in at 11:30.

**Thurs Apr 16:** Harris & Tam shoved off for the south at 6:30. Breakfast with Rodiers & out to his plant. Called by Tam – a Mr. Liu waiting. Back again. Harris broke a spring & came back. – With Liu to govt. offices. Reconstruction (mines) (roads) etc. Education. Knocked off for lunch. 1:30 P.M. to institute of foundational training & then to ssü ling pu. Saw Li, C of S (Maj. Gen) – then to Li's chemical lab & back to S.O. Sat around. Doc Li in for dinner; Mrs. Tam scared, I suppose. Good chow. Turned in at 9.

**Fri Apr 17:** Breakfast with Rodiers. Their reception by the missionaries, who heard the whistle of the boat & went to bed. Rodier, on crutches, 18 mos. kid, H.H.G., no Chinese, late at night, stumbled around town till midnight, & worked till 3 A.M. sweeping out the house rented from the 7<sup>th</sup> Day Adventists. – At 9:00 Liu took me to see governor Huang, a likeable lad, all teeth & smiles. Beat it promptly. To printing plant & went through. Lai came as we finished. 2/3 machinery is Chinese. Sore because they find the price of paper going up & they can't make their own. To weather bureau & saw Doc Ma. Family in Peking. View from tower over site of university. @ 2/3 mile race-track right next door. Said goodbye to Liu; back to S.O. They won't give me a map! Never mind; S.O. has 'em in Hong Kong. Governor is Huang Hsu Chu (黃旭初); Li is 李宗仁 (Li Tsung Jen); Pai is 白崇禧 (Pai Ch'ung Hsi). Glimpses of 廣西宜蘭一覽 (Kwangsi – I Lan). Paintings in printing plant of Li and Pai, mounted, at gallop, (shells bursting), peering through field glasses. At least highly imaginative. Walked for couple of hours in P.M. There is plenty left for the boys to work on, everywhere.  
→Grand joke on two natives. Both laughing at me – collision – one on bike tore pants & skin of other. Hell to pay. Hauled culprit to cop – long b-ache. – Well, out of here TO-MORROW. The map came over – a small one – July '35 O.K. – O.K.

**Sat Apr 18:** Out at 6:30 with Harris, C.E. & Tam, Sai Fan. Stopped by opium convoy at ferry at Chin Kiang – 33 buses, each 4000 catties. – Kweichow, Nanning, Ch'ang Sha – 3 hrs. wait to get over. Off again at 2:00. Curious limestone peaks everywhere – 200-500 feet high – the whole country thick with them. Went into airfield at Liao Chow & bulled our way around. Stopped as we tried to get into the Japs' quarters. Just left car at school bldg. & walked around, asking for Mr. Stevens, who of course wasn't there. On to the hotel, a good one, & then crossed river & saw the town. Harris interviewed his agent, & we came back & ate a big meal. Turned in at 10.

**Sun Apr 19:** Up early – had chow at hotel & rolled down to the Liao 州車 (Chou ch'e) chan. Got ticket on small car & started at 6:30. Goodbye to Harris & Tam. Trouble all day – behind the opium convoy. Five river crossings. ½ hour – 2 hours – 5 min. delays. Tire troubles, 2 hrs. 荔浦 (Li P'u) at 5 P.M. On to a little dump 20 kms. further for the night. (50¢) Saw miao tze

to-day. Black clothes – pointed hat, colored strips on coat border, pants tight below knees, white cloth each side of belt in back. Basket loads like Igorotes.

**Mon Apr 20:** Up at 5:00 & off at 6:00. The local military were out working. Mostly a lecture on position of the feet at attention. Dumb officer simulating field marshal. The sprung tire made the grade and we reached K'uei Lin at 8:00. No cars north till 明天(ming t'ien – tomorrow). Got some eggs & chu sun & walked the town from 10 till 2. Up on the hill where they are building a fort – enter on south, go thro. temple cave & up on back side. Gorgeous view over city & river & plain. Limestone pimples everywhere. One in center of city, with temple on it. Along wall to pontoon bridge & crossed. Firewood rafts 500-600 feet long going through. Say 1000 bundles each. Tax seems to be 3 bundles snatched by bridge guard. – Big sampans marked for Wuchow. Plenty slow, but I'd like to do it. – Pigs going to market upside down on carrying poles. – Bought a towel & went back & washed up. – The foreigner is the funniest god-damn thing here in Kweilin; they just bust laughing. – The pings howl songs as they march here. – So do the school girls, who are very neat – white (or black) stockings, black short skirt, gray coat, gray cap, big orange rain hats. The province is all hopped off somehow. Extensive street & store improvement here. (The S.O. loan money to gov't. by advancing 3.20 on each 7.50 unit of kerosene one year ahead. The 3 cos. are all in cahoots – Tex., Shell, & S.O. S.O. puts asphalt in kerosene, brings it in as fuel oil & then filters it out. The 3.20, instead of going to the customs, appears as a “business” tax, & goes to the province. Military hu chaos are offered for sale to Harris frequently). Looked up Mary Knoll boys at 5 P.M. & stayed for chow. – Toomey, Lacroix, Foley, Marignolla, etc. All confirm improvements. Hsien mags impeached for squeeze. Back to “hotel” for night.

**Tues Apr 21:** Up at 5 – held seat for Lacroix & he came at 6. Out at 6:30, Hsing An at 9:30. 全州(Ch'üan Chou) at noon. Lunch with Lacroix. Out at 1:30 with a chair for Huang Sha Ho – 1 hr. on foot, ½ hr. in chair – 3 times & we were in. Looked up Mr. Huang at Tien Chu Tang & spent night with him. (About 20 mi.)

**Wed Apr 22:** Warm yesterday – pretty colors at sunset. The Hunan pings were in town taking over the opium. Block houses all around Huang Sha Ho. First to feel invasion from Hunan. – The usual exhibition last night – kids swarming in to see me wash my feet. I foolishly howled at them & that brought more. Left \$2 with Huang & his 12 yr. old wife & overwhelmed him. He sunged me out of town. Cloudy & cool till 10, then rain all day. Cloudburst, in fact. We bunked in for an hour & a half & then piked on all day. Got in to 永州(Yung Chou) at 5:30. – just 12 hours on way. Usual river town – usual line of blockhouses. Paid off at 3.00 instead of 2.80 & the coolies were delighted – much to my surprise. Am in a Dumb lü kuan – the 6 yr. old kid is the only one that gets me.

→Dragon – made of white cloth held up at intervals by men with sticks & baskets on ends. Good dragon head & across the fields he appeared to be working himself. Had rice & pork & eggs & turned in.

**Thurs Apr 23:** No bugs, strange to say. Got up to be in plenty of time at bus station, & carried my own stuff. Got there just in time to catch the bus. It left at 7:00 instead of 8:00 & my watch, on Nanning time, was 40 min. slow. Nearly a catastrophe; actually a fine break. Had a demon driver, who made Heng Chow about 11:30 – & Ch'angsha at 3:30. Happened to sit with English

speaking chink who knew train times out of Changsha. He was going to Shanghai via Nanchang as I was. Time decided me – 24 hours from Nanchang to Hangchow. Shanghai on Sunday. Decided to go on home. Went to R.R. station & after five minute wait the Hankow train backed in. And I'm on my way. Another break, – 2 in one day. Rain every day except two. (Presbyterian missionaries on bus. She had a bad stomach & announced it to everybody. "I feel as if I'd vomit any minute. You'll have to get this window open or I'll vomit, though I haven't a thing on my stummick. My stummick feels as if it was full of foam! Etc!) Train pulled out at 4:50. – Very intelligent hsien ping interviewed me. Anxious to get opinion on fighting Japan. Chowd early & turned in at 7:00. (Battle of Noodles on bus.)

**Fri Apr 24:** Up at 6:00. Rapacious attendants on this line. Arr. 7:00. Rapacious coolie to the ferry. Asked 1 mao, I gave 2, then he was ruined. To R.R. station. A TRAIN TO Peking at 9:30! Whoops! Checked stuff; very accommodating customs lad. Coffee & rolls in new bakery, clean, modern & western. Wedding going on. Firecrackers. Looked up the tien pao chü & wired home. No change at ticket window! Rapacious la ch'e ti. – Rapacious chiao-fu. All the same in Hankow. Pulled out for home at 9:30.

→Last night's dream of Beano climbing around in a tree, all same monkey. Looked like Joe, & almost as big. (Easy to join him in the world of his own that he creates. – He makes you welcome.)

→Yang Sen experiments with airplane bomb.

→Landing fields in Kwangsi – wide space road

Rained till we got over the hill on our side. Good chow – hors d'oeuvres, soup, fish, tongue, salad, dessert. – Boy. –

**Sat Apr 25:** This is the Day. Breakfast at 8:15. The taste of the coffee took me back to 1920 at the Wagons Lits – the cool crisp days of fall, the newness of everything. The kids were little & we had a lot yet in front of us. Not so good now. –(Dreamed we had to clean up dishes after a dinner – the guests had thrown stuff all over, & suddenly I remembered about dividing the extra money.) What made up that feeling? The newness of things. The cool crisp weather, with a breeze in the trees, & the sun still strong. Good breathing air. Feeling of just after a good breakfast. No worries. Promise of strange & interesting things to come. The kids were little. Plenty of Time in front. etc.

→The Spoon scoop for irrigation. 石家(Shih Chia) at 1:40. – Armored train there for some big guy. Had a nap. Shaved at Pao Ting Fu. Chowd at 6:00.

### THE LUNG-HAI LINE

**Sat June 6:** 北平 (Pei p'ing). 11:45 P.M. Irate Limie. (\$34.85 to Cheng Chow) (\$3.60 to K'ai Fêng. \$8.00 car).

**Sun June 7:** Shun Te Fu, 32d Army – all quiet here. No train movements. 32d A. Cav at LIN MING KUAN. (Coal dump at 王化堡 (Wang Hua Pao) Dust storm at 馬頭 (Ma T'ou). At CHANG TE FU – 127R – 230R – 11D. Lousy-looking pings. CHIH HSIEN – 230R. Also at KI HSIEN 230 R.

**Mon June 8:** In at 11:30 last night. 鑫開 (Hsin K'ai) Hotel. Good. \$2. Looked up Baptists – Mr. White – (Southern poor white). Sees all, knows nothin'. – Looked up Mr. Silva of "Free Methodists" (Shun I Hui). – He also knows nothin'. No activity of any kind. Secrecy at the Kung Hsien arsenal. Decided on K'ai Fêng instead of Lo Yang & left at 11:50. Flat, hot, sandy plain. No obs anywhere. K'ai Fêng at 2:00 & a flock of harpies fell on me. "Who are you?" "Where are you going?" "Where did you come from?" "Where do you live?" All at the same time. Went to Honan Hotel. \$3. K'ai Fêng is all one-story except a few bldgs in center. 公安局 (Kung An Chü – police) inspected. Hell to pay. Can't go outside city. Rode around for 2 hrs. with a fat boy – Police #2 – Stung. Shang Chen is away, too. On acc't of Dillerey murder – not "an ching" up there. (I wonder?) Escaped at 6:30 & walked around the fair in 相國寺 (Hsiang Kuo Ssu). The Hsien Pings inspected, but I got them out quick. (At Cheng 州(chou) 89 D/13A – 517R – 2D. (On leave?) At K'ai Fêng – 6D.) Ersh poured out the can of milk, & diluted it with Hot water, – 3 mistakes.

**Tues June 9:** 6D here. Routed out at 6:30 by dusters & wipers, etc. – Followed to Chin Li Hui by Chên t'an. Saw Miss Sarllee (?), a widder woman who knew nothing. Looked up Mr. Harris – (son Richard) – on Ku Lou Chi'eh (Chin Li Hui). He knows 0 @ troops – apparently nothing going on here. Harris pooh-poohs banditry north of town. Pulled out on the 1:10, a long freighter with one rickety K'ô ch'ê. U. of P. man, Kuan, aboard. North Honan – flat, dusty, sandy, ch'ing k'u, no wells. Some wheat – some corn. Depressing landscape. Kuei Teh after six – (5 hrs. – 90 miles). Hsi Chow at midnight. Lu Kuan near station. Turned in at 1:00 A.M. Usual silly fracas with silly police at station. "Inspection" of baggage & checking of pings. (\$12.60 to Hsüchow.)

**Wed June 10:** Up & coffee at 8. Walked up Quarry Hill. Funeral. Lao Pai Hsing rolling out wheat straw. Over to town. The fools have torn down the old wall. Hsü Chow booming. – a 70% crop this year. Big change from 1927. Up 銅山 (T'ung Shan) – the big Buddha face – Han dynasty. Well on top of hill. – Japs getting hazed by the police. I enjoyed that & egged them on. Back to the Ying Pao Hotel, & the S.O.B. again dumped my liang k'ai shui before I could stop him. (Po lo mi & crackers for lunch.) Nothing doing on the L.H. Line. 2D is here, 1<sup>st</sup> gone, 3d in Fukhien. A great peace is over the land. Peking is far away & nobody gives a damn.) Friendly lad at big Buddha temple; they are not all annoying. Slept. Walked till 6:00. Didn't realize about the tsai min – the whole place is crowded with them. Last year's floods. About the lowest rung of the ladder – mud & cane shacks – just existing. Maybe next year they can go back. Notes on sichyation: No troop increase, – or even talk of it. No drilling or maneuvers, – just staring at trains & hazing foreigners. No new RR sidings or storage or dumps of anything. – No concrete or trenches, except the stupidity at the RR stations. CKS can have no intention of doing a thing, or else he is utterly ignorant of what it means to get ready for a fight with a 1<sup>st</sup> class power. He goes around getting up new clubs for this & that – "Don't spit on the floor. Don't squeeze." How can he keep a straight face. If he intends to fight along the Lung Hai, he's either a G-damn fool for not getting ready, or else he's a G-damn fool to think he can jump in & hold after the Show starts. It looks as if the Japs had told him they wouldn't go any farther just now. – If he were to hold the Lung Hai, then improvement of com. is indicated. Do something to the RR & build feeders from the south – a motor road net back of the R.R. NOTHING is being done. Right now his S.O.S. adv. section would be the Yang Tze. –

(Missionaries all hopped up over the Sze Ch'uan defense) (Here in Hsü Chow they don't know & don't care if Peking is Chinese or Jap – & they don't care much in Peking.)

N.B. The Germans must have informed CKS. Therefore only one conclusion.

**Thurs June 11:** (Pagodas at K'ai Fêng – Sung Ch'ao) (PRICES – 1 cooked chicken 1 毛五 (mao wu). 1 orange 二毛 (erh mao). (Get up a fake passport. “Fu Bao = Hu chao in Chekiang.) (\$6.20 + 3.10 to Haichow) Left at 8:53 in the Flyer. 運河 (Yün Ho - Grand Canal) at 11:30. Flat terrain, occasional mound. (Pass-ports for piss-pots.) (“As flat as a bum joke” – all the way to Haichow. Bought in for Lien Yün, the end of the line. Heavy guard of pistoleers from Hsüchow. Haichow is 38 km. from the docks at LIEN YÜN KANG! Tidal flats like T'angku. Salt & salt troops. Big development at the port. Dutch Co. Breakwater in. Pretty good harbor. (“Kan hsiang” again, – call from a couple of reporters (?)).

**Fri June 12:** A perfect flock of pings & things ch'a tien-ed last night. All very friendly. Up the Mt. this A.M. & out to the dam site, @ 4 mi. up east. – Back & all around. There is a boat for Ch'ing Tao to-night at 8 or so. – (Coal dump is @ 1700 ft. long. 14 compartments each of @ 120 ft. Conveyor apparently runs under the whole thing. – Fine modern adm. bldg.)

(“Head in the mountains. Tail in the sea. What does the Lung Hai mean to me –” etc.)



Excitement over ticket – \$3 deck & \$2 for p'u = \$5. Boy offered \$7.50 for the “t'e pieh”, & they wouldn't sell, so he brought back the money, disgusted. “Just buy a p'u, – it's exactly the same!” (“Don't let the S.O.B.'s sting you!”) (Ssu chuan mei at 徐州 (Hsüchow) becomes mi tou-tze at Lian 運 (Yün) Kang. – Also, a crockery spoon is a T'IAO KÊNG & a cabin is a FANG TS'ANG. – The T'UNG TS'ANG is public) (Fêng ching hao at Lien Yün) Aboard at 6. – Sailed at 8:30. “Hung Lee of Cheefoo.” Due about 9 A.M.

**Sat June 13:** Fog (Wu). Slowed down, but got in at 9:00. Rickshaw to RR station. – He took me to Ta Chiang, of course. Gave him 2 mao & he said Thank You. I fell over, but threw him another mao. – Walked all over town – got thrown out of Jap park. Saw “Jelly Belly”, Shanghai Tailor, sign. U.S. section has the Savoy Bar, U.S. Bar, Morgan's Bar, etc. etc. Had hot choc. & rolls at Russian jernt (70¢!) & 3 bananas at a coolie stand. Had a better time with the coolie. Back to station at 1:00. Feeble joke about “money still in my musette?” went big. – Flock of Japs singing some upper ape – eight or ten on train. Damn 'em. – Shantung is almost as flat as Honan. Better crops. More trees. Better looking. – Fang Tzü at 5:30. Dozed into Tsi Nan 11 something. To Tsin P'u RR Hotel, which it wasn't at all. \$1.50 for an upper room; my guide being sorry for me. Hot night.

**Sun June 14:** Up at 7:30; to station & checked bag. What a performance that is. breakfast at Stein's Hotel (Shih T'ai En) – & a good one. Mr. Kao at station wanted a passport, but I was a bit “kang” on him. Let it go & gave him a card. Queer quirk of Chinese character. Just like

their dogs – look for an easy mark 7 pretend not to see the hard job. (CLOCKS & BANANAS) (fei 除不平(ch'u pu p'ing) t'iah yüeh)? (侍者 (shih che?) Waiter (Big wooded water screws at K'ai Fêng.) 10:35 off for T'ai An. Arr. 12:50. HOT. Got away at once & lucky I did. Took from 1:05 to 6:35 to get up. A bitch of a climb – all steps. Stayed (\$1.00) at Miao on tip top. Had eggs & rice & apricots. Turned in at 8:30.

**Mon June 15:** Up & out at 5 – & then slept till 8:00. Start down at 9:00. Tough going. – Back at hotel at 1:00. Had 2 ch'i shuis & then a cool bath. Now I don't have to go up T'ai Shan. Still hot as the hinges. My coolie says Shantung people are 不中用 (pu chung yung) – (Chi ts'u 到溫的 (tao wen te) (說去的就去 (Shuo ch'ü te chiu ch'ü) (出了那个 ling 沒有什麼 (Ch'u le na ko ling mei yu shen mo). The boy cop said “我 (wo) so 不 (pu) sang. (我說不上 Wo shuo pu shang) – Ya-pa & his cave near the top. – Complete home furnishing. – Too much AN CH'I to see the Yellow R. – T'ai Shan feng ching hao. – N.B. All missionaries off to Ku Ling or Kikungshan at 1<sup>st</sup> hint of heat. – Plush mu shih going up T'ai 山 (Shan), – suitcases, bags, pots, pans, etc., etc., & he in a chiao tze reading a book. – Capt. Horse de Ass kind of balled up his speck. Ask Pat to restrain him. – Dubbed on the porch till train time. Found Philip Fu & Ma, palace museum director, on train. – Was it great to spread out & sleep, or rather rest. Damn little sleep, but lots of comfort.

**Tues June 16:** In at 10-something. All done. 6/6/36 – 6/16/36 END OF THE LUNG-HAI LINE.

### NANKING JULY 36

**Sat July 11:** The girls gave me a going away concert on victrola & gong. “song of the earth-worms”, & then beat on the gong in the car all the way to the station. A pair of nuts. – Cool trip down. – Crist along.

**Sun July 12:** In P'u K'ou at 8:45. – T'ing Ch'ai met us. To Pecks' in his car. They came in at 10 with the C.T. Pao's. Talked till 11:15 & to bed.

**Mon July 13:** A.M. Gen Wu Kwang Chieh called. Arranged for visits. Hotel about tiffin. Int'nat'l Club. Met Mead & Hansen. Tiffin at Pecks'. 2:30 Wu came. – Called on Chou Ya Wei at Dir. of Training. Ho Ying Chin at his home, Yang Chieh at War College. (Cigar smoker – Liston) To Lotus Lake – & home. Rose Marie in P.M.

**Tues July 14:** Up at 5:15. Left at 6:00. Art School. Nice lay-out. Model Brigade – 14,000 men, 3 regts. plus – (3" of 4' & 4 Regtl Cos. – com., hsiao p'ao; Anti Tank & Anti A. (Hqrs). – Snappy drill. Something like Fêng's 11<sup>th</sup> Div. (Not so good). Rain. Back at noon. P.M. slept. – Movie with Pecks.

**Wed July 15:** With Wu Kwang Chieh & Maj. P'êng to call on Hsuing P'in, asst. C. of S. second to Yang Chieh – good egged – talked about S.W. To Central 軍官 (Chün Kuan) Hsüeh Hsiao – & all over it. Met Col. J. C. Wang, head of phys. training, & Gen. Hsü, head of academic dept. Tiffin at Metropolitan: Peck, Crist, J.W.S., Mead, Dyer, Klubien, Wu, Krummacher. Looked over Internatl Club. Good room & porch for 100 a month. Took option – around with Crist to

garages, trying to peddle car. To-morrow is LAST DAY. To movie with Pecks. "Call of the Wild."

**Thurs July 16:** Last day. Off to Inf. Sch. at 8:00. – Arr. 9:00, left 10:00. Wang & Sun shoved us around. Clean plant. Called on Gigolo Huang at Moral End. – out. Called on G.P. Wang at Police Hqrs. Tiffin at 1:00 (Bates, Buck, Hansen, Crist, J.W.S., Hsü Mo, Chen Chieh, G.P. Wang, (Huang), Whang, Wang, Liu, Quei, Mei, Alma.) Good crowd. Doc Mei bought Crist's car for 480 – sight unseen. To Gen. Wu's & then out to see Fêng, in a shack way outside town. – Back at 5:00. All done. – Dinner with Pecks. To R.R. at 10. Out at 11:15. Cool.

**Fri July 17:** Up at 8:00. Warmer. Met Chang at Hsüchow. Slept. Warming up. Bought dates at T'ai An & bananas at Tsinan.

**Sat July 18:** Back again. Doot at train. Nance working. Letters from C.W.T. Talked. Ch'ing sick. Wired Newells. Turned Peck's rugs over to Fette.

馬上 (Ma Shang) Be right there. "On a horse" Good slang.

## END OF NANKING

### LOYANG – XMAS – '36

**Wed Dec 23:** 10 P.M. 開 (K'ai)

**Thurs Dec 24:** 5 P.M. – CHENGCHOW (TEA-POT \$3.00)

**Fri Dec 25:** (MERRY XMAS!) Prisoners. REPAIRED PANTS. 105<sup>th</sup> & 115<sup>th</sup> deserting. Art. Sch. pers. here. 6.<sup>xx</sup> & 25.<sup>xx</sup> to T'ingkwang, also 2<sup>xx</sup>, 13<sup>xx</sup>, 14<sup>xx</sup>, 61<sup>xx</sup>, & 79<sup>xx</sup>. To Loyang at 7:00 – (+ \$1.20 exp! ticket) – (left at 2:00). To hotel Ta Chin. CKS just arrived here – 5:15. Saw Leaf (U.P.) & verified. Sent wire to Barrett. (The insulted clerk at telegraph office). Good chow. la tze chi – chu jou – pai ts'ai. (SAW 4-11-44 (44411) on a car just before reaching Loyang!) TELEGRAM – \$1.80.

**Sat Dec 26:** CHL also here! Walked – escorted. \$30.00 for t'ung<sup>2</sup> (17-3-10 {3 mirrors, etc) – Fine day. Poor town. (The P'U KUA TI said no danger for CKS, but plenty for C.H.L.) 10<sup>xx</sup>, 58<sup>xx</sup>, 83<sup>xx</sup> also arriving. 15<sup>xx</sup> & 16<sup>xx</sup> in So. Honan. 開 (K'ai) – 3:30. CHENGCHOW at 7:30. No wire from Johnson. Wired @ arrival. (Fraser & Scott thro.)

**Sun Dec 27:** Up at 3:30 – Train out at 4:30. Slept till 8:30 – Mirrors – Han- Ch'in – T'ang – Kwan Yin – T'ang – K'ung Tzü – Ming.) Air-base, great secret, between Chungking & Chengtu. – Loyang the main airbase – radial flights to all points about equal. – C.G. emergency capital with get-away to Sianfu. Studied Chinese & slept.

**Mon Dec 28:** 1:00 A.M. In. Joe & Barrett at station. Talked till 3:00 A.M.

## END OF LOYANG