

UNDER PROTECTIVE CUSTODY

On January 14, 1942, only five days after the last of the Protestant missionaries had been picked up by the Japanese and brought into "protective custody" a notice appeared on the bulletin boards of the Santo Tomas Internment Camp. It informed all missionaries and other Protestant religious workers that they should gather the next morning in front of the Main Building with their baggage: they were to be transferred to another place. All were ready at the proper time. After waiting until afternoon they were all called into a hallway and there addressed by two members of the "Religious Section of the Imperial Japanese Army."

They were told that they were being relocated for the purpose of bringing back to normalcy the religious activities of their particular groups. Later in the afternoon the head of each family or individual was called in and inquiry made as to his particular task. Just before five o'clock all were brought together and the head of the Religious Section, Lt. Colonel Harasawn, spoke a few words and ended with what one of the Japanese interpreters translated as "God bless you and wait for further instructions." One of the group, formerly a missionary in Japan, later said that a better translation would have been, "Do as you have been told and wait for further instructions." Passes were then distributed to all and they departed from Santo Tomas.

Some of those concerned, if not all were apprehensive of what would be expected of them "one the outside." Would they have expected to be more tools for the spread of Japanese propaganda? Were the Japanese really sincere in their expressed intentions? They had, however, been given no choice in regard to coming to the internment camp and there seemed to be no choice now but to go and to await developments. Some, after going to their respective homes or to the place where their group had come together for greater security and sharing of the limited food supplies, hesitated about beginning any activity until they were informed as to what the conditions would be and what would be expected of them. They had been told before leaving Santo Tomas that they would be so informed in a later meeting together.

For eleven days there was no word and then the announcement came. On January 26th twelve Americans, one Britisher, twenty-one Filipinos and three Chinese were called by telephone and "invited" to attend the "First Conference of Protestant Leaders in Manila" to be held in the Manila Hotel on Wednesday afternoon, January 28. The "invitations" extended always ended with the statement, "Your attendance is required!" The so-called "Leaders" had been chosen by the Japanese (Protestant Division of the Religious Section) and included some prominent laymen as well as ministers and missionaries.

Many of those attending the meeting went with anticipation and apprehension. The days between January 15 and 28 had been days of uncertainty. From the beginning the newspaper in Manila – the only one functioning was now controlled by the Japanese – had been carrying on quite a propaganda campaign. Filipinos were assured that there would be freedom of religion and respect and encouragement of Filipino political, economic and cultural life. The great purpose they had in coming to the Philippines, the Japanese said, was to liberate the people of the Philippines from western imperialism.

On the day set all of them – including Presbyterians, Methodists, Disciples, Independent Baptists, Episcopalians, and one YMCA secretary, two from the Y.W.C.A. and several from small independent groups – gathered at the Manila Hotel. There were twenty-one Filipinos, three Chinese, six Japanese observers, twelve Americans and one Britisher, in addition to the members of the Religious Section of the Japanese Army and a representative of the Department of Military Administration. First all were ushered into one of the dining rooms of the hotel where the “Members of the Propaganda Corps” and newspaper Correspondents were waiting; then all were taken out into the garden for picture-taking. Back in the dining room the group was seated alphabetically around the tables in a U-shape and presented with mimeographed programs.

After “Roll Call” the “Opening Address” was made by Dr. T. Aiura, the chairman of the conference. Dr. Aiura and most of the other ten or twelve members of the Protestant Division of the Religious Section had been educated in the United States in our theological seminaries; until shortly before the opening of the war they had been serving Protestant churches in Japan. The “Main Address” was made by Lieutenant Colonel Narasawa, “Chief of the Religious Section.” Although a non-Christian the Colonel had had five or six years’ experience in dealing with missionaries and religious groups in the Japanese occupied region of north China. The speech of Colonel Narasawa, it was announced, was to be the basis of later discussion and action in the conference and close attention should be given to it. His address in Japanese was immediately translated in English by one of the Japanese. Mimeographed copies of the address which was as follows, were obtained later:

“It is my great honor to meet you representatives of the Protestant churches here in Manila Hotel when the peaceful atmosphere is coming to the hearts of the citizens. I deeply appreciate your presence today because I know how you are busy with your holy tasks. Taking this golden opportunity I should like to express my views which I always cherish, and I hope, ladies and gentlemen, you will kindly ponder over it.

“Since the Greater East Asia War broke out, the Filipinos have immensely suffered both mentally and materially for which I cannot help showing my deepest sympathy. Why have the good citizens gone through such a tribulation like this? I would like to say a few words about it.

“The present war is the holy war commissioned upon the army of Japan, the leading power of the Great Asia, to build the stability of the Great Asia, and the peace of the world. Its aim is NOT to fight against the Filipinos who would cooperate with the Japanese Army, but rather to bring about the downfall of the American and British forces which would ever uphold the status quo, by keeping the anti-Japanese policy and denying, under the cloak of world peace, the living rights of the ever growing races in the East Asia, and also to exterminate communism which aims at the conquest of world by destroying and confusing all cultures, religious and orders.

“It is the real significance and final aim of the present war to deliver from bondage 17,000,000 Filipinos, by creating a new order in the Greater East Asia and to lay the foundation of the world peace. All the movements in the Christian countries are marching along the same direction. Therefore, to attain the final aim of this holy war of Great Japan

is at the same time the realization of the hope which the Christian countries have long awaited for ages. The earnest desire of the Christians of the world is to be freed from the yoke of European and American capitalistic countries, to destroy the Satanic hands of communism, and create a unique order instead.

“The world’s policy for today and tomorrow will surely develop itself centering about the Axis Powers whether you like it or not. In other words, the Anti-Comintern Pact of the Axis countries is the new generative power which moves and will move the world. I am firmly convinced that if you ponder over the real significance of the Axis movement, the mission of the Christians against capitalism and communism is a perfect harmony with Japan’s great mission which is being carried on in the present war.

“It is very necessary for you to understand the humanitarian spirit of the Japanese Army. Japan has fought within the past forty years, five great wars such as the Sino-Japanese in 1892, the Russo-Japanese in 1902, the First Great War in 1914, the Manchurian Affair in 1930, and Sino-Japanese Conflict in 1937. All of them had the great mission of leading Asia to the stable condition, and were victoriously ended in favor of Japan. Since that founding of the country, Japan has, for centuries, never let any county invade her. Furthermore, in recent years she backed up the complete independence of Manchukuo and Mongol autonomous government on the northern border of China, and assisted them to regain their national prestige as nations of the world paradise under the supervision and protection of Japan.

“Japan returned Tingtse (Shantung) to China, which she captured in the First World War, 1914, to establish peace in East Asia. This shows Japan’s love of justice. And recently she overthrew during the Sino-Japanese Conflict the Chinese Communist Army and vicious Chiang regime and founded New China based on a new order. She is now leading and protecting the new Chinese regimes, which in turn is showing a remarkable progress in culture and all other departments of life. These facts, I believe, are worthy of special mention in the history of the establishment of the New World Order. That Japan had never robbed these nations of their national rights and liberty nor demanded them any material returns can be proved by the nations of the world.

“It is true that Japan has lost many lives and spent an enormous sum of money for these wars in the past. However, she is willing to sacrifice anything in order to fulfil her mission of creating the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere and establishing the world peace. You may rest assured that Japan marches on in the road of justice and humanism.

“As I look back upon the past, Japan has gone through so many wars during the past several decades and yet she has not exhausted in the strength of the Imperial forces and national economy. On the contrary, she has grown in power and strength and will never yield to any great powers. You have no need of doubting Japan’s great ideal of establishing the world peace. I sincerely hope that you will trust in the power and mercy of Japan and cooperate with her establishing the Greater East Asia based on a new order the sake of bringing forth peace to the races of East Asia.

“I would like to mention especially that according to the Domi news, Premier Tojo in his address at the 79th session of the Imperial Diet declared, Japan will enable them (the Filipinos) to enjoy the independence with honor so long as it cooperates and recognizes Japan’s program of establishing the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere’.

“However, it must be remembered by all that those who do not understand both poer and mercy of the Japanese Army and act with the hostile and despising spirit toward Japan, along with the communists, shall be severely punished and entirely destroyed. I urge you, therefore, to ponder over what I have just said, and propagate it and bring it home to the members of your churches, and lead and instruct them to cooperate spiritually with Japan.”

After the short address “Instructions”, by Lieutenant Mihara, the “Chief Officer of the Protestant Division” (a Doctor of Philosophy in Chemistry and “a back-slider Buddhist”, as he later told us), the meeting was opened for a discussion. The discussion was to be on the Pledge, mimeographed copies of which had been distributed. Following the “Questions and Answers”, according to the Program, was “Pledge Signing”. The Pledge was as follows:

“PLEDGE”

“We Protestant missionaries and those who are connected with the Christian work will gladly cooperate with the Japanese Army as it proclaims the military administration in the Philippines, and do hereby pledge to take the duties of restoration and maintenance of peace by observing the following items:

“(1) Although we are granted the freedom of faith, we will gladly offer our buildings and their equipments whenever they are needed for military strategy.

(2) We would never hold meetings primarily held for the people of the hostile nations (worship services included).

(3) We would not hold, for the time being, any other meetings than the religious services.

(4) We would lead and instruct our church members, trusting in the Japanese Army, understanding that the great ideal of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere is on the road to its realization, and believing that the very fulfilment of that great ideal is in line with the will of God.

(5) We would positively cooperate with the Japanese Army and would not fail its generous considerations toward us.”

The discussion started slowly, The Filipino members taking the lead in asking questions. One of the Filipino pastors asked if section (4) of the Pledge would not involve them in politics which they had been instructed by the Japanese to avoid; a Britisher asked if the last phrase of the same section which read, “... is in line with the will of God” could not be changed to “... is working toward world peace”. To both of these questions and to others which were not harmless, Lt. Mihara made the reply, “You did not understand the address of Lt. Col. Narasawa or you would not ask that question!” Everyone became apprehensive and the presiding officer

urged that questions be asked on some of the other sections but all were hesitant. Two Americans asked for a clarification of section (5) and suggested a qualifying phrase but were firmly told that it was already clear. Upon urging by the Japanese, several Filipinos timorously asked about meetings, funerals, weddings, etc., but the tension was not removed. Finally, an American, hoping to remove the growing tension, pled with the Japanese to believe in our sincerity and our desire to do the right thing and then went on to point out that this pledge asked us to affirm some difficult statements. For example, he said, the phrase, "... is in line with the will of God", he would not, he declared, allow even his bishop to determine for him what was "the will of God", and asked if that could not be changed. The mind of the presiding officer, Dr. Aiura, who was also acting as interpreter, was working like lightning and he saw opportunity. After a few minutes consultation with the Lt. Colonel he recalled the earlier suggestion of the Britisher in regard to the same and asked the American missionary if that phrasing would be acceptable to him. The American, after some hesitation, agreed. Thus the concluding phrase in section (4) was made to read—"...the very fulfilment of that great ideal is working toward world peace." (It was later admitted by the Japanese that only the English translation was changed and not the original in Japanese). The tension was gone. The Japanese had seemingly made a concession and the Britisher and an American missionary appeared to have won a point. The Filipino pastors and laymen hesitated to pursue further the same point, and to others in the conference it seemed as if any appreciable change in the pledge was impossible to secure. The group had been out-manuevered!

The time for pledge-signing had come. To nearly everyone it appeared that there was no choice but to sign. To nearly everyone it appeared that there was no choice but to sign. The Japanese had cleverly but definitely given the impression that there was no choice. One missionary said to me sitting by him, "It looks as if we are to sign or be shot!" A master copy of the pledge had been prepared with the names of all members of the conference and a place for signatures opposite. This was placed across the table from the Lt. Colonel and all members were 'invited' to come and sign their names in the respective places. As a lead-off man in the alphabetical order was Mr. Y. Amano, a Japanese observer. There was some hesitation but soon the signing was proceeding according to expectations.

Only those who had access to the master copy of the pledge knew for sure that all had not signed. The Propaganda Corps and the Japanese Press had departed with the story that all had signed and it was reported joyfully in the TRIBUNE the next day.

Following the signing ceremony there were responses by a representative of the missionaries, a layman, and the Executive Secretary of the Y.W.C.A. Due to the responses and the refreshments which preceded them an atmosphere of fellowship seemed to pervade the closing minutes of the conference.

As the so-called delegates slowly walked out of the hotel it was evident that the pledging was uppermost in their minds. Some said it was meaningless, nearly all thought that there was no choice given. It was evident that it would have been difficult to find one individual who acted in all sincerity in placing his signature on the document. A few remained in the conference room to talk to the presiding officer. These men had not signed and were asking for

time in which they might discuss their reasons with the proper authorities. After a time had been agreed upon, they also left the hotel.

Only two days after the "Conference" seven who had not signed were called in to the headquarters of the Religious Section. This was the first of a series of meetings, each of which was to be the "final opportunity for explanation". The general assumption of the Japanese was that these men did not understand and that they had only to "explain" to convince them to sign. From the first it was evident that there was to be no revised wording of the pledge and there would be no alternative action to signing. Each meeting revealed an increase of pressure. Their fundamental thesis was that in as much as these men were Christian missionaries and eager to bring about world brotherhood and world peace, they should use the best means available with no thought about national loyalties. Rather than maintaining a relationship with America they should rise above national allegiance and join with the Japanese program represented in the ideal of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Thereby, they declared, it would be possible to have a more Christian means of accomplishing the ultimate end.

Throughout these conferences their case against America was damning if not convincing. In the following I have summarized the case they made as it was heard with each part amply illustrated. Listen to their argument:

"Your hypocritical America claims to be interested in the welfare of other peoples and piously condemns the Japanese for their so-called control of the peoples of the Far East. But what of your action in Mexico, Central America, and South America? You have not been satisfied to dominate the western hemisphere and are now determined to extend your economic control over the Far East as well. You and the British have sanctimoniously condemned the expansion of Nippon but have you forgotten the way that Britain came to control one-fourth of the world? Have you been blind to the way the United States robbed Mexico so that she could cargo out her empire and reach the Pacific? You Americans have damned Japan for its treatment of its subject peoples but what of your treatment of Orientals? What of your treatment of your own citizens of the Negro race? Do you never read of your lynchings?

Your Christian churches in America have millions on their membership rolls and give great amounts for Christian missions. We often wonder if these gifts are not really conscience money and whether your missionaries are not advance agents for your economic imperialism. Is not your true spirit shown by the arrogance of your British and American businessmen as they ply their trade in the Orient? To any objective observer in the United States it is obvious that the true spirit of Jesus Christ does not dominate the life of America. Your churches are often simply a respectable front for people not willing to live up to true Christian standards of morality and ethics. Your real loose moral living is shown in your own moving pictures. The smugness of your churches is seen in their attitude toward money as the sole criterion of success and its acceptance of special privilege throughout all of life.

"Jesus was interested in the disinherited and the underprivileged and was not concerned about racial or national differences. Can you honestly say that your Christian churches in America have identified themselves with those who have fallen among modern thieves? Your discriminatory laws and practices toward the Negroes and your exclusion acts reveal your true

sprit far more than any resolutions you may write and pass at conferences. Of course you may invite orientals to your churches but we often wonder if we have been invited for our curiosity value rather than interest in us as individuals.

“In recent years and especially in 1941, Britain and the United States were forging a ring of steel around Japan. We struck at Pearl Harbor to save the whole oriental world from the selfish domination of the white man. Your goal is to attain world peace in which world brotherhood may become a reality. To attain that end we are willing to sacrifice ourselves so that the oppressed races of Asia might live.”

A disturbing picture of America, is it not? Although we knew it was not wholly true we could not completely deny that there were elements of truth in it.

On several occasions the Americans thought they had logically shown them the fallacy of their reasoning but they could always conclude an argument by simply stating, “No, you are wrong, you are not thinking right and you are not trying to understand!” They had the upperhand and it was soon clear to all that any discussions would avail nothing. After the second meeting they expressed a definite impatience and a determination that all should sign. “Forget what it says”, they urged, “but just sign”. Soon thereafter three of the number signed.

At the next meeting with the remaining four—Dr. Francis W. Brush, Minister of Central Student Church in Manila, Rev. W.H. Fonger, Secretary of the American Bible Society in Manila and a former missionary of the Disciples of Christ, Edward C. Bomm, head of the Association of Baptists in the Philippines, and myself—we were told by the Japanese that we must choose whether we were going to be pro-Japanese or anti-Japanese. The time for neutrality was past. Our request that we be returned to Santo Tomas and resume our former status as Americans in internment camp was definitely refused; that choice, they said, was not open to us.

Our main basis for refusal was that the signing of the pledge would violate the dictates of our conscience. To us, this was asking that we support one nation as a chosen or destined nation and we did not even look upon our own nation as especially chosen by God above others. In addition, this was putting the state above the dictates of our religion and that, we knew from history, was disastrous not only to the individual but also to religion and to the state. Finally, from our standpoint, we believe that this was asking us to be unpatriotic and even anti-American and such a course of action should not be required of us. All of our arguments, however, seemed to make no impression. Again we were given a “deadline,” the next evening at six o’clock, before which we must sign. The time passed and no one signed.

After seven o’clock the next evening we were called and told there would be a final opportunity the next day. Again we gathered and were told that the “military,” if they were informed of our stubbornness or “anti-Japanese attitude,” might well destroy all of the Protestant work in the Philippines. We remonstrated that we were not the elected or delegated representatives of Protestantism and should be dealt with as individuals and only that. But the threat remained. Individual Japanese then “counselled” with us as individuals.

My interview was with a quite gracious and courteous person. We talked for nearly an hour. He of course was definite as to the course I must take. My only defense was that I had been teaching the history of Christianity for several years and had pointed out to students the far-reaching results of the occasions when the church had become completely subservient to the state. Further than the, I had, in my preaching to students urged them to be willing to make sacrifices for their Christian beliefs. How, I asked him could I ever face students again if when the test came to me I had taken the easy way? At the close of the interview just before I left, when I told him I could not sign, he said to me very quietly, "I would like to have you know one thing—if I am ever faced with the same decision you are now having, I hope that I will have the courage to do the same as you are doing now." This young Lieutenant, a former Protestant minister, in Japan, and several others in the Religious Section had been given a job to do and results were demanded. They were caught in a military system and with some it was evident that their heart was not in it; others in the Religious Section, however, gave the impression that they were in hearty accord with the program of the army—whether they were wholly sincere or not, we did not know.

On February 13, 1942, we had our last interview or conference with the Japanese and on this occasion Lt. Col. Narasawa, the Chief of the Religious Section of the Imperial Japanese Army, was present and had all the discussion interpreted. The two week period between January 28 and February 13 was a period of fear, anxiety and apprehension not only for ourselves but for our families. Thinking that some form of a pledge would satisfy the Japanese, we had worked out a pledge which we would conscientiously sign and to it the four of us affixed our signatures just before the meeting. There was some reluctance on the part of the other Japanese to present it to the Lt. Colonel, but it was finally translated for him. He listened very carefully. In it we had pointed out the historical separation of the affairs of men into the temporal and spiritual spheres; in the latter especially, we said, "the primary authority for many Christian believers has been the individual Christian conscience." On that basis we made our statement which was in the same form as the original pledge quite different in content.

As soon as Dr. Aiura had finished the translation Colonel Narasawa immediately said, according to the interpreter, "But you have left out the important thing!" He very curtly informed us that it was not satisfactory. In order to try to answer his question, "Why will you not sign?", we again reviewed many of the arguments that we had given during the preceding two weeks to the other members of the Religious Section. Only two statements, however, seemed to make any noticeable impression. He could understand, even though he disagreed, that we would not want to do anything which we sincerely believed was an unpatriotic act. On the other hand, he was puzzled by our statement that we would not sign such a pledge even for our own government. Finally, after nearly three hours the Lt. Colonel announced that the conference was over and left abruptly.

That was Friday evening. We heard nothing from the Japanese that evening or all day on Saturday. On Sunday morning four Japanese officers appeared at our gate and told Dr. Brush and me to come with them. We were taken in separate cars and no indication was given to our families as to the place where we were to be taken. The other two men—Foner and Bomm—were later found and we all came together in the office of the Commandant of the Santo Tomas Internment Camp. After some questioning we were told we would remain there temporarily. Our

status was in question for some time, but our “temporary” stay lasted for more than three years. Later orders were given to the Commandant that we were not to leave the camp for any reason whatsoever. The greatest hardship for the first two years was our separation from our families on “the outside.” No order was given about this but when one of us tried to obtain permission for his family to join him in camp it was refused.

Many times we tried to ascertain the reason for our mild treatment after the suggested or implied threats the Japanese had made several times. Evidently they were caught on the horns of a dilemma. There was a determination, on the one hand, to force us to comply with their program and avoid the embarrassment of allowing us to refuse. Some thought that the plans of the Religious Section called for later conferences with the various groups of church leaders and missionaries at which time each individual would be asked to sign the pledge. The main basis for this reasoning was that meetings of certain groups had already been announced and then were later cancelled. Many of these church leaders and missionaries would have refused to sign had they been faced with it, I think that the large factor in the Japanese thinking had to do with their total propaganda. This was only February of 1942 and their “magnanimous attitude” toward the Filipino people was just being publicized—in the newspapers, through the churches and every other available means. We Protestants were not nearly as important as the Roman Catholics in their propaganda campaign but they did not want to discriminate between us. A further factor that must have entered in had to do with the first notice that came out in the newspaper after the “First Conference of Protestant Leaders in Manila.” As mentioned before, according to the newspaper account, everyone at the conference had signed the Pledge as amended. No one had been able to deny that story and therefore it was accepted. Should they spoil the original impression of unanimous cooperation? Seemingly, it appeared to them wiser to absolutely ignore that we existed as Protestant missionaries. Had it been later when it was becoming clear to them that the Propaganda Corps was failing in its objective of winning over the Filipino people we might have been faced with altogether different treatment. If we had only known, during that two-week period, that we would only be returned to Santo Tomas we and our families would have been saved some anxious days and nights when fear and apprehension were battling with sincere convictions and determination.

Thus, we were separated from our missionary associates and friends and spent the next three years in various activities in Santo Tomas Camp.

Life outside of the walls was not the old life of pre-war Manila. There were difficulties of obtaining food, living in crowded conditions (not to be compared of course with Santo Tomas) and uncertainty of their position at all times. From the missionaries’ point of view, they had had little choice in determining the situation in which they found themselves. They had been ordered out of Santo Tomas and had not asked to go. They did not agree to cooperate with the Japanese and there was no cooperation or assistance to the Japanese at any time.

What of those who signed the pledge? The four of us who refused to sign did not agree with them in the course of action they took but I think that they were sincere in it. To them there was no alternative offered. They signed under duress and therefore it was meaningless to them. When they signed they did not intend to cooperate and it must be admitted even by their critics that they did not aid the Japanese. Some I know were motivated by good intentions. These men

and women faced a dilemma caused by their sense of divided loyalties. To Filipino associates in church and other organizations they felt an obligation to maintain a continued relationship. It did not seem quite fair to me that they should be condemned by many in Santo Tomas who were never faced with any choice and therefore were uncertain as to the course they might have taken.

As mentioned earlier, Filipinos in general had no easy time during the Nippon regime. From the very beginning of occupation the Imperial Japanese Army sought in every way to destroy the sense of loyalty to the United States which had grown up in the hearts of the Filipino people. The picture of America given us by the members of the Religious Section was broadcast in every way possible. Although Filipinos recognized in the propaganda a certain element of truth they had also seen some real truth and value in our Anglo-American heritage. From America they had caught a vision of the possibilities of a democratic way of living. In contrast they were aware of Japanese actions in Korea, Manchukuo, and China during the years just past.

Although special efforts were made to win over the Filipino religious groups the Japanese plan failed of its purpose. True, lip service was sometimes given, but only a few opportunistic, ambitious churchmen fell in with the Japanese program even though pressure was often brought to bear by the Religious Section. The great majority followed leaders who were wise, devoted and courageous.

After the three-year night of oppression, the fog of moral confusion and the darkness caused by the blackout of freedom we in Santo Tomas and Filipinos on the outside were glad to be rescued from an undesired "protective custody."

MANILA INTERNMENT CAMP
(SANTO TOMAS UNIVERSITY)
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

Manila, Philippines
January 17, 1945

To Any Education Official Concerned:

The student presenting this letter and these credentials has been one of the students in our Manila Internment Camp (Santo Tomas) School. With capable directors and able teaching personnel a school of 500-700 children and young people has been carried on, with the permission of, but no assistance from, the Japanese Military Authorities, since the first month of our internment. This has been accomplished in spite of serious difficulties such as the lack of facilities and equipment, inadequate housing and a declining health condition affecting both teachers and students. This letter is written to you with the hope that a brief, frank and honest summary of the main features of our internment camp school experience may enable you better to understand and evaluate the work our students have had.

During the first month of our internment (January, 1942) a Department of Education was created, and during the succeeding three-year period all education activities--including primary, intermediate, secondary, college, adult and business sections--have been under the supervision of an Education Committee. The following have composed this committee during a part or all of the period:

Helen Jacob Blue, B.S. in Ed., Director of the Primary Section. Position held before internment: Primary Specialist and Supervisor, Training Department, Philippine Normal School.

Lois Farrell Croft, A.B., Graduate Work, Columbia, Radcliffe and Boston Universities. Co-Director of Intermediate and High School Sections. Position held before internment: Principal, American School, Inc., Manila.

Roscoe L. Lautzonhiser, Tri-State College, Angola, Indiana; University of Washington. Co-Director of Intermediate and High School Sections. Position held before internment: Principal, H. A. Bordner School, Manila.

John Howard Blinko, University of London, A. C. A., A. C. I. S., C. P. A., F. R. G. S., Secretary-Treasurer, Education Committee; Director of the Business Section. Position held before internment: Chief Accountant of Warner Barnes Co., Ltd., London, Manila and Branches.

Luther B. Bowley, A.B., M.A. (Maryville College), Ph.D. (Maryville College). Dean of the College Section. Position held before internment: Adviser on Education Affairs, Office of President Quizon, President of the Philippines.

René Engel, Chemical Engineer, M.S. (University of Paris), Ph.D. (California Institute of Technology). Chairman of the Education Department, January, 1942-June, 1944, and Director of Adult Section. Position held before internment: Consulting Chemical Engineer, Marsman & Co., Manila.

Don Wendell Holter, A.B., B.D. (Garrett), Ph.D. (University of Chicago), Chairman, Education Department, June, 1944 to date. Position held before internment: President, Union Theological Seminary, Manila.

Likewise for our teaching personnel we have been able to assemble a corps of teachers which is as well qualified in experience and ability as that of the ordinary school system in our home countries. It will interest

you to know that 91% of the primary teachers, 94% of the intermediate teachers, and 79% of the High School teachers, respectively, had professional teaching experience before internment. Those without professional experience in all cases have been men and women with special technical, scientific or professional training who have taught courses in their own fields of study.

In regard to books our task has been difficult. The texts we have used are shown on the back of the student's transcript or grade sheet. While every pupil has not had an individual text to use, through a well-directed study hall, conducted in the morning, afternoon and evening, texts have been put to intensive use and in most cases one text was used through the study hall by 2-5 students. Scarcity of mathematics and history texts especially made extra work for teachers; in the latter case reference work was given in encyclopaedias, biographies and other histories in the Reference and other camp libraries.

In addition to the camp's free library of over 3,000 volumes, containing some excellent biographies, historical and general fiction and a set of Harvard Classics, and several private rental libraries, the Education Department built up three libraries of its own--the Study Hall, Reference and Children's--all under the supervision of trained librarians. The latter contains 990 volumes, while the Study Hall contains 276 text books, 8 dictionaries and 3 sets of encyclopaedias (2 sets of Compton's and 1 set of Encyclopaedia Britannica). The Reference Library contains 1073 volumes, including 4 sets of encyclopaedias (2 of Encyclopaedia Britannica and 1 of Compton's), 14 dictionaries, and the other main fields as follows: biography-46; drama and literature-276; fiction-174; foreign languages-124; history-96; mathematics-15; and science-39. Constant book repair and binding has kept our books in a usable condition. Moreover, some teachers have had limited access to the Santo Tomas University Library.

The curriculum followed, shown on the transcripts or grade sheets, has been that of the standard schools in the United States with a few exceptions. Art and music courses have been very limited and the laboratory work in the science courses has been impossible or extremely reduced because of lack of equipment, while the study of geography has been prohibited by the Japanese Military Authorities.

One of the major camp problems has been crowded and inadequate housing conditions. When it is realized that an individual had a small space (only 4 x 6 feet) for his sleeping quarters it was fortunate that we found any place for class rooms. After the first six months of makeshift arrangements it was possible, because of the interest in education and through the cooperation of camp authorities and the Santo Tomas University officials, to obtain two large former laboratories, unsuitable for living quarters, which served for fifteen class rooms after dividing partitions were built. Other space provided six more rooms. The noise, lack of scientific lighting and no possibility of adjustable desks made the learning process difficult for both teacher and pupil. With careful planning we were able to provide limited supplies of pencils, paper, notebooks, chalk, crayons and blackboards.

Improper diet at all times and the insufficiency of food, especially during the last 6-8 months when food served dropped to less than 1,000 calories per day, coupled with nervousness due to war excitement, overstimulation and

insufficient rest in such crowded conditions, has been another adverse condition with which to deal. In addition, most of the young people over fourteen years of age carried a regular camp work assignment of two hours daily in addition to their school work, while children of all ages have been needed and used--for standing in food and other lines, gardening, laundering, carrying water, running errands, etc.--in our primitive way of living. That children and young people have done fairly good school work in these circumstances is a clear evidence of their ability to adjust to changing conditions. In other hard ways they have been trained to face life without the cushioning that modern life usually affords American and British children. It is probable that this internment experience has matured most of our students and possibly hardened some.

When this letter and these credentials are presented to you we expect you to follow your regular routine in evaluating the work and in grade placement. We do not desire the student to be advanced beyond his training because that might make an academic cripple of him in the future. We do hope, however, in light of the above circumstances, that a student from our Manila Internment Camp School will be given a fair period of probation in which to adjust to regular school procedure. Given this, we believe that most of our students will evidence that, even under strenuous conditions, they have acquired a good grasp of the work for which we have given them credit.

On behalf of the Education Committee and the other 4,000 internees may I thank you in advance for your part in re-orienting our American, British and other interned children and young people into normal life.

Sincerely yours,



DON W. HOLTER
Chairman

THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

WINGS

This is the story of Wings. For, during the years from late 1941 until well into 1945, our lives were dominated by wings—enemy wings, supporting wings, returning wings and finally liberating wings.

Early in December of 1941 we were living in the city of Manila only about a mile from Nichols Field, when the ominous news of enemy wings over Pearl Harbor shocked us as it did the rest of the world. That it would be only a matter of hours until enemy wings would appear over Manila and other places in the Philippines was obvious to everyone. Soon these wings of the enemy began to appear several times daily. Sometimes forty or more great silver planes—a beautiful sight if they had not been so terrible in their intent—would soar over without even breaking formation. Flying as they were above the ceiling of the anti-aircraft guns protecting Manila, they were in no danger from the ground and opposition in the air was negligible.

In a matter of days landings were made at several points on the island of Luzon and although our newspapers and radios kept telling us that the American lines were holding, still if you followed the map you could readily see that every day these lines were getting closer to Manila in the south and in the north. Realizing that the enemy entrance into Manila was only a question of days, thousands of Filipinos fled from the city to the provinces. For Americans, British and other aliens there was little to do but futilely organize into groups, rush the stores for food and supplies and boast, as one American did, that “this would be the shortest war in all history”. For had it not been rumored that a high American navy official had said that our navy could wipe the Japanese navy off the face of the Pacific in less than six months at most.

The Christmas holiday season was spent by many in packing, moving of precious food supplies between long periods spent in air raid shelters. It was not a happy day when our army, after declaring Manila an “open city”, moved its forces toward the peninsula of Bataan leaving Manila a city of fear, apprehension and only a lingering hope. In spite of the blackouts the nights were illumined by the fires from the burning of all supplies, especially gasoline and oil, which the Americans could not take with them. New Year’s Eve brought us the last broadcasts from the American and Filipino radio stations; the final message was from a representative of the American High Commissioner wishing us well during the coming occupation.

After a day of unopposed looting all over the city the two Japanese armies entered the city, one from the north and one from the south. The next day, January 3, 1942, the soldiers of Nippon began to pick up all enemy aliens and deposit them in an internment center. Before many days had passed nearly all Americans, British and Dutch found themselves within the confining walls of the University of Santo Tomas.

Thus began a new experience in the lives of about four thousand people who were unprepared for such a change. To be taken from your home, to be removed from your business or professional position, to be cut off from all communication with your loved ones and friends in your home-land and thereby have your whole sense of security jeopardized was too much to be grasped all at once. Few, if any, were prepared to be thrown back on their inner resources.

Most of us did not have a faith that was adequate for the day at hand. Like many Americans in the United States our faith was partly a mixture of magic, superstition and selfish desires. Consequently some were disillusioned when their prayers for early release did not bring the desired results and hopelessness set in for

others when the requested return of American soldiers produced nothing. With the subsequent fall of Singapore, Bataan and then Corrigidor it appeared to some that God had forsaken us.

There were others in Santo Tomas, however, who appeared to be supported by wings that during times past have upheld individuals and groups in far more difficult days than we were ever to experience in internment camp. Certain passages of scripture come back in days like that with an altogether new meaning or a different emphasis. One of these passages, a familiar one, comes out of the prophecy of Isaiah:

“They that wait on the Lord shall renew their strength
They shall mount up with wings as eagles
They shall run and not be weary
They shall walk and not faint.”

The dramatic appeal of this in the past had been the “mounting up with wings as eagles,” Soon we were to realize that the latter part was the far more difficult—trying to “run and not be weary” and “walk and not faint”.

In various ways our wings were clipped. In general our difficulties were caused: first, by Japanese inefficiency - they had no plan for housing us, feeding us or for medical attention; secondly, there was a lack of concern for us as individuals; and lastly, pure maliciousness especially on the part of the Japanese Military Police, the “Gestapo” agency of the military system of Nippon. This dastardly organization—one feared by the officers of the Japanese Army and held in dread by the Japanese consular officials—was capable of perpetrating any of the crimes or atrocities we have heard of in the Far East. Because of the fiendishness of this controlling group and some commanding officers we are likely to generalize and come to the conclusion that every Japanese is a fiend. Such generalization is not only untrue but unjust and far from being Christian.

The oldest university under the American flag, Santo Tomas, a Dominican school, was to be the home of about four thousand enemy aliens for a period of three years. Not a large school for the buildings consisted of two large halls, a gymnasium and three frame buildings. There was not a dormitory in this small area and consequently use had to be made of all classrooms. To work out the amount of space to which each individual was entitled was not too difficult and finally a “Fair Room Capacity” was agreed to by elected room monitors. In general it was found that each person—for his bed, supplies and personal impediments—should have a space four feet by six feet to call his own.

Difficulties in living under such circumstances can be imagined. All varieties of people were found—all the way from prostitutes, big time gamblers and “beach combers” up to missionaries or mining engineers—which could be expected in a port city like Manila especially when its population had been augmented just before the war by contributions from Shanghai or Hong Kong. In one of the rooms there was a sign which expressed the lament of many. It read: “IF YOU WANT PRIVACY < CLOSE YOUR EYES”. Totally inadequate were sanitary facilities in these classroom buildings now serving for “cliff-dwellers”. On the second floor of the Main Building for a time lived more than seven hundred women and children; after certain improvements were made, they had for their use eight toilets and eight showers. Long lines leading to the toilets became a common sight.

Medical supplies were never adequate for the main hospital and the children's hospital which were established and there was constant apprehension that a serious epidemic might bring havoc to the camp. Measles, Whooping cough and chicken pox had full sway for a time. Fortunately infantile paralysis was fatal to only one person—one of the finest of the young businessmen in our community—of the few it struck. Cholera did not make its appearance and cases of Typhus were controlled. Malnutrition was the immediate danger and complications resulting from lack of proper or sufficient food led to more fatalities than any other cause. If it had not been for a large shipment of medical supplies which were received from the Red Cross in November and December, 1943, I doubt if few would have lived to tell the tale of Santo Tomas. Along with medicine in this shipment came some clothes and supplementary food. From this supply each person received "comfort kits" which included about forty-five pounds of food and more than four cartons of cigarettes. The more optimistic internees used up all of their supplementary supplies during the first three to six months, while the more prudent planned their consumption of these precious foods for a period of twelve to fifteen months. A regular recognized practice of bartering occupied the attention of everyone. Prices soared as time went on until American cigarettes would bring \$15-20 a package, a twelve ounce can of corned beef cost \$45 and a one pound can of powdered milk called for ten or twelve packages of cigarettes or \$150-200. In December of 1944, at a cost of \$31, we felt fortunate to be able to buy about one pound of coarsely ground corn.

The problem of food was serious through the entire three year period. During the first six-months of our internment the Japanese furnished no food at all and we lived off limited supplies that the Red Cross had on hand and supplies purchased outside with personal funds. On July 1, 1942 a per diem payment of 35c for each individual for all expenses was made by our captors. Out of this our camp finance committee budgeted about two-thirds for food. To build up a reserve for the future seemed a prudent course of action but such a procedure was discouraged by Japanese because it gave evidence, they said, that we "did not trust the Imperial Japanese Army". In order to enforce this, any unspent amount that was left over at the end of the month was deducted from the next months allowance. American ingenuity, however, rose to the occasion and thereafter two sets of books were kept—one for the Japanese and one for ourselves. As a result a small reserve was built up although it could never be large because it had to be concealed. Our apprehension for the future was justified and during the last year of our incarceration we used to talk about the "good old days" during the two earlier years when, although the diet was improper, the quantity was adequate and one could be filled.

In January of 1944 the Imperial Japanese Army announced that henceforth we would be furnished with food rather than money. Even with the promised allowance our dieticians could not figure more than 1800 calories for each individual. The prospect was made no brighter by the admission of scarcity of food—the Japanese Army worked on the policy of "living off the country"—and their frank statement that we were to be "third-rate customers". True to expectations, as more and more soldiers of Nippon came to the island of Luzon and especially around Manila, the food furnished us dropped in quantity and quality. After June 1944 we could get no eggs or meat, only small amounts of fruit and vegetables while bread, butter and sugar had been nearly impossible to obtain for months. Camp gardens and private gardens, due to poor soil, produced meager supply of greens despite valiant efforts. Like the old Prodigal Son, we would have been happy to have filled our stomachs with rice and corn but the quantity given of these two staples dwindled. During the final months of our internment we were reduced to a diet that amounted to between 500-1000 calories per day. The loss of weight and strength became alarming. In a survey taken it was found that men had lost an average of more than

fifty pounds while women lost an average of nearly thirty-five pounds each. In such circumstances people resorted to the use of anything that seemed to have any food value—boiling grass, use of weeds, digging of roots (you can make quite a palatable dish of a banana root if you know how—clean it, slice it, soak it all night in salt water, boil it and then fry it). Often our doctors would inform us that some of our choices—canna roots and hibiscus leaves—were harmful and others had little or no food value. But they were filling and aided in relieving hunger pangs and helped to get children to sleep at night when otherwise it was difficult to do.

In the midst of all this we witnessed a queer phenomenon. The more hungry we became the more we all talked about food and during the last months there was a mania for copying of recipes. Men as well as women would fill whole notebooks with choice ways of preparing food. Through imagination we tried to meet our craving for food and it probably helped even if it was not physically satisfying.

Filipinos outside were not having an easy or happy time. Along with being treated as inferior from the beginning of the occupation they were robbed in a variety of ways. Whole ship loads of food, supplies and equipment (and also all of the automobiles of Americans and Britishers) were transported from Manila to Japan. Printing presses poured forth Japanese Military Currency, the only legal tender, in a never-ending stream and thereby a half of a billion dollars worth of goods was acquired by the Imperial Japanese Army for nothing.

For the Filipinos as well as for us, however, the hardest thing to endure was the insecurity of our existence and the uncertainty of what the next day might bring forth. Inasmuch as the Geneva Convention of 1929 was never recognized in practice there was no predictable basis for our future or treatment. When fear, dread and hunger become dominant, life becomes grim. “Walking without fainting” became a real problem. Many passed on because of malnutrition or because adequate medical care or treatment was impossible or not allowed. Old folk faded, middle-aged grew haggard, young people paled, and parents were tortured by seeing their children lose weight or having their babies cry for food and there was nothing to be done about it. A race with starvation is a wearisome ordeal.

That we had grounds for despair was not to be denied. But the glory of it all was that we lived in hope. Although we nearly fainted in our walking we retained hope that we would again in some new day soar with wings as eagles. What were some of these characteristics, qualities or responses to our environment which served as supporting wings for our living?

American resourcefulness coupled with determination was manifest from the opening days of our internment. From the beginning the integral management of our camp was left largely in the hands of internees. Soon the activities of a community of 4000—about three-fourths American and one-fourth British—were organized on a semi-democratic basis under an elected Executive Committee of five Americans and two to represent internees of other nationalities. Some of the departments formed under this central committee included: housing, food, gardens, medical, sanitation and health, electrical, plumbing, construction, safety, shoe-repair, camp order, relief and welfare, education, music and radio (amplification), libraries, recreation, entertainment, special activities, religion and work assignment (everyone over fourteen years old had to give a certain amount of time to the work of the camp). A monitor system facilitated the functioning of the entire program. Not only in organization but in other ways ingenuity was evidenced—in the construction or improvement of equipment or facilities out of scraps or discarded materials. Preparation of food, remaking of clothes and an effort toward a

semblance of home-life called forth the utmost resourcefulness of the women and especially mothers. Special occasions, particularly Christmas, became meaningful because mothers and fathers refused to allow them to pass without real efforts to give meaning to the occasion. The refusal "to say die" was a characteristic thrilling to see.

To be able to laugh at yourself is often a saving grace. A sense of humor was surely a second of these uplifting wings that kept us from falling into the pit of despair. One of the songs composed in camp—with a number of stanzas which partially told the story of our activities—was entitled, "Cheer Up, Everything's Going To Be Lousy." Early in camp, electrical engineers rigged up an amplification system whereby announcements could be made all over the area. Improvements soon followed and finally records could be played over this loud-speaking equipment. To a Radio-Music Department internees gave or loaned their records and a library of more than 3000 records was soon in hand. As a result, popular concerts were given several evenings a week and one or more classical programs each week. The Imperial Japanese Army early in 1944 was determined that our camp should take on a more military mien and therefore issued a number of orders and restrictions. Among these was the beginning of more formal military roll calls, in the morning and evening. In order to get internees awake and up and out for the seven o'clock roll call in the morning, the Radio-Music Department opened the day at 6:30 a.m. with a musical recording. We soon realized that the records chosen by these Americans often had some relationship to the events of the day at hand. The day the new Japanese army orders were to go into effect we heard over the loud speakers the old song, "You're In the Army Now". Later in the year everyone was required to deposit "for our protection" all money in the Bank of Taiwan and only a small amount of military currency was allowed each individual. The next morning following this depositing of all(?) of our money we heard over the air, "I Can't Give You Anything But Love". By the grapevine came the news of heavy American bombings of Tokyo and our morning musical response was the song, "It's Raining Down in Cherry Blossom Lane". Bombings around Manila, beginning on September 21, 1944, inspired the selection "Pennies are Dropping From Heaven". A several day lull in American bombing prompted "Lover Come Back to Me and "I Cover the Waterfront, I'm Watching the Sea for the One I Love is Coming Back to Me". Also by the "grapevine" came the welcome but false rumor of the assassination of Adolph Hitler. This brought forth "The Old Witch is Dead".

A sense of humor was also a saving grace for the Filipinos on many occasions. One of these was on the occasion of the visit of Premier Tojo to the Philippines. Thousands of Filipinos were ordered out to greet him and at the close of the address were to join in cheering the head of the conquering Imperial Japanese government. The word they were supposed to use was "Banzai", a Japanese exclamation of approval. As the story came to me, many of the Filipinos used, instead of "Banzai", a dialect word "Bankai". {I just learned that it would have been Batai?} which means something dead or decaying. {Hooray for the Filipinos!}.

A third supporting influence was the work of the morale agencies in Santo Tomas. The use of recorded music has already been mentioned. Popular concerts, semi-classical and classical concerts were given several times a week. Several concerts were given by a men's chorus and also by a women's chorus. At Christmas time in 1944 they joined their talents in giving Handel's Messiah. Children and young people of school age composed nearly one fourth of our interned population, or about 900, and therefore were a large consideration in program planning. During the first month of our incarceration verbal permission was granted to hold a few classes for children out under the trees. From that beginning an educational program was developed which included

classes from the first grade up through High School and finally, to satisfy the needs of graduates, a college department was organized. At various times those working for credit numbered between 500 and 700 while Adult Education classes enrolled well over 1000 in addition. Naturally our facilities and classrooms were never adequate, supplies hard to obtain and textbooks were insufficient. Often classes close to the blacksmith shop and shoe repair shop had to be dismissed because the teacher and pupils could not hear each other, but the next day they tried it again. Only a limited amount of laboratory work was possible but otherwise all subjects were taught except those prohibited by the Japanese—history after the year 1900 (why not 1895?) and geography and maps were banned (they used maps but had to be put up and taken down for each class). Even with a small study hall conducted in the afternoon and evening one of the real problems was the use of the few texts and a place to study amidst the crowded conditions. As its greatest asset the Education Department offered a superior faculty and capable administrative officers. Well trained professional educators were available and threw themselves into this educational effort and were ably supported by others in allied professions. For the students it was an experience in learning under difficulties but it was a maturing experience. Books were at a premium throughout. The Educational Department was able to collect more than 1000 books, including sets of encyclopedias for a Reference Library and about 1000 children's books. Nearly all internees turned over all books they had to a Free Library which, when with the collection of one of the Y.M.C.A.'s, finally came to have more than 3000 volumes and often more than 250 books were issued in one day. Some of the more popular books were rebound as many as four or five times.

Obviously a well-planned recreational program was a prime necessity for so many people living in such a small space. During the first two years athletics of all kinds were encouraged and an unusual program was carried on for children of school age and even pre-school age. The final year saw the diminishing of most athletic and even cultural activities as our situation became grim. Blackouts did away with evening programs while the scarcity of food finally prompted the medical staff to advise the cessation of athletics and the closing of school; adults were advised to rest as much as possible and parents were urged to see that children remained quiet.

The Department of Religion pioneered along various lines in furnishing cultural activities through several series of lectures on history, literature, music, great personalities, comparative religions and personality development. After a time a new department of Special Activities was formed to promote some of the lectures, the play readings, discussion groups and hobby shows. To be expected were regular religious services on Sunday, a Sunday School of nearly 250 and a mid-week service but especially interesting was the unity of all Protestant groups, conservative as well as liberal, manifested in the union services throughout the three year period. A few movies, quiz programs, musical numbers and stage shows were the work of an enterprising entertainment department. A few dances were held in Santo Tomas but all were finally prohibited in camp. Well known is the Japanese condemnation of our western social dancing as immoral—and they were greatly concerned about our morals in camp!

The inspiration of the Filipino people should be listed as one of our supporting wings. The ways in which they tried and succeeded in helping us with food, supplies and money at a great personal risk to themselves was thrilling to many of us and nearly unbelievable to many Americans and Britishers who expected them to become pro-Japanese when it was advantageous to do so. If the policy that was followed in the Philippines by America from the Spanish-American War until Pearl Harbor needs a vindication we certainly have it in the

actions of the Filipino people during the years of this war. Through the school teachers, government officials, many business and professional people and missionaries the people of the Philippines had a vital introduction to a democratic way of life. Consequently, when the testing time came they manifested their loyalty not only to America but to a new way of life which they were not willing to give up. Further than that, they were willing, as shown by guerilla and civilians, to sacrifice and even to restore that way of life. Their confidence of the ultimate return of the Armed Forces of the United States withstood all of the onslaughts of propaganda and all but a few overcame the temptations of opportunism. Many GI's were surprised at the joyful reception they received in the Philippines. Although standing in the ruins of their own homes, churches, and schools these people were looking toward the new day with hope.

Through all of these difficult months and years, those outside and we within the walls of Santo Tomas were upheld by wings of faith. A faith that had come down to us from our great Hebrew-Christian heritage. One that has demanded justice and mercy and maintained that righteousness alone exalteth a nation. A faith that has insisted on the sacredness and responsibility of every human personality. A firm belief in a moral universe where men and nations may flout the laws of this universe but if they do will eventually find themselves broken on those laws; that it is still true that "whatsoever a man (or nation) soweth, that shall it also reap". Some of us found that when all other supports are gone then a faith in a living God can be a real sustaining power.

As mentioned earlier, most of us had failed to hammer out on the anvil of experience a faith adequate for the day at hand—and we had no religious revival in camp. Still, into the life-blood of every American and Britisher in Santo Tomas had gone, whether we realized it or not, something of the accumulated benefits of this Hebrew-Christian heritage. To all of us it gave a certain staying power while for others it was the source of victorious living.

The whole background of our Anglo-American democratic way of living contributed to this faith. For this way of living had gradually put into political practice some of the religious and social emphases of this heritage. The rights of the individual had been fought for, lived for and died for and out of the struggle had grown certain freedoms—of speech, assembly, press and religion. Most of us had never fully appreciated these until they were taken away from us. The consciousness of this background, however, helped us to retain a strong faith in our governments because we believed they were founded on basic, universal principles and therefore could stand the test of this crisis.

Wings of hope were of infinite value. Even though you are shut up within four walls still your visions and dreams can soar out over those walls and no guards or sentries can stop them. Naturally we dreamed of good food which would bring color into children's cheeks and give everyone a new zest for living. Of future business and professional work we had visions. Some thought of better relations in the future with the Filipino people. The dream of many with families was of re-established homes and some determined that home-life, which we had so often taken for granted, would be far more meaningful in the future.

That all of our dreams and visions would be colored by the experience within Santo Tomas was to be expected. New insights could not but leave their impression. Few of us had ever lived a life of drudgery before—standing in line for twenty to fifty minutes for food three times a day; cooking on native stoves with charcoal or with wood when charcoal was no longer available; standing in line for roll call twice a day and being ready to bow

when the Japanese officer came along; carrying water for all family needs; and doing laundry with little soap or using a kind of bark as a substitute to soften the water. Few of us had ever lived a life of poverty, uncertainty and complete insecurity—never knowing what the next day would bring forth and being apprehensive as to the final outcome even if we endured to the end. Few of us had ever lived a life of hunger—being hungry day in and day out and not knowing what it was to be filled; seeing young children lose weight and hearing babies cry for food was a new experience. One of the most difficult periods in Santo Tomas was that of Christmas of 1944. From malnutrition or complications resulting from a lack of food people were dying in the hospital at the rate of one to three a day. Our medical staff helpless in the face of the lack of food nearly despaired. In the city of Manila, Filipinos, Chinese and Spanish friends collected a supply of food and tried to get it in to us. Less than one-fourth of the total was allowed to come through the gates. Even permission for eggs and milk for the children was refused. It is not necessary to picture the way in which feelings of bitterness and revenge nearly consumed people at a time like that.

Possibly my wife and I were held somewhat steady by our recent reading of a book concerning America—"Grapes of Wrath" by John Steinbeck. Many have read the story of the "Okies" who were uprooted from their homes, made their way to the west coast, tried to find work, urged to move on and going hungry in a land where they were unwanted. In the midst of this the author paints a terrible picture of America—oranges being piled high, gasoline and oil poured over them and burned; potatoes dumped in the rivers and men along the banks with clubs to keep hungry people from pulling them out; pigs slaughtered but not used for food; all of this to maintain prices while other Americans went hungry. Necessary to realize was that John Steinbeck's story was of Christian-Americans and of their treatment of their fellow Christian-countrymen; those we were dealing with were our declared enemies and made no profession of Christianity!

After our enforced limited experience of a life of drudgery, insecurity and hunger, we hope we will be forever sensitive to the light of thousands in America and literally millions around the world who are subjected to such an existence throughout all of life. Our experience was of comparative short duration but it gave us an insight into the terrible debilitating effects which drudgery, insecurity and hunger do have not only on the physical but also on the mental, moral and spiritual life and capacities of men.

But a vision of a brave new world also had a place in our dreams. A world freed from the control of men of low desires but a world led by men and women of superior intellects, of creative imaginations and constructive minds—adults as well as youth captured by high social purposes and ideals. Ours would be a task of rebuilding a world and we were conscious of the fact that the far greater task remained after the present war ceased. How much easier it is to tear down a world than it is to create a new one where prisons and internment camps will be remnants of a past method and age. In our thinking we envisaged a new world-wide social organization which would include: an over-arching world political federation of states or a world-state with adequate police/power; an undergirding world economic union; buttressed by an experimental but purposeful science on the one hand and on the other by universal education, alive to the past while looking to the future; the whole to be imbued with the spirit of good will; and motivated by high religion.

Our own returning wings appeared on the morning of September 21, 1944—the glorious sight of nearly a hundred United States Navy planes which surprised the Japanese as well as us in Santo Tomas. Most of us thought it would be only a matter of days until our armed forces would be in the city of Manila. Actually

four and a half months of waiting remained until the memorable night of February 3, 1945 when the First Cavalry Division drove its way into the northern part of Manila and took our camp. Our days of hunger were over. Weeks before this, plans had been made for a camp-wide Thanksgiving Ceremony and immediately after our liberation the time was set for the afternoon of February 7. Early in the afternoon of that day, however, the Japanese began shelling our camp from the south side of the city. After less than four days of good food and rejoicing, our feeling of safety was blown away by the same shells that blasted our friends and loved ones. Intermittent shelling for twelve days brought consternation and near despair as more than twenty internees were killed and nearly two hundred wounded. It was during this same period that the terrible massacre of civilians in Manila took place and the city was destroyed. We had a glimpse of the terror on the south side of the city through the eyes of nearly 3000 fear-struck men, women and children who escaped and came into Santo Tomas for shelter, medical attention and food.

Finally, on February 23, it seemed safe to hold our Thanksgiving Ceremony. On that day, after we had commended to God those who had fainted along the way, the address of the day closed with the following prayer:

“Oh, God, we the living, thank Thee for the patience, the courage, and the power to endure that these three years have demanded of us. Out of a deep sense of gratitude to Thee and the men of the Armed Forces, may we, who were so miraculously saved, feel a sacred responsibility to repay our great debt by creative and purposeful living in the future. And, finally, we pray for wisdom, as we renew our strength, mount up with wings as eagles, soar out into the dawn of a new day.”

Never again will some of us question the strengthening power of a faith in eternal verities or the lifting power of high hopes. For the old prophet Isaiah spoke not only for himself and his day but for us in this our day. Today individuals, organizations and nations may again prove that “they that wait on the Lord” have an access to the power, and the wisdom and strength needed not only for times of trouble but also for days of reconstruction.