

# **Aboard Ship on Way to States**

**by Carr Hooper**

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**For ENGL 618: Research Methods in English**

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## Introduction to the Series

This transcription and its attendant annotations, explanatory material, and bibliography were prepared by students in ENGL 618: Research Methods in English, the required gateway class for the MA in English at Western Carolina University. The learning outcomes for this class include the following:

1. Conduct appropriate, effective, and ethical scholarship
  - a. Effectively find and use advanced research tools (handbooks, databases, guides, bibliographies, etc.) appropriate to a subject.
    - Students will be able to use a wide variety of such tools and evaluate those tools.
  - b. Find appropriate advanced research (print and electronic scholarship) and apply that research to specific disciplinary questions or issues.
    - Students will be able to find a variety of scholarship, evaluate both the appropriateness and rigor of that scholarship, and incorporate that scholarship correctly and effectively.
  - c. Develop accurate bibliographies and reference citations.
    - Students will be able to annotate, abstract, and cite materials following standard MLA format.
2. Understand the process by which the texts we use are made available.
  - Students will be able to conduct basic editorial work and evaluate the editorial work of others.

All work is presented as submitted by the students. While these students take great care with their transcriptions and annotations, errors are always possible. As these students learn throughout this class, good scholarship requires checking of sources and corroboration by authoritative sources.

It is hoped that the transcription and annotation of WCU Special Collections materials will be useful to the institution, students, scholars, and other patrons and users of WCU's Special Collections materials.

## **Introduction**

With the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, confusion and panic rippled not only through the United States, but across the world as well. The U.S. Army bases and airfields around Manila in the Philippines readied for the imminent attack from the Japanese. U.S. troops fought against the Japanese in the Philippines, but in late December of 1941, Manila was declared an open city. The document "Aboard Ship on Way to States" was written by American citizen Carr Hooper, who, accompanied with his wife Ruth, became a prisoner at Japanese interment camp Santo Tomas in the Philippines from 1942 to 1945. Throughout the pages of "Aboard Ship on Way to States," Hooper very accurately recalls specific dates, names, and events from the war. The document was typed on a typewriter and there are several handwritten additions, corrected spellings, and omissions. Due to the age of the document, the pages are yellowed.

Carr and Ruth Hooper, along with thousands of other people of all origins, were taken to Santo Tomas Internment Camp, established at the University of Santo Tomas in the Philippines by the Japanese. For three brutal years, the prisoners were kept like animals in derelict conditions where people were starving, being executed, and transferred to other internment camps. The Philippine chapter of the Red Cross came to aid those captured, but even they could not offer salvation. In the camp, prisoners were given 35¢ per person for food, but this was only enough to keep the starvation at bay. After a while, Internment Committees were formed to bring up internal issues to the Japanese officers, however, the prisoners were creating natural cliques and groups based on nationality, class, and sex, making it difficult for the Committees to remain unbiased. Prisoners made deals with and completed deeds for the Japanese officers just to gain a leg up in anything. During internment, every prisoner worked for the "betterment" of the camp, whether in the kitchen, garden, sanitation, or the makeshift hospital. This became nearly impossible when thousands of the working men and women were transferred from the camp every so often, causing the remaining people to have to pick up the work slack of their transferred fellow prisoners. After a while, the prisoners were allowed to attend church, lectures, and plays, as well as participate in select sports, such as softball and basketball.

Eventually, in 1943, ships began to come and take people from camps around the area to the states. Unfortunately for the Hoopers, their rescue would not come until the end of the war in

1945. In the last years of the war, the sick and old died while the depressed committed suicide at Santo Tomas as everyone waited for their saviors. Starvation was beginning to run rampant, but the people could feel the end of the war was near. Rumors and propaganda began to flood Santo Tomas about the war's end, the losers, and the prevailing. The Japanese were portrayed as the victors through Japanese news outlets, but the prisoners knew it was all lies. Towards the end, food rations at the camp were running low; prisoners were eating a mere 684 calories a day, reduced from a 1,500-plus calorie diet at the beginning of imprisonment. To stay alive, people counted, rationed, and doled out precise amounts of food, down to an exact number of rice grains per person. Adults and children were reduced to eating cats, dogs, poisonous plants, trash, rotting fish and vegetables, and bugs.

In his narrative, Hooper then turns to the audience and asks the readers, the American government, and the American people to not let this happen again. It is the right of American people to travel and live wherever they wish without the fear of imprisonment. The American government needs to tell the people the true state of affairs and to create a military everyone can count on in their times of need. Hooper then calls out the corrupt political leaders, stockholders, and legislators that have almost ruined the United States. Next, Hooper states that the American people are great, good, and rich with love, and will not be kept down. Japan committed the most heinous crimes and should be condemned. The atrocities and sins committed by the Japanese people are spelled out and recounted by Hooper in detail; however, he brings to the readers' attention the fact that even though the American people are good, Americans cheer for the destruction of the Japanese and Nazis while forgetting about and not acknowledging the destruction and murder of their own American people.

In February of 1945, the first U.S. planes and tanks bombed and blew up the area surrounding Santo Tomas. The war was ending as the American troops entered Manila. The initial document entitled "Aboard Ship on Way to States" ends with the liberation of Santo Tomas Internment Camp, the Hoopers, and the remaining several hundred internees.

The second part of the Hooper document entitled "Insert 'The Raid'" was written September 22, 1944. Carr Hooper begins by explaining the war propaganda and lies told by the Japanese, which stated that they were winning the war; U.S. troops would never reach Japan to attack; and that the Japanese Army would immediately foil any air raid. The Japanese, however, advised people in the area and the internment camps to build bomb shelters as "precautions." A

raid by U.S. bombers occurred around the Santo Tomas Internment Camp, causing the internees to erupt into cheers. Blasts, flames, bullets, and debris filled their senses as they watched skilled air formations dive-bomb nearby Japanese settlements. The raid was over almost as quickly as it began as the planes returned to their home accompanied by the prayers and good wishes of the prisoners. Hope was rekindled because the U.S. was alive and well.

### **Biography of Carr Hooper**

The following biography was modified from the Western Carolina University (WCU) Hunter Library Special Collections site page entitled "Carr and Ruth Hooper Papers." Son of Vance Hooper and Ellen Wood Hooper, Carr Hooper was born May 4, 1903, in Jackson County, North Carolina. Hooper attended Western Carolina Teachers College in Cullowhee, North Carolina, and received a degree in August of 1931. While studying at the George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville, Tennessee, Hooper met Ruth Williams, a native of Fayetteville, Tennessee. On August 20, 1932, Carr and Ruth became husband and wife. The Hoopers relocated to the Philippines in 1932 after Carr accepted a position with the Department of Education to teach English. Later, the Hoopers moved to Manila so Carr could work as a cashier in charge of the Singer Sewing Machine company payrolls while Ruth worked at the Benquet-Balatoc Gold Mining Company.

Shortly after the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the war between the U.S. and Japan began. The Japanese took over and occupied the Philippine islands. Both of the Hoopers were captured and sent to the Japanese internment camp at Santo Tomas in Manila where from January 1942 to February 1945, they were prisoners of war. After Santo Tomas was liberated, the Hoopers returned to the United States where Carr continued to teach in western North Carolina. He became principal at Sylva High School in 1956, and then principal at Sylva-Webster High School in 1960. Carr Hooper retired from teaching in 1969. In 1972, Sylva-Webster High School, now Smoky Mountain High School, named their football stadium in his honor.

## **Editorial Statement**

In its entirety, the Carr Hooper document, kept in WCU Hunter Library's Special Collections, is 28 pages in length. The first 24 pages, entitled "Aboard Ship on Way to States," is Hooper's personal account of being a prisoner of war in the Santo Tomas Internment Camp, the conditions of the camp, and the description of liberation by U.S. troops in 1945. The second part of the document "Insert 'The Raid'" is the last 4 pages (pages 25 to 28). Here, Hooper recounts a U.S. air raid that occurred close to Santo Tomas and which rekindled hope of rescue within the prisoners. The 28 pages are yellowed from age and were typed using by a typewriter. Also, each page is numbered at the top center for organization. Throughout the document, there are several handwritten additions and omissions, as well as spelling and grammar corrections, all of which, including the overall format, are accounted for in the transcription through specific editorial choices.

In regards to format, the transcription maintains the exact content on each page of the original document with labeled pages that correspond with each original page. In other words, if the content of the original document's first page needed to go onto the transcription's second page as well due to shortage of space, both pages are labeled as page "-1-." This is to show that all of that particular content only came from the original document's first page even though it took up 2 transcription pages. To keep with the original document, paragraphs of the transcription are indented once and there is no spacing between paragraphs unless there is spacing in the original document. Footnotes within the transcription correspond with the page's content on which they occur. The only change to the format from the original document is line spacing. For the sake of space taken up by footnotes throughout, what appears to be double-spacing in the original document was made into single-spacing for the transcription.

For readability, the editing choice was made to translate all hand-written aspects instead of transferring the cross-outs, carats, and mark-overs into the transcription as exactly written. Anything handwritten, whether entire phrases, select letters in a misspelled word to correct the spelling, or changed words, is italicized in the transcription to show what was not the original type. If a typed word or phrase was crossed thru in omission or with a different word/phrase written over, the handwritten word was put into the transcription, not the original typed word, and omissions are notated in the footnotes. If this new word changed the meaning of the sentence or was a completely different word, it is notated in the footnotes; otherwise, it was left un-

notated. If a typed word was misspelled and there is handwriting to correct the spelling, or to misspell it in a different way with the intent to correct, there is no footnote notation because the misspelled word did not change the meaning of the sentence.

To keep with Hooper's way of thinking and to keep with the integrity of the piece, all misspelled words are kept misspelled; no spelling was corrected unless notated by hand over the misspelled word.

*This was written in hate and bitterness—can you imagine Carr Hooper putting this on paper? A kind gentle man. He lost his bitterness. He returned to the wonderful happy & loving man he was and remained that way as long as God let him live—*

*Ruth*<sup>1</sup>

### Aboard Ship on Way to States

When the terrific news of the Pearl Harbor bombing<sup>2</sup> burst on America, we in the Philippines were more than shocked, we were stricken with fear of immediate invasion and with the knowledge that every avenue of escape was closed to civilians with the sailing of the last ship from Manila Bay<sup>3</sup> on about November 26, 1941.

This fear was fully justified. A great fleet of escorted transports had been reported by the Manila Bulletin<sup>4</sup> south of Hongkong, of December 5 moving in the direction of the Philippines. On December 8 these warships and troops were within legalized waters<sup>5</sup> of Phil.<sup>6</sup> When the news came at 4:00 A. M. Monday, December 8 even civilians knew their destination and purpose. Most of the United States bombing squadron at Clark Field<sup>7</sup> was wiped out on the ground at noon of that day. *So was the fighter squadron* in the dog fight<sup>8</sup> against overwhelming odds at Iba.<sup>9</sup> A sergeant of anti-aircraft at Clark Field told me on December 23 that in the bombing of Clark Field, they, his gunners sat at their pieces and watched Jap<sup>10</sup> formations come into range with orders not<sup>11</sup> to fire unless the enemy actually dropped

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<sup>1</sup> Handwritten note at the top of the page before the printed document started. Written by Ruth Hooper, wife of the mentioned Carr Hooper (1903-1981). Ruth Williams Hooper, born on September 26, 1902, in Tennessee. She married Weston Carr Hooper on August 20, 1931, then moved to Manila, Philippines, during WWII with her husband. After the war, they moved to North Carolina, where Ruth Hooper died on December 16, 1984 (“Papers of Ruth Williams Hooper, 1937-1941”).

<sup>2</sup> On December 7, 1941, hundreds of Japanese fighter planes bombed Pearl Harbor, an American naval base near Honolulu, Hawaii. The attack lasted for 2 hours, killing more than 2,000 American soldiers and sailors, wounding another 1,000.

<sup>3</sup> A natural harbor which serves the Port of Manila in the Philippines. Located around the capital city of the Philippines, Manila.

<sup>4</sup> The Manila Bulletin Publishing Corporation was incorporated in the Philippines on February 2, 1900. The Manila Bulletin was the first newspaper company in the Philippines to go public and is the second oldest English newspaper in the Far East (“Company”).

<sup>5</sup> “Legalized water” references the space from the shoreline of a country to the beginning of international waters. In international waters, the laws of a country do not apply. However, once out of international waters and into legalized water, the laws of the country are upheld. Definition: International Waters, *plural noun*, are the areas of the sea that are not under the jurisdiction of any country (“International Waters”).

<sup>6</sup> Short for “Philippines.”

<sup>7</sup> Philippine Air Force base. Served as a landing field for U.S. Army Air Corps (“World War II 1935-1945”).

<sup>8</sup> A form of aerial combat between fighter aircraft at short range (“Dogfight”).

<sup>9</sup> Iba Airfield. A former U.S. Army Air Forces airfield in the Philippines (“World War II 1935-1945”).

<sup>10</sup> “Jap” is short for “Japanese.”

<sup>11</sup> The word “not” was hand underlined in the original document.

bombs. They did, and anti-aircraft guns, B17's,<sup>1</sup> barracks and personnel were wiped out – without delivering a single blow against the great transport fleet then in Philippine waters. War had not yet been declared.<sup>2</sup>

The day, December 8 saw frantic efforts on our part to know what was going on and no one knew, or was telling. Rumors had begun. At 2:45 A. M. on the morning of December 9<sup>th</sup> while I sat facing Nichols Field<sup>3</sup> we had the answer in full, dozens of rockets and flares marked a lane to, around, and out of this important airfield. Spies, and fifth columnists<sup>4</sup> showed the way and a formation of Japanese Bombers blew to high Heavens any hopes we might have had of resisting in anyway the threat to Manila. The day however was quiet, but December 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> brought great fleets of bombers – Cavite<sup>5</sup> was gutted and destroyed and ships by the score were left burning and sinking. Ships, we knew by name, lay wrecked at their moorings and Cavite was a mass of flames which devoured some 700 American workers, officers, and marines and uncounted hundreds of Filipinos.

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<sup>1</sup> A four-engine plane manufactured by the Boeing Company in 1932. Also known as the “Flying Fortress,” the B-17 was armed with bombs and five .30-caliber machine guns and became the front-runner in the US Army Air Corps during WWII. In the Pacific, the planes earned a deadly reputation with the Japanese, who dubbed them “four-engine fighters.” The Fortresses were also legendary for their ability to stay in the air after taking brutal poundings (“B-17 Flying Fortress”).

<sup>2</sup> Each word of this phrase was hand underlined in the original document. The Japanese attack on the Philippines occurred 10 hours after the attack on Pearl Harbor (“World War II”). The surprise Japanese attack on the Philippines occurred before the Philippines entered the war, explaining the phrase “War had not yet been declared.”

<sup>3</sup> Nichols Field was a U.S. military airfield located southeast of Manila (“Paranaque”).

<sup>4</sup> Definition: Fifth Column, *noun*, military tactic, clandestine group or faction of subversive agents who attempt to undermine a nation’s solidarity by any means at their disposal (“Fifth Column”).

<sup>5</sup> Originally typed as “Cauite,” the “u” was hand changed to a “v” to spell “Cavite.” In the next sentence, the handwritten correction was not made in the original document, leaving the word as “Cauite.” Cavite is a province in the Philippines located on the southern shores of Manila Bay. Also a naval yard in the Philippines during WWII (“World War II 1939-1945”).

The next few days brought encouraging communiques<sup>1</sup> from *the* MacAuthor command.<sup>2</sup> “Lines holding,” “terrific losses inflicted on enemy,” “retreating according to plan” said the news. Full retreat, entire loss of *our*<sup>3</sup> tanks, troops strafed<sup>4</sup> and destroyed, a half million Japs ashore at various points. These were the rumors. And, parenthetically, whenever again I read a communique saying that a command has *fallen* back to “previously prepared positions” or that a line is “simply holding” I shall know that that command is taking a terrific beating.

The period up to December 24 brought *great*<sup>5</sup> stories from the front. Cap. Allen<sup>6</sup> and his crew bombed and sank a Jap Cruiser, and was killed by Jap *fighters*<sup>7</sup> when the plane came in for fuel<sup>8</sup>. Buzz Wagner<sup>9</sup> wore out P-40's<sup>10</sup> in his mad destruction of Japanese planes on the ground and in the air. A heroic Battalion of 31's Infantryman<sup>11</sup> held Villasis bridge<sup>12</sup> against a Japanese motorized *unit which*<sup>13</sup> annihilated *them*.<sup>14</sup> The lone company of calvary<sup>15</sup> from Fort Stotsenberg<sup>16</sup> hurled itself on Jap tanks to a man and horse<sup>17</sup>. A Filipno<sup>18</sup> doctor was killed because he would not tear down *the*<sup>19</sup> American flag. A Filipno mayor leaped *onto*<sup>20</sup> tank and emptied a small calibered pistol into its crew. These were not all

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<sup>1</sup> Definition: Communiqué, *noun*, an official announcement or statement, especially one made to the media (“Communiqué”).

<sup>2</sup> Originally, the phrase “but disquieting rumors” was typed after the word “command.” This phrase was hand crossed out so the sentence would end at “command.” Douglas MacArthur (Jan. 26, 1880-April 5, 1964) was commander of the Southwest Pacific Area Theater during the Second World War, supreme allied commander in occupied Japan, and commander of U.S. and United Nations forces during the beginning of the Korean War (Schaller).

<sup>3</sup> Originally typed as “your.” The words “of our” were handwritten over “your” as a correction.

<sup>4</sup> Misspelled in the original document, the term “strafing” refers to aerial attacks with machine-gun fire (“Release Notes”).

<sup>5</sup> Originally typed as “strong,” the word “great” was handwritten over as a correction.

<sup>6</sup> Unknown.

<sup>7</sup> Originally typed as “figures,” the word “fighters” was handwritten over as a correction.

<sup>8</sup> At Nichols, the 17<sup>th</sup> Pursuit Squadron, which had been covering Clark, was landing to refuel due to being dangerously low on fuel. At the same time, the Japanese attacked (Young 23).

<sup>9</sup> Lieutenant Colonel Boyd David “Buzz” Wagner (1916-1942). War pilot (Frisbee).

<sup>10</sup> The Curtiss P-40 Warhawk was an American single-engine, single-seat, all-metal fighter and ground-attack aircraft that first flew in 1938 (“World War 2 Fighter Planes & Aircrafts”).

<sup>11</sup> Several references to 31<sup>st</sup> Divisions occur in regards the Villasis Bridge defense, but there is no mention to their destruction at this location. The mentioned 31<sup>st</sup> Division moved to defend Bataan (Morton 165-166).

<sup>12</sup> Built in the 1930's, the bridge spans the Agno River to the south of Villasis, Philippines (“Villasis”).

<sup>13</sup> Originally typed as “until,” the words “unit which” were handwritten over as a correction.

<sup>14</sup> Originally typed as “column,” the word “them” was handwritten over as a correction.

<sup>15</sup> Referring to the American outfit of Philippine Scouts, the 26<sup>th</sup> Cavalry, at Fort Stotsenburg (Urwin 186).

<sup>16</sup> US Army built base, located in the western section of the airfield region, and prewar home of various Philippine Scout units, including the 26<sup>th</sup> Cavalry. Near Clark Field (Smith 171).

<sup>17</sup> The only American outfit to fight on horseback during WWII was the 26<sup>th</sup> Cavalry, Philippine Scouts, whose home was Fort Stotsenburg. On December 24<sup>th</sup>, the 26<sup>th</sup> Cavalry repulsed a tank assault, checked a drive-by enemy infantry, and then launched a counterattack (Urwin 186).

<sup>18</sup> Misspelled in original document as “Filipno.” Meant to be “Filipino.” This misspelling is throughout the document.

<sup>19</sup> Originally typed as “his,” the word “the” was handwritten over as a correction.

<sup>20</sup> Originally typed as “inside,” the word “onto” was handwritten over as a correction.

heroic stories—thousands, whole divisions of Filipinos threw away guns and uniforms and fled to the jungles. Service men in panic crashed loaded trucks into trees and each other, loaded *ammunition* trains were deserted, lost and uselessly sent to wrong places. The inter-island steamer *Corrigidor*<sup>1</sup> sailing from Manila pier at late evening instead of late afternoon as ordered struck our own minefield (being without sufficient escort) and sunk with all aboard, who could possibly get aboard, including my best and oldest friend. Everywhere—utter confusion, dread, and fear.

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<sup>1</sup> Misspelled in the original document as “Corrigidor.” Meant to be “Corregidor.” On December 17<sup>th</sup>, the inter-island steamer *SS Corregidor*, loaded with civilians trying to escape the warzone, hit a mine off the coast of Corregidor Island and sank in minutes. (Donagalski 198).

On or about December 24 Manila was declared an open city<sup>1</sup> by our forces and was most heavily bombed by the Japs. *Observing*<sup>2</sup> our side of the declaration we began to burn oil and supplies and to secretly move all possible stores and personnel to Corrigidor<sup>3</sup> and Bataan.<sup>4</sup> Thousands of Japanese collaborators spread rumors of poisoned water, false air raids, and news, and sabotaged our efforts and the Japs kept on bombing the bay and river front, the piers, and airfields. Bombs were dropped in the business districts, new fires started, my wife<sup>5</sup> escaped, direct hits on a building, the fire following, and the straffing and joined me for a Christmas Eve of blackness and gloom. On Christmas Day pamphlets were dropped showing the American flag draped about a death's head.<sup>6</sup> "Peace on Earth Good Will to Men" Was truly a mockery and we knew the Japs meant it when they said by radio and pamphlet that they'd be in Manila New Year's Day.

The next few days were repetitions of bombings, fires, and bad news. Our defending army had reached Bataan and had holed up and all military forces had left the city. So had Sayre, the High Commissioner, so had the ranking civil government officers, and people consumed with fear knew not where to turn for information or protection.<sup>7</sup> A loose sectional grouping of Americans and British had been made with mass elected heads whose duty it was to seek advice and counsel from civil and military chiefs. The general advice was stay in our homes, destroy all personal firearms, pour out all liquors, and wait for occupation. This most of us did except some of the heads of these groups who remained either drunk or stupid and never did impart official advice as to what to do or expect.

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<sup>1</sup> December 23<sup>rd</sup>: In the Philippines, General Douglas MacArthur declares Manila an open city, whereupon all American and Philippine forces begin an immediate evacuation into the Bataan Peninsula. This marks the beginning of the final stand (Fredriksen 260).

<sup>2</sup> Originally typed as "Pursuing," the word "Observing" was handwritten over as a correction.

<sup>3</sup> Corregidor Island is a rocky island, strategically located at the entrance of Manila Bay, just south of Bataan province, Luzon, Philippines ("Corregidor Island").

<sup>4</sup> Instructions were made to move bases of operation to Bataan immediately and to check on the reserves at Corregidor to be sure that there was enough to supply 10,000 men for six months. Small barges and boats required to move the supplies from Manila to Corregidor and Bataan were quickly gathered, and within twenty-four hours Corregidor was completely stocked with the supplies for a six months' campaign (Morton 164-165). Bataan Peninsula in western Luzon, Philippines shelters Manila Bay (to the east) from the South China Sea. Corregidor Island lies just off its southern tip at the entrance of the bay ("Bataan Peninsula").

<sup>5</sup> Ruth Williams Hooper (1902-1984) ("Papers of Ruth Williams Hooper, 1937-1941").

<sup>6</sup> Skull rendition, typically a skull-and-crossbones image. Typically a hate symbol ("Totenkopf").

<sup>7</sup> On the afternoon of December 24<sup>th</sup> 1941, High Commissioner Sayre and other officials, along with their personal and official families, sailed to Corregidor aboard the inter-island steamer *Mayan*. Many Philippine officials simply packed a few belongings and left the city, despite the order that all Commonwealth officials would remain at their posts (Morton 164). Full name: Francis Bowes Sayre, Sr. (1885-1972) ("Francis B. Sayre Dies at 86").

Looting *of* deserted army<sup>1</sup> stores now began in the port area and thousands of Filipinos with every conceivable means of conveyence<sup>2</sup> hauled every form of goods through the town. From more or less legal looting of abandoned supplies Filipinos attracted by the opportunity began to burn the Chinese store section of Manila, looting these stores as well a privately owned American *and* British warehouses. The police department either found itself wholly unable to cope with the mobs or joined in with them in the free-for-all for sudden wealth. This mob disorder spread and grew and by December 31<sup>st</sup> we were ready in a manner to welcome even the Japs if they would restore order.

The Japs came on the night of January 1<sup>st</sup>, New Years Day as promised by them and to civilians the Battle for the Philippines was over.<sup>3</sup> Occupation was orderly. The first *troops*<sup>4</sup> were tired, dirty, *starved* but ready for trouble. American homes, hotels, apartment houses were placed under Marine guard and all automobiles were commandeered. We were, for the days immediately following *occupation* commanded to stay in our rooms, but from there we saw the triumphal entry of the Japanese forces into Manila. Like swarms of ants they come on bicycles, motorcycles, on trucks and lorries.<sup>5</sup> It didn't help our feelings any to see that this great army mostly rode in *General Motor*, Ford and *International* trucks.<sup>6</sup> This was but in line with a remark made by a weary old 31<sup>st</sup> *Infantryman*<sup>7</sup> earlier in the month when he kicked aside a piece of *shrapnel* "Our folks sold it to them and now they're giving it back to us." And so we moved in to New Years.

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<sup>1</sup> Originally, the word "of" was typed before "army." It was hand crossed out for omission.

<sup>2</sup> Originally typed as the words "convoy once," the misspelled word "conveyence" was handwritten over as a correction. The correct word and spelling is "conveyance." Definition: Conveyance, *noun*, the action or process of transporting or carrying someone or something from one place to another ("Conveyance").

<sup>3</sup> Manila, declared an open city to prevent its destruction, was occupied by the Japanese on January 2, 1942 [not January 1<sup>st</sup>, as stated in this document] ("World War II").

<sup>4</sup> Originally typed as "in," the word "troops" was handwritten over as a correction.

<sup>5</sup> Definition: Lorry, *British, noun*, defined as a large, heavy motor vehicle for transporting goods or troops; a truck ("Lorry").

<sup>6</sup> General Motor (GM) and Ford are both manufactured in the United States.

<sup>7</sup> Originally typed and misspelled as the phrase "Mfrantynau's rework," the word "Infantryman" was handwritten over as a correction.

On January 4 at noon we were ordered by our section group leader to pack a three<sup>1</sup> day supply of food and clothes into a small suitcase and report in 30 minutes to the square nearby. No one knows who has not faced that problem how hard it is to select from quantities of food reserves, from clothes, books, keepsakes, silver and jewelry, that which must go into a small suitcase knowing that all left behind is to become loot for a *hating* gloating enemy. Nor did we as we made our selection dream that that which we selected would be used for 37 months.<sup>2</sup>

When assembled on the square, a strutting impatient non-commissioned officer hurriedly divided men from women and indicated that we (Men) were to take our suitcases and walk, which we did, leaving wives behind without a permitted goodbye and as far as we knew this separation was for always. So with a backward look toward all that had been beautiful we were marched to a great assembly ground. Later of course these women and children joined us and were tabulated, registered, and loaded into trucks for Santo Tomas University<sup>3</sup> and interment on the night of January 4, 1942.<sup>4</sup>

The next few days were extremely unpleasant as prisoners were brought into the camp from other sections of Manila. The university consisted of a large three storied building for class room and administration, a small class room building, and a gymnasium. The first only was made available to us and was without sufficient toilets, no bath facilities, and no cooking facilities. No beds, cots, or blankets were furnished. Rooms were jammed and crowded more and more with fresh arrivals. *Men*<sup>5</sup> in rooms to themselves, and women in other rooms were awakened and aroused every hour by clumping Japanese who grunted, waved, and shoved others into now crowded rooms. They figured 3 feet by 8 feet sufficient space for each and halved that as the number of prisoners increased. In room 37, the first one opened and to which I was assigned 56 men lived for six months snarling, and quarreling over every inch of space and every inch of draft of air.

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<sup>1</sup> In the original document at the bottom of page 4, the beginning of this paragraph (“On January 4 at noon we were ordered by our section group leader to pack a three”) was begun in type, then erased so that it could be the beginning of the new page 5. The words are faint from erasure, but still clear at the bottom of page 4.

<sup>2</sup> Prisoners were held at the Santo Tomas Internment camp from January 1942-February 1945 (Greene).

<sup>3</sup> One of the oldest universities in the Philippines, Santo Tomas is a private, Roman Catholic research university in Manila, Philippines (*University of Santo Tomas*).

<sup>4</sup> All British and Americans were ordered to report for internment, and nearly 3,000 were herded together on the campus of Santo Thomas University (Morton 237).

<sup>5</sup> Originally typed as “Not,” the word “Men” was handwritten over as a correction.

When the first group arrived in Santo Tomas, the commanding officer demanded to know who the “yes”<sup>1</sup> man of the group was to be and the man who had told us “three day food and one suitcase of clothes” the man who hid on a dark staircase while four of us dared to meet the first Jap troopers entering Manila stepped forward and thereafter became and remained “yes man” to succeeding Japanese commandants. We were hereafter informed of new regulations, orders, and commands through this chairman of a central committee. We pause here to say that the finest of men in contrast were represented on our elected *Internee Committee*<sup>2</sup> whose protests against treatment finally resulted in the banishment to another camp<sup>3</sup> of our best man, the chairman.<sup>4</sup> Other men of merit made themselves beloved to us and obnoxious<sup>5</sup> to the Japs by refusing and rejecting demands made by the *Commandant* not within International Agreement.<sup>6</sup> Protests against employment of internees at rope making brought about the statement of the *Commandant* that the camp was run according to the wishes of the Japanese Imperial Army and not according to any League or Treaty Agreement. This was made obvious at the beginning and continued so until the end.

A first statement issued was to the effect that several thousand people confined in a compound of a few acres and under guard should feed themselves. This startling order became less fearful when the guards permitted food to pass through the fences and later through guarded and organized gate zones. Filipinos—former employees, house-boys, servants, and friends brought all forms of food. Too the Phillipine chapter of the Red Cross<sup>7</sup> began operation. Permission was secured to bring into the camp stores of the Red Cross, in warehouses outside, and representatives of Armour and Company, Swift’s,<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Quotations around “yes” were added by hand in the original document.

<sup>2</sup> When the first prisoners were brought into Santo Tomas on January 4, 1942, the Japanese appointed a civilian leader who was responsible for setting up an organization to oversee the operation within the camp. The original organization evolved with time into an elected Executive Committee with a number of support committees to organize every aspect of the internees’ existence (“Santo Tomas Internment Camp”).

<sup>3</sup> Los Baños was the popular camp to which internees were sent. It was about 37 miles away from Santo Tomas (McCall 64).

<sup>4</sup> There were several heads or chairmen involved in the internee Executive Committee, none of which within the following list, however, were banished. Carroll C. Grinnell, one of the most controversial leaders, led from July 1942 to December 1944. He was eventually executed for his guerrilla contacts. Earl Carroll, said to be diplomatic and resourceful, was appointed camp leader the first day. He later served as chairman of the Finance and Supplies Committee. The internees’ finance chief, in charge of the budget, was Alexander “Cal” Calhoun. He left Santo Tomas in May 1943 to become internee leader at Los Baños (Wilkinson 8).

<sup>5</sup> Originally, the typed word “of” was present before “obnoxious.” It was crossed out by hand for omission.

<sup>6</sup> The Geneva Convention (1929) was signed at Geneva, July 27, 1929. The official name is Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, Geneva July 27, 1929. It entered into force in 1931 and is the version of the Geneva Conventions which covered treatment of prisoners during WWII (“Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War. Geneva, 27 July 1929”).

<sup>7</sup> In 1942, a Japanese-controlled Phillipine Red Cross was created to take care of internment camps located in the country. In 1945, upon the liberation of Manila, local Red Cross officials and the American National Red Cross (ANRC) undertook to reconstitute the organization (“Brief History”).

<sup>8</sup> Both Swift and Company and Armour and Company were large animal slaughter and manufacturing businesses in Chicago during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (“Gustavus Franklin Swift”).

and other food products donated stocks to the Red Cross which were made available. These operations were carried out not so much by the Red Cross heads, but by men working through the Red Cross. The chief<sup>1</sup> of this important body was too busy protesting this internment to care for *this* important function at this important time. Such methods of feeding internees was employed until June of 1942, at which time the Imperial Japanese Army provided that we receive seventy cents (35¢)<sup>2</sup> per internee. This sum provided for food, light, medicine, and equipment. It is important at this time to record

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<sup>1</sup> A leader in the initial relief operations was Thomas (Tommy) Wolff, an internee and chairman of the Philippine subsidiary of the American Red Cross. He oversaw the growth of the Red Cross in the Philippines and worked with other Red Cross internees and Red Cross Filipinos outside the camp to orchestrate Santo Tomas relief as well as attending to numerous other needs (Wilkinson 28).

<sup>2</sup> Seventy cents total between Carr and possibly his wife, Ruth—thirty-five cents per person.

the fact that from beginning to end, not one piece or item of housing equipment for kitchen, hospital, showers, and *toilets* was furnished by the Japs, and this seventy cents covered expenses for running this vast camp as well as food. Nor did the Japs *from* beginning to end furnish a bed, blanket, mosquito bar, nor clothes, nor medicine. Instead, they confiscated and stole anything desired, including medicines for their own use.

This seventy cents per day<sup>1</sup> came six months after war prices prevailed outside the camp. Our own buyers went out and dealt with friendly powers<sup>2</sup> in the securing of foodstuffs, which of course had to be of the least expensive sort. But on *loan* notes of various groups of businessmen who underwrote the debt,<sup>3</sup> the seventy cents was supplemented from our own funds, and we had sufficient rice and corn to keep us from being hungry at the time and were even able to build up a small reserve of rice. Incidentally, it did not help us any to know the Japanese *internees*<sup>4</sup> in America *were* receiving thirty-five cents per day for spending money in addition to being well housed and fed a regular army ration. A canteen, too, was established by us and our buyers were able to obtain needed items and food outside at exorbitant prices. This helped in the early days and reserve foods thus *acquired* kept us physically able to live on the later absolute starvation diet.

In the early days of the camp there was a great deal of necessary confusion. Order however had to be maintained. We early learned that the Japanese never punished the individual and since it was to the interest of all, every order of the Japanese had to be carried out. These orders had to be supplemented by our own rules governing *selfish* individuals who could not or would not conform. Ours was a city of 3700-6000<sup>5</sup> people representing every possible type of men and women. All had had been interned, or as the enemy put it, placed in Protective Custody. Old men *and* women, women with babies, the sick, and well, rich, and poor. Americans, British, Poles, Free French, Norwegians and Anti-Franco Spaniards. Not

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<sup>1</sup> Although Santo Tomas internees “received the highest per diem allowance among the camps” (Cogan 167), only 48 of the 70 Philippine centavos allotted per day—the equivalent of 24 cents, U.S.—went to food (Monahan and Neidel-Greenlee 101).

<sup>2</sup> Local residents, servants, employees, and business owners donated or bought “food, medicine, and money from [area] companies and individuals” (Kaminski 200).

<sup>3</sup> The camp’s Executive Committee, which included General Electric’s Far East CEO Carroll Grindell, set up a “secret loan process” by which internees wrote IOUs in exchange for cash, backed by such American corporations as Coca-Cola and Pennzoil, and delivered “surreptitiously” into the camp; the loans had to be repaid once internees were liberated (Monahan and Neidel-Greenlee 101-102).

<sup>4</sup> Under the War Relocation Authority, the U.S. interned more than 100,000 West Coast Japanese-Americans after Pearl Harbor.

<sup>5</sup> The Japanese placed men, women, and children from Allied countries (the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Netherlands, Poland and South Africa) into “protective custody” at Santo Tomas University’s 60-acre, partially walled-in campus; married couples were separated; Americans made up more than two-thirds of the internees; and “more than twelve hundred women and four hundred children under the age of fifteen” were among them (Kaminski 48-49).

only was there this national difference but these people themselves were divided into groups and classes. Business heads *of* firms, civil service men, seamen, a great group of old Spanish American war vetrans who had been

mustered out in the *Phillippines*, missionaries, Priests, bar tenders, and China coast Gamblers, U. S. army deserters, and taxi-dancers-every profession, training and trade, even the oldest trade in the world was represented in this *prison*<sup>1</sup>. The finest best people of Manila and America were assigned rooms alongside women of ill-repute and men who were of the sweepings of *San Francisco*, *Singapore* and *Shanghai*. Every *virtue* and every *vice* was soon *apparent and* having to work *within* regulations approved by the Jap commandment, it was at first a rather hopeless task.

Throughout the entire period, however, the dominant notes were foodstuffs and money, and privilege. We found many sour notes among our people--men who played ball with the Jap garrison and received special privileges and treatment--a thing which, thank goodness, most men hated. On the first and last repatriation ship<sup>2</sup> to America were two women who had played with the commandment, a man accused of manslaughter, a lawyer who bought his way, and several missionaries who had not been interned by the Japanese after they signed a compromisary agreement *not to work against the new order of Greater East Asia*.<sup>3</sup> There were on that ship those who had never been to America. For such things as this men and women forgot *patriotism* and America, and the aged, the sick and children suffered. Later those dealing with the Japs in goods at great financial gain to themselves saw themselves disgraced and investigated but through the months we had to see and know that men profited at our *expense* and fed mightily on stolen food while old men died for lack of food. This *explains* the great problem of camp order and difficulties, and it was no easy task but good men, great Americans they were, kept their heads and their liberty of thought and at all times worked for the good of the camp as a whole.

In the camp every man and woman worked at its maintenance.<sup>4</sup> The *cooking* and preparation of foods *required* a hundred and fifty men. Sanitation, the hospital, and gardening required hundreds of men. This work was light but the Japs in the second year took 2000 to another camp and selected these from able bodied and young men and women.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Santo Tomás University, founded in 1611 by Spanish Dominican priests, offered “few overnight accommodations” and even fewer bathrooms (Kaminski 49).

<sup>2</sup> The MS Gripsholm, built in 1924 as the first transatlantic passenger ship, was conscripted by the United States during the Second World War for exchanges of POWs and civilians trapped behind enemy lines, as well as Red Cross deliveries of much-needed supplies to those imprisoned (see “The Gripsholm WWII Exchanges”).

<sup>3</sup> Declared officially in 1940 but more than a decade in the making, the “primary concern” of Japan’s Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (*Dai Toa Kyozonken*) included several “defensive and economic” goals (Lebra xv): Territorially, the sphere of influence encompassed most of East Asia, from China to Hawaii; economically, it supplied Japan with much-needed natural resources (Lebra xviii); ideologically, it aimed to counter “the Anglo-American ambition of world hegemony” (Prime Minister Tojo Hideki, quoted in Lebra, 91).

<sup>4</sup> Forced by their captors to fend for themselves, internees established the Work Assignment Committee to “keep track of available jobs and match with volunteers [but it] was not strictly democratic”—those with connections and money were put “in more privileged positions” (Kaminski 82).

<sup>5</sup> Hooper may be referring to the transfer of internees to a camp at Los Baños “69 kilometres to the southeast” of Manila (Cogan 133).

Some 600 able bodied men were left in Santo Tomas<sup>1</sup> to carry on its maintenance and this became a most difficult due to increased duties and decreased food allowance.<sup>2</sup>

The days passed quickly enough but the months dragged on endlessly. We busied ourselves at camp detail, standing in line for food, talk, rumor, and hobbies. Every camp business and conduct was discussed to exhaustion and ordinary gossip and camp politics was as active here as in any small town perhaps a great deal more so. School was opened Kindergarten to college. Post graduate courses were offered. For example, one of the world's few mining experts gave lectures to mining men. Special interest groups were organized and even a star gazing club became popular. Church services were conducted all over the place by dozens of different sects of interned missionaries and priests of several Catholic orders held Mass on all occasions. Along with these were bridge parties, *theatricals*, soft ball and basket ball leagues (the first two years only were given to physical exercises) gambling, and boot legging. Truly, the days were filled and short. The months were different. Subconsciously most everyone at first believed that a few months more would bring relief by repatriation as we so many times heard and believed. In June, 1942,<sup>3</sup> consular officers were repatriated and it was not until Sept., 1943, that the repatriation ship Gripsholm<sup>4</sup> carried 124 from the camp for the states. This was a heartbreaking event. We had heard that it would take most of the women and children the truly sick and aged. It took those selected by the Commandant previously referred to<sup>5</sup> and the State appointment selected a bunch of able bodied men, and those who really needed to go, stayed to starve and die. Surely, there would be other ships, but when the great Pacific offensive<sup>6</sup> started we knew that our hope of repatriation was gone, and we settled down to wait those heartbreaking months of 1944--and Jan. 1945.<sup>7</sup> Here the months really began to drag, *and as the U.S. moved across the Pacific* which we knew was wide and beset with every peril. I think that every night every thoughtful internee prayed God that our ships, all our planes and men would be successful in

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<sup>1</sup> Santo Tomas Internment Camp (STIC)

<sup>2</sup> In the last year of internment, the Japanese military took such actions as reducing food allotments to 600 calories per day (Cogan 134) and ending the regular "package line" by which internees received supplies from outside sources (Kaminski 69).

<sup>3</sup> After the June 1942 exchange, diplomatic "deadlock" brought efforts to a near standstill (Dingman 14-15). Cogan comments on "bizarre problems" on the American side: For example, despite being aware how badly prisoners needed aid, Gen. Douglas MacArthur expressed fear that repatriated pearl divers would commit espionage against the U.S., so a third trip was canceled (Cogan 184-185).

<sup>4</sup> The last repatriation or hostage-exchange trip, made in September 1943, included 121 Americans—and several of them were the "Cuneta [Street] Cuties," prostitutes who "spent their time entertaining Japanese officers" (Kaminski 201).

<sup>5</sup> Santo Tomas' first military commandant was Major Tanaka (Cogan 256).

<sup>6</sup> Victories at Coral Sea (May 1942) and Midway (June 1942) launched the Allies' sweep across the Pacific (Withers 107).

<sup>7</sup> Before the February 1945 liberation, the Japanese captors raided internee living quarters, confiscated food money, punished those watching for American planes, hoarded Red Cross parcels, and executed four camp leaders: Grinnell, Alfred Duggleby, E.E. Johnson, and C.L. Larson (Monahan 163; Kaminski 209; Cogan 139).

every step. How slowly they moved. How long the months and that final year?

With death and suffering about us and nothing but utter starvation ahead we *watched* as a lonely ship wrecked *mariner* would watch for the ships that seemed so slow to come. Dying slowly but with increasing frequency our camps held on grimly for just another month, another week, another day. “God grant there be no *defeat* now” *we* said a thousand times *these* last *six months*. By October 1, 1944,<sup>1</sup> we knew that nothing could stop our army and navy. We began to see that the end was near and certain. Many held on and on with the final *hope of the invasion* of Luzon<sup>2</sup> to keep them alive. *Others*, poor devils, who had suffered so much, died as our guns from within our prison, threw shells into the Japanese held areas of Manila and converted our beastly captors into fly blown bits of corpses which we were later to see and smell and wickedly gloat over as we laughed loud and long and last.<sup>3</sup>

We spoke of watching the progress of our forces previously, *and* this brings up a most interesting and powerful factor in our being able to maintain a reasonable order *sanity under* most trying conditions. This factor is that of knowledge of events. From the beginning we heard of every main military event or decision which happened. Nothing can be hidden or kept from a prison camp which can be carried, overheard, concealed or conveyed in small parcels.<sup>4</sup> Money and news came into and was received in camp in spite of every precaution the Japs could take and in spite of the death penalty in case of possessing *or* receiving radio *sets or news*. For the sake of those poor devils locked away in deep Manchuria and China and Japan<sup>5</sup>, I cannot tell you just how it was done but rest assured that even those poor fellows knew that comrades left behind in Manila are free and no doubt they, pitiful devils of misery and almost certain death, begin to know that soon it will be over for them, one way or another. We heard all the news but with it we heard rumors, guesses and those strangely *rationed* and reasonable stories of advances and invasions which were so detailed that we could scarcely disbelieve, and which must have *come from* persons outside the camp whose hopes were that these items of news would help to keep us alive. And, too, wishful thinking born of hunger and *despair* led Internees to make

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<sup>1</sup> By mid-September, Gen. MacArthur was advancing on Japanese positions in the Philippines, and in October 1944, the U.S. Navy “put the Japs out of action in the Battle of the Philippines” (Withers 107), with MacArthur landing in Leyte south of Manila on Oct. 20. (“World War II”).

<sup>2</sup> “The liberation of Luzon began with the battle for Leyte on October 20, 1944, which provided MacArthur the opportunity for his ‘I have returned!’ statement” (Kaminski 208).

<sup>3</sup> The city of Manila and STIC itself were bombed through the course of the war, but it is not clear here if Hooper refers to the post-liberation bombing undertaken by the Japanese; fifteen internees were killed and 90 wounded in a Feb. 7, 1945, attack (Kaminski 213).

<sup>4</sup> “Jim Halsema, a member of the [garbage] crew, ... typed a ‘daily newspaper’ (using the news drawn from a secret radio in the camp hospital), ... suggesting implicitly that he got his news outside the camp on his garbage trips (Cogan 246).

<sup>5</sup> Hooper likely refers to various military POWs held by the Japanese in World War II.

up whole news items, and these distorted mirages also kept us hoping and holding until the last. Once an internee heard that Germany had surrendered, when actually the word was “surrounded” and we celebrated and then were disillusioned. At first the Japanese gave us their English language newspaper, the *Tribune*,<sup>1</sup> and while it was clearly propaganda we were glad to have this newspaper because we learned to read between the lines and to know our advances. Thousands of Marines were landed on Guadalcanal to be annihilated at Japanese leisure because for a second time our whole fleet was sunk.<sup>2</sup> At Buna they sank it, again at Midway, and at Bouganville they sank it again and Jap planes bombed and destroyed positions which had been in their hands according to them, and always the Americans couldn’t come back. Every statement made by our statesmen, every internal disturbance was seized upon, exaggerated and elaborated upon. Ill-timed satire, mockery, and small petty fault-finding followed our efforts. We lost face at Atta because the Japs were all killed. We were defeated at Hollandia because the Japs escaped before we arrived. We won the fight at Biak because we used rocket guns and at the Admiralty with flame throwers. We drove tanks through gun pits, trenches, and over piles of bones and fired millions of random shells and all of this was not in keeping with the true Samurai code of the Japanese.

Poor old Tojo,<sup>3</sup> what a licking he took. Over and over he promised his army and his people that America was licked, that she couldn’t come back, that Japan held in control all the East and the Pacific and we all laughed that day when the *Tribune* carried a headline to the effect that the Japanese premier had served ultimatum on Australia to come into the Great Co-Prosperity sphere<sup>4</sup> without further delay to her, Australia’s loss and ruin. The collapse of Italy was base betrayal of Germany and Japan and was brought about by the wickedness of England. England had become a puppet government of the Jewish Roosevelt. Stalin trusted neither and was waiting for an opportunity to make a favorable treaty with Germany. Germany had so fortified Europe that invasion was impossible, and our manpower was so

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<sup>1</sup> Founded in 1925 and once “the foremost morning paper in Manila, in the World War II occupation the *Tribune* “became a propaganda mouthpiece of the Japanese,” with military censors (Jose 45). Hooper sums up a list of biased and largely false reports.

<sup>2</sup> Hooper references a series of key battles, some famous, like the U.S. victory in Midway in June 1942 (Withers 107) and the six-month Battle of Guadalcanal, and some not, like the Americans taking Buna in Guinea from the Japanese in early 1943.

<sup>3</sup> Hideki Tojo, former Japanese prime minister and minister of war, led his country to early victories but exaggerated the Allied losses as the war continued (in this transcription, I have followed the Western convention of first-name/surname). Tojo was tried and executed for war crimes in 1948.

<sup>4</sup> Declared officially in 1940, the “primary concern” of Japan’s Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (*Dai Toa Kyozonken*) asserted several “defensive and economic reasons” (Lebra xv): Territorially, the sphere of influence encompassed most of East Asia, including China and extending to Hawaii; economically, it supplied Japan with much-needed natural resources (Lebra xviii); ideologically, it countered “the Anglo-American ambition of world hegemony” (Tojo, quoted in Lebra, 91). Tojo “was interested primarily in uniting the countries of Asia to fight against Great Britain and the United States” (Abel 195).

depleted that we could not continue our war effort. All these things we heard and worse, and worst of all

was the Japanese versions of the fall of Bataan, Corrigidor, Singerpore, and *Java*.<sup>1</sup> Their interpretation of the flight and desertion of MacArthur, *Sayre*, and Quezon<sup>2</sup> gave them powerful and useful propoganda and it was capitalized and exaggerated for months on end. Charts, maps and tables showed such *Japanese* gains *and* American losses that we sometimes wondered whether or not we even had a country or homeland. Many people were affected in camp but the majority laughed in supreme contempt at Japanese attempts to fool even themselves into believing themselves victorious. *After* two years of this the Jap commandant was tipped off that we were reading the news in reverse and that when the Japs “sank 60 ships and knocked down 120 planes while losing only one destroyer which rammed a cruiser and 5 planes which dived into their objective or had not yet returned” *it was* possibly exactly reversed. We didn’t get any more papers through the Japs. As long as this paper was published we got it from some source or other until the end. 20 here<sup>3</sup>

In connection with rumors and news it is well to know that the Japs were so stupid as to not realize that Mr. B.<sup>4</sup> a publicity name and a radio broadcaster wanted by then was really Mr. A.<sup>5</sup> an internee who made all our loud speaker announcements and who cleverly by intonation and mispronouncation usually referred to the latest verified news. For instance shortly after the Leyte landing<sup>6</sup> he concluded his announcement by some trivial importance by saying “Better Leyte’ than never” and when Hitler was believed assassinated he played the record “Cheer up the Wicked Witch is Dead”

Hundreds of soldiers and officers have asked us as a first question whether or not the Japanese mistreated women prisoners. The answer is negative. There were stories and rumors but no authentic account of mistreatment of women other than slapping them around, many of whom deserved slapping because of indifference to discipline and regulations. It is the opinion of informed people that this one crime was not committed because this would have lost the support of the Spanish, Swiss and other neutral parties outside the camp as well many Filipinos. Others believed, and this opinion *came* from old timers

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<sup>1</sup> Of these major Allied losses after Pearl Harbor, Withers wrote in 1945, “... in the first five months we had lost everything in the west Pacific” (Withers 107).

<sup>2</sup> Gen. MacArthur declared Manila an “open city” to the Japanese and evacuated (Cogan 82) as the Japanese swept across the Pacific; Francis Sayre, the American High Commissioner of the Philippines, had initially assured residents there was no cause for alarm as the enemy approached; after taking Manila, the Japanese ousted President Manuel Quezon (Kaminski 25).

<sup>3</sup> The words “20 here” are handwritten and double-underlined in the margin to the right of the end of this paragraph; the typewritten words “the raid” are crossed out; and two check marks or are written above the end of the first line of the next paragraph.

<sup>4</sup> Unknown internee

<sup>5</sup> Unknown internee

<sup>6</sup> In October, Allied forces reached Leyte, a smaller island north of the Surigao Strait in the Philippines; on Oct. 20, they landed on Leyte’s east coast and started retaking the entire country (“World War II”).

in Japan and China, that white women because of their strong meaty smell and mannish cloth *had no sex appeal to even sex starved soldiers.*

end manners had no appeal to Japs.<sup>1</sup> Anyway we did not have this to worry about from the very beginning.

Did the Japs mistreat Americans? This again is a frequent question and hard to answer. They did not beat, kick, or physically maltreat *Internees* as a group. Individuals were tortured, *beaten* to death, *imprisoned* for long terms, died *by* shot or *were* beheaded. *Men* were made to stand at attention without food or water all day for looking at out planes when the came. Three men who went over the wall in the early days were beaten so badly that to keep them from dying of tortures inflicted they were hurriedly court martialed.<sup>2</sup> Three men once caught receiving foodstuff over the wall from Filipinos were beaten horribly and one is a cripple for life.<sup>3</sup> An old doctor, 70 years old was kept hanging by his toes hours on end was beaten daily because of pure stubbornness. He pretended to know a great many things and wouldn't tell. Actually he knew little *of* importance to the Japs. An old *friend* of mine was taken outside Manilla beaten, kicked, and starved until he turned grey of the hair and aged ten years in ten days *by* being *struck* with steel shod guns over bruised and broken kidneys. He was guilty in line of duty as an American army *intelligence* man. On December 24, 1945, on the eve of deliverance, four of our finest men were taken out by the extremely brutalized *military* police and were *found by* American troops on February 10 in common grave with Chinese and Filipino corpses mutilated and beheaded.<sup>4</sup> What charges were brought against them we never knew and will never know other than that two of them as members of *Our Committee* were *meriously*<sup>5</sup> murdered because of their aid to *Internees* in the early months of camp.

*There were spies among us. This we knew. Every good news item was whispered. To be reported news to be accused. To be accused was to be guilty. To be guilty was to die.*<sup>6</sup>

To the groups Japanese cruelty was more subtle than were beating. They *methodically* tried to break our spirit and make us submit to defeat and acknowledgement of them as captors and superiors, *and furthered this aim* by failing to supply *us* and refusing *us* permission to help ourselves to necessary items of actual living. The Japs by *command* and appeal constantly emphasized their position and ours and always reminded as that

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<sup>1</sup> This line was omitted by the author via a line drawn through in pencil

<sup>2</sup> Happened in the first six weeks. Three internees (two British, one Australian) tried to escape and were badly beaten (Wilkinson 16)

<sup>3</sup> Kempeitai (Japanese Secret Police) took away and tortured internees suspected of receiving food, war news, or secret messages from outside the wall (Wilkinson 108)

<sup>4</sup> Carrol Grinnell, A.F. Duggleby, E.E. Johnson, and Clifford Larsen were found decapitate and buried by Harrison Park in Manila (Monahan and Neidel-Greenlee 163)

<sup>5</sup> This word is crossed out by hand

<sup>6</sup> Paragraph was handwritten at the bottom of the page with arrow drawn to indicate that it should be in between these two typed paragraphs



our welfare hinged as our conduct toward them as our captors who denied every request and refused every petition. We were required to bow and show proper accord to all visiting officials and when we declined by staying out of sight, by turning away from and frankly ignoring even the highest ranking officials. *We* were punished in every way possible by the commandant. Passes to visit the sick were cancelled, mass meetings were forbidden, no music allowed, no games to be played, etc., and later when the infamous Lieutenant Obeka<sup>1</sup> was installed, men, women, children, and sick were forced to line up and bow to the officer of the day, and to bow at all times to sentries or Japanese whom we might meet or pass. This became difficult in latter days when men and women were faint with hunger and starvation.

And as the Japanese were defeated at all southern points regulations governing our conduct became more strict. We lived in constant blackout – no smoking, no lights, no fires from 6:00 p.m. to 6 a.m. and the Japs lighted up their quarters and offices profusely and even the city was lighted up, but not and never internees. We could not leave our quarters during these hours and were made to sit from sundown to daylight in constant darkness from September 21 to February 3. In this interval we were forced to listen to Japanese radio, and radio, and soldiers, who shouted drunkenly and uproariously until the small morning hours.

Again we try to answer this question as to whether the Japanese were cruel by saying that never were captors more brutal than these strutting monkeys of His Majesty's Imperial Army. The first two years were unbearable. We were underfed on unfit food, but not to the point of starving, but when the Japanese Army took over our care February 1, 1944, we faced a long period of slow reduction in food to the point of starvation<sup>2</sup>, and it is our considered opinion that it was a decision taken by the Japanese military authorities to rid themselves of us if we remained prisoners or that we would be rendered utterly unfit for service to and a burden on the U.S. Army if rescued. This statement when backed by records of facts should indict the Japanese government with the crime of deliberately causing the death of hundreds of prisoners who were innocent of crime against the Japanese other than that of being in the Phillipines under the American flag in December, 1941.

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<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant Nanakazu Abiko – the most hated and feared commander in Santo Tomas because of his close involvement with the internees (Wilkinson 114)

<sup>2</sup> “Working with camp doctors, the administration tracked internees’ calorie intake and weight loss, built up food reserves, and decided how and when to use them when the Japanese army slashed the main food supply” (Wilkinson 121)

It is claimed by medical authorities that patients recuperating from wounds or illness should receive 1800-2000 calories per day. In February 1944 supplied by the Japanese "Inferior" Army were 1452. In July 1944 this had been reduced to 1360 and by November had reached a low of 999. Here actually begins the nightmare of Santo Tomas. All reserves, those pitiful few cans, that small amount of dried beans and rice, had to be eaten, doled out, divided grain by grain to make this extra food last. Every available square foot of ground had been planted to greens of some sort or other and we had been told that even the ration then received of corn and rice would be further reduced from 225 to 210 grams. On December 1 the calorie requirement was 898 and our ration was 187 grams. People now began to lose weight and to become bedfast with hunger. A Jap supply officer had earlier said, when we protested a load of rotten vegetables, that we'd eat worse. Another told us that before he had finished with us, we'd eat grass and bark and leaves. We were close to that in January 1945 when our ration was 187 and our calories reduced to 727. This was further reduced to 160 grams and 684 calories on February 1, 1945, and a threat, a last threat of further reduction was made at this time. If there is any doubt in your minds that the Japanese did not mean to starve us to death slowly<sup>1</sup> it can be made more obvious when we face the fact that the Japs held great stores of rice and corn in their warehouse<sup>2</sup> within the camp and that the truckloads of eggs and milk and beans were turned back when sent to children by the Catholic Women's League, the Chinese Association, and the International YWCA of Europeans, Filipinos, and Spanish in Manila. *The Japanese* are supposed to revere and love children always. These sons of Bushido allowed half ration for children under ten. Every child of three years up knew them and called them not sons of Bushido but of a more commonly known ancestry, and it was not unusual for them a small child to call them what they were and are to internees and G.I.s all over the Pacific.

Lieutenant *Obeaka* had written when we continued to protest the cuts in food that we should eat the cats and dogs in camp. I did not, but hundreds of *Internees* did. In December 1944 there were hundreds of pet<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "The main Japanese atrocity was slow-motion killing through malnutrition" (Wilkinson 16)

<sup>2</sup> Japanese had "emergency rations" of raw rice stored in bodegas. To prevent bouts of starvation there would be occasional extras given from these storage bodegas (Cogari 203)

<sup>3</sup> Rumors and personal accounts of internees eating cats and dogs (Cogari 198)

cats in camp. This had been encouraged because of enormous filthy rats and certain tetanus fever outbreaks, and these cats one by one began to disappear into pots of mothers who fed starving children meat for the first time in months. Dogs from outside had found refuge in the camp and these begin to disappear rapidly. By the end of January 1945 not a cat or dog could be found except a few pets carefully watched by owners who had an ever growing gleam in their eye. People died from eating hibiscus leaves and canna bulbs. People ate the pulpy trunk of *banana* trees which filled the stomach but did not stop the growing hunger. Small children caught and ate filthy snails that were found in decaying *vegetation*, and scraped garbage pails for something to eat, anything to eat. The rottenest of vegetable discards were hoarded. Kitchen workers were watched over by angry and suspicious men and women who were watching for scraps of corn meal to fall to the cement floor. Men stole food for children, were caught and jailed for stealing food. Every portion was carefully served, not one grain more or less. Men and women would have, and did in a few cases, exchange reputation and honor for a handful of rice, a spoonful of corn. We did not think of meat anymore, we had nothing but rotten fish, utterly rotten fish, for a year, we thought only of a little more corn meal and a little more rice. Every grain was food, every speck was used. The Japs took and killed our cows which had been kept as a last resort against a day when we'd have no food and feasted drunkily on meat while little children begged for the hooves, the skin, anything, and old men passed quietly away to be carted outside in a ramshackle cart to a ditch or river perhaps as we never knew how burials were made the last few weeks, and this death cart came more frequently. We never asked anymore who had died. It didn't matter. Men and women of middle age and almost all the old moved about slowly on legs swollen as large as a gallon bucket, faces puffed with the deadly fluid of broken down tissue, the last stages of beri-beri<sup>1</sup> which kills. The hospital<sup>2</sup> was filled, there were no

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<sup>1</sup> "Beriberi is a disease caused by a vitamin B1 (thiamine) deficiency. There are two types of the disease: wet beriberi and dry beriberi. Wet beriberi affects the heart and circulatory system. In extreme cases, wet beriberi can cause heart failure. Dry beriberi damages the nerves and can lead to a loss of muscle strength and eventually, muscle paralysis. Beriberi can be life-threatening if it isn't treated" (Healthline)

<sup>2</sup> There was an "isolation hospital" to keep down the threat of contagious and infectious diseases spreading to the population (Wilkinson 120)

more reserves here of food or medicine and men and women lay in a stupor and bowed to Lieut. Obeka and his smug, greasy fat staff -- in a stupor. Months before, two years before this time the then commandant of the camp had said in a favorable address to us "The whole world is at a bitter war to a bitter end and the many people are suffering and will suffer, but the mighty Japanese Imperial Army can afford to be *magnanimous* in victory". We remembered his words and what he implied, and through days of weakness and sleepless nights of devilish, torturous hunger pains we knew for sure that this same army must be taken a hell of a licking.

Before going to the glorious climax of this story I appeal to my country and countrymen to forever remove a situation which forced 4763 American men, women, and children into the hands of uncivilized barbarous representatives of a nation which must be and will be destroyed.<sup>1</sup>

I charge it with you the responsibility of making Americans safe and an American passport a security not any in our own possessions but in any country in the world. Americans have died believing it our right to seek fortune our own way of living wherever we happen to be or wish to go.

I charge our government with failure, and God grant it may never happen again, to keep it citizens informed of the true state of affairs, and I charge the government with the responsibility of seeing to it that our military forces are of such character as to enable us to have a confidence in them in peace time as well as in war. Men including thousands of soldier prisoners suffered and died because of the *deficiency* here in 1941.

I charge my people with smug *indifference* and ignorance of the role we should have played in the Pacific Theater<sup>2</sup> before 1941, and only American with *might* and main can honestly keep this area free and great and rich to our material and our spiritual gain.

I charge the stock holders, and our greatest financial interests with selfish *chase* of gain and gold and our politicians -- our legislators and law makers with permitting them to *jepordize* our nations safety.

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<sup>1</sup> From here to the end of Page 18 the author gives a personal "manifesto" of sorts on how Americans should handle the Japanese

<sup>2</sup> Term to describe the areas of war during WWII in the Pacific Ocean

A million G.I. have suffered because of this and a million more will yet suffer.

This then I say as an American who has paid the most terrible price of an American citizen -- we are great, and good and rich and love peace and right as *Mother* people. Our *destiny lies* westward and *it* has been neglected, *and* I have seen old Glory *suttied*, muddied, and selling at \$35.00 on the \$100. I have seen our people mocked and scorned by the nationals, and I have seen us die miserably. Never again must this happen, must *we lesson* our role less than it is now. Instead we must always strive to bring life and living and glorious, blessed Peace and Freedom from Fear to 700 million miserable war weary and war frightened but deserving Asiatics<sup>1</sup> who want *Peace* and Justice and their right to live their lives as they wish.

And again before I gleeful relate the last episodes of the last month I *insist* to American and Americans that we here in America have *insufficient* hate, and will to carry this war to Japan, as it should be conducted. We have not the will to destroy. If our million G.I. and *Marines* and sailors could conduct this war as they wish there would not be one Jap alive left to *plague* the Pacific. I talked with hundreds I saw them wounded, and returned from the battlefield, I saw my newly made friends, your boys and mine, who fought *Manila* battle stricken *dumb* with the hellish brutality of the yellow people. I saw a tough six foot soldier with tears rolling down his dirty, blackened face. He held a Filipino baby girl in his arms who had been tossed by a Japanese bayonet as she ran from a home afire from Japan *se applied* gasoline. We saw this mad death of Manila and while their terrible thing was done by an embattled Japanese army -- charge Japan with more deliberate crimes.

I charge Japan with every violation of every law and decency according to *civilized* standards and Japan has counted herself civilized and cannot and must not be excused her acts.

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<sup>1</sup> Offensive term for a person of Asian decent (Marriam-Webster Dictionary)

Japan imprisoned 9000-10000 American prisoners of war. Of these 535 of these are said to be alive.<sup>1</sup> Those of Japan and Mancheria<sup>2</sup> have little or no chance of survival. The treatment of these men has been accounted many *Times* and has not been or can it ever be fully told in its gruesome detail. We, who were civilians were fortunate beings and know how fortunate we are to simply be alive. You have not been intermed and cannot imagine your worst dream or movie horror story half as *had* as that March from Bataan.<sup>3</sup>

Japan interned in Santo Tomas and Los Bonas<sup>4</sup> 6399 men, women, and children irrespective of age or state of health and failed to provide food, bedding, or adequate space toilet or sanitary facilities, or medicine. Japan rejected every rightful petition and protest against inhumane treatment and beat, shot, and beheaded civilians for no military crime.<sup>5</sup>

Japan, faced with the fact that friendly powers and Filipinos would be shocked at our outright massacre, deliberately set about to gradually and surely starve men, women, and children to death and accomplished a great part of this program, and in another 60 days would have completed this crime.

Japan through her commanding garrison stole from internees medicine, food, and money which meant the difference between living and dying.

Japan refused permission to internees to buy and prevented friendly people from supplying the camp with food for the sick and 750 children.

Japan planned the utter massacre of every civilian prisoner on February 5, 1945 or on such time as Manila should be actually attacked.

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<sup>1</sup> During World War II, the Japanese Armed Forces captured nearly 140,000 Allied military personnel (Australia, Canada, Great Britain, India, Netherlands, New Zealand, and the United States) in the Southeast Asia and Pacific areas. They were forced to engage in hard labor of constructing railways, roads, airfields, etc. to be used by the Japanese Armed Forces in the occupied areas (Forces of War Records).

<sup>2</sup> Manchuria is bound by Russia from the north, northwest, and east. Formerly Guandong or Guanwei (Encyclopedia Britannica).

<sup>3</sup> The Bataan Death March took place in April 1945. Filipinos and Americans were captured and divided into groups of 100. The March took each group approx. 5 days to complete, and thousands died due to the brutality of their captors (Marathon and Beyond).

<sup>4</sup> Former University of the Philippines Agricultural School at Los Banos, about 40 miles southeast of Manila.

<sup>5</sup> Japan never signed the Second Geneva Convention of 1929 (but the Emperor had agreed to its provisions) did not treat prisoners of war in accordance with international agreements, including provisions of the Hague Conventions in 1899 and 1907 (Forces of War Records).

Japan, foiled and trapped, destroyed every living soul encountered, every human they could reach in the mass senseless, insane fury the world has ever known. *in those two weeks of battle in oed Manila where 30,000 Imperial Marines died under the storms of American shells.*

For these crimes, which are few, Japan should be utterly destroyed. Not a Japanese soldier should be permitted to surrender, not an officer to escape. Every Japanese man and woman and child should be made to know horror, starvation and death. The greatest of traitors, the meanest of captors were 40,000 Jap civilians<sup>1</sup> who had been in the Phil. for years as ~~spies and soldiers~~. Incapable of pity themselves they should be treated pitilessly, and uncivilized and incapable of being civilized in our sense they should be treated as dangerous animals or devils. Christian feelings are shocked at this but they should not be shocked. We deal less *with humans* and more with the devil and with hellish representatives of the devil when we treat with the Japanese, but should hate them as an unholy dirty race of sneaky snakes who strike in the dark against defenseless people and against Christianity itself. Churches of every sect and creed pretending to ~~and to~~ Christian ideals and standing for justice and right should sanction every war efforts or our grand, glorious boys whose eyes grow hard and old and terrible when they talk of these brutes who tie their leg wounded in holes to throw grenades at a pursuing army, who kill their seriously wounded comrades rather than let them fall into enemy hands, who murder and destroy enemy living creature in the times of defeat. We have a terribly avenging force over the Pacific. They've seen and know and hate enough. We've seen then and heard them ^ *say that* any Jap, ~~often~~ *after* Manila, who is seen by a soldier of the Philipenes ~~may~~ *will* die. Those hardless, baby-faced boys you last saw are hard, cruel, men now and killers all. A lank Texas Combat Captain told me *he* gloried in burning their damn heads off with his flame thrower. A twenty-year old Ohio gunner of a tank cursed and swore because his guns jammed from over - heating. "By God," he said "I killed a hundred in one corner." We have guns and guts and brains, we've take a worse beating than you know or will ever know, but we have those yellow \_\_\_\_\_ on the run and we're killing them. They're killing us, terribly much more than you know, and the road to Tokyo regardless of cost.

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<sup>1</sup> Japanese civilians turned soldiers also worked in the Santo Tomas interment camp (BASEPOW).

Failing this for any reason, and children too young now to understand war will surely fight these sons of Nippangagain. I hope, sincerely hope and I express a hope of every G.I. I talked with, that these conducting this will close their ears to protests from our misled soft-sister elements who would stop the slaughter of the enemy, and I hope all G.i. our command will not too early heed their whines when they are in their last rat hole and mole burrow and that we'll drive them deeper than they've ever dug, down below the worms, and the lowly life they *simulate*. And right now is a good time to say what the G. I. 's say but can't write home to you. "The fighting is tough." A popular conception is that G. I. 's stride over Japanese soldiers with *blazing* tommy guns and destroys thousands and emerges victorious. Modern *Sampsons*<sup>1</sup> with a machine gun! That's wrong. Fighting life they do the Japs makes his life dear and hard to get. And for every dead Jap there's probably an American casualty Newspapers, *commingques*<sup>2</sup>, and censorships tell a part but not all, not nearly all. The commenque which says a place was taken with "little resistance" that our "losses were negligible" tells nothing. Every contact is tough and costly and deadly and every Jap position taken has cost us men and blood and unutterable hardships. I've heard G. I. \_\_ listen to news broadcasts and laugh in loudest derision. They know what they're up against and they're doing a good job like they knew it, and by god, Americans here complain of a cigarette shortage and rationing. And I'm told that a Life's picture of dead Marines in the sand ~~looked~~ *evoked* protests from aroused censors to withhold such. You've seen hordes of dead Japs and Nazi's without a shudder. The general stands by for photographs and everything is rosy and great and Americans *applaud* the show. The trouble with these pictures is that our own horribly mangled dead *and* wounded are truly and literally not in the picture, and a *casualty* list means nothing unless the reader is looking for his boy or her son or husband. Such is the war we have fought and are fighting to the end -- a dirty, bloody necessary operation on a *maglinant* cancer in the Pacific.

*Next to the night of February 3, 1945 the greatest single experience in the three years of internment was the first naval plane raid on Manila September 21, 1944 which gave us the reason and will to live.*

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<sup>1</sup> Israelite warrior given many strengths by God to fight his enemies (The Holy Bible).

<sup>2</sup> An official announcement or report, esp. one delivered at the end of a meeting or conference, etc., now usually one concerned with diplomacy or international relations (Oxford English Dictionary Online).

On the morning of February 3, 1945 there was an unusual tenseness in the air. We felt the end was near in a day or more, 48 hours at most, and we told each other that we'd know by dark what was to happen to us. It truly seemed that our lives hung in balance and the camp was depressed and low in spirit. We dared not think of morrow. Rumor, then real news, told us of landing in force in **Lingayan**<sup>1</sup>, about 120 miles north but, days and days had passed. We heard that the Japs had struck hard at our columns at Clark Field<sup>2</sup> and at other places. How many men did we have to attack and break their lines of defense? The Japanese army stood between us and our soldiers-- a million miles away, farther than they'd ever been because we were near our end?

At 5:00 P.M. ten low flying, insiona blazing, fighting U.S. Army planes flew over the building at a lowest altitude of dropped ~~gazzles~~ goggles and waved to us. When would our troops arrive? At 5:30 assembled the Jap officers failed to appear but sent a sergeant to take the roll call. The inside garrison of 69 soldiers loaded packs into trucks and returned to their quarters in the Education building. They had packed and repacked before they abandoned us before, leaving a few soldiers, and had returned later with more and more troops. They'd been drunk, jittery and mean and sung their Swan songs for night on end. We couldn't know from them what was happening. We feared that last hour as we feared death itself. *We knew what to expect.*  
*We knew that the Japs were prepared to kill us in that last hour of theirs.*

My neighbor left his shack and sat with us in the dark as usual. We talked in low voices so as not to call the sentry's attention to us, He and my wife talked of food every night and recipes and his legs swelled and talked and poor dear Ruth's hunger kept her awake and pothetically confined her most, every thought to food (She has lost 52 pounds, ten pounds more than the average loss for adults)<sup>3</sup>. From the north and north-west came thundering, roars, and flashes but for weeks we had heard concussions, blasting and seen flashes and fires and *demolition*. We had heard our naval craft shell near by coasts, and bombing night and day. We had heard the rattle and roar of guns and cannons in practice or against guerrillia's<sup>4</sup> for days and nights. But wait, theres a sound never before heard. Deep powerful motors, the roar of powerful engines! "Hush!" I said "and listen." It's a truck, a convoy, said my neighbor, and they talked

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<sup>1</sup> Capital building, municipality. Strategic point in WWII (Encyclopedia Britannica).

<sup>2</sup> Base camp for American soldiers closest to Bataan (Prisoners of Santo Tomas).

<sup>3</sup> 450 died of starvation and deprivation (BASEPOW).

<sup>4</sup> The battle was over in less than an hour with guerillas coming in and taking out Japanese swiftly (Morton).

of this and that favorite dish.

I was wrong then. It didn't matter. I'd been wrong so many times. but, clearer now and distinguished there were the boom-whoom-whoom of guns I'd never heard. I knew then, that roar of motors were tanks.

"They're coming in. Those are not Japs," I insisted and my neighbor and wife got quite eating mirages and listened and believed and knew with me that we heard a symphony of Death to the Japs and Life to us. Faster the uproar and nearer, straight through to the suburbs, down to the North road. Machine guns, rockets, cannons began to mount to battle *fury* several blocks to the north and passed by us. Tracer bullets and flames lit up the skies, They passed Santo Tomas. No they're swung East, then North on *Espanial*,<sup>1</sup> a street running toward Santo Tomas. The noise reached a high note ten blocks west of us. Our troops ran in to an ambush at the For Eastern<sup>2</sup> University- the Jap stronghold on the North side of Manila. Truly a battle raged as we strained every nerve and every sense to follow what was happening. Our loud speaker alarmed and our official interpreter told us that we shanties, 1250 men, women, and children would be given 20 minutes to go to the main building, that Americans were now entering the city. This was the command of the lieutenant Obeaka who hated us so. We quickly decided that it was safer, to disregard his last command. To Hell with him anyway, we wanted to see what happened and we knew what he meant to do anyway.

The firing hadn't stopped but now we could hear the treads of those great tanks of ours on the pavement and 5 minutes after *Obeaka's*<sup>3</sup> last order the ~~greatest the iron were~~ *gates of our prison* crashed. Machine guns and hand grenades rattled as the *outer gate* garrison troops pulverized and into the grounds straight down our inside roads came *nine* tanks. Flares went up and by the lights on those tanks and the flares, long-legged, crouching cavalymen walked and tommy guns blazed in their hands; Japs died as they tried to stop them.

"Let's go meet the bus," I shouted, and we ran past parked Jap trucks and past barricaded frightened Japs toward the main building and were brought up short when the tanks stopped a few hundred feet from the doorways of the main building. No fools, those boys. Their searchlights

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<sup>1</sup> One of the main roads within the camp that tanks or troops would have a main entrance to use (Lucas)

<sup>2</sup> University of Santo Tomas (Forces of War)

<sup>3</sup> Japanese general over Santo Tomas internment camp (Lucas)

...lit up every window in the main building, and every window was crowded with the frantic, joyful, weeping, shouting, hysterical, faces of the 1800 internees confined to this one structure.

“Here comes the officers” whispered my wife, and indeed five of the Japs came from their offices in the Education Building<sup>1</sup>. They walked in twos behind our official *interpretor*<sup>2</sup> and the Japanese appointed committeemen<sup>3</sup> who somehow managed to affect the surrender of four of the dirtiest, stinkiest little rats we had to deal with. The fifth was *Okeaka*<sup>4</sup>.

“They’re going to surrender,” I said. “There’s *Okeaka*, she said, “let’s see him surrender.”

We joined hands behind *Okeaka* and gleefully followed him into the crowd. He walked with his head down and slowly, going more slowly. And we lost sight of him temporarily in the scramble of people now trying to reach our soldiers who were now pulled up in the yard. Suddenly a trooper thrust me aside with a savage, “Drop it you bastard” and fired.

Lieut. *Okeaka* had tried to throw a grenade. He spun around, buckled at the knees and fell down in the dirt at my feet, and I wouldn’t have missed that minute to laugh for the world; and at my side my gentle, kindly wife said, “Good he’s dead. The S--- of a B--- made me bow to him.”

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<sup>1</sup> Now repurposed as the hospital at The University of Santo Tomas the Education Building was a large, three story classroom building within Santo Tomas University where the Japanese officials established their offices (Van Sickle 2739). Once the U.S. forces began the liberation of Santo Tomas, Japanese officials and internee collaborators took refuge in this building, and both forces negotiated the terms of the surrender inside this building (Cogan 266-74).

<sup>2</sup> An internee named Ernest Stanley, also known as Ernest Stevenson, was selected to be the official interpreter, as he spoke fluent Japanese he was also a missionary and doctor (Cogan 126, 273). He is believed to have been a British spy, which may account for the use of two different surnames.

<sup>3</sup> The Japanese officials had chosen certain internees as committeemen to govern the camp (Cogan 122).

<sup>4</sup> This is a misspelling of the name “Abiko,” a Japanese lieutenant and the Supervisor of Prisoners at Santo Tomas, who frequently mistreated and disrespected the internees (Cogan 273-4).

Written Sept. 22, following first raid of Sept 21 1944<sup>1</sup>

**Insert “The Raid”**

Over and over the first two years Jap radio and press had shouted that America was licked, that our Navy had been sunk, our airforce could not reach the Philippines, It would take 50 years to reach Asia by the Island to Island techniques. America could not come back. In 1944 after the Marshalls, Gilbert and Saipan<sup>2</sup> had been taken, their propaganda shouted that we’d never penetrate the inner circle, the home front defense. The decisive battle and Japanese victory would be won where we attempted to come into Japanese controlled Philippines Seas. By June the ministers of war<sup>3</sup> information said that it was just highly possible that some one or two of our planes might break through the iron defenses and terror raid Manila and the Philippines. In August they began to encourage people to build air raid shelters, to practice drills and alerts and to dig shelters for *themselves*. These were however, said the press, *merely* precautionary measures. About September 1 they began anti air-craft practice and alerts were frequent and the *internees* were told what to do in case of air raids. The regulations were simple. We were not to make demonstrations under any circumstances. We were to seek shelter and not emerge until permission had been granted. All this of course was mere precaution<sup>4</sup> as the Imperial Air-force guaranteed the *safety* of Manila’s population and no raiders could ever break through the defences. Any attacking force would be met at sea and wiped out before a bomb could be dropped on Manila.

Now and for months Japanese zeros<sup>5</sup> had drummed overhead and practiced dog fights and fast twin engined interceptors<sup>6</sup> had climbed and whirled and circled Manila. We seldom looked up, but on the morning of September 21 the Japs were towing a sleeve across the sky and we watched the Anti air-craft. This stopped after awhile and we went about our business as usual.

About nine o’clock a great fleet of Japanese planes, we though, were heard in the fleecy clouds over the city and we watched the *approach* formations with interest.

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<sup>1</sup> This author’s note was written in the top margin by Carr Hooper.

<sup>2</sup> This is a reference to the Marshall, Gilbert, and Saipan islands, which were all taken by Japanese forces in WWII campaigns.

<sup>3</sup> This is a reference to the department, the Ministry of War of Japan.

<sup>4</sup> The author omitted the phrase “and was but absolute protection” here.

<sup>5</sup> This is the common name for the Mitsubishi A6M Reisen (Zero-Sen), Navy Type 0 aircraft, a small fighter plane used by Japan during WWII (Taylor 253).

<sup>6</sup> This is the common name for the Grumman F7F Tigercat Carrier-Borne Nightfighter/Heavy Fighter Aircraft a large fighter plane used by the United States during WWII (Taylor 504).

Two, three, four—as fast as I could count to fifty-six in tears at 10,000-12,000 feet against and in a cloud bank. Tips of wings, noses, tails of another formation higher and to the right. Hundreds of planes. Close formations, closer than the Japs ever flew. Wings overlapping, tail to head, and they still roared higher in the cloud. They're close, closer now overhead, and clearly now we saw in silhouette the squared wing tips, the heavy short bodies of planes we'd never seen—shipboard, carrier planes! “American planes!”, a great joyous cry went up from a thousand eager throats. They came on, hundreds of them, black and threatening against the sky, and yet no alarm was sounded and the aircraft guns were dumb.

But no, the pop, pop, of guns to the south, and in the south over the bay and piers and in the heart of Japanese defense hundreds of other planes had arrived from another direction and were peeling, diving on Japanese strongholds and positions. They were by scores, countless and from every direction. The double crack of hundreds of big guns and the wicked pop, pop, pop, of pom pom guns<sup>1</sup> on every side began, and too late. Bursts of these shells dotted the skies, thickened in the Port and Bay areas, but there was no range and accuracy now.

And those black planes dived on targets. Calmly, deliberately, and unhurried they jockeyed to position, tilted, and dived. Straight down, vertical, in a screaming fury of sound these really and truly wild eagles of ours, Navy dive bombers, found targets and dived on to the horizon. We'd never heard of those Hell Cats<sup>2</sup>, or Avengers<sup>3</sup>, nor had the Filipinos nor an army of Japs, and I believe that never had *any of* those boys themselves put on a greater show of daring. At every angle and from every side they dived. The first bombs had begun to explode, and explosions mixed with the antiaircraft bursts made a bass for the screaming soprano of strut and wire and engine's roar. No movie ever caught one tenth, one thousandth part of that diving power of a Navy plane over its target and there were hundreds of them and the symphony they played was a death march for Japan and Japan's Greater East Asia. Every target...

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<sup>1</sup> This is the common name for QF 2-Pounder Naval Gun, an anti-aircraft gun used by Britain and Japan during WWII (Roland 223).

<sup>2</sup> This is the common name for Grumman F6F Hellcat aircraft, a fighter plane used by the United States during WWII (Taylor 502-3).

<sup>3</sup> This is the common name for the TBF/TBM Avenger aircraft, a fighter plane used by the United States during WWII (Taylor 502).

...in Manila City, in Manila suburbs, in the bay and the river, every gun, and every concentration received the fury of these true avengers.

Against darker clouds, toward the airfields these arrowed, plunging planes flickered like fireflies as guns and cannons flashed raking fire on positions. They didn't look like planes anymore. They looked like devils of destruction and furies that nothing could stop—a blazing fast death to Japanese grounded planes and men. They plunged below our horizon and had we not heard their low level straffing continued we could have believed them lost.

The initial raid had lasted five minutes. The siren had finally sounded weakly and columns of smoke had begun to billow up from points, and then a new wave struck. This new attack converged on burning piers and on bay shipping and here on a lower horizon we *saw* them at their greatest—and the greatest show on earth. We saw the beginning and the end of the dive, the greatest demonstration of machine and man as a destroying team ever witnessed *by men*. Wings up, and noses down in the clouds, faster and more vertical as the power dives neared the end one after the other in a string, like an unraveling string, and a few hundred feet from targets those plunging bullets bucked and pulled out, black bombs continued the arrow black lies straight down and the grim riders of those black chargers pulled up and out, perfect handling of reins and controls of perfect planes.

Those planes actually leaped upward from death and the lethal loads discharged and back to cloud banks, to safety, they climbed almost as fast as they plunged downward. Those atoms at the controls of those planes were masters of power and timing and control. But they didn't stay in the clouds, they again tilted and rolled and plunged to complete the cycle of destruction with machine guns and cannon. The anti aircraft fire *had* not lessened nor was it feared. Straight into bursts, through the red and orange of bursting shells where it seemed nothing could live, these planes of ours found targets swooped and stretched accurate leaden fingers toward targets—toward Japs. The chatter, the stutter of guns shook windows as these planes leveled off and *straffed* streets and areas nearby. Except for smoke, flames, bursting *stores* of oil and munitions dumps, ships magazines and utter confusion the raid ended as these *last* planes straightened and headed west to...

...join broken formations of waiting circling empty bombers whose job was done and in closed formations they moved toward home—their home and every one carried our prayers that they'd reach there safely.

The first of our raids had happened and we know they'd be back and they were back next day and succeeding days. No more rumors. Hundreds of planes came back to attack their enemy, and ours. Their splendid disregard of danger, their covering each other, their perfect handling of their *machines* and themselves in the face of death thrilled us always. We watched Navy fighters blast zeros until the Jap airforce was completely wiped out. We saw planes and men hurdled to death. We saw planes ours plunge into the earth and hit by shells of the Japs. We lived to see our great Army Bombers wipeout what the Navy had left and we saw these gaints of the air battered and we sorrowed as they too paid the supreme price. *We remember tears that day when a brave fortress<sup>1</sup> died overhead and its crew became floating targets for thousands of small bore guns and riddled bodies settled to earth just outside our reach.<sup>2</sup>*

All this we saw after September 21, but never were we<sup>3</sup> thrilled and exalted as that day in the first minutes. Two planes, always two, rolling and covering each other, pulled out of a power dive *over* a near by airfield. On the upward *climb*, they swept over Santo Tomos *Internment* camp, and as they went up and over there was clearly visible, shining magnificently, stirring our very souls *was* the starred insignia of hope and courage and freedom---the United States. America had returned.

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<sup>1</sup> This is a reference to a Boeing B-17 "Flying Fortress," a bomber plane used by the United States during WWII (Taylor 454).

<sup>2</sup> This sentence was handwritten in the margin by the author, to be added to the preceding paragraph.

<sup>3</sup> The author omitted the phrase "owed and" here.

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