



A Physician's Diary of the Atomic Bombing and its Aftermath

Raisuke Shirabe, M.D.

Professor of Surgery College of Medicine
Nagasaki Medical University

Translated by Aloysius F. Kuo, M.D.

Edited by Fidelius R. Kuo

昭和二十年八月九日、
此日は長崎市にとって永久に
記憶さるべき大惨禍の日である。

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of the Atomic Bombing and its Aftermath**

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Published by Nagasaki Association for Hibakusha's Medical Care (NASHIM),
2-13 Edo-machi, Nagasaki 850-8570, Japan.

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ISBN 4-931481-02-7



Raisuke Shirabe, M.D.
May 15, 1899—April 15, 1989

Preface

The Nagasaki Association for Hibakushas' Medical Care (NASHIM) was established in 1992, with financial assistance from Nagasaki Prefecture and Nagasaki City, to provide relief for atomic bomb survivors (*hibakusha*) living overseas and victims of exposure to radiation due to accidents around the world. Since its inception, the NASHIM program has been cited in Nagasaki Prefecture's long-term plan and is now central to Nagasaki City's active policy for non-nuclear peace diplomacy. Supported by a team of specialists from the Nagasaki University School of Medicine and other institutions, NASHIM is a unique non-profit organization devoted to the medical relief of radiation victims, and it is gaining recognition both at home and abroad as an organization sending "peace information based on medical assistance" from Nagasaki to the international community. To ensure that Nagasaki's long experience in atomic medicine and wealth of research data on atomic bomb-related diseases is implemented effectively worldwide, special efforts have been made to provide training for physicians and scientists from abroad, particularly the former Soviet Union, and to bring radiation victims to Nagasaki for treatment, thereby contributing to international cooperation through hibakusha medical care. Still another activity of the organization is the publication of related works.

NASHIM published *Radiation Q & A* in Russian and *Nagasaki Symposium: Radiation and Human Health: Proposal from Nagasaki* in English in 1995 and 1996, respectively. Subsequent publications in Japanese include *The Environmental Radioactivity and the Health Status of Residents and Cattle in Mid-Kazakstan* (1997), *Chernobyl: Myth and Reality* (1998) and *The Matter of Radioactive Contamination in Taiwan* (1999). NASHIM also produced a documentary video entitled *Kazakstan Now*. To mark the 50th anniversary of the beginning of tests at the Semipalatinsk nuclear testing ground, an innovative photographic exhibition was held for two months at the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum. At the same time, the organization co-hosted the first Hiroshima-Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Exhibition in the cities of Semipalatinsk and Almaty. In this way NASHIM is promoting international exchange, assisting in the subsidized projects of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, supporting various medical activities in Chernobyl and vicinity, and deepening friendship with the former Soviet Union at large.

NASHIM's publication project for the fiscal year 2000 is the present *A Physician's Diary of the Atomic Bombing and its Aftermath* by the late Dr. Raisuke Shirabe, a former Nagasaki Medical University professor who made heroic efforts to provide medical assistance in the chaos after the Nagasaki atomic bombing. This book follows last fiscal year's publication of an English translation of *Atomic Bomb Rescue and Relief Report* by the late Dr. Takashi Nagai, a former associate professor of radiology,

and it will serve as an ideal textbook for global-level studies on the Nagasaki atomic bombing. Nagasaki was devastated by the explosion on an atomic bomb at 11:02 a.m. on August 9, 1945, three days after the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. The Nagasaki Medical University and its attached hospital, located only 500 to 800 meters from the hypocenter, suffered irreparable damage, and 897 faculty members, employees, students and nurses as well as 72 patients and visitors perished. By the end of 1945, the estimated number of deaths and injuries in the city had risen to 74,000 and 75,000, respectively. Acute radioactive poisoning was severe, and the survivors continue to this day to suffer from various late effects such as a high frequency of malignant tumors. The accurate recognition of past mistakes and the rigorous scientific analysis of current circumstances is essential to ensure that this calamity is never repeated. Throughout the present book we see how a physician, remaining calm in the confusion after the atomic bombing, grasped the extent of the devastation, made appropriate decisions, and carried through on these decisions quickly and resolutely. In this way the book is like a manual on emergency medical care in disaster situations. Dr. Raisuke Shirabe, Dr. Takashi Nagai and the many other medical personnel who treated the injured in the aftermath of the atomic bombing are not only our forebears from the Nagasaki Medical University but also shining beacons in the postwar recovery of this city. I would like to take this opportunity to express once more my prayers for the repose of the souls of the atomic bomb victims.

In conclusion, I would like to thank the faculty of the Nagasaki University School of Medicine for their kind permission and also Dr. Aloysius F. Kuo, Fidelius R. Kuo and others for their hard work in producing this translation. To commemorate the 50th anniversary of the atomic bombing in 1995, NASHIM established The *Takashi Nagai Memorial Nagasaki Peace Award* to recognize, once every two years, significant contributions to hibakusha medical care in Japan and abroad. I sincerely hope that the present publication will help more people than ever to understand the reality of the atomic bombings and the importance of peace, and that, thereby, it will contribute to an international community of the 21st century imbued with a spirit of tolerance and cooperation.

Tetsuya Iseki, M.D.
President
Nagasaki Association for Hibakushas' Medical Care

Nagasaki
March 2002

Editorial Note

This publication is an English translation of the diary of the late Dr. Raisuke Shirabe, professor of surgery at Nagasaki Medical University. Handwritten in a hardcover B5-size notebook, the original diary begins on August 9, 1945, the day that an atomic bomb completely destroyed and burned the buildings of Nagasaki Medical University and killed approximately 900 faculty members, administrative staff and students, and it ends on October 26, 1945 with a clipping of a newspaper article reporting the re-establishment of Nagasaki Medical University.

As he states in his introduction, Professor Shirabe kept the diary in order to record his experiences in the wake of the atomic bombing and to make these available for the later compilation of formal documents. The diary was donated by the Shirabe family to Nagasaki University School of Medicine on the occasion of the 50th Memorial Service for Medical University Atomic Bomb Victims held on August 9, 1995. The alumni association of Nagasaki University School of Medicine reproduced and published the diary for the first time in 1995 and presented a copy to each person attending the memorial service.

The English translation of the diary is the work of Dr. Aloysius F. Kuo and his son Fidelius R. Kuo, who also translated the "Atomic Bomb Rescue and Relief Report" by Dr. Takashi Nagai. The translation was based on the above publication, but close examination of the two existing texts of the diary revealed a number of differences. I therefore revised the translators' manuscript on the basis of the original diary. For example, some of the dates were not written as headings in the original diary, although they were added as headings in the reproduced diary to help readers identify the respective dates. In the present publication, these dates are written as headings in parentheses. Other examples of dates used as headings follow those in the original diary.

I would like to thank the Shirabe family for allowing the use of Professor Shirabe's photograph taken at his office (date unknown). I would also like to express my sincere thanks to Brian Burke-Gaffney, professor of cross-cultural studies at the Nagasaki Institute for Applied Science, for lending photographs taken on October 15, 1946 by a *USS Bremerton* crew member and for assisting in the preparation of the final draft.

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March 2002

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Introduction

This diary was started on August 9 1945, the day of the atomic bombing of Nagasaki. It records in detail the condition of the medical university buildings and students after the bombing, as well as other disaster conditions, and the opening of the Nagasaki Medical University temporary relief station at the Michinoo Iwaya Club. This is not the combined record of many people. I wrote it down in a hurry ; therefore, there are a few places where public and personal matters are mixed together. I would be happy if this work contributes to the compilation of formal documents in the future.

Writing started on August 13, 1945
Raisuke Shirabe

The record was started with the intentions described above, but actually it was interrupted four days after the August 9 atomic bombing (pages 21 to 40 were left blank).

Thereafter, it was resumed from September 26 to October 26, 1945 when the university headquarters was moved to Omura Naval Hospital. Therefore, pages 1 to 21 and pages 40 to 79 vividly describe the daily events of that time. Pages 21 to 40 were written from memory between July 5 and July 23, 1970.

Part 1

Atomic Devastation

1. Circumstances before and after the bombing

(August 9, 1945)

August 9, 1945. This was the day of the apocalypse which Nagasaki will remember forever. I had been in the hospital for civil defense duty, from noon of the day before. It was uneventful that night. August 8 was the day of the Imperial Proclamation of War. Due to the absence of Takase, the leader, I gave an order to the students on duty to be particularly alert.

At 7 a.m. on August 9, the professors (Associate Professor Kido, Professor Naito (Tatsu), Professor Sugiura of the Pharmacy School and myself) finished breakfast on the second floor of the hospital kitchen, and I returned to my office after chatting for a while. At 8 a.m. I responded to a notification from students and went for morning roll call in front of the hospital's main entrance. An air-raid alert had been sounded at about 6:30 a.m. This was changed to an air-raid alarm shortly after 7 a.m. and finally was lifted at 9 o'clock.

I delivered a lecture to the third-year medical school students in the Second Middle Auditorium, then returned to my office to review Tokunaga's thesis [Tokunaga was a graduating student]. Passing by the Middle Auditorium on the way back from the lecture, I saw the university president, Dr. Tsuno'o, still engaged intensively in a lecture even though it was past 10 o'clock.

While I was looking at the thesis, I suddenly heard a loud roaring engine sound. I looked at my watch. It was exactly 11 o'clock. I got up right way, changed from my white lab coat into a suit, and started to rush out of the room. At the door, a bright blue flash shone in my eyes. I felt as if I had been hit directly and crouched down in front of the sink in the corner of the room. At the same time, the building shook with a low pitch sound: b-b-b-boom. I quickly hunched down like a shrimp on the floor. The debris was relatively light on my back and I could get up with a little effort. I opened my eyes; there was complete darkness and I could not see anything. Again, I crouched down. I heard a sound resembling heavy rain, perhaps the sound of falling dirt blown up into the sky by the explosion. This sound stopped after I had stayed still awhile.

I cannot describe my thoughts during this period. It was like I had been left alone in the middle of hell.

I stood up again and opened my eyes. This time, it was somewhat brighter, like dawn. I looked around. Everything—desk, cabinet, bed, screen—had been knocked over and covered by the fallen ceiling. There was no room to step.

I went to the front of my desk. The manuscript I had been working on, my bag, watch, books on the desk were blown away, and I knew I would not be able to find them. I found a torn up notebook at my foot so I put it in my pocket. If I delayed I thought, another bomb might fall. I went out of the room in a hurry. The hallway and stairwells were strewn with debris, but I could get downstairs without difficulty, luckily.

At the east entrance, a woman who had undergone surgery for appendicitis just a few days earlier was standing with the support of a man. She did not seem to have any injuries.

"Are you all right? Come with me," I shouted as I ran to a bomb shelter in the back of the hospital kitchen. The boiler was crushed, and I heard the hiss of escaping steam. Two or three people were lying on the concrete floor of the boiler room. There were dead people hanging onto the window frame. I could not understand what was going on.

While I was running, I met Professor Koyano in the corner of the kitchen. He was smiling as usual, even though he was bleeding from his forehead. He had two small lacerations probably caused by flying glass. The wounds were about 2 to 3 cm. in length and were not bleeding badly. After saying, "Nice to see you are okay," I jumped into the air raid shelter. There were many people inside the shelter. Looking around, I saw Nurse Araki from my department. Using a handkerchief as a tourniquet I stopped the bleeding from a 5 cm×3 cm laceration on her forearm.

I left the shelter and went towards the main building. People were flooding out from the building and I could not get in. I returned and climbed the hill. I had no injuries. I ran looking for friends.

First, I met Sato Katsumi, a temporary graduate of my department, and Nurse Sato. Sato was holding a cane but he didn't seem injured. Nurse Sato's face was stained with blood, and she had a laceration on her hip and torn clothing. But they could walk. I told them to go to the top of the hill. I wanted to go back to my office, by way of the tennis court. There, I met Professor Hasegawa. He was staggering. He had a laceration between his eyebrows, but it didn't look serious. Next, Associate Professor Ishizaki of Koyano Surgical Department came along, burned all over his face and arms. He called to me in a tearful voice, "Dr. Shirabe." His burns were severe, the skin hanging down in shreds.

"Where were you?" I asked.

"I was in my office," he replied weakly.

"You'll be alright," I said. "Wait with Professor Hasegawa."

I ran farther to the East Hospital Ward. When I came near the High South Ward, Dr. Kido came up with a big smile. "Oh, good." As we were celebrating, Head Nurse Murayama came running up with tears, "Dr. Shirabe!" Her face and forearm were burned, but her injuries were not as bad as those suffered by Dr. Ishizaki.

"Yes, good, good, lets go up together."

I heard from Dr. Kido that the nurses from my department were safe. I was relieved. There was no need to go to my office. I climbed the hill,

helping Murayama. The refugees surged as they climbed the hillside of Mt. Konpira. Just yesterday, it had been a green garden of sweet potatoes. Now, it was just barren soil. The plants, stems, and leaves had all been torn out. The trees were broken off at the roots, and not one single leaf was attached to the branches. The reformatory in the middle of the hill had collapsed, and a fire was starting from the building. Looking back, we saw that the hospital, basic science classrooms, and all the wooden buildings had collapsed and were burning, engulfed in heavy smoke. We heard the voices of friends calling for each other, screaming, and seeking help. The place had turned into a scene of terrible confusion, and it was more than just a gruesome scene. There were burned, naked, blackened faces with staring eyes, tinted red with blood. It was a scene right out of hell.

When I reached the middle of the hill, I heard my name called from the vegetable patch below. It seemed that University President Tsuno'o was wounded and being carried up the hill. I told Murayama to go ahead and ran across the field toward them. The university president was under the care of Associate Professor Sugiyama, Instructor Takahashi, and Head Nurse Maeda, on the lowest terrace. His face was cyanotic, and his shirt was stained with fresh blood. I asked him, "Where are your wounds?" He replied "Yes, my left arm and leg have small injuries." His voice was faint. When I said, "Please hold on," he replied "I will be okay." The wound on his left thigh was a laceration caused by a piece of glass. It was bleeding a little, so I bandaged it with a ready-made triangle cloth. He looked uncomfortable wearing the blood stained shirt, so I changed it for my dress shirt with no neck-tie.

The pillars of fire were flaring upwards. Sparks were flying in the wind. I decided to move the president to the top of the hill, allowing the uninjured Takahashi to carry him on his back. I led them as we climbed the hill. On the way, refugees asked us for help in the chaos: "Mother!" "Give me water!" "Help!" We had to plug our ears from the screaming voices as we climbed the field pass. The president was saying, "I feel nauseated by brain ischemia when moved," and he vomited several times. It took a while to get there. Probably, it was about 1 o'clock by the time we went around the burning reformatory and got to the top of the hill. Because I had lost my watch, I did not know the time.

It was difficult passing through the reformatory because it was already burning. On the way, numerous wounded victims appealed for help: "Doctor, please take a look at me!" It was a very painful scene. Some of them had no clothes. Their clothing had been blown into pieces and was hanging on by threads. Some had whole body burns. Some had fresh red blood over their bodies. Some lay down without strength. Some were walking, staggering, and yet they were climbing the hill, encouraging their friends. This was another grotesque scene. It was nothing less than hell on earth.

We laid the president on the bare ground at the top of the hill. With

the strong wind, he looked cold. Someone brought a piece of quilt and covered him in double sheets. Soon, Dr. Okura, of the Tsuno'o Medicine Department, came up cheerfully and camouflaged him.

About this time, the winds from the mountain changed direction. The smoke cleared up, and we could see down below clearly. The nurses' dormitory, the corridors in the hospital, and the basic science building were burning, engulfed in fire. Flames were spurting from the windows of a patient ward. From time to time, gunpowder exploded at the Ohashi arms factory, echoing in all directions. The town was a sea of fire. The burning sound echoed to the top of the hill. The sun was a hateful brownish color. Our faces were also blackish red as if tinted with sunset colors.

Somebody brought a first aid bag. There was an ample supply of iodine. I used it to treat the president's wounds: two lacerations in the head, four in the left thigh, two in the arm. These were substantial lacerations. His back was bristling with glass fragments. I put iodine over all his wounds. The wounds were not life threatening. He had no more nausea. He was feeling better and regaining his strength. The wounds in his hand were due to pieces of glass. He had two wounds: a 1.5 cm×0.5 cm. cut on the dorsal aspect of the hand and one on the middle finger. The latter had already been disinfected with mercurochrome by Dr. Ichinose, so I left it the way it was.

Again, the direction of the wind changed, blowing up to the top of the mountain. A shower-like rain started to pour down. The wounded on the top of the hill were all shivering from the rain and wind. I took a break and went to look for my son Koji by way of the valley on the other hill. In the recess of the mountain, Dr. Ishizaki was lying like a corpse covered with a hospital quilt, but I could not carry him. Several patients of my department had escaped without injuries. A few were taking shelter from the rain. When I called to them, they were happy to see me and gave me five cigarettes.

I went to the hill behind the psychiatric department, calling "Koji!" but there was no answer. Perhaps he had been burned to death under the debris of the auditorium. There were several seriously wounded people on the way. Most of them could not even talk. Oku (4th-year medical student) was lying at the bottom of a cliff. He would not answer my calls. He must have lost consciousness. He did not wipe the rain dripping from the grass onto his face. He did not have long to live. Ueno (3rd-year medical student) had his head bandaged and was not cheerful as usual, but he was taking care of his friend diligently. Hidaka of my department was not injured and he assisted me in my search for Koji, but it was to no avail.

After a while I heard a voice calling my name from the summit where the president was lying. "Dr. Nagai's bleeding won't stop, please come," cried the voice. I ran back to the summit. Dr. Nagai had suffered a finger-sized laceration on the right side of his face beside the ear. This

was bleeding profusely. Two assistants from the radiology department had been trying unsuccessfully to stop it. Several pairs of forceps were dangling from the wound. I sensed a kind of godliness in the attitude of Dr. Nagai, who did not as much as frown during the operation without anaesthesia. I took over and tried to apply the forceps, but my attempts were also futile. I had no alternative but to press a tampon firmly into the wound and to suture the laceration over it. This finally brought the bleeding to a stop. When the procedure was over, Dr. Nagai took the radiology assistants and nurses down the hill and over to a stone embankment, where the group began to build a hut to provide shelter at night. Dr. Nagai is a Christian, and, indeed, he looked like Jesus leading his disciples on a pilgrimage.

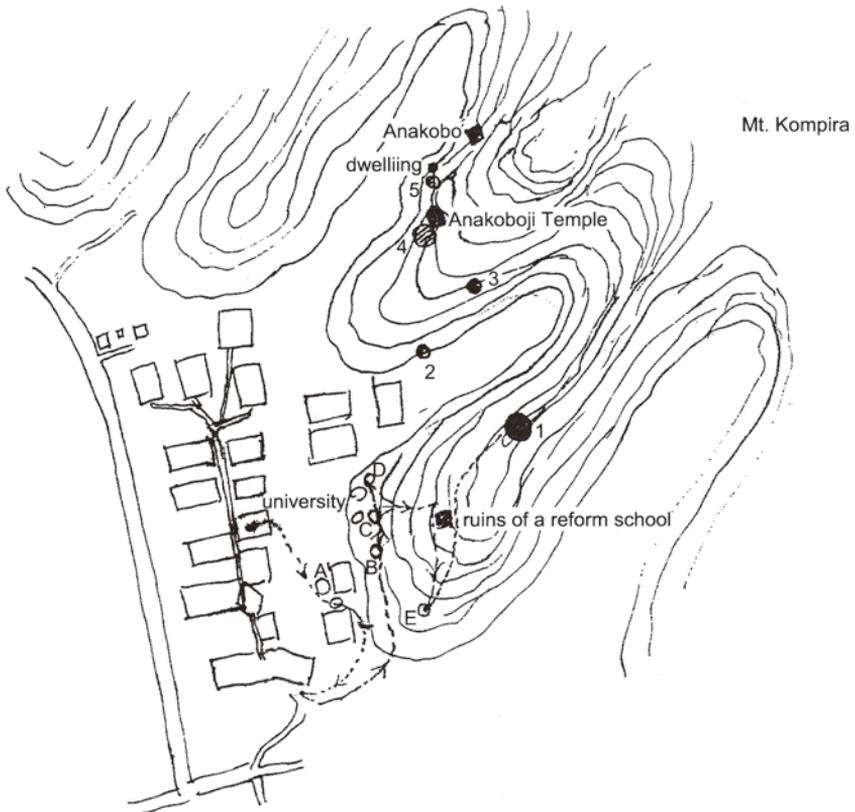
I went back to the president. He was still. Somebody brought a piece of ice in a container made from a pumpkin shell cut in half. The president must have been thirsty. He ate eagerly. I think it was about 4 o'clock in the afternoon when Koda (3rd year medical student) climbed up carrying Professor Takagi on his back. Takagi had no wounds, but his face was pale and he had no vitality. He said that he had been in the professors' office of anatomy. Fortunately, he had been able to run out. He crossed the sports field and crawled toward Urakami Cathedral, but fell back down onto the river bank and was rescued by Koda. We put him down beside the president. He had no wounds or broken bones, but complained, saying "it hurts." His pulse was fast and faint. He must have been in shock.

Professor Kiyoki followed. He was wearing only underwear and climbed the hill with the aid of a cane. He had been digging an air-raid shelter when the bomb exploded. He had luckily escaped death because he had been inside the shelter, but he had been struck in the lower back by a flying piece of wood. He had no burns or wounds, but he seemed to be in a lot of pain. Wearing only a pair of briefs, he was lucky not to have suffered any burns.

In the evening, Dr. Egami (associate professor of injury) and Kawamoto (pharmacy) came fully dressed. Both had escaped because they had been in Nameshi. They arrived here after a long trek through the sea of fire. They brought some medical supplies and treated two or three people, but before long I did not see them anymore.

The rain stopped and the area was covered in an evening mist. The wind quieted down a little. The area below was burning more fiercely than ever and increased in redness as the evening went on. There was a sea of fire as far as the eye could see. The number of people crossing over Mt. Kompira dwindled. Probably, quite a few people had climbed the hill but then ascended to heaven before they could reach the top. The people camping in the fields were almost all resting now. At the site of the former reformatory, a goat was lying dead, and in the evening two white goats arrived from somewhere and were scrounging for food.

The president, Professor Takagi and others had no choice but to spend



1. President Tsunoo, Professor Takaki and others
 2. The shack erected by Assistant Professor Nagai and others
 3. Head Nurse Mitsushima and others
 4. Nurses
 5. Students
(Professor Sofue)
- A. I met Professor Koyano here
 - B. I met Professor Hasegawa here
 - C. Assistant Professor Ishizaki
 - D. I met Assistant Professor Kido and Head Nurse Murayama here
 - E. I met President Tsunoo here

the night on the hill above the reformatory. The staff and some of the wounded civilians stayed in the area. Associate Professor Nagai and others were in a small hut below the cliff. The group led by Head Nurse Mitsushima of the dermatology department was in the field right below the Anakoboji Temple. Another group of students and nurses was in the yard of a collapsed house between the Anakoboji Temple and the Anakobo. Everybody made groups and started to cook rice and radish pickles dug out of the ruins with the permission of the house owner.

In the evening, I went around to each camp. I distributed the dry biscuits provided by relief headquarters. When I got to the last camp, I heard that Professor Sofune was alone two or three hundred meters away. I searched for him, calling his name, and brought him back to the group of students at the house.

We cooked rice and made many rice balls with the radish pickles given to us by Anto, a 4th year medical college student, and came back to the place where the president was resting. The president ate one or two rice balls. I was relieved to see that. I was hungry in the afternoon, so I ran up and down the hill, digging and eating sweet potatoes from the vegetable plots. I felt full after eating four or five rice balls in the evening.

Anto's achievement in getting assistance was highly praised. He asked five Mitsubishi Volunteer Corps girls passing by for help, and the girls cooperated cheerfully. This deserves special mention.

After the meal, I assembled the associate professors between the camps of the president and Dr. Nagai and discussed the plan for tomorrow, while keeping warm by the camp fire. The plan was as follows:

1. Early morning: prepare two stretchers, transport the president and Professor Takagi to my house.
2. Make a list of the university staff who are camping.
3. Have Anto prepare breakfast.
4. Organize a communication group and make contact with the city relief headquarters.
5. Report to Professor Koyano.

The night grew late. We decided to sleep. I took Dr. Nagai's advice and laid down on the straw mattress in the makeshift hut made by the radiology department staff. Looking up at the sky, I recalled the day's events quietly. It was like a dream. The world had been thrown into confusion at the moment of the flash. Numerous people were wounded. They were injured and fallen or had died instantly. We had escaped and had come to the top of this hill, but the hospital and town had all burned up. There is no place to go back to work. What shall I do from tomorrow? And what about the university president, Professor Koyano, Professor Takagi, Professor Hasegawa, and Professor Sofune whom I met today? How are the other professors? Are they alive or dead? Koji was in a lecture at the basic science building. Did he escape? Seiichi, my eldest son, must have gone to the Ohashi ammunition factory. How is

he doing? I hope he is safe. Moreover, my family at the Nameshi evacuation site must be worrying about the rest of us. My mind was revolving like a kaleidoscope. I could not fall asleep.

In the mean time, an enemy plane came and bombed the Michinoo area. It must have been a minor raid. Also, the enemy plane dropped a small bomb which exploded over our heads. I heard later on that it was a bomb spreading propaganda leaflets. I did not know the time because my watch had burned up in my room. I fell asleep at perhaps twelve o'clock, in the middle of the night.

2. Damages to the University

(August 10)

The next day was August 10. It was sunny. No clouds were in the sky. It was quiet compared to yesterday. Dr. Nagai's group got up early in the morning, assembled facing east in the direction of the Emperor's palace, and started the morning ritual. It seems like they do this every morning. Their voices are well harmonized. I did not go to the group's assembly line, but I sat up straight and joined the group in my heart. After that the group, led by Dr. Nagai, went to the tunnel shelter of the Pharmacy School in orderly formation.

I returned to the place where the university president and the others were resting. I planned to wait for a stretcher and then carry the president back to his house, but before I could reach the camp I saw him being carried down the hillside by stretcher toward the university. When I asked the reason, the president replied, "I can't receive treatment for my wounds at home and so I am going to the university." I decided to go ahead of the group and find a suitable sickroom.

I passed the side of the nurses' dormitory, which had burned to the ground, and came out onto the Konan south garden. From there I descended the steps and arrived at the east ward of Shirabe Surgery. This of course had also been destroyed by fire.

I returned alone to the place of the university president. He was in good spirits, unexpectedly. Professor Takagi had no vitality. I told the president again that I wanted to take him home. But he still wanted to go to the university hospital because he thought he could not get treatment for his wounds at home. I decided to bring him down the hill by stretcher.

Then Sato of the dietary department came and asked me, "Shall we cook the rice that was saved from the hospital kitchen fire?" I condoned her proposal and took the president down the hill on a stretcher that somebody had brought up. On the way there, an enemy plane flew over and we had to hide in a cave shelter at the bottom of the valley. Then I went out to look for more suitable shelter and descended toward the totally burned nurses' dormitory.

The dormitory was burned to the ground and nothing was left, not even a piece of wood. Then I went through the south lawn of the South Ward, down the stone steps and came out in the East Ward of Shirabe Surgery. The South and East Wards were gutted and only the empty structure remained standing.

Sato Katsumi was in the south terrace of Shirabe Surgery. He offered me a small scorched kettle of water, saying that the water had collected from the drips of the boiler in the power house. "It should be okay!" he said. It was pure and delicious, different from the water from the valley stream I drank yesterday.

Already, Chief Sato had arrived when I got to the tunnel shelter behind the hospital kitchen, and she and two assistants were cleaning the rice for cooking. I asked Sato to help them and returned to the East Ward.

Going into my office, I found that everything had burned and that nothing was left. The books on the shelf were still smoldering. The losses were as follows: futon (bedding), a Brunswick phonograph, and a London watch (this was a memento of my brother, obtained from my sister after his death for one hundred yen. It was very accurate) and a leather brief-case (this had contained Koji's bank book, which showed a balance of 1,500 yen). I also lost my books, records of published papers and resources. (Placed in both my office and the library, these included complete back issues of the Japan Surgery Association journal, Japan Orthopedic Surgery Association journal, the magazine *Geka Hokan*, and other publications. I deeply regretted losing them. There was also a large number of books from Japan and abroad.) It was particularly troublesome at that point to have lost my watch and the bank book.

I went around the second floor. Only part of the operating room was left; the other rooms were totally burned out. It was still hot. I came down from the second floor and went to the basic science campus from the rear gates of the university hospital.

Professor Koyano was in front of the cave shelter, fortunately, and I asked him, "Would you wait here for a while? The university president is coming down soon." And I went further, passing behind the gynecology department. I had difficulties passing through the debris and fallen wood from the rooted trees. I was stopped by a wounded woman at the rear gate asking for help. She must have escaped from the gynecology patient ward. She was wounded with burns and bruises over her whole body, and she was walking slowly, virtually crawling.

I had trouble crossing the road strewn with fallen trees between the ophthalmology and pediatric departments. Neither department was burning, fortunately. I kept moving forward to the university after coming out from the rear gates. The place had changed so much that it was hard to recognize the road. The university gates were knocked down. Two or three students were walking as if they were sleep walking. One of them asked me, "How is Shirabe (my son)?" He had recognized

me by looking at my name tag and expressed concern about Koji. "I don't know," I replied and advised them to go to the university hospital.

The basic science buildings were all burned out. Only the concrete buildings were standing, spitting flames here and there. Looking at the burned out site of the main building, I saw that there was a corpse in the administrator's office. It must have been the administrator himself. I went to the burned out site of the forensic medicine department. There was also a corpse lying in the room of Professor Kunifusa. It must have been Professor Kunifusa. I was speechless.

After that, I went to the anatomy auditorium where I thought Koji must have been. I found out later that the room I saw was a laboratory. There were three half-scorched bodies. These were probably students who escaped from the auditorium, trying to get to the ground, but who lost their strength and burned to death. Their faces were unrecognizable, but from the size of the bodies, feet, shoes, etc., I could guess that none of them was Koji.

Next I came out on the sports ground. Faintly breathing, terribly burned, dying people were lying below on the stone steps. They must also have come from the anatomy classroom. There were four or five women's corpses in the field, side-by-side. When I was returning, an assistant in the Radiology Department, came looking for the nurses. I heard that four or five first-year student nurses had been working in the field. Their faces had changed and were unidentifiable. He spoke in a somber voice: "Probably, this was Miss. . . hat must be Miss. . ."

Then I went to the shelter of the pharmacy school where Dr. Nagai's group was. The nurses were hard at work, cooking. This shelter had been dug three meters under the ground and in a fork shape. They were strongly built shelters.

I left these people and went alone to the university shelter. The pharmacy school, the pharmacology department, the biochemistry department, physiology department, large auditorium, and library were all burned out. The bacteriology department, public health building and the main building were all in the same state. The shelter was intact, but the gymnasium in front of it was burned out and desolate. It was not a place where I could stay. Even so, I heard somebody's faint voice. I returned to the tunnel shelter of the hospital without checking who it was.

"It looks like the president has not come down yet", I shouted. "Bring him down to the hospital shelter rather than the university shelter."

When I was passing in front of Mie Hall, a student in front of the water reservoir pointed at the tunnel shelter below the psychiatric department and said, "Professor Yamane is at the bottom of this tunnel." Inside the tunnel it was dark, and we could not see anything. I told the student to bring him out, and I waited, prepared with bandages. Professor Yamane came out wrapped with stripped cotton cloth. It looked like both his arms and back had been wounded. The wound on the left side of his skull was severe and would bleed if I took off the bandage. His pulse was

weak. I did not think I could treat him there. I treated the wounds on his forearms, gave an injection of a heart stimulating drug, and went to the hospital shelter to report Professor Yamane's critical condition to Professor Koyano.

Soon, the president's stretcher was brought down and taken into the tunnel shelter behind the hospital kitchen. There were already several patients in it. These people were transferred to the other shelter, so that the president could be received here alone. After that, Professor Takagi came down, but he was not lively. I gave him an intravenous injection of Lodinon 50 cc and let him drink 50 cc of the same solution.

In the shelter, university president Tsunoo appointed Professor Koyano acting president and asked him to take care of all administrative matters. Onizuka of the school affairs department brought a scorched desk and chair, and a makeshift university headquarters was set up behind the hospital kitchen.

Breakfast was rice balls prepared by Sato. After that, Sato went to see her home for the first time and told me in sorrow after she came back about noon that her family had perished. I felt so sorry for her. Then, about 20 members of the civil defense corps from Arie brought stretchers. I asked them to bring Professor Kaneko here from near the seminary where he was believed to be lying and wounded.

Wondering how I could give adequate treatment to President Tsunoo and the wounded students and nurses, I got an idea to set up a relief station in the house in Nameshi to which my family had evacuated prior to the bombing. We should bring all of the wounded and call on the help of Dr. Kido and doctors, nurses of Shirabe Surgery and students. Some medical supplies were stored in my house. I discussed this immediately with Professor Koyano and got his consent. I decided to go back to my house alone and prepare for it. It seemed to be a little past noon, but it may have been as late as 3 o'clock in the afternoon. I went home on foot.

The university had been reduced to ruins as described briefly above. The hospital was built of iron-reinforced concrete and its structures remained, but the insides were almost totally burned out. Very little was left.

The following is a summary of the damage :

Totally burned :

Hospital Outpatient Clinic of the Main Building

Pharmacy

Internal Medicine Ward

Ear and Nose Department

South Auditorium

Shirabe Surgery East Ward

Middle Auditorium

Koyano Surgery Operation Room

Second Middle Auditorium

Gift Shop
 Gynecology Department Operation Room
 North Auditorium
 High South [Tuberculosis Ward]
 Nurses' Dormitory
 Mie Hall
 Rear Gate House

Half burned :

Both Surgical Wards (third floor of the library, professors' offices, part of the first floor)
 Gynecology and Obstetrics Ward
 Dermatology Department
 Hospital Kitchen

Remaining structures (ceiling, wall structures, and furniture) :

Ophthalmology Department
 Pediatric Department
 Psychiatric Department
 High North [Infectious Disease Ward].

Structures remaining in the university's basic science campus :

Library second floor
 Biochemistry Department Basement.

Except for a few evacuated goods, the books in the surgery and other departments had all burned up. It is also very regrettable that most of the drugs, surgical supplies and instruments (microscopes, etc.) in the remaining buildings were stolen. Nagasaki was infected with hundreds of night-crawling devils. It is said that several dozen rice bales were left unburned, but we could not retrieve even half of them. It is no exaggeration to say that nothing was left intact to save. I have hardly any tears left to cry. All of the university belongings, except for a few things moved to Hizen Kashima and to my house, were gone.

3. About Michinoo Temporary Relief Station

The reason I set up a temporary relief station in the Michinoo Iwaya Club, staffed by the Shirabe Surgical Department, is, as mentioned above, that I wanted to provide adequate treatment for the university's wounded. It would not be possible to give good patient care in the ruins. There was a danger of disaster for the doctors and nurses if they had to work in such terrible circumstances. The Nameshi and Michinoo areas were not damaged, so the care providers would have good working conditions, and the wounded would be better off sleeping there than on the bare earth or

concrete floors in the ruins.

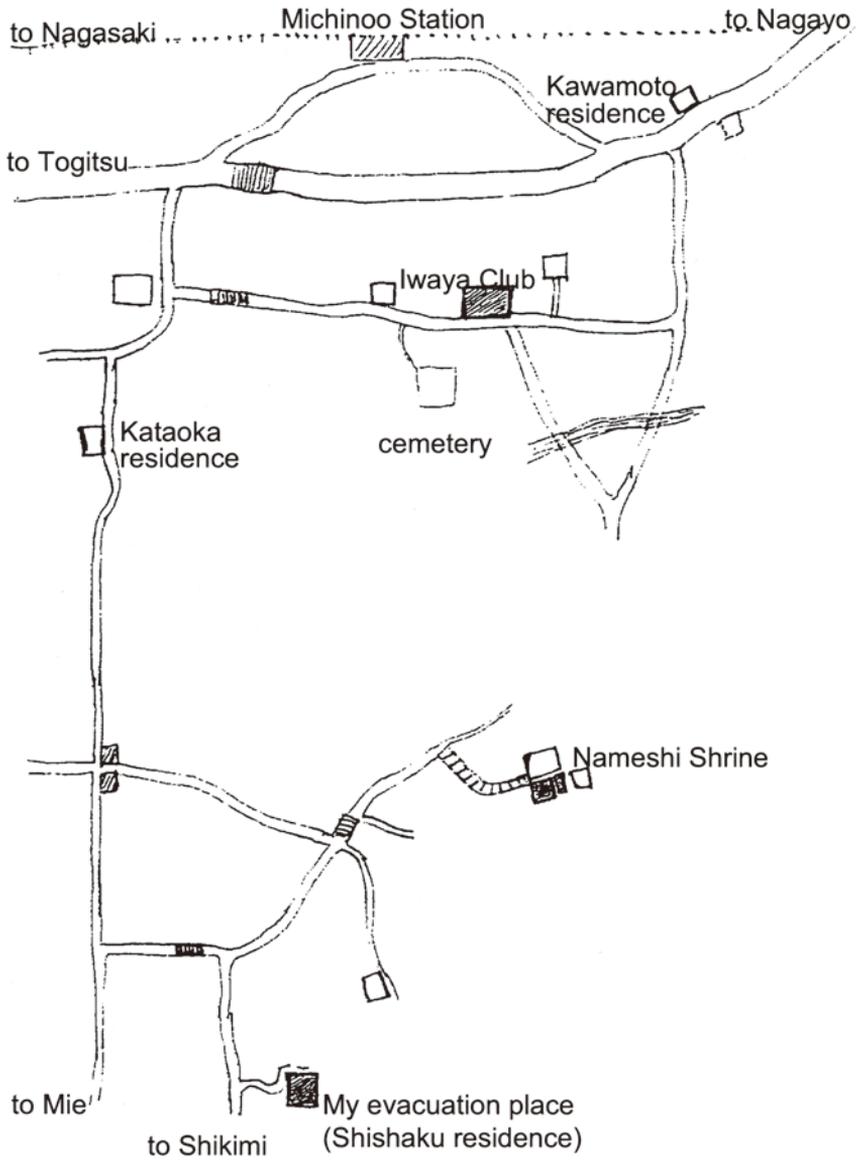
The first care station I envisioned was the Nameshi Shrine. Let President Tsunoo and Professor Yamane stay in the worship hall there, I thought. With students and nurses lodged in the shrine's office, we could receive about 30 patients. The doctors and nurses would stay in my house and in the shrine storage room.

On August 10, on the way home, I went to discuss with Mr. Kataoka of the town association the matter of using the shrine. To my regret, I learned that the shrine office had already been loaned to the military that morning. Troops had been staying in Kaisei School but had come to the shrine because the school's roof tiles had been blown off by the atomic bomb explosion. Altogether there were 80 soldiers, and they were making a defensive position over the Mie pass. I was told that if I really needed the shrine, I should make arrangements with the military headquarters. I had no other choice. I decided to try contacting the military headquarters and went home. On the way home, I met Mr. Wada, the Eighteenth Bank Branch manager. He told me that one of my children was back home. I hurried back home, wondering which one it was.

When I approached the house, my wife, Sumiko and all three of my daughters came out, tears in their eyes. Seiichi came out last with a bandage on his head and hands. The "one child" who had come back was Seiichi. All of us had returned home except Koji. Perhaps he had burned to death in the auditorium. It was a very painful thought, but nothing could be done. Now that Japan is in the middle of war, the death of medical students attending class was to be regarded the same as the death of soldiers. Koji was not the only one to die, though. I had to focus on the fact that one of my sons was still alive; it was good fortune in such an unfortunate situation.

Right away, I examined Seiichi's burns. The burned areas were the neck, entire back, right forearm and back of the hand, but it was less than one third of the body surface. He should not die. I was relieved to see that his face was not burned.

When I was taking lunch, Tazoe came with a military man. He was a gentle man, a low ranking officer. He expressed his regrets and asked for my cooperation. I could not refuse the military troops. I again went to discuss the matter with Mr. Kataoka, who suggested the use of the branch school and Iwaya Club. To use the branch school, it is enough to just inform the teacher, Eguchi, and the city branch office. I did not want to borrow a house in Nameshi town, so I went to see the branch school first. The building was falling apart. It was too dangerous to go inside the building. Having no other choice, I went back to the Iwaya Club. The building's roof tiles had almost all been blown off and the ceiling was damaged, but the pillars were strong and would not collapse. It could be used after we brought out the furniture and did a little repair work on the floor.



I stopped at the house of Mr. Eto, president of the town association on the way home and negotiated with him for the loan of the club. He understood and gave me permission to use it. I met Mr. Kataoka and Mr. Takagi, chief of the city government branch office, in front of Mr. Kataoka's house. And, again, we three went to see Mr. Eto and expressed our gratitude. I came home at dusk.

On the evening of August 10, Nurse Murakami, with Go Gensen [a Taiwanese doctor], and his wife came in suddenly. Murakami had been home in Sakito because her father was ill, but she returned when his condition improved. On the way back to the university, her train stopped as a result of an air raid at Nagayo, and she stayed over last night in the house of a former patient of Shirabe Surgery.

Yesterday, Go Gensen had sensed that coming to work would be dangerous and took the day off. He rested in Kikitsu. It was on the way home for Murakami. Go went to Nagasaki to see if his friends were safe. He went home, but Murakami decided to stay in my house. I told her about my plan, asked for her cooperation, and brought her to the ruins of Nagasaki Medical University the next day, August 11.

(August 11)

The plan for August 11 was to report the result of the negotiations to Professor Koyano and make arrangements for transporting patients. The other plan was to recruit nurses to work alongside Dr. Kido in bringing the medical supplies. I asked Mr. Saku of the neighborhood association to bring a bicycle-drawn cart belonging to Mr. Kinoshita to the university hospital. In the university we spent time selecting wounded patients and making arrangements for their transportation. In particular, setting up transportation posed many difficulties. It seemed that transportation might not be available tomorrow, but it became possible in the evening. I negotiated with army medical officers Akamine and Matsunaga, graduates of our school, for a truck to transport patients. They agreed to provide a truck and to make three trips to transport patients. They came and treated victims in the military aid station set up in front of the hospital main building this morning.

The medical supplies were brought up from beneath the burned out floor of the Shirabe Surgical Department. Seven or eight nurses were recruited, but the only available physician was Dr. Kido. Dr. Sato Katsumi was at home in Shimabara. We looked for Dr. Hidaka in his rooming house, but he could not come because the sister of Dr. Nishiya, his roommate, was at home with burn injuries. Dr. Nishiya was a staff member of the Shirabe Surgical Department at one time, but had been drafted into military service. Dr. Hidaka said he could not come until Nishiya's sister got better.

When I started to go home after changing the president's dressing, head nurse Murakami came in with her face painted with white tincture oil. She said, "I am sorry. I cannot go to Michinoo now. I will come

back as soon as my burns are healed." Then she went to Konagai.

Professor Takagi, lying beside the president, expressed anxiety as his general condition worsened. His hopes of returning to his home seemed impossible according to Professor Sano. He also wanted to bring Professor Sofune by stretcher to his house.

A first year medical student who had escaped from the anatomy auditorium brought a child in grave condition. The child had a subdural hematoma due to a skull fracture and was hopeless. I called for a consultation with Dr. Yokoyama of the pediatric department, but he was in critical condition, dying from acute peritonitis due to the rupture of internal organs. I reported to Professor Sano, and he gave the patients injections of heart-stimulating drugs.

Professor Yamane and Associate Professor Ishizaki were in the tunnel shelter of the Koyano Surgical department. They were silent and looked in critical condition. While in the university, I almost choked at the sight of continuous scenes of tragedy. I assembled the group and left the university at 5 o'clock in the afternoon. Mr. Saku was still waiting on the slope. I ordered several nurses to go with him. Murakami and I walked along the railroad tracks to Michinoo. Dr. Kido and the nurses would be late making a list of wounded patients. There are about 70 patients in the university campus, and the number is increasing.

On the way home I stopped at the house of Mr. Kawamoto, a university hospital pharmacy employee, and asked for his assistance at the temporary relief station. I was happy to hear his eager promise to help. Also I asked Tanaka Tatsuhiko and Tanimoto Hiroshi to clean the Iwaya Club. It was late in the evening, so I did not stop over at the club. Tanaka was a fourth-year medical college student who had come to my house to borrow a water canteen. I also gave him a white shirt yesterday.

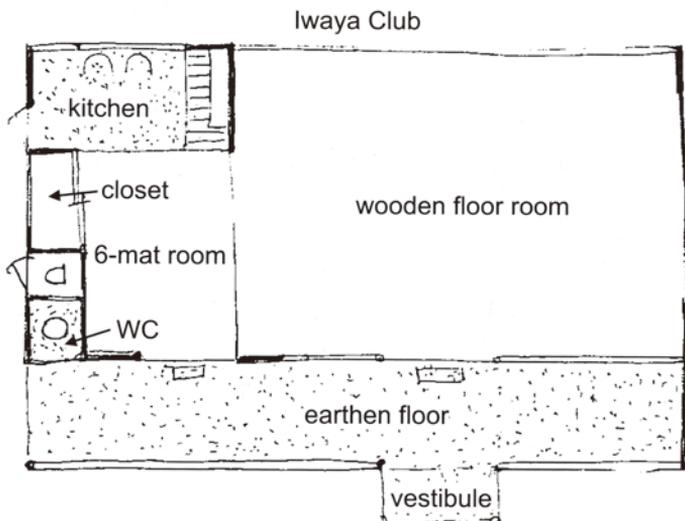
Supplies had already arrived early at Shishaku's house*. The nurses who had also come were Miyazaki, Abe, Honda, Deguchi, Sasakawa, Sakai and Yaguchi; and with Murakami and Kida that made a total of nine. Including Dr. Kido, ten people will sleep in the six-mat room in my house. Although burned and injured, Seiichi was unexpectedly cheerful. Night arrived but Dr. Kido and Nurse Kida did not come back.

(August 12)

In the early morning of August 12, I went with Nurse Murakami on a house call to Mr. Yamashita and met both Dr. Kido and Nurse Kida. I was told that they had stayed overnight at the branch school because it had been too late to return. I wondered how they could sleep on the debris and glass in the darkness with no electric lamps.

The plan for today was to clean the Iwaya Club and shrine and receive wounded patients there. Both Dr. Kido and Nurse Kida went to the

*Publisher's Note: This is the house to which Dr. Shirabe evacuated earlier with his family.



university to arrange patient transfer. A few remaining nurses were sent to the Iwaya Club, and the rest of them went to the shrine to clean.

I went to the Iwaya Club after changing Seiichi's dressing. At the house of Mr. Kataoka, I found Kawamoto perplexed about the rice rationing. She was told that we could not get a ration of food even though we had more than ten doctors and nurses here. We could buy other foods from farmers, but we could only get rice from rationing. Actually, the rice was in a neighbor's storage house in Hizuka, but the policeman guarding the storage house insisted that he could not give any away without permission from headquarters. Having no other alternative, I asked Kawamoto to make arrangements and went to the club.

Arriving at the club, I found the nurses and four civil defense corps members resting without doing anything. They had been waiting for my arrival to receive my orders, and it seemed that they would not work unless I led them. As leader, I started to clean the inside of the house. Everybody followed me. I repaired the Shinto altar and set it in a suitable place. The fallen ceiling and damaged floor were repaired. The wooden floor, tatami mat room, and bare floor room were cleaned. Their appearance changed dramatically.

The morning hours passed quickly, but the truck from Nagasaki did not arrive. The cleaning was completed by 4 o'clock, and I took Tanaka, Tanimoto, Ishigami, and the nurses to my home. On the way we ate a meal cooked at the Nameshi Branch School. Food was given to each student. We ate at the school. Ishigami was staying at Mr. Tazoe's house for two or three days, but he asked my permission to stay in the Iwaya Club because he had difficulty walking due to an injury. I gave

him permission. I said farewell to the other students and went home.

Both Dr. Kido and Nurse Kida came back from Nagasaki. The truck did not even come to the university, and so we could not bring the patients to the relief station. It was reported that a truck from Kawanami would come to transport President Tsunoo tomorrow morning, but only for one trip. I do not think we can bring enough students and nurses here. I am troubled, but there is nothing I can do. I have to let it go; whatever is going to happen will happen. I lay down tired on the bed roll. Dr. Kido was happy. He said that this was the first time he was able to sleep on a bed roll since the bombing.

Written on July 5, 1970

My diary immediately after the bombing ran from August 9 to August 12. The following four days were left blank. I resumed writing sometime between September 24 and 26, and so 42 days were left blank. I deeply regret this. The reasons I left the pages blank are as follows.

- a) Work at Nameshi relief station suddenly become very busy.
- b) Nine people stayed at my evacuation site, the house of Mr. Shishaku Shuji at 1518 Nameshi-go, Nagasaki City. Therefore, I did not have time to write quietly during the day or night.
- c) I myself fell sick from atomic bomb disease.

However, I left pages 26 to 50 blank and planned to fill them in later. Eventually, though, I wrote entries for the last 10 days of September only. My reasons for leaving the pages blank are as follows:

- a) I was too busy with superintendent duties.
- b) I had not completely recovered from the symptoms of atomic bomb disease.
- c) I forgot about the diary because I was devoted to my commitments as a surgical professor.

This diary was in my bookcase and forgotten until being borrowed by Nakamura Iwao of Reader's Digest on July 13, 1967. The circumstances of this loan are as follows. Mr. Chinnock, an American journalist, perhaps from Reader's Digest, came with Nakamura and asked me questions regarding the Nagasaki atomic bombing. The bombing of Hiroshima was well known in the United States, but that of Nagasaki was little known. So Chinnock wanted to write and publish a book. It was a splendid idea. I promised my cooperation. When I told him about the diary, he asked to borrow it for a while; therefore, I loaned it to him. Last year, I wrote a letter asking for the return of the diary. Nakamura called me and promised to send it back in a few days, but nothing happened.

On February 28 of this year (1970), Mr. Kano Doichi of Nishida Memorial Foundation and another person, Aihara Hidetsugu, suddenly came to visit me. The topic of the diary came up at that time. Kano said he would get the diary back from Nakamura. I felt that both were respectable men and so entrusted the matter to them. Also I gave them a

reprint of my dissertation published by the Nagasaki branch of ABCC [Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission]: *Statistical Observation of the Atomic Bomb Casualties at Nagasaki*.

One day in May this year, I received a postcard from Mr. Kano. It said that he had retrieved my diary from Mr. Nakamura. I wrote a letter of gratitude and requested that he send it to me at his convenience.

On June 18, Mr. Funayama, Mr. Tagawa and two others from NBC [Nagasaki Broadcasting Co.] came to visit me. The main purpose of their interview was to ask my opinion about the "Atomic Bomb Rescue and Relief Report" written by Dr. Nagai Takashi immediately after the atomic bombing. At that time the topic of my diary came up. They wanted to see it. I replied, "My diary is in the possession of Mr. Kano now. Why don't you ask him to see it or make a copy?"

On June 24, when I went to NBC for an appearance on a TV program, a round table discussion about Dr. Nagai's report and his personality, Mr. Kijima said a copy of my diary would come back to Nagasaki soon.

On July 2, Mr. Kijima and two others came and returned the original to me. I was very happy. It was like seeing a lover after a long interval.

I had not looked at the diary for 20 years and so had almost forgotten it. The contents were quite different from my faint memory. For example, I went to the Omura Naval Hospital on September 26, 1945. The date was correct in both my memory and the diary. I remembered being driven there in a truck sent from the hospital, but in the diary I said that, "I walked to Michino station from Nameshi, my evacuation site, then went to Shinkozen Elementary School by train, and then went to Omura on a bus." The record is probably not mistaken. I was surprised at how vague and unreliable memory can be.

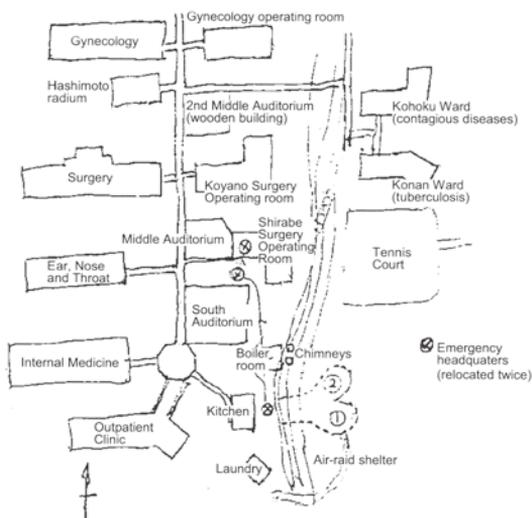
I tried to fill in the blanks from August 13 to September 25 according to my recollections; however, if my memory 25 years after the atomic bombing is unreliable, this record might misrepresent true historical events. I want events to be recorded accurately. And yet, I am eager to write. Therefore I use phrases such as: "I think..." or "It might be..." instead of "I did..." or "It was definitely so..." I ask for the reader's understanding.

Addendum to the Record of August 10 to 12, 1945

[August 10, 1945]

(1) The air-raid shelter receives University President Tsunoo and Professor Takagi.

In the diary, I wrote that the air-raid shelter was a tunnel behind the hospital kitchen (Shirabe, p. 16, 116) but also that it was a tunnel behind the surgical department (Shirabe, p. 166) or behind the Koyano Surgical Department operating room. (*Tsuioku Remembrance*, p. 6). Which is correct? The tunnel behind the hospital kitchen is the correct one in my recollection.



Professor Koyano set up a head office in front of the shelter and moved to a vacant lot between the south auditorium and the Shirabe Surgery operating room the following day, August 11... Then, after sweeping out the room, he moved again to a room in Shirabe Surgery. How many days did they stay in the burned out ruins? I was working for the treatment of injured at Iwaya Club in Nameshi after the 12th, and so I do not know for sure. They moved to a room in the red brick Chamber of Commerce and Industry building near Nagasaki City Hall in Sakura-machi in early September.

The tunnel air-raid shelter was divided into two rooms: Room No. 1 received President Tsunoo in the back and Professor Takagi near the entrance. Both were left on top of carts. Room No. 2 received Professor Yamane and Associate Professor Ishizaki.

(2) The Route back to Nameshi

A little past noon on August 10, I started to walk from the university, up the stone steps to Yamazato-machi, and came out at Yamazato Elementary School, passing my previous residence, 295 Yamazato-machi.

This road was my daily commuting route. Houses on both sides of the road had all burned down. The road was piled with broken roof tiles, and it was very hot to step on, even when wearing shoes. Mr. Mori's house, which I used to visit quite often, was gone. As for the brain hospital, it was as if it had never existed. There were many charred corpses on the roadsides near ruined houses. A corpse that seemed to be Mr. Ikeda's wife of my neighborhood association was also there.

I looked at the ruins of my previous residence, 295 (Yamazato-machi). The house was gone. There were several unknown corpses lying amid

broken bricks in the garden and pond. It was a horrible sight. Perhaps Ikeda, who had arranged our evacuation from town, had burned to death. I prayed for the repose of the souls of the dead and hurried to Yamazato Elementary School.

For a short cut, I took the road beside the elementary school, but the concrete bridge over Urakami had collapsed half-way and I could not cross it. I thought about going down the stream, but I saw a big girder down below left intact. I came back and crossed the girder. I looked at the river from the bridge. Corpses were lying in a pile on the water's edge. People had probably gone down to the river bank to drink water and, unable to move, had died there. All of them were stripped almost completely of their clothes. I could not understand what was going on. It is a miracle that I am still alive.

Near the front of the Mitsubishi Arms Factory, a transport cart and its luggage had fallen into a rice paddy. I heard later that these were Professor Kitamura's possessions. He had asked other people to move his household goods to his evacuation site. For several days, the goods were left there.

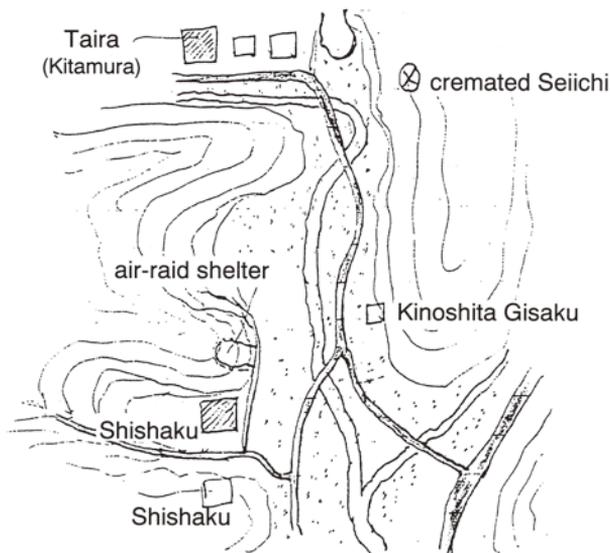
On the way, I stopped over at the house of Kawamoto and arranged for the relief station with Kataoka Shunichi. I already described this event in the diary.

(3) About Professor Kitamura

In July 1945, Professor Kitamura asked me, "I would like to evacuate. Is there any suitable place in Nameshi?" So, I discussed it with the grandmother of Shishaku's family. She suggested the home of her married younger sister, the Taira family. She conveyed my inquiry to her sister because it was my request. Earlier that year, I had treated the severe appendicitis of Mr. Taira's daughter, which was also the reason I could evacuate to the house of the Shishaku family. They kindly consented to the idea. They began the move on August 8 (?). It seems that during the moving of household items on August 9, they were exposed to the explosion of the atomic bomb on the way to Nameshi.

On August 9, the day of the bombing, Professor Kitamura was injured in the out-patient clinic. Because the room was facing south, he survived with only minor wounds from pieces of glass to his face. He was brought to this evacuation site at Nameshi on a bicycle-drawn cart in the evening that day. When I returned on August 10, around 3 o'clock in the afternoon, Seiichi, my eldest son who had been wounded at the Ohashi Arms Factory, had already been bandaged by Dr. Kitamura. Was the bandaging done on the way home on the 9th or after Seiichi returned home and Dr. Kitamura came back on the morning of the 10th? My wife Sumiko also could not recollect exactly.

On August 9, the Shishaku family (grandmother, Shuji's sisters, and their child Emiko) and my family (wife, Seiichi, Choko, Reiko, Junko) spent the night in the air raid shelter behind the hill of the Shishaku



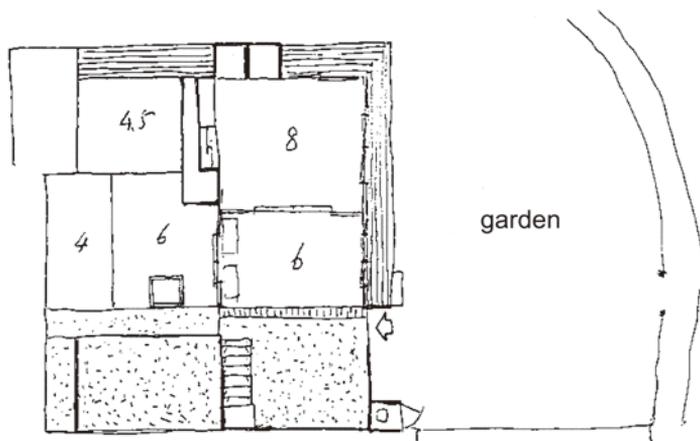
family house. Everybody worried about Koji and me and spent the night in fear, unable to sleep. They greeted me in tears at about 3 o'clock on the afternoon on August 10, but Koji had not returned home yet. It was a sleepless night. Seiichi was unexpectedly cheerful, but he was still in pain from burns to the whole area of the back and posterior aspect of both arms. He could not sleep.

(4) Damage to the house and my family's movement.

The house was 4 km northwest of the hypocenter. There was a hill separating it from the hypocenter. The house was built on a slope on the opposite site. Looking from the porch, one sees a rice paddy and a little stream and valley opposite the hill. It was a house with a nice view.

At the moment of the atomic bomb explosion, I was in my office in the university hospital, 700 meters from the hypocenter. My eldest son, Seiichi, was in a second floor room of a concrete building at the Mitsubishi Arms Factory in Ohashi, 1.2 km. from the hypocenter. My second son, Koji, was in the anatomy auditorium of the university, about 550 meters from the hypocenter. My youngest daughter, Junko, a second grade elementary school pupil, usually went to the Michinoo Branch School, but

Mrs. Kitamura came to Mr. Taira's house for evacuation on the afternoon of August 8, but Professor Kitamura did not come with her. He came in wounded on the evening of the 9th for the first time (according to Mr. Taira). Perhaps he stayed overnight in their house alone. (According to Mr. Taira, Professor Kitamura came home at about 8 or 9 p.m., when it was already dark.)



The Shishaku residence at 1518 Nameshi-go, Nagasaki-shi
(we borrowed the 8- and 6-mat rooms adjacent to the entrance)

the school was closed that day because of the air-raid alarm early in the morning, and she was sitting on the porch of Mr. Taira's house, where Prof. Kitamura had evacuated about 4.5 km from the hypocenter. The others were in the house.

My mother was working in the vestibule. Sumiko, my wife, was in the tatami room. Choko and Reiko were sitting on the porch and talking with their legs dangling over the edge.

It seems that Choko ran to the front of the chest-of-drawers in the corner of the tatami room because she saw a blue-white flash, then the sliding doors were blown out and glass windows blown to pieces. The futon (bed quilts) fell on her head. These futons had been piled up on the top of dresser because there was no closet.

Sumiko also saw a blue-white flash. She knew that this was something unusual. As she was calling the family members, the house shook and the glass windows shattered. The paper I had written for a medical journal fluttered down like flower petals from the top of the dresser where I had placed it. She will never forget the flash of light.

Mother shouted, "A bomb has been dropped on our house! Quick! Quick!" She was in the midst of confusion. Everyone ran into the tunnel shelter with members of the Shishaku family. They worried about Junko first, because they knew that she had gone to the house of Prof. Kitamura's wife. But she came back soon and joined the group.

For a while, they just peeped outside the shelter. The people down the road were running around in chaos. News came in that a big bomb had been dropped on Nagasaki and that houses were burning. Therefore, my wife worried about Seiichi, Koji and me. She is still frightened to talk about the event even 25 years later.

Everybody ran into the shelter, leaving the house the way it was. When they returned to the house and started cleaning up the mess, Seiichi came home with his white shirt torn to shreds. He blew up in anger, "Damn it! Damn it!" when he saw everybody (around mid-day of August 9, I believe).

Seiichi told the following story after he had calmed down. Around 11 o'clock, there was a flash of light like lightning, followed by shaking as if in an earthquake. Then the rooms collapsed and he fled, concerned about the fate of his father and Koji. He got to Ohashi, but he could not go further because there was a sea of fire. At that time, people were running around and a victim grasped his leg, seeking help, and would not let him leave. Anyway, Seiichi gave up the idea to go to the university and came home. Nagasaki was in chaos. He did not know the fate of his father and others. I was told how he had worried about Koji and me.

When Seiichi had gone to the shelter, after receiving oil treatment for the burns on his back and changed into a new white shirt, Sumiko got the news that Dr. Kitamura had returned on a bicycle-drawn cart. Sumiko and the others went together to the house of the Taira family to seek information about Koji and me and to get treatment for Seiichi. It was not clear what time on August 9, perhaps late afternoon or evening.

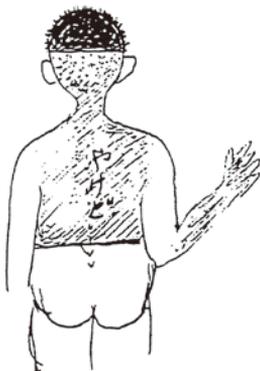
Sumiko and Choko discussed with Professor Kitamura the idea of going to look for us at the university, but Professor Kitamura stopped them saying, "There is nothing you can find. It is dangerous now. You'd better not go" (Choko's story).

My family spent a sleepless night without knowing the fate of Koji or me on August 9. I can imagine their anxiety; I too was worried about Koji but could not abandon the burned victims. I spent a night on the hill behind the university knowing that they would be happy to see me when I returned uninjured. I imagined their cheers when I returned.

Sumiko got the news that I was all right at about 10 o'clock on the morning of August 10. The news came from a sister of Miss Kakita, a classmate of Choko's, followed by two students (unclear who they were). Also, there was a message from Kawamoto. Sumiko felt the burden of anxiety lift.

Perhaps it was around 3 o'clock in the afternoon when I returned to the evacuation site (the situation is described on page 15). The house

According to Mr. Taira, Professor Kitamura came back from the university on the evening of August 9. He had never been to Mr. Taira's house; therefore, he went to Mr. Kataoka of the town association and met Mr. Taira, who was there by coincidence, and was escorted to the house immediately. Perhaps Sumiko and the children visited Professor Kitamura on the evening of the 9th or the morning of 10th. In any case, Seiichi received treatment for his burn wounds and was bandaged by Professor Kitamura before I got back to the Shishaku house on the afternoon of the 10th. Because the whole body bandage was done professionally, it was most likely the work of Professor Kitamura.



The burns extended over the entire back, but not the upper arms. This may be due to the fact that he rolled up the sleeves of his shirt. He suffered burns on his right forearm and the back of his right hand because the right side of his body had faced the hypocenter and he had been working with his right arm bent.

was in a shambles when I stepped in. The sliding doors were broken, glass was smashed, and the ceiling had floated up, showing the tremendous power of the blast. It was lucky in that gruesome situation that the house had not burned.

Seiichi was lying with his whole body bandaged in the tatami room. He apologized with tears for falling into this condition, and he talked eagerly about the terrible scene of yesterday. I examined his burns thoroughly, and I was relieved to see that they were not life-threatening.

At the moment of the atomic bomb explosion, Seiichi had been drafting a map on the table behind an open window. He had been wearing a cap (school or military, unclear). His hair covered by the cap was intact, but the exposed portion at the back of his head was burned bare as if cut by a razor. The burns covered the entire area of his back, neck, right front arm, and the dorsal area of hands. The part of his body covered by his trousers escaped burns, but with a sharp demarcation. When I examined him, I found that he had second degree burns without pus. He was in relatively good spirits. Perhaps the window behind him had been open. Part of his white shirt had been charred and torn into pieces by the blast. I was amazed again by the tremendous power of the explosion.

I stayed overnight on August 10 in the house of the Shishaku family (see page 15). My mother, Sumiko, and three daughters felt safe for the first time.

[August 11]

On August 11, I went to the university with Nurse Murakami, who had stayed in my house the previous night. According to this publication [my diary] I asked Mr. Sako, a neighbor living near my evacuation site in the Shishaku house, to come along with us. Previously, he had gone to the university on a bicycle-drawn cart to transport medicine and surgical supplies. I remember that we two took a shortcut on the train tracks since transportation by train had not started yet, and Mr. Sako drove his bicycle-drawn cart on the road.

On the way, as we were walking on the tracks, an enemy plane flew over. I remember that we jumped down to the bottom of the valley to avoid machine gun fire. The enemy plane did nothing and flew south. Perhaps it came for reconnaissance.

When I arrived at the university, I reported immediately to Acting President Koyano, and started to select the wounded patients for Nameshi.

(1) The Death of Professor Naito Katsutoshi

This is how we discovered the body of Professor Naito Katsutoshi. I was talking to Professor Koyano in the burned-out site of the Shirabe Surgical Department, when Matsuse Sumiyoshi, a fourth-year medical college student, reported, "Professor Naito's body is in the hallway of the gynecology department." He showed me a fountain pen, a pocket book, and a cigarette case which had been taken from the body. The cigarette case caught me by surprise: I knew he did not smoke, so it was strange to see he had the cigarette case. Furthermore, several paper talisman bills or charms against evil came out. Even so, I could not be sure that these were Dr. Naito's belongings, but I opened the pocket book. There was a street car pass which had the name "Naito Katsutoshi" written on it. The corpse was clearly identified as his.

I immediately went to the department with Matsuse. The building was not burned out. A large beam had fallen near Dr. Naito's corpse. The beam must have struck him on the head. He was lying fully clothed and was bent like a shrimp, facing east. There was a red-black mark on the nearby white wall to the right. It must have been from his right hand. He had been trying to stop the bleeding from his head and put his bloody hand on the wall. It was like the hand mark on paper made by sumo wrestlers, only smaller.

The body was swollen with postmortem changes. His face was black and unrecognizable. Dr. Naito's whereabouts were unknown after the bombing. There was even a rumor that he was still alive or that perhaps he had gone home before the bombing. But now his death was certain.

(2) Death of Professor Takagi Jungoro and Associate Professor Ishizaki Professor Takagi, who was received at the shelter behind the hospital kitchen on August 10, was weak. He had no appetite. He would not eat or drink, not even a liquid diet. His pulse was weak. His face was earthy

brown rather than blue–white because he has a dark complexion. On the afternoon of August 11, his mental state was visibly altered. He came down from his bed and repeatedly said that he wanted to go home. We prepared a stretcher to transport him, but at the insistence of Professor Sano, we stopped for fear that he would die in transit. Instead, with a few students, we used the stretcher to transport Professor Sofune to the house of Professor Sano and decided to keep Professor Takagi in the shelter for observation. However, his condition deteriorated steadily and he died at 7 o'clock in the evening. His wife was not at his bedside. I was sorry that he had been cared for only by his friends and students.

University records say that Associate Professor Ishizaki died on August 11 (*Wasurenagusa*, Volume 1, p. 20). According to Professor Koyano, Dr. Ishizaki “died after four days of care in the shelter,” which means he died on August 12 or 13 (*Wasurenagusa*, Volume 1, p. 21, notes by Ishizaki Tokumasa). According to notes from Iwanaga Mitsuo, Dr. Ishizaki died on August 16 (*Tsuioku*, p. 75).

There were several opinions about when he died. I believe that he died on August 11 or 12 from my observation of his condition on the 9th, 10th and 11th. He was omitted from the list of patients transported to Nameshi. It is probably accurate to say that he died the evening of the 11th. However, I was in the university until evening and then went back to Nameshi. I did not see him, so the time of his death is uncertain.

[August 12]

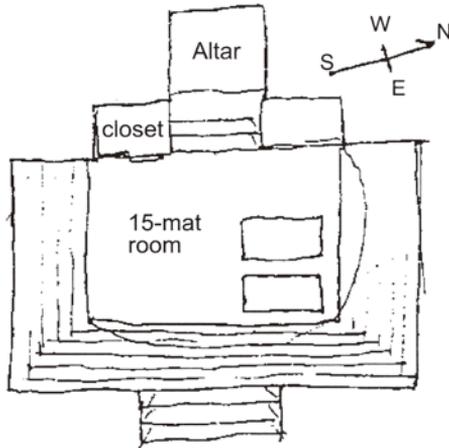
According to my diary, the president was transferred to the Iwaya Club on August 13, but the same diary states that “President Tsunoo and Professor Yamane were transferred on the night of August 12.” Perhaps I wrote this because I assumed that they would not be coming on the 12th but found out when I went to the Iwaya Club on August 13 that President Tsunoo and some other people had spent the night there.

There were several students staying in the Iwaya Club. Perhaps the wounded students and nurses were placed on the floor while the president and Professor Yamane stayed on stretchers. Because we planned to admit them to the Nameshi shrine, the shrine’s worship hall was cleaned by the nurses on the 12th and it was ready for their admission. But they arrived in the evening; therefore, I did not know about their arrival and could not take them to the shrine.

My Memory of Events From August 13 to September 25

[August 13]

The transportation of the university president and other wounded personnel was done last night instead of today. He must have been lonely. I was quite ashamed. Right away, I brought two bed quilts from my house to the shrine and received the president and Professor Yamane. The president was placed inside, near the north side porch. Professor



Yamane was in front, lying with his head toward the south. There were no tatami mats on the floor, no paper screen, or sliding shutters on the side. The shrine was built on the top of a little hill, surrounded by dense woods. It was cooler than the city below. I was relieved to hear the president saying, "This is a nice place, and I am feeling well."

Head Nurse Maeda of Tsunoo Medical Department had been looking after Dr. Tsunoo from August 9 and now had to attend to Professor Yamane as well. I changed their bandages once a day (I think the attending nurse was one of the Shirabe Surgery nurses staying at Iwaya Club). My daughters (especially Junko) brought meals, but it did not amount to three meals a day and so I think Head Nurse Maeda cooked meals for herself and also for Drs. Tsunoo and Yamane when food did not arrive from our house. Professor Yamane did not have any relatives nearby. Moreover, Mrs. Tsunoo was at home (the president's residence in Nishiyama) looking after her children and so did not appear today. In *Tsuioku*, Head Nurse Maeda recalls that Drs. Osajima, Tejima, Nakamura and Tsuchiyama came along today, but what she means I think is that they came, not on August 13, but between August 13 and August 22, the

Head Nurse Maeda Harue's notes describe President Tsunoo's situation in detail (*Tsuioku*, p. 63).

The death of President Tsunoo was described in notes of Head Nurse Maeda Harue (*Tsuioku*, p. 63). President Tsunoo and others were transported by bus on the evening of August 12 and spent a night on the floor of Iwaya Club, according to notes by Takahashi Hiroshi (*Tsuioku*, page 6). I do not believe it was by bus. According to the notes of Head Nurse Maeda Harue, it was a truck (*Tsuioku*, p. 66). However, Kitago (third-year medical school) came and accompanied the president to Iwaya Club, and he stated clearly that it was a bus.

day that Dr. Tsunoo died.

After completing the transfer of patients to the shrine, I am quite certain that I returned to Iwaya Club and engaged in duties such as attending to the wounded and making house calls. But I am also sure that I went to the shrine twice every day, in the morning and evening, to check on Dr. Tsunoo.

[August 14]

In the morning I went to the shrine. The president's condition was not critical. His temperature was a little high, but he was in unexpectedly good spirits. Professor Yamane's jaw stiffness, gradually starting since yesterday, had worsened: whole body convulsions started to appear. Every time people came to the shrine for worship and rang the bell, he developed a strong opisthotonus [spastic muscle arching of the back]. I don't know how the president acquired it, but he gave me a bottle of antitetanus serum, saying "Give (Yamane) an injection." Right away, I injected half of it (40 cc) intravenously and another half subcutaneously around the wound, but I did not expect Yamane to suddenly be better. Anyway, I had no alternative. I decided to observe his condition for a while.

The worst thing was that Professor Yamane, realizing that he was in a terminal stage, persistently requested liquor. I knew he was a drinker, and I wanted to do something for him, but it was war time; there was no rice available due to government restrictions. I gave him diluted alcohol, but he went into spasms as soon as he sipped it. He just could not drink it. He requested that we give him the alcohol by inserting a feeding tube for food passage. Dr. Kido tried, but he developed spasms as soon as the tip of the tube reached his pharynx. He pulled it out by himself and wept with a faint voice, "It is no use." I felt very sad.

Most of the wounded patients in the club were suffering from severe diarrhea. Moreover, the stools were bloody. Suspecting cholera, we moved these patients to a corner of the room to isolate them. Their temperatures were high, above 40°C, and their condition was getting worse. Today, two of the students died. The students taking care of them mourned their friends' deaths, piled up their corpses in a vacant lot, and devoutly watched the flames of cremation. I am not sure how many people died on this day.

[August 15]

Professor Yamane's condition only became more critical as time went by.

Around August 15, I counted Seiichi's red blood cells with a blood counter, which had been brought home earlier by Koji from his hospital training. His red blood cell count was very low. I do not remember the exact number, but the white blood cells were in broken shapes or like dust. There were no normally shaped white blood cells. I thought the reagent was out of date or spoiled. I regret not testing non-victims as a control.

He lost his appetite, then his consciousness became dim. He was just waiting for death now. None of his relatives came. Finally, he expired. The time was past 7 o'clock according to my records (*Tsuioku*, p. 7), but according to notes by Head Nurse Maeda it was just before the Emperor's noon broadcast to end the war (*Tsuioku*, p. 68). The broadcast of the Emperor was at noon, so Yamane's death would have been in the morning. But the shrine had no radio; therefore, Maeda would not have heard the Emperor's broadcast. I was walking on the road, and I did not hear the broadcast. I learned about it from people passing by. I don't know the exact time Professor Yamane died, but it was certainly on August 15. Also, I do not remember how and where he was cremated.

The condition of the president is described in Head Nurse Maeda's notes (*Tsuioku*, p. 68). I think her description is correct. Head Nurse Maeda went home after meeting the president's wife there. I do not remember when that was. However, she writes that the president stood up to say farewell to her. The day is probably well before August 22, the day of his death. Perhaps it was August 16 or 17.

In the Iwaya Club, patients died continuously. We were kept busy doing cremations. Nurse Kido remembered a patient who needed a lower extremity amputation. We did not have the surgical instruments, so we borrowed an ordinary saw from civilians and cut the bone after we sterilized the saw in a face washing pan. I recall the event. I remember that the sterilization of syringes was done with water in a pan put on a fire or charcoal burner, because we did not have a surgical sterilizer.

[August 16]

After the death of Professor Yamane, the president was alone in the shrine. The head nurse was still with him, but his diarrhea became more frequent. I asked Associate Professor Osajima to come. The president received medical treatment in accordance with his discussion with Dr. Osajima. I only took part in the surgical treatment of the wounds.

At the house, Seiichi's condition deteriorated. His burn wounds produced a thin murky black secretion, instead of the clear yellow pus of septicemia (blood poisoning). His pulse was fast and weak. His mind was still clear, but his face was black with cyanosis, and he realized that the time of his death was coming. He expressed gratitude to his parents, apologized for his early death, and said that if he was reincarnated, he would take revenge on our enemy. He appeared calm, but later began to show a little anxiety.

I worried for the president and the students of Iwaya Club, but I could not leave my son. Seiichi's condition was very bad. He could die at any time. I stayed at his bedside even though I knew it was hopeless. Junko gave words of encouragement, but Seiichi's voice gradually became faint, and he expired peacefully at about noon.

The remains were cremated on Mr. Taira's hill. A man carried Seiichi's body on his back and climbed to the middle of a hill, and his

remains were cremated on top of a pile of wood. He was 18 years and 8 months old. It was a short life. I grieved for him.

After the cremation, I again went to see patients in the shrine and the Iwaya Club and responded to the house calls that were being requested endlessly. This situation did not allow me to stay in my home for my personal concerns. Today, also, several corpses were cremated. We were running out of lumber for cremations.

There was the case of the Yamashita family, a relative of the Shishaku family. Their child, a 14 or 15 year old boy named Yamashita Kunio, worked in a locomotive engine shop at Nagasaki Station. He suffered 2nd or 3rd degree burns over his entire back but managed to return home after the atomic bombing. I remember making several house calls to see him. The first was on August 13 or 14. The entire back of his body had been coated with sesame oil, and a layer of thin bamboo bark, which has a white membrane inside, was applied to the skin surface. I had never seen this kind of treatment, and I admired the idea. This child was a relative of the Shishaku family. I visited him daily and gave him glucose injections. He miraculously survived.

Later on, he developed keloid scars. I admitted him to the Omura Naval Hospital, where we started treatment in late September. I dissected part of his keloid and performed a skin graft. The keloid on his back was too big, so I did not perform surgery on it, but it gradually healed. It is almost gone now. His daily life was not disturbed. He healed well. It is perhaps because Nagasaki Station is located 2.5 km from the hypocenter that his radiation injury was not as severe as Seiichi's.

Mr. Fukuda Yoshio, director of the arms factory, also survived even though he had suffered several wounds on the face in the same building as Seiichi. Also, Miss Yamaguchi, 18 years old at that time, survived. I met her recently. She was on the third floor of the same building. She survived despite burns on both of her forearms. In contrast to Seiichi who was exposed to radiation rays on his back through an open window, both people perhaps survived because they were shielded by a concrete wall. I also heard about a boy sitting behind a concrete wall between two windows who had survived. The difference between life and death was only paper thin. It might be said that it was simply a matter of luck.

[August 17]

The condition of President Tsunoo seemed to be deteriorating. The president's brother, Dr. Tsunoo Shigeru, professor of pharmacology at Showa Medical School at that time, came from Tokyo and took care of him. He took the president's temperature but when asked by him, "How

The fact that "I examined Yamashita Kunio early in the morning on August 12" is evident from my record of that day (page 18, lines 6 and 7 from the bottom).

high is it?" Shigeru replied "39°C." He showed me the thermometer, and it showed 41°C. If Shigeru had told the truth, the president would have been worried. The president lamented, saying, "If I sweat, my fever will come down, but I cannot seem to sweat." I admired his medical expertise.

When his wife arrived, he said in a faint voice, "Miyō-san, we shall go back to Ibaragi and enter private practice after I recover." When such a great scholar confesses his true thoughts, he must realize that there is no hope, not only for the Nagasaki Medical University, but also for Imperial Japan. I thought deeply about his feelings of resignation.

During the day, I was very busy without a break, treating patients at the Iwaya Club and making house calls as usual. After a lonely supper at home without Seiichi or Koji, I was requested to make a house call to Okubo, our neighbor. I was tired, but I went alone. There was an old man lying in a pool of blood. An area of more than two tatami mats was stained red with fresh blood. There was a big cut on his left cheek, still bleeding. He was almost dead. I was told that he had gotten into a fight over rationed rice and had been slashed with a Japanese sword. The laceration extended diagonally for about 10 cm from the corner of the eye and under the right cheekbone. It was still bleeding slightly. Shocked at the sight of it, I took what cloth there was at hand (I think it was gauze but I cannot remember for certain) and pressed this against the wound, then told one of the young family members to run to Iwaya Club and fetch my suturing equipment. He did not bring everything I needed the first time and so I had to make him go twice. In the meantime I kept the cloth pressed against the wound. After about an hour, at eight o'clock I think, Kataoka Shun'ichi (chairman of the neighborhood association) appeared in the garden and said, "Dr. Shirabe, I suggest that you ignore that patient and flee as quickly as possible. The police at Sumiyoshi were the first to run away when rumors started going around about the landing of American troops." It was kind advice, but as a surgeon I couldn't leave a dying patient. I replied, "He may die if I leave him. I cannot stop my work. I will think about it after suturing," and I finished the job alone. I sutured the wound after I got all the surgical supplies. I did the surgical operation without the assistance of Dr. Kido or a nurse. I do not know why they were not there. Perhaps they were in the Iwaya Club.

This patient's wound healed completely without infection. After his recovery, I remember that he brought a chicken, killed and plucked, to express his gratitude.

[August 18]

In the Shishaku house, three people—the mother, daughter and granddaughter—were preparing to flee to Mt. Iwaya. We were also advised to take refuge, but I left word to my wife and children: "It is alright. Stay home until I get back." And I went to the Iwaya Club, accompanied by nurses. On the way there, in front of Mr. Kataoka's house, there was a big cart carrying belongings and people. He said they

were escaping to the Muramatsu area now.

At the Iwaya Club, the nurses were requesting, "Please let me go home. I am afraid," with tears in their eyes. I thought that I would have no excuse to give their parents if anything happened to them after surviving the atomic bombing, so I decided to close the relief station and prepare to transfer the patients.

The destinations were Tokitsu, Isahaya, Omura, etc. I do not remember how many patients were still alive at that point or where or by what means they were carried away, but I do recall that Akira Fujiwara, a fourth-year medical student, was among them. He had not suffered burns; if I remember correctly he had a fractured elbow. He departed alone, saying that he had a relative living in Okusa and that he intended to go there. I had the opportunity later to make the acquaintance of that relative, whose name was Fujiwara Masaharu. Fortunately Dr. Fujiwara survived and today is a private practitioner in Sendai, Kagoshima Prefecture.

All of the nurses went their own way. Some returned to Tokitsu. Some went together for an overnight stay in their friends' homes. People returning to the Goto Islands crossed the mountains and went towards Shikimi and Mie. They probably had to stay overnight somewhere and find a ferry to return to their homes. A nurse named Abe had suffered a large laceration from the left side of her mouth to her cheek in the bombing. I stitched the wound carefully. I do not remember when she left or where she went.

A big man, a victim of the bomb, was alive, yet because of his critical condition we could not transfer him to another place. He was left alone in the club. He died the following morning. Two or three people carried the body to the cemetery. Kawamoto of pharmacy and a Taiwanese student were among the porters. I remember that we pushed the cremated remains into somebody's big tomb. I felt badly, but we had no other choice at the time.

On the evening of August 18, the nurses were all gone and the treatment of the wounded was almost complete. I gave a farewell party at the house of the Shishaku family. Two chickens that had been raised by Koji were cooked and a quart of Japanese wine was provided by the Hizuka Winery. At first we asked for two quarts, but the store manager would not give them to us. I told him that goods would be confiscated by the American forces anyway, so he gave us one quart. We had a party at the Shishaku family house in the village where not a single villager remained. Who was there though? I remember that Associate Professor Kido, Ueno (third year medical school) and Katayama were there for sure, along with perhaps three or four others. Altogether, there must have been six or seven people. Among them, three people stayed in my house till August 24. The others went elsewhere. Our daughters welcomed the guests after the loss of the two boys in our family.

[August 19 to September 2]

Regarding President Tsunoo, Takahashi Hiroshi (*Tsuioku*, p. 60) has described his condition in detail, as well as Head Nurse Maeda Harue (*Tsuioku*, p. 63). I will avoid repeating their testimony. When the president died, neither of the above people were there. My record is the only other document available (*Tsuioku*, p. 5, 6).

According to my records, President Tsunoo died on August 22 at 10 o'clock in the morning. The people at his bedside were his wife, Dr. Tsunoo Shigeru, Professor Koyano and department staff members (perhaps, Associate Professor Osajima and others). Maybe my wife, Sumiko, was there as well. Associate Professor Kido, Ueno, Katayama were still staying in my house (*Tsuioku*, p. 84, written by Shirabe), and so they may have been there too. At least Dr. Kido was there.

While Dr. Kido and others were still in my house, Junko enjoyed playing with them and pulling out Ueno's hair on the porch (Junko was 8 years old at that time). I stopped her immediately because Ueno's loss of hair was a symptom of atomic bomb disease.

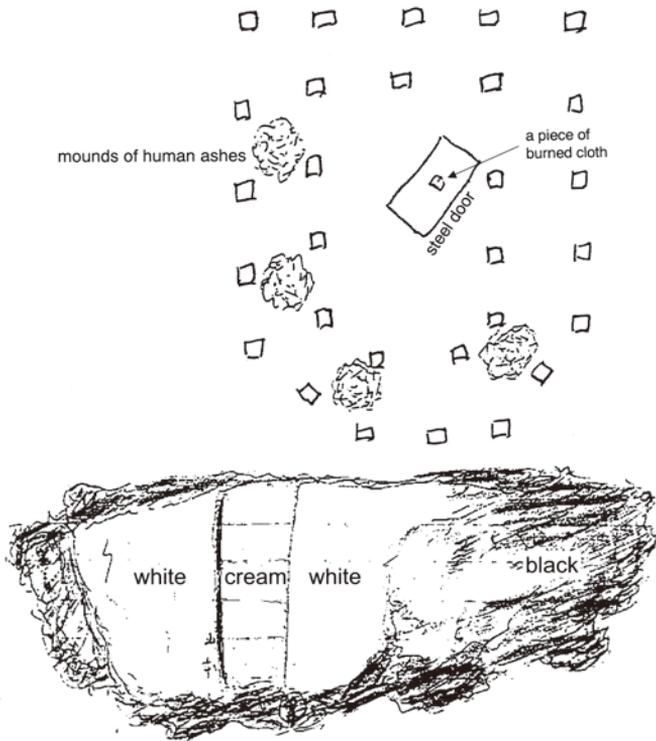
Kido, Ueno, and Katayama were still at my house on the following day, August 24, and were present for the president's funeral on August 23 (*Tsuioku*, p. 84). They all subsequently suffered from atomic bomb disease.

[August 28]

When the relief activities were completed, Sumiko and I, with our three daughters, went to the university hospital to investigate Koji's fate. He had not come back for three weeks after the bombing. His whereabouts were unknown. I guessed that he had burned to death during class in the anatomy auditorium. The hill of the basic science campus was completely gutted, with only the base of the wooden building remaining here and there.

Several hundred crows were flying in the sky, looking for carrion flesh. Their voices were angry, as if they were cursing the souls of the dead. It was an uncanny scene. We five, parents and children, went to the site of the anatomy auditorium. The wooden floor had burned up, leaving only the remains of the concrete bases, each about 1 meter high (30 cm × 30 cm × 100 cm), as shown in the drawing. Three or four mounds of human ashes were piled between the inner and outer rows of bases. These mounds were either those of the helpless students who grouped together and burned to death or the work of somebody who came and collected the scattered ashes.

In this situation, I could not identify any of the remains. Junko called us, "There is something here," and I went over. There was a piece of burned cloth attached to the steel door falling apart in the middle of the auditorium, perhaps an entrance door, as shown in the drawing. I looked at it. It was a white cloth, the fabric worn in front near the hook part of blue serge trousers. The white cloth was attached to the steel door in



(seen from the back; the front is navy blue cotton)

reverse and "Yamamoto" was written in black ink on the edge of the cloth.

Yamamoto was the only son of my eldest sister, Tamano. He had been drafted to serve as a naval medical officer after graduating from Kyushu University Medical School and was stationed in Rabaul, a naval base in the South Pacific. My son had obtained a student uniform from his cousin. At that time, all of the students were wearing khaki workman's jackets. Koji was the only one wearing a blue serge student uniform. I knew this was no coincidence. Perhaps he fell face down at the door and burned completely. Only a part of his trousers was left from the fire.

The death of Koji was thus confirmed. The hope that "he may come back from somewhere" was gone. We went home disheartened. Of course, we picked up his ashes from beside the door. After that, I was totally drained of energy; I had no courage to do anything. I spent several days making house calls to victims at the encouragement of my mother, Sumiko, and my children. I walked slowly and staggeringly like a sleep walker.

[September 3 to September 25]

This was a period when I also suffered from acute atomic bomb disease. I was lying in bed in critical condition until I got better and was able to go to Omura Naval Hospital.

Around September 3, my general malaise was severe: I was in such a condition that even walking was impossible. At that time, I thought I was just tired, but the truth is that I had radiation sickness from the atomic bombing. That day, I was called to the university headquarters for an emergency meeting. It was an important meeting regarding the university's re-establishment, but I do not remember anything. I am sure that it was not the matter of moving to the Omura Naval Hospital. I did not know about moving until the end of September (cf. page 41).

That day, I decided I could not go out by myself. I took Choko as my companion and left Nameshi. I am sure that I went to Nagasaki Station by train from Michinoo Station. I went from Nagasaki Station to the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, a two-story red-brick building in Sakura-machi. The university headquarters was there. The building was later demolished (in 1959). In Ogawa-machi, I remember seeing Associate Professor Osajima walking five or six meters ahead of us. He walked in slow, unsteady steps, the same as me. It might even be best to describe them as cow steps. I tried to catch up to him, but I could not reach him. I tried to call out to him, but I could not shout. I remember that we kept moving at the same distance apart from each other until we arrived at the building. Dr. Osajima was weak, just like me.

I chatted with a Kumamoto Medical School professor on the street at Sakura-machi Park, but I am not sure if the meeting was that day or not. Also, I am not sure if this day was the day of heavy rains. Idori-no-kuchi was flooded. I had to walk along the road under the cliff of Mezame-machi. I remember that white smoke was blowing up from the acetylene gas downriver. However, I also remember that the day I went to Nagasaki from Nameshi was August 23, the day of President Tsunoo's funeral. August 28 was the day I searched for Koji's remains. And September 3 was the day of the emergency meeting.

From September 4 (or would it be correct to put the date from the afternoon of the 3rd?), I fell sick and was in no condition to get up. Around this time, I discovered numerous millet grain size subcutaneous hemorrhagic spots on my upper arms and thighs. I could not tell Sumiko, but I was very much afraid. I thought, this time it was my turn. Professor Kitamura came to visit me from the porch. I showed him my spots. He said, "I also have them," and showed me his spots. He was in good shape. My spots were also seen by Sumiko. She said, "It must be flea bites. I also have small ones." Suddenly I became fearful. I had Choko give me an intravenous vitamin C injection. She also gave me an intravenous injection of 20 cc calcium for my sore throat. I got these injections while teaching her the method, which she did with great skill. However, the site of the injections became spots and would not fade away.

Choko was 14 years old at that time. I praised her for how well she could do intravenous injections.

For a week I was looking at the spots on my arms and thighs and thinking, "What is going to happen after I die? Should I make a will?" I had a hard time. I had no appetite. My body languished, and I could not even turn over in bed. I could not speak out loud and became speechless. After a week, the spots of the injection needle sites became faint for the first time. I looked thoroughly at the spots. Starting with the small ones, the spots were changing color from purple to blue, then to yellow gradually. I started to think "I may survive" around September 12 or 13.

I think it was around September 16 that Fujii Hiroshi came in. He brought me a beer bottle filled with soup of beef bone extract. It was delicious. I forget if it was on that day or the next day, but Fujii also brought a blood counter and checked on me. The result of my blood cell count is as follows: 3.5 million red blood cells and 2,400 white blood cells (below normal).

One day during that time, Koda, a third year medical school student and the one who came up to the top of the hill carrying Professor Takagi on his back, suddenly came in and asked to stay overnight. I said, "We are lonely after the deaths of our two sons, so it is okay for you to stay." However, he was a chatterbox. He kept talking. In the beginning, I listened to him, but I got tired later. I hoped he would fall asleep soon.

Then, Koda found a bottle of alcohol in the vestibule and asked, "Doctor, can I have a drink?" "If you die as result, don't hold me responsible, I replied." He added glucose to the alcohol and drank it with joy. He then said, "How about a drink, Doctor!" I thought I shouldn't drink because of the damage to my liver, but when he persisted, I tasted a small amount of it diluted with glucose in a wine cup. It was delicious. I felt my body warm up. I got more strength to talk. I felt so good that I decided to drink a small cup at breakfast and dinner every day. I became more cheerful because of this. Sumiko also said, "You look better."

Well, if I could heal my illness with wine, which I did not dislike, that was very good. The bottle of alcohol in the vestibule suddenly seemed like a precious commodity. For me, it was a savior. I regained my strength and became more confident after starting to drink. And the spots on my arms and thighs disappeared on about September 20. However, the color of my skin was not good; it had no luster and was wrinkled. I did not suffer from sweating because I did not have fever, but my skin was dry.

After I escaped from death, I had nothing to do in Shishaku's house but to think. I had managed to survive, but Seiichi and Koji would never return to enjoy their youth. What would become of the Shirabe family? Aside from that question, what was the future of the ruined Nagasaki Medical University? Could I get my job back after the re-establishment

of the university hospital ?

I was depressed and did not have even a single day when I felt cheerful. I did not have the energy or courage to visit the university until September 24. (Continued on page 41. Noted on the morning of July 23, 1970.)

The posthumous Buddhist names of Seiichi and Koji are as follows :
Seiichi—*Chishoin Shakushojin Koji* (died August 16, 1945, aged 18)
Koji—*Junshinin Shakukodo Koji* (died August 9, 1945, aged 16)

Part 2

Re-establishment of the Medical University

1. Circumstances of the move to Omura Naval Hospital

I heard for the first time that the Medical University could use Omura Naval Hospital on the evening of September 24 from Professor Kitamura when he came back from Nagasaki. Said Kitamura, "The superintendent of the Omura Hospital is Rear Admiral Yasuyama, who is a graduate of the Nagasaki Medical University and has fought with his full powers for its future. As a result of his negotiations with the American Occupation Forces, the hospital will not be confiscated, and he was told to transfer the Nagasaki Medical University for the formation of a medical center there. It will be helpful to have even one more person, either a professor, associate professor, instructor, or student, to be in the Omura Naval Hospital to participate in treatment and research on the bombing victims. You better go there along with Professor Kitamura, as well as for your own recuperation."

September 26 was the day that the buses would come from Omura to the Shinkozen Elementary School to transfer patients. I was told to be in Shinkozen before 1 p.m. Of course, I agreed to be there. In the evening, Dr. Mori came and expressed his wish to go with me. I replied, "I would like to have your companionship."

(September 26)

At 9 a.m. on September 26, Dr. Mori came to my house. I packed the clinical history forms, blood cell counter and a few of my personal belongings and left my Nameshi home at 10 o'clock to catch the 10:56 southbound train to Nagasaki. I met Professor Kitamura at Michino Station.

We arrived at Shinkozen Elementary School, ate lunch at the medical service station, then made rounds on the second floor patient ward with students guiding us. While I was explaining about a wound, time ran out. I returned to the medical service station and waited for the arrival of Professor Kageura. Two buses with the cross mark and one truck came from the Omura Naval Hospital. While students were carrying patients to the buses, a message came from a member of the Medical Association: "Do not bring the patients to the Naval Hospital today." I could not understand what was going on. I told them to hold the order until the arrival of Professor Kageura.

Soon, Professor Kageura arrived and negotiated with President Takao of the City Medical Association. The result of the negotiations was as follows: "The patients are apprehensive about the rumor that the

temporary relief station will be closed soon. The city does not want to make the patients uneasy, so at least do not bring the patients out today." We thought that it would not be a problem because we were transferring only those who volunteered to leave, but there may have been some delicate motivations behind the story. Professor Kageura said we should go back alone. Rain started to fall before long.

The patients who had already been brought out were returned to the second floor. The patients already in the buses were also asked to step out. Only the fathers of third-year medical students Hamazaki and Kitago remained with us. We had the medical students and two nurses divide into the two buses and loaded the books on the truck, then left Shinkozen Elementary School at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

Passing Yagami, we met a truck full of American soldiers and arrived at Omura Naval Hospital at about 4 p.m. in the rain. Right away, I was introduced to Dr. Barnett, the American investigating team leader, and invited for dinner. I retired to a bedroom on the second floor of the 8th patient ward. A small room was assigned to each professor and associate professor. Medical staff and medical students slept in the big room. A few students and nurses were already there.

Today's arrivals included three professors, one associate professor, six assistants and associates, and three nurses.

September 24 arrivals: Nagai (3rd-year medical college), Tsuchiyama (3rd-year medical college), Tajiri (3rd-year medical college), Nakamura Kenji (medical college provisional graduate).

September 25 arrivals: Kawashita Kinue (medical nurse), Yoshio Masaki (otorhinolaryngology nurse).

September 26 arrivals: Professor Kageura, Professor Kitamura, Professor Shirabe, Associate Professor Sato, Mori (Shirabe Surgery), Niki (Obstetrics and Gynecology), Koga (Kageura Medicine), Koyanagi (Kageura Medicine), Nakamura (Tsunoo Medicine), and Kurogi (Dermatology), Hashimoto (4th-year medical college), Suyama (medical college provisional graduate), Kishiura Kei (ophthalmology nurse).

Drs. Suyama and Nakamura (Ken) were both provisional graduates in March of this year. They had been drafted to serve as short term naval medical officers and then were discharged from the Naval Hospital on September 1. Both had returned to the medical university after discharge from military service. Both knew the hospital well. It was quite helpful.

In the evening, the books from the pediatric department came in a fully loaded truck. They were placed on the table in the hallway upstairs. Associate Professor Sato also came with the truck.

From the evening of September 26 to the following morning, I heard from Professor Koyano and Superintendent Yasuyama the story regarding the circumstances of the Medical University transfer. The story is as follows: Rear Admiral Yasuyama is a graduate of the Nagasaki Medical University. He worried about the future of the Nagasaki Medical University and got the idea to transfer it to the Omura Naval Hospital, as

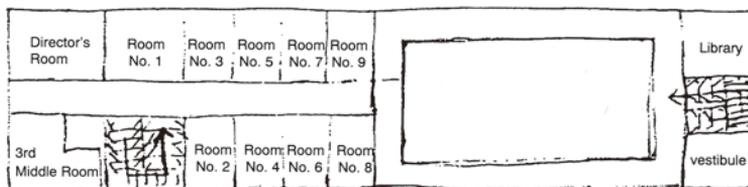
long as the hospital was not confiscated by the occupation forces, and suggested it to Professor Koyano. Professor Koyano hesitated at first because it is a naval hospital, which meant it would probably be taken over by the occupation forces. However, Lieutenant Commander Hara, a Nagasaki Medical University graduate and naval medical officer who worked in the Public Health Department, convinced him to attempt the transfer. Koyano brought up the agenda of petition to Director Hara of the Medical Bureau, who had received a M.D. degree from the Nagasaki Medical University in the past. They met with the naval vice admiral in an emergency meeting on September 14 at the Medical University's temporary headquarters, the second floor of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

Dr. Ishikawa Chifuku, a classmate of Professor Kageura and a member of the Public Health Science Institute, came to Nagasaki on September 20 and met Professor Kageura the following morning. The topic of the re-establishment of Nagasaki Medical University came up. Ishikawa advised Professor Kageura saying, "If you wait, nothing will happen. You should work actively." Professor Kageura went to the Omura Naval Hospital on September 22 after the discussion with Professor Koyano and met Rear Admiral Yasuyama. It was Saturday and the superintendent had already gone home. There were no other officers around, so it was a good time for the meeting.

The result of the discussion was agreement that it would be better to receive more patients and more professors and staff. On the morning of September 24, Sunday [sic]*, Superintendent Yasuyama himself came to Nagasaki by truck. He went to Shinkozen Elementary School with Professors Takase and Kageura at 11 a.m. and met Dr. Takao, president of the City Medical Association. He asked for Dr. Takao's cooperation in re-establishing the Nagasaki Medical University and proposed that volunteers from among the bombing victims be transferred to the Omura Naval Hospital. Dr. Takao readily accepted the proposal and called a meeting with his students from Nagasaki Medical University to talk about the reopening of the Nagasaki Medical University at Omura Naval Hospital. "The hospital has a big building, is well equipped, and has plenty of food. Tell that to the patients who might volunteer to be transferred," said Takao (according to Professor Kageura). Also, he accepted the proposal for volunteer patients before the bus arrived at 1:00 p.m. Associate Professor Kusui led the group comprised of several patients and students (Nagai, Tsuchiyama, Tajiri, and Nakamura Kenji) and went to Omura Naval Hospital.

Rear Admiral Yasuyama received a telephone call informing him that Dr. Young [chief medical officer of the U.S. 5th Fleet] would come to the Omura Naval Hospital. "I have to go back myself," Yasuyama said, and he went back to Omura. Upon his return, he found that the visitor was

*September 24, 1945 was a Monday.



not Dr. Young but Commander Dickson, a naval medical officer who came by order of Dr. Young. It was a very useful meeting. He told Superintendent Yasuyama that the American Forces would not confiscate this hospital but transfer it to the Medical University. Dickson told him to treat the patients from Shinkozen School as soon as possible; otherwise, the patients would be "miserable." Superintendent Yasuyama also informed the American doctor that the Nagasaki Medical University with its long history was totally destroyed. He said that, "I would like to re-establish the university in this hospital." They decided the transfer accordingly.

Next, on September 25, Associate Professor Kusui came to Nagasaki and reported to Professor Kageura, "It is a wonderful development. The American Occupation Forces will not confiscate the Omura Naval Hospital and told us to make it a medical center." About 20 patients and two nurses (Kawashita and Yoshitake) were transferred to the hospital by bus, responding to the request. Professor Kitamura heard this story on the 24th, the day Superintendent Yasuyama came to Nagasaki alone. Patients were transferred for the first time. It was arranged to transfer 69 more patients by bus to Omura on the 26th. I was asked to go together with the patients. I took the 10:56 a.m. train to Nagasaki and went straight to Shinkozen. Then, I moved to the Omura Naval Hospital with the group as described.

2. The first day at Omura Naval Hospital

We arrived at Omura Naval Hospital at 4 p.m. on September 26. On that day, I was introduced to Dr. Barnett and several other members of the American Atomic Bomb Investigation Team and was invited to dinner at the officers club. In the evening, I talked about many things with Prof. Kitamura until 9 o'clock. (Previous record) I turned off the light and went to sleep about 10 o'clock. Room No. 1 where I slept was small, 18 feet by 15 feet. There were two beds. I thought Professor Kitamura would share the room with me, but he graciously moved to Room No. 4 and so I had the room to myself.

(September 27)

I can say that the next day, September 27, was my first day at the Omura Naval Hospital.

After breakfast, we discussed future plans with the students in the south hallway adjacent to the students' bedroom where tables were set up. We still felt like transit squatters in an abandoned building, without complete authority to do our medical duties. Because we were under military jurisdiction, we could not take full responsibility for patient care; therefore, I instructed the students as to what physical examinations should be done under the supervision of a military officer and decided on patient ward assignments accordingly :

Ward	Category and care status of patients	Patient numbers	Physicians assigned to ward
1st Ward	Bomb survivors	ca. 25	Mori, Nakamura (Ken), Tajiri
2nd Ward	Medical	ca. 20	Kuseki, Koyanagi
3rd Ward	Medical	ca. 30	Kuroki, Hashimoto
4th Ward	Surgical	ca. 40	Suyama, Nagai
8th Ward	Surgical	ca. 40	Mori, Nakamura (Ken), Tajiri
15th Ward	Surgical	ca. 40	Nakamura (Ken), Tsuchiyama
11th and 13th Wards	Infectious disease patients	ca. 100	None

Next, I made rounds with Medical Officer Lt. Colonel Fukuhara. There were only a few critical patients. The beds were clean and the rooms seemed comfortable. The 3rd ward was the best. Hamazaki occupied a single room in the 3rd ward. There was a female patient with intestinal stenosis (*Darumstenose*). She came to the hospital for bleeding after the bombing. I wanted to operate on her.

After rounds, I was called to the superintendent's office with Professor Kitamura and met Dr. Barnett. He wanted to know the medical university's situation. He was a cordial man and had a "II" mark on his collar. With the help of the superintendent's translation, we talked about many things. First, we discussed the number of professors and students before and after the bombing. The number of professors was 20 before the bombing and 12 after. Of the approximately 850 students before the bombing, 650 had died. Of the 300 patients, including those in outpatient clinics, approximately 150 had died. Also, Professor Kitamura and I were asked about the type of injuries. I explained late manifestation (*Späterscheinung*) to them in detail. In addition, I described the course of the university president's sickness leading to his death.

Dr. Barnett took notes the whole time and asked us to draw a map of the university. After the discussion with Professor Kitamura, we drew the map in the afternoon. We had a hard time writing in English. When

we brought it to him in the evening, he was grateful and asked about the location of the university and the maintenance of the prison. Also, he inquired about the site where we had been exposed to the bombing. On the way back, another tall American man gave us a pack of 20 cigarettes called "Lucky Strike." So, I said "thank you."

Professor Koyano came in a naval hospital limousine in the afternoon rain (September 27). It seems that the first department chief went to get him. At that time, Associate Professor Sato accepted a ride back to Nagasaki. Niki also returned to prepare his winter clothes. Professor Kageura went to Isahaya according to his schedule. There were no new patients or students coming. When we three—Professor Koyano, Professor Kitamura, and I—were talking in the superintendent's office, the superintendent was outside his office, talking to Americans in a loud voice. I heard the story later that soldiers from an American warship, armed with rifles and swords, came to confiscate the hospital. The superintendent fought alone in explaining the situation to the soldiers and chasing them out. The presence of Dr. Barnett and other American investigation team members helped solve the situation.

During this episode, he got a telephone call from the Isahaya Naval Hospital asking him to accept the transfer of staff and patients because the hospital was going to be confiscated by American Forces. The superintendent replied that he would accept the transfer of patients but asked the officials in Isahaya to demobilize the staff there. The superintendent was talking triumphantly that he had repulsed the Japanese Forces today. He was also asked to take patients from the Omura Community Hospital, and he accepted. The superintendent is a short person, but he stood tall.

In the evening, the students were enjoying music played on a phonograph which they had found somewhere. There was a chess board beside it. I played with Nakamura for the first time in a long time. The bathroom [patient washing] in the operating room provided a refreshing bath. After the bath, I chatted with Professor Kitamura and returned to my room at 8 or 9 p.m. I went to bed at 10 p.m. after doing some writing.

Friday, September 28. Clear and sunny

Today was a comfortable sunny autumn day compared with the winds and rains of yesterday. In the morning, we three—Professor Koyano, Kitamura and I—took a walk around the hospital campus, had breakfast, and saw an autopsy. An American was selecting specimens and wanted to bring home some interesting cases. He was the one who gave me cigarettes yesterday. With a smile, he said that he got a backache from bending to get specimens.

Lieutenant Colonel Fukuhara, carrying a camera, went to Nagasaki to take pictures of the bomb site. Suyama wanted to go with him. I told him to stop over at the headquarters and to ask Professor Kageura when we could send out a bus to transfer patients.

The Americans were helping to perform blood tests on the patients in the 2nd patient ward. In the afternoon, Professor Koyano went to Omura City to express gratitude to the mayor. During his absence, an American physicist named Shelber wanted to meet Professor Kitamura and me. I had a hard time understanding what he was saying. He was surprised to hear that people from the countryside who came into the hypocenter area after the bombing suffered from atomic sickness. He insisted that the atomic radiation at the hypocenter would only be temporary. If so, it was strange to see the difference in atomic sickness between people who stayed in the hypocenter and those who left the area soon after the bombing. He left, saying in an amiable manner, "Thank you for giving us such interesting information."

After dinner, Dr. Barnett wanted to see us. When I went with Professor Kitamura, Dr. Barnett explained the mechanism of the atomic bomb. Its activity is momentary, but the gamma rays attached to dust move with the wind as a cloud. There was a belt of thick gamma rays concentrated to the east of the hypocenter in Nagasaki. It may have affected some patients there. He thought we should investigate it. I agreed with him that the wind was blowing from the west immediately after the bombing.

In the evening, Professor Yokoyama of the pharmacy school and Professor Ichinose came in. We ate dinner as a group of five people, this time in a room different from the regular officers' dining room. After dinner, we four, except Professor Koyano, went to the ocean. Children were fishing for octopus on the beach. They did not catch even one while we were watching. It was a quiet and beautiful place. I thought how nice it would be to live here.

The next day was Saturday. Mori and Koyanagi wanted to go home with Professor Koyano. Yokoyama was going back to the university to get a book. Suddenly I would be alone tomorrow. Today, Cho, a provisional medical school graduate, arrived.

Today, I learned the names of new elements from Dr. Barnett and another American. The 93th element following uranium is neptunium and the 94th is plutonium. Uranium was used on Hiroshima and plutonium was probably used on Nagasaki, according to Dr. Nishina. The atomic weight of uranium is 238.14 and so these two newly discovered atoms must be heavier than uranium.

Saturday, September 29. Clear and sunny

It was a little cloudy in the morning, but the sun came out. Today, Professor Koyano, Professor Yokoyama, Professor Ichinose, Mori, Nakamura, Koyanagi and Hashimoto went back to Nagasaki, and Nagai went back to get his books. In the afternoon, the bus came back with 7 or 8 microscopes and 60 cans of alcohol instead of books. On the bus was Associate Professor Hamada and students Noguchi, (third year medical college), Sonoda (third year medical college), and Kawamura (third year

medical school). Associate Professor Osajima came with the train. We became animated. We made the patient ward assignments as follows :

1st and 8th Wards	Mori, Nakamura Ken, Tajiri
2nd Ward	Kuga, Kawamura
3rd Ward	Kuroki, Noguchi, Sonoda
4th Ward	Suyama, Nagai
15th Ward	Nakamura, Cho, Tsuchiyama

In the morning, I was planning to see the wounded Fujiwara with Suyama, but I had to see all the patients and also help change bandages. Fujiwara's wounds were healing well, surprisingly. He has suffered an open fracture (*offene Fraktur*), but the wound (*Wunde*) had almost healed. He said that he had developed diphtheria (*Diphtherie*) of the pharynx (*Rachen*) in Isahaya, but there were no findings (*Befund*) at all. Perhaps this was not a true diphtheria but a tonsillar swelling (*Tonsillenschwellung*) due to the atomic bomb.

After bandage changing, I asked Suyama to make a list of atomic bomb patients. The items that should be included are : name, sex and age, geographic site of exposure, diagnosis, location of injury to body, if clothes were worn, whether injured inside or outside a building, building structure, symptoms (loss of consciousness, nausea, vomiting, vesicles, bloody stool, petechiae, gingival bleeding, hemoptysis, high fever, stomatitis, sore throat, epilation and other), urinalysis results (protein, sugar, urobilin, urobilinogen), and a complete blood count (hemoglobin, red blood cell count, white blood cell count, white blood cell classification and blood sedimentation rate).

Categories of prognosis and remarks would be added later. I asked him to make a list of patients who were present over the next week, and also to check the dead and patients already discharged after the completion of the first phase of the project. This project was not limited to the 4th ward. I wanted to do it for all patients.

At 10 o'clock, I finished changing bandages and immediately started to make a tissue section in the pathology laboratory. The paraffin was too hard to cut. I should have changed the technique to my own. I planned to get Toluor, a reagent for making pathologic sections, and a book about it on the next trip home.

At 11 : 30 a.m., I finished my morning work. After lunch, there were two visitors. One was Fukahori of the Omura Army Hospital. He had been in the university hospital pharmacy but was mobilized to work at the Omura Army Hospital. The other was Tanimoto, previously of the university's radiology department. He had practiced at Sasebo and was drafted one year ago. The two came in and chatted till 1 p.m. The superintendent of the Army Hospital was Dr. Fujisawa, as usual. I promised to meet him tomorrow and they left.

At 1 o'clock, I went to the pathology lab again and made a section, but it did not go well. When I was thinking about stopping in the middle of the process, I was called to the phone by the superintendent. Professor Tsuzuki of the University of Tokyo and group of investigators from the American research teams were coming. Tsuzuki represented the Japanese Atomic Bomb Causality Investigating Team and asked Nagasaki University to conduct surveys east of Nagasaki: Konpira, Yagami, Aba, Chijiwa, and Shimabara. We agreed to survey all areas as asked, except for Chijiwa and Shimabara, which should be surveyed by Kyushu University.

Around this time, Fujisawa came to visit. He brought gifts: a quart of sake, canned food, biscuits and cigarettes. We chatted for a while in Professor Koyano's executive office. Fujisawa was the Superintendent of Omura Army Hospital, a lieutenant colonel, as well as my student during my time at Keijo Imperial University. He was going to leave the army at the end of October, but he hoped to remain as a medical officer at the veterans convalescent home.

Soon, I was called to the superintendent's office by phone. There were elder statesmen visiting, Gizaka and President Nishikawa of the Omura Medical Association. We talked for a while. After that, I spoke to the students about the visit of the Tokyo University Investigation Team and instructed them to work hard with self-discipline.

In the afternoon, cans of alcohol and microscopes arrived instead of books. These were carried out to the storage room after lunch. The sake we received today was brought out as a treat. Kitamura, Hamada, Osajima, and I drank sake along with canned salmon. In the conference room, we could see that a group of visiting foreigners, the superintendent, and Professor Tsuzuki were enjoying dinner with drinks.

Soon a messenger came to ask me to come with Professor Kitamura. Colonel Warren was there and was introduced to me by Dr. Barnett. I went around and shook hands with the people on the second floor and the third floor.

According to Warren, the medical effects of the atomic bomb would be studied with the cooperation of Japanese and American scientists. Each group's data would be published by the research team in the future. The investigation of primary symptoms was not complete due to the confusion. The secondary symptoms easily understood now would be more difficult to comprehend in the future. These disorders might continue for a long time. Warren hoped that we would continue the research. Also, he suggested that we keep a record of the structures where out-patients were at the time of the bombing. The thickness of concrete is very important, he said. The meeting adjourned at 9 o'clock. I wrote the diary and went to bed.

Sunday, September 30

In the morning, Superintendent Yasuyama came to see us. In a worried

tone, he said, "Warren and Prof. Tsuzuki are going to Tokyo by airplane. Professor Koyano should go too." I completely agreed with him. I changed my plan to visit Fujisawa, superintendent of Omura Army Hospital, in the afternoon and went to Nagasaki instead on the 8:30 a.m. bus.

First, I called Professor Kageura to the headquarters and told him the whole story. Next, I called up all students in Shinkozen. At Shinkozen, American doctors came and explained new drugs to the practicing doctors. I saw dried human plasma for the first time. Following that, I visited Professor Koyano's house with Professor Kageura, but he was not at home, unfortunately. I left Professor Kageura alone and took the bus. The bus was going to the university to bring alcohol, cans of fish and books, and would return to Omura. I got off the bus at Urakami station and went home to Nagasaki. I was soaked wet by the heavy rain.

Monday, October 1

Today it also rained. My suits and shoes would not dry. With few other things to do, I decided to rest for a day. Mrs. Kitamura visited us in the afternoon.

Tuesday, October 2

I went to Nagasaki on the 10:56 a.m. southbound train. I met Mori at Michino Station. He said he was going to Kawatana on the way to Omura. The bus at Omura Hospital was preparing to leave in the direction of the university. When I got to Nagasaki Station, I gave my briefcase and umbrella and went to Hongochi and Kajiya-machi to take care of personal matters. When I got to Shinkozen at a little past 1:30 p.m., the bus had already left for headquarters, and so, I went there directly.

Professor Kitamura had already arrived at headquarters and was waiting for Professor Sano, who was going to Omura. Miyagi of Obama was also there. They said that Professor Sano had already gone to Omura this morning. The bus came with Professor Sano and arrived at Omura shortly after 4 o'clock.

In my absence, many things happened. Briefly, the story of Professors Kageura and Kitamura is as follows: Professor Kageura said that the prefecture governor had requested a meeting with Professor Koyano, but there was no chance to meet at each other's convenience, and Professor Koyano had gone to Omura. On Monday, October 1, he met the governor at his request, and he was told that the Omura Army Hospital was to become a Red Cross hospital and that it would not be given to the university. Although unclear, the reason seems to be that the hospital will not be confiscated by the Occupation Forces if the army gives it to the Red Cross and pharmaceutical supplies can be used as they are. However, it was unclear whether this was the policy of the prefecture governor or the army. At any rate, the university lost all hope of getting the army hospital.

According to Professor Kitamura, through information from Professor Tsuzuki, the governor and Americans suggested turning the army hospital into a city hospital and the Omura Naval Hospital into a prefecture hospital, with both run by the university. It may have been Professor Tsuzuki's idea, but I doubted that a Tokyo University professor had such an influential voice regarding the re-establishment of the Nagasaki Medical University. Therefore, I did not take the story too seriously, so I didn't know the truth. Also, the following issues came up:

1. The first year medical college and first and second year medical school students were to be trained at Kyushu University. The students would have to report there on October 8. Somebody from here had to go there, give them instructions and express gratitude to the Kyushu University faculty. Professor Kageura told me to ask Professor Takase to do the job because he was the best qualified.
2. There was to be a meeting at Kyushu University, October 10 and 11, regarding the admission of demobilized army and navy officers to the Nagasaki Medical University. If it was inconvenient for Professor Takase, Professor Kageura should report there. However, the basic science education of these students had to be handled by Kyushu University. The opinion was expressed that we needed to discuss this matter and to get permission from Kyushu University. Nagasaki Medical University needed students to in order have graduates.

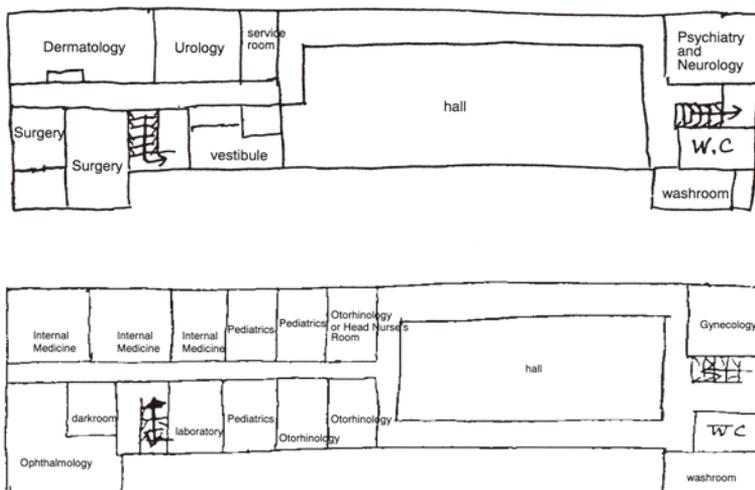
Wednesday, October 3

Professor Kitamura went back to his home in Nagasaki and Professor Kageura went out to Omura in a hospital car to meet with the mayor of Omura today. I made an inspection of the outpatient clinic (5th ward), which will be opened on October 5 according to Superintendent Yasuyama's schedule.

In principle, the small and middle-sized rooms on the first and second floor would only be used. I made a plan and designed each room as shown on the next page.

First, only the departments of medicine, surgery, pediatrics and urology could be opened, because only the professors of these departments had survived. The other departments would open as soon as other professors arrived. In the evening, Superintendent Yasuyama took the plan. Perhaps, he had to order the removal of beds from these rooms. It was decided to receive just 12 nurses from the Red Cross again.

Professor Kageura was asked by Superintendent Yasuyama to follow up on a survey of 457 atomic bomb patients who had been discharged suddenly following rumors of the American landing. I promised to take part in the survey using the original household registries. It would probably be difficult to do the survey, even if some of the people were still living in the atomic wasteland of Nagasaki.



Thursday, October 4

This morning, Professor Kageura went to Isahaya and then proceeded to Nagasaki. In the afternoon, I was in the dormitory with Yokoyama. Professor Takase came in suddenly and gave us the happy news. The following is the story from Professor Takase : There was a letter addressed to Professor Kageura from Superintendent Koga of the Army Hospital yesterday. He opened the letter with the administrator. The letter urgently requested a meeting with Professor Kageura. Professor Takase went to meet Superintendent Koga in the absence of Professor Kageura. He was told that it had been decided that the Army Hospital would be transferred to the Red Cross. However, according to the prefecture governor, it would not be given to the Red Cross. If the university wished, we could use the hospital if the mayor consented. The superintendent was also called to the Fukuoka Western Army Headquarters, perhaps regarding demobilization. If the army removed the hospital sign, the university should replace it immediately ; therefore, it would be better for the patients and staff of the university to stay here now.

However, President Takao of the medical association and Chief Nakayama of the Public Health Department had a different story : on the following day (today), "the Occupation Forces would take over Shinkozen Elementary School and change it into a city hospital for the treatment of the public. Dr. Takao was ordered to manage it." At that time, Dr. Takao replied that he was just a private practitioner, that the Nagasaki

Medical University, both the hospital and the school, had been totally destroyed and needed a place to take care of patients. "How about allowing the university to manage Shinkozen?" he suggested. After that, the Occupation Forces wanted to meet the person in charge of the university on October 5, the next day, at 8:30 a.m. Dr. Takao wanted Professor Kageura to go to the Occupation Forces headquarters that morning.

Suddenly, I became euphoric. When Professor Koyano negotiated with the mayor, we had been rejected on the spot. Now the order had gone straight through by order of the Occupation Forces. I hope it will be the same for the fate of Omura Naval Hospital.

Okura wanted to go back to Nagasaki. I wrote a letter to Professor Kageura and asked him to be sure to go the Occupation Forces headquarters tomorrow morning and accept their offer on the spot. This decision was the result of a discussion with Professor Takase and Yokoyama. When I was writing the letter, I thought I should tell Superintendent Yasuyama, but I decided to let Professor Kageura inform him. In any case, I believe it is good for the university to accept the offer right way.

Professor Takase and Okura went home on the 5 o'clock train. I talked to Professor Takase about the request from Professor Kageura to go to Kyushu University yesterday. He could not make the trip because his mother was in critical condition with nephritis (kidney disease), and he wanted Professor Kageura to go to Fukuoka instead.

Professor Kitamura came back to the hospital after Professor Takase left. I talked to him about today's news and shared joy with him.

In the morning, I went to see the 5th patient ward, which had been designated to serve as an outpatient clinic. The nurses came to clean the rooms while the soldiers were moving out the beds. The head nurse was Fujimoto, and there was a total of 12 people. I asked Head Nurse Fujimoto to supply furniture and equipment for each department. I called up Suyama and selected the instruments with him. The clinic would be open tomorrow. I talked to Professor Kitamura about the assignment of rooms and received his consent.

In the evening, I was with the interpreters in the communal bathroom and heard that Dr. Barnett was going to Tokyo tomorrow. The truth is that he was going back to the United States via Tokyo.

Dr. Barnett was glad to see us when I asked to meet him in the evening. I visited him in his private residence, the second seamen's home, along with Professor Kitamura and Dr. Yokoyama. He was happy to see us. Around a table in the corridor, we talked with Barnett, Whipple, Howland and Brundage. Of course, we had to use a translator when we ran into communication difficulties. On this occasion, I gave them a gift of paintings depicting Japanese No dram and art work on paper cards. One of the paintings showed an angel in celestial raiment with a persimmon tree. The other painting showed a ship in a river with

boulders. Two Japanese color prints and two fans were presented to Barnett. Howland was given an ordinary Japanese fan. They were very happy. The topics of discussion were American medical schools, homesickness, and jokes. We had a good time till 10 o'clock in the evening. They were excited about going back to their homeland. I think we accomplished the objective of Japanese-American friendship.

Friday, October 5

We went to the main entrance to say farewell to Dr. Barnett's group at 9:00 a.m. The weather was fine. They left happily with a lot of luggage put into a truck. Before the departure, Dr. Barnett gave me a long package wrapped in paper. I was thinking it was too big to be a case of penicillin, but it turned out to be a case of cigarettes. I was happy, because I was running out of cigarettes. I said, "Thank you!" from my heart. Dr. Yokohama also got some. Professor Kitamura was absent. I was asked to keep a case of cigarettes for Professor Kitamura, and I told Dr. Yokoyama to look for him. Dr. Barnett was a friendly person, remembering my name from the beginning.

In the middle of the farewell, Mr. Tajima, Omura bureau chief of Nagasaki Shimbun (newspaper), came to see us. Professor Kitamura and I went to meet him. He had come to inquire about our moving the Nagasaki Medical University to Omura. The article was to be published in the morning paper. There was an article reporting that the lower level medical students would be educated at Kyushu University, that pharmacy students would be transferred to Saga High School, and that higher level medical students would be in Omura to receive lectures and start clinical training. Mr. Tajima expressed his feeling that the citizens of Omura would like to cooperate with the university in opening the hospital.

About 10 o'clock, I went to the clinic. There were two patients, one of them a patient of the internal medicine department. There was no internist around, so I examined the patient instead. In the afternoon, I went to the clinic for some business. There was a patient (*Kranke*) with arterial occlusion (*Arterienverschluss*) due to arteriosclerosis (*Arteriosklerose*). It was an interesting case, but therapy (*Therapie*) was useless (*machtlos*).

We decided to assign an on-call doctor to the outpatient clinic. This was the wish of the chief of the Naval Hospital Department. A warning that the medical supplies would go missing if there was no person on duty in the clinic was written on the blackboard in the outpatient clinic. There were some villains among the soldiers. We asked Dr. Suyama to do the first duty. We felt satisfied with this arrangement.

In the afternoon, Professor Sano came back to Omura and was supposed to report to Professor Kageura, but the latter went to Nagasaki instead and missed him. We were very disappointed about the confusion this morning, but nothing can be done until tomorrow morning. I sincerely wanted Professor Kageura to go to Fukuoka.

I forgot to write that Dr. Mori Toshio came with the Superintendent of Kawatana Hospital Community Association yesterday. Said the Kawatana Hospital Community Association representative: "We would like Kawatana Hospital to be transferred to the veterans convalescent home or become the prefecture hospital and to have it administered by Nagasaki Medical University. We have come here to negotiate."

I could not take responsibility for negotiations in the absence of Professor Kitamura. I told him that we would reply upon the return of Professor Koyano and ended the discussion there. Wherever it was, the Community Association is a non-profit organization, and the funds, about 540,000 yen, would have to be reimbursed if we took over their hospital. However, Kawatana Hospital was not suitable for use either as a hospital or as basic classrooms! I did not think it worthwhile to answer them right away, but we will have to resume negotiations with them if we can not get Omura Naval Hospital.

Saturday October 6

There was only one patient in the clinic, a baby suffering from eye problems. The baby was seen by Professor Sano. He went back to Nagasaki in the evening, carrying medication, saying his daughter was sick with diarrhea.

When I was with Professor Kitamura, Superintendent Yasuyama came in, breathing hard. He told us in detail about his call to Sasebo Naval Hospital today. Because of the article in yesterday's newspaper, he was ordered to report to headquarters. They scolded him, saying that Omura Naval Hospital would be transformed into a convalescent home for veterans, and that it would not be given to the university. They asked him, "Why do you allow the students to stay in the hospital and to operate a clinic?" Yasuyama said that he replied that we opened the clinic for the Tokyo, Kyushu and Nagasaki universities to do medical research on how the atomic bomb affects the human body. However, since there are few people from Tokyo University and Kyushu University, the students of Nagasaki University are helping, he said. Yasuyama also said that we should post a sign "Dormitory of the Atomic Bomb Research Team" at the student dormitory.

The superior of the Sasebo headquarters said, "There is no need for a medical school." Superintendent Yasuyama replied, "the primary issue is the reason why the Omura Naval Hospital escaped confiscation from the American Occupation Forces [i.e. because it was to be given to the Medical University]. The second issue is that it would be a mistake to concentrate all naval medical officers in one location to treat soldiers."

After recounting the Sasebo commander's words, Superintendent Yasuyama stood up tall and said to me, "I want to become a member of the Diet (Congress) after I'm officially discharged, and I will fight the Japanese Navy." I praised Yasuyama for his great commitment to the Nagasaki Medical University.

According to the superintendent, the transfer of Omura Naval Hospital to the navy will be carried out during the month of November. The superintendent will be changed on November 15. The replacement is going to be a captain who graduated from Kumamoto University. Both the superintendent and the administrator, graduates of Nagasaki University, were to be discharged on the 15th. I felt helpless when I was asked: "Why don't you negotiate with the Department of Health? The hospital may be transferred to the control of the Department of Health on December 1."

After supper, Professor Kitamura and I strolled in the Higashiura area, waiting for the bus bringing Professor Kageura back, but the bus never came.

In the evening, Dr. Morisawa of Kageura Internal Medicine Department came in with a message. The letter stated that it had been decided that Shinkozen Elementary School would be given to the university, and it asked Dr. Takao and me to report to the Occupation Forces Headquarter with a plan for the transfer, the day after tomorrow. It seemed that the letter was addressed to me because I had been nominated for the post of hospital superintendent. Professor Kageura is going to Fukuoka tomorrow.

I was happy to hear that Shinkozen is definitely going to be given to the university. I planned to talk to Superintendent Yasuyama in the morning. I decided to go to Nagasaki with him. After that I went to bed.

Dr. Yokoyama desperately wanted to move out because a large number of students were coming to Omura on the 8th. I inspected the 9th and 10th patient ward Professor Kitamura and Dr. Yokoyama. The second floor of the 9th patient ward was going to be assigned for professors' rooms. The big room would be the auditorium-dining room. The downstairs would be available as a medical college student dormitory for all staff members because it had small and medium-sized rooms. The 10th ward was allotted for associate professors' rooms. And the large room downstairs was to be used as a dormitory for medical school students.

I instructed the students Suyama and Nakamura to finish cleaning the rooms today and tomorrow. In the afternoon, six or seven students and two or three nurses were busy working, arranging beds in the patient ward. At all times, it was clear that Suyama, Nakamura, Nagai and Tsuchiyama were hard workers.

Sunday, October 7

In the morning, I went with Professor Kitamura to meet Superintendent

The decision to transfer Shinkozen to the university was made on October 6. Professor Kageura received the orders from Captain Horne of the Occupation Forces. I was in Omura Naval Hospital on October 5 or the day after, so "the day after tomorrow" must have been October 8.

Yasuyama and told him as best I could the reason for hurrying to Nagasaki, and after that we took the 8:30 a.m. bus to Nagasaki.

The first thing I did when I got to Shinkozen was to meet President Takao of the Medical Association to discuss the arrangements for transferring to Shinkozen. I was given a plan drawn by Professors Kageura and Takase. The ideas in Dr. Takao's plan were the same as Professor Takase's. The practicing physicians wanted to keep their private practices, and so it was decided to transfer jurisdiction of Shinkozen to the university.

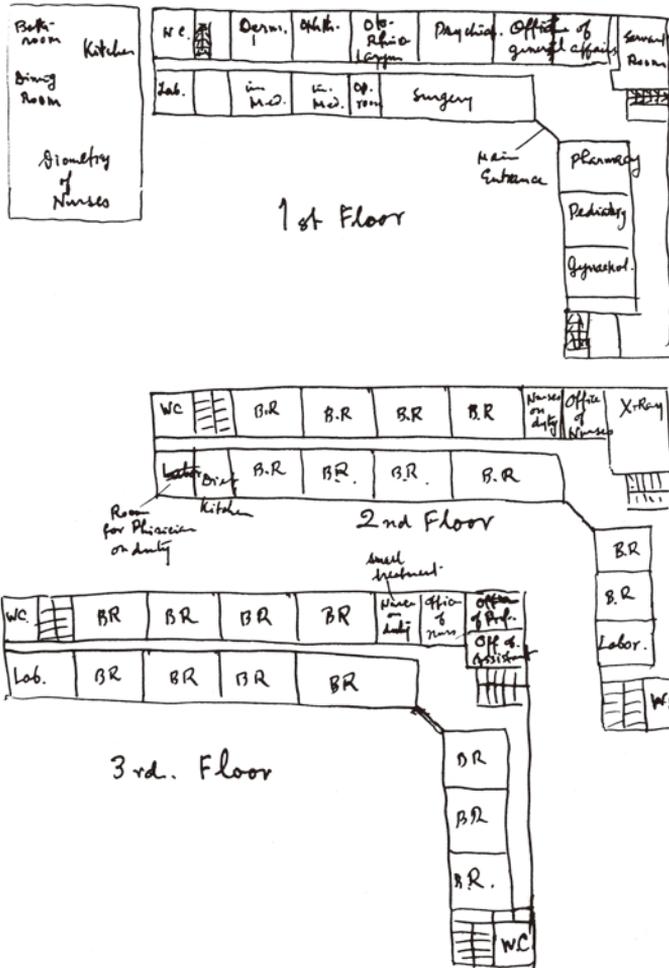
I was thinking of meeting Professor Sano at the headquarters, but I decided to put it off and went home to Nameshi. I found that Gennosuke, my brother, had returned unharmed from Korea. We spent time talking about Korea. As the evening grew late, I drew up a new plan, dramatically different from Professor Kageura's but to my satisfaction.

Monday, October 8

I went to Nagasaki and stopped over at Shinkozen in the morning. I waited for and met Dr. Takao, and went to the former customs office in Dejima by car. This was the Nagasaki headquarters of the Occupation Forces, and we met Captain Horne and some of the public health officers. There were many people typing and talking loudly. It was also noisy outside where the automobile was. Horne and I could not discuss the matter quietly. First, I showed him a floor plan of Shinkozen. He looked over the plan. He said the waiting room should be here, the records should be there, the operating room should be here, etc. . . like that, making several changes until the plan was agreeable in principle. As a result, the number of patient beds was reduced to 245, far less than 500. He asked my opinion. I replied, "Very good."

His plan, however, did not allow for a surgical examination room. Anyway, we would have to plan again at the time of renovation. I asked him, "How soon can we start?" He said as soon as possible. But, there were neither beds nor furniture. There were many available beds in the Omura Naval Hospital, though. I asked him, "Do you know Superintendent Yasuyama?" He said he did not know him. If the Omura Naval Hospital is given to the Nagasaki Medical University, we can use their furniture to set up Shinkozen Hospital. The glass for windows will be furnished on the basis of Horne's negotiation with the prefecture government.

The plan I submitted is as shown on the next page. On the first floor, however, the bathroom and dining room in the auditorium are reversed; the laboratory is omitted and a record room set up; surgery is changed to a waiting room and the operating room is changed to an admission office. The right wing on the second floor and bedrooms next to the laboratory are added to the laboratory section and the room next to the laboratory is to be the reception room. On the third floor, all bedrooms in the right wing will be renovated to serve as operating rooms. Downstairs will



have a delivery room, laundry, and an operating room. The two rooms downstairs are to be post-operative rooms. I was pleased to see the setup, especially an office for the director of nursing which I thought was typically American.

The focus of attention shifted to the Municipal Infectious Disease Hospital after the planning of Shinkozen Hospital. The mayor and public health director explained the situation to the American authorities, but they were told to set up a tuberculosis ward in the same place. After twelve noon, I went back to Shinkozen, had lunch, and met Dr. Urabe of the University of Tokyo, who came by jeep. It was raining, so I got a ride and went to the university headquarters. Dr. Urabe wanted to borrow

microscopes from the university. There was nothing left in the university. I told him that I had two and that there were about ten more in Omura Hospital and that he could borrow them. Therefore, we went back to Shinkozen. After the discussion between Dr. Urabe and Dr. Tarnower, we decided to loan him the two microscopes from my house. I got a ride with Major Bruner and went back to my home in Nameshi. Bruner had worked at Chinzei School for 17 years, then spent five years in the Nagasaki American Consulate, so he was very fluent in Japanese. He talked about lots of things with my children while eating persimmons at the house.

After Bruner left, I went to see Professor Kitamura and reported everything that happened today.

Tuesday, October 9

I went to Nagasaki on the 11 o'clock train and met Administrator Shirokata at the headquarters for the first time. I showed him a plan of Shinkozen (Hospital), and went to Shinkozen with the administrator and Shibata to meet with the medical association president Dr. Takao regarding the transfer of office. Dr. Takao was not there, but Mr. Hashimoto and Mr. Arifu were there talking loudly. I caught Bruner and we talked for about 10 minutes. We were worried about the problem of getting Omura Naval Hospital for the Nagasaki Medical University, and I asked for his help. Bruner alone could not do much, but it would be favorable to have more people on our side, even if it was only one. I asked him to spread the word to other people.

Bruner had been in Japan for a long time, spoke fluent Japanese, and understood the language of the ministries of the navy and health. He had a pleasant character and it was nice to get to know him. He left with a word of warning, though, "This quarrel is a difficult one. I am afraid it may not be resolved successfully."

I was planning to go to Omura from there, but it became rainy and the bus was gone. My shoes and clothes got soaking wet, and so I went back home to Nameshi.

Wednesday, October 10

It was stormy weather with rain adding to the wind, but I decided to go to Omura by train because Professor Kitamura would go today also. When I visited his house, I was told that he had already left on the 8 o'clock train.

I hurried to catch the 10 o'clock train, but there was no connecting train to Omura. I had to wait three hours at Isahaya and came out of the train at Omura, soaking wet, and was blown down by the wind into a field two or three times. I arrived at the Naval Hospital at about 3 o'clock.

Professor Sano was apparently on the same train. He walked two miles on the road from Isahaya and arrived there in the morning. We reported the business of Nagasaki to Superintendent Yasuyama. Several incidents occurred in the hospital in our absence. Superintendent

Yasuyama was invited to ride in a luxurious automobile to the Occupation Forces headquarters in Omura. Upon arrival, he was asked by a military administrator what he was going to do regarding Omura Naval Hospital. Yasuyama replied that he wanted to change it into a medical center to continue patient care, research, and medical education, and to re-establish Nagasaki Medical University. The Japanese Navy was planning to use the Omura Naval Hospital as a convalescent home for wounded navy veterans who would be under the care of military doctors, but he stated that he was against it. The American military administrator agreed with him completely. He was not sure if this military administrator was Captain Horne. The superintendent had met Horne before me, but he didn't recognize him this time.

It would be very good if it was in fact Horne. The American asked Yasuyama about the stocks of drugs and supplies. Yasuyama replied that we have enough to treat seventeen hundred patients for one year. He was pleased and said, "Ah, very good." He had no intention of confiscating our stock; on the contrary he was willing to donate supplies if we don't have enough. This was the superintendent's story.

I was told that three American military officers would come to check the hospital and its stocks, and it will be a good chance to meet with them. Superintendent Yasuyama already told the Americans that Professor Koyano had gone to Tokyo. I hope Professor Koyano is back by that time. We decided that if Koyano cannot make the conference, Professor Kageura will substitute. And then I left.

Sato from the hospital's dietary department came in. I introduced her to Dr. Yasuyama. The superintendent wanted to hire her immediately and asked her to submit her resume right away.

Thursday, October 11

The storm passed. Professor Kageura has not returned from Fukuoka. With Professor Kitamura and Sano I took care of the outpatient clinic, spending the morning hours making rounds of the wards. In the afternoon, from 1:00 p.m. to 2:30., we gave surgery lectures to an assembly of students, a combination of second and third medical school students, fourth year medical college students, temporary graduates, and medical staff. About 40 or 50 people were in the big room on the second floor of the 9th Ward. I first expressed my thoughts and then talked briefly about atomic bomb disease.

Professor Sano gave the first lecture on Tuesday, October 9. The following schedule was made :

	8:00-9:00	13:00-14:30
Monday	Gynecology	Medicine
Tuesday	Surgery	Pediatrics
Wednesday	Medicine	Psychiatry
Thursday	Dermatology	Surgery
Friday	Medicine	Surgery
Saturday	Urology	

It feels strange having only a few students in each class, but I will adjust gradually. A patient with peptic ulcer will be admitted tomorrow. With him as a subject, I will give a clinical lecture. I cannot do three lectures a week. I hope Dr. Kido or Professor Koyano will be back soon.

Administrative official Shirakata and Mr. Shibata and Mr. Iguchi, both administrative officials from Nagasaki Commercial College, came to the hospital around 3 p.m. Shirakata went to Shinkozen and saw several elementary school teachers there. They had not heard about the transfer of their facility to the medical university and said that they wanted the matter solved soon. Also, there is the matter of Shinkozen's transfer: will the land and the building be given to the university as property of the Ministry of Education or as a temporary loan?

So, we have to adjust the degree of renovation. If this policy is not discussed and decided by a committee meeting of professors, the administrators will have difficulty. Mr. Shirakata was saying that he might go to Tokyo to take care of this business. At that time Superintendent Yasuyama came in. The two greeted each other. The Superintendent asked for the presence of the administrative officers on October 16 when American military administrators come. The administrators replied that they would come on the 15th and stay overnight to attend the professors' meeting on the 16th as well as tour the facility. The administrators left the hospital to catch the 5:00 train.

The superintendent will give leave to all naval medical officers at the same time and ask the medical staff of the Nagasaki Medical University to take the chairmanship and the whole responsibility for each department. We were told to do anything we wanted.

I do not feel well enough to get involved in the dispute with the navy, but I have to fight for the re-establishment of the medical university. I will be in charge of the 3rd and 4th patient wards, and the other wards were divided among Associate Professor Kaida of Kyushu University, Associate Professor Yoshikawa of Tokyo University, and Associate Professor Osajima of Nagasaki Medical University.

Friday, October 12

I made the rounds of patient wards and the outpatient clinic in the morning. Not too many patients with unusual symptoms came in. I gave a lecture entitled *Ulcer of Stomach on the surgical standpoint* in the afternoon. A patient was presented as an example.

Professors Kageura and Takase came to the hospital at about 4 p.m. Professor Takase went back soon after. Professor Kageura came back from Hakata (Fukuoka) this morning, came to Omura on the bus and stayed overnight. We two visited Superintendent Yasuyama in his office. As usual, the superintendent mentioned the fact that he planned to talk with the military officers in a couple of days and that he wanted as many medical staff persons as possible to be here. I promised to send a message to the university on tomorrow's bus. We three chatted late into the evening.

Saturday, October 13

At 9 a.m. I made the rounds of the 4th Ward.

Professor Kageura wrote a letter to administration at 8:30 a.m. It said: 1) On October 14, administrative officers should come to Omura; 2) Not even one student of the army or naval schools should be admitted to Nagasaki Medical University. We will reject any such applications; 3) Send telegrams to all surviving students (known by Professor Kageura).

However, the bus had already left. Therefore, Naito, a second year medical school student, relayed the message when he went back to Nagasaki today.

After lunch, I examined a patient (*Kranke*) suffering from a stomach ulcer (*Magengeschwür*).

The patient with the stomach ulcer wished to have an operation. I told Dr. Hayata that the patient had to be admitted to the hospital. Then, I hurriedly boarded a regularly scheduled bus to Omura City. I was supposed to have a meeting with Professor Kageura and Professor Kitamura regarding the assignment of students to the patient ward, but I left the job to them.

Arriving at Omura Railway Station, I visited Dr. Edazaka of Omura Health Station and called the Army Hospital for transportation. The car never came. As a result, I had to walk down there. It was nice weather. It is warm if you wear a vest. Upon arrival at the army hospital, I relayed a question from Superintendent Yasuyama about the number of empty beds in the hospital and learned that only 50 or 60 beds out of 300 were being used. There were about 15 military doctors and they could take care of wounded veterans returning from the South Pacific at any time. The hospital was dirty. It was quite different from Omura Naval Hospital. I left the hospital at 4 p.m., visited Dr. Fukuda at the Nishikawa Hospital. We rode in a Datsun vehicle. He had completely recovered, but was weak, having a fistula of the salivary glands.

I left at 5:30 p.m. On the way, Schwarz came by in an American jeep

and invited me to ride with him. I switched to the jeep and returned to the hospital.

From 6:30 p.m. in the evening, I ate with Americans in the dining room. The following people gathered: DeCoursey, Warren, Tarnower, Perry, Ebert, Sinclair, Berg, and one or two others. From the Japanese side, there was staff from Tokyo University and Nagasaki Medical University as well as Dr. Kaida of Kyushu University. After dinner, each person presented a report on recent research. The Tokyo University staff made their report in English. We could not completely understand the Americans' speech.

Associate Professor Yoshikawa and Dr. Kishimoto of the Japanese group were good. Dr. Yoshikawa talked about the causes of anemia. Dr. Kaida explained the difference in resistance to disease according to age. Dr. Kishimoto talked about diagnostic tests for gastric juice, the urinary Takada Reaction, and the bone marrow picture. Associate Professor Mitake also talked about the result of autopsies on Nagasaki atomic bomb victims. The staff of Nagasaki University was also asked to give presentations, but we were not prepared, so we excused ourselves by saying we would do it next time. The meeting adjourned after 10 p.m. Present at the meeting were Professors Kageura, Kitamura, Sano, and me. The four of us returned to the room and chatted for a while.

Sunday, October 14. Sunny and clear

Today is a day of celebration for Nagasaki Medical University. When I met DeCoursey on my way to the patient ward in the morning, he said, "I'm glad to see you." I felt his salutation was more than a regular morning greeting. He was going to Omura. I finished the rounds and went back to my room and wrote my diary. The superintendent went to Professor Kageura's room at about 11:30 a.m. and reported the good news.

Professors Kitamura and Sano were going to see him, so I followed them. The superintendent repeated the good news for me. The story is as follows.

DeCoursey called Occupation Forces Headquarters in Nagasaki over a direct telephone line. He talked to Horne about Omura Naval Hospital. He was told that the American military commander in Nagasaki would make the following announcement: "The Omura Naval Hospital will be transferred to Nagasaki Medical University and be used as a medical center for the western Kyushu District. The above plan has already been petitioned to MacArthur Headquarters."

I immediately shouted, "Very good!" It was the fruit of our relentless activities. *Banzai!* I also wanted to say *Kampai* but there was no bottle of wine. I wanted to inform Professor Koyano. We could make our dream come true through the wonderful arrangement made by the American Occupation Forces. The way was wide open for both Shinkozen and Omura. Action! Leap! We finally have a chance to show off our skills.

When I went to lunch, I saw Deputy Chief Yasuki eating by himself. I felt sorry for him, but he was going to Iwakuni Naval Hospital to be the superintendent, and he is not affected too much by the closing of the naval hospital.

Chief Nishida wanted to stay in Omura, working behind the scenes to that end. What will happen to him now? He had purchased a house in Omura, transferred his children to Omura Middle School, and had planned on staying in Omura for good. Now, everything is gone. He must regret the situation, but there is nothing he could do.

Superintendent Yasuyama's diplomatic skills were vividly evident. How can the Nagasaki Medical University express its gratitude? We can not find the words.

In the afternoon, Associate Professor Yoshikawa of Tokyo University and Dr. Urabe came and discussed the management of Shinkozen. We want to transfer inpatients to this hospital as soon as possible and also undertake atomic bomb outpatient care in Shinkozen. We told them that we have to renovate and clean other rooms. The Tokyo University group also thought that the matter was settled, and they expressed hope the American doctors would give assistance to Nagasaki Medical University.

At about 4 p.m., the administrative officer came in. We discussed the matter of Shinkozen, the Omura Naval Hospital, a telegram to Professor Koyano, and the combined memorial service and graduation commencement. Suddenly, Dr. Hayashi (Professor Emeritus, President of Science and Research Academy) and Dr. Kinoshita (Professor Emeritus of the Technical Institute and a Member of the Science Academy) came in, and the atmosphere went beyond chaotic. Both doctors asked many questions about the atomic bomb situation. Superintendent Yasuyama arranged for dinner and lodging immediately. Both of them then took dinner with the Americans. The others ate in another room. After that, we chatted while eating dry biscuits and tea, as usual.

I forgot to mention that Superintendent Yasuyama came to our room after the administrative officers came in the evening. Yasuyama told the story of the visit by the Japanese military district commander and the chief medical officer of Sasebo in the presence of Drs. Warren and Sinclair. The superintendent announced, "Today, the headquarters of the Nagasaki Occupation Forces ordered the Omura Naval Hospital to be transferred to the management of the Nagasaki Medical University so that it can serve as a medical center for the Nagasaki district. The medical center will include the functions of patient care, medical education and research. Therefore, it cannot be used as a military rehabilitation institute." Warren and Sinclair confirmed this statement.

The Japanese military commander of Sasebo called a meeting of active duty hospital officers and told them, "If this is the order of the Nagasaki Occupation Forces headquarters, we cannot do anything. You may be transferred to Kawatana Naval Hospital."

Dr. Young, chief medical officer of the U.S. 5th Fleet, had wanted to

turn Omura Naval Hospital into a convalescent home for Japanese veterans. However, the Nagasaki Occupation headquarters had decided even before the 5th Fleet that Omura would be a medical center for Nagasaki, and so the 5th Fleet could do nothing.

Warren will call Young tomorrow morning and tell him to keep his opinions to himself. Now that things have turned out like this, I think that we are ninety-nine percent sure of success. The military administrative officers will come to the hospital on the 16th, the day after tomorrow. The matter will finally be decided then.

Monday, October 15

Dr. Hayashi and the others went to Nagasaki without our noticing their departure.

During morning rounds, all members of the nursing staff were ordered to report for a meeting. I was called into the superintendent's office by phone. There were people from the Agriculture Association doing contract dairy work and milking the cows. There are 18 cows in the hospital, and six months worth of feed for the cows was missing last night. Somebody must have stolen it. There are no words to explain my feelings.

The cows were all given away to farmers. The stock cow was given away free at the request of the Agriculture Association president, but in return, milk would be given to us free of charge during October. There were 18 cows producing two gallons of milk a day. This milk must all be on the black market by now. There were 230 chickens before, but only 50 were left today. The superintendent was speechless. He did not know what to say. Even though Japan was defeated, how could the Japanese become "barbarians?" It is no wonder we lost the war.

I submitted a "List of Physicians" to the American doctor. Treatment of patients was taken by the Nagasaki Medical University. The assignments were as follows :

	Professor	Chief	Staff
1st Ward	Kitamura	Ichinose	Honda, Ninoki, Sho, Kaneko
2nd Ward	Kageura	Morisawa	Ozeki, Koh, Hayashi, Nakamura
3rd Ward	Shirabe	Mori	Kuwasaki, Iwanaga, Matsumoto
4th Ward	Shirabe	Kido	Suyama, Fujii, Nakamura
8th Ward	Kitamura	Osajima	Okura, Otsubo, Soda, Noda
15th Ward	Kageura	Osajima	Takahashi, Nakamura
11th Ward	Sano	Hamada	Takahashi, Nakamura

The superintendent asked us to take night calls also. The schedule for late October was decided as shown in the table.

15/Mon Ichinose	21/Sun Mori	27/Sat Takahashi
16/Tue Morisawa	22/Mon Kido	28/Sun Hamada
17/Wed Honda	23/Tue Kaneko	29/Mon Osajima
18/Thu Takahashi	24/Wed Ichinose	30/Tue Mori
19/Fri Osajima	25/Thu Morisawa	31/Wed Kido
20/Sat Honda	26/Fri Honda	

It was not the wish of the superintendent, but I told them to assign one duty for each patient ward. I told them personally at lunch.

At 1:30 p.m., all staff of the Nagasaki Medical University, Tokyo University and Kyushu University were summoned to the meeting hall. Perry and LeRoy also came in. LeRoy talked about future policy. The superintendent was also there to give instructions to the Nagasaki University staff. He wanted to have a meeting at 2:30 p.m. tomorrow to discuss research and treatment. And he said a few words about the effectiveness of penicillin. There are 90 male and 74 female patients, or a total of 164 atomic bomb patients in the hospital. Two died today.

I went to see Dr. Warren's autopsy (*Sektion*). His technique was excellent. The old woman from the 4th Ward showed no particular finding (*Befund*) other than atrophy (*Atrophie*). One unusual finding was subcutaneous bleeding spots (*Petechien*) in the pulmonary artery (*A. pulm*). I asked Dr. Warren if the death was due to emaciation (Inaitious tod), but he said that he could not tell. There was also a 17-year old girl, a remarkable case of military tuberculosis (*Miliar tbc*).

In the evening, Dr. Yokoyama and Dr. Osajima came to the hospital. According to Associate Professor Osajima, the Occupation Forces told them that there were still corpses in the former university campus and hospital and that they should be taken care of. Also, he was told that we should chase out the survivors living in the ruins of the school and put a guard there. Mr. Nakayama, the public health department director, came to convey the same messages.

Professors Kitamura and Yokoyama and I decided to go to Nagasaki immediately with students and to handle the situation. I will go to Nagasaki on the evening of October 16, stay for two or three days, tend to the problem of the corpses, and arrange the management of Shinkozen Hospital.

Tuesday, October 16

We were told that the hospital will be visited by the military administrative officers. The superintendent was uneasy from the

morning. He wanted the students to clean the street. I cancelled my surgery lecture and asked Professor Yokoyama to supervise the students. The names of the chiefs should be posted over the entrance of each patient ward. I wrote the ideographs of each name and asked the clerk to post them. Some of the students were playing chess when most of the others had gone to clean.

The American military officer from Nagasaki, Captain Horne, then inspected the hospital and completely agreed with Superintendent Yasuyama's idea. Horne typed a letter: "The Omura Naval Hospital should be transferred to Nagasaki Medical University and used as the medical center for the Nagasaki district." He signed the letter and went to Sasebo for a discussion with Dr. Young. We did not meet Horne at that time.

In the afternoon, we three went with Professor Kageura and Kitamura to visit Superintendent Yasuyama. We told him that Professor Kitamura and I are going to Nagasaki to prepare Shinkozen Hospital. At that time, we heard about Horne's discussion with Yasuyama. The superintendent believed that when Horne went to Sasebo, everything would be alright. At that time, the mayor of Omura came in. I got a ride. I reached Omura Station and took the 4:00 p.m. train back to Nagasaki. The mayor said that he would negotiate with the station master to move the railway station a little to the north to be closer to the naval hospital and to make it more convenient for people to reach. We two went directly to Nagasaki at 6:00 p.m. and returned to our respective homes. I felt wonderful today.

Wednesday, October 17. Day of the Autumn Festival

I arrived in Urakami on the 8:00 a.m. morning train. I went to the ruins of the university. It had been a long absence. I had gone back only once to search for Koji's remains, my second son and a first year medical student. That was more than 50 days ago, and there wasn't much change in the campus, except that the physical property of the university had actually shrunk, all materials of use or value having been taken. Dr. Ogasawara, with students and nurses, was arranging books in the Ophthalmology Department. In the East Patient Ward of Shirabe Surgery, I found the book *Combat Surgery (Kriegschirurgie)* and brought it home as a memento of the bombing. I also brought some other equipment parts which may be useful in the future.

At about 11:00 o'clock, I walked to Shinkozen. Upon my arrival, found that Professor Koyano was back from Tokyo. He had made an agreement to rent Omura Naval Hospital if the negotiations for transferring it to the university failed. However, we had already made the same arrangements here. It was a shame that he went all the way to Tokyo by plane and could not even get into MacArthur's headquarters. I felt sorry that he had even gone there.

I met Professor Koyano in Dr. Takao's office. I told him the news about Omura Naval Hospital from yesterday. The professor had heard

the bad news from Horne this morning. Horne had gone to Sasebo, but apparently the negotiations did not go well. He stopped by Omura last night and told them, "I could not do anything with my authority." It seemed that, Admiral Young already gave permission to the Japanese military commander of Sasebo to open a veterans' convalescent home at Omura.

I am not sure about the relations between Hunt of Nagasaki and Young of Sasebo. If we knew the matter would fall into this chaos, we could have found a better way. I felt discouraged.

I was told that Professor Sano was back in Koshin Dormitory. I went to see him with Professor Koyano. Horne's story about Omura and what we heard from Professor Koyano were the same. I felt that things were getting complicated. I do not know what Superintendent Yasuyama is thinking now. Nagasaki Medical University is suffering one setback after another.

I met Kuwasaki at the Shinkozen Headquarters and walked downtown with him. Many American soldiers were strolling in the streets. The Recreation Hall was open. American soldiers were there. I returned home on the 3 o'clock train.

Monday, October 18

We arrived at the Shinkozen Elementary School building at 9 o'clock. When I was leaving for headquarters at the Commercial College, a truck carrying goods from the headquarters arrived. I decided to set up office on the left side of the first floor. I brought my desk and chair and the room was set up. I went upstairs to Dr. Murakami's room and made a sign with a broken frame and hung it over the entrance to the gate. The old sign was moved to the right side of the wall of the entrance.

When the office was ready, with desks lined up, Dr. Takao came in and told us about the following incident.

He was called by Horne today and the latter said, "I discussed the transfer of Omura Naval Hospital to the Nagasaki Medical University with Sasebo headquarters, but I could not do anything with my authority. By the way, there will be a conference between the staff of the American



headquarters in Nagasaki at 1 : 30 p.m. in the governor's office. You (Dr. Takao and Professor Koyano) should be present." Professor Koyano was in Omura, and so I decided to attend as an observer.

I went to the prefecture government building at 1 : 30 p.m. Soon, only Horne came, and we went together to the governor's office. We looked for Miss Nishimura, the interpreter. She was absent. At the beginning of the conference, an American interpreter did the work, and later a Japanese person took over. The matter was concluded.

Horne made his presentation as follows. "Nagasaki has lost its university hospital and cannot treat patients. If the Omura Naval Hospital is transferred to Nagasaki Medical University, the facility could receive as many patients as a Nagasaki prefecture hospital. What do you think? The combination of Shinkozen Hospital, the Omura Army Hospital and the Infectious Disease Hospital (Zenza School) is not enough to treat all of Nagasaki's patients. If these patients cannot be accommodated, they should be admitted to Omura Hospital. Also, patients from Nagasaki prefecture in general should also be treated at Omura Hospital. I thought this is a good plan and tried to achieve it, but I could not make the final decision within my scope of authority. To make the final decision, the chairman of the joint conference committee, the governor of Nagasaki and the committee chairman in Sasebo, will discuss the matter and refer their decision to the American headquarters in Sasebo. The American authorities will make a petition to MacArthur's headquarters, and that petition will probably be adopted. I also heard from Professor Koyano about a rumor that the Omura Naval Hospital has already been transferred to the management of the Ministry of Education. If this is true, we do not need to meet anymore. If this not true, I hope you will discuss the matter soon and let me know the results." Then he left the meeting.

After that, the Governor stopped Dr. Takao, Mayor Okada and me and said, "I was told by Captain Horne that the chairman of the joint conference committee of Sasebo is the commander of the military district. He will never say yes. The American authorities will not show a soft hand and probably stick to the plan of converting Omura into a veterans convalescent home. This matter will go down the drain. It is better to tell the American authorities that we want Omura Naval Hospital to be transferred to the management of the Nagasaki Medical University and to become a medical center. The matter will go well if the petitions are signed by the chairmen of the Joint Conference Committees together. If this plan is the wish of Nagasaki district only, then we should send a petition with the name of the chairman of the Nagasaki joint conference committee. I will go to Sasebo in two or three days and take care of it." We left there, leaving the matter to the governor.

Horne showed sympathy toward the university in his speech. He said, "Children are suffering because of the lack of schools in Nagasaki." He suggested that the university use the army hospital. However, the

governor and the mayor thought that the army hospital was too small to accommodate all the patients in Nagasaki. "Primary schools can be established elsewhere," they said. "There is no difficulty in using Shinkozen School."

Captain Horne also worried about the cost of renovation. Shinkozen was a school and would be difficult to convert into a hospital. I replied that the money would come from the Ministry of Education.

After the above discussion, the mayor, Dr. Takao and I went to City Hall. The mayor kept saying, "We are in trouble if the university leaves Nagasaki City. If the university uses Shinkozen, it will be easy to return it to the city in the future."

I forgot to mention that I outlined the university's position to the general committee members of the joint conference committee at the prefecture government office.

This position is as follows: "Nagasaki Medical University has had an unbroken attachment to Nagasaki City from the beginning. Professor Koyano considered re-establishing the university locally, but he has had great difficulty finding suitable buildings. At this juncture, Omura Naval Hospital Superintendent Yasuyama, a graduate of Nagasaki Medical University, gave us great assistance, preventing the hospital from being requisitioned by the American Occupation Forces. He then obtained approval from the American authorities to transfer it to the Nagasaki Medical University as a medical center. In other words, Omura Naval Hospital is to be an educational, research, and patient care institution. However, this is temporary. The university would like to return when Nagasaki is rebuilt. Please understand the situation. We ask for your help in transferring the university to the Omura Naval Hospital to promote the education of medical students."

At this point, there were no objections.

At about 4 p.m. I went back to Shinkozen, and I was thinking of going back home on the 5:00 p.m. train. But it was raining, so I took the 7:00 p.m. train to avoid the thunderstorms. It was 8 p.m. when I got home. Due to an electric blackout in the evening, I could not draw the map of Nagasaki Medical University in its gutted condition as requested by Horne. I decided to wait until tomorrow morning.

Friday, October 19

In the morning, I drew a map in color using the university guide book. I used red color for burned-out areas, blue for destroyed areas. I went to Nagasaki on the 10:56 a.m. train and gave it to Horne. "What are you going to do with it?" I asked. He replied that he wanted to use the map for atomic bomb research, and that he wanted to borrow it for a few days. But, I said I would just give it to him. Horne seemed happy and said thank you.

I met Dr. Takao again in the headquarters. It seems that he had been called to the Occupation Forces Headquarters again today and that he was

perplexed because he had been ordered to manage the army hospital by Colonel Galloway this time. Dr. Hashimoto of otolaryngology was with him, and he was asked to obtain assistance from other private physicians. He felt he could not do much, but this was the wish of the American authorities. Dr. Takao said that he wanted people from the university. I gave him a very vague answer, "The university has been divided into several hospitals. I am not sure we can expand our service to you."

Dr. Takao wants Shinkozen to be transferred to the management of the university on October 23. I agreed in principle. The details are to be decided at that time.

More than half of the medical supplies from the Americans are gone. (Much of it had been taken away by physicians!) The rest belonged to the city, but these had also been allocated to private physicians. However, the Americans will give us medicine each week, and we can obtain these just with a signed receipt.

The administrative officers worried about the staffing of nurses. I instructed them to send out a letter telling the nurses in waiting to report immediately. Housing would be arranged by emptying out one dormitory. If this is not enough, we may need to use the nearby Buddhist temple. I approved the plan for negotiating with the temple.

Message to Omura : 1) The combined memorial service should be held in Kotaiji Temple on November 1 ; 2) American atomic bomb researchers want to go to Unzen Hot Springs. We negotiated for the use of a bus with the prefecture government, but only a charcoal burning car was available, and the car could not climb the mountain and so made it only as far as Obama.

We arrived at Omura after 4 p.m. Professors Koyano, Kitamura, and Sano were there. Professor Sano went to Nagasaki on the 4:00 p.m. train and proceeded to Tokyo. His business was the appointment of the university president (Professor Koyano) and negotiations regarding the transfer of Omura Naval Hospital to the Ministry of Health. Fortunately, Dr. Ishikawa, who was a former classmate of Dr. Kageura, was working in the Ministry of Health.

Professor Sano was also acquainted with Dr. Ishikawa, having studied overseas with him. I saw him as far as the South Gate and talked about the proceedings of the Prefecture Joint Committee Meeting, and I advised him to tell the officials of the Ministry of Health, "The Nagasaki Medical University has no choice other than the re-establishment of the medical school at Omura Hospital. The veterans convalescent home does not need to be at Omura; another military hospital, such as Kawatana Hospital, could be used. If Kawatana Hospital, a non-profit organization, wants money, it could be had for 540,000 yen. This money should be acquired from the Ministry of Education and transferred to the navy, in return for Omura Hospital."

Then, I left.

After returning, Professor Koyano, Professor Kitamura and I

discussed everything. We learned that the succeeding superintendent came to the hospital yesterday. Superintendent Yasuyama told him that by the order of Captain Horne, he needed to keep his job as superintendent until next Tuesday and drag out the transfer business. Therefore, the new superintendent went back to Sasebo and reported to his superior that Superintendent Yasuyama refused the order to transfer. Today, Superintendent Yasuyama was summoned to Sasebo headquarters. Professor Koyano persuaded Yasuyama to go to Sasebo; if he did not go, he would be court-martialed. Therefore, Yasuyama is absent.

In Yasuyama's absence, the matter is getting worse. Yesterday Professor Koyano went to Sasebo to see the Japanese commander of the military district and Dr. Young. He did not see Dr. Young, only the Japanese naval officers and the chief of the Interior Department. The chief introduced him to Admiral Tawara, saying, "the naval matter is being decided by the navy." Tawara beseeched Yasuyama "not to talk about Dixon to the commander." Yasuyama could not understand the situation. The navy must have some skeletons in its closet. This meeting with the Japanese commander was just one of cordial greetings. Now, I understand what the Japanese commander in Sasebo meant when he told Dr. Yasuyama that, "There is no need to have medical education in Omura."

The Japanese commander and Admiral Tawara prevented Dr. Koyano from seeing Dr. Young—they both had something to hide. For the sake of the university, we should meet Dr. Young and explain the situation and change his mind. There is no other way. Dr. Yasuyama wants Dr. Young to come to the naval hospital and explain the situation. This is surely the best way.

Saturday, October 20

In the morning, Professor Kageura went from Nagasaki to Omura Hospital. He passed Professor Sano going to Nagasaki. I did not see Professor Sano that day. Professor Kageura left Omura for Nagasaki that afternoon. He wanted to meet Professor Sano and tell him, "When you get to Tokyo, please see Dr. Ishikawa at the Ministry of Health."

Professor Koyano also went to Nagasaki on the 9:00 a.m. train. Before his departure, I got a telephone call from Superintendent Yasuyama, asking me to give him a message: Tell Governor Nagano to come see me for sure when he comes to Omura. I gave this message to Professor Koyano immediately. Superintendent Yasuyama was upset. He heard the story that this new superintendent is from the same town as Commander Sugiyama of the military district. He was rushed here from far away even though he has not finished his previous job. This new superintendent had attempted double-suicide with a geisha. The geisha died, but he survived. As a rule, he should have been fired, but he was promoted by Admiral Sugiyama. Yasuyama was still furious, saying that the professors should not eat lunch with the new superintendent.

When I saw Professor Koyano off on the bus at the main entrance, I saw the hospital staff lined up in the front yard. Superintendent Yasuyama saluted each one of the naval officers and went back to his official residence.

Right after that, somebody gave the order to assemble all of the hospital staff. I heard later that it was the new superintendent who had ordered the naval officers to come to the backyard of the hospital. The new superintendent told them that this hospital will be transformed into a veterans convalescent home and that he wanted them all to work hard. Superintendent Yasuyama was at home, but he seemed uneasy and called me from time to time, asking me to visit him. I wanted to go there, but I hesitated because everyone was watching me.

Sunday, October 21

I went to Nagasaki to prepare for the transfer of Shinkozen from the Medical Association on October 23. Professor Koyano was already working at Shinkozen. I was told that Governor Nagano had already gone to northern Nagasaki Prefecture yesterday. Perhaps, he went to see the commander of the Sasebo military district, who is also chairman of the joint conference committee. I felt sorry that he did not stop over to see Superintendent Yasuyama, but there was nothing I could do. We have to await the results of today's meeting. I wrote a letter to Professor Kitamura and sent a messenger on the returning bus to Omura. Also, I asked Professor Koyano to delay his departure for the time being because of this most difficult situation. Professor Koyano had planned to travel to the Fukuoka and Saga area.

This is not the time for him to go around greeting people. He will be able to do it in much better spirits when the future of the university is certain.

I returned home on the 12 o'clock train and went to Nameshi Shrine with my whole family. Today is the Autumn Festival Day in Nameshi.

Monday, October 22

I reported to work because of the preparations for tomorrow's transfer. A letter written yesterday to Professor Kitamura asked Sato of the dietary department and the staff of the pharmacy department to come back to Nagasaki. So, Sato and Tani came back on the bus. Administrative officer Shibata from the business office will be a witness to the transfer. We were well prepared.

The Medical Association President Dr. Takao came to the headquarters in the morning to prepare for tomorrow's transfer. Since the stock of drugs has been allocated to private physicians already, we have to get rationed supplies from the city. Also, Dr. Takao insisted that the Americans had given him the drugs for use in his private practice and that he would not share them with the university. Anyway, most of the medical drug stocks had been taken away by private physicians, and there

wasn't much left.

A letter from Professor Tsuzuki of the University of Tokyo came on the 11 o'clock bus from Omura. It said that Professor Tsuzuki had come to Omura to meet the governor and will go back to Tokyo after an overnight stay at the Beach Hotel [in Mogi]. At about the same time, a letter arrived saying that Governor Nagano would like to meet Professor Koyano at 3 p.m. in the governor's office. It seemed that the governor was already back home from his trip. I visited Public Health Department Chief Nakayama and asked him to transfer the Red Cross nurses to Shinkozen by November 8. After that, I visited Dr. Yamashita at the Red Cross and made the same request, and I received his consent. In the afternoon, Professor Tsuzuki came to visit Professor Koyano.

Professor Koyano and I listened to Professor Tsuzuki, who said. "There are an estimated 30,000 demobilized naval veteran patients in Japan. Of these, 15,000 need to be admitted to hospitals, but there are only 12,000 beds in the naval hospitals that escaped requisition. Therefore, Omura Naval Hospital cannot be given to Nagasaki University. Due to these circumstances, you may use part of Omura Hospital, but opening a basic science department in the facility is out of the question. If you want to transfer to Omura, you may give lectures to students, but you have to wait to set up a basic science department. In any case, the naval hospital will be transferred to the Ministry of Health, because treatment of veterans is primary. You cannot totally utilize Omura Hospital for the university. Please be patient and await the completion of arrangements for treatment of veterans. If you don't agree, we should cut off conversation now."

I tried to interrupt, but to no avail. Professor Tsuzuki is a navy man, and he is not on our side. I was angry. Re-establishment of the Nagasaki Medical University is jeopardized if not impossible. We must ask for help from the Americans if we want to have a hospital soon.

At 3 p.m., Professor Koyano was called to the governor's office. He must have been told the results of the conference, but anyway, I don't expect to hear any good news from him.

Tuesday, October 23

Today is the day that Shinkozen becomes our hospital. In the morning, I called the people of the administration, the pharmacy, and the kitchen and went to the Relief Operations Headquarters on the second floor and took over the business of the kitchen. The food was given to the administrative officers and Sato. All other goods were given to Shibata. Drugs were given to Tani and the other pharmacy staff members.

Everything is in disarray: instruments and equipment are broken, and the kitchen has nothing. There is not even any stock of rice to eat for tomorrow. So, we have to get rice today. It looks like the Medical Association does not want to transfer any medicine to us. No wonder that nothing has gone smoothly.

We stopped our work at about 4 p.m. Even after the transfer, the members of the Medical Association still wanted to come to the Relief Headquarters to get medical supplies.

In the evening, Dr. Urabe of the University of Tokyo wanted to talk to us. There was a discussion between Professor Tsuzuki and Professor Koyano regarding the matter of the investigation of atomic bomb disease. Five thousand patients need to be surveyed before November 10. I was recommended as leader. Dr. Urabe was to help me as a staff member. If I use 50 students and one student can survey 10 patients a day, the job will be done in ten days. The survey form was made by Professor Sasa of Tokyo University on the basis of an American form. It will take a good 10 minutes to survey one patient. If the patients are gathered together, this kind of survey will be easy. We have done this kind of survey several times before. The people are already getting tired of interviews. So, what should we do? Individual door-to-door visits? What do we do about people outside the city? I could not figure out what to do. So, I left him saying, "Let me think about this until tomorrow. The project can start on Monday. I will try to prepare a form by that time. If the form is printed, it will be better. But, I'm not sure if we can obtain a printing machine.

The following article was published in today's Nagasaki Nichinichi Shimbun (newspaper). Perhaps it came from Superintendent Yasuyama. It is great! I decided to send a gift of persimmons and mushrooms to Dr. Yasuyama, and I asked Dr. Koga, who was going back to Omura by bus, to pass it on.

As the superintendent of Shinkozen Hospital, I am responsible for the renovation of the facility, patient care, and for leading the atomic bomb disease survey team. I am very busy with two jobs. But, this is a good chance to test my skill. I should work hard. For now, I leave the question of Omura to Professors Koyano, Kitamura, Sano and the others.

Omura is a temporary location, we should make every effort to cooperate in the re-establishment of Nagasaki Medical University here." The society has apparently commenced an aggressive movement to achieve its objective.

Wednesday, October 24

In the morning, I changed patients' dressings in the Shinkozen Outpatient Clinic. There was no time to get help, so I had to do it myself. I got some help from Dr. Mori. He came in on the morning train, but we had the problem of supplies: gauze, cotton balls, and other surgical supplies are lacking. Drs. Tanaka and Matsuo helped me. I arrived at Shinkozen at 9 a.m. There were already 40 or 50 atomic bomb survivors waiting for us. However, most of them were healed. We could finish our work before noon.

In the afternoon, Superintendent Yasuyama visited Shinkozen. He had come to Nagasaki to see the newly set up city hospital, the former army hospital. He was told by Horne over the phone to visit Shinkozen. Professor Koyano went with him. Drs. Fujita and Kitajima of Isahaya came to visit.

Dr. Kido came in suddenly in the afternoon. He said he had only just arrived today because the Sanyo railroad line was damaged and out of order. Drs. Inoue and Hisami also returned, but there was no time to chat with them. Professor Koyano went to Omura with Superintendent Yasuyama by bus.

I discussed the atomic bomb casualty survey with Professor Kitamura. He did not have any better ideas on how to carry it out. As a result, we decided to pay door-to-door visits and to send students to the surrounding areas by train everyday.

Dr. Kido stayed overnight in my house.

Thursday, October 25

I went to Omura with Dr. Kido on the 8:00 a.m. train. We arrived there at about 10 o'clock. In the afternoon, I performed an operation for rice hygroma (*Reiskorperhygrom*). I worked precisely and took out the sac (*Sack*) completely. It was an interesting case. Dr. Kido performed two bone (*Knocken*) operations.

Miyagi of Obama and a man from the United Press were in the hospital. The superintendent called us in and wanted to see both of them. I relayed the message to Miyagi at supper, but he probably did not go to the superintendent's official residence. Professors Kitamura and Koyano went back to Nagasaki on the 4 o'clock train.

After supper, I gathered students of the third- and fourth-year medical college and third-year medical school, and talked about the atomic bomb casualty survey. I encouraged them to work for the honor of Nagasaki Medical University. Thirty students will go to Nagasaki on the 7:00 train, arriving at Shinkozen at 9:00 a.m., then return on the 5:00

p.m. train. The thirty students will divide into six groups, five in each group. Each group will take one *machi* (district) and make door-to-door visits. Each person must survey 10 people a day.

After the meeting, Dr. Suyama asked me to stroll around Omura city. He wanted to visit his relative, Dr. Matsuo. Matsuo had broken a needle in a patient the other day. I went with Suyama in a hurry. We were well treated and came home with a present of whisky at 9 o'clock.

October 26

In the morning, we made rounds of all the wards. I was called again by Superintendent Yasuyama. He wanted to meet Miyagi and the United Press correspondent. I relayed a message through Dr. Iwanaga of the Koyano Surgical Department. I think they went to visit the superintendent in the morning.

In the afternoon I gave a clinical lecture. I talked about the cause of intestinal stenosis, demonstrating the condition in a patient. I also exhibited specimens of gastric ulcer and rice hygroma (*Reiskorperhygrom*).

The following article was published in today's newspaper. Wonderful! We see how hard Horne has been working on behalf of Nagasaki Medical University. Why can Omura not be given to the University soon? It is irritating.

Professor Koyano arrived on the evening bus with a message asking me to arrange for offerings of dry biscuits at the November 2 memorial service with the new superintendent. I went to the superintendent's office for negotiations. I asked him to change the offering from biscuits to *udon* [Japanese noodles]. He agreed right away.

Record of the Postwar Recovery of Nagasaki Medical University

August 9, 1945

The air-raid alarm sounded at 7 a.m. was lifted at 9 a.m. and changed to air-raid alert. The atomic bomb exploded at 11 a.m., about 500 meters in the air above Matsuyama-machi. Instantly pulverized, the university buildings began to burn. Many staff members, students and patients were killed. President Tsunoo and the other injured were carried to the Anakobo hillside, while the stronger survivors crossed over Mt. Konpira and fled in the direction of Nishiyama. Hundreds of people stayed on the hillside. The staff of the basic science department crossed the sports field to Urakami Cathedral and sought refuge in the Yamazato Primary School area. Despite serious injuries, Professor Takaki found his way to the bank of the river below Urakami Cathedral and was carried to the Anakobo hillside at around 3 o'clock by students. Agony welled up in my chest again and again. Professor Koyano (slight injuries) went over the mountain to Nishiyama, while Professor Hasegawa (serious injuries) returned home, also by traversing the mountain. Associate Professor Nagai (slight injuries) stayed on the hillside with his staff. Associate Professor Kido (slight injuries) went over the mountain. Lying in a field on the Anakobo hillside, Professor Sofue (pharmacology, slight injuries) was rescued by me (Shirabe) and taken to the site where the students had gathered. Associate Professor Ishizaki suffered severe burns on his face and arms and crawled up the hillside. His features were completely distorted and his respiration failing. Many others including Associate Professor Osajima and myself escaped uninjured. Professor Kiyoki (pharmacology) struck his back in the explosion and came up the hillside using a stick as a cane and all but naked. Associate Professor Ichinose, who escaped injury, brought medical supplies and attended to President Tsunoo. Associate Professor Egami (otolaryngology) had been in Michinoo and came later with Kawamoto (pharmacy) carrying medical supplies. Head Nurse Murayama (facial burns), Head Nurse Mitsushima (fractured arm) and others stayed on the hillside overnight. People coming up the hillside ended up staying overnight in sheltered areas on the upper reaches. We could do nothing except assist and encourage each other. The 4th-year medical student Ando recovered some rice and a pot from a demolished farmhouse and with the permission of the owner cooked the rice for distribution. It was delicious, white rice. Others including myself made rice balls, put these in a biscuit box and brought them around to the injured. President Tsunoo ate one with pleasure. Associate Professor Nagai and his staff used odd pieces of lumber to built a hut against the stone embankment, and I joined them in staying there overnight.

Enemy planes flew overhead during the night and dropped something that seemed like bombs, but no damage was caused. The fires continued to burn.

August 10

We carried President Tsunoo and Professor Takaki down the hill by stretcher, to the cave shelter at the rear of the university kitchen. Professor Takaki received an injection of glucose. He was also given some to drink. Professor Koyano returned to the university. He was in the cave shelter behind the surgery department (I think Professor Koyano was in the shelter here because he had come to visit Associate Professor Ishizaki.) When this information reached him, President Tsunoo called for Professor Koyano, discussed the university situation, and asked him to take over as acting president.

We immediately brought a desk to the shelter behind the kitchen and established the university headquarters there. News came that Professor Kaneko had escaped to the Motohara neighborhood. I sent some students, as well as civilian defense corps members from Arie town who happened to come by, to conduct a search, but there was no sign of him. Other civilian defense corps members were enlisted to gather corpses and to accompany the injured to shaded areas of the hillside. News came that Professor Ikeda had suffered serious injuries and fled to the Yamazato Primary School area. Sato (kitchen sub-chief) cooked some rice that had escaped the fires.

I found Professor Yamane in the cave shelter below the psychiatry department and conducted first-aid. After that I accompanied him to the cave shelter behind the surgery department (behind the kitchen?) and placed him alongside President Tsunoo and Professor Takaki. I toured the ruins of the basic science classrooms and discovered the corpse of Mr. Yamamoto, an administration employee. I also found what I thought (incorrectly) was the corpse of Professor Kunifusa. A large number of other human remains were scattered about. The carnage was limitless. Several corpses of what seemed to be nurses were lying in the sports field. Dr. Shi of the radiology department came along and identified them as nurses from the radiology department. He even knew their names. After that I went back alone to the house in Nameshi village, Nishiurakami, where my family had evacuated.

August 11

The temporary university headquarters was moved to a spot between Shirabe Surgery and the south auditorium. Later, we cleaned out the first floor of Shirabe Surgery and moved the headquarters there.

I came to discuss the establishment of a relief station in the Michinoo

Actually I think President Tsunoo spent the night in the cave shelter behind the university kitchen. Professor Koyano was enlisted to bring him there.

area. I also conferred with Professor Koyano and received permission to move President Tsunoo, Professor Yamane and the injured students and nurses. I changed President Tsunoo's bandages. He was in good spirits today. Now President Tsunoo, Professor Takaki, Professor Yamane, Associate Professor Ishizaki and others are lying in the cave shelter behind the surgery department. Professor Takaki's condition deteriorated and he died in the evening (around 7 p.m.).

At about 3 p.m., Matsuse, a fourth-year medical student, discovered the corpse of Professor Naito Katsutoshi in the corridor of the obstetrics department. I went with Araki and Matsuse, identified the body and then reported the death to Professor Koyano. Another fourth-year student, Odate, is working on a survival survey. This evening I heard that Professor Sofue had been carried to the house of Professor Sano by stretcher. I also heard that Professor Kunifusa had fled to the basement of the dermatology department at around 2 p.m. and I went to pay him a visit. He had a fever of about 40°C, but his wife was attending to him. The whereabouts of Professors Ikeda and Kaneko are still unknown.

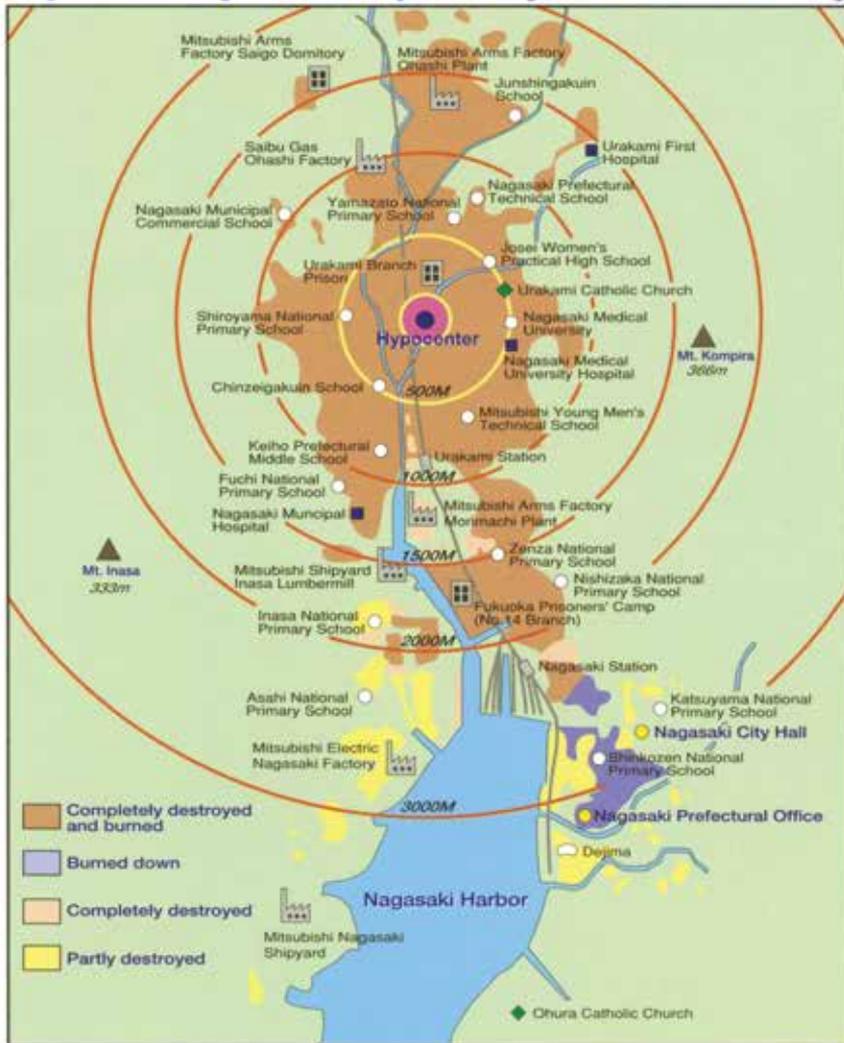
August 12

After dark, we moved between 10 and 20 people including President Tsunoo, Professor Yamane and the injured students and nurses to Iwaya Club.

APPENDIX

The Nagasaki Atomic Bombing

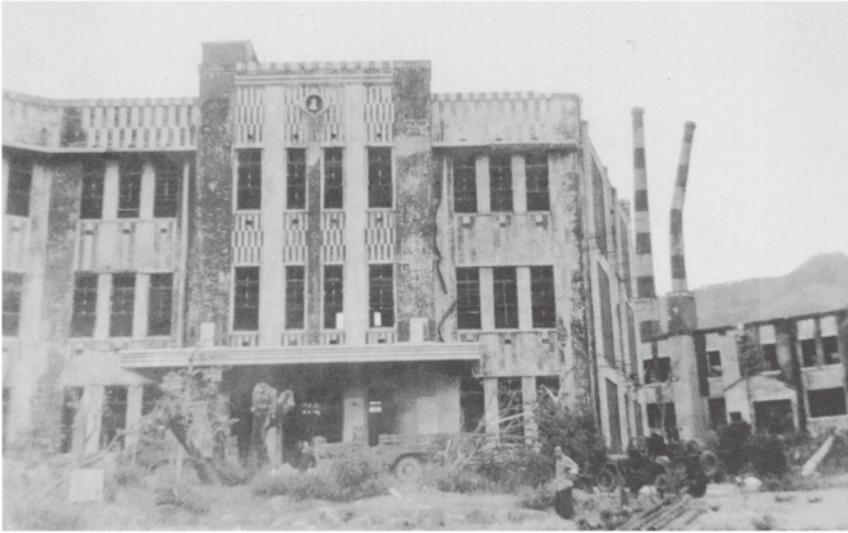
Physical Damage Caused by the Nagasaki Atomic Bombing



The foremost characteristic of the physical damage caused by the Nagasaki atomic bomb was the tremendous, instantaneous destruction wreaked by the blast wind and the subsequent fires. These fires broke out simultaneously with the destruction of buildings over a wide area. The complete destruction and burning of buildings extended a distance of two kilometers beyond the hypocenter.



American naval officers look out over the Urakami valley from the grounds of Nagasaki Medical University (upper panel); The ruins of Nagasaki Medical University (lower panel). Taken on October 15, 1946 by a *USS Bremerton* crew member. (Courtesy of Brian Burke-Gaffney)



The ruins of Nagasaki Medical University (upper panel); Makeshift shacks in the Urakami valley (lower panel). Taken on October 15, 1946 by a *USS Bremerton* crew member. (Courtesy of Brian Burke-Gaffney)



The platform at Urakami Railroad Station and ruins of the Mitsubishi Nagasaki Steel Works (upper panel) ; The ruins of Urakami Cathedral (lower panel) Taken on October 15, 1946 by a *USS Bremerton* crew member. (Courtesy of Brian Burke-Gaffney)

The Nagasaki Atomic Bombing*

Circumstances of the bombing

At 11 : 02 a.m. August 9, 1945, two B29 bombers flew from Kumamoto north towards the west over the Shimabara peninsula and intruded from the northeast of Nagasaki city and dropped an atomic bomb at the north of the city, then flew out immediately. The atomic bomb was dropped at an altitude of 9,600 meters, and it exploded at a point approximately 500 meters above ground. On that day, it was a clear sky, also quite hot, but almost calm.

1. The energy of the atomic bomb

The energy of the plutonium bomb dropped on Nagasaki is estimated to be 21 kilotons of TNT. A huge fireball was created immediately after the explosion, an extremely powerful heat wave and radioactivity were emitted from the epicenter and the great expansion of air around the epicenter became the bomb blast. Those energy yields were estimated to be about 35% heat wave energy, nearly 50% blast energy, and the rest of about 15% radioactive energy.

2. The power of the heat wave

As explosion of the bomb occurred, the fireball reached millions of degrees Celsius at maximum and its volume rapidly expanded, then after 10 seconds, it lost brilliance. From the instant of explosion, the size and temperature of the fireball increased as follows : 0.1 milliseconds later, the diameter was about 28 m and the surface temperature was uniformly distributed at about 300,000°C; 10 milliseconds later, the diameter was about 180 m and the surface temperature was about 1,700°C; 0.3 seconds later, the surface temperature again increased to about 7,000°C; 1 second later, the diameter reached its maximum of about 280 m at 5,000°C surface temperature, and the temperature gradually diminished reaching 1,700°C by 3 seconds later. About 99% of the heat wave emitted from the fireball severely affected the ground only from 10 milliseconds to about 3 seconds after the explosion.

It was infrared rays emitted from 0.3 to 3 seconds after the explosion that caused burns on human bodies. The thermal burns on uncovered parts of the body were observed in people exposed to the bomb up to 4 km from the hypocenter. Furthermore, people who were exposed to the bomb without any shielding suffered lethal thermal burns and approximately 20 to 30% of deaths are estimated to be due to thermal burn injury.

*Reproduced and modified with the permission of the Nagasaki Prefectural and Municipal Governments from their reports entitled "Summary of the Atomic Bomb Survivors Affair Activities" published in 1999.

3. The power of the bomb blast

Hundreds of thousands of tons of impact pressure was instantly created by the explosion, and expanded air formed the bomb blast. The fringe of the blast developed as a shock wave which is a wall of high pressure air propagated at the speed of sound or faster. Ten seconds after the explosion, the shock wave reached approximately 3.7 km, and by 30 seconds, it reached about 11 km distance from the epicenter, eventually losing power.

The deaths and external injury cases caused by blast mainly came from collapsed structures and flying fragments. Within a 1.3 km radius distance from the hypocenter, casualties by blast were significant and 20% of the deaths there are considered due to the blast.

Furthermore, the damage was amplified by composite effects of heat wave, blast and secondary fires and many people burned to death under collapsed buildings.

4. The power of the radiation

In addition to the above-mentioned damages caused by heat wave, blast and secondary fires, the atomic bomb added a new type of scourge, never experienced by a conventional bomb, that of radiation exposure. Radiation itself could kill many of the people who were irradiated at greater than or equal to 4 Gy over their whole body. The atomic bomb survivors have persistently suffered mentally and physically due to composite interactions between radiation injury and thermal and external injuries.

State of damage

The damage reported by the Committee of Atomic Bomb Scientific Data Registry in July 1950 is as follows :

The dead	73,884 persons
The injured	74,909 persons
Number of victims	120,820 persons ^a
Number of damaged houses	18,409 dwellings ^b
Completely burned down houses	11,574 dwellings ^c
Razed houses	1,326 dwellings ^d
Partially razed houses	5,509 dwellings ^e

^aThe number of permanent residents whose dwellings were within 4 km radius of the hypocenter and were completely burned out or razed.

^bNumber of dwellings within 4 km radius of the hypocenter and was about 36% of total dwellings in the city.

^cNumber of dwellings within 4 km radius from the hypocenter and was about 1/3 of the total dwellings in the city.

^dThe dwellings within 1 km radius from the hypocenter were regarded as razed houses.

^eThe dwellings between 1 to 4 km radius from the hypocenter were regarded as partially razed houses.

As of October 1, 1950, a total of 131,050 persons in Japan were noted as Nagasaki atomic bomb survivors by the supplementary survey of 1950 National Census, and the population of Nagasaki City just prior to the atomic bombing is estimated at around 210,000 persons.



A Physician's Diary of the Atomic Bombing and its Aftermath

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ISBN4-931481-02-7