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 Michinoo 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 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

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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.