

Part2

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 Michinoo 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

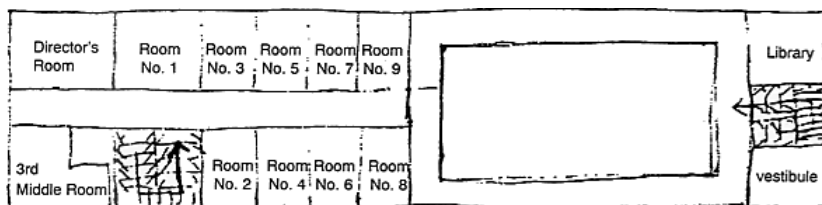
long as the hospital was not confiscated by the occupation forces, and suggested it to Professor Koyano. Professor Koyano hesitated at first because it is a naval hospital, which meant it would probably be taken over by the occupation forces. However, Lieutenant Commander Hara, a Nagasaki Medical University 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 reestablishment 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 reestablishing 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 reestablish 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	Surgica	ca. 40	Nakamura (Ken), Tsuchiyama
1th 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 (Spdterscheinung) 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 themapin theafternoon. Wehad ahard 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 a 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 (*Diphtheric*) 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 Michinoo 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.