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The Santo Tomas Internment Camp Diary of Albert E. Holland, 1944-1945

Albert E. Holland

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Transcript of Albert E. Holland's Diary

Following is a precise transcript of the Holland diary, including abbreviations, capitalizations, and punctuation. Added to the transcript is a letter of commendation to Holland from U.S. general Frayne Baker, dated April 14, 1945. Also added is a list of explanatory footnotes. Liberation occurred February 3, 1945.

Introduction by Mrs. Eva J. Engel Holland

The diary that follows was kept by Albert Holland who served as the head of the Release Department (the prisoners' executive committee) of the Santo Tomas Internment Camp. It describes the plight of prisoners of this Japanese camp for enemy aliens in the Philippines from November 1944 to February 1945. The diary was written in the spirit of Captain Robert F. Scott: "Where ultimate survival is unlikely, at least there should be an account of how the challenge was met." Or, as Albert Holland wrote in early December 1944,"They [the Japanese] may break my health, but they cannot break my morale."

At first diary entries were written down in a record book. Later, when greater care had
to be taken to keep accounts of prevailing conditions secret from the Japanese officials, entries were made on the reverse of sheets of paper previously used. These sheets, once completed, could be hidden by slipping them under the prisoner's sleeping mat.

The original diary is reproduced (including abbreviations and punctuation marks). At the end of the diary transcript a letter dated April 14, 1945 from the commanding U. S. general Frayne Baker honoring the services rendered by A. E. Holland has been added. Also added is a list of explanatory footnotes.

Eva J. Engel Holland

[133]

Nov. 1, 1944

Dearest Hope—In the days to come I shall keep a diary for you – a diary of our last days in the camp. They will be hard and trying days, for we are very short of food and there is danger from bullets and shrapnel – But they will be interesting –

Our food has fallen off sharply since FeB 1944 and for the last two months we have been practically starving.

Month	official allowance Jap	camp stocks	Extra sources of food
			Kits-canteen
February	1700	400	Veg. Mrkt
March	1700	400	"
April	1600	400	Kits veg mrkt
May	1400	400	" "
June	1400	400	" "
July	1300	400	" "
August	1200	300	Limited kit goods
September	1200	200	" " "
October	1100	200	" "
November	1100	150	--- ---
	in Calories per capita per day		

The old men are dying off – one or two per day – They can not stand the food scarcity - -

The military situation is more hopeful – Our forces

[134]

landed in Leyte on Oct. 18th and we have had raids over Manila on – Sept 21, Sept 22, Oct 15, 17, 18 & 29th

I wonder if I can describe for you the bombing on Sept 21st. Imagine 3000 slowly starving, interned for 2 ¾ years, with no sign of our troops since the fall of Bataan in April of '42 (Corregidor May '42). At about 1030 in the morning of the 21st – we heard the drone of planes in the distance – we paid little attention as the Japanese had five or six fields in and around Manila – The noise grew louder; and off to the north one could see a large number of planes headed for the City – Still it was only the number that surprised us – we were sure they were Japanese. The planes began to assume a more definite shape – They seemed different – They were ours! The anti aircraft fire started, and, laughing & shouting we rushed for the buildings – Many were in tears. What a wonderful show those boys put on – spectacular dives – right thru the anti-aircraft fire –

[135]

They came – wave after wave – there must have been 250-300 of them altogether – the next day they returned – we thought that this was the beginning of a campaign in Luzon – we would be out by October 10th –there were no more raids until October 15th! Again elation, especially as the raids were resumed on the 17th & 18th – Then the news of the landings in Leyte – 300 miles to the south – they would soon be here! The next raid came on October 29th – since then no raids –

We know that our troops are in Leyte, perhaps in Samar as well, by now – There are rumors of landings in Atimonan on the East Coast of Luzon – who knows?

So there is the picture – we are starving, the old men dying like flies – our troops are some 300 miles away on Leyte – It is just like one of those silent Westerns you & I would go to see on 102nd St. on Saturday afternoon – Do you remember? The pianist would stop – The picture would stop – The beleaguered garrison would seem hopelessly doomed – Then the pianist would strike up the Star-Spangled Banner, and the picture, moving again, would show the US Cavalry pouring

[136]

over the hill, flags waving, drums beating, bugles blowing (though we could not hear them). So in this little drama, little in the vast drama of a world-wide struggle, 800 children, 800 people over 60 and 2200 men & women between 18 and 60 in poor health – are struggling to keep alive – we hear the bugles blowing, but the Cavalry has not come yet.

Just for the record (to compare as the days pass) I weigh 118 lbs – 73 pounds less than I weighed in Jan-42.

Nov. 2nd

No action – but more rumors – a relief ship is supposed to have left Japan for Vladivostok to pick up relief supplies for us (and, more important, for the Amer. War prisoners in Japan & the P.I.). The ship is reported due in Manila by Nov. 20th – there seems to be some substance to this rumor – If the shipment arrives, it will be a real life-saver –

This camp presents a picture of great disparities – There are wealthy people eating meals but little different from the meals – let us say – that

[137]

we had in Spring Lake in Fall 1933 after we had moved to Knights – There are others, who have no supplies at all and to whom the chowder we had every day for at least a week (2 times per day, wasn't it?) would be better than all the godly drinks you could

name – I am ashamed of my people here – This disparity is taken for granted – No effort is made towards pooling resources and anyone who offers to do this or give up part of his ration for someone needing it more, is called a "sucker."

I am in charge of the Old Mens Hosp. here – There are 52 patients, averaging 65 years, all either heart cases, paralyzed, blind or crippled – it is not a pleasant place to work, but I love it. to help these old men keep alive until the Americans come –

All my work during internment has been closely connected with the sick, the children and the aged – I have tried to help where at all possible to care for these three groups – some efforts were successful, others not – It is frightful to be helpless in a place like this, where the motto seems to be "Every man for himself."

[138]

Nov. 3rd 44 Still no action. Rumors thick & fast. Atimonan, Maubau, Lamon Bay, Infanta, Vigan, Lingayen –

We hear of a great naval victory off Formosa & Northeastern Luzon – the Japs lost 84 capital ships & we lost 6 – Some new offensive method used – Nimitz congratulated –

Election is near – We all believe Roosevelt will win, most of us want him to win. It is reported that Willkie is dead. also Al Smith – Both great men – but in different ways.

We are too tired to clean the camp effectively – It is getting dirtier all the time - & the Japanese want 200 more men to work in the gardens – on 1250 calories per day? (only 1100 from the Japs)

Nov. 4th

No action – the morale is very low – jail sentences for stealing rice and mush, or for collecting two meals on one meal ticket.

[139]

The days used to pass very quickly - we seemed to gulp time – Now with more activity The days pass very slowly –

Thomas Mann described this phenomenon in his "Magic Mountain." In times of no special activity, when one day is just like another, and life is based on routine time passed very rapidly – we lived from holiday to holiday, and from season to season. But where there is no set routine, when life is a mosaic of events, then time passes very slowly – And where months seemed like days, hours now seem like years. It will be this way until the end of internment.

Nov. 5th

Very heavy raids all day today – there must have been six waves altogether – the first raid this afternoon was the most savage we have had yet – Most of the bombing was over the bay and Port Area – We could hear the poms-poms of the

warships – Anti-aircraft fire was intense – Many bullets & pieces of shrapnel fell in the camp.

[140]

Morale is high again – I suppose it is natural that morale should go up and down in direct ratio to the bombings – But it is hard on the nervous system, and many of the old men are restless for days.

The food is getting worse every day – And by the middle of the month our few camp reserves give out – oh well, as the Austrians say "Die Lage ist kritisch aber nicht ernst" – The position is critical but not serious.

Nov. 6th

Bombing all day again today – it looks like the real thing – Rumors of landings in Luzon are current again – I wonder –

We hear Nimitz used an offensive smoke screen in his great victory –

I have heard a report about a bombing of Cologne that leaves me so shocked that I do not know how to express myself – 1000 tons of bombs dropped per minute for 90 mintues – I cannot believe it –

[141]

The City would be a waste, the people still living, insane – Even 9000 tons would be frightful – they say that the Germans started this indiscriminate bombing and that we must teach them a lesson – I know war is Hell, but I do feel this is going to far – What will be the results afterwards? Not on the Germans, but on us. The men who under orders release these bombs? I hate war!

I often think of Tony & Bill[1] and wonder where they are and if they are still alive – It is their example that keeps me working in this camp – I miss all of you terribly – music, books and a good talk – arguments – Dad's face at seeing the Daily Worker in the house[2] - Some day, God Willing, we'll be together again.

Nov. 7th

Quiet today – And the morale drops, of course – And we are always to have bombing and then quiet!

I have been reading "The Life of Pasteur" by Valery-Radot. How his life developed – one step logically following the other –

[142]

The dys symmetry of the tartaric acid crystals, the work on wine, the fermentation of beer, the work on infectious diseases The discovery of vaccines – As Paul Bert says: his work can be summed up in 3 laws –

1) Fermentation is caused by the development of a special microbe

2) All infectious diseases are caused by the development within an organism of a special microbe

3) The pathogenic activity of the microbe can be lessened by a process of attenuation – The virus becomes a vaccine.

That last "The virus becomes a vaccine" – These few words represent one of the greatest triumphs of man – greater than the pyramids, greater than all the other wonders of the world –

I admire the reasoning powers of the French – but surely their forte is intuition – A swift penetration to the heart of the question and then reason to trace the process step by step.

[143]

The more I read of research and study and teaching, The more lost and lonely I feel in business – I know I will be successful, but I am not sure I want the success.

Nov. 8th

Quiet again –

The Japanese are bringing more war materials into this camp for protection – The front grounds are covered with generators, engines, truck chassis, small field guns, tin plate, rolls of wire for runways – We protested when they started to make a dump in the front – But they told us it was none of our business, that all Manila was a military objective and that our government had not been informed officially that Santo Tomás was being used as an Interment camp –

While we are sure our planes will never bomb this camp, the presence of the war materials is disturbing to say the least –

I find I must remain in bed almost all the time when I am not working or getting meals – I weigh 114 now.

[144]

Nov. 9th

We hear Roosevelt was re-elected – Electoral vote 400+ to 100+, popular vote 18 million to 16 million – From the total of the vote I assume that the soldiers took no part in the election – They will have plenty to say, however, when this is over –

We are keeping Dorita and Albert[3] in bed except for 2 hours in the morning and 2 hours in the afternoon – We find that they loose weight more slowly and that they are far calmer than the other children –

Morale is very low again – Poor food, no actions, many deaths – I hope the relief shipment comes –

Many internees, especially the older people, have swollen legs, very marked – This is due partially to beri-beri – But primarily to a protein deficiency, which resulting in a decreased protein content of the blood reduces its osmotic tension and the fluids

accumulate in the tissues – we have some pitiful cases – But no supply of meats or fats for them – And sooner or later, they die –

[145]

Nov. 10th

Still no action – Morale very low –

Worse than the shortage of food is the shortage of tobacco – Tobacco stills hunger pains – the Japs say there is none, but they brought in 600 pkgs of 250 grams each the other day – this native tobacco is very strong – I'll bring you some – we are smoking it mixed with dried papaya leaves, dried hibiscus leaves, dried tea leaves – I am not very adept at rolling cigarettes and admire those who seem to do it proficiently –

I just finished Harold Nicholson's trilogy "Portrait of a Diplomatist", "Peacemaking", and "Lord Curzon" The trilogy covers the years from about 1890 to 1924 – A masterly piece of work – Let us hope that Roosevelt does not go to a second Paris and that we do not have another Versailles Treaty –

I agree with Nicholson that we should have a trained diplomatic corps, technicians just as lawyers and doctors are technicians – And we should look to them for technical advice but not

[146]

for policy making –

I have been in favor of a national university – for the training of young men for administrative positions in the government, the states, and the diplomatic service – we must come to the European system of government administration as a career – Here too the men are technicians.

I would like to see after this war exchange scholarships on a vast scale – Let our young men go to Europe, South America, the Far East & let their young men come to the United States – if we had 50,000 a year, it would only cost $100,000,000, the cost of one day's war.

Nov. 11th

No action –

The Japanese today distributed to the garden workers 1 pkg tobacco, 1 cake soap, 2 boxes matches & 6 bananas per person – The other heavy workers in the camp feel that they have been unjustly overlooked – But I am glad that some people got tobacco – Perhaps our turn will come

[147]

later on – I have no sympathy for those who say they would not accept tobacco from the Japanese – They are envious – I will save my stand on principals something worth-while –

The old men continue to drop off like flies – one per day is average – And all the Japanese doctor says is "So sorry, many more will get Beri-beri."

Bowing is in vogue again – The Japanese tell us we must bow as a sign of thanks for their protection – when I die, I want written on my coffin "Protected to the end" –

Nov. 12th – No action – I am too tired to write.

Nov. 13th

The heaviest raid yet – wave after wave all day – This afternoon 13 torpedo planes flew over the camp at 300 feet headed for the bay – Explosions & fires all over Manila – Although the sun is shining, the City is dark – Smoke in the clouds pouring from the Port Area & the San Nicholas district (warehouses) – Cavite is burning –

[148]

Again rumors of landing on Luzon – Morale is away up again –

Nov. 14th

Raids all day – this is fine – It is interesting to note that we have no deaths on air-raid days – Perhaps they help in the struggle for survival –

The air-raid alarm was on from 7:38 to 6:50– 11 hours – we'll sleep well tonight –

I am reading the Beard's "Rise of American Civilization." While I agree with Justice Holmes that the economic interpretation of history can be carried too far, I feel that the Beards make their point 9 times out of ten – It would be interesting to do for the whole world what Meyer did for America in his "Great American Fortunes" (or some such title). Ouvrard, Rothschild, Bardi, Peruzi, Medici, Fugger – They made history just as much as the kings and politicians –

I used to be bitter about great fortunes – à la Nation & New Republic – but now I see that if self-interest & general interest combine (and they can combine) there is no ill effect.

[149]

But there are some who have no interest in great wealth but who want to help others – These are the dreamers – They should be secured from exploitation by the first group their & works kept for The nation or the world.

Nov. 15th

All quiet again – These raids seem to last two days then stop – The Japanese claim they annihilated our task force off Eastern Luzon And in Leyte Gulf, Lt. Ito sank a battleship, was jubilant – but did not return.

"Madame Curie" by her daughter Eve has fascinated me – The struggles Marie Curie had to go through to study in Paris, the wonderful work she did with her husband, the simplicity amidst so many honors – And the motto "Good humor is the finest mark of Courage." – a motto for us here in our hour of trial & suffering.

Nov. 16th —

No action – I spent the day reading the Modern Library

[150]

edition of Freud – I realize the importance of this work, the possible benefits of psycho-analysis if directed by an expert – But the thought occurs to me – Why do we have so much repression in the Western world – Is it due to the notion of sin? to the centuries of clerical domination? Freud insists that sex – in its broadest aspect of course – is the basic factor, the determining element in our lives – If this is true, - and I must believe it is – then the reason is that for centuries we have not been leading natural lives – we have covered up – we have forced natural impulses into the depths of the subconscious and unconscious from where they manifest themselves in the various types of neuroses and psychoses.

Bertrand Russell realizes this and hence the importance in instinctive happiness and friendship in his characteristics of a happy community. He strikes at the root of the evil. I must say that I like Russell more each time I read him, although I can see the point that one critic makes when he says that Russell gets very angry

[151]

because certain things do not exist for him to attack.

Nov. 17th

What I have expected has come to pass – our camp reserves of rice are exhausted. And starting tomorrow we will receive only 225 grams of cereal daily – nothing else – This is equal to about 950 calories – 1/3 of what we need – The children will have some milk and vegetables, so that they will have about 1100 calories, about 55% of what they need – Of course, the diet is mostly carbohydrates – there is little protein in rice & corn – But we get no meat, no sugar, almost no vegetables, no fruit, no coffee, no tea – three scoops of mush for breakfast, 1 scoop of soft boiled rice (lugao[4]) for lunch and 1 scoop of rice or corn for supper –

I weigh 110 today – Down 18 pounds in 17 days – 81 pounds below my pre-war weight –

"Good humor is the finest mark of courage" There is

[152]

one thing we have that the Japanese have not: Hope – I would rather have 950 calories a day & hope than 3000 calories & despair

And many people, millions are starving throughout the world. In Poland, Germany, Denmark, Belgium, France China & here in the P.I. The Japanese are not eating well.

So the struggle enters its crucial stage – The Marines against Starvation –

Nov. 18th

When the Committee saw the Commandant about an increased ration, he told them "You do not realize that Japan is fighting a total war – America and England are not. Every man, woman & child in Japan is fighting the war for our very existence – We do not care, therefore, whether you live or die."

Frank at any rate!

The rumor about the relief ship is current again – Supposedly it is due next Monday (20th). And the rumor continues that there will be a representative of the International Red Cross

[Note: leaves numbered 153 and 154 are missing with no break in text]

[155]

on board – If the relief supplies do arrive hundreds of lives will be saved –

I have just finished the critical study of an anthology of poetry by Filipinos which a Mr. Siler wished to have published after the war. The poems (some 700) are in English – I thought 105 might be considered worthy of inclusion in such an anthology –

These poets are writing in a language for which there is no tradition in the P.I. Therefore, they use words which we would never use – E.g. multiplicious, etc. – They do not handle abstract themes at all well, and the best poems are the short lyrics dealing with some simple phase of daily life – the poems of Floresca are an exception – Anero, Aguado, Floresca, Tarrosa, Zeichieta – all write very well – and there is one – Estoncurbo – who does a remarkable job with the triplet – but this is virtuosity, not genius – Aguado's "Pastoral" is one of the best –

How I wish I had my books and music here – And all of you to enjoy them with me –

[156]

Nov 19th

The air-raid signal sounded at 6:00 AM today – There had been bombing to the South since 5:30 – some of our planes came over about 8:15 and bombed & strafed

the airfield, the Port Area and the main railroad station – one plane was shot down in a dog fight – Just one mass of flames – The poor fellow must have been burned alive, if he was not killed by the bullets that hit his plane –

Desultory bombing all day – The important bombings must be further South –

I have just read Wavell's "Allenby." I found it disappointing except for the last part which deals with the Campaign in Palestine & Syria. Megiddo was really a masterly piece of work – T. E. Lawrence and the Arab uprising assuming their rightful proportion – A proportion distorted by Lawrence in his "Seven Pillars of Wisdom." Wavell is of the opinion that Allenby was one of England's greatest generals – I have read most of the official histories and memoirs of the Great War; I can not agree

[157]

with Wavell – Plumer, Monash, Smith-Dorrien, Hamilton were certainly as good generals as Allenby – Hoffmann, von Seeckt, and other Germans were superior – Allenby was really a good "Bluff." He had very fine qualities, certainly – But equal to Cromwell, Marlborough. Moore & Wellington? Never – Wavell must have served with Allenby – A great deal of the book suggests this – Wavell is at his best when describing battles & campaigns – but the maps are poor – As for the rest of the book it is boring –

I am dead tired – on duty for 12 hours now at the hospital – There is not much work, but the strain in just being here is very great –

Are we considered a symbol in the United States of America in the P.I.? Have we purposely been left here as a reminder to the Filipinos of the past years? If this suffering has a purpose, then we will not regret it. But if we are starving, have been left to starve, have been forgotten, then the bitterness will be very great – We will want to know why the women & children & and the sick were not

[158]

repatriated.

We hear no further food supplies will be brought into camp – that means, after the middle of December no food at all – say after December 20th – one month! One month on 950 calories per day! Try to imagine what 950 calories represent – Every day we have at home 3000-3500 in a well-balanced diet – here 950, all of it in carbohydrates!

I am very depressed tonight, perhaps because I am so tired – Those next weeks are going to demand plenty of grim courage – How will we measure up?

Nov. 20th

Perhaps bodies are not the determining factor in our lives – Wilfred Grenfell, Marie Curie, Pasteur, Mozart, Beethoven, Schiller – all worked under physical handicaps & hunger. It is great comfort to realize this – there is a difference, of

course – all of them were working towards some definite goal, in a field that they loved – But as Milton said, "They also serve only who stand & wait." –

No action today – Rumors again of landings on Luzon – also a rumor of a landing in Mindoro.

[159]

We actually know that we have cleaned up Leyte & Samar and have landed on the Northern tip of Cebu. And that we have complete air control of the Visayas & Luzon. Sooner or later it must come.

There are also reports of the relief shipment – supposedly arrived at Kobe Nov. 11th.

I have read two very interesting articles on poetry in old copies of the Atlantic Monthly – one by MacLeish who asks whether there can be any relation between poetry & political revolution and answers that since poetry is a relation of experience and since political revolution is experience, poetry can deal with political revolution – The second article was by Conrad Aiken who deplored the close connection between "poetry" and "sociology." He feels that poetry can only be the expression of an "I", that it is intensely individualistic. He decries the irony and satire in modern poetry – actually, what he decries is the attempt to achieve indifference – poetry, he says, can only be subjective –

[160]

It is time for another romantic revolution – etc. etc.

But he cites as examples of what is needed, poems by two modern writers – poems which are nearly incomprehensible –

That is just what I think is wrong with modern poetry – The poets are not writing for the people, for a vast audience – They are writing for a small clique – And then the members of this small group interpret these poems to the public through books, articles and reviews – Robinson, Sandburg, Frost and their contemporaries write and are writing for the public – But Auden, Spencer, MacNeice, Stevens, E. E. Cummings & - in many poems T. S. Eliot – all apparently disdain us – Look at Eliot's "Wasteland," The same is true of Stein, Wolfe & Joyce in the novel – It is never necessary to be incomprehensible – And I detest poems composed of words put down for their musical effect & not for their meaning –

Beauty equals universal truth plus music (in poetry) I want both a meaning and

[161]

aesthetic beauty in poetry – Poetry can be savage, tender or what you will – It can deal with revolution – But it must be comprehensible.

I am reading "What Makes Sammy Run"[5] – More of this later –

Today Lt. Shiragi said that we should kill all the dogs in the camp & serve them on the food line – I agree that the dogs should be killed – They are a menace to our health – But I do not relish eating these mangy mongrels – This shows while I may be very hungry, I am not yet starving – Otherwise I would make no such objection.

Nov. 21st

The air-raid siren went off at 4:25 AM. Now it is after 10 o'clock, the air-raid alarm is still on, not a plane has appeared. We hear that 400 planes bombed Mariveles & Corregidor. A rumor, of course. But something is happening – I am sure of it – For the first time – It is just two months since Manila was first bombed. In the next weeks, we shall see great things – I have never felt so hopeful before.

[162]

The air-raid-passed signal was given at 12:24 – Almost 8 hours under the air-raid & not a plane.

Rumors are spreading: guerilla activity in Bulacan & Pagasinan – Landings in Legaspi, Nasugbu, along the Tyabas coast. The paper is supposed to have said – "subversive elements, ex-convicts & disloyal elements aided by P-38's have been causing disturbances in Bulacan and Pagasinan." If this is true, we can really be hopeful. Surely we should never allow great guerilla activity unless an army was prepared to support the guerillas.

As for food, the situation grows worse with every day –

1) The camp is out of money. This means no more coconut milk, no more watery vegetable gravies – Even though the milk and the gravies are so watery that they contribute very few calories, they help us get the corn & rice down – I have recommended taking all private funds for camp use – There are about P 180.000 (military on deposit at the Tiwan Bank for a/c of individuals – If we use it only for the purchase of coconuts at P 8 ea it will last for 2 months.

2) The few cans of powdered milk the camp has left must be saved for the babies expected

[163]

between now and February. It is a crime to have a baby now. Some of the parents I am sure have planned it, so there will be no delivery costs. The camp & later the Red Cross will take care of the feeding, etc. Of course, some of the babies are out of wedlock, which surely was not planned.

3) Lt. Shiragi has suggested that all dogs in the camp be killed & eaten – Children to be given the best cuts & aenemic patients be given the livers – It is interesting to note that as he was giving this advice, 6 cows & 2 calves were brought in for use of the Commandants Office.

4) A supply of cassava root arrived – Lt. Shiragi asked for a crew to grind it into flour – Earl Carroll asked how much the camp should be given – Shiragi answered "The camp?...Well, maybe a little bit." He's absolutely shameless!

5) So we'll need good humor – I weigh 107 now, down 11 pounds in 21 days. It is hard to climb stairs. But while I often wonder when the troops are coming, I would not want them to start until they could go forward with little loss of life – We are not important enough to waste the lives of strong young

[164]

men –

The Cadillac (41) of the Japanese C-in-C (Yamashita) is in protective custody – Yamashita is still on the loose –

Nov. 22nd

Still under Air-alert. Some internees say they heard all night the rumbling of guns & flickering of lights far to the South – In a great arc from Southeast to Southwest – that would center around Calamba, if I am not mistaken.

The air alert ended at 2PM – We are back to an "all-clear" again – This is disappointing, but tomorrow something may happen again.

I have finished "What Makes Sammy Run." A very good book, indeed. Sammy, an East Side Jew gives his philosophy – "Work hard, and, if you can't work hard, be smart; and if you can't be smart, be loud."[6]

"No fair. Like they say in the sissy schools, no fair! For chris' sake, grow up, this isn't kindergarten any more. This is the world."[7]

"Talent can get you just so far. Then you got to start using your head."[8]

"How the hell have I had time to love anybody?"[9]

"You can give it all the fancy names you want – But when you come right down to it, its dog eat dog."[10]

[165]

His friends describe him (

Al – "The horror of a fetus called Sammy Glick sprinting out of his mother's womb turning life into a race in which the only rules are fight for the rail & elbow on the turns and the only finish line is death."[11]

Al – "You're physically incapable of having friends – all you can ever have are enemies and stooges."[12]

Al – "I knew what he was thinking, that he would have liked to have her, that he would have liked to have someone, but it was impossible, it was absolutely physically psychologically, economically impossible."[13]

Billie – "I've always felt that if I ever went to bed with him – even if he didn't pay me – I'd feel as if I was doing it for money."[14]

Kit – "A germ he didn't have anything to do with got inside him and twisted him out of shape."[15]

Kit – "Sammy's childhood environment was the breeding ground for the predatory germ that thrived in Sammy's blood, leaving him one of the worst cases on record."[16]

Kit – "What do you think Sammy is but a desperate, hungry guy?"[17]

Kit – "He is the id of our whole society. He is the thing itself, the id, out in the open. It might not be very pretty, but there it was."[18]

[166]

And now more general –

Al – "We only hate the results of people. But people aren't results. They're a process. And to really give them a break, we have to judge the process thru which they became the result which we see when we say so-and-so is a heel."[19]

Al – "I realized that what was coming to him was not a sudden pay-off but a process, a disease he had caught in the epidemic that swept over his birthplace like a plague; a cancer that was slowly eating him away, the symptoms developing and intensifying: success, loneliness – fear."[20]

Al – "But what good are words when not even experience was regenerate. It was too late to hate him or change him. Sammy's will had stiffened. It had been free for an instant at birth, poised bird-free in the doctor's hand that moment in the beginning before it began to be forced to the life molds, the terrible hungers of body & brain, the imposed wants. The traditional oppressions and persecutions, until at last Sammy's will had curled in on itself, like an ingrown hair, festering, spreading infection."[21]

Al – "I was modulating my hate for Sammy Glick from the personal to the societal. I no longer even hated Rivington Street, but the idea of Rivington Street, all Rivington Streets of all nationalities,

[167]

allowed to pile up in cities like gigantic dung heaps swelling up the world, ambitions growing out of filth and crawling away like worms - - - - -

- - - I realized I had singled Sammy out not because he had been born into the world any more selfish, ruthless and cruel than anyone else, but because in the midst of a war that was selfish and cruel Sammy, having become selfish, ruthless, & cruel, was proving himself the fittest, the fiercest, & the finest."[22]

Al – "Sammy's story is the blueprint of a way of life that was paying dividends in America in the first half of the 20th Century."[23]

The writing is not pretty, but it suits the subject perfectly – a very fine book, good analysis – It deserves a place along with "Main Street," "Babbit," "Elmer Gantry," Marquand's books on New England – A picture of the times – This book should outlast

all the trash like "Anthony Adverse," "Gone with the Wind," "The Sun is my Undoing," etc.

I hear that while no landings have been made, the Tyabas & Batangas Coasts have been shelled for the last 48 hours – And a landing (or landings) is imminent – Hence the guerrilla activity.

[168]

It is time – Leyte has been consolidated, the air bases established, supplies brought in.

The food situation is becoming grimmer & grimmer – Many will not be able to hold out for more than a month –

Nov. 23rd

No action – few rumors – Thanksgiving menu – 1 scoop rice, 4 oz thin vegetable gravy, 1 oz radish tops – But, nevertheless, a far better Thanksgiving than last year. Oh how I shall enjoy mother's dinners again!!

In the last month I have read J. P. Marquand's "The Late George Apley," "Wickford Point," and "H. M. Pulham, Esq." Excellent, especially the first – I understand John Mason, Nat Clark, Benjamin[24] and the others better than I ever did before – More of this later – I want these books in my library – on the same shelf with the New England Poets, Emerson, Thoreau, Alcott, Shepard's[25] "Pedlar's Progress," van Wyck Brooks' two books, Satayana's "The Last Puritan and some others.

You may be surprised by the number of books I have read in the last 23 days, 12 in all – But I work at night, and have to rest during the day – I find also, that with less to eat, my mind is clearer, that I can grasp a writer's point more easily, analyze more rapidly and explain my

[169]

views, describe my feelings more vividly.

Nov. 24th

No action - It is interesting to note how intelligent people can torture themselves. Perhaps they derive pleasure from this torture – a form of masochism – Internees who for perhaps fairly sound reasons believed that our troops would be in Manila by the middle of December, now argue with much less reason that they will not be able to take Manila until April or May, that they will isolate Luzon and starve the Japanese (adding "and us"). They add sentences like this to newspaper reports of the progress of a relief ship: "The Japanese add that supplies will only be sent to Manila if conditions permit." These people see us all dying, They almost gloat over a future mound of bones in front of the Main Building –

My view is that we can hope for release by Xmas – Let us pin our hopes on that date, but not too tightly, for we may wish to shift to New Years Day – There will be

deaths – That is true – But let us do everything to prevent as many as possible – Let us care for the sick,

[170]

give up part of our rations for the children, and cheer up the aged – Let us remember that only by self sacrifice can this period of suffering be made endurable – The old "dog-eat-dog" life should not exist now. Let each of us set an example to the others – then when release comes, we shall be able to look back on these days, our bitterness and sadness lessened by the knowledge that we made all the sacrifices we possibly could to help each other.

This possibly sounds like drivel and rot to you – But I still believe that "forgetfulness of self" is the best way to endure suffering. And "Good humor is the finest mark of courage."

I saw Clair & José Ossorio[26] this evening – Claire has a very bad case of Beri-beri, José is thin and needs an operation, - The children look pale – they have no stocks of supplemental food – I cannot understand why José, who is so wealthy in his own name and has a wealthy father, does not buy up milk, butter, beans & bacon & sugar. they are all available (milk P 120 per can, butter P 40, beans P 120 per kilo, bacon P 150 per kilo, sugar P 130 per kilo – good P.I. pesos). Suppose it costs him P 10,000 ?– He

[171]

has at least 20-30 times that in the bank. He could buy

15 cans milk	P 1,950
30 can butter	P 1,200
10 kg beans	P 1,200
10 kg bacon	P 1,500
20 kg sugar	P 2,600
	P 8,450[27]

This would last the 5 of them at least 1 month – But both Jess and José seem hipped on saving money – Luis is different – He has spent a great deal of money – As a result he & his family are fine. If M.J. were here, he would do everything for us – Actually, the company people have been treated very shabbily – In 3 years I have received only about P 4500 equivalent in purchasing power (taking the Purchasing at the various times payments were made) to approx. P 1100 or about 5 weeks salary – I have had to borrow the equivalent of P 3200 in good pesos payable after the war – (3 months salary) and even this has not been enough – As I say, if M.J. had been here, it would have been different –

Nov. 25th

Air-raid siren at 7:30 – Bombing has started.

At 4:00 PM the air raid alarm is still on – The bombing has been sporadic – The bombs somewhat heavier – Grace Park, The Port Area, and the railroad

[172]

lines & roadways leading [sic][28] of the City to the Northwest were strafed & bombed – There was some activity over Mariquina Valley to the East – The raid did not seem the type which would herald an invasion of Luzon – Still, rumors of landings are current again.

You would laugh, if you could see us picking up cigar stubs & cigarette butts, and rerolling them into cigarettes – I'll never look down my nose again at the tramps in Central Park & the beggars in the Bowery – And I begin to understand the "sterno" drinkers along the waterfront.

The dysentery cases are getting worse in both quantity & quality – The hospital is full of them – Thank God: we have the Sulfa drugs still – I do not know what we'll do, when we run out.

The air-raid passed signal was given at 6:30 PM, 11 hours air-raid. The second longest yet – 13 days since Sept 21st in which we have had raids – (7 since Nov.)

I have been reading "Eyeless in Gaza" by Huxley. I am enjoying it, because I believe I have hit on the right way to read it – More later about this book. Also more about "The Late George Apley."

[173]

Nov 26th

I have had a talk with some of our doctors[29] - they told me that the No. of deaths will increase greatly in December – The diet is beginning to take its toll – up to now the deaths have been limited to the aged – where there is an organic defect – especially arteriosclerosis, myocarditis hypertensive heart disease, etc. This diet is murder. The young children – under ten – will hold pretty well, but the children from 10-15 will suffer later – TB, nervous disorders, eye trouble, heart trouble – the young adults – 20-35 will loose a great deal of weight, will be very tired & weak, but should pick up quickly – those between 35-50 will find it harder to recover.

The protein deficiency is very bad, and is one of the reasons we have so much diarrhea – We crave both fats & sweets – I wonder if you know how serious the situation is? or have you been told that we are in good health and well provided with food?

It is interesting to note that hunger dreams are increasing – always frustration – the meal is just about to be served, when the dreamer wakes up – or the food is taken away, or the restaurant is closed, or the food behind plate glass –

[174]

I am very weak today – Possibly bacillary dysentery – if so, it will be the third time, the second time since the beginning of September – At times, I wonder if I will live to see the end of this –

I have bacillary all right – but there is no room in the Hospital – no possibility of getting on the soft diet line – So I am to stay in my room (30 others sleep there) and take Sulfaguanidine) – No wonder the disease spreads all over the camp!

The all clear sounded at 2:00 P.M. this afternoon – no action all day –

Nov 27th

In bed – fever – diarrhea – Sulfaguanidine – paregoric[30] – utterly miserable – Slept nearly all day – Very dizzy & weak from the Sulfa drug –

Never have rumors been so great as today –

1) Jap admirals killed Nov. 25th when our planes bombed battleship & cruisers in Manila Bay

2) tokyo bombed by 7 waves of B-29's (100 planes to the wave) – We lost 2 planes due to mechanical trouble

3) Berlin has fallen, Germany has surrendered.

4) We have taken Formosa –

[175]

5) We have landed in Panay –

6) The invasion of Luzon is imminent.

7) the comfort kits are on the pier.

Well, we have been under "air-alert" conditions since 10:00 AM today – The Americans have warned Filipinos on Luzon to prepare a 3 weeks stock of food and to stay at home when the invasion started – So, the attack on Luzon may well come at any time – I am looking forward to release by Xmas – On Nov 21st I wrote "In the next week we shall see great things. I never felt as hopeful before." Tomorrow ends the week. – Air-alert off at 3:30 PM

Nov. 28th

Still in bed - The pathologist says the dysentery is worse – Still miserable - Thank God we have had the Flexner bacillus here and not the Shiga bacillus!

No action all day - Very few rumors - everyone depressed –

Tonight it was announced there will be no more coconut milk - As I mentioned before, the loss in calories is not important. But the loss in palatability is very great –

Cigarettes came into camp today - who will get them?

[176]

Nov. 29th

Well, my week is up and so far I have heard of no great developments.

I want to write in here a few remarks on "Eyeless in Gaza" and "The Late George Apley" but I do not have strength enough - I am reading fitfully "As I Remember Him" by Hans Zinsser.

My weight is 103 lbs, down 15 pounds since Nov. 1st. At this rate, I'll hit the scales at 87 by New-Year's Day – But there must be a decreasing rate of fall in weight.

Nov. 30th

Air-raid alert at 8:20 AM. I feel very much better today. Probably because the depressing effect of large dosages of Sulfa-drugs has been eliminated –

Clarence Beliel, head of publicity, Bessie Hackett, his Asst., and I have founded a "Prunes for Gloomy Remarks Club." Anyone making a gloomy remark about the war, the relief shipment, personal health, or conditions in the camp, is given a black mark. When the kits arrive, each black mark must be redeemed with a prune from the comfort kits (or 6 raisins, or 1 dried apricot). Bessie has 1 black mark; so have I. The aim is not to make us Pollyannas

[177]

but to prevent gloomy discussions which do no good.

We hear the relief ship is in the Bay. and that the prisoners in Bilibid[31] already have their kits.

All clear at 4:03 PM - No action –

Tomorrow we go into December - our 36th month of internment - what is the situation compared with Nov. 1st?

To begin with, the food is less - In calories: 950 against. 1250. Camp reserves are gone - The camp is out of money (except a small sum - in purchasing power - just rec'd from the Amer. Red Cross). There is no more coconut milk - Individual reserves are depleted -Probably not more that 10% of the internees have more than a few cans left.

The health of the camp is much worse - the aged are becoming increasingly helpless – the children are growing paler, and the group from 18-50 have lost much weight. We are now forced to turn the entire gymnasium into a hospital (250 beds) - This means 120 beds in Sta Cat., 60 beds in the Isolation Hosp., 20 beds in the Childrens Hosp. & 250 in the Gym or a total of 450 hospital beds - over 12% of the entire population hospitalized,

[178]

and almost, 15% of the adult population in bed – This does not include at least 200 more for whom special housing arrangements have had to be made - So that we can say with truth that 20-25% of the people over 18 years in this camp must be given special care by nurses & orderlies & doctors - you can imagine what work this is!

From the military viewpoint our position has improved – We have tightened our grip on Leyte & Samar and have smashed all Jap attempts at reinforcement. The

bombings of Luzon have intensified & landings may soon be effected - We have landed also on the islands of Cebu & Panay, perhaps on Mindoro –

Another fact which will help us - if it really arrives - is the relief ship - There, is a very good chance of this –

Summing up - If both the Marines and the relief supplies arrive in the next weeks, we'll be weak but alive - If the relief supplies arrive, the Marines can wait until Feb. – If the Marines arrive, they'll have to feed us slowly back to a decent standard - If neither Marines nor kits arrive, there will be many deaths and widespread permanent physical impairment - So Come on you Leathernecks!

[End of part one of Holland's Journal; part two is contained in a paperbound "Bureau of Education" notebook, a child's schoolbook most likely produced in the Philippines, as well as several loose scraps of paper. The entries beginning on December 1st, 1944 are in the notebook with every other page being numbered.]

[1]

Dec. 1st - No action - Have a frightful cold – No room in the Hospital - So must stay in my room.

150 internees over 50 years of age are to be transferred to Los Baños. This means that either the Japanese want more room for themselves, or that they intend to intern the 120 class "A" persons still on release at home - The blind, the paralyzed, the crippled, the advanced TB's, the cancers. If the latter, then our work in caring for the sick will be multiplied enormously –

Still reading "As I Remember Him". Enjoying it immensely –

No new rumors about the comfort kits - No war news - Morale low.

[New page, unnumbered (2)]

Dec. 2nd –Fluoroscopy this A.M. No indication of spots or lesions. - My blood pressure is only 90/70 - The doctors have ordered me to bed, up only for meals - At night I play a rubber or so of bridge with my friends in the broadcasting room - And so to bed –

No news today - No action.

I have decided to read Shakespeares's plays and along with them Gustav Landauer's excellent analyses. Landauer's 2 vol. "Shakespeare" should be translated into English – Some day, I intend to make this translation, if one does not exist already.

[3]

Today I read "Hamlet" – I can understand why critics cannot agree on his character - Now I shall read Landauer, and then re-read the tragedy – Perhaps both three or four times – The conflicts go far below the surface of the play, and it seems to me that at times character development goes far beyond the play development.

For the last few days I have felt as if I were in a vacuum, around which whirled vast storms and battles - How I wish the storm would break over our heads, that the clouds would burst and the hail fall - The tension is wearing us all out –

When shall we all meet again - And when shall there be peace and relief from the horrors of this slaughter?

[New unnumbered page (4)]

December 3rd – No action – No news. The silence is depressing, but we still hope for release by Xmas The Japanese must be making very determined efforts to retake Leyte - Also we have heard of some sort of bombing truce applicable to the Manila area for the first week in December –

"Hamlet" plus Landauer's analysis is giving me great pleasure - analysis is not quite the word - appreciation perhaps would be better –

I walked about a little bit today – But I am so weak that I can only keep on my feet for 5-10 minutes –

Good humor is more necessary than ever –

[5]

Dec 4th – No action - very persistent rumors again about relief supplies - It is reported that we are to receive one large American kit and one small Canadian kit, dried fruits, Commander cigarettes, powdered egg, etc. etc - All this may be wishful thinking, but I hope there is more to these reports than a desire for more food –

Still in bed - We had almost 20 deaths last month – In December, it will be 40-50 and, if the present diet is not increased, over 100 in January - So say our doctors –

The Japs ordered all lights out at 10:00 P.M. this evening - Everyone thought that there was an air-raid - even the beginning of invasion - But it was only Lt. Takeda drunk again & showing off.

[New unnumbered page (6)]

The Japanese in charge of us, Lt Shiragi, Lt Kamatsu, Lt Takeda, Lt. Abiko must have been picked from the very scum of the Army - Ill mannered, boorish, cruel - disgusting in speech and appearance –

It is reliably reported that a few days ago. Shiragi & Kamatsu refused to allow into camp a truck which was loaded with beans, eggs. milk, fruit for the children & the sick -The supplies had been purchased by neutrals outside - It cost the Japanese nothing - this is sheer cruelty and meanness – They intend to starve us - If this goes

on, they'll succeed -No matter how strong the spirit, the body is becoming weaker all the time –

[7]

Dec. 5th – 150 persons, almost all over fifty years of age, left, for Los Baños at 2:30 A.M. today –

I'll believe all these reports about relief supplies, when they arrive in camp.

I put Hamlet aside for a few days - and am reading "Coriolanus." - The two had one thing in common: They were both individuals fighting against the common mob and its deadening mediocrity - But Hamlet was a genius of fantasy, of thought, while Coriolanus was a genius of action - It would be interesting to write an essay on the reaction of each to the situation confronting the other – Both disdained power for its own sake - they were not ambitious –

[New unnumbered page (8)]

Speaking of Hamlet, do you remember his speech "0, that this too, too solid flesh would melt" - His wish would have been granted, if he had been interned by the Japs –

There were 3 robberies last night - The exchange booth, the locker of an old couple, and another cupboard on the 3rd floor. Shameful! All the foodstuffs taken - These robberies were not done by hungry amateurs but by professional thieves - And we are the great & mighty white race!

There is as much community spirit in this camp as among a pack of jackals.

[9]

December 6th – Total blackout ordered for the camp - What's up?

Today, the Japanese said that they would bring into camp 150-200 kilos of freshly pressed soy bean meal per day - On the other hand, our cooking oil rations would be cut from 34 to 17 kilos per day, and our salt ration even more radically reduced. Finally, nothing could be done about shortweight rice deliveries (shortages recently have averaged 20%).

Well the soy meal will be welcome for its protein content - The gravy was good tonight.

No news about relief supplies - 2 more deaths.

[New unnumbered page (10)]

Dec. 7th – Dorita's[32] birthday - Blackout restrictions made even more stringent - The Japs seem to be expecting something – To-morrow is the 3rd Anniversary of Pearl Harbor - We are hoping -

Today the Japanese told us that they were taking 2/3 of the second floor of the Education Bldg. – Now, we know why the 150 were sent to Los Baños. The Gym must be converted into a hospital for old men. Literally hundreds are becoming so weak that they need special care – Sta. Catalina's Men's ward is a room for the dying-

The depressing effect of

[11]

The sulfa-drugs has worn off, and mentally, I feel much better. Physically, I am still very weak and just holding my weight at 103 – But when I see how badly others have fallen off, my 103 pounds seem heavy –

The internees at Los Baños are as badly off as we are. Only 2 meals a day, their gardens taken away from them - all sorts of restrictions – Lt. Konishi, who was so cruel here, is now in Los Baños.

We must help each other to hang on to life - That is what it has come to - and the Japs call themselves civilized!

[New unnumbered page (12)]

Dec. 8th – Dec. 12th – In bed almost all the time during these 5 days - down to 100 pounds - The whole camp is getting weaker - the people look like disembodied spirits –

Very little news of the war - Apparently fighting is still going on in Leyte - We are cleaning up the Visayan Islands - Luzon has been bombed and shelled (we hear), But we have had no bombing around Manila since Nov. 25th

There have been many rumors about the relief supplies - We know they are in Manila (almost 3 weeks now) - But no distribution to us as

[13]

yet. Now there are two conflicting reports 1) That the kits will be distributed before Xmas, 2) that, Santo Tomas will not receive any kits because some internees still have reserve stocks.

The internees have put so much hope in these kits that I am afraid there will be a breakdown (tending towards melancholia) if they are not distributed –

Our net daily ration now is 240 grams of cereal, 1 1/2 oz of pressed soy bean meal, and from our gardens 1 oz of vegetables - A calamansi[33] (1/2 the size of a lurre) rice per week - Calory value about 950 per day – the Japanese are short 15% on their rice and corn deliveries. Rice & corn

[New unnumbered page (14)]

stocks will last until Dec. 19th.

There seems to be no doubt as to the policy of the Japanese: deliberate starvation to break our health & morale –

They may break my health, but they cannot break my morale –

I have been reading "King Lear" with Landauer's Commentary - And now Jacques Maritain's "True Humanism - One thing about starvation: You can grasp complex theories more readily and you have greater ability of analysis –

13 days to Xmas - I never thought we'd spend another

[15]

Christmas here. But it looks very probable - We'll make the best of it, and promise the children a real Christmas when this is over –

Have you ever read any of Ferrero's historical writings - I have his "Life of Caesar". Glancing through, it seems interesting.

What fun it will be to read the good books written since the war began - And the magazines - & PM – (I want to read Fortune, Nation, New Republic, Economist, Revue de Deux Mondes, Atlantic, Harpers, Foreign Affairs, Story) - Perhaps Reader's Digest too – N.Y. Times Book Section - Journal of Political Economy –etc, etc. 6 months on a farm, good foods - books & peace.

[New unnumbered page (16)]

Dec. 13th – No news today - But kit rumors still persist - Jaques Maritain's "True Humanism" becomes more and more interesting – I know the answer to Bertrand Russell. I should have known it all the time: man is not merely his natural self, but a supernatural person - And the mystery for us is the gratuitousness and sovereign liberty of divine grace in conjunction with man's free will – See St. Thomas.

[17]

Dec. 14th – Air raid! the first since November 25th - And an unusual type of raid - 8-10 planes over Manila all the time - Bombing and strafing, but apparently with the object, of preventing planes from coming up, transportation from functioning and troops from moving. Let's hope there is a landing - it looks that way

Air-raid alarm all night tonight - two raids between 6 -11 PM - We are completely blacked out - I mean completely - Not a light showing anywhere in Manila - the Japanese in the Commandant's Office are very upset and nervous.

[New unnumbered page (18)]

Dec. 15th – The air-raid alarm has been on since 8:00 am Dec 14th – Today we had the same type of bombing as yesterday - but heavier - Everything being

kept from moving. There are reports of landings, but we are not going off the deep end too soon this time –

I wrote two short sketches today, one entitled "November 10th, 1938" describing the pogrom against the Jews in Germany, the other entitled "Land of Counterpane" a childhood fantasy - It's great fun writing again.

[19]

Dec. 16th – Bombing all last night and today! Same type of bombing and strafing - aim-immobilization. The Japanese papers today reported bloody fighting on the island of Polillo only a few miles off the Eastern coast of Luzon – There are rumors of landings on Luzon itself. Also reports of Japanese troops streaming back into Manila minus equipment, etc. These may be reserve troops who have been bombed out of their barracks in & around Manila –

People are so hungry, they are eating cats & dogs. Some are even picking up scraps of food off the ground and eating the filth

[New unnumbered page (20)]

from garbage cans.

I weigh 99 lbs now – It is impossible to stop this steady loss of weight, but at least the rate of decrease has fallen off from 1/2 lb per day in November to 1/4 lb a day in the 1st half of December.

Mentally I still feel very fine indeed - But I cannot stand in line, pick up anything heavy - Sometimes my thoughts float vaguely between the desire of rest and the desire of life - Tonight, even with release nearer, I feel completely neutral, as if it made no difference – But that is physical exhaustion.

[21]

Dec. 17th – The air-raid signal continued in force all last night and today (30 hours now) - But we have had no bombing since 5:30 yesterday afternoon (almost 24 hours). However, observation planes have been over - Rumors of a landing or landings on the mainland of Luzon persist.

I came across a description in Conrad's "Nigger of the Narcissus" which could have been written about our condition "not dead starvation but steady living hunger, The torment of waking moments, the disturber of dreams." And so it is.

The day has passed like a dream - Mass & communion at 7:00

[New unnumbered page (22)]

back to bed at 7:30, sleep until 11:00. luncheon at 11:30 (4 oz. boiled rice), criticism of 3 chapters from a friend's manuscript on India, sleep 1:30-3:30.

a chapter from the "Nigger." And now time for dinner - Then perhaps a chapter or so from Ferrero's "Life of Caesar", an hour conversation & bed.

We are fortunate in having our difficulties come during the best time of the year. The cool nights, the sunny days all help to rest our strained existences.

[23]

Dec. 18th – One week until Christmas, the worst and at the same time the best we have spent in this camp - It is wonderful what the women are making for the children out of nothing –

The camp was just on an alert basis at 10:20 today, after 98 hours of air-raid alarm -No siren blew, so we assume that Manila is still under air-raid - No US planes today but there were some Jap planes around –

The Japs admitted yesterday the landing in Mindoro - This is fact, as is the report of the Polillo landing - It is rumored that the Japanese language paper admitted a landing in Tayabas - But

[New unnumbered page (24)]

This is rumor –

Kit stories current again - We are to get them before Xmas - Also a rumor –

3 things hit us very hard: 1) Lack of food 2) Lack of tobacco, 3) Lack of authentic news –

A man in our room collapsed today and had to be taken to the hospital - All hospitals are full, and the rooms in the buildings are full of sick people for whom there is no hospital accommodation –

There are signs that the Japs are becoming more lenient - But I am skeptical - Perhaps Shiragi, Kamatsu & Abiko will be

[25]

removed. Then I'll believe it –

Have you ever read "My Antonia" by Willa Cather? It is delightful - Story of pioneer days in Nebraska and a Bohemian family - I wonder why I never read it before?

I was thinking of Paul Reif to-day - I consider him my very best friend, almost an older brother – An Austrian who went to Holland in the twenties - Charming wife - 3 little girls - I wonder where he is and what he is doing? I am looking forward to a reunion with him- I want you & Neil[34] to meet him –

And so another day - The 1077th in this camp -Is it possible?

[New unnumbered page (26)]

Dec. 19th – Still under alert here in camp - no action - Japanese planes are using fields again -Perhaps the bombings on the 14th-15th & 16th were covering for the landings on Polillo & Mindoro (esp. the latter).

Have you ever noticed how step by step something will disintegrate (for major reasons) and then blow up for good because of some minor irritation - So it is with many of our old people - Starved, their bodies melt away, their resistance is destroyed - then a slight cold, an unimportant diarrhea - and they die.

[27]

Dec. 20th – No action until this evening when some observation planes flew over – Later there were bombs dropped - Kit rumors stronger –

The Japanese cut our rice ration today down to 200 grams net per adult, 100 grams net per child under 10. Making adjustment for the Children, this means 180 grams net per person per day - caloric content about 650 calories. The rest of our food equivalent about 50 calories, so we are getting 700 calories starting tomorrow. They say that they may give us a substitute to make up the rice cut - I am skeptical. This is a 25% reduction in our net rice ration - From 240 to 180 - Since September the cut has been from 400 grams (300 Japs & 100 camp reserves) to 180, 55%.

[New unnumbered page (28)]

I weigh 97 now, and unless the relief kits or the soldiers come soon, I very much doubt that my physical strength will hold out - Mentally, I am hopeful, and far more alert than ever before - My spirits on the whole are high - But there is a physical limit to ebbing strength - My reason cannot overlook this.

The thought of death is not one to revel in - But it is a possibility (indeed, in my case, close to a probability), which must be faced - coldly, grimly - I would say disdainfully - I am sure that life still has much

[29]

happiness which I have not yet experienced - But many times I have been very happy – perhaps more than I deserved - I have no complaints, I am not afraid - what Caesar says is true: Death, a necessary thing, will come when it will come –

My record in this camp is one you will not be ashamed of - But neither desire for glory nor hope of reward have been the driving force behind what I have done. I felt that certain things should be done and I did them - partly as an obligation, as a return for the sacrifices being made by men on the firing line

(such as Billy & Tony) and partly for the very great happiness I find in being able to help others -I wish I could have done more –

[New unnumbered page (30)]

Dec. 21st – No news - no action –

The Japanese stated today that they might give us some camotes, or more soy bean meal or some gabi[35] to make up for the rice cut - So far they have given us nothing –

We use up our last camp reserves on Xmas - Each person gets 1 3/4 oz jam. 1/2 oz chocolate - Not much, but it helps –

We now are reported to have landed large reinforcements in Mindoro - Everyone expects all Hell to break loose over Xmas, but I think it will be a while before we consolidate our positions on Mindoro –

[31]

Dec. 22nd – This morning the following supplies were brought in from Far Eastern University (War Prisoner Bureau) as a gift from the International Welfare Committee. 800+ pounds of beans, 2 bags of sugar, some rubber shoes & clothing, 49 lbs of chocolate, 1 bag of coffee, some tea, 8 bags calamansis, 15,000 cigars, 8000 cigarettes - The foodstuffs were released by the Japs, but they kept the tobacco - We may get it, we may not. But we are grateful to the neutrals -

Yesterdays paper according to reliable reports carried an item which quoted one Sadao Iguchi, spokesman for the Jap Foreign Office. "Arrangements have been made for the distribution of relief supplies to US War Prisoners in China & the Philippines - The distribution will be made as soon as possible—

[New unnumbered page (32)]

There was no dateline, so we do not know, if the supplies are still in Japan or if they are here in Manila - If they are in Japan, we may not receive them until the 3rd or 4th week in January - If they are here, we could get them at any time - It is interesting to note that Mr. Kato & Mr. Yamaguchi, both of whom are civilians and formerly connected with the camp have been acting as intermediaries the last few days between the army officials here & officials (who are they?) at the Dominican Seminary next door.

We hope the supplies are here & will be distributed soon - We are really just about on our last legs from starvation - The camp looks like a group of ghosts –

[33]

Dec. 23rd – Two very exciting happenings today, one wonderful, one very unfortunate. Let's take the wonderful first –

This morning about 10:15 18 4-engined bombers & 40 fighters passed over the camp – How very routine that sounds – But it was the most glorious sight I have ever witnessed -The B-24's or B-29's (they are not Flying Fortresses) sailed along at 15-20,000 ft - serenely, placidly, majestically – It was like seeing the Queen Mary, the Normandie, the Queen Elizabeth, the Bremen and the Europa steaming in formation in a calm sea - Around the big planes the P-38 fighters danced & looped like flying fish - The planes seemed made of crystal

[New unnumbered page (34)]

against the light blue of the tropical sky - they did no bombing here, but probably bombed Corregidor & Marineles (?). This is the first time 4-engined bombers have been over Manila- A good sign - They probably came from Leyte, the fighters from Polillo or Mindoro.

This afternoon about 15 Jap M.P.'s came into camp & tore the place apart – Grinnell, the head of the camp and Duggleleby,[36] one of the camp's leaders were thrown into jail – No one knows why – But I have my suspicions & they center around getting news outside as to the terrible conditions which prevail here - And they are terrible –

[35]

Dec. 24th – Today, to keep Dorita & the children alive, I purchased from a profiteer 2 lbs margarine. 20 oz. Jam, 1/2 kilo sugar, 1/2 lb honey, & for Dorita 3 3/4 oz coffee - The profiteer charged me $ 500 (!!) payable after the war – Frightful! But I cannot see them starve - If Jess & José Ossorio had been of different caliber (if they had been MJ & Luis) this would not have been necessary –

This afternoon I was ordered into the hospital - Possible angina pectoris, complete physical exhaustion - emaciation - malnutrition - starvation - 97 pounds down from 191 - Perhaps I'll come out of this alive, perhaps not - But Dorita & the children will pull thru –

[New unnumbered page (36)]

The ward is full of old men for whom I have fought tooth & nail with the Japs - I kept all of them out at least 1 1/4 years, many of them 2 years 9 months (until this Sept.). Now they are dying - It is shameful! Shameful! The Japs responsible for this murder should be tried & severely punished –

Tomorrow is Xmas – At once the best (hope) and the worst (physical condition) we have had - From now on it will be a race between the army & death - And, as has been written in many diaries of shipwrecked & lost souls "God help us All."

[37]

Mr Lawton died at 3:00 am. He was another of the very sick old men forced into camp in Sept from Remedios [37] and Hospicio[38]:
Dec. 25th – Our 3rd Xmas here - And a wonderful one! First Xmas cards dropped from our planes (copy of message attached)[39] - Then Mass & Communion - Breakfeast - Then I wrote messages to friends-Dorita gave me a pair of socks & her share of the piece of chocolates - The children each gave me a cigar - Dorita fixed luncheon - talinum salad, corned beef & a fruit bibinka[40] - Mr Van Vorhees gave me a can of coffee & a can of spinach soup - This afternoon many friends came to visit & later Dorita came -I bought her & the children 1 kilo of mango beans - price $ 150 - But they are starving, & a funeral would cost more - the profiteers have us

[New unnumbered page (38)]

just where they want us - But it is so close to the end - 3-4 weeks - We must live!

For supper tonight we had fried rice, camotes & greens - I had a dab of margarine and a piece of bibinka & the chocolate - Later I will have a cup of coffee, a bit of sugar & a small slice of cake - If you knew how little it takes to make us happy –

We know you are thinking of us & we are thinking of you & praying you are well –

We have great hopes!

[39]

Dec. 26th – The air-raid signal was given at 10:15 A.M. and is still on at 2.00 P.M. - We can hear bombing in the distance - Reports are current that the Japs admit evacuating Corregidor – I doubt not the evacuation but the admission –

The man next to me is dying – In part because he has given up - I am going to make it my job to keep him alive – He must regain his desire to live - He must eat –

I wish you could see this ward - men swollen like balloons from beri-beri, men weakened by the exhaustion of bacillary dysentery, cases of protein deficiency, pellagra, severe Anemia - All smashing down defenses undermined by starvation - And death

[New unnumbered page (40)]

watching by every bedside until a moment of acute weakness - usually the early hours of the morning - when he can lead another victim away - Day in, day out the struggle goes on - against disease and against starvation: against death –

Conrad writes in "The Mirror of the Sea" of the "hope of home, the hope of rest, of liberty - - - following the hard endurance of many days…" Home, rest, liberty - what dreams are conjured up by these words – And what determination to fight against the Jap policy of deliberate starvation, what vows to obtain revenge for our friends who could not hold out - If you could see us now, your anger could not be controlled!

[41]

Dec. 27th – No action today - The Japanese are going to cut our ration again - Well, it means just so much more determination - It is no longer possible to fight this fight on the plane of physical life - We must fight it on the spiritual plane - We must do this to survive –

We hear the military are moving out of Manila - I hope so - Perhaps we'll be better off. As it is, the boys better get here quickly, or there will be no one left –

There is nothing like a good fight - From now on it will be a corker!!

[New unnumbered page (42)]

Mrs Christianson has gone insane - The Japanese refuse to let us send her to a hospital for mental cases - She is violent - How can we take care of her here?!

Dec. 28th – No action - Tonight at 7:00 P.M. my good friend, the former monitor of our room, Woody Wilson died - Swollen with beri-beri, his heart muscles gone from starvation -Damn the Japs!

My friends are being wonderful to me - one sent me talinum, another a glass of malted milk, another a cup of cocoa & crackers - another some coffee –

I bought for Dorita and the children today 1 kilo rice at $ 80 - and 1/2 lb of margarine at $ 40. I know M.J.O. & all of you want us to live. And we want to get back to you as soon as possible - and not dying - Nor dead like Woody - Poor Woody - he was only 50 years old.

[The remainder of the text is partly on 15 loose top-halves of half-sheets, using the back of a request for a pass and of certificates of ill health and partly numbered sheets.]

[Separate sheet with date; recto contains text, verso of this sheet contains typewritten document.]

Dec. 29th –

The man next to me fed himself a spoonful of mush this morning & two spoons of soup this noon - Then I fed him the rest - But it was the first step towards doing something for himself - How wonderful it is to see the rebirth of his will to live –

To offset this, the man in front of me is dying – Literally by inches - just when it seems he is going over, he grabs hold of some secret reserve and struggles back - The doctors have given up hope for him –

Out of the 37 patients in this ward 10 are dying & 15 more will not last another six weeks - Every day brings new cases - mostly heart & kidney defects aggravated by starvation –

[Separate sheet with date]

Dec. 29th (con)

Beri-beri and dysentery are on the increase.

6 planes flew over at 11:45 A.M. - A little anti-aircraft fire, but no bombing -

There are rumors that on New Years Day we are to receive packages from the neutral Welfare Committee - 1 kilo rice, 1/2 kilo sugar, 1/2 kilo peanuts, tobacco and cigarettes -We are skeptical - Everything points towards even worse conditions than we are experiencing at the present time –

It is two weeks now since the landings on Polillo and Mindoro - Soon something should break!

[Separate sheet with date]

Dec. 30th –

Two deaths today - The man in front of me died at 3:00 A.M. – And in another section of the hospital another man died - Both from the effects of starvation –

I am weaker today, so cannot write much –

No news - no action –

If this would only come to an end - 2 weeks since the last bombing –

Tomorrow is the last day of 1944.

At any rate 1945 will see us home again – that will be fine, won't it!

[Separate sheet with date]

Dec. 31st

In the midst of life we are in death - Pleasant thought - but true of us - The last day of 1944 - Thank God! This year is over - 1945 will at least, and at last, bring release.

I have been kept doped all day - they'll make me rest, whether I want to or not –

the Japanese are feeding us camotes instead of rice for dinner - In fact, this represents a cut in our calory intake again, as due to dirt, peelings, rotten pieces etc. camotes are needed 5 to 1 – The Japs only count 2 -1 – Some meat came in for tomorrow. That will be pleasant.

I weigh 100 lbs today.

[Separate sheet with date in blue crayon—and designated as second part to Dec. 31 entry]

At the end of November I wrote "If neither the Marines nor the kits arrive, there will be widespread deaths and permanent physical impairment". Neither arrived & deaths increased in December, the hospitals are full of sick & starved people, The non-hospitalized look as though they should be - The cut in rations on Dec 20th by 25% was a hard blow –

So for January the outlook is grim indeed - Both kits & marines will arrive too late for many internees - And the extent of permanent physical impairment is increasing.

The Military situation improved further. Our forces occupied Mindoro & Polillo Islands - They are within striking distance. We have had no real bombings since Dec. 16th.

[Separate undated sheet]

The time is ripe - the attack can come any day now - It may be one week, it may be six; beyond that I dare not look (unless we get kits and even the basic diet is much too low) - It must be the marines - Then home and rest and good food - Afterwords work again.

Hunger is certainly a terrible thing - From now on I'll appreciate the full meaning of the word "starvation"! I hope these Japs are punished - all this was so needless and so cruel.

Hail 1945!!

[There are no entries for January 1-9, 1945.]

[Separate sheet with date]

Jan. 10th

Air-raid alarm on now since 7:30 AM Jan 6th Definite reports of landings on Luzon – Anbimonan, Batangas, Cavite Province, San Fernando –

Our big planes came over at 10:00 AM and heavily bombed the North Road & Grace Park - Leaflets were dropped (picture of MacArthur & Kruger) with message that our troops were back again, that Filipinos were to get away from military objectives, that our Army was so strong it needed no help from Filipino civilians and that our troops would

[Separate undated sheet]

be here in a few days –

Demolition work continued all day - Apparently in Port Area –

This evening there were terrific explosions not far from the camp - Perhaps San Lazaro –

The electric power plant, the gas plant & the water works have not yet been blown up.

The food situation is terrible - Thank God, I managed to buy that extra food for Dorita & the children.

[Separate sheet dated]

Jan. 11th

Only a scoop of watery rice mush for breakfeast - But our hopes were never higher! The Jap radio said this morning that they were repulsing our landings at Lingayen which had started on the 6th (5 days ago!)

There are rumors of a task force & convoy outside Manila Bay - Demolition work is continuing –

I am probably under 100 lbs again but it won't be long - Dorita & the children, thanks to the extra food, are holding up well –

[Separate undated sheet]

Bombing and strafing this afternoon - Large fires started –

Reports of landings are becoming more definite –

Food tonight very skimpy.

Another man died at 900 PM this evening - 2 more are dying - Many are Fainting in line[41] -

[Separate sheet dated]

Jan. 12th (1945)

Landings began Jan. 6th - MacArthur & staff landed Jan. 9th. 9:48 A.M. - Lingayen, Damartis, Dayupan, Mahilaoe taken .20 miles inland - No definite report from South, but it is rumored that the Japs have left Los Banos Camp. Task force shelling Cavite coast & Corregidor –

4-engine bombers went, along Mariquina Valley bombing this AM (22 in all). Later many flew north –

Another man died this morning about 10:00 A.M.

[There are no entries for January 13-27, 1945]

[Separate sheet dated]

Jan. 28th

Tho' I am weak today, I feel rested and completely peaceful -I went to Confession last night & to Communion this morning - I saw Jose Ossario and know that if I die Dorita & the children will be sent back by the 1st boat and will be taken care of - It is a good thing to get these arrangements finished - So many now are beginning to collapse and die within 24 hours –

But while this may sound depressing, I am not depressed – In fact, my hopes are high, the news is good – And soon we shall see each other again – And all of this will be a nightmare, gone, dissolved, only remembered on stormy nights when one feels lost and alone – and really despairs.

[Separate sheet of paper dated]

Febr. 2nd (1945)

1st Friday and Communion - A spiritual happiness & joy which gives strength far beyond mere physical strength - Hope and charity –

There are reports - fairly reliable - of landings at Nasugbu Batangas 2 days ago and at Subic Bay 3 days ago - Nasugbu is to the South on the West Coast - Subic to the North on the West coast - the Subic landing aims at the capture of Olongapo, the naval repair

[separate sheet dated]

Feb 2nd (con)

base, the cutting of the communication of the Japanese forces resisting our advance over the mountains from the Zainbiales Coast, and our advance from Olongapo over the mountains to the East to cut the Japanese retreat into Bataan – The Musugbu landing will aim, of course, at the Cavite naval base, at cutting

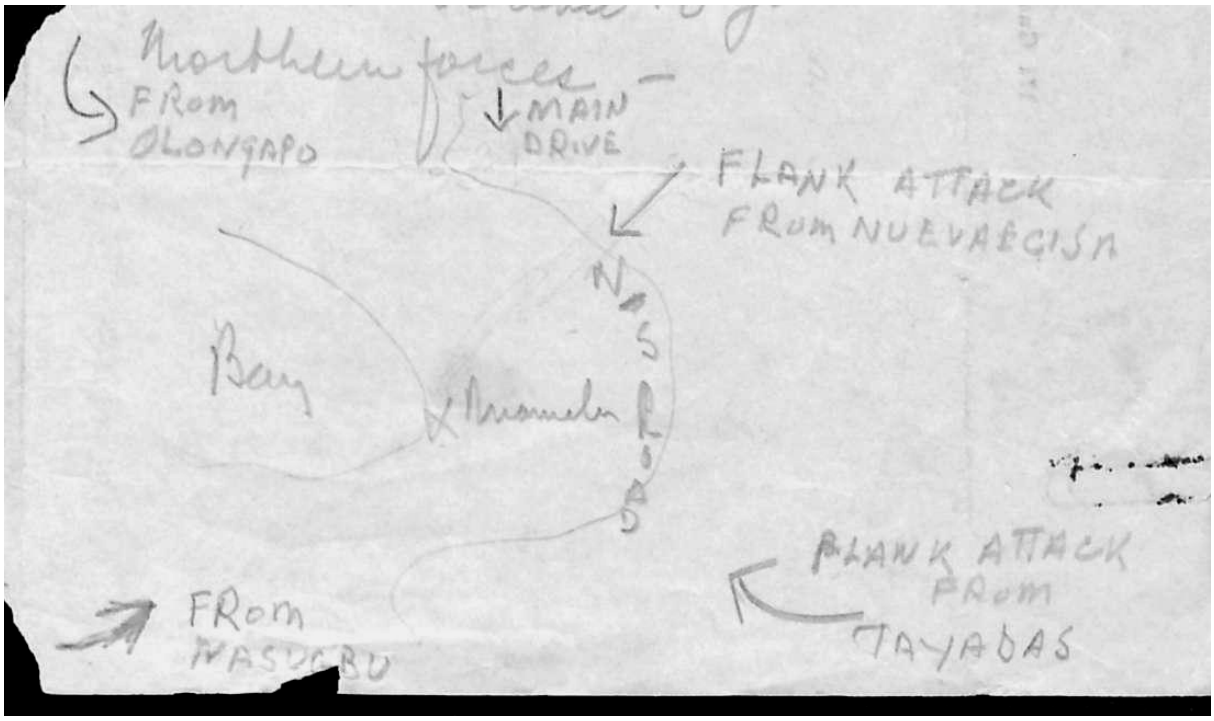
off a possible Japanese retreat to Teinate & Maic (?) & this evacuation to Bataan – And incidentally, after passing the Tagaytay ridge, will turn towards Manila.

Again these landings to the North & South of Manila Bay, the terrific bombings of Corregidor,

[Separate sheet dated]

Feb 2 (con)
Cavite Naval base, Fraile Island may be the prelude to an advance by task force into Manila Bay - the mines will have to be cleared and there are many wrecks in the harbor –
Gradually, the Japanese are being forced to decide what to do in the South - In a short time, any troops they have there will not be able to join the Northern forces –

Map from last page of Holland's Journal



[1] The diarist's brothers Anthony and Bill; Bill died as a flight officer, after volunteering for an extra flight
[2] Refers to childhood prank pulled on his staunchly conservative father
[3] The diarists children: Dorita, age 4 (1940) and Albert Jr., age 5 (1939)
[4] Lugao is a rice and ginger dish similar to the Chinese congee
[5] A text written by Budd Shulberg
[6] Shulberg, Budd; *What Makes Sammy Run?*; The Modern Library Edition, New York; Random House, Inc. New York, New York; first edition, 1941; 1952; 89
[7] Schulberg, 127
[8] Schulberg, 151
[9] Schulberg, 268
[10] Schulberg, 94
[11] Schulberg, 209
[12] Schulberg, 29
[13] Schulberg, 301
[14] Schulberg, 95
[15] Schulberg, 111
[16] Schulberg, 119
[17] Schulberg, 190
[18] Schulberg, 212; in Schulberg's book, the two lines Holland quoted are separated by nearly half a page.
[19] Schluberg, 246; the second sentence of this quote should read "But people, Henry, aren't just results."
[20] Schulberg, 302; Schulberg's text reads "…success, loneliness, fear."
[21] Schulberg, 303
[22] Schulberg, 249; the last half of this quote as written by Schulberg is, "I realized I had singled him out not because he had been born into the world any more selfish, ruthless, and cruel than anybody else, even though he had become all three, but because in the midst of a war that was selfish, ruthless and cruel, he was proving himself the fittest, fiercest, and the fastest."
[23] Schulberg, 303; this is a paraphrase of the last line of the story; the actual line as written by Schulberg is, "And someday I would like to see it published, as a blueprint of a way of life that was paying dividends in America in the first half of the twentieth century."
[24] Here someone, presumably Holland, has amended the text of the transcript to include the parenthetical phrase "friends of mine"; since it wasn't part of Holland's original diary, the phrase has been removed and placed here as an end note.
[25] Odell Shepard was not only an author, but also the first James J Goodwin Professor of English Literature at Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, a position he held from its inception in 1917 until 1946
[26] José's father, José Sr. was the owner of a sugar refinery, as well as Holland's boss. He had two other sons, Luis and M.J.
[27] In the rush to get his thoughts on paper, Holland miscalculated slightly and the total number of pesos in his diary reads "8,400".
[28] Holland wrote "…leading of the city…" in his journal, accidently omitting the word "out"
[29] Holland wrote a letter as a follow-up to this conversation. A copy is in the collection of his papers housed at the Watkinson Library, Trinity College, Hartford, CT
[30] Camphorated tincture of opium flavored with aniseed and benzoic acid
[31] This is a reference to Bilibid Prison
[32] The diarist's wife
[33] A calamansi is a citrus fruit similar to a lemon or lime; www.filipino-food-lovers.com; Robert Colinares; 2007; accessed Watkinson Library, Trinity College, August 6, 2010
[34] Holland's brother-in-law, Neil Bogert
[35] Gobi is a reference to either the taro root itself or its leaves; Colinares

[36] Duggleby was taken with fellow internees E.E. Johnson and Clifford Larson
[37] A Hospital in Manila
[38] This is a reference to Hospicio de San Jose
[39] Although Holland didn't attach the message to the diary page, he did include the message as a footnote in one of his transcripts: "The Commander-in-Chief, the officers and men of the American Forces of Liberation in the Pacific wish their gallant allies, the People of the Philippines, all the blessings of Christmas and the realization of their fervent hopes for the New Year. Christmas 1944"
[40] The Filipinos spell the name of this confection traditionally served at Christmas as "bibingka". Bibingka is a moist rice cake with raisins and is often served warm.
[41] The Japanese finally allowed internees who were too weak to stand during roll-call to sit until inspection as well as a certificate for those too weak to leave bed