

# DEFENSE BATTLE AT NANKING

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On Dec 1st, Japan's Central Front Army received the No. 8 Continental Order to attack and occupy Nanking. On Dec 2nd, Prince Yasuhiko Asaka took over Matsui Iwane's dual commander post for the Shanghai Expeditionary Force, while Matsui Iwane, as front army commander, directed both the expeditionary force and the Tenth Army against Nanking from multiple directions. The order to Tenth Army was for 114th *Shidan* and 6th *Shidan* to move along Liyang-Lishui Highway and Guangde-Honglanbu Highway on Dec 3rd for the Lishui area, with two additional contingents to penetrate westward to Wuhu and Dangtu for Anhui Province segment of the Yangtze River. The Shanghai Expeditionary Force was ordered to have 16th *Shidan* and 9th *Shidan* move along Danyang-Jurong-Tangshan Highway and Jintan-Tianwangshi-Chunhuazhen Highway, with two additional contingents to cross the Yangtze at Jiangyin and Zhenjiang for a circumvential attack at the Canal and Peking-Pukou Railway in the north.

From Dec 3rd to 6th, Japanese 16th *Shidan* and 9th *Shidan* punched into the cordon lines of 83rd Corps and 66th Corps, took over Jurong on 4th, and pushed to the area of Huangmei, Tuqiao and Hushuzhen. 10th *Ryodan* of 11th *Shidan* attacked Zhenjiang, while 13th *Shidan* crossed Yangtze at Jiangyin to attack Jingjiang. Separately, Japanese 114th *Shidan*, to be followed by 6th *Shidan*, burst through the cordon lines of 88th Division and 74th Corps and took over Lishui and Molingguan by Dec 4th, and pushed to the area of Lulangzhen and Jiangningzhen. Kunizaki *Shitai* and 8th *Shidan* attacked Dangtu and Xuancheng, respectively. On Dec 7th, Matsui Iwane ordered the siege of Nanking.

On Dec 6th, after the penetration of Japanese 16th *Shidan* to Hutang-Dahushan, near Tangshan, Tang Shengzhi ordered that 71st Division and 83rd Corps fall back towards Nanking from Zhenjiang direction and shipped one regiment of 36th Division to Qilinmen Gate. The next day, 7th, Tang Shengzhi planned a counter-attack at Japanese in Hutang-Dahushan with troops from 66th Corps, 41st Division of 2nd Corps-conglomerate, and 36th Division. Japanese, however, kept 66th Corps and 41st Division busy by attacking the Chinese defense positions at Tangshuizhen [Tangshanzen] Town and Qixiashan Mountain.

On December 7th, Japanese army reached the perimeter of Nanking city from multiple directions, and engaged in battles with Tang Shengzhi's forces of over 110,000 men. On the early morning of Dec 7th, Chiang Kai-shek flew away from Nanking. Chiang Kai-shek, before boarding plane on Dec 7th, made a tour of defense positions on Mt Zijinshan. The delay in departure was due to a visit to Nanking by German ambassador Oskar Trautmann.

To the southeast of Nanking, Yu Jishi's 74th Corps, with 51st Division and 58th Division or about 17,000 troops, was assigned the defense of Tongjimen Gate and Chunhuazhen Town as well as Mt Niushoushan. In the morning, while troops were shoveling off mud over the prebuilt concrete defense works, Japanese, from Jurong direction, had closed in to within 15 kilometers of Chunhuazhen. At about 4 pm, Japanese encountered cordon troops from Wang Yaowu's 51st Division. Qiu Weida's 306th Regiment, which just completed the rearguard task at Qingpu and returned from behind-enemy-line, was asked to send Hu Hao's battalion to Hushuzhen for reinforcing Zhou Zhidao's 151st Brigade. Fighting ensued for one night and one day at Hushu.

On the afternoon of Dec 7th, along Nanking-Hangzhou Highway, battalion chief Yao Mingde, from Central Lecturing Column, ride motorcycle, detected Japanese herald troops near Houjiatang, midway between Qilinmen Gate and Tangshanzhen Town. At Tangshuizhen [Tangshanzhen] town, Cavalry Regiment, after initial encounters with Japanese and with heavy casualties, retreated to Xufen area and consecutively Taipingmen Gate via Qilinmen, Chalukou and Xianhezhen. At night, Cavalry Regiment Chief Wang Hanqing reported that earlier in the day Japanese, disguised as 87th Division troops and wearing Chinese uniforms, had raided the 1st Cavalry Battalion at Tangshan. Having noticed Japanese camp fire in villages near Qilinmen, Zhou Zhenqiang checked with Ma Weilong to have 1st Brigade and 2nd Brigade counterattack Japanese in Qilinmen area, but suggestion was disapproved by high command.

On Dec 8th, at dawn, Japanese planes bombed Mt Zijinshan; Japanese artilleries blasted at outlying positions at Qilinmen; and Japanese armored vehicles penetrated to Mt Hongmaoshan, outside of Tongjimen Gate. On Mt Zijinshan, where 5th regiment and 6th regiment of Central Teaching Column had stationed, monitoring post reported that Japanese marched along Nanking-Hangzhou Highway, from the direction of Maqun. Cannons Company immediately targeted Japanese with two German-made artilleries and caused heavy casualties among Japanese. Japanese dispatched airplanes for dropping bombs on Mt Zijinshan positions, while Japanese artilleries bombarded as well. At Laohutong [tiger cave] Position, after Central Teaching Column soldiers beat back Japanese with heavy machine-guns and grenades, and Japanese dared not offend again for the rest of the day.

At dawn, Chen Yiding's 261st Brigade under 87th Division, about 3000 troops, who just arrived at the Central Stadium by train and trucks from Zhenjiang, was attacked by Japanese. Japanese abducted a cook of 521st Regiment. 261st Brigade Chen Yiding, who was refused entry into Zhongshanmen earlier, immediately spread out 521st Regiment and 522nd Regiment at Baigufen-Haizili and Yizuxuexiao School, respectively. Japanese faked attacks at Baigufen and Military Engineering School. Also at Mt Hongmaoshan and Baigufen, to the southeast of Xiaolingwei, Zhou Shiquan's 3rd battalion incurred heavy Japanese cannonade guided by high rise balloons. When Japanese armored vehicles joined the attack, Chinese troops dispatched snipers in destroying one vehicle and defeated enemy's attack. 3rd battalion rerouted to Baigufen after soldiers from Deng Longguang's 83rd Corps took over the Hongmaoshan defense in the evening. In the afternoon, Japanese attacked Chinese positions at Luanshigang, positions held by 2nd battalion chief Suo Benqin under Qin Shiquan's 1st Regiment [which relocated to Mt Luanshigang and Qilinmen Gate the previous day]. Japanese, marching along Hangzhou-Nanking Highway, launched cannon blasts at Mt Luanshigang and Qilinmen Gate. Heavy grenade fighting ensued on a hill termed "99 Plateau" where 2nd battalion set its command center. Battalion commander Suo Benqin was wounded, and the soldiers retreated to Zhongshanmen Gate for replenishment.<sup>[1]</sup> After one day's fighting, Japanese cleared the outlying Chinese positions near Qilinmen Gate.

To the southeast of Nanking, Japanese, with artilleries, tanks and cannons, attacked 51st Division as well as Mt Niushoushan where 58th Division stationed. Russian volunteer pilots joined Chinese airforce in the air battle over Chunhuazhen. Two Japanese planes were shot down at a loss of one on the Chinese and Russian side. Regiment commander Cheng Zhi, witnessing the air battles, applauded Russian bravery and regretted that no other nation had offered help; Zhang Lingfu, in phonecall to Wang Yaowu, further pointed out that Japanese bombs had "Made in USA" inscribed on the shells.

At 8:00 pm, Li Dianying, a soldier at monitoring post from Central Teaching Column, reported that Japanese soldiers, from Chunhuazhen Town direction, were marching through Gaoqiaomen Gate.

Around 9:00 pm, a company under Yao Mingde resisted Japanese who encircled their positions from two sides, and Nationalist Army soldiers withdrew to the defense line at Wukesong. Nationalist Army captured five Japanese soldiers who intruded into their positions.

In southern Nanking area, Japanese 6th *Shidan* joined 114th *Shidan* in attacking the Chinese positions across the front. Meanwhile, 26th *Ryodan* of 13th *Shidan* [diaotian shitai]] defeated 111th Division of 57th Corps and took over Jingjiang, while 10th *Ryodan* of 11th *Shidan* [[[tiangu Shitai]] broke into Zhenjiang which was defended by Dai Zhiqi's 103rd Division. To the west, Kunizaki Shitai pushed to Dangtu, while 18th *Shidan* attacked towards Wuhu after taking over Xuancheng.

Tang Shengzhi recalled Zhenjiang defense troops and 83rd Corps back to Nanking. In the afternoon, Xu Jiwu's 48th Division of 2nd Corps-conglomerate arrived at Nanking. At 4 pm, Tang Shengzhi issued the order for the citywall defense. Troops were laid out from Banqiaozen to the southwest of Nanking, to Mufushan and Wulongshan mountains to the northeast of Nanking. 74th Corps was assigned the area from Mt Niushoushan to Hedingqiao, 88th Division Yuhuatai Hill, 87th Division the Hedingqiao-Haizili [to the north of Nanking-Wuhu Railway], Central Teaching Column Mt Zijinshan, 36th Division Mt Hongshan and Mt Mufushan, and troops from Xu Yuanquan's 2nd Corps-conglomerate Mt Yangfangshan and Mt Wulongshan. On Mt Zijinshan, 1st Regiment (excluding 2nd battalion) of 1st Brigade dug in on the rightside [Xiaolingwei], 3rd Regiment of 2nd Brigade on Zhongshanling Ridge & Linggusi (i.e., eastern most of the mountain), 5th Regiment of 3rd Brigade took over three peaks of the mountain, and 2nd battalion of 1st regiment stationed at Zhongshanmen Gate. Further to the left of 5th regiment of 3rd brigade would be Xu Yuanquan's 48th Division at Yaohuamen Gate.

At dawn on Nov 9th, Japanese artillery blasted at Baigufen, Mt Zijinshan, Mt Xishan, Lingyuan and Xiaolingwei at the same time. Japanese, with air support, launched attacks at Mt Zijinshan, Xishan-lingyuan, and Xiaolingwei. On Mt Zijinshan, monitoring soldiers noticed that over one hundred Japanese soldiers were taking a break to the south of the army barracks of Central Teaching Column. Cannons bombarded Japanese from the hill and destroyed this penetration force. By 8:00 am, Japanese charged at Laohutong [tiger cave] Position again with the help of various kinds of bombs. Nationalist Army defeated Japanese, with a loss of battalion chief Luo Yuefeng and company chief Hu Ying. By the evening, 1st Brigade Chief Zhou Zhenqiang ordered the abandonment of Laohudong [tiger cave] and a fallback to Peak II from 3rd peak position. Elsewhere, Japanese 16th *Shidan* pushed to Qilinmen Gate and Cangbomen Gate. At Baigufen, fighting continued throughout the day. 261st Brigade of 87th Division repelled three rounds of Japanese 16th *Shidan*'s attacks at Military Engineering School which had prebuilt self-enclosed defense works. Chen Yiding's proposal to counterattack Japanese at Mt Xiaoshishan from Haizili was nipped. Elsewhere at Mt Xishan and Xiaolingwei, Japanese attacked in vain the position of Li Kaixi's 3rd Regiment of 2nd Brigade for the whole day.[\[2\]](#)

To the southeast of Nanking, Japanese 9th *Shidan* launched a ferocious attack at Niushoushan and Chunhuazhen in the morning. Six Japanese armored vehicles joined the fight at about 10 am, and Japanese leveled guns shot direct into Chinese machinegun [[[embrasure]]]. Zhang Lingfu was wounded in battle. Japanese breached the positions held by Cheng Zhi's 302nd Regiment and Zhang Lingfu's 305th Regiment under 151st Brigade. Meanwhile, Japanese breached 58th Division's defense on Mt Niushoushan. At Chunhuazhen Town, Ji Honglu's 301st Regiment of 151st Brigade under 51st Division of 74th Corps incurred a casualty of over 1400. [\[3\]](#)

The herald troops of Japanese 9th *Shidan* followed Nationalist Army's 51st Division all the way to

Gaoqiaomen Gate from Chunhuazhen Town, took over Dajaochang Airfield and Tongguang Barracks. Because Qiqiaowen and Zhongheqiao Bridges did not get dismantled on time, about 2000 Japanese soldiers and over a dozen armored vehicles pushed all the way to Guanguamen Gate. Gui Yongqing ordered that Guanguamen be shut off and sand bags be piled up to the height of city wall. Gui Yongqing personally led a platoon of his bodyguard company to the front. About nine Japanese armored vehicles, on one occasion, reached just below Guanguamen Gate and pinned down Chinese soldiers at the citywall [\[\[embrasure\]\]](#). A reinforced platoon from 2nd Military Police Regiment, under Xiang Hongyuan, rode over with six light machineguns on public buses and drove off Japanese armored vehicles by 5 pm. Japanese tanks launched three incursions towards Guanguamen Gate in the afternoon. Over one hundred Japanese climbed through the sand bags to have entered the Gate, but all of them got killed. Gui Yongqing called over newly recruited engineering regiment as well as cannons. A platoon of soldiers from engineering regiment engaged in bare-hand fighting with Japanese at Guanguamen Gate. Guanguamen was breached by about 200 Japanese soldiers again. Nationalist Army destroyed most of the invaders.[\[4\]](#)

During the battles of Guanguamen Gate, 524th Regiment of Zhu Chi's 262nd Brigade under 88th Division, in charge of the wall segment from Zhonghuamen and Guanguamen gates, had sent in reinforcements twice.

At the same time, Japanese Tenth Army attacked towards Yuhuatai area. 114th *Shidan* closed in to the south of Yuhuatai; and 6th *Shidan* pressed to the west of Yuhuatai as well as took over Dashengguan. In the morning, one Japanese *Rentai* equivalent attacked Yuhuatai that was defended by 264th Brigade of 88th Division, about 3500 troops. In the afternoon, another Japanese *Rentai* equivalent attacked Yuhuatai. Brigade commander Gao Zhisong personally led 528th Regiment of 264th Brigade to the relief and dealt Japanese with a defeat by over 300-400 corpses.

At night, Kunizaki Shitai took over Dangtu. Chinese 66th Corps pulled back to Dashuiguan and Yanziji for replenishment, and 74th Corps retreated to the citywall at Shuiximen Gate. On this day, Japanese airplanes dropped bombs and Matsui Iwane's leaflets calling for a Chinese surrender within 24 hours.[\[5\]](#) Tang Shengzhi issued No. 36 Order, ordered transportation minister Yu Feipeng to control all ships and vessels, put 36th Division of 78th Corps in charge of stopping any army or officers from slip across the river as a show of his determination to live-die with the city together. Though, Tang Shengzhi agreed to Westerners' request for setting up a Nanking safety zone as well as mediating a ceasefire with Japanese. Chiang Kai-shek was said to have declined the 3-day ceasefire mediation which would allow nationalist army evacuate from Nanking peacefully.

On the early morning of Dec 10th, Japanese airplanes dropped bombs throughout Chinese defense positions and the city before the purported surrender offer was expire at noon. At the time when Qiu Weida's regiment pulled back into the city via Zhonghuamen Gate, Japanese planes dropped bombs on Yuhuatai Hill while Japanese artilleries, from Fangshan direction, also hit the citywall near Zhonghuamen.

At Mt Zijinshan, Japanese raised two high-rise air balloons for precision artillery shelling at Chinese positions. Covered by precision-guided bombardment, Japanese launched a full scale attack. Japanese charging at 2nd Peak of Mt Zijinshan mostly died in the 200-meter long frontal span. The 2nd brigade, stationed to the east of Zhongshanling also shot at Japanese from the side angle as well. On this day, 2nd battalion chief Ouyang Jun was wounded and company chief Zhang Zhongxian sacrificed his life.

Japanese's wrestling fight for the Peak II ran throughout the day and continued to the night of Dec 11th. With two balloons above the sky of Mt Qilinmen, Japanese bombarded Nationalist Army continuously. At Xiaolingwei, Japanese armored vehicles and infantry failed to push through Chinese positions at Mt Xishan, with a few Japanese armored vehicle soldiers caught alive. Nationalist Army destroyed two Japanese armored vehicles and captured three Japanese soldiers alive. Small scale fighting continued in the evening. At Mt Baigufen, Nationalist Army soldiers engaged in bayonet fighting with Japanese inch by inch and beat back Japanese. Cannons Company Chief Wang Jun sacrificed his life on this day.

At Guanghuamen Gate, Japanese rolled up artilleries to Gaoqiaomen Rostrum for blasting against the military engineering school below, to the south of Guanghuamen, which was defended by Liu Qixiong's 260th Brigade of 87th Division and the Central Lecturing Column. Two cracks were hammered out on two sides of Guanghuamen Gate. Afternoon, part of Japanese army, with tanks, breached the positions held by Yi Anhua's 259th Brigade, while about one hundred Japanese penetrated 100 meters into Guanghuamen Gate and occupied houses on two sides of the path. From the mountains, 3rd battalion from Central Teaching Column noticed, through telescope, that Japanese armored vehicles and cavalry passed through to the south of Guanghuamen Gate without encountering any resistance from Chinese Army. In order to protect the flank, Regiment Chief Qin Shiquan ordered that Mt Xishan battalion, with about 200 soldiers left, withdraw for defense around Weigang area. After the Japanese intrusion into Guanghuamen Gate, Tang Shengzhi rebuked 87th Division Chief Wang Jingjiu and ordered a recovery of the Gongbing-gaodi high hill near the engineering school and Guanghuamen or face martial court. Under the command of 87th Deputy Division Chief Chen Yiding, 261st Brigade, together with a reinforced regiment from Yi Anhua's 257th Brigade, launched a counter-attack at Japanese from two directions of Tongjimen and Tiantangcun at dusk, destroyed all invaders from Japanese 9th *Shidan*, and recovered Gongbing-gaodi high and Guanghuamen Gate after an eight-hour battle. 259th brigade commander Yi Anhua, tactician director Ni Guoding for 261st Brigade, two battalion commanding officers and over 39 lower-level officers died in battle.[\[6\]](#)

Tang Shengzhi ordered 156th Division of 83rd Corps to the reinforcement of Guanghuamen and Tongjimen gates; 66th Corps was ordered to set up defense works at Zhongshanmen and Xuanwumen gates; and 103rd Division and 112nd Division were assigned to Gui Yongqing for the citywall defense around Zhongshanmen Gate as well as Mt Zijinshan. On Dec 10th (?), Hu Zongnan's army beat off Japanese attack at Pukou on the north bank of the Yangtze River.

On the afternoon of Dec 10th, about 4 pm, Japanese took over two heights to the east and west of Yuhuatai Hill, and rolled over artilleries for short distance shelling. From the Zhonghuamen-Shuiximen citywall defended by Li Tianlu's 153rd Brigade of 51st Division, Qiu Weida, after observing that two Japanese tanks were rolling over a bridge outside of the Zhonghuamen Gate, immediately ordered the artilleries to blast at the tanks. A reinforced company was sent after the Japanese infantry, with dozens of Japanese killed and/or captured. At night on Oct 10th, Japanese 6th *Shidan* and 18th *Shidan*, under the support of artilleries, tanks and plane bombing, completely destroyed the first line defense of 88th Division at Yuhuatai, and pressed 88th Division to the second line. Meantime, Japanese 18th *Shidan* took over the Yangtze city of Wuhu to the west.

On Dec 11th, Japanese faked attacks at Mt Xishan and Xiaolingwei while re-directing the main thrust to southern Nanking city. Heavy fighting could be heard in the direction of Guanghuamen & Tongjimen Gates and Yuhuatai.

From Dec 11th to the night of Dec 12th, fighting continued uninterrupted throughout the defense

positions on Mt Zijinshan, Linggusi Monastery, Lingyuan-xinchun [residential quarter], Xiaolingwei [Ming Dynasty royal tomb] on Mt Xishan, and Baigufen [white bone tomb]. Nationalist Army soldiers beat back Japanese reinforcements repeatedly. On 11th, Japanese, who suffered heavy casualties the previous days, launched repeated charges at defense lines at Mt Zijinshan, Mt Xishan and Baigufen. Mt Xishan was attacked on three sides, battalion chief personally went to the right wing after company chief sacrificed his life, and fighting continued into the evening. Nationalist Army soldiers destroyed enemies before the 1-meter high barbed wires which were laid on top of a deep ditch, and soldiers hiding under an overpass also shot at enemies from a side angle.

By Dec 11th, Japanese, though frustrated in attacks at Mt Zijinshan and the Chinese positions to the south of the mountain, took over Mt Yangfangshan and Mt Yinkongshan that were defended by 2nd Corps-conglomerate troops, and then pushed to Yaohuamen Gate. Separately, Japanese, for lending support to 16th *Shidan*'s attack at Mt Zijinshan area, launched an additional siege of Mt Wulongshan and Mt Mufushan with reinforcement of three *Daitai* from 103rd *Ryodan* of 13th *Shidan* that were originally waiting for Yangtze crossing at Zhenjiang. At Guanghuamen, 261st Brigade Chen Yiding still retained the military engineering school and its heights, but had to ship wounded to Wuwangfen as a result of sealing of the gate and two cracks on two sides of Guanghuamen. To the south of Nanking, Japanese 6th *Shidan* and 114th *Shidan* broke the second line defense held by 264th Brigade of 88th Division at Yuhuatai. At the citywall, Zhu Chi's 262nd Brigade of 88th Division destroyed a portion of Japanese troops from 114th *Shidan* who breached Zhonghuamen Gate after blasting open the gate. At Shuiximen Gate, held by 151st Brigade of 51st Division, Chinese troops repelled Japanese reconnaissance force in the marshland outside of the gate.

Along the Yangtze bank, to the west of Nanking, portion of Japanese troops from 6th *Shidan* raked a battalion of 2nd Military Police Teaching Regiment at Shangxinhe and took over Mianhuati Embankment, while Kunizaki Shitai crossed Yangtze at Cihu, to the north of Dangtu, for a circumvential attack at Pukou. Upon news of Japanese Yangtze crossing at Dangtu, Chiang Kai-shek telephone Gu Zhutong at noon about evacuating Chinese troops from Nanking. Tang Shengzhi, to deflect his responsibility, demanded a written order which he received at night. Tang Shengzhi, Luo Zhuoying and Liu Xing, at a meeting two hours past midnight, decided on a planned abandonment of Nanking on Dec 14th.<sup>[7]</sup>

On Dec 12th, at about 7 am, Japanese, with three armored vehicles, attacked 151st Brigade's positions at Shuiximen. Chinese artilleries forced one Japanese vehicle into the ditch. At 9 am, 3rd Battalion Chief Hu Hao phoned Qiu Weida about Japanese climbing up wall at the protruding segment between Zhonghuamen and Shuiximen gates. Hu Hao organized a 100-soldier dare-to-die column to retake the breached segment, killed the invaders and captured a dozen alive.<sup>[8]</sup> Hu Hao and deputy regiment commander Liu Li died in battle. Meantime, 153rd Brigade Chief Li Tianlu reported to Wang Yaowu that over one hundred Japanese had climbed up the citywall at the segment that was supposed to be 88th Division. At about 10:00 am, Yuhuatai Hill was lost to Japanese. Heavy fighting broke out at Zhonghuamen Gate. 264th Brigade of 88th Division, under new commander Liao Lingqi, at heavy loss under Japanese fire, circumvented around the closed citywall to Xiaguan area where about 2000 remnants, including engineering battalion, crossed the Yangtze at 5 pm.<sup>[9]</sup> Japanese Tenth Army, after taking over Yuhuatai Height, fired upon the citywall below with a pour of bombs. After noon, Japanese broke through the outer and inner Zhonghuamen gates at a cost of 200-300 deaths at both layers. At Shuiximen Gate, reinforced Japanese troops renewed attacks at 151st Brigade outside of the gate, and breached first line defense at about 4 pm. 302nd Regiment Chief Cheng Zhi died in battle. Wu Keding

succeeded the regiment commander post.

With Zhonghuamen Gate breached, Tang Shengzhi, at 2 pm, ordered Song Xilian's 36th Division to maintain order at Xiaguan Wharf for a planned retreat across the Yangtze River. Chiang Kai-shek, having authorized the evacuation the previous night, changed mind wire to Tang Shengzhi as to the possibility of persisting another half a month in anticipation of "drastic changes in both domestic and international arena".<sup>[10]</sup> At 5 pm, Nanking Garrison Command Center held division commander meeting, produced Chiang Kai-shek's telegraph, and issued the evacuation order mimeographed by tactician Zhou Lan and timestamped 3 pm. The breakout order was for majority troops to charge through Japanese lines towards Zhejiang-Anhui provinces with four days of rice and salt, starting at 11 pm, but 83rd Corps was ordered to act as rearguards till 6 am the next day and 2nd Corps-conglomerate was to defend Wulongshan Fortress so as to cover the Yangtze mine blockade line. Subsequently, Tang Shengzhi orally stated that 87th Division (71st Corps), 88th Division (72nd Corps), 74th Corps and Central Teaching Column could cross the Yangtze for Chuzhou if ships were available.<sup>[11]</sup>

After the meeting, 87th Division Chief Shen Fazao and 71st Corps Chief Wang Jingjiu skipped their command center for a direct path to Xiaguan; Gui Yongqing of Central Teaching Column made a short visit to Fuguishan command center where he designated Qiu Qingquan the *post mortem* task; and consequently, 2nd Brigade Chief Hu Qilu of Central Teaching Column offloaded the command authority to 3rd Regiment Chief Li Kaixi. Tang Shengzhi's oral instruction led to chaos when 87th Division (71st Corps), 88th Division (72nd Corps), 74th Corps and Central Teaching Column all flocked towards Yijiangmen Gate. At night, the garrison troops at Wulongshan Fortress sabotaged the cannons and sailed off on four torpedo boats after Xu Yuanquan's 41st Division and 48th Division abandoned Wulongshan defense earlier in the day. Japanese 103rd *Ryodan* of 13th *Shidan* occupied Wulongshan the next morning.

Throughout the war, 36th Division blocked Yijiangmen Gate and stopped troops from retreating, while Hu Zongnan's 1st Corps across the Yangtze enforced similar court martial against officers and soldiers who ever attempted an escape. Earlier in the day, at Sanchahe, 36th Division had stopped 74th Corps troops from laying a pontoon bridge over the Yangtze. Not knowing of the evacuation order, 36th Division and 1st Corps continued to use force to prohibit troops from retreating.

In front of Mt Xishan defense line, for the whole day, Japanese did not get an inch. At Baigufen, 3rd battalion of 1st Brigade still retained Baigufen positions after repelling repeated attacks by Japanese. At Linggusi Monastery and Lingyuan Xinchun, defense positions were all destroyed by Japanese armor-penetrating blasts at noon of Dec 12th. Japanese artillery extended shelling to Wuwangfen [King Wu Tomb], Xiaolingwei and Zhongshanmen Gate. Nationalist Army soldiers fought zigzag wars with Japanese trench by trench.<sup>[12]</sup> At Mt Xishan, by 6:00 pm, 1st Regiment Chief Qin Shiquan withdrew some troops from Mt Xishan defense to Weigang for protecting the hind on the right side. By 7:00 pm, Tactician Qiu Qingquan called 3rd Regiment Chief Li Xikai with instructions to fetch a battalion from Guangdong Province army at Gangzijiao of Taipingmen Gate for. One hour later, deputy regiment chief Zhu Daoyuan returned, stating that no relief troops were found at Gangzijiao, that he only saw hordes of soldiers flocking towards the north Gate for the Yangtze Bank, and that soldiers shouted that Yuhuatai Hill and Zhonghuamen Gate were lost in the south of Nanking. Upon hearing this, regiment chief Li Xikai phoned deputy brigade chief Wen Zuquan and brigade tactician Liao Yaoliang, but nobody answered the call. Tactician Qiu Qingquan was not reachable, either. At this time, a lieutenant from regiment command center, Shi Chonghua, came to report that Central Teaching Column

headquarters was abandoned. 3rd Regiment Chief Li Xikai then decided that his command center move to the area south of Liao Zhongkai Tomb for continuing the resistance. By 8:00 pm, Regiment Chief Liu Zishu came in to see Li Kaixi, angrily accusing Gui Yongqing and Hu Qilu of escaping the scene while soldiers were still fighting enemies to the end.

At Guanghuamen Gate, Japanese 9th *Shidan* stopped fighting at dawn, while Japanese 3rd *Shidan*, having just relocated over from Suzhou, succeeded Japanese 9th *Shidan* in mounting attacks at the citywall. 261st Brigade Chief Chen Yiding, at the military engineering school, lost contacts with the Headquarters about 3 pm. Into the evening, Chen Yiding's liaison officer Liu Ping returned to inform that Ma Weilong's brigade could not be located but Guangdong troops were streamlining out of Taipingmen Gate for the northeast. At 9 pm, having noticed some erratic shelling from Mt Wulongshan Fortress and desolate Guanghuamen Gate and city wall, Chen Diying convened a regiment commander meeting between 261st and 260th brigades and adopted a collective responsibility decision to evacuate at 2 past midnight from Guanghuamen defense along the citywall ditch.

From Dec 11th to 12th, soldiers noticed that southern Nanking city, around Yuhuatai Hill and Zhonghuamen, fires shot up to the sky while cannons blasting rang along without interruption. Fighting subsided at sunset on Dec 12th.

On Mt Zijinshan, three battalions of 5th Regiment of 3rd Brigade were stationed at Peak I, II & Peak III of Mt Zijinshan, while 6th Regiment of 2nd Brigade stationed to the east ridge of Mt Zijinshan. Zhou Zhenqiang, having noticed heavy fire at Zhonghuamen Gate and Xiaguan Wharf from Peak I command center, called the Mt Fuguishan headquarters but did not reach anybody. Zhou Zhenqiang came down the hills to find out about the evacuation order, and made a decision for Ma Weilong's 3rd Brigade to join Deng Longguang's Guangdong troops for a breakout towards the southeast, Yang Houcan's engineering regiment to prepare river crossing materials at Meitangang and Yanziji, Wang Hanqing's cavalry regiment to set up defense at Meitangang line, Qin Shiquan's 1st Regiment to act as rears after troops were to withdraw past midnight.<sup>[13]</sup> 1st Battalion of 1st Regiment was ordered to fight and retreat to Tianbaocheng of Mt Zijinshan and east of Xiaolingwei, while part of 3rd Battalion was to take over 2nd battalion's former positions at Xiaolingwei and Mt Meihuashan. At Baigufen, 3rd battalion was ordered to retreat towards Xiaolingwei from Baigufen six hours after. Shi Huaiyu stated that platoon chief Li Muchao, under 9th company of 3rd battalion, did not evacuate the Baigufen position till one hour past mid-night<sup>[14]</sup>; that when he arrived at Xiaolingwei, he did not see the main body of the troops; and that while silence reigned at Zhongshanmen Gate, large bursts of fire and intensive gunshots could still be observed on the peaks of Mt Zijinshan and Mt Meihuashan where soldiers were still in bitter fighting with Japanese.<sup>[15]</sup>

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<sup>[1]</sup> By the afternoon of Dec 11th, a squad chief from Central Lecturing Echelon carried Gui Yongqing's order calling for an evacuation across the Yangtze River for a re-organization in Xuzhou of Jiangsu Prov. Shi Huaiyu stated that Suo Benqin's battalion was the only one that had remained **intact** during the Defense Battle of Nanking.

<sup>[2]</sup> 3rd regiment of 2nd brigade, headed by Li Kaixi, was moved to **Zhongshan Lingyuan area, to the south of Mt Zijinshan Ridge**, with command center set inside of the tunnel in front of Ming Emperor Zhu Yuanzhang's tomb. On Dec 7th, Li Kaixi etc toured the defense line and discovered lots of treasures and rarely-locatable foods inside of **Wang Jingwei Mansion**, not to mention swimming pool, tennis court and garden. At mid-night, on Dec 8th, 3rd regiment was ordered to



retreat to Mt Xishan and Xiaolingwei. **Fighting ensued throughout the night.**

[3] Around midnight [[9-10th]], Zhou Zhidao's brigade abandoned Chunhuazhen defense, and Japanese took over **Chunhuazhen town**. The previous night [[8th]], Qiu Weida's 306th Regiment had been ordered to go to the airport outside of Guanghuamen for covering the retreat of 74th Corps troops from Chunhuazhen and Niushoushan. The next early morning [[10th]], Zhou Zhidao's brigade, followed by Wang Yaowu in jeep, passed through Qiu Weida's airport defense line. Wang Yaowu ordered Qiu Weida to pull back troops to wall defense while leaving a small force near the airport.

[4][**宪兵教导第二团第三营第九连第一排排长向鸿远**]]. **Japanese, who at one time breached Guanghuamen Gate, had held up in positions south of the Gate.** A few dozen hid out under the concave hideout of the Gate. **At the suggestion of regiment chief Xie Chengrui, Gui Yongqing approved an attack of lowering soldiers down the city wall via cords and burning dead Japanese via kerosene.** Regiment chief Xie Chengrui then opened up the Gate all of a sudden and shot dead remnant Japanese with a dozen machine-guns. One Japanese survivor was fetched to the Red Cross. Shi Huaiyu stated that dead Japanese bodies were validated to be from Japan's 9th *Shidan*. Shi Huaiyu stated that Xie Chengrui, in high fever and fatigue, died of trampling of soldiers at Yijiangmen Gate on Dec 12th. [??? P 626 Guo Rugui 156th Division dropped over the citywall to kill Japanese on the night of 10th??? ]].

[5] [Iris Change emphasized a so-called Dec 9th Japanese ultimatum requesting for Nanking's surrender within 24 hours and stated that Japanese commanders had "patiently" waited out for the surrender to materialize till noon of Dec 10th at the outskirts of Zhongshanmen Gate. Was it a joke !]

[6]第八十七师在南京保卫战中， 陈颐鼎

[7] Guo Rugui p 1:626

[8]十二日晨，据第一五三旅旅长李天露报称：“八十八师的城墙阵地因没有部队防守，日军约有百余名由一五三旅阵地以左的地区乘隙扒上城墙，占领了我既设阵地；在其步炮协同下，向我一五三旅守城部队的左侧攻击，城墙阵地是固守城的一道重要防线，长官部为什么不督令各部确实占领，这样南京还能守吗？”我回：敌人既已偷扒上城墙来，应集中力量迅速消灭它。李天露曾督率部队与敌反复争夺，均未得手。而敌继续增加，战事愈加激烈。战至午后五时许，因官兵伤亡过大，该旅所守的阵地已岌岌可危，水西门内外房屋被日军炮火打毁很多，数处起火，烟火弥漫，死尸纵横，状甚惨烈。wang yao wu 第七十四军参加南京保卫战经过

[9]卢畏三：作者当时系第七十二军第八十八师师部参谋第八十八师扼守雨花台中华门片断

[10] Guo Rugui p 1:628. Citing Qin Xiaoyi, Preliminary Compilation of Important Historic Materials of ROC – Resistance War Period, KMT Central Committee, Taipei, Taiwan, 1981, in Volume 2: Chronology of Battles, p 219-220

[11] Guo Rugui p 1:630. Citing “Guidelines for 2nd Phase Battles of the Third War Zone”, in *The Frontal Battleground of Resistance War*, edited by Second Archive Bureau, 1987, Jiangsu Guji Press, Nanking, p 414. Originally, 74th Corps was assigned Qimen direction from Tiexinsuo line, 71st Corps and 72nd Corps assigned Yixian County of Anhui Province from Gaoqiaomen-Chunhuazhen line, 83rd Corps assigned Xixian County from Qilinmen-Tuqiaozen line, and Central Teaching Column, 66th Corps and 103rd Division/112nd Division assigned Changhua, Xiuning and Yuqian area from south of Gaoqiaomen-Chunhuazhen line.

[12] By 5:00 pm, Brigade Chief **Hu Qilu** called regiment chief, stating that he was ordered to go to Xiaguan Wharf to see 36th Division Chief Song Xilian and that all brigade authorization be assigned to regiment chief Li Kaixi. Shi Huaiyu stated that Brigade Chief Hu Qilu stealthily fled across the Yangtze after learning that Zhonghuamen Gate was lost to Japanese.

[13]教导总队在南京保卫战中，周振强，选自《南京保卫战 原国民党将领抗日战争亲历记》. Shi Huaiyu stated that he encountered brigade chief Ma Weilong at 1st Peak, who hastily issued an order stating that soldiers of Shi Huaiyu's communications company be under direct command of various battalion chief and that Shi Huaiyu and his soldiers go to **Xufen of Taipingmen Gate** for further order. Shi Huaiyu stated that he did not realize that it was an order to retreat because **1st & 2nd brigades were still retaining their positions at the foot of the mountain as well as at Guanghuamen Gate**. After going downhill, Shi Huaiyu called four communications platoons to relay brigade chief's order and then led about 20 unarmed soldiers towards Taipingmen Gate. At Taipingmen, Shi Huaiyu etc found themselves in a jam situation when **Ye Zhao's 66th Corps & Deng Longguang's 83rd Corps were trying to get out of Nanking while Central Teaching Column soldiers were trying to get into Nanking**. Shi Huaiyu mediated over the matter by ordering Central Teaching Column soldiers to give the right of way to those southern Province soldiers. Two hours later, after soldiers finished streaming out of the city, Shi Huaiyu found out that most of Central Teaching Column soldiers disappeared, too. Shi Huaiyu

realized by then that brigade Ma Weilong, deliberately ambiguous about the evacuation, had abandoned his soldiers for a ride with Deng Longguang/Ye Zho divisions. (Ma Weilong, per Shi Huaiyu, later died in a fight with Japanese Tu-fei-yuan regiment-conglomerate in Kaifeng of Henan Province in May 1939.)

[14] At **Taipingmen Gate**, platoon chief Li Muchao could only see chaotic soldiers who told him that Nanking garrison troops had been ordered to evacuate from the city. At Xiaguan Wharf, tens of thousands of soldiers signed over the span of the Yangtze River. Li Muchao and his followers found few railway sleepers and made a raft. After crossing the river, they learnt that their battalion chief already sacrificed his life and that their battalion had just few survivors.

[15] Shi Huaiyu stated that "dark and red faced" soldiers of 3rd brigade, mostly new recruits, wearing brand new cotton uniforms, did not get to evacuate from 1st & 2nd Peaks of Mt Zijinshan, and they all died to the last person per Japanese accounts.