

Japanese Military Comfort Stations in War Diaries

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Introduction

Since the 1990s, various efforts have been made to investigate the historical reality of the Japanese military comfort women (hereinafter referred to as ‘comfort women’) and comfort stations, and thereby call for the resolution of related issues. Thanks to such efforts, comfort women victims have been able to emerge from the darkness of oblivion and the activities of relevant organizations have received international attention for the progress they have made.

Nevertheless, considerable challenges still lie ahead. Not only are Japanese conservatives refusing to offer apologies and reparations to the victims, but they are also refusing to acknowledge that comfort women are victims of wartime sexual violence. Japanese historical revisionists have argued that comfort women were prostitutes and that comfort stations were no more than brothels operated by civilians. As for research in this area, connections need to be drawn between victim testimonies and other documents uncovered with a view to shedding further light on the history of

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comfort stations and comfort women. Uncovering the complete history of comfort stations to support victim testimonies from different countries appears to be far beyond reach for now.

This study's primary interest lies in proving that the establishment and the operation of comfort stations were linked closely to the operations and the stationing of each military unit and were therefore practically part of their ancillary facilities. This study hence seeks to demonstrate that the Japanese troops' visits to comfort stations were acts based on official permission to leave granted by the commander of a stationed unit. For this purpose, *Jinchū (Sakusen) yomurei* (陳中 (作戰) 要務令), or *Field Service Regulations* and *Guntai naimusho* (軍隊内務書), or the *Handbook of Military Regulations*, were examined. This study also locates how the comfort station system appeared around the time of the Mukden Incident, stretched into the Second Sino-Japanese War, and then began to operate at full capacity concomitant with the outbreak of the Asia-Pacific War.

Because this study focuses on revealing the reality and the structure of comfort stations rather than the comfort women at such stations, war diaries were analyzed to prove that the stations were ancillary facilities of the Japanese military. War diaries were records which military units with the size of a company or larger were each required to keep daily from the beginning to the end of deployment. Tracing the movements of each unit through those diaries was expected to help provide context to individual historical sources related to comfort stations and to develop more detailed descriptions regarding the reality of wartime sexual violence. As a result, this study has verified that comfort stations were created and operated in tandem with the overall activities of each military unit, including their movements, operations, and training. In other words, comfort stations were planned and utilized as military facilities, which set them apart from the other brothels that Japanese troops visited while on leave.

The Mukden Incident and Comfort Station “Protocols”

1. Military Regulations Related to Comfort Stations

1) *Jinchū yomurei* and *Sakusen yomurei*

Jinchū yomurei (陳中要務令) specified regulatory guidelines on field and combat duties for different branches of service including staff officers, military police, infantry, cavalry, artillery, military engineers, transportation corps, and aviators. Originally, *Yagai yomurei* (野外要務令), drafted in 1889, served as a manual until *Jinchū yomurei* was revised to replace the first part of *Yagai yomurei* in March 1915.¹ *Yagai yomurei* was thereafter partially revised in August 1924² to reflect the reduction of forces as well as “lessons” learned from World War I. In February 1929, *Sento kōyo* (戦闘綱要) was drafted as a manual for actual combat.

Jinchū yomurei consisted of articles and an appendix that covered combat hierarchy, branch classification, orders, notifications, reports, searches, intelligence, marching, quartering, communication, dispensation and supplementation of provisions, sanitation, battlefield clearance, transportation by rail and ship, military police, and the upkeep of war diaries or field diaries.

According to Article 18 of *Jinchū yomurei*, orders were classified into operation orders and daily orders. While operation orders involved military tactics (Article 19), daily orders involved “the military’s internal affairs, personnel matters, supplementation of personnel and horses, battlefield clearance, the handling of prisoners of war, and other matters irrelevant to operations” (Article 20).

Article 321 classified quartering into billeting, bivouacking, and biv-

¹ 陳中要務令制定 野外要務令第1部廢止の件, 密大日記 4冊の内 2 大正3年. Catalogue Reference: 陸軍省-密大日記-T3-2-5, no. 64. The documents cited in this article are from the Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, National Archives of Japan (<https://www.jacar.go.jp>).

² 陳中要務令改定に関する件, 永存書類甲輯第4類 大正13年. Catalogue Reference: 陸軍省-大日記甲輯-T13-3-15, no. 24.

ouacking in villages. Billeting referred to lodging and resting at a building outside the barracks. Through billeting, Japanese troops established comfort stations. Article 325 stipulated that when billeting, the billeted area was to be divided into sections in order to handle internal affairs, security, and quarterage, and if a unit's sojourn was extended, Article 333 required the training of men and horses to be carried out at the billet base. The billet commander appointed among the higher-ranking senior officers had control over matters pertaining to the billet's internal affairs and security and was responsible for issuing billet orders (Article 337). According to Article 346, should sojourn in a certain area be extended, regulations for each duty including air defense and hygiene had to be established just as they would be at a garrison.

Each unit was also required to keep a war diary and a field diary. The purpose of recording such military experiences, according to Article 622, was to use them to create historical accounts of war, review meritorious acts, and contribute to Japan's military future. Based on Article 605 and Article 606, units the size of companies (including individual platoons) and larger up to the Imperial General Headquarters were required to keep a war diary from the day a mobilization order was received.

Upon the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War, the Japanese Army combined *Jinchū yomurei* and *Sento kōyo* to draft and implement *Sakusen yomurei* in September 1938. *Sakusen yomurei* consists of four parts. The first part is based mainly on one-half of *Jinchū yomurei* and the second part is based on *Sento kōyo*. The third part, completed in October 1939, includes the other half of *Jinchū yomurei* concerned with transportation, supplies, and logistics. The fourth part, drafted in March 1940, covers matters related to chemical warfare and landing battles. Overall, the content of *Sakusen yomurei* bears little difference from that of *Jinchū yomurei*.

2) *Guntai naimusho* and *Guntai naimurei*

Barracks were living spaces that accommodated soldiers and noncommissioned officers ranked sergeant or lower.³ As a basic unit of military force,

³ Noncommissioned officers were ranked sergeant major (*sōchō*), sergeant (*gunsō*), or corporal

barracks represented the everyday lives of military personnel residing in them. *Hohei naimusho*, the *Infantry Handbook for Internal Affairs*, established in 1872, was revised into *Guntai naimusho—the Handbook of Military Regulations*—in 1888 and was replaced by *Guntai naimurei—the Army Regulations*—in 1943. *Guntai naimusho* experienced several revisions beyond 1888 and its main contents outlined below are based on the revised edition from September 1943,⁴ which is largely similar to that of *Guntai naimurei*.

Chapter 10 deals with the delivery of orders, which were carried out through bulletins designated by the regimental commander and overseen by the unit's adjutant, squad leader, or barracks leader (Article 57).

Chapter 20 deals with living routines and demeanor. In principle, the regimental commander was to determine daily routines and their deadlines according to Article 173, including when to rise, call the roll, eat, issue bulletins, and put the lights out. Based on Article 175, orders and instructions were to be delivered through the evening roll call.

Chapter 21 deals with holidays and leave. According to Article 194, rest was allowed on holidays, the grand festival day of Yasukuni Shrine, the Army's annual kickoff ceremony (January 8), Army Day (March 10), Sundays, and other designated holidays. Article 195 stipulated that servicepersons were allowed to leave their barracks on holidays as long as their service and training were not interrupted. Leaving after breakfast, soldiers were required to return by dinner, while noncommissioned officers were required to return by the evening roll call. Such instances of leave were extended to the evening roll call for soldiers and midnight for noncommissioned officers on January 1, February 11 (*Kigen setsu*, National Foundation Day), April 29 (*Tenchō setsu*, Emperor's birthday), November 3 (*Meiji setsu*, Emperor Meiji's birthday), and the grand festival day of Yasukuni Shrine according to Article 196. Although Article 197 stipulated that leave

 (*gochō*), while soldiers were ranked captain (*heichō*, newly created in September 1940), superior private (*jōtōhei*), first-class private (*ittōhei*), or second-class private (*nitōhei*).

⁴ *Jinchū yomurei* and *Guntai naimusho* were both military commands approved by the Japanese emperor.

of absence would not be granted to those on duty on a holiday, it was granted in cases where an entire unit had been deprived of a holiday due to training or inspection. Based on Article 204, soldiers going on leave on a regular holiday were required to notify their barracks leaders of their destination in order to receive a pass which was to be handed back to the non-commissioned officer on duty upon returning from leave. The form of such a pass was defined through Article 213.

2. The Mukden Incident and the 14th Mixed Brigade

1) Leave for the 14th Mixed Brigade

Once the Mukden Incident occurred on September 18, 1931, the Japanese Army sent reinforcements from Japan and Korea to support the Kwantung Army already stationed in China. Among those reinforcements was the 14th Mixed Brigade (hereinafter referred to as the 14th Brigade), formed on September 24, 1932, of which Major General Hattori Heijirō (服部兵次郎) had been appointed as commander. In addition to mobilizing one third of the 7th Division's troops, one battalion from each of the 25th-28th Infantry Regiments were reassigned to the 14th Brigade.⁵ The brigade also had the 7th Cavalry Regiment, the 2nd Cavalry Company, the 7th Field Artillery Regiment, the 2nd Field Artillery Battalion, a Signal Detachment, and detachments of the Motor Transport Corps and Sanitary Corps under its command.

After engaging in its first battle on October 11 in Tonghua near the Korean-Manchurian border, the 14th Brigade carefully sought measures to prevent venereal diseases. Once the brigade entered Tonghua, the sanitary detachment issued sanitary precautions to be taken between stationed troops on October 18. The precautions forbade entry into pleasure quarters, called for each unit to especially tend to the prevention of venereal diseases, and ordered platoon leaders and those ranked above to provide a lecture

⁵ 混成第14旅団將校同相当官職員表 (昭和7年9月24日調), 関東軍職員表 昭和7年9月. Catalogue Reference: 中央-軍事行政職員表-39, no. 3.

on hygiene.⁶ When a case of venereal disease emerged near the end of that month, each unit was tested and by early November, troops were not allowed to go out at night or enter any villages infected by venereal disease.

From late October, the 14th Brigade carried out operations as a punitive force in the areas of Fengtian (today's Shenyang) and Tieling. From December 17, the brigade remained in the Hailar District of Hulunbuir in order to perform policing duties until it returned to Fengtian between the 24th and the 25th of January 1933.

While stationed in Hailar, the first mention of the brigade's implementation of regulations for stationing appears on January 5.⁷ Critical information and orders were delivered through the brigade bulletin at two o'clock in the afternoon. Through the bulletin issued on January 7, caution was raised over off-base attire since the troops would be permitted to go out after the military review/parade to be held the next day. Whether only one-half of each unit would be allowed to take leave, or one-half of each unit would take turns taking leave would be decided by the commander. The time the troops would be allowed to leave was to be determined by Article 6-2 of the Regulations for Stationing at Hailar. This is the first officially documented instance of troops going on leave and confirms that such regulations had in fact been implemented by the brigade. The entire brigade went off duty on the afternoon of January 8.⁸

From mid-January, the brigade began preparing for its return to Fengtian and arrived in the areas of Fengtian, Tieling, and Liaoyang by late January. The issuance of the brigade's bulletin was resumed in Fengtian on January 26. The Regulations for Stationing in Fengtian were established the following day and until those regulations were issued, the regulations

⁶ [衛生業務旬報] 自昭和7年9月24日至昭和8年12月10日, 衛生業務旬報. Catalogue Reference: 返赤 43011000. The ten-day report was drafted by Nakano (中野織治), the second-class medical officer at the brigade command.

⁷ 1月5日 晴 海拉爾, 混成第14旅団 陣中日誌 昭 8. 1. 1~8. 1. 31. Catalogue Reference: 滿洲-滿洲事変 -129, no. 6.

⁸ According to the war diaries, the brigade also went off duty on the afternoons of December 30-31, January 1, 2, and 5.

Table 1. Leave Days of the 14th Brigade Units Stationed at Fengtian

	Mon.	Tue.	Wed.	Thu.	Fri.	Sat.	Sun.
U n i t	• Cavalry (Field Artillery Platoon)	• 28th Regiment	• Cavalry (Signal Detachment, Motor Transport Detachment, Sanitary Detachment)	• 26th Regiment • Mounted Punitive Force • Brigade Command	• Field Artillerymen (Signal Detachment, Motor Transport Detachment, Sanitary Detachment)	• 28th Regiment	• 26th Regiment • Mounted Punitive Force • Brigade Command

from Hailar remained in effect. Bulletins issued daily in Hailar were reduced to three per week in Fengtian on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. The bulletin issued on January 30 reported that the brigade commander was pleased to find that there were no cases of venereal infection within the brigade.

The purpose of establishing regulations for stationing was to “specify details necessary in overseeing the internal affairs of units under the 14th Brigade.” Details not specified in those regulations were to be handled according to articles on billeting in *Jinchū yomurei*.⁹ The particulars of the regulations are summarized henceforth. Regarding daily routines, breakfast was served at 7:30 in the morning and the evening roll call was to be taken at 8:30. Each unit was permitted to go out on a certain day of the week, as shown in Table 1.

Half of each unit was divided into several teams to go out while the brigade command would remain on duty for half the day on Sundays and holidays. Soldiers could go out between breakfast and 4:00 in the afternoon while noncommissioned officers could stay out for a few more hours until 7:30 in the evening. Company commanders or those ranked above had the authority to permit temporary leave. The official military pass and the pass to leave had to be formatted as specified in *Guntai naimusho* and

⁹ 昭和8年1月27日 奉天駐留規定 混成第14旅団司令部, 混成第14旅団 陣中日誌 昭 8. 1~8. 1. 31. Catalogue Reference: 満洲-満洲事变-129, no. 29.

bear each unit's stamp mark. Soldiers were required to wear their swords and were allowed to go as far as downtown Fengtian. Upon returning, as a precautionary measure against venereal diseases, they were required to clean their private parts and receive a physical examination by a designated commissioned officer with or without the presence of a Sanitary Detachment member.

Attached to the end of the Regulations for Stationing at Fengtian were the "Command's Orders Based on the Regulations." These orders were a set of rules the brigade command laid out upon taking leave. The officer of the day was responsible for maintaining overall military discipline and preventing fires. The noncommissioned officer of the day was responsible for aiding the commissioned officer and designating which half of the brigade would go on leave. The authority to grant temporary leave was left with the aide-de-camp. To examine and disinfect those returning from leave, a disinfection station was to be set up at the Command's quarters and was to be presided over by the Command's medical or nursing officer (or, in the medical or nursing officer's absence, by the officer or the noncommissioned officer of the day).

Each unit's leave was permitted in accordance with the Regulations for Stationing at Fengtian, and the purpose of going on leave was assumed to be physical contact with women. Hence, the regulations were none other than codes for Japanese troops visiting comfort stations. According to a ten-day report on hygiene affairs in early February, the number of cases of venereal infection was low and instructions were handed out to each unit after an examination was conducted on the private parts of soldiers in the garrison town of Fengtian.

On February 20, 1933, the 14th Brigade Command departed from Fengtian in order to take part in the Rehe (熱河) Operation. In late March, the 14th Brigade Command confronted Chinese troops on the other side of the Great Wall at Pingquan (平泉), east of Chengde (承德). The brigade command was thereafter stationed at Xiadian (夏店) near Beijing from late May, at Shanhaiguan (山海關) from late June, and at Jinzhou (錦州) from early October. According to descriptions in ten-day reports on field hygiene, the 14th Brigade took precautions to prevent venereal diseases

wherever it was stationed. New cases of venereal infection amounted to one in late March, three each month between April and July, seven in August, six in September, four in October, and one in November.

Among the measures often taken against venereal infection was an order issued on March 27 which prohibited entry into three Chinese brothels in Fengtian because many of the approximately 20 prostitutes there had been infected. And since 38 Korean and Japanese prostitutes were sent to Fengtian, the order also announced that the private parts of soldiers would be inspected on a weekly basis after the inspection conducted on April 16.¹⁰ Prostitutes were required to carry a health pass presentable upon request, which soldiers were made aware of as well. Soldiers were also ordered to use a cream called *Sehiko* (星秘膏) to prevent venereal infection and condoms called *sakku* in addition to disinfecting themselves thoroughly upon return. The second weekly inspection took place on April 23, and a week later, on April 30, all of the Japanese and Korean prostitutes in the area were summoned to be educated on how to prevent venereal infection in the presence of the chief constable, who later visited each brothel with the military police in order to give orders regarding the prevention of venereal diseases.

On April 28, the 14th Brigade devised instructions for performing checkups on prostitutes and hostesses, which were delivered to each unit's medical officer on May 1. The checkup method was to be decided in consultation with a police officer or a military police officer. General examinations were performed once a month, whereas the inspection of private parts was performed once a week. The medical officer recorded the examination results and any diagnosis on a checkup chart that every prostitute would be required to carry and present upon a customer's request. The medical officer was to inform a police officer or a military police officer about each patient's condition and supervise the owners of brothels in allowing patients to be treated properly and fully equipping the brothels with facilities neces-

¹⁰ The 38 prostitutes consisted of one Japanese entertainer, two Japanese hostesses, two Korean entertainers, and 33 Korean hostesses. Among the infected Koreans, two were infected with syphilis and two were infected with gonorrhea.

sary to prevent venereal infection.

These instructions exemplify how the Japanese military recognized and responded to venereal diseases around the time of the Mukden Incident. Such instructions are likely to have come from the Kwantung Army, which ranked above the 14th Brigade, because in cases where a medical care center was inaccessible, the brigade was to follow the “Instructions on Free Medical Treatment to Locals under the Kwantung Army’s Control.” The instructions also suggest that receiving checkups and taking measures according to diagnoses fell under the realm of supervision rather than being mandatory. The instructions called for checkups to be “performed with care, since they are in every respect a matter of human rights” and added that “Disciplinary Rules for Prostitutes” served as a basis for performing such checkups.

Since being stationed at Shanhaiguan from late June, the 14th Brigade declared that it would invest further efforts into the prevention of dysentery and venereal infections, because this was a matter that required immediate attention. The matters of inspecting the private parts of prostitutes and launching a hygiene committee were both discussed at a meeting held with the head of the Public Order Maintenance Committee on June 28.¹¹ In reality, however, the 14th Brigade was forced to place a priority on quenching the sexual desire of its troops. By early July, talk of lifting the ban on visiting Chinese brothels arose because “several units had suggested it for various reasons.” Despite the ban introduced by the Regulations for Stationing in Fengtian and the fact that the inspection of private parts on July 14 revealed an infection rate of more than 30 percent, the brigade decided on July 16 to revise the regulations and permit entry to Chinese brothels.¹²

¹¹ The Public Order Maintenance Committee was an administrative group of Chinese locals formed for the purpose of maintaining public order in areas occupied by Japanese forces.

¹² On July 15, Medical Officer Nakano gave an interesting lecture about lifting the ban. The number of patients suffering from venereal diseases in the 14th Brigade amounted to 47, which was low compared to those in the Kwantung Army or the Shanghai Expeditionary Army. Nakano explained that the reason the brigade was less infected most likely had to do with the fact that combat left fewer opportunities to “deflower.”

2) The Case of the 27th Infantry Regiment's 1st Artillery Platoon

To delve deeper, it may prove useful at this point to trace the movements of an individual unit such as the 27th Infantry Regiment's 1st Artillery Platoon under the 14th Brigade (hereinafter referred to as the artillery platoon). The artillery platoon kept war diaries from September 1932, when it became mobilized, until March 1934, when it was reassigned. The war diaries indicate that the artillery platoon frequently went out. The earliest entry on record was November 25, 1932, when it arrived in Fengtian and allowed those off duty to go out from 10:00 in the morning until 4:00 in the afternoon.¹³ On December 25, the artillery platoon was divided in half in order to take turns in being led by a noncommissioned officer to go out between breakfast and dinner in Harbin.

While the artillery platoon was staying in Mishan (密山), the Draft Regulations on Internal Affairs was distributed to the security force in Mishan on January 16, 1933. A few days later, on January 18, noncommissioned officers and soldiers were permitted to take a walk around the city between 9:00 in the morning and 3:00 in the afternoon. On the same day, the Regulations on Guarding Mishan was distributed. Along with other commissioned officers, the artillery platoon leader studied both the Regulations on Guarding Mishan and the Draft Regulations on Internal Affairs at the battalion commander's quarters on January 21; the next day, the Regulations on Internal Affairs of the Security Force at Mishan was distributed.

On January 24, training on internal affairs and hygiene took place at 4:30 in the afternoon and lasted 40 minutes. The artillery platoon rested on the afternoon of January 25 as well as on January 26 (on which the entire battalion took a substitute holiday for January), and January 29. After resting in the afternoon, a 30-minute training session on hygiene was held from 4:30 in the afternoon on February 1. While the artillery platoon was in Liaoyang, the entire battalion was permitted to go out on February 20 between breakfast and 4:00 in the afternoon. The artillery platoon members

¹³ 12月, 歩兵第27連隊 第1歩兵砲小隊 陣中日誌 2/2 昭7.9.19~9.3.2. Catalogue Reference: 滿洲-滿洲事変-206 (No. 7).

took turns going out either in the morning or in the afternoon in groups of more than two members. From mid-March, the artillery platoon moved to Fengtian with the brigade's main force and rested either in the morning or in the afternoon on April 5, 18, and 24 as well as on May 4, 5, and 27.

On June 19, the artillery platoon arrived in Linzhou with the battalion's main force. While stationed in Linzhou, the guidelines for going out were modified. According to the Orders Regarding the Internal Affairs of Units Quarters in Linzhou, Wednesdays and Sundays were to be regular leave days because the service of noncommissioned officers and soldiers were unlikely to be disrupted on those days. Soldiers could go out from noon to 5:00 in the afternoon, while noncommissioned officers could stay out a bit later, until the evening roll call. Noncommissioned officers could also go out in between duties on Mondays, Thursdays, Saturdays, and Sundays from noon until the evening roll call. The battalion's main force was permitted to go out from June 25, thus the artillery platoon went out that day. Permission to leave was also granted for the afternoons of June 28 and July 2, on the latter of which fifteen platoon members went out.

On June 26, a first-class private was sentenced to one day of heavy imprisonment. Although there is no record of him having been out, the first-class private had caught a venereal disease from a prostitute in Beipiao (北票) in Chaoyang Prefecture on April 10 and had been hospitalized at a field hospital on April 15. He was henceforth punished for failing to discipline himself and for damaging the reputation of soldiers. Another soldier was hospitalized on July 6 for a venereal disease which turned out to be gonorrhoea contracted from a Korean prostitute while on duty in Liaoyang.

The artillery platoon moved to Tangshan (唐山) on July 10. The bulletin delivered to the artillery platoon on July 11 conveyed future regulations on internal affairs as well as precautions ordered by the battalion commander. From seven in the evening on July 15, the platoon commander gave a 30-minute lecture on preventing venereal diseases. Twelve platoon members took leave on July 17 and eleven on July 20. According to the Regulations on Internal Affairs of the Security Force in Tangshan, July 24 and 26 were leave days but were cancelled due to unit reorganization.

Leave was granted on July 31.

Upon orders to move issued on August 3, the artillery platoon moved to Qiansuo (前所) on August 7 and decided to abide by the Regulations on Internal Affairs of the Security Force at Tangshan for the time being. On August 9, a 40-minute training session on internal affairs and hygiene was held from 10:00 in the morning. The next day, the regulations for stationing (noted in sources as “remaining on camp”) at Qiansuo were made known to all platoon members. According to those regulations, seven members went out from 1:00 in the afternoon on August 13 and leave was also granted on August 15.

On August 19, from 6:10 to 8:00 in the evening, the platoon commander held a training session on regulations on stationing and security in addition to instructions and precautions given by the brigade commander. The entire platoon rested on August 20 as well as the next day when six platoon members went out. When permission to leave was granted in the afternoon of August 27, twelve went out the next day. Through a partial revision of the regulations on stationing on August 29, the platoon members were allowed to go out a bit further to the west and the time for the evening roll call was changed to 8:00. In September, platoon members went out on the 3rd day and the entire platoon rested in the afternoon on the 10th day. Seven platoon members went out on September 11, and leave was also granted on September 17.

On September 19, the artillery platoon set up camp at Dahushan (大虎山) near Jinzhou. The Regulations on Internal Affairs in Between Camping on Guard were shared through the bulletin on September 24 and Sunday was designated as a leave day. Ten members went out on October 1 when the entire platoon was resting, and ten were also permitted to leave on October 8. In November, nine went out on the 3rd, which was *Meiji setsu*. On November 23, another holiday called *Niinamesai* (新嘗祭), when an imperial ritual was held, the entire platoon was permitted to go out from 1:00 in the afternoon. Leave was regularly permitted on Sundays, which included November 19th and 26th, December 3rd (on which six went on leave), the 10th and 17th (on which seven went on leave), and the 24th (on which seven went on leave). Three platoon members also went out on De-

ember 25, the anniversary of Emperor Taishō's death. Leave continued to be regularly granted in 1934, including on January 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th. The platoon rested on January 3, when the Shinto Festival of Origins (*Genshisai*, 元始祭) was held, and members went out on January 8 as well. After resting on February 4th and 11th, the artillery platoon was on the move again from February 15 and then returned to Japan.

Based on what has been described so far, rest days and leave days for the artillery platoon were determined by regulations on internal affairs or regulations for stationing. Moreover, such days coincided with when soldiers visited brothels.

The Second Sino-Japanese War and Comfort Stations

1. The Case of the 14th Field Heavy Artillery Regiment

1) Organizational Realignment and the Establishment of Comfort Stations

On July 7, 1937, the Second Sino-Japanese War broke out. The Japanese Northern China Area Army was newly created on August 31 as an elite unit to ravage northern China. It was the first area army to have under its command the 1st Army, the 2nd Army, and other direct command units. As for southern China, the Japanese Central China Area Army was created to oversee the Shanghai Expeditionary Army, assigned on August 15, and the 10th Army, assigned on October 9. After seizing Nanjing in mid-December, each unit was charged with the task of mopping up remnants, securing public order, and guarding the occupied territories. On February 12, 1938, the Japanese Central China Area Army was reorganized into the Japanese Central China Expeditionary Army.

The 6th Field Heavy Artillery Brigade (hereinafter the 6th Brigade) under the 10th Army was in command of the 13th Field Heavy Artillery Regiment (hereinafter the 13th Regiment) and the 14th Field Heavy Artillery Regiment (hereinafter the 14th Regiment). Upon receiving orders to guard Songjiang (松江), the 6th Brigade moved along the south side of Lake Taihu (太湖) on December 28 to the district at the upper reaches of

the Huangpu (黄浦) River to the west of Shanghai.¹⁴ On the same day, the 14th Regiment was ordered by its brigade to assemble at Beiqiaozen (北橋鎮) in Songjiang.

On January 10, 1938, the 6th Brigade divided its patrol zone in Songjiang into four sections. The command of the 6th Brigade settled down in the northeastern section and the 13th Regiment settled down in the eastern section. The brigade's transportation detachment was assigned to the western section and the 14th Regiment was assigned to Shanghai County to the south, which corresponds to the southwestern section of today's Minhang District in Shanghai. The four locations where each unit set up camp and formed a billeting zone where the commander of each unit served as the billet commander.

As the brigade settled down, comfort stations started to be created. Signs of this can be detected from the war diaries kept by the 14th Regiment's 1st Battalion. The 14th Regiment consisted of its command, the 1st and the 2nd Battalion, and regimental columns. On January 7, the 14th Regiment launched individual weekly bulletins for the 1st and the 2nd Battalion and set a schedule for daily routines which specified dinner to be served at 6:00 p.m. and the evening roll call to be taken at 7:00 p.m. The brigade bulletin was to be issued at 11:00 a.m. in the morning and the battalion bulletin at 2:00 p.m. in the afternoon. The brigade bulletin for January 12 announced the brigade commander's directive to maintain military discipline, and a ban on entry into areas outside designated zones.

Moves to establish comfort stations were taken early on, one of which was the appointment of Comfort Committee members on January 13. The brigade bulletin announced that Captain Arai (新井) and Medical Officer and Second Lieutenant Nomiya (野見山) had been appointed as Comfort Committee members and notified each command and company column to select a noncommissioned officer to be sent to the brigade command the next day.

¹⁴ 陣中日誌 第4号 自昭和12年12月1日至昭和12年12月31日 野戦重砲兵第14連隊 第1大隊本部 (3), 支那事变 陣中日誌 第4号 昭和12年12月. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变全般-330 (No. 4).

On January 16, a brigade order announced a change in the schedule for daily routines that had been determined on January 7 so that the evening roll call at 7:00 was to be pushed back to 8:50. This change appears to have taken into account the fact that noncommissioned officers were allowed to use comfort stations between 6:00 and 8:00 in the evening.

The battalion bulletin for January 25 announced orders for two non-commissioned officers and ten soldiers (including three pioneers) to be drafted for the construction of a “comfort hall” from 9:00 a.m. the following morning. The battalion bulletin for January 27 conveyed that the comfort hall was to open that day according to the Provisional Regulations on Special Comfort Stations. The news was no doubt circulated throughout the entire brigade.

On January 27, 1938, the 14th Field Heavy Artillery Regiment opened a comfort station in the southwestern area of Shanghai. The reason why the regulations for its establishment were provisional was that they contained instructions aimed only at the comfort station’s primary users, who were likely to be soldiers.

The comfort station was closed on the 15th of each month. Soldiers could visit between 10:00 a.m. in the morning and 5:00 p.m. in the afternoon, while noncommissioned officers could visit from 6:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. in the evening. The fee for one 20-minute session was 1 *yen* and 50 *sen* with a Japanese comfort woman¹⁵ and 1 *yen* with a Chinese comfort woman. The fee was payable only in Japanese notes and military notes. At 9:00 a.m. in the morning, the unit to use the comfort station for the day was to draft a noncommissioned officer to be responsible for policing the comfort station and charging fees. Apart from the committee members Captain Arai and Medical Officer Nomiyama, the only people allowed to enter the comfort stations were each unit’s commander, billet staff officers, officers on patrol, and medical officers.¹⁶ Everyone who used the comfort station

¹⁵ As with the Regulations for Comfort Stations at the front, it seems difficult to exclude the possibility that Koreans could have been included in the number of Japanese women at the comfort station in Beiqiaozen.

¹⁶ The names of the Comfort Committee members appointed on January 13 are identical to those of

Table 2. The 14th Regiment’s Weekly Reservation of the Comfort Station

	Thu. (Jan 27)	Fri.	Sat.	Sun.	Mon.	Tue.	Wed.
Unit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brigade Command • Brigade Column 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1st Battalion Command • 1st Company 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2nd Company • 3rd Company 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1st Battalion Column • 2nd Battalion Command 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 4th Company • 5th Company 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 6th Company • 2nd Battalion Column 	Other Units

was obligated to use a condom (*bōdokugu* 防毒具) and the sale of food and entry after drinking was prohibited. Table 2 below shows which day of the week was reserved for which unit of the 14th Regiment until the regular holiday on March 15.

Units under the 14th Regiment took turns using the comfort station six days of the week, and the one remaining day was allocated to a different unit outside the regiment. Because February 15 (Tuesday) was a regular holiday, the 6th Company and the 2nd Battalion column were directed to use the comfort station the next day.

The operation of the comfort station, however, was far from smooth in the beginning. Issues were raised from January 28, the very day after the comfort station was opened. The regiment bulletin noted that caution should be taken regarding soldiers trespassing in the special comfort hall, although there was no need to name names. The brigade bulletin reported that there were soldiers who did not use condoms at the special comfort hall. The next day Brigade Commander Maruyama listed a number of precautions to be taken regarding the overall operation of units. He particularly warned that entering the special comfort hall in a drunken state was a cause for punishment. He then ordered the noncommissioned officer sent to the special comfort hall from each unit to not only sell tickets but to inspect whether the Regulations on the Comfort Hall were being followed. The battalion bulletin declared that soldiers should not seek comfort after

the committee members allowed to enter comfort stations, which gave reason to conclude that the appointment on January 13 was part of the process of establishing comfort stations.

drinking and that visiting during outside hours would be punished if caught.

2) Full-scale Operation of Comfort Stations

On January 30, the 1st Battalion revised the Patrol Regulations for the Security Force at Beiqiaozhen, which was to be implemented from February 1. The Patrol Regulations for the 14th Regiment in Shanghai County were established the next day, thereby completing preparations for stationing at Songjiang. What is worth noting is the fact that the Regulations on the Supervision of Comfort Stations, which replaced the Provisional Regulations for the Special Comfort Hall, were appended to the Patrol Regulations for the 14th Regiment. The establishment of the Regulations for Comfort Stations suggests that they were linked to the patrol regulations' systemization. The 14th Regiment's Regulations for Comfort Stations was the earliest of its kind and its content was detailed and extensive. In addition to its ten introductory articles, the regulations included a total of 41 articles divided into five chapters on operation procedure, operation facilities, hygiene, operation methods, and prohibitions and enforcement. It is therefore necessary to compare the Regulations on the Supervision of Comfort Stations with the Provisional Regulations for the Special Comfort Hall when investigating the reality of early comfort stations.

Compared to the Provisional Regulations for the Special Comfort Hall, the Regulations on the Supervision of Comfort Stations stipulated more detailed guidelines on establishing and operating comfort stations. Only a "billet commander recognized by the Songjiang district leader" had the authority to establish special comfort stations in the 5th Brigade's patrol zone. The Songjiang district leader is presumed to have been the commander of the Army Service Corps in Songjiang, based on the fact that the expression "Army Service Corps in Songjiang" appears in a war diary entry from January 5. It is therefore reasonable to surmise that the Army Service Corps established the comfort station for the 14th Regiment. Apart from the typical comfort stations that sold sex, places that sold food (hereinafter referred to as restaurants) also fell under the category of special comfort stations.

Officers in charge of supervising comfort stations and restaurants had the power to remove the operator of a comfort station or a restaurant, or to limit its operation. Without their permission, a comfort station or restaurant could not be shut down or be closed partially or entirely. No businesses similar to special comfort stations were allowed to operate within the Japanese army's patrol zone in Shanghai County, and special comfort stations were prohibited from being used by anyone other than Japanese soldiers or civilian personnel. The regular leave day for special comfort stations was the 15th of each month.

The Regulations on the Supervision of Comfort Stations specified the operating procedure of comfort stations. In order to obtain an operating permit, an operator first had to fill out an application form, write a pledge, and attach copies of the contracts concluded with comfort women for submission to a billet commander. Once the operating permit was issued, the women had to be inspected by the supervising officer for comfort stations and were examined by a medical officer. The billet commander would then issue a bill of health and a permit to those who passed the inspection and examination.

The renovation of a comfort station had to be reported to the supervising officer and altering a comfort station's facilities for different purposes was prohibited. Operators were responsible for furnishing comfort stations with certain items, including a clock, makeshift fire extinguisher, and name tags of a designated size and color for comfort women.

The articles related to hygiene were detailed and specific. Examinations for venereal infections, tuberculosis, trachoma, and infectious skin diseases were performed by a medical officer every Saturday. The results of such examinations were documented in the bill of health and sealed by the persons concerned. Those who failed to pass an examination were banned from receiving customers. The operator was to bear the cost of the examination as well as items to prevent venereal infections. Operators were also responsible for the maintenance of clean bedding, lighting, and ventilation. Operation methods were also specific enough to designate where and how comfort women should wear their name tags. The fee and the duration per session were identical to those stipulated in the Provisional

Regulations for the Special Comfort Hall. A billet commander accompanied by a medical officer could launch an inspection at any time to check on the conditions of operation. Comfort women were not allowed to set foot outside a designated zone, and operators who failed to fulfill their contract with comfort women would be ordered to suspend business.

Two points seem to stand out from the above review of the Regulations on the Supervision of Comfort Stations. One involves the matter of who actually drafted the regulations. They seem unlikely to have been independently drafted by the 14th Regiment or the 6th Brigade. Considering the level of detail in the articles and the standardized forms, it seems more plausible to conclude that the 14th Regiment referred to a “manual” on the establishment and operation of comfort stations and made its own revisions. And it may be worth considering whether that manual could have been drafted by the Japanese Central China Area Army (or the Japanese Central China Expeditionary Army).

The other involves the head of security’s connection to the establishment and operation of comfort stations. As declared through the Regulations on the Supervision of Comfort Stations, the power to operate or shut down special comfort stations in Shanghai County belonged to billet commanders. The unit in charge of guarding an occupied area was therefore able to control both its stationing arrangements as well as the existence and the operation of comfort stations and women. These two points are circumstances that appear to be different from those around the time of the Mukden Incident in September 1931.

2. The Case of the 2nd Independent Siege Heavy Artillery Battalion

1) Stationing and Early Comfort Stations

Comfort stations continued to be created in areas guarded by units under the Shanghai Expeditionary Army. The case of the 2nd Battalion of the Independent Siege Heavy Artillery is a rich source of information on the unit’s activities as well as on the establishment and the operation of comfort stations during the early stages of the Second Sino-Japanese War. This battalion, stationed at Changzhou (常州) between Nanjing and Shanghai,

had under its command the battalion command, the 1st Company, the 2nd Company, a battalion column,¹⁷ and the temporarily assigned 3rd Tractor Transportation Unit. The battalion commander was Major Mannami Shitomi (万波藤). The battalion command, 2nd Company, and battalion column kept war diaries beginning on July 27, 1937, immediately after joining the Second Sino-Japanese War.

The 5th Field Heavy Artillery Brigade was the unit above the 2nd Independent Siege Heavy Artillery Battalion. The brigade's artillery units, including the 3rd Transport Regiment and the 3rd Cavalry Brigade that originally belonged to the 3rd Infantry Division, were jointly responsible for guarding Changzhou. The security forces commander, or the billet commander, was Lieutenant Colonel Hoshi Zentarō (星善太郎), commander of the 3rd Infantry Division.

On December 25, 1937, the 2nd Battalion arrived in Changzhou and determined the daily schedule the next day, fixing dinner time at half past five and the evening roll call at nine. The battalion commander cautioned soldiers to bring their official military pass with them whenever they went out. On January 5, 1938, the Patrol Regulations for Stationing at Changzhou Beyond January 1938 were established.¹⁸

The first bulletin the Changzhou Security Force issued soon after its arrival stated that the Army Service Corps would “soon prepare an entertainment station.”¹⁹ Rest day came on January 3, 1938, and a few days later, the column commander gave instructions on acceptable behavior of soldiers toward drinks and women.²⁰ On January 9, an “entertainment center”

¹⁷ A column refers to a group of servicemen responsible for furnishing supplies and repair service necessary for operations in the Artillery Platoon or the Armor Platoon. Infantry had its own transport or baggage train.

¹⁸ The war diaries of the battalion command and column only mention that the regulations were issued.

¹⁹ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊本部 (1), 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年9月30日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-557, no. 2.

²⁰ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊段列, 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊段列 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年10月31日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-558, no. 2.

was opened near the post in northern Changzhou where the 1st Battalion was stationed.²¹ To prevent congestion, the 2nd Battalion was assigned use of the center once every five days from 10:00 in the morning until 7:00 in the evening. Everyone had to use a *sakku* when engaging in entertainment, and the entry of patients with venereal disease was prohibited.

On January 13, criticism was raised over the fact that soldiers were not dressed properly when they went out and that they saluted in an unsatisfactory manner.²² While there was no mention of rest on January 14, bulletins for January 19, 24, and 29 all included the statement that “because it was a rest day, rest was granted once precautions were given after the morning assembly.”²³ This hints that soldiers were permitted to go out on a regular basis, although there is no specific mention of such instances of leave.

According to a report the 2nd Battalion commander drafted for the 5th Brigade commander’s inspection of the battalion,²⁴ the comfort facilities in Changzhou as of January 20 consisted of one operated by the Army Service Corps and two others operated by direct command units.²⁵ Each unit was led by a commissioned officer to use those facilities on a designated day for an hour and a half. Hygiene inspections were performed in the presence of a medical officer, which confirmed one case of venereal infection.

The supervision of comfort stations was left to a military police de-

²¹ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊段列, 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊段列 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年10月31日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-558, no. 2.

²² 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊段列, 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊段列 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年10月31日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-558, no. 2.

²³ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊段列, 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊段列 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年10月31日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-558, no. 2.

²⁴ This report is assumed to have been drafted for the 5th Brigade commander’s inspection of the 2nd Battalion on January 22.

²⁵ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵第2大隊本部 (1), 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年9月30日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-557, no. 2.

tachment. The battalion bulletin for January 26 mentioned how the commander of the military police detachment had pointed out the need for soldiers to be more rigorous about their attire and their salutation on leave. In addition to asking soldiers to always carry their leave passes and notify superiors whenever an entire unit went on leave, the military police detachment commander asked them not to demand prostitutes who had failed their physical examination to perform.²⁶

On a similar note, a security force bulletin announced orders for units to notify the security force whenever they went on leave. The same bulletin also added that since the 4th Field Hospital tested and confirmed the venereal infection of a nine-year-old girl who had been raped, soldiers should be aware that prostitutes of the Army Service Corps who passed their physical examination were required to carry a pass ticket (which was a wooden tag).²⁷

The column bulletin for January 29 contained the following information: The entertainment center created in front of the 1st Battalion's post is now closed.

At present, the Army Service Corps' entertainment center is available. The day for entertainment has not been stipulated for each unit, but those seeking entertainment may visit between 1:00 a.m. and 4:00 a.m. in the afternoon as long as doing so does not disrupt their daily routine on duty. Those engaging in entertainment must use the cleansing equipment available at the dispensary.

On rest days for entire units, operation will continue as usual unless ordered otherwise by the command.

To summarize, there were two comfort stations in Changzhou as of Janu-

²⁶ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵第2大隊本部 (1), 独立攻城重砲兵第2大隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年9月30日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-557, no. 2.

²⁷ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊本部 (1), 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年9月30日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-557, no. 2.

ary 1938; one established by the Army Service Corps and one created by an artillery unit. The latter seems to have been the comfort station the battalion column used to visit on rest days until January 29, when the column was directed to use the Army Service Corps' comfort station because the other comfort station had already been closed by then. Yet, since the battalion command or other higher units did not give any separate instructions about which days it was allowed to use the comfort station, the battalion column directed use from 1:00 to 4:00 in the afternoon in between duties. This instruction applied to rest days as well, unless ordered otherwise by the battalion command. These circumstances suggest that rest days, as well as the establishment and the operation of comfort stations, had not yet been systematized by the end of January 1938, one month after the battalion had arrived in Changzhou.

The operation of the Army Service Corps' comfort station began to gradually become more systematized in February. The battalion bulletin for February 1 informed that the assigned day for using the entertainment center would be announced as soon as it had been decided. The bulletin also reminded soldiers to carry their leave pass and reminded them of the precautions necessary for using the cream *Sehiko* distributed for the prevention of venereal diseases.²⁸ The next day, the 2nd Battalion received notice from the 1st Battalion that it would be allowed to use the comfort station on Wednesdays and assigned a time slot for each unit under the battalion: 10:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m. in the morning for the battalion command, 11:00 a.m. to noon for the 1st Company, 1:00 p.m. to 2:30 p.m. in the afternoon for the 2nd Company, 2:30 p.m. to 4:00 p.m. in the afternoon for the battalion column, and 4:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. in the afternoon for the 3rd Tractor Transportation Unit.²⁹

The basics for using the comfort station had thus been established. On February 2, the day the battalion first used the comfort station, the bat-

²⁸ The war diaries of the 2nd Battalion and 2nd Company only mention the distribution of *Sehiko*.

²⁹ Since the service hours of the Artillery Platoon's comfort station was also from 10:00 in the morning to 7:00 in the evening, it seems to have allotted time slots like the Army Service Corps' comfort station.

talion column held its morning assembly at 9:00 a.m. in the morning, cleaned its weapons, and then rested.³⁰ The same day was also recorded for the first time in the 2nd Company's war diary as a rest day.³¹

The battalion command designated February 9 as "comfort day" so that caution was given on using the entertainment center while the aide-de-camp contacted the Army Service Corps to make the necessary arrangements.³² Having been instructed the previous day to submit an application for leave to the commander, the battalion column rested after undergoing a weapons cleaning inspection and after being cautioned about conduct on leave. A total of 64 persons went out that day, and the column's war diaries marked the 16th and the 23rd as rest days as well. Although the company's war diaries did not contain any other mention of resting, it also marked February 16 and February 23 as rest days.

On February 11, the battalion column delivered orders through its bulletin not to enter the comfort station outside rest days. The next day's bulletin revealed that the reason behind such orders was that soldiers continued to be caught visiting after drinking or without a leave pass on days that were not rest days.³³ Hence, soldiers going out on February 14 were required to report their leave and return to the guardhouse, where a register was to be kept.³⁴ The system for using the comfort station had not been fully established at that point.

³⁰ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊段列, 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊段列 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年10月31日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-558, no. 2.

³¹ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 第2中隊 (1), 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 第2中隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年9月30日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-556, no. 2.

³² 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊本部 (1), 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年9月30日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-557, no. 2.

³³ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊段列, 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊段列 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年10月31日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-558, no. 2.

³⁴ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 第2中隊 (1), 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 第2中隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年9月30日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-556, no. 2.

On February 16, i.e. the third comfort day that month, the time slots were switched so that the 2nd Company became the first to use the comfort station.³⁵ Another switch was notified for February 24, when noncommissioned officers used the comfort station from 10:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m. in the morning³⁶ and soldiers from 3:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m. in the afternoon.³⁷ Three days later, on February 27, a reminder was issued on the hours for noncommissioned officers to use the comfort station,³⁸ suggesting that it had taken until late February to separate the hours for noncommissioned officers and soldiers. On February 28, a warrant officer of the 2nd Company was appointed as the supervisor for the use of the comfort stations.³⁹

2) Comfort Stations and Regulations on Internal Affairs

On March 10, 1938, the battalion command ordered each company to provide training to officers and soldiers according to the Japanese Central China Expeditionary Army's training regulations established on March 5.⁴⁰ Event schedules were to be drafted based on the battalion's training sched-

³⁵ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊本部 (1), 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年9月30日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-557, no. 2.

³⁶ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊本部 (1), 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年9月30日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-557, no. 2; 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊第2中隊 (1), 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 第2中隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年9月30日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-556, no. 2.

³⁷ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 第2中隊 (1), 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 第2中隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年9月30日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-556, no. 2.

³⁸ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊第2中隊 (1), 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 第2中隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年9月30日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-556, no. 2.

³⁹ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊本部 (1), 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年9月30日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-557, no. 2.

⁴⁰ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊本部 (1), 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年9月30日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-557, no. 2.

ule.⁴¹ Each unit created their own schedule for March. The battalion command set daily tasks for detachments of the Observer Corps, Signal Corps, Wireless Corps, Anti-Aircraft Corps, and Motor Transport Corps.⁴² The 2nd Company organized a schedule that included gunnery exercises, disciplinary drills, and combat drills with rifles in the morning and in the afternoon.⁴³ The battalion column filled its morning and afternoon schedule with sessions on mental training or vehicle inspection.⁴⁴

Meanwhile, the battalion bulletin for March 1 announced that the 2nd Battalion's "comfort day" had been changed to Thursdays.⁴⁵ This change was likely caused by a reshuffle of the unit stationed at Changzhou. The battalion command had been informed of the change the previous day so that Thursdays were marked as rest days in the battalion's training schedule drafted on February 28. The schedules of the 2nd Company and the battalion column also marked Thursdays in March (i.e. March 3, 17, 24, and 31) as rest days.⁴⁶

As previously mentioned through bulletins, the entry for March 3 in the battalion column's war diaries also discussed the need to carry a leave pass, to refrain from drinking at the comfort station on days reserved for other units, and to be aware of venereal diseases. The following notice was

⁴¹ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊段列, 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊段列 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年10月31日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-558, no. 2.

⁴² 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊本部 (1), 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年9月30日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-557, no. 2.

⁴³ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊第2中隊 (1), 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 第2中隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年9月30日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-556, no. 2.

⁴⁴ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊段列, 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 段列 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年10月31日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-558, no. 2.

⁴⁵ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊本部 (1), 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年9月30日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-557, no. 2.

⁴⁶ Although an event related to an event was scheduled for Army Day on March 10, the war diaries of the battalion column marked that day as a rest day as well.

once attached to the 2nd Company bulletin.⁴⁷

Five. Details from the Regulations for Comfort Stations that require attention are listed below:

1. Noncommissioned officers and soldiers are to enter through the same door on the south side.
2. Rates
 - Chinese comfort woman 1 *yen*
 - Korean comfort woman 1 *yen* 50 *sen*
 - Japanese comfort woman 2 *yen*
3. Fees must be paid.
4. The duration of each session must be less than one hour.
5. Take precautions to avoid venereal infections.
6. Drunks are prohibited from entry.

From the above notice, the reality of the comfort station the Army Service Corps installed in Changzhou can be inferred. The comfort station was used not only by noncommissioned officers and soldiers but also by commissioned officers as well. Multiple comfort stations or one large-scale comfort station housed and charged different rates for Chinese, Korean, and Japanese women by the hour.

Trouble surfaced from the first rest day of March. The battalion bulletin for March 5 reported that the Changzhou Security Force had sent news about the poor attire of the 1st Company soldiers on leave⁴⁸ and then announced that those henceforth accused of poor attire would not be grant-

⁴⁷ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊第2中隊 (1), 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 第2中隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年9月30日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事変北支-556, no. 2.

⁴⁸ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 第2中隊 (1), 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 第2中隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年9月30日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事変北支-556, no. 2: 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊段列, 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊段列 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年10月31日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事変北支-558, no. 2.

ed leave.⁴⁹ Trouble, however, continued to crop up over the use of comfort stations. The battalion bulletin for March 10 warned soldiers not to enter comfort stations on days reserved for other units⁵⁰ and that their conduct was a matter of the unit's integrity, which gave reason to be especially careful at comfort stations and to always carry their leave pass. The bulletin also conveyed orders to appoint someone to keep an eye on behavior at the comfort stations and report to the battalion's aide-de-camp the rank and the name of those appointed.⁵¹

On March 16, the Regulations on Internal Affairs at Changzhou were established.⁵² Two reasons appear to have prompted the establishment of such regulations. One was because orders to submit regulations on internal affairs had come down from the 5th Brigade on March 11.⁵³ The other was most likely because of the need to revamp the stationing arrangements, including those pertaining to comfort stations.

The regulations, consisting of one hundred articles divided into seventeen chapters, covered all actions except for those related to combat and training. Comfort stations were mentioned in Chapter 8 on rest days and leaves.⁵⁴ Rest days referred to comfort days on Thursdays and other public holidays during which soldiers were required to carry their leave passes.

⁴⁹ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊段列, 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊段列 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年10月31日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-558, no. 2.

⁵⁰ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊本部 (1), 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年9月30日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-557, no. 2.

⁵¹ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊段列, 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊段列 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年10月31日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-558, no. 2.

⁵² 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊本部 (1), 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年9月30日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-557, no. 2.

⁵³ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊本部 (1), 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年9月30日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-557, no. 2.

⁵⁴ 常州駐屯間内務規定 昭和13年3月 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊, 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 關係資料 常州駐屯間内務規定警備間教育規定. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变上海·南京-270, no. 2.

Chapter 9 was particularly devoted to Regulations for the Use of Comfort Stations, which can be summarized as follows:

Units were assigned different days of the week to use the comfort station. Sundays were reserved for the 3rd Cavalry Regiment led by *Hoshi*, Mondays and Tuesdays for the 3rd Transport Regiment led by *Kuriawa*, Wednesdays and Thursdays for the 1st and the 2nd Independent Siege Heavy Artillery Battalions led by *Matsumura*, Fridays for the unit led by *Achiha*, Saturdays for the unit, involved in the Army Service Corps, under *Narita*, and Sundays for all field storage units under *Murata*.⁵⁵ Temporarily stationed units were to be separately assigned a day or time to use the comfort station. The day a soldier was permitted to visit the comfort station was considered his rest day, which was the same for all Japanese soldiers in Changzhou, including those of the 2nd Battalion.

Noncommissioned officers and soldiers could visit comfort stations between 9:00 a.m. in the morning and 6:00 p.m. in the evening. The rate for a maximum of one hour was 1 *yen* with a Chinese woman, 1 *yen* 50 *sen* with a Korean woman, and 2 *yen* with a Japanese woman. Commissioned officers had to pay double those rates. Instead of selling tickets, the fee was to be paid in cash at the comfort station. A military police detachment would continue to supervise the comfort station as it had since the station's establishment in January 1938. Comfort women, described as "proprietors," were only allowed to visit designated places, and comfort stations were closed on the 15th day of each month. Since these were facilities exclusively for the Japanese Army, the Chinese were not allowed entry.

The comfort station was housed on the south side of Nikka (日華) Hall, consisting of an annex of the hall and a separate building for non-commissioned officers and soldiers. Noncommissioned officers and soldiers were to use the hall's south side entrance. They were physically examined between 8:00 a.m. and 10:00 a.m. in the morning on Mondays and Fridays and were regularly tested for venereal infections on Fridays. A medical officer from the 4th Field Hospital oversaw the examinations and

⁵⁵ 常州地区警備(衛戍服務)規定 昭和12年12月 常州地区警備隊、独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年12月1日~13年1月31日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事変上海・南京-230, no. 7.

was assisted by medical officers from each unit as well as the Army Service Corps Reserve Hospital. The medical officer who oversaw the examinations was responsible for notifying each unit of the examination results.

According to the entry for March 3 in the 2nd Company's war diaries, these regulations on internal affairs accurately reflect how comfort stations were actually used. Hence, the regulations must have been drafted by the Army Service Corps and applied to all units guarding the garrison at Changzhou. In other words, the establishment and the operation of comfort stations were inseparable from the duties of the garrison command. Moreover, the fact that the regulations included a chapter on the use of comfort stations implies that the act of going on leave and visiting the comfort station was directly linked to the original, official duties of the soldiers of the 2nd Battalion such as taking part in daily routines, performing all sorts of tasks, delivering orders or messages, protecting military secrets, and preventing espionage.

The management of comfort stations was therefore planned and executed within the operational framework of military units from the beginning. Soldiers who gained permission to leave visited comfort stations to be provided with "authorized comfort." Such leaves based on *Guntai naimusho* were not personal actions, but official actions taken through a system of sexual slavery that connected Japanese commissioned officers and soldiers to comfort stations and women.

Through the morning assembly on March 20, the battalion commander gave instructions on military discipline, preparations for future operations, and healthcare.⁵⁶ And the following orders were posted in the battalion bulletin.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊本部 (1), 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年9月30日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-557, no. 2; 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊第2中隊 (1), 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 第2中隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年9月30日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-556, no. 2.

⁵⁷ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊段列, 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 段列 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年10月31日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-558, no. 2.

1. Regulation enforcement must be carried out strictly on comfort days, especially with regards to regulations on time.
2. Officers in charge of enforcement must be appointed for comfort days and take rotations.
3. Noncommissioned officers can use comfort stations from 10:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m. in the morning on any rest day.

From the Second Sino-Japanese War to the Asia-Pacific War: The 11th Infantry Regiment

1. The Second Sino-Japanese War

The main units under the 5th Infantry Division were the 9th Brigade in command of the 11th and the 41st Regiments and the 21st Brigade in command of the 21st and the 42nd Regiments. The 9th Brigade kept war diaries since it was sent to war in March 1940, and the 1st Battalion's Artillery Platoon and the 3rd Company, as well as the 2nd Battalion's 7th Company—all under the 11th Regiment—kept war diaries that spanned between the Second Sino-Japanese War and the Asia-Pacific War. Such diaries can provide clues about changes in the comfort women system that were linked to the movements of military units as the war spread from China to South-east Asia.

After the battles in Shanghai and Nanjing ended, the 9th Brigade received orders to move on January 10, 1938, and arrived in Qingdao a few days later, on January 14.⁵⁸ The brigade commander Major General Kuni-saki Noboru (国崎登) was appointed as the commander of the Eastern Guards.

On January 22, the 9th Brigade established the Regulations for Maintaining Security and Military Discipline in Qingdao, the first comprehensive set of regulations to guard Qingdao.⁵⁹ One article concerning military

⁵⁸ 陣中日誌 自昭和13年1月1日至昭和13年1月31日 歩兵 第9旅団 (2), 歩兵 第9旅団 陣中日誌 6/12 昭和13年1月1日~昭和13年1月31日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-236, no. 4.

⁵⁹ 青島に於ける警備並に軍秩維持に関する規定 昭和13年1月, 歩兵第9旅団陣中日誌 6/12 昭和13年1

discipline stipulated that leaving for purposes other than official business or bathing would be banned for the time being. At a briefing the next day attended by an aide-de-camp or a commissioned officer from each unit, the matter of leave for soldiers was discussed. This indicates that the matter was a basic factor worth considering early on when making security arrangements.

On January 31, the 5th Division's guidelines on leave were passed down to the 9th Brigade. The guidelines stated that instructions had been given for commanders of each unit to permit ordinary leave beyond February 1; however, since the decision to open comfort stations had been made, each unit had to limit leave days to avoid congestion. In other words, the 5th Division command had decided to open comfort stations and ordered units to organize ordinary leave accordingly. Units under the 9th Brigade were thereafter engaged in security tasks in Qingdao and occasionally took part in suppression operations.

Mentions of going on leave can be found in the war diaries of the Artillery Platoon and the 3rd Company under the 11th Regiment's 1st Battalion. Both units arrived in Qingdao on January 19⁶⁰ and only the 3rd Company rested on the afternoon of January 31.⁶¹ On February 1, the 1st Battalion, including the Artillery Platoon and the 3rd Company, was sent on a suppression operation and returned early in the morning of February 8. The 3rd Company rested in the afternoon, upon which most of its members, 147 out of about 190, received permission to go out. The Artillery Platoon rested for the entire day, and thirteen members were permitted to leave. These were the first instances of leave granted as per the 5th Division's instruction to permit leave from February 1. The Artillery Platoon and the 3rd Company were sent on an operation on February 14 and returned to

 月1日~昭和13年1月31日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-236, no. 6.

⁶⁰ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和13年12月31日 歩兵第11連隊 第1大隊砲小隊 (5), 歩兵第11連隊 第1大隊砲小隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~13年12月31日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-305, no. 6.

⁶¹ 陣中日誌 昭和13年度 歩兵 第11連隊 第3中隊 (1), 歩兵 第11連隊 第3中隊 陣中日誌 昭和13年7月1日~13年12月31日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-304, no. 2.

Qingdao ten days later, on February 24. The next day, the two units were granted leave in the afternoon.

The 5th Division thereafter took part in the Battle of Xuzhou (徐州), the Canton (廣東) Operation, and the Nanning (南寧) Operation before seizing the northern part of French Indochina. In November 1940, the division moved close to Shanghai and engaged in security tasks, operations, and training for one year. The Artillery Platoon and the 3rd Company of the 11th Regiment's 1st Battalion kept war diaries from January 1941. Not long after its move in November 1940, the 11th Regiment established its quarters in Wusong (吳淞) in Yangpu (楊浦), which was twenty kilometers north of central Shanghai. Beginning in late April, the regiment was stationed near Ningbo (寧波), to the south of Shanghai, until it returned to Wusong in October, and was then sent to the Southeast Asian warfront.

When the regiment was first stationed at Wusong, leave began to be granted early on. On January 1 and January 2, the Artillery Platoon and the 3rd Company were allowed to go out to Shanghai or Wusong under the guidance of a commissioned or noncommissioned officer. Whenever leave was permitted, the 3rd Company, with approximately 120 members, would head to Shanghai to Wusong. The Artillery Platoon, on the other hand, was a smaller unit of about fifty members so its war diaries only occasionally mention Wusong as the destination of those who went out. According to the entry for February 13 in the Artillery Platoon's war diaries, the regular leave day for both units was Friday, while other units, such as the regiment command, rested on Saturday. These leave days were likely to have been based on the "Regulations on Leave" and the Regulations for Stationing mentioned in the January 2nd and 9th bulletins of the 5th Division. Although the bulletins did not include details on those regulations, the bulletin for January 9 issued a warning to soldiers who continued to go out alone. The Regulations for Stationing must have been referring to the Regulations for "The 3rd *Matsu*" stationed near Shanghai. ("The 3rd *Matsu*" was the 11th Regiment's nickname.)

Regular leave days were granted every Friday without fail. The 3rd Company observed leave days until it left Wusong on March 23 to take part in operations and training as did the Artillery Platoon until it went into

special training on March 26. Leave days could also be rescheduled if they were canceled due to training. On January 20, the fourteen members of the 3rd Company to receive training in poison gas assembled at the regimental headquarters every day from January 21 to 24. On January 23, the day before a regular leave day, the regiment ordered the 1st Battalion members participating in the training in poison gas to rest on January 25 instead of the regular leave day on January 24. Except for one person, the 13 other members of the 3rd Company went out to Wusong from 10:00 in the morning until 4:00 in the afternoon on January 25. The 13 members of the Artillery Platoon who received training in observation and motor transportation on January 31, which was a regular rest day, were permitted to go out to Wusong between 11:00 a.m. in the morning and 4:00 p.m. in the afternoon of February 1. Both the Artillery Platoon and the 3rd Company were granted leave on March 15 due to the training and the inspection that had been carried out the previous day.

None of the records regarding the two units going on leave specifically mention visits to comfort stations. There is, however, reason to suspect that such leave days involved visits to comfort stations because venereal infections occurred. On January 17, a first-class private of the Artillery Platoon was sentenced to one day of heavy imprisonment for becoming infected with chancroid and thereby “failing to fulfill his duty.” Instead of imprisonment, he was sent to the sanatorium of the 21st Regiment on January 18. Considering that chancroid remains latent from one to seven days, the first-class private seems to have become infected either on the special leave days of January 1 and 2 or on January 10, which was a regular leave day. Mention of this incident in the records for January 16 explains that the first-class private received both punishment and admonition, particularly for “○ visiting a comfort station” (○ remains illegible).

A similar incident occurred among the 3rd Company. On February 16, a superior private was confirmed to have been infected with a venereal disease; then, he was immediately imprisoned and sentenced to one day of heavy imprisonment. The description of this incident came with the explanation that it was against the company commander’s disciplinary policy to catch a venereal infection, due to failing to take any precautions with a

prostitute at a comfort station in Wusong during a permitted leave on January 31.

2. The Asia-Pacific War

The 5th Division waited on Hainan (海南) Island in southern China and then continued to advance southward after landing in Thailand on December 8. On February 15, 1942, the British forces surrendered. The Japanese 25th Army command in Singapore ordered the 5th Division to cover all of Malaysia except for the state of Johor, which had been left to the 18th Division. While the suburbs of Singapore were assigned to the Guards Division, the Singapore Security Force was primarily organized into two battalions (i.e., the 11th Regiment's 3rd Battalion and the 41st Regiment's 1st Battalion) under the command of the 5th Division's 9th Brigade, and was to be stationed in downtown Singapore. Then orders were given to purge the Chinese in Malaysia and Singapore for the sake of public order.

As the Southern Guards, the 9th Brigade's 11th Regiment was to cover the two states of Negeri Sembilan and Melaka to the south of Kuala Lumpur. The regiment command settled down at Seremban, the capital of Negeri Sembilan. The 1st Battalion in charge of Melaka was to focus on guarding the state's capital, while the 4th Company was sent to Tampin at the southern edge of Negeri Sembilan. The 1st Battalion's 3rd Company came under the 11th Regiment's direct control on March 2 and moved to Seremban. The 2nd Battalion was ordered to serve as the Northern Guards, set up base at Seremban and dispatched one company each to Bahau, Kuala Pilah, and Kuala Klawang.⁶² Kuala Lumpur was to be covered by the 7th Company.

The circumstances of the stationed units in 1942 can be inferred through the war diaries left by the 1st Battalion's 3rd Company and Artillery Platoon as well as the 2nd Battalion's 7th Company. In Southeast Asia,

⁶² 陣中日誌 第4号 自昭和17年2月1日至昭和17年2月28日 (2), 歩兵 第11連隊 第7中隊 陣中日誌 昭和17. 1. 1~17. 6. 30. Catalogue Reference: 南西-マレー・ジャワ-61, no. 6.

the Japanese troops adhered to the practices and habits that they had developed from using comfort stations in China.

1) Circumstances in Melaka

On February 26, the 1st Battalion commander banned soldiers from going out for purposes other than official business until ordered otherwise.⁶³ The next day, the Regulations for Guarding and Stationing in Melaka were established.⁶⁴ Those regulations most likely determined the daily routines and the rest days for the battalion, because the 3rd Company rested in the barracks on March 1, just before it moved to Seremban. Moreover, the daily orders for March 20 were basically about discarding Article 18 in Chapter 5 of those regulations so that rest days would coincide with the day assigned to each unit for the use of comfort stations.⁶⁵ This change in regulations for rest days seems to have been prompted by the two suppression operations that took place from March 3rd to 8th and from March 12th to 13th. Thirty-seven members of the Artillery Platoon did, however, go out to downtown Melaka on March 10, which was Army Day.

On March 20, the comfort stations system was established. The Regulations on Using Comfort Stations were announced through the daily orders and the Artillery Platoon was to rest on Fridays, when it was assigned to use comfort stations. On March 27, thirty-seven platoon members visited *gokugakuen* (極樂園) and comfort stations. Two days later, on March 29, eleven platoon members who had remained on duty on March 27 went out to visit comfort stations and “entertainment centers.” Except for those

⁶³ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和13年12月31日 歩兵第11連隊 第1大隊砲小隊 (5), 歩兵第11連隊 第1大隊砲小隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~13年12月31日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-305, no. 6.

⁶⁴ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和13年12月31日 歩兵第11連隊 第1大隊砲小隊 (5), 歩兵第11連隊 第1大隊砲小隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~13年12月31日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-305, no. 6; 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和13年12月31日 歩兵第11連隊 第1大隊砲小隊 (5), 歩兵第11連隊 第1大隊砲小隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~13年12月31日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-305, no. 6.

⁶⁵ 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和13年12月31日 歩兵第11連隊 第1大隊砲小隊 (5), 歩兵第11連隊 第1大隊砲小隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~13年12月31日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-305, no. 6.

who were on detached duty, most of the platoon members went on leave that week.

At 11:00 in the morning on April 3, a noncommissioned officer led 35 platoon members out to visit comfort stations and entertainment venues downtown. They reassembled at 2:00 in the afternoon to enjoy Malayan and Chinese theatre and dance performances at the *gorakuen* (娛樂園) before returning to the base at 7:00 p.m. in the evening. On April 5, six platoon members who had been on duty on April 3 went out at 10:00 a.m. in the morning to visit comfort stations and entertainment venues downtown. Based on mentions about *gokugakuen* on March 27, *gorakuen* on April 3, and an “event at *gokugakuen*” on April 29, *gokugakuen* seems to have been a theater. While comfort stations never surfaced again in the diary entries from that period, there were three stations in Melaka according to a study by Hayashi Hirofumi.⁶⁶

Judging from the fact that the diary entry for April 9, a Thursday, was marked as a rest day, the platoon’s rest day was thereafter changed. However, a mobilization order issued that day caused April 11 to be designated as a substitute holiday on which 35 platoon members went out downtown. Five platoon members who remained on duty that day went out the next day on April 12.

From mid-April until mid-December, when the platoon moved to Java, Indonesia, the Artillery Platoon’s rest day continued to be Thursday. Leave was permitted every Thursday and permission was usually granted from one to three days ahead of going on leave. While the bulletin for May 28 announced that soldiers and civilian personnel were banned from entering “dance halls,” the only instruction on comfort stations was given through the bulletin for September 8, which warned soldiers not to visit the “Melaka Military Club (London Comfort Station)” because it had been shut down that day.

The platoon’s rest day was changed several more times and temporary

⁶⁶ Hayashi Hirofumi, マレー半島における日本軍慰安所について, *Shizen ningen shakai* 15 (July 1993). A paper with the same title was accessed online on July 16, 2018 (<http://www.geocities.jp/hhhirofumi/paper09.htm>).

leave days were granted from time to time. The leave day on June 10 (Wednesday) was granted because an inspection by the battalion commander was scheduled for the next day, in order to prepare for the inspection by the new division commander from June 12 to 13. The rest days scheduled for July 15 (Wednesday), August 12 (Wednesday), and October 14 (Wednesday) were moved up because of a dispatch assignment the following day, and rest on July 22 also had to be moved up because of an inspection by the battalion commander. Rest on November 19 had to be pushed back two days due to shooting for a film about the Japanese landings in Malaysia. Temporary leave was granted on a holiday related to the Japanese imperial family, including the Emperor's birthday on April 29, the grand festival day of Yasukuni Shrine on April 30 and October 23, Autumnal Equinox Day on September 23, *Niinamesai* on October 17, the Emperor Meiji's birthday on November 3, as well as other special days, such as August 15 to celebrate the fall of Singapore six months earlier or the first anniversary of the Great East Asia War on December 8. *Guntai naimusho* (Article 196) served as the basis for granting temporary leave, which would be notified through the daily orders given by the 1st Battalion.

The Regulations for Guarding and Stationing in Melaka most likely embodied what had been established earlier through the Regulations on Using Comfort Stations of March 20 and therefore set a standard for going on leave and using comfort stations. On April 26, the establishment of the Regulations for Stationing in Melaka was announced through the battalion's daily orders. A few months later, changes were made on September 2 to the rest day assignment stipulated in the Regulations for Guarding and Stationing in Melaka.

On August 22, daily orders were given on the 11th Regiment's operational order related to the 5th Division's plan to move. The next day, the 1st Battalion permitted temporary leave for the battalion command (August 23), the Machine Gun Company and Artillery Platoon (August 24), and the 4th Company (August 25). However, the move scheduled for August 30 was postponed. On September 2, the battalion's daily orders indicated that the rest day assignment in the Regulations for Guarding and Stationing in Melaka had been revised as follows.

Table 3. Assignment of Rest Days for the 11th Infantry Regiment's 1st Battalion

	Sun.	Mon.	Tue.	Wed.	Thu.	Fri.	Sat.
Units Off Duty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Security Force Command • Battalion Transport Squad 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Machine Gun Company 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1st Company 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The <i>Ikagura</i> (Foot Guards) • Military Police 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Battalion Artillery Platoon 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 4th Company 	

The reason for revising the rest day schedule was because a rest day had to be designated for the newly assigned *Ikagura* Foot Guards. Because regular rest days were synchronized with the day a unit was permitted to use comfort stations, the arrival of new units made it necessary to realign arrangements crucial to the operation of the security forces. The 11th Regiment's orders given on August 30 announced that two infantry companies of the *Sawamura* (沢村) Detachment were to be reassigned to the 3rd Company. The 1st Battalion's orders given on August 31 announced that one infantry company, most likely the *Ikagura* Foot Guards, would be newly placed under the battalion's command at midnight. "Sawamura" here refers to *Sawamura Shunsuke* (沢村駿甫), the commander of the 5th Infantry Regiment under the Guards Division.⁶⁷

On September 3, thirty Artillery Platoon members went downtown from 10:00 a.m. in the morning. Three of those on duty that day (the non-commissioned officer of the day, the superior-private of the day, and the platoon member on duty) went downtown on September 4 and returned by 7:00 p.m. in the evening. As mentioned above, despite the reassignment of rest days, soldiers continued to regularly take leave until they had moved to Java, Indonesia in the middle of December.

⁶⁷ The *Ikagura* Foot Guards and the 4th Company moved on October 27, but the war diaries made no mention of changes to rest days. Other units also assigned comfort stations to units temporarily stationed at a large garrison.

2) The Circumstances in Seremban

• Leave and the Use of Comfort Stations

The 3rd Company repeatedly engaged in training and suppression missions from the day it arrived at Seremban on March 2 until it moved to Gemas on the eastern border of Negeri Sembilan. Meanwhile, the 7th Company stayed in Kuala Lumpur for one month until it dispatched a platoon to Bahau approximately 15 kilometers away from Kuala Lumpur on April 22.

March 15 and 22 were marked as off days in the 3rd Company's war diaries, but the diaries mention nothing about leave on those two Sundays. The diaries instead indicate that the first leave was taken on March 26, which was a Thursday. On this day, 30 soldiers left their barracks to take "special leave on official business," which appears to have been a reward for purging, in other words, killing the Chinese and the Malayan Chinese in downtown Melaka and Seremban when many in the 11th Brigade were called out on March 24 and 25.

Apart from three exceptions, the 3rd Company's war diaries indicate that 18 to 75 company members went on leave every Thursday at Seremban until the company moved to Gemas. The first exception occurred on May 28, when 40 company members were permitted to leave after 10 a.m. in the morning but were required to return by 3:00 in the afternoon because the newly appointed regiment commander was scheduled to arrive at 5:50 that evening. The diary entry for June 11 states that although it was a rest day, leave was not granted because the company was in isolation. It remains uncertain, however, whether the isolation had been triggered by a venereal infection, since diary entries around the time bear no such mention. Before departing for Gemas on July 2, a rest day was moved up to July 1, allowing 75 company members to go out between 10:00 a.m. in the morning and 8:00 p.m. in the evening. Like the Artillery Platoon in Melaka, temporary leave was granted on April 29 and 30 for the 3rd Company as well as the 7th Company.

According to the testimonies Hayashi Hirofumi heard from Japanese troops, there were more than two comfort stations in Seremban. One local who appears to have been of Korean or Taiwanese descent testified that the comfort station in the area had seven to eight women who spoke Japanese

and bore a horizontal sign that read “Seifusō (清風荘)” and a vertical sign that read “Japanese Military Comfort Station” at its main entrance.

The 7th Company’s war diaries offer further clues as to how Japanese soldiers regarded comfort stations. The Southern Guards’ bulletin for March 23 warned that soldiers were banned from visiting brothels other than the comfort stations approved by the Army Service Corps. A few days later, the bulletin brought up the case of a soldier who exhibited undisciplined manners while on leave as an example to caution soldiers. On March 27, the bulletin stated that noncommissioned officers were banned from bringing soldiers to the officer’s club to dine or entertain and criticized a noncommissioned officer from a branch of the Army Service Corps who had gone on leave wearing his slippers. As a result, through the bulletin for March 28, the 2nd Battalion ordered commissioned officers to oversee the observation of military discipline and morals because soldiers were often committing displeasing acts after being stationed for the first time in a while. The bulletin for April 10 declared that second-class patrol as well as independent patrol would be carried out whenever off-duty soldiers went on leave.⁶⁸ The bulletin for April 24 reiterated that tickets had to be purchased beforehand in order to use a comfort station and ordered patrol officers to rigorously track down and report soldiers who had violated the regulation.⁶⁹

Disciplinary issues while on leave or at comfort stations nevertheless continued to arise. The Southern Guards’ bulletin for May 20 and 22 both remarked on the undisciplined attire and the manners of the soldiers who went on leave.⁷⁰ On September 13, the 3rd Company commander called for soldiers on leave to display proper salutations and manners. On November 30, he ordered soldiers not to dine at restaurants other than those designated by

⁶⁸ 陣中日誌 昭和13年度 歩兵 第11連隊 第3中隊 (1), 歩兵 第11連隊 第3中隊 陣中日誌 昭和13年1月1日~13年12月31日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-304, no. 2; 陣中日誌 第4号 自昭和17年2月1日至昭和17年2月28日 (2), 歩兵 第11連隊 第7中隊 陣中日誌 昭和17. 1. 1~17. 6. 30. Catalogue Reference: 南西-マレー・ジャワ-61, no. 6.

⁶⁹ 陣中日誌 昭和13年度 歩兵 第11連隊 第3中隊 (1), 歩兵 第11連隊 第3中隊 陣中日誌 昭和13年1月1日~13年12月31日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-304, no. 2.

⁷⁰ 陣中日誌 第4号 自昭和17年2月1日至昭和17年2月28日 (2), 歩兵 第11連隊 第7中隊 陣中日誌 昭和17. 1. 1~17. 6. 30. Catalogue Reference: 南西-マレー・ジャワ-61, no. 6.

Table 4. Prospective Assignment of Rest Days for the Northern Guards

	Sun.	Mon.	Tue.	Wed.	Thu.	Fri.	Sat.
Units Off Duty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Security Force Command • 2 Battalion Command • Military Police 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regimental Gun Company • 5th Company • 2nd Battalion Artillery Platoon 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rapid Gun Fire Company • 6th Company • 2nd Machine Gun Company 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Signal Detachment • 7th Company • 2nd Epidemic Prevention and Water Purification Department 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3rd Company • 8th Company • Military Engineers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 4 Field Hospital • Railway Detachment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Army Service Corps • Construction Detachment • Signal Detachment

Note: This is a prospective assignment that can be changed through agreement between different units due to missions to purge or to sabotage and such changes must be promptly reported to the Northern Guards Command.

Table 5. Assignment of Rest Days in Accordance with the Regulations for Stationing at Seremban

	Sun.	Mon.	Tue.	Wed.	Thu.	Fri.	Sat.
Units Off Duty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Security Force Command • 2nd Battalion Artillery Platoon • Postal Detachment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2 Battalion Command • 5th Company • 2nd Machine Gun Company 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rapid Fire Gun Company • 6th Company • Regimental Gun Company 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Signal Detachment • 7th Company • 2nd Epidemic Prevention and Water Purification Department • Main Force of the 4th Field Hospital 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3rd Company • 8th Company 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Part of the 4th Field Hospital • Railway Detachment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Military Police • Army Service Corps • Signal Detachment

Note: This assignment can be changed through agreement between different units due to missions to purge or sabotage and such changes must be promptly reported to the Guards Command.

the Military Club, to salute properly, and to be punctual. The regiment bulletin for December 3 announced orders to not go out alone, or dine at unap-

proved restaurants, or use violence at comfort stations and restaurants.⁷¹

Since comfort stations approved by the Army Service Corps were already in place by March 23, when they were mentioned in the Southern Guards' bulletin, the regulations for their use had to be established as quickly as possible. The 7th Company's diary entry for March 29 shows that the Prospective Assignment of Rest Days for the Northern Guards had been prepared as follows:

The above assignment was prospective probably because the regulations for stationing were yet to be established. Once the Regulations for Stationing at Seremban were established on April 20, the 7th Company commander, in charge of guarding the Japanese-occupied territory in Seremban, stated that those regulations had served as a basis for the establishment of the Regulations for Stationing in Kuala Pilah and Bahau on April 25.⁷² On May 22, the daily orders given by the Southern Guards announced that changes had been made to the assignment of rest days, superseding the Regulations for Stationing at Seremban established on April 20, 1942.

The changes made on May 22 seem to be related to the fact that the Postal Detachment came to be stationed at Seremban instead of the Construction Detachment and military engineers. The reason for listing the 6th Company and the 8th Company in parentheses is yet to be determined.

As previously mentioned, the 7th Company rested in the barracks on both days it was granted rest, both before and after being called out on March 24 and 27. On March 29, Wednesday became the company's assigned rest day. The next Wednesday arrived on April 1, but the company rested in the barracks instead of going out. On April 3, a comfort station opened in Kuala Pilah. Technically, the company was supposed to wait until its next rest day on April 8, but special leave was granted the following day on April 4. After cleaning the weapons and the bicycles for inspection by the newly appointed battalion commander and receiving instructions re-

⁷¹ 陣中日誌 第4号 自昭和17年2月1日至昭和17年2月28日(2), 歩兵 第11連隊 第7中隊 陣中日誌 昭和17. 1. 1~17. 6. 30. Catalogue Reference: 南西-マレー・ジャワ-61, no. 6.

⁷² クワラピラ・バハウ駐留規定 昭和17年4月25日, 歩兵 第11連隊 第7中隊 陣中日誌 昭和17. 1. 1~17. 6. 30. Catalogue Reference: 南西-マレー・ジャワ-61, no. 14.

garding going on leave in the morning, 37 company members went out and returned by 6:00 p.m. in the evening. A reconnaissance mission made it impossible to take leave on April 15, but temporary leave was granted instead on April 20. Temporary leave was also granted on May 7 because the company had to be vaccinated the previous day against cholera and smallpox. The company thereafter continued to be granted leave on Wednesdays or on Thursdays for those who were on duty the previous day.

On July 3, the 3rd Company was stationed in Gemas in order to serve as the Eastern Guards alongside a branch of the Army Service Corps, military police, and Signal Detachment. The 2nd Platoon settled down at a separate location in Kampung Tengah, i.e., today's downtown Gemencheh. The linear distance between Gemas and Kampung Tengah was more than 20 kilometers. The diary entries regarding the company's time in Gemas bear no mention of comfort stations. The only similar reference is "restaurants designated by the Military Club" which appeared in an entry for November 30. Based on a Japanese soldier's testimony about a comfort station in Hayashi Hirofumi's research paper, it would be reasonable to assume that soldiers who went on leave must have paid visits to comfort stations.

On their first day of leave on July 7, thirty-two members of the 3rd Company went to downtown Gemas between 10:00 a.m. in the morning and 5:20 p.m. in the afternoon. The following day the five members who had been on duty the day before went out. Due to the frequent schemes to purge surrounding districts, the company's second leave took place on July 27. Except for the 18th, when the entire company was subjected to a uniform inspection and weapon cleaning, the company regularly went out on Mondays in August, or on Tuesdays for those who had been on duty the previous day. In late August, the company had been scheduled to move with the Artillery Platoon to Singapore until the plan was postponed. From September, the company focused on training and continued to be granted leave on Sundays instead of Mondays. Temporary leave was often granted as well.

What is worth taking note of is the 2nd Platoon's actions while on leave in Gemas. On July 12, an automobile was allocated for the platoon's

leave day. The platoon members arrived at the Guards command at 11:20 a.m. and used the same automobile to return by 6:30 in the evening. The war diaries that the platoon kept also mention six of its members who took an automobile back and forth to go on leave.⁷³ While most of the 3rd Company was engaged in a purging scheme on July 23, ten platoon members again used an automobile to go out. On July 31, eight members also took leave and traveled back and forth to Gemas via automobile. On August 1, the platoon moved to Ayer Kuning, which used to be guarded by the 1st Company, but the platoon was not granted leave, possibly because its stay in Ayer Kuning lasted a mere two weeks.⁷⁴

• Regulations for Stationing and Comfort Stations

As previously mentioned, the 7th Company established the Regulations for Stationing in Kuala Pilah and Bahau on April 25. These regulations seem to have been devised to reflect the change in circumstances that occurred when the 7th Company was ordered on April 20 to move part of its troops to Bahau in order to relieve the 6th Company. The 1st Platoon thus was stationed at Bahau from April 20. The regulations included general rules, as well as rules pertaining to security and other areas of duty, military discipline and morals, internal affairs, emergencies and fires, and hygiene. Examining the regulations can therefore help have a better understanding of those of higher units and how both of them were practically applied to the use of comfort stations.

Details pertaining to rest days were stipulated by the rules for internal affairs. Guards in Kuala Pilah and Bahau could take leave on Wednesdays and could go out as far as the boundaries of the area they were guarding. All matters involving leave on rest days were to abide by the Regulations for Stationing at Seremban. Soldiers going out on official business or taking leave were banned from eating or drinking downtown during that time,

⁷³ 「カンボンテングー」 警備日誌 自昭和17年7月2日至昭和17年7月31日, 歩兵 第11連隊 第3中隊 陣中日誌 昭和17. 6. 1~17. 12. 31. Catalogue Reference: 南西-マレー・ジャワ-58, no. 8.

⁷⁴ 「アイエルクニン」 警備日誌 自昭和17年8月1日至昭和17年8月16日, 歩兵第11連隊 第3中隊 陣中日誌 昭和17. 6. 1~17. 12. 31. Catalogue Reference: 南西-マレー・ジャワ-58, no. 12.

although eating at restaurants inside comfort stations was allowed. This appears to have been a decision made for hygienic reasons.

The war diaries of the 1st Platoon guarding Bahau indicate that leave was not granted as per regulations. Until the platoon returned to Kuala Pilah on August 15 to rejoin its company, it was granted only four days of rest on April 30, May 14 (Thursday), June 10 (Wednesday), and July 14 (Tuesday). Rest days were not only less frequent than before, but were also irregular. The only mention regarding taking leave was on April 30, the grand festival day of Yasukuni Shrine, when special leave was granted for the afternoon. Such circumstances stood in stark contrast to those of the 3rd Company, which even provided an automobile to facilitate soldiers going on leave. This suggests that the smaller the unit, the greater the chances for leave, depending on the commander's inclination to grant it.

According to Hayashi Hirofumi, there were two comfort stations with a total of 18 Chinese comfort women in Kuala Pilah.⁷⁵ Five women were at the comfort station for commissioned officers and military policemen, and 13 women were at the comfort station for soldiers, which seems to have been called "Shōwa (昭和) Park." Records indicate that visits to the "Park" were made on May 27 and 28 as well as July 9, while visits to "Shōwa Park" were made on June 8, 22, and 24. Shōwa Park was not located within the permitted boundaries of leave in Kuala Pilah. The Park was located in what is now the center of downtown Kuala Pilah, and considering that one side of its square outline was less than 500 meters long, it would be safe to assume that the Park was in fact a comfort station.

The analysis thus far shows that the regulations on leave applied to the units stationed at Seremban were based on regulations established by higher units. For instance, the 7th Company's regulations for stationing were based on the 11th Regiment's Regulations for Stationing at Seremban. The general rules in the 7th Company's regulations for stationing stipulated that the regulations on guarding or maintaining military order, disci-

⁷⁵ Hayashi Hirofumi, マレー半島における日本軍慰安所について, *Shizen ningen shakai* 15 (July 1993). A paper with the same title was accessed online on July 16, 2018 (<http://www.geocities.jp/hhhirofumi/paper09.htm>).

pline, and morals were established according to the Regulations for Stationing at Seremban. The garrison decree, work decree, *Sakusen yomurei*, and *Guntai naimusho* were to be consulted on matters that were not covered through the Regulations for Stationing at Seremban.

Apart from these regulations, the 5th Division had separately established the Regulations on Leave While Stationed in Malaysia. Two daily orders issued by the Southern Guards hint at why such regulations were separately established. The order given on April 28 stated that because noncommissioned officers were exhibiting undisciplined behavior on leave, each unit must screen everyone going out, provide rigorous training beforehand, and organize individual patrols as per Article 3 of the Regulations on Leave While Stationed in Malaysia.⁷⁶ The order given on June 22 announced that changes had been made to the time for the evening roll call defined in the Regulations for Stationing at Seremban and to details pertinent to noncommissioned officers in the Regulations on Leave While Stationed in Malaysia.⁷⁷

The 25th Army was the highest among the Japanese military units stationed on the Malay Peninsula. Its command in Singapore issued orders to units in different locations through the Army Bulletin. Through the May 14 edition, the 25th Army Command warned that soldiers and civilian personnel should not be allowed to use automobiles to visit comfort stations. This warning was mentioned in war diaries by the 11th Regiment's 7th Company and the 42nd Independent Motor Battalion. The warning was mainly aimed at saving petroleum but was relevant to the practice of visiting comfort stations on leave.

As such, the use of comfort stations went in tandem with the daily operations of Japanese military units. The regiment bulletin for June 1 an-

⁷⁶ 陣中日誌 昭和13年度 歩兵 第11連隊 第3中隊 (1), 歩兵 第11連隊 第3中隊 陣中日誌 昭和13年1月1日~13年12月31日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-304, no. 2; 陣中日誌 第4号 自昭和17年2月1日至昭和17年2月28日 (2), 歩兵 第11連隊 第7中隊 陣中日誌 昭和17. 1. 1~17. 6. 30. Catalogue Reference: 南西-マレー・ジャワ-61, no. 6.

⁷⁷ 陣中日誌 第4号 自昭和17年2月1日至昭和17年2月28日 (2), 歩兵 第11連隊 第7中隊 陣中日誌 昭和17. 1. 1~17. 6. 30. Catalogue Reference: 南西-マレー・ジャワ-61, no. 6.

nounced that because the unit name had been changed to “Koi (鯉) 5173,” everyone in the regiment had to renew their official military pass by June 10 and submit them to be stamped.⁷⁸ Old passes with different unit names could not be used beyond June 15, which naturally affected regular leave and visits to comfort stations.

Conclusion

Fundamental regulations such as *Jinchū (Sakusen) yomurei* and *Guntai naimusho*, in the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) and the Asia-Pacific War (1941-1945), and war diaries have so far been examined and considered to determine how the stationing of Japanese military units was connected to the establishment and operation of comfort stations. The mechanism between Japanese soldiers and comfort stations was formed contemporaneously with the Mukden Incident in 1931. As individual units came to be stationed in certain areas, rest days were designated, and soldiers went on leave and caught venereal diseases from visiting brothels. Brothels and women with venereal infections were, however, left under the indirect control of the police and the military police.

Then, the system of comfort stations was further developed after the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War. The case of the 2nd Independent Siege Heavy Artillery Battalion shows that the operation of comfort stations became stabilized as the battalion settled down and assigned regular rest days. Each unit would divide a rest day into multiple time slots for smaller groups of soldiers to be led out and visit comfort stations. Soldiers and noncommissioned officers used comfort stations at separate hours. The practice of using comfort stations became relevant to regulations on internal affairs to the extent that formal regulations were later established on the operation and the use of comfort stations. If combat or training caused changes to the schedule for visiting comfort stations, such changes were

⁷⁸ 陣中日誌 昭和13年度 歩兵 第11連隊 第3中隊 (1), 歩兵 第11連隊 第3中隊 陣中日誌 昭和13年1月1日~13年12月31日. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-304, no. 2.

officially announced through daily orders. Comfort stations were therefore established and operated according to a strictly top-down approach.

Meanwhile, the Regulations for Comfort Stations established by the 14th Regiment are significant for two reasons. One is because the details relating to the establishment of comfort stations, covered in 41 articles and standardized forms, are suspected to have helped the Japanese Central China Area Army (or the Japanese Central China Expeditionary Army) devise a manual that fashioned regulations for comfort stations. The 14th Regiment's Regulations for Comfort Stations indicated that the billet commander had the power to authorize the operation of comfort stations, which became pertinent to the unit in settling down at and governing an occupied area.

The war diaries, kept by the 11th Regiment and other units under the 9th Infantry Brigade, reveal how the comfort station system formed in China and expanded to Southeast Asia. Policies on stationing and taking leave, not to mention the use of comfort stations, became absorbed by the regulations for stationing. Regulations on granting leave tended to be based on other regulations previously established by higher units. The 11th Regiment's Regulations for Stationing at Seremban and the 5th Division's Regulations on Leave While Stationed in Malaysia outranked the 7th Company's Regulations for Stationing.

The findings above demonstrate that from the beginning the use of comfort stations was arranged within the framework of operating military units and that soldiers were granted leave to seek comfort at comfort stations approved and controlled by military units. Whenever a unit was stationed somewhere, according to the *Sakusen yomurei*, it would grant leave based on the *Guntai naimusho*. Thus, such leave days were official acts that connected comfort women to commissioned officers and soldiers, thereby leading to the creation of the Japanese military system of sexual slavery.

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- 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊本部 (1), 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年9月30日, 1937. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-557, no. 2. <https://www.jacar.archives.go.jp/aj/meta/listPhoto?LANG=default&ID=F2011112915411005994&ID=M2011112915411005996&REFCODE=C11111379200>.
- 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和12年8月31日 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 第2中隊 (1), 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 第2中隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~12年9月30日, 1937. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-556, no. 2. <https://www.jacar.archives.go.jp/aj/meta/listPhoto?LANG=default&ID=F2011112915410905985&ID=M2011112915410905987&REFCODE=C11111378300>.
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- 常州地区警備 (衛戍服務) 規定 昭和12年12月 常州地区警備隊, 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年12月1日~13年1月31日, 1937. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变上海・南京-230, no. 7. <https://www.jacar.archives.go.jp/aj/meta/listPhoto?LANG=default&ID=F2011112915504111000&ID=M2011112915504211007&REFCODE=C11111880300>.
- 陣中日誌 自昭和12年7月27日至昭和13年12月31日 歩兵第11連隊 第1大隊砲小隊 (5), 歩兵第11連隊 第1大隊砲小隊 陣中日誌 昭和12年7月27日~13年12月31日, 1937. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-305, no. 6. <https://www.jacar.archives.go.jp/aj/meta/listPhoto?LANG=default&ID=F2011112915392203987&ID=M2011112915392203993&REFCODE=C1111178900>.
- 常州駐屯間内務規定 昭和13年3月 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊, 独立攻城重砲兵 第2大隊 關係資料 常州駐屯間内務規定警備間教育規定, 1938. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变上海・南京-270, no. 2. <https://www.jacar.archives.go.jp/aj/meta/listPhoto?LANG=default&ID=F2011112915510411401&ID=M2011112915510411403&REFCODE=C11111919900>.
- 陣中日誌 自昭和13年1月1日至昭和13年1月31日 歩兵第9旅団 (2), 歩兵第9旅団 陣中日誌 6/12 昭和13年1月1日~昭和13年1月31日, 1938. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-236, no. 4. <https://www.jacar.archives.go.jp/aj/meta/listPhoto?LANG=default&ID=F2011112915385903558&ID=M2011112915385903562&REFCODE=C1111135800>.

青島に於ける警備並に軍秩維持に関する規定 昭和13年1月, 歩兵第9旅団 陣中日誌 6/12 昭和13年1月1日~昭和13年1月31日, 1938. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-236, no. 6. <https://www.jacar.archives.go.jp/aj/meta/listPhoto?LANG=default&BID=F2011112915385903558&ID=M2011112915385903564&REFCODE=C11111136000>.

陣中日誌 昭和13年度 歩兵第11連隊 第3中隊 (1), 歩兵第11連隊 第3中隊 陣中日誌 昭和13年1月1日~13年12月31日, 1938. Catalogue Reference: 支那-支那事变北支-304, no. 2. <https://www.jacar.archives.go.jp/aj/meta/listPhoto?LANG=default&BID=F2011112915392203978&ID=M2011112915392203980&REFCODE=C11111177600>.

陣中日誌 第4号 自昭和17年2月1日至昭和17年2月28日 (2), 歩兵 第11連隊 第7中隊 陣中日誌 昭和17. 1. 1~17. 6. 30, 1942. Catalogue Reference: 南西-マレー・ジャワ-61, no. 6. <https://www.jacar.archives.go.jp/aj/meta/listPhoto?LANG=default&BID=F2014120214355824309&ID=M2014120214355824315&REFCODE=C14110590500>.

クワラピラ・バハウ駐留規定 昭和17年4月25日, 歩兵 第11連隊 第7中隊 陣中日誌 昭和17. 1. 1~17. 6. 30, 1942. Catalogue Reference: 南西-マレー・ジャワ-61, no. 14. <https://www.jacar.archives.go.jp/aj/meta/listPhoto?LANG=default&BID=F2014120214355824309&ID=M2014120214355824323&REFCODE=C14110591300>.

「カンポンテンガー」警備日誌 自昭和17年7月2日至昭和17年7月31日, 歩兵 第11連隊 第3中隊 陣中日誌 昭和17. 6. 1~17. 12. 31, 1942. Catalogue Reference: 南西-マレー・ジャワ-58, no. 8. <https://www.jacar.archives.go.jp/aj/meta/listPhoto?LANG=default&BID=F2014120214355624272&ID=M2014120214355624280&REFCODE=C14110587000>.

「アイエルクニン」警備日誌 自昭和17年8月1日至昭和17年8月16日, 歩兵第11連隊 第3中隊 陣中日誌 昭和17. 6. 1~17. 12. 31, 1942. Catalogue Reference: 南西-マレー・ジャワ-58, no. 12. <https://www.jacar.archives.go.jp/aj/meta/listPhoto?LANG=default&BID=F2014120214355624272&ID=M2014120214355624284&REFCODE=C14110587400>.