



1st Marianas History Conference

ONE Archipelago, Many Stories

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Late Colonial History

Five of Seven

Marianas History Conference

Late Colonial History



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Reluctant Refugees: The Forced Resettlement of Carolinians to Saipan 1907-1912

By Dirk Spennemann, PhD.

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Abstract: *Global environmental change is threatening the way of life of many Pacific atoll populations. Some governments, such as that of Kiribati, are even planning for the resettlement of large sections of their population. Environmental refugees, however, are not a new phenomenon.*

This paper traces the events of the 1907 typhoon in Eastern and Western Micronesia which caused wide-spread environmental devastation. Heavy-handed intervention by the colonial government resulted in resettlement of various atoll populations to Pohnpei and Yap, and eventually onwards to Saipan. Disguised as humanitarian aid, the resettlement served the larger political and economic ambitions of the German administration. This paper examines the social implications of this event on the people moved, as well as on the host communities. It also puts forward explanations why the resettlement experiment ultimately ended in failure with a high cost in human lives to the resettled people.

Editor's Note: This paper, presented at the Marianas History Conference, was not made available for publication.



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Towards a Post-Colonial Friendship between Micronesian and Japan: Approaching the Centenary of the Nan'yō Occupation and Governance by Japan

By Shunsuke Nagashima

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Abstract: *Presentation of a project to preserve memories of Nan'yō-Guntou and World War II in Micronesia as the 100 year anniversary approaches. The question of how to collect and keep memories of family and friends from this time will be discussed. It is our last chance to collect and store these memories by video, photo or written text before they disappear as the population who experienced the Japanese administration of Micronesia is quite elderly. The project proposes to decide how and where to store these memories so that future researchers can visit or share in these war experiences. The second expectation is that historical studies be instituted between Japan's community colleges and Japanese descendants or students, using these materials or data. I also propose that there will be a special exposition at museums and that there be a special symposium on this collaboration to start the call for collections.*

Introduction

This paper is a call for projects to collect stories and mementoes before they are permanently lost. The area now known as Micronesia was occupied by the Japanese military in 1914 and became a part of the territories of the League of Nations in 1919. This was a very important turning point in history for both Micronesia and Japan. Micronesian people benefited from modernization, received a better formal education, and their ethnic identity was intermingled with the Japanese with a kind of shared kindred Asian roots during this time. Japan benefited mainly militarily but also from expanding enterprises and trades to the southern seas; however, these businesses were backed by the Japanese military.

The Japanese Government encouraged migration through its Empire Expansion Policy. It is important to glean historical interpretations and accounts from both the Japanese and the recipient side to understand the facts and the lessons from the past while establishing better relationships extending into the future.

There have been organizational efforts to create memorials and commemorate those who fought in the war, but many tasks remain to preserve these memories. Restoration for the next generation's contributions to Micronesian society can be achieved by identifying, recognizing, and utilizing social capital. We call for a program to renew, reestablish, and rekindle relationships and friendships between Micronesians and Japanese for 2014 to mark this special centennial.

The generation who experienced Nan'yō-Guntou and World War II in the Mariana Islands has accounts of civil and regional histories and their personal experiences that they want to share before they pass away. However, there are many challenges to doing so. For example, to get a story of a person when s/he was a young adult (aged 20) during World War II, the person would be at present age 87 in 2012 ($2012-1945(-20) = 67(87)$). The age itself surpasses life expectancy, let alone the fragility of the age. One can expect individuals to undergo personal challenges themselves when they question how they can maintain memories of their identity and the honor/pride of their families, friends, relatives, localities, and/or of their generation. Old age inescapably declines physical and/or mental capacity thereby creating difficulties accessing various facilities that could help record their stories and share documents and mementoes. In other cases, his/her family or relatives may have bad impressions of the occupation and/or colonization (i.e., war). The people may intentionally throw away any materials pertaining to that era without considering the historic value.

On top of this, there may be some people who have documents, data, or materials of their memories but may not have opportunities to share them despite having a strong will to do so. These materials and stories need to be rescued before they are lost; in the majority of the cases the death of the owners result in these materials getting discarded, destroyed, or disappearing. For these reasons, now is the last opportunity to collect and preserve these memories using audiovisual equipment (e.g. videos) and storing them in an established network/organization before they disappear.

These stories provide opportunities to glean different perspectives on local lives and serve as a link extending to the future of the islands besides arousing nostalgia. The young generation who have not lived through wartime can learn what are not in the textbooks from wartime experiences of both Mariana people and Japanese immigrants who lived on the same land but with varied experiences from torturing physical damages and mentality, what life meant during critical

moments, how one related with their family, and the spirit of the war. The period of Nan'yō-Guntou was also when public education and modern life started. These memories and documents will shed light on how prosperity actualized in different forms through diligence, cooperative efforts, and successes shared between Japanese workers, farmers, and fishermen.

There is no denying in that people die and everything the deceased held within themselves will be lost forever. These memories are valuable resources and must be collected before the people who experienced them are gone.

These range from private verbal historical records to materials and stories held in the private sector (e.g. businesses, factories, fisheries, agriculture, arts/crafts, and transportation) and on life (human relationships, lifestyles, work, culture, health, nutrition, sanitation, education, and entertainment). Social capital which can help restore ancestral networks and help yield stronger positive relationships need action. This also provides an opportunity to expand human networks and bridge future relations by evidencing establishments.

There are many tasks ahead for the future: storage for materials and documents (digital media storage and physical materials), exhibiting quality displays with satisfactory quantity, better use of media to promote, publicize, spread awareness, and further networks to collect additional information and potentially store and archive materials. Networking with various libraries and archives can add value to Nan'yō Island studies and research. Selecting candidates for the storage needs to be stringent, and they must have prerequisites of having sufficient store-housing capacity, capable of providing appropriate management, a facility to exhibit or display for public interest, permanency of storage, and have responsible contingency plans. A campaign must take place to call for cooperative efforts and to gain sponsorship from the academic circle and international societies to cover the funds, storage space, personnel, locations, and running costs.

I propose that we should:

1. Establish a collection committee who can gather information and materials before they get lost or abolished
2. Make proposals for permanent stock system
3. Evaluate the materials and documents and
4. Request sponsorship to fund institutional running costs.

For example, an Okinawan semi-public organization has shown interest in the Pacific and Island study initiatives after the 6th PALM (Pacific Islands Leaders Meeting). The initiative is fully backed by the governor of Okinawa. The Institute for the Pacific Islands' Regional Studies to which the chief organizer, Dr. I. Kobayashi, is an associate, may be an appropriate place for potential storage but only as a temporary measure. It is my personal opinion that we should consult and discuss systematic comprehensive plans.

The possible places for storing and archiving materials in the South Pacific extends from Saipan main and Tinian branch, Palau (museums) main and Angaur or Peleliu branch, Tonoas main and Weno (SM Poll Memorial Centre, intended Aizawa Memorial) branch, Yap, Pohnpei (Micronesian Seminar), Kosrae, Jaluit main and Majuro branch. Strong cooperation can be expected from Peleliu, Jaluit, Tinian and Tonoas. The second hub may be the historical studies network in Japan and their affiliated University or community colleges. Other networks connecting Japanese descendants or students may be potentially beneficial. Other promising locations in Japan are Amami and Osaka (Harano Agriculture Museum), Hachijoujima Island (Tokyo) or Chichijima Island (Ogasawara Islands), Matsuoka Memorial (not yet intended), Kumejima Island (Okinawa; famous for katsuobushi or dried bonito), Naha/Itoman (Okinawa), Uchinanchu Memorial and Exchange Centre (Okinawan immigrants and descendants; not yet intended). Another possible space is that dedicated for special expositions/exhibitions in museums. Finally, it is important to start having special symposiums on these collaborations to establish networks and to embark on this project for the future generation.

New symbolic cultural networks are emerging between Mariana and Japan. There have been many tributes and cultural rekindling and performances (e.g. Awaodori Team dancing in Saipan) and other support groups to pray and encourage those affected by the 2011 triple disaster (tsunami, earthquake, and radiation leakage). Palauans also keep Japanese culture alive by broadcasting songs on radio, safeguarding documents and materials, and maintaining some culinary tradition. A museum in Yap looks derelict but has been under restoration with a JICA senior member of staff; it will almost certainly need materials to fill up the space.

CASE 1: Yap. An elderly man has come back to live near where he grew up as a child to rekindle his memories and explore his identity. His father was the principal of the primary school. He has expressed his desire to record and preserve the memories, but being 83 he is requiring more help than ever. He was taught

Japanese by his father through Japanese songs and *kodan* (story telling performances, e.g. Genpei Seisuiiki).

CASE 2: Japan. A father of a honorable professor of Kagoshima University was a local governmental researcher at the Fishery Laboratory Institute at Shimizu in Sizuoka prefecture and after was the local high school teacher of fisheries. His father travelled many times to Micronesia and other Asian islands before war, and he collected annual reports of primary schools, fishery reports, his job records, travel information, picture cards, journals, novels and administrative documents. These original materials were recently found by his son during his research writing a book about maritime history. This is a fortunate case where materials of an ancestor were recovered by a descendant.

Case 3: The oral histories of Chamorro's experiences during war time in the Mariana Islands were published recently for the younger generation by grand or great-grand parents. The Palau museum also exhibits their oral histories with pictures Americans and Japanese. These are the best text books, not only for Marianas readers, but also for Japanese people interested in peace studies, and for historical studies from both sides. We hope that the translation of talks by Japanese working class people of their experiences with Micronesia in the Nan'yō Guntou shall be beneficial for mutual understanding, not only of times of war but also before war periods. These translations and publications are surely important now for both Japanese and Micronesians.

We dare say without any hesitation that from now to 2014, is the best time to start considering collaborative system building and we hope this can lead to a long-lasting friendship between the Nan'yō Islands and Japan.



Traditional and historical ruins of Kobans in Saipan



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Broken Spear: The Roller Coaster Existence of Sumay, Guam (1900-1941)

By James Oelke Farley

War in the Pacific National Historical Park on Guam
and the American Memorial Park on Saipan
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Abstract: *This paper shall examine how the United States military build-up of Orote Peninsula into "the tip of the spear" in the interregnum between the Spanish American War and World War Two led directly to Sumay, Guam becoming targeted by Japan in 1941. The village is subsequently destroyed by the United States in 1944 after a destructive bombardment that destroyed all that the Americans had sought to develop in the four decades of their control of the village.*

Introduction

Sumay, Guam would become a world famous communications, transportation, and tourism hub before being destroyed by war and reborn as a globally recognized military base and seaport in just forty-five years under United States rule. During the period of its first zenith, Sumay was Guam's second largest city; base of the United States Marine Corps Marine Barracks, home to the Pan- American Airways Skyways Hotel, landing site of the only trans-Pacific flight in existence, crucial link in the global commercial cable, and real estate for Guam's only golf course. After withstanding the Battle of Guam which saw the village leveled by two weeks of continuous shelling and later full-scale ground combat, Sumay would rise again like a boxer getting off the mat. By 1945, Sumay had risen from the rubble to become the center of the second busiest seaport in the world. By briefly tracing the growth of the village during the interregnum between the Spanish-American War and beginning of World War Two, it is possible to study in microcosm the creation and destruction of a growing strategic piece of the geo-political puzzle. Sumay has become a Pacific ghost town centered on a well-maintained cemetery inside a United States Naval Station.

The Harbor

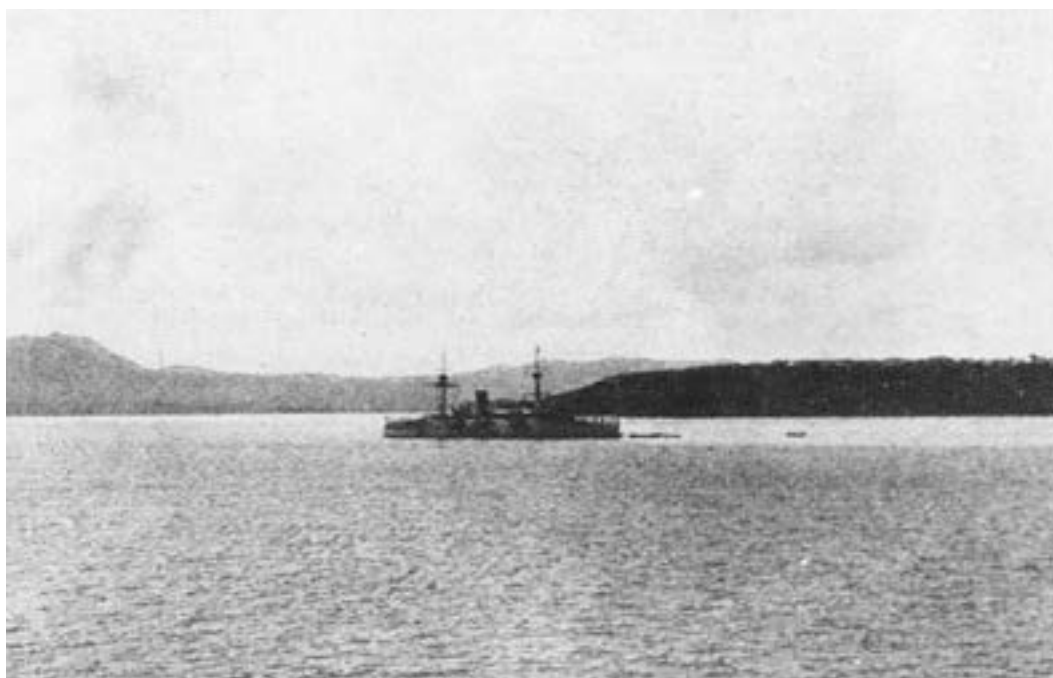


Figure 1. “Harbor Is Superb” New York Times Sub-Heading in story referring to Guam’s Apra Harbor (New York Times 1898). USS Charleston at anchor offshore of Sumay in Apra Harbor (US Navy Photo - NH# 353)

Sumay was a village located on the north-eastern corner of the Orote Peninsula just at the edge of the *caldera grande*. The eastern side of the Orote peninsula protected an inner harbor area with recorded depths of over forty feet yet punctuated by towering reef structures nearly to the surface. This was surrounded on all sides by reef flats with fresh water flowing from several streams and tidal changes that refreshed the brackish mangroves twice a day. The area was teeming with sea life and fishing was a staple industry. The north side borders an incredible harbor which is extremely deep and is protected by Cabras Island and her associated reef systems known as Luminao and Calalan Banks. Two large natural entry points created the fine *puerto* known to ancient mariners. The entire western coast is constructed of towering limestone cliffs that wrap all the way around to the southern neck of the peninsula where smooth beaches stretch toward the village of Agat.

The peninsula had been an attractive location for inhabitation for centuries. Archeologists have dated the Orote Historical Site known as Orote Point Caves as having been inhabited in the early pre-latte phase of Guam history (Carucci 1993). Early Spanish maps made shortly after their arrival on Guam, show two small villages, Orote on southern beach near the neck of the peninsula and Sumay on the

opposite side of the peninsula. Each village disappeared within a decade of the arrival of the first permanent Spanish mission (Freycinet 2003). Spanish accounts mention the murder of Father Sebastian Monroy, along with eight soldiers, by residents of Sumay in August of 1676. The attack was retaliation for the hanging of a non-Christian Chamorro seeking to halt the marriage of his daughter to a Spanish soldier¹. Sumay seems to disappear from the records in the ensuing years only to experience a rebirth brought about by sea captains preferring the wide anchorage at Apra over the narrow confined anchorage at Umatac further south along the west coast of Guam (Rogers 1995). This vibrant period would welcome vessels from all over the world and many different languages were spoken on the local streets of Sumay, Asan, and Piti. As the whaling period in the Pacific waned, the people of Sumay settled into an era of contentment with their lives dependent upon the nearby resource rich ocean and their agricultural plots on the plateau above the city.

The population of 471 people was less than four and half percent of the island total near the end of 1886; yet Spanish Governor Francisco Olive y Garcia would remark:

“The beautiful barrio of Sumay, settled by families from Agana, is located about five kilometers west, midway along the northern coast of Orote Peninsula. More of its houses are constructed of masonry than of cane; furthermore, the people have built the church of masonry with a tile roof, an accomplishment that merits the assignment of a priest. The village is located on the shore of Apra Harbor; its houses arranged along six streets that run perpendicular to the sea (Olive y Garcia 1984).”

Sumay was important to the Spanish. They also recognized its strategic value; as proven by the substantial forts of Santiago, San Luis, and Santa Cruz they had constructed to protect the harbor entrances and the inner road. All of these forts were already in poor shape in the waning days of the 1800s yet all were within a mile of the village. Governor Olive wrote at the time that “the capital could also be located at Sumay...one year after it became the capital; this town would have a population of one thousand (Ibid.). He would not be the last to believe it wise to move the capital of Guam to the Orote Peninsula village of Sumay.

¹ See Rogers (1995) for a deeper examination of the events surrounding the attack on Monroy; see also the Barrett (2003) translation of Volume II of Freycinet's *Voyage autour des monde exécuté corvettes de S.M. l'Uranie et la Physicienne, pendant les années 1817-1829. (1827-1839).*

Seizing the Road to Asia

Three hundred and thirty three years as a Spanish colonial possession ended on a Monday morning in mid-June 1898 when the report of cannons scattered fishermen away from Fort Santa Cruz in the shallows just off Sumay's eastern beach². The United States military had arrived in the form of the USS *Charleston* and the three troop ships she was escorting to Manila. Under the command of Captain Henry Glass, the *Charleston* was at war and ready for action; they had no idea what to expect from the Spanish military defending Guam. *Charleston* immediately opened fire on the decrepit ruins of the unmanned old fort while Executive Officer Lieutenant William Braunersreuther took 160 men in whale boats (in the opposite direction of Sumay) toward Piti. According to a letter written by Braunersreuther:

“I went ashore to have a talk with the governor about affairs, and the results were that I did not lose even a single man. The matter was all settled in one day, and we are carrying with us fifty-four soldiers (Spanish) and six officers, besides a lot of Mauser rifles and nearly 10,000 rounds of ammunition. I had the whole to handle, and did it up quickly (New York Times 1898).”

It is not believed that the USS *Charleston*'s crew visited Sumay before departing the harbor less than 24 hours later. If they had sent a boat to visit the steeple of Sumay's Our Lady of Guadalupe church that was visible from the ship, they would have encountered a quiet, peaceful village. Light white wisps of smoke coming from the area of thatched huts and coconut trees may have carried the smell of roasting breadfruit or searing fish to the crew of the USS *Charleston*. This idyllic vision faded as one got closer and realized the struggle of life on the peninsula matched that of the island as a whole.

The Spanish government on Guam was woefully unstable and underfunded; school was available to few, and many islanders were illiterate. Work was performed to the benefit of the rich, and near open revolt to Spanish rule seemed possible at any time (Rogers 1995). Spanish Governor Felipe de la Corte, in a report shortly after the Spanish government discontinued its annual supply of funds to the islands in

² (Farrell 1986) Don Farrell has conducted exemplary research with regard to the events surrounding the American expansionism responsible for the removal of the Spanish and the subsequent takeover by the United States. His work reveals the tenacity of the Chamorro people to weather the shifting geopolitical overtones affecting their island as well as the initial efforts of the United States to understand their new possession.

1855, wrote that the islands “find themselves in a state of complete stagnation, commercially and socially.” He went on to add that individuals “work isolated by themselves and for themselves...every man is everything and no man is anything (Thompson 1947).” Subsistence activities of the rather self-sufficient inhabitants, when combined with minor copra collections sold for small trade goods, meant that many people on Guam did not require an outside job. Spain had never solved this riddle. The strong religious leaders had no problems with the status quo at all; the people of Guam were good honest people who went to church.

The USS *Charleston* left island in 1898 to continue upon her mission to Manila; America was at war and future governance of Guam was not a concern. It would be nearly six months before an American Military Government would be installed. The transitional period from one foreign ruler to the next was difficult for an island people having lived as a Spanish colony for over three centuries. Many families had relatives in the Philippines that they were worried about with war now breaking out. Stores and news of the outside world, including directives from mother Spain, came via the subsidized ship from Manila. As the Spanish had instantly disappeared, there was a power vacuum and no governmental pass down from one group of politicians, administrators, and appointees to the next. The only continuity between old and new was the islands inhabitants.

Law and order in the meantime had deteriorated. Sumay was to be the scene of stabbing which would leave one man dead and several injured in mid-December 1898 after an argument at a cockfight between armed Filipinos and Chamorros’ (Farrell 1986). Islanders apprehensive about the future met Captain Edward Taussig when he arrived February 1, 1899 aboard the USS *Bennington*. His crew would raise the American flag (which had been raised on Wake Atoll days earlier) over Fort Santa Cruz in the shallow waters off Sumay yet he would depart after making only temporary arrangements for governance. There would be a total of six different people in charge between the removal of the Spanish governor and the arrival of Richard P. Leary, a U.S. Navy captain, who became the first official naval governor of the island in 1899.

The United States of America had emerged as a commercial and military power after seizing Spanish possessions worldwide in 1898 at the end of the Spanish-American War. Lingering American ideals from the early to mid-1800s were revitalized when the Philippines, Hawaii, and Guam all were shadowed under an American flag at the beginning of the 20th Century. Interest in the markets of Asia

and the new territories soon created a Manifest Destiny Highway which expanded the countries western shore all the way to the Philippines. Logistical issues between the United States and the Philippines had to be settled immediately.

Governor Leary arrived aboard the USS *Yosemite* after sailing from the Brooklyn Naval Yard by way of the Suez Canal. The *Yosemite* was to serve as the “station ship” for a year. Immediate issue was cultural divide which had to be bridged. The people of Guam spoke different languages, their religion was different, their habits were an oddity and even the island climate required an adjustment. Supplying a garrison and outfitting a naval base on the islands would require sincere effort. Initially, the few Americans living ashore would take up residence in the recently vacated Spanish capital of Agaña; included in this number were a contingent of U.S. Marines. The *Yosemite* had been loaded with material to support the new administration and it’s military. They, like the Spaniard Olive before them, were not happy with Agaña’s location, distance from *San Luis d’Apra*, or its sanitary conditions. Agaña also did not offer any feasible location for the critical coaling station.

A local survey board comprised of Captain Leary’s subordinates who were asked to examine options for a coaling station judged that “the site off Fort San Luis on Orote Peninsula was regarded as impractical because of its exposure to the ocean swell and its vulnerability to hostile attack from the sea, and because no water was available on the peninsula (Beers, Henry P. 1944). This report was forwarded to Washington, D.C. with recommendations for the southern end of Cabras Island to become the coaling station as it was protected from attack from the sea by high bluffs and could get fresh water easily by damming the nearby Masso River. Leary went so far as to purchase Cabras Island in anticipation of its being selected.

The famous Army Brigadier General Joseph Wheeler made an inspection visit while on the return journey from the Philippines. Wheeler, whose fame stemmed from his lifelong military service (including years as a general of the Confederate States Army), had been contacted by General Arthur MacArthur in the Philippines on January 14, 1899 and told to report to Guam to inspect the new holding. After his early February arrival, Wheeler road via horse back over the entire island and visited nearly every village yet he was only on island ninety-six hours. His cursory examination focused on brief descriptions of the people, land, flora and fauna, and the orders of Leary’s administration. He makes no open recommendations with regard to strategy. He mentions Sumay (he spelled it “Sumai”) was where he met

“the lieutenant, or *gobernadorcilla* of the town and other leading people” before boarding the USS *Warren* bound for Honolulu (Wheeler 1900).

The Navy Department ordered a second survey board, the Guam Survey Board, this time comprised of high ranking members of the Navy and Army from throughout the Pacific. They spent four months researching Guam and its options for development. As stated in the World War Two era report written by Dr. Henry P. Beers on the American Naval Occupation and Government of Guam, 1898-1902:

“The Guam Survey Board reported in favor of a site on Orote Peninsula south of Sumay for a naval base and coaling depot...Sumay offered a more extensive area for commercial purposes, could be more easily expanded, and afforded superior facilities for a commercial town site... the fine plans of the board were never carried out, and, while Olongapo and Cavite in the Philippines and Pearl Harbor in Hawaii were developed, Guam continued an insignificant naval station (Beers, Henry P. 1944).”

As part of the Guam Survey Board, a map of Orote Peninsula was drawn in 1901 which included a planned capital city at Sumay, complete with a large mansion for the governor on the hillside above the village (Cox 1902). Navy Engineer Leonard M. Cox designed a capital that included: a hospital just west of the governor’s mansion, a large Marine Barracks, a naval yard within the inner harbor complete with coaling station, five main piers, warehouses, and a nearly square one hundred block town site divided by over twenty-five wide avenues of varying lengths that took up nearly half of the peninsula. The town was to be surrounded by a naval reservation and was itself surrounded by a military reservation. These incredible charts, maps, and designs accompanied the report of the Guam Survey Board. The design of a well organized, spacious, and modern city surrounded on three sides by a military base and the other, by ocean was accepted. The Chief of Bureau of Equipment had a tract of land purchased in Sumay as the site for the location of a coaling plant for the fleet in 1903 (Maxwell 1915). Though the Guam Survey Report would be ignored by Congress, rumors of the imminent development of the peninsula must have circulated. Speculation about the forthcoming move of the military to the peninsula may have figured prominently in the decisions of an individual that traveled to Guam later at the behest of the backers of the underwater communications cable to Asia.

Commercial Considerations

One item realized by these early planners was that the island would be used for a cable station in the increasingly monopolistic and competitive communications market with China. Governor Seaton Schroeder recognized this in his Annual Report to the Navy Department in 1902 when he stated it was his “understanding that it is expected that a cable will soon be laid between here and Hawaii.”(p 4) Looking back years later, Governor Edward J. Dorn would comment that the objective of taking Guam was to secure a landing for the trans-Pacific cable.

The idea of a cable was not new. The first cables into China were placed in 1871. Two companies already controlled a monopoly on all external Chinese communications (this lasted until 1931), the “Eastern” based out of Great Britain and the “Northern” based out of Denmark (W. S. Rogers 1924). With ongoing political instability in the Philippines and no direct line of communication to the islands, Congress was informed that the construction of a trans-Pacific submarine cable was critical to America’s interest. The request, made on February 10, 1899, by none other than President William McKinley, came just months after the seizure of Guam (June 21, 1898) and the Philippines (August 13, 1898) (Beers, Henry P. 1944). Shortly thereafter the oceans around Guam had been surveyed and America started discussions with a commercial entity who would lay the cable under conditions favorable to the new landlord. The project was awarded to the Commercial Pacific Cable Company as the high cost associated with the new route and the restrictions upon landing a government owned cable into Japan proved prohibitive³.

American strategists had looked at the possibility of a cable to Asia prior to the Spanish-American War and by the end of 1899 all of the islands along the highway were in their hands. Commercial Pacific Cable Company special agent S. S. Dickinson returned to San Francisco, California, on Christmas Eve of 1902, after a trip to Midway, Guam, and Manila after a research trip (New York Times 1902). According to a Navy Department report:

“Late in 1902 an engineer of the Commercial Pacific Cable Company... visited Midway Island and Guam to select sites for cable stations. Permission to use a site recommended by him near Sumay was granted by the Navy Department, on March 14, 1903, on condition that

³ For a further discussion see Chandler Hales’ *The Projected Cable Line to the Philippines* (Hale 1900).

department have the right to terminate the license, that the company and its employees follow all laws, regulations, and orders issued by the authorities, that the government be put to no expense, and that the company pay the government for the privilege \$1 per year. The survey charts prepared by the Navy were turned over to the company, thus saving time in the laying of the cable (Beers, Henry P. 1944)."



Figure 2. Commercial Pacific Cable Company Station is depicted in this postcard from 1905. Author's private collection.

In 1904 the Commercial Pacific Cable Company, now based in Sumay, entered into contracts with the "Eastern" and the "Northern" who actually were partners in the endeavor from the beginning. The "Eastern" owned half of Commercial Pacific Cable Companies stock and the "Northern" owned one-fourth, thus the initial majority investment in the new colony would be European. The United States government collusion with the Commercial Pacific Cable Company would lead them to stake out a prominent piece of land in the village that was mostly on United States federal property with cable laid according to United States Navy surveys conducted in the opening years of the twentieth century.⁴ The engineer must have been thrilled to get a prime piece of ground so close to where the new capital was being planned. It would not be the last time that strong government

⁴ At 2007 prices the rent for this the sizable chunk of land would equal approximately \$23.33 a year (Labor 2007).

and private interests would be linked in the village of Sumay; however, not everyone held the same opinion of Sumay becoming a capital.

One of the early detractors was United States Navy governor of Guam, Commander George L. Dyer, who was against the very idea of Sumay eclipsing Agaña. Even after calling Agaña's sanitary conditions "unspeakable" in his 1904 Annual Report, he stated "Agaña will always be the principal town and the seat of the Insular Government. Whatever may be done by the United States in building the Naval Station, located elsewhere, the Governor and his staff must have headquarters at Agaña (Dyer 1904)." This is in the same report whereby he belittles the Chamorro people and calls them 'poor, ignorant, very dirty in their habits' and continues his racist remarks with the following:

"These people must be taught, at once, to help themselves in ways to make them useful to us and to attain a higher grade of living, but their preliminary steps must be guided by us and they must be supplied with means to this end now entirely beyond their own resources (Ibid.)⁵."

Obviously neither Sumay nor Guam was going to benefit from this man though his report states that 'pending the establishment of the great naval station at Sumay,' improvements had to be made (Ibid.). The road from Agaña was inching its way through the mangroves, heavy jungles and across the Sasa River where a bridge had recently been built. Dredging was recommended so larger boats could access Sumay through the reef in front of town and into the massive inner harbor area. One small town was about to grow, whether it wanted to or not.

C.H. Forbes-Lindsay stated in America's Insular Possessions in 1906, that Chamorros "have never fully learned the power and value of money...even moderate operations are rendered impracticable on account of the lack of hireable labor; and capital, if it were available, would find no channel for employment (Forbes-Lindsay 1906)." Eurocentric paternalism was expressed by Commander Dyer in his writings about the local population when he wrote that:

"They are like children, easily controlled and readily influenced by example, good and bad...These conditions are such that the interests of

⁵ This report is extremely controversial and full of questionable comments, perhaps explaining why his tenure as governor was so short lived. There were several disillusioned governors in this period that made serious errors in judgment regarding their handling of the population in their charge.

the naval station and natives are intimately interwoven. The one, as an organization, cannot escape, or live apart from the other, and the efficiency of the first depends entirely on the welfare of the second (Dyer 1904).”

Initial administration efforts were concentrated in Agaña; however, time and effort would slowly swing the pendulum in favor of the Orote Peninsula and the small village of Sumay. The first military build-up resulted in the number of civilian inhabitants growing by 20% in nine years while the number of non-native residents and naval establishment personnel soared to 721 souls by 1910 or an increase of over 500%. This unchecked influx of foreigners into Guam would change the lives of the Chamorro people, particularly those living in Sumay. Chamorros working at the cable station were earning a good income and businesses took advantage of the cable to wire orders to the United States for goods. Several families from other villages also had homes in Sumay so they could do business. Yet Sumay would have to develop from the youth up, so to speak, as education was deemed critical to produce skilled employees.

Island wide education of the population was critical for the exact reasons stated by Dyer; the two communities were now in this together. The Navy desired a lot of things from an island that had been neglected by the Spanish, did not speak English nor have useful skills in accordance with American standards of the time. A 1904 request for the sum of \$2500.00 for a Sumay school’s construction was half of that of schools in Agaña yet schools were based on the size of the population and Sumay was still quite small. School at Sumay was being taught by a hospital steward who was in charge of the dressing station in the village; he was assisted by his wife who taught the girls’ class. By 1907 there were 115 students at the school in Sumay all taught by these two teachers and attendance was recorded as a remarkable 100 percent (Potts 1907). Night school was also available to Sumay residents, both young and old alike, for a small fee. With the preliminary educational groundwork set, it was now time to ensure the peninsula could handle a military base.

Preparing the Peninsula

If Sumay was to become the naval station envisioned; massive and expensive improvements would have to be made in infrastructure, communications, and facilities of the Orote Peninsula. Though it was to be utilized for military purposes; the civilian population in the village of Sumay would directly benefit through employment if they desired to work and there was funding. The governors had to

plead their case annually to get appropriations out of the Bureau of Yards and Docks as well as the United States Department of the Navy. Many of the annual reports from Guam to Washington had a wish-list of projects the commandant of the station wanted to complete in the forthcoming year. Each benefit was evaluated to spread the meager dollars allocated for line item Guam in the Navy's budget. Progress as defined here was United States Naval Station Guam. The New York Times described it mathematically in an article entitled Great Naval Base at Guam; they said southward of Guam there was "a chain of thirteen fine-harbored islands, all of them potential naval bases for other powers (New York Times 1900). The article also pointed out that "Guam is the only place between Honolulu and Manila where an American vessel can find protection under her own flag (Ibid.)" Progress was going to require labor and lots of it.

In times of low tide or swells, Sumay was cut-off from the rest of the island. Traffic to Sumay was by boat across the harbor from Piti. Dredging was being conducted "by a road scoop, drawn by a line, worked by a winch (Potts 1907)." Needless to say, this was both an inefficient and time consuming method. The channel filled with sand nearly as quickly as it was opened since there was not a breakwater to protect the harbor. The inner harbor to the east of Sumay reached depths of 40 plus feet; however, the channel leading past Fort Santa Cruz was a shallow and narrow cut that only allowed vessels with a small draft to enter at high tide. Blasting of this channel was recommended; however, a new dredge solved the problem at a then cost of \$3000.00 in appropriations annually for the Piti and Sumay channels. This would equate to a labor cost of \$297,000 per year using unskilled labor today just to dredge the channel to a depth of six feet (Williamson 2011).

In late 1904, a new road was completed that linked Sumay and Agat; yet the crucial road from Piti to Agat/Sumay road had yet to be completed due to the difficulty encountered near the rice fields at Atantano. In 1909, this final piece of the puzzle was completed while simultaneously a road was cut the length of Orote Peninsula to assist in the mounting of ordinance on the point. These were federal roads between military points and thus were paid for by the federal government while all other roads were maintained with money from the island treasury (Dorn 1909). These roads were a major boon to farms and ranches along the way which could now easily transport their goods. It also connected Sumay to Piti and Agaña at all times. This was critical as the military decided to beef up its defenses.

Orote had always been strategic. The former Spanish fort of San Tiago soon had four American 6-inch guns almost directly atop its foundations. To do so, a new road was constructed atop an earlier path; this path, which had led to a well near the end of the peninsula during Spanish times, had been used by the small farms dotting the landscape for centuries. Ready magazines for each gun were constructed by blasting into the solid limestone near each one (Coontz 1912). These guns, like those before them, were in place to protect the vital entrance to the harbor.

Residents of Sumay learned the commercial value of a hard day's work with both the military and the Commercial Pacific Cable Company. Besides new income streams coming to the village; services and infrastructure were improving as well. Telephone service had been completed to Sumay in 1904, connecting the village to Agaña. Meteorological observations were being conducted on an arrangement made between the Philippine Weather Bureau and the Commercial Pacific Cable Company in the village; these observations were critical to give advance warning to China and Japan of any typhoon activity in the area. By 1913 a village commissioner was earning about \$300 a year was overseeing construction of a new wharf, latrine, rock-pile incinerator, and a 150,000 gallon cistern. Governor Robert E. Coontz enacted a law officially establishing the barrio of Sumay in 1914 and one company of United States Marine Corps personnel moved to Sumay in May of that same year. The little town was growing and the world was going to war.

Concentration of the Marine Command

The original plans to develop Sumay and Orote Peninsula as a military reservation and capital city had been ambitious and ignored; yet the basing of the cable station and the installation of guns to guard the harbor meant Marines would have to be close at hand in case of trouble. Governor Roy Smith stated that "the necessity for concentration of the Marine command is more and more apparent.

Recommendation to that end has been made, as well as for an increase in the force of one company for duty as a mine company (Smith 1918)." This call for growth in the number of Marines was to be repeated by various governors in the coming years.

The 41st Company of the Marine detachment emplaced at Sumay in 1914 was set atop the bluff just above the village. Their cantonment was constructed of heavy white canvas tents lashed to the ground. Complete plans for the development of Guam were unfinished; including the number of Marines that would call Guam

home, where they were to be situated, and what the make-up of the government would be on island. A Naval Board in 1909 determined that Orote Point Peninsula “is selected as a point of last stand” (Bishop 1920). If the island were totally lost, it would be lost on Orote Peninsula.

This was before the Report of Military Reconnaissance of Guam by Captain E. H. “Pete” Ellis, USMC dated September 28, 1915 in which he recommended Mount Tenjo as the stronghold. It was believed that Mount Tenjo would allow for large guns that would deny the harbor to an enemy while providing defense against landings anywhere feasible on the island. An enemy could land on Guam yet they would be unable to use it.

It should be noted that “The Joint Board” released the following incredible recommendations to the Secretary of the Navy on December 18, 1919:

- “1. That the island of Guam be fortified and garrisoned adequate to its defense against any force which could be brought against it;
2. That the harbor of Apra and the adjacent shore be prepared as a first class naval base, containing shore basing facilities for twenty modern submarines; maximum possible berthing facilities for capital ships; a dry dock of sufficient size to take any vessel built, building, or contemplated by the Navy Department; adequate supplies of fuel, supplies, and stores; and suitable repair facilities;
3. That the defense of the island of Guam, except naval defense, be provided by the war department and that the garrison be immediately increased to not less than 5000 men with an adequate supply of mobile artillery and aircraft...
4. That a detachment of not less than ten modern submarines be immediately assigned to Guam, using a mobile base (tender) until shore basing facilities are completed (The Joint Board 1919).”

There appears to be little consideration for where these troops would sleep, how they would survive, or indeed how it was to all be paid for...yet it made a fantastical plan for consideration. Meanwhile the Marines on Guam were living in canvas tents while trying to build a single barrack building (constructed of wood).

Tent life for the Marines was exacerbated by the hard labor they conducted throughout the day; Marines at Sumay were digging the coral pits that were to be

used as ammunition storage areas for the guns at the point and building the road to get to the guns themselves. Naval Station Guam Commandant William J. Maxwell mentioned that the “work of the sort (that they were doing)...should, except in very special cases, be done by unskilled hired labor (W. Maxwell 1915).” Marines performed guard duty and manned the batteries at Orote Point; they were also the policemen for the entire island at this time. Of the reported 340 Marine Corps personnel on Guam, the majority were serving near Sumay by the end of World War One. The labor needed to complete the plans for the defense of the island would come from the Marines and local labor if it could be obtained.



Figure 3. The United States Marine Corps personnel on the island worked daily to improve the defenses of the island. Here they move a Caterpillar 7” howitzer into position on their newly completed road to Mount Tenjo’s fortification site. National Archives.

The first company at Sumay was soon joined by the 42nd Company. The 42nd would also spend time under an Army officer while handling security for the prisoner-of-war camp in Asan. They watched over 383 German prisoners of war from the S.M.S. *Cormoran* which had been scuttled in the harbor in 1917. Once at Sumay they combined with the 41st Company to do ‘advance base work’ such as building emplacements, mounting guns, preparing searchlight emplacements, constructing an ammunition tramway, magazines, barracks, tool houses, galley, base-line and control stations, and roads. They also completed the construction of two Officer’s Quarters and an administration building although each of these was destroyed by a typhoon soon after completion (Smith 1918). It had taken nearly

twenty years to get the Marines out of tents and under the roofs in barracks, yet nobody seemed certain the Marines would stay on Guam. Threatened consolidation of the Marine force was rapidly approaching.

A ‘Committee Re: Execution for Plan of Defense for Guam’ met at the U.S. Navy Department in Washington, D.C. twice in 1920 to discuss bringing an expeditionary force aboard two ships and ‘obtaining options on the necessary lands, especially those held by foreigners (Robison September 20, 1920).’ Thus began a testy exchange between the Navy and the Marine Corps. The Major General Commandant John Lejeune was well aware of the Guam defense negotiations and requested that Commanding Officer Giles Bishop, Jr. of Marine Barracks, Naval Station, Guam tell him where he wanted the Marine Corps centered; Bishop replied on August 17, 1920 that “it is the opinion of the undersigned that the best possible location for any future buildings to be erected by the Marine Corps at this station, is the site on which a barracks building is now being erected, via Camp Sumay (Bishop Jr. August 17, 1920).”

Mount Tenjo was to be armed with 3 7” fixed naval guns, 2 8” howitzers, and 4 -7” Caterpillar mounted guns; the mountain would protect the peninsula and Sumay while denying use of the deep water harbor. Giles Bishop, Jr. wrote that he was on island and had walked all of the ground in question, something of which the Planning Section and General Board “are evidently in ignorance” of due to “imperfect maps, nonacquaintance with the nature of the country, its geological formations, its flora, and its inhabitants (Bishop 1920).” Ivan Cyrus Wettengel, Commandant of Naval Station (and governor of Guam), finally agreed with Bishop’s recommendation that Mount Tenjo should be the new stronghold yet he noted that the road to the site had cost \$5000 and was only 40% completed; thus the 1909 plan of holding Orote was the only feasible plan (Wettengel November 2, 1920). He also took time to note in a letter to the Major General Commandant of the Marine Corps that Guam was “an administrative unit” and as such “all activities come under the immediate military control of the Commandant” therefore if a disagreement arose over the selection of the sites, he would have final say in the matter (Ibid.). “Tenjo Plan GBJR-OSC 500.1” was authorized by the Marine Corps in a secret transmission on December 11, 1920 (Lejeune 1920).



Figure 4. Mount Tenjo with Camp Barnett visible just north of the 3 7” fixed guns. This area today is within the legislated boundary of the United States National Park Service due to its historical significance and importance in interpreting World War Two. The concrete platform with the original bolts emplaced is intact. National Archives.

“How far the people of the Pacific island of Guam have progressed in the process of Americanization” read an article about Washington’s Birthday in 1918 when the Guam Militia (reportedly 1,100 strong or 7% of the islands population) held their first parade to cheers from the local populace (New York Times 1918). There were undoubtedly benefits for the town of Sumay. Spring water flowed from a new \$30,000 project that connected the village to up to 400,000 gallons of water a day from a spring at 285 feet up the slope near Mount Alifan (Smith, Governor's Annual Report (Guam) 1917).⁶ A new school was completed to serve grades 1 through 5; the school had playground equipment and all the children participated in physical education. The streets were safe, as two Marine Corps men patrolled the village with a local unit of 55 men that could be called upon in times of strife. Garbage collection and street cleaning were contracted to a civilian enterprise in Sumay. The issues of transportation, communication, and water were solved; twenty years of education and a requirement to pay land taxes with cash were creating a labor pool. Mother Nature struck the city in July of 1918 and destroyed many of the

⁶The discovery of this spring settled one of the major discrepancies that had led to the hold-up of developing the limestone massif of Orote Peninsula; the slight advantages once enjoyed by Agaña due to her proximity to fresh water from the Fonte and Agaña Rivers was now decreased. To this day the spring, now known as Almagosa Springs, continues to act as a vital water source in southern Guam.

buildings yet they were immediately rebuilt, often with salvaged wood from the original.



Figure 5. Interior of the Maxwell School at Sumay, Guam in 1924. This school was utilized for local residents and night school. National Archives.

The picture was not entirely rosy as the segregation of the community into military and non-military continued. An American school was soon planned for Sumay so that the children of Marine officers did not have to attend school with the ‘natives.’ A new native dispensary “installed outside Camp Sumay relieved the necessity of natives going inside these places for first aid and medical treatment” according to the Annual Report of Commandant Ivan Wettengel in 1921 (I. Wettengel 1921). A dental department which handled emergency treatment to the local population was available as well; however, it had only two dentists for the entire island population which was now approaching 15,000 people so only military personnel received routine check-ups. No reference could be found in any of the defense plans for Guam about the local population. One letter mentioned evacuation of the civilians from the island in the case of imminent war yet upon further reading it was clarified to be American civilians only.

By October of 1921, the entire Marine Corps command including the headquarters was moved to Sumay. As stated by Governor Althouse in the summer of 1922, it was the “logical place” due to its modern barracks and officer’s quarters. It was recommended that now the warehouses of the islands’ Quartermaster Department

were too far away and thus they would need to be moved as well. The arrival of new marines was expected as the governors had been requesting the station be enlarged (the authorized strength was 500 men); however, it is a safe bet that the men that showed up caused quite a stir. These men would be stationed at Sumay as well along with their equipment which included six seaplanes with bi-wings.

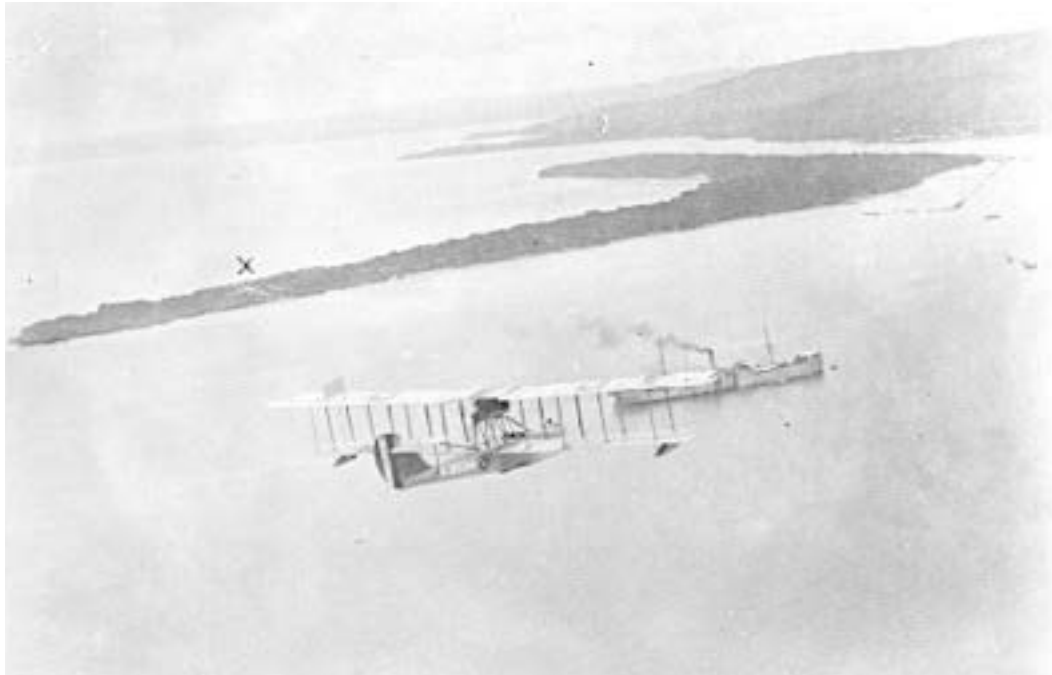


Figure 6. Curtiss HS-2L #A-2026 from the Marine Corps Air Squadron “Flight L” seen here above Apra Harbor and the USS Gold Star; Cabras Island in background is separated by the channel in front of the Piti Navy Yard.

“Flight L”, as the group was known, moved to Guam from Parris Island, South Carolina. The group consisted of six pilots and nearly one hundred aircrew. Aircraft skimming across the water in front of Sumay would now be a common site. Massive construction ensued within the village as a seaplane ramp, aircraft hanger, barracks, maintenance shops, and assorted collateral buildings sprang up in the center of town, just downhill from the cable station.

The naval administration had not properly prepared for the amount of labor needed to construct an entire air station in the city. A letter from Governor Wettengel stated that “the quality of native unskilled labor is average and probably better than that produced by the American negro in southern United States...The pay of white supervisors varies from \$2.56 to \$4.72 per diem. The few native labor supervisors receive from \$1.12 to \$1.84 per diem (I. C. Wettengel 1920).” At first, the Marines hired local craftsmen and laborers to assist them in the construction of their new facility; however, they then ran out of appropriations for the work and

“natives would have to be dispensed with (Althouse 1922).” One day the Chamorro labor force was working and the next day they were sent home.

The major point of contention between the land owners and the new squadron was that the land the air station sat upon in Sumay was leased in six month intervals. The military had expected to purchase the land outright yet did not have funding to do so; yet the owners were now not able to resettle as they had not enough money from the lease to do so (Ibid.). This quandry created a strain on relations with the residents of the village and would persist for the decade that the air squadron was on Guam.

The Washington Naval Conference in 1922 created another issue for the growing naval station. While ostensibly an arms treaty, provision XIX of the Four Power Treaty prohibited Great Britain, France, Japan, and United States from constructing any new fortifications or naval bases in the Pacific. Now all military construction on Guam had to fall under what became known as “status quo” or only maintenance and improvement of existing facilities and armaments. It seemed like Sumay was going to get a breather from all of the construction work though Acting Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt Jr. (son of President Theodore Roosevelt) said it was okay to build one subterranean chamber of approximately 60,000 cubic feet, a 400,000 gallon cistern, a telephone line from Mount Tenjo to Fonte Bridge, and a Post Exchange and amusement room (Roosevelt Jr. 1922). It is known that the cistern (later used as a swimming pool), Post Exchange, amusement room, and telephone line were completed; however, documentation on the subterranean chamber has thus far been undiscovered.

Recreation was important to the administration on the island yet even this could be contentious in Sumay. The men of the Navy and Marine Corps engaged in several different types of activities, often competing against one another or local island teams. There was a well established baseball league with four teams from the military and two teams consisting of local men. A service club with library complete with reading and writing rooms, phonographs, and a piano were available to military personnel not in the pool room playing on one of two billiard tables. Smokers or boxing matches were held on a regular basis and movies were now shown at either the Marine Barracks on the plateau above Sumay or at the air station now known as Scouting Squadron One in the village. Tennis and handball courts were built near both the hangar at the squadron and the barracks; a volleyball court was available as well. Dances were a popular way of burning off

steam for people of the military establishment. All of these options for entertainment were passed over to grab furnished clubs and hit the links on the golf course built in 1923 near the marine barracks. The military were enjoying many recreational activities in the early twenties yet events in China would require the men's attention elsewhere.

As nationalism grew in China, the United States moved troops into the country for the protection of American interests and its citizens who might inadvertently get caught up in the upheaval. The Marine Barracks sent nearly 250 men overseas to China in December 1925 (Brown 1926). Suddenly the large numbers of Marines that lived in and around Sumay were cut in half by deployments and then the real blow to the village occurred when the Marine aviation unit sailed for China aboard the USS *Goldstar*, Guam's station ship (Shapley 1927). Many of the duties of the Marines had to be handled by naval personnel as the number of marines had dwindled to a paltry 41 men. Those that had been convinced to give up their subsistence farming and fishing to work for the military around the village were beginning to feel the pinch. Marines slowly filtered back from China, but it was not until 23 September 1929 that the aviation personnel, now a part of Patrol Squadron 3-M, returned to Guam. The earlier losses in income by the residents of the village was offset by the disbursement of \$44,406.94 in wages (the economic power of that income today would be \$6.5 million (Williamson 2011)) all being paid out in Sumay as the new decade began. Hospital staff, teachers, support personnel, cable station employees, and the various navy personnel attached to Sumay all contributed to the amount of disposable income within the village.



Figure 7. This photo of Sumay in January 1930 was taken at the pinnacle of pre-war military and commercial investment. National Archives.

By 1930, the population of the peninsula stood at 1,211 souls with 148 farms and 210 livestock between them; of these 1,030 lived in Sumay proper (Bradley 1930). The farms produced corn, sweet potatoes, taro, yams, cassava, rice, arrowroot, sugar cane, coconuts, breadfruit, oranges, lemons, papaya, mangos, grapefruit, and kapok. The town gained electrical service for the first time in 1929 under then Governor Willis Bradley. He attributed the work done to make it happen to the Marines of the barracks and air squadron. The order in which the town was to be electrified was Marine Reservation and Air Station, Cable Station, and possibly the town of Sumay. There were new logistical issues created by the returning Marines as well. Water service to the peninsula was now taxed beyond the systems capability and water was not available for several hours each day as the water mains were too small for the consumptive levels being experienced around the town. Unfortunately the water system was about to have considerably fewer people to support.

Guam had been in military limbo throughout most of the 1920s as a result of the treaty arrangement. While this did not influence the construction of the seaplane base at Guam constructed in 1921, it did have an effect on the squadron in 1931. Congress decided to demilitarize Guam. This had come at the end of the ten year period specified in the treaty. For Sumay it meant the dismantling of “all shore-defense guns...and the departure of the marine aviation wing” (Farrell, *The Sacrifice, 1919-1943* 1991). Sumay held over 1,000 residents at the beginning of the 1930s. The demilitarization of Guam would result in the removal of over 300

Marines. Just as the removal of the squadron to fly in China in 1927 had hurt the economy, this move meant the permanent loss of customers for businesses in Guam, and specifically, Sumay.

This was a substantial blow to the people. In an interview published in 2002, Gregorio Borja remarked upon his father who had worked for the squadron for ten years and lost his job when they pulled out of Sumay, forcing him to go back to farming (Petty 2002). The demilitarization left only enough personnel essential for the governance of the Chamorros and the handling of vessels that stopped over on their way to Asia. Sumay had placed her eggs in one basket and Congress had dumped them out onto the ground.

Help Wanted

The small community at Sumay had experienced rapid growth, infrastructural development, education, and seen businesses flourish under the influx of United States Marine Corps personnel. The number of Marine Corps officers and enlisted had fallen from a high of nearly six hundred men to less than a hundred fifty souls. Just as with the deployments during the period of tension with China, Washington policy shifts offered little if any notice to the local population. Marines boarded ships departing Guam en masse. The empty hangar in the center of Sumay was flanked by gutted administration buildings and empty workshops. Just as the town had been burnt to the ground by the Spanish and left to wither when the whaling fleets withdrew, Sumay now faced an uncertain future. It would take four years of watching the former buildings of the air station decay before the next major player in Sumay's future appeared.



Figure 8. The first Pan-American Clipper landed on October 13, 1935. The water tanks above the cable station are seen in the background. Here the plane is maneuvered utilizing the guide-rail trolley system. Micronesian Area Research Center.

The arrival of the Pan American Airways chartered ship S.S. *North Haven* in 1935 was not a secret to anyone within the Naval Government of Guam. Pan Am had set out on an ambitious plan to use American held territories as stepping stones across the Pacific Ocean. In his book, *China Clipper*, Ronald Jackson (1980) quotes Admiral Harry Yarnell as stating “operating bases to be established by this company in Midway, Wake Island, Guam and Manila are of great advantage to the Navy (Jackson 1980).” A construction crew brought by the *North Haven* only needed to modernize its newly leased former Marine Corps air station (Hartendorp 1935). The entire parking area where the planes would berth overnight was fitted with a guide-rail trolley so the grand silver monsters, with their wingspan of 130 feet, would not be damaged while negotiating the 180 foot wide slip (Grooch 1936). The crew also built the new Skyways Hotel for arriving aircrews and future passengers (Carano and Sanchez 1964). Guam, once three weeks from the west coast of the United States by steamship, could now be reached in three days.

The route and proposed bases across the Pacific were not going unnoticed by the Japanese government either. Protests from Japan began in March of 1935 and continued unabated until they took sinister overtones with special agents sneaking aboard and attempting to physically sabotage the *China Clipper* in San Francisco later that year (Jackson 1980). The contention on the part of the Japanese naval

authorities was that the bases altered “the strategic position in the Western Pacific and will increase the striking power of the United States in Asian waters (New York Times 1936).” Japanese newspapers printed unofficial protests that deemed the Pan Am installations an 'unfriendly act.' (Niderost 2006). The improved slip at Sumay was only sixty miles from the Japanese mandated island of Rota which had long since been declared off-limits to all American traffic. The collusion between United States government and this commercial enterprise in the center of the mandates almost certainly placed a new target onto their growing lists of perceived threats in the region.

Several interesting and provocative sources point to concerns about Sumay and Guam being developed or hardened prior to World War Two in the Pacific. One of these is a letter classified as secret from then Admiral Husband Kimmel, Commander-in-Chief of the United States Pacific Fleet to Admiral H.R. Stark, the Chief of Naval Operations. A letter was written between February of 1941 and the outbreak of hostilities in December of the same year to discuss whether or not building up Guam was a wise decision. Kimmel states flatly that any fortifications in 1941 on Guam would be valuable only as long as Guam was in our hands; he argues that “the facilities would be likely to aid us but little in this emergency, and may be helpful to an enemy (Kimmel 1941).” He was correct in these assumptions.

A report, known as the Hepburn Report after the United States Navy Admiral in charge of the investigations, recommended huge improvements and expenditures for Sumay and Guam. The report stated that “a strong advanced fleet base at Guam, developed to the practical limits which the natural resources invite, would assure practical immunity of the Philippines against hostile attack in force,” and “the most favorable conditions that could be brought about for the prosecution of naval operations in the western Pacific (Walsh 1996).” A request was put forth to Congress for \$5,000,000 to improve the harbor; it was “Stricken out, after debate, on the floor (Ibid.)”

There were last minute economic infusions prior to World War Two that had to do with construction projects authorized in mid to late 1940 and in early 1941 in National Defense Appropriation Acts. The nearly five million dollar in investments called for dredging, bomb-proofing, and surveys, yet it did not amount to much as far as money in the hands of Sumay residents. Construction equipment began arriving even as Governor George McMillin was sending a flurry of letters to the

senior members of the Shore Station Development Board requesting more funding.

McMillin's amazing communiqués were declassified in 1989. They each deal with military development on Guam and appear to be honest appraisals of what would be required to make Guam a difficult target. McMillin's plan was divided into several sections or enclosures. One called for \$1,500,000 to tunnel into the vertical cliff face on Orote Point to store ammunition, mines, and torpedoes and to dredge the inner harbor among other things. One ambitious priority was the request for \$14,500,000 for the development of a sea and land plane base in the Sumay area and a submarine and light craft base in the inner harbor. In perhaps the most interesting request, McMillin proposes a base for two thousand marines capable of expansion to seven thousand marines at a cost of \$4,000,000. He goes on to state that \$200,000 is required to purchase private holdings, yet states that it is believed the whole of Orote Peninsula will be required, with the exception of the town of Sumay and the adjacent cemetery. The entire town would be surrounded by a military reservation.

Tourists and businessmen shuttled back and forth from the United States aboard the Clipper planes along with military and diplomatic personnel during this period. Japanese special envoy Mr. Saburo Kurusu spent the night at the Skyways Hotel on his way to Washington, D.C. with an eleventh hour attempt to stop World War Two; ironically, the very building he stayed in was struck by Japanese bombs and machine gun fire from their fighters out of Saipan within a month of his visit (Gandt 1985).

The Tip of the Spear Attacked

Aircraft fly down the island of Guam from north to south when arriving from Saipan today, following a nearly identical flight plan as those around 8:30 one Monday morning in December some sixty six years ago. Those planes in 1941 were much higher as they flew over the capital of Agaña heading south toward their objective at Sumay (R. F. Rogers 1995). The Navy Yard at Piti and Cabras Island raced under the wings of the lead planes as they looked across the open expanse of water toward the Orote Peninsula and sighted in on the Standard Oil Company tanks on the pier at Sumay. The first stick of bombs would overshoot the target and plow into the kitchen of the Skyways Hotel, killing the first people of World War Two on the island of Guam. Moments later, bombs from trailing planes found their mark. A plume of smoke rising from the destroyed oil tanks would signal to the

entire island that Sumay had been hit hard.⁷ Japan Imperial Navy's South Seas Detached force of seaplanes, attack aircraft, and bombers ordered by the Base 5 Troop Commander Rear Admiral Atsushi Kasuga to take off at 5:00AM had arrived over their target (Kang 2003). This was just forty-five minutes before news of Pearl Harbor would reach the Governor of Guam, Captain George J McMillin, USN. According to a post-war United States Marine Corps historical monograph series, that first of many bombs impacted the village at 8:27AM on the morning of December 8, 1941 (Lodge 1998). The time is significant as it marked the last normal day before Sumay disappeared into war.

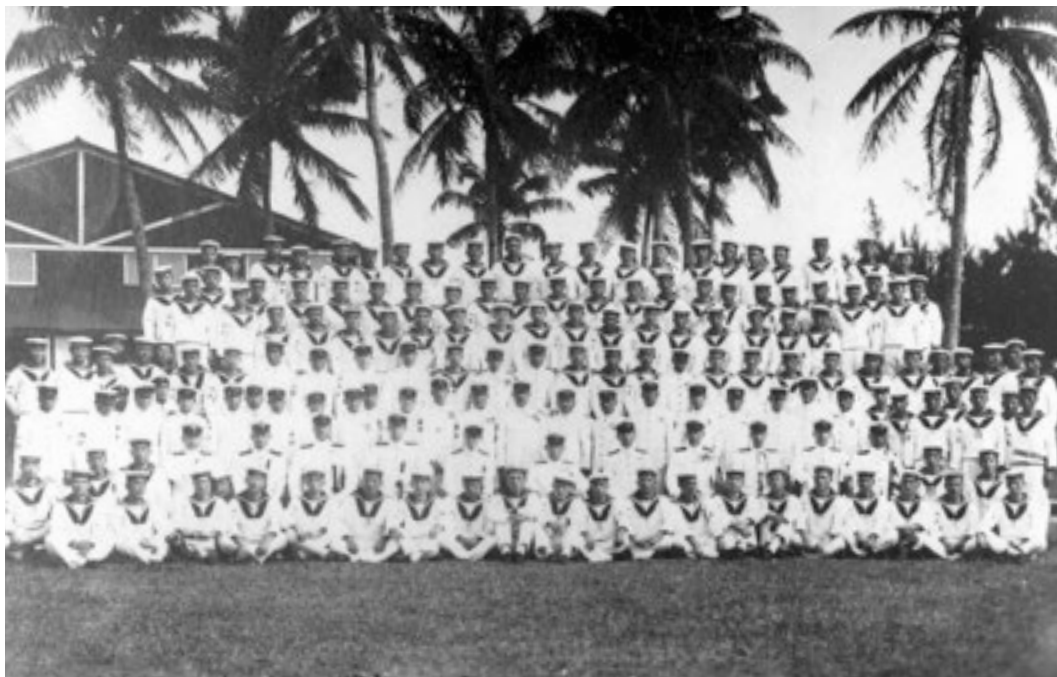


Figure 9. Japanese sailors posing in front of their new home in the former United States Marine Corps barracks. The barracks appear in almost all photos freshly painted as they had just been rebuilt from the 1940 typhoon that struck Sumay. National Archives.

Sumay had become the tip of the spear for America in the expanse between Hawaii and the Philippines. The tip is almost always damaged, whether bent or broken, when it misses the mark. Militarily, for the Japanese, it was a good target – Sumay held the Marine Barracks, four large storage tanks with a critical fuel surplus, rows of drums full of gasoline lay near warehouses they believed held military supplies.

⁷ Various authors have covered this opening action in-depth and numerous oral histories as well as award winning documentaries like *The Liberation of Guam* support this chain-of-events although it is questioned whether or not the USS *Penguin* just off-shore was engaged first or as a target of opportunity to the planes after having flown over the peninsula and unloaded their bombs. Machine gun fire only is usually recorded as having been used against the USS *Penguin*.

Communications with the outside world was possible through the Commercial Pacific Cable Company and a former military seaplane base at Sumay could be used at anytime for retaliation. Sumay was high on the target list for the Japanese military.

Conclusion

Sumay experienced a period of development from 1900 to 1941, including: the Commercial Pacific Cable Company, schools, roads, water and latrine systems, electrical power, piers, and communications. The people witnessed real benefits in their lives with greater access to the rest of the island community, improved living conditions, increased job opportunities, a plethora of recreational pursuits, and direct shipment of goods and services from outside sources. It is important to mention that this development was more of a roller-coaster than an upward rise. Sumay was hit hard economically when the United States Marine Corps deployed to conflicts in China in 1926-1927, after the 1931 demilitarization of the island, and again during the Japanese occupation beginning in 1941.

After the attack on the opening day of World War Two on Guam, it was only a matter of time before Japanese soldiers arrived and moved into Sumay. They remained in the city until dislodged by American forces in July of 1944. The Strategic Study of Guam report from the Office of Naval Intelligence (1944) called for maximum destruction of all installations in Sumay. This was done with efficiency and expedited to dislodge a formidable Japanese defense. The true cost of peninsula's strategic value may lie in the blood of the 3,000 men from the United States and Japan who lost their lives in the battle for Orote Peninsula in July 1944. Sumay was destroyed by order of the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations Naval Intelligence Division following an early 1944 call for "damage at Sumay will consist of maximum destruction of all installations (Operations Naval Intelligence 1941)." The decision saved lives that would have been lost trying to secure the village site. It was later discovered that the village was the most heavily mined on the island.

Sumay's strategic importance soon led to its rebirth as a military base; Apra Harbor was the second busiest port in the entire world in 1945 as the Allies prepared to invade Iwo Jima, Okinawa, and ultimately the Japan home islands. Though none of its 150,000 new residents were Chamorro nor were original residents allowed to move back, they were able to stay together. A new village site called Santa Rita moved the "Taotao Sumay" to where many still reside today. In 1945, Naval Base Guam would arise and utilize the entire peninsula very much as Navy Engineer Cox

had originally planned in 1902. The remains of the city proper are now on the National Register of Historic Places.

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Oelke Farley's current research explores cultural landscape change during the United States military development of Guam from 1899-1941, focusing on the *Caldera d'Apra* area.

Carolinians and Chamorros in Japanese Mandated NMI: A Review of Tadao Yanaihara's Studies on Micronesia

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Abstract: *Tadao Yanaihara (1893-1961) is one of the most renowned pre-war Japanese researchers on the topic of Japanese colonial policy and international studies. Many researchers on Japanese Mandated Micronesia, both in and outside of Japan, frequently refer to his Pacific Islands under Japanese Mandate (1936). However, no analysis has been conducted about his studies on Micronesians themselves. While visiting all over Micronesia in the early 1930s, Yanaihara assured himself that a mandatory system should be maintained in order to protect Pacific peoples from economical and military competition among great powers. My presentation is based on the thorough research that I conducted on his collection of Micronesia -interviews, documents and folk materials, highlighting the following: (1) local people's life and society in NMI that are not written in his book; (2) his evaluation toward Japanese policy for local people; (3) NMI described by Yanaihara in relation to the following semi-war period.*

Introduction

Tadao Yanaihara¹ (1893-1961) is one of the most renowned pre-war Japanese researchers on Immigration Studies and Colonial Studies based on Economics. He was also one of the pioneers of International Studies in Japan analyzing immigration and colonization.² He studied the problem of Japanese colonial

¹ Tadao Yanaihara was born in Ehime prefecture and graduated from Tokyo Imperial University. He got a post there and had a lecture of Colonial Policy in the Faculty of Economics after Inazo Nitobe. His *Shokumin oyobi shokumin seisaku* (Colonization and Colonial Policy) (1927) is one of his representative works. His opposition to Japanese militarism and expansionism was attacked by militaristic scholars in 1930s. However, he kept on criticizing Japanese government's policies. After World War II, he returned to his position and was a core member of establishing International Studies in the Faculty of Liberal Arts. He was one of the first theorists of International Studies in Japan. He served as a dean of the Faculty of Liberal Arts and later the president of Tokyo University (1951-1957). He was famous as a pupil of Uchimura Kanzō, founder of the Mukyōkai (Nonchurch) Christian movement. See Shigehiko Kamosita et al. eds., *YANAIHARA TADAO* (University of Tokyo Press; Tokyo 2011); Yumiko Imaizumi, "Tadao YANAIHARA: The First Theorist on International Relations in Japan," *The Study of International Relations* 23 (March 1997).

² We can see them in Tadao Yanaihara, *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* (Yanaihara Tadao's Complete Works), vols. 1-5, 18-19 (Iwanami Shoten: Tokyo, 1963-1964).

administration and criticized its assimilation policy and militaristic character. In 1937, Yanaihara was forced to resign from Tokyo Imperial University for his stance against Japanese militarization policy. Some of his writings were banned from publication.

His *Pacific Islands under Japanese Mandate*³ is considered as an outstanding research about the Japanese mandated Micronesia. Many researchers, both in and outside of Japan, frequently refer to this book. For example, handbooks and reports edited by US Navy and anthropologists involved in Micronesia's administration policy in its early days relied on his book. This book was one the few books that describes the Japanese administration for Micronesia in the first half of 1930s. It gives us much information based on his in-depth archival research and fieldwork, and this information was not given in government publications.

However, no analysis has been conducted about his studies on Micronesia themselves. His detailed examination for Japanese imperialism and colonialism is rated highly,⁴ but his critical standpoint was evaluated from his rather humanitarian convictions based on Christian views.⁵ Furthermore, little attention has been given about the compulsory systems imposed on the Micronesian peoples in his Micronesian studies, especially the mandatory system. If any, one tends to pick up his criticism of Japanese policy for Micronesia in the same context as Korea or Taiwan, which were then territories of Japan. On the other hand, some have noted his approval of mandatory systems as a vehicle to modernize Micronesia and criticized him for having "imperial mentality."⁶

³Japanese edition was published in 1935 by Iwanami Shoten. There were two English editions: the one was published in 1939 by Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., and the other was published in 1940 by Oxford University Press. Yanaihara wrote English edition was as the same as Japanese one, except he gave the census figures of October 1, 1935. However, in actuality, English version was more simplified than Japanese one in chapter and description. The translator and editing policy of English version has not been known.

⁴ Katsuhiko Murakami, "Yanaihara Tadao ni okeru shokuminron to shokuminseisaku," in Iwanami Series; *Modern Japan and her Colonies*, vol.4, eds. Kyoji Asada et al. (Iwanami Shoten : Tokyo, 1993)

⁵Mark R. Peattie, *Nan'yo: the rise and fall of the Japanese in Micronesia, 1885-1945* (Pacific Islands Monograph Series. No.4, University of Hawaii Press: Hawaii, 1988), pp.116-117, Suzan C. Townsend, *Yanaihara Tadao and Japanese Colonial Policy: Redeeming Empire* (Curzon Press: Richmond, 2000), pp.189-207.

⁶ Ichiro Tomiyama, *Zoho Senjo no kioku* (Nihon Keizai Hyoronsha: Tokyo, 2006), pp.99-109; Toru Sakano, *Teikoku Nihon to Jinruigakusha: 1884-1952* (Keiso Shobo: Tokyo, 2005), pp.378-380.

I partially agree with these reviews, however, I'd like to stress all these reviews of Yanaihara's research entirely fail to consider the following three points. The first is his methodology and his subject for his Micronesian Studies which devoted special attention to the mandate system. In other words, he emphasized that worldwide anti-colonialism movement hampered Great Powers' getting new colonies in traditional way. He felt that at the time, they could not help declaring to promote "well-being" and "self reliance" of the colonized people based on international laws. He saw Great Powers could not apply the "sacred trust of civilization" as they did in 19th century. Yanaihara looked at the mandatory system as a new colonial system for Great Powers to keep their world colonial order. Therefore, he insisted on maintaining the mandatory system to refrain the colonial powers, especially Japan, from exploiting colonized people. It would be natural for Yanaihara to regard a class C mandate Micronesia as a key to "maintain the peace of the Pacific."⁷ The second is his examination of modernization of Japanese administration in relation to its predecessor, Germany. He made clear that capitalistic modernization of Micronesia and the rapid destruction of local society already began under German administration. Then he researched what and how Japan took over from the preceding administration and described the implications of that administration. The third is his analyzing colonial mandates within the framework of Japan's interest and policy for Micronesia. For example, most studies pointed out Japan's assimilation policy in Micronesia in the same context as that in Korea or Taiwan. However, we should confirm Micronesia was not a territory like those colonies.⁸ The legal status of local people of Micronesia was not "Dai Nihon Teikoku

⁷ Tadao Yanaihara, *Pacific Islands under Japanese Mandate* (Oxford University Press: London and New York, 1944), p.305.

⁸ For example, Peattie, who elaborately analyzes assimilation policy in all Japanese colonies, characterizes "Japanization" of Micronesia in the same context of that of Korea and Taiwan. He only points out Micronesians did not have a common cultural heritage with Japan. Peattie concludes Micronesians were hard to acquire Japanese citizenship because they were discriminated as "third class people." It was true Japanese government treated Micronesians as "third class people," however, we should also see the mandatory system did not allow Japan to treat Micronesians as Japanese subjects. Then it became clear the problem of teaching Micronesians Japanese language and moral education which were essential for Japanese national education. See Peattie, *Nan'yo: the rise and fall of the Japanese in Micronesia*, pp.103-112; Yumiko Imaizumi, "Japanese Rule in Micronesia (1914-22)," *Study of International Relations*, Extra Issue (March 1990), pp.11-12; Yumiko Imaizumi, "Public School Policy and Practices of South Seas Government," *Okinawa Bunka Kenkyu* 22 (February, 1996).

Sinmin” (Japanese subjects) but “Tomin” (Inhabitants of the Island)⁹. Therefore, Micronesian people had no obligation to be given Japanese national education since they are not Japanese subjects. Then Yanaihara’s analysis shall be understood in terms of his assertion that Micronesia was not an annexed territory of Japan.

This paper is an attempt to re-evaluate Yanaihara’s analyses of Micronesia focusing on Saipan,¹⁰ based on a thorough research on his whole collection of Micronesia¹¹-interviews, documents and folk materials-, and his methodology, highlighting the following: (1) his evaluation for mandatory system in the context of the history in the 1930s; (2) and the life of the local peoples with emphasis on the economic development and education in Saipan. Finally I will try examine his analysis on the pre-war period in the next section of my paper. Through this analysis, we can also examine the possibilities and limitation of research in its historical background and Japanese “colonial responsibility”¹² for Micronesia.

⁹ Permanent Mandates Commission inquired of Japan the status of local people (Permanent Mandates Commission, Minutes, 21th Session (1932)). Japan explained it by inserting “legal position of local people” into the Annual Report from 1931. It said local people could not get the status of Japanese subjects except voluntarily through naturalization, marriage or having some other reason to take legal procedure. There were a few cases to be reported who got Japanese nationality.

¹⁰ Re-evaluating Yanaihara’s analyses for Micronesia about the mandate system, local people and Okinawan immigrants in his International Studies, see Yumiko Imaizumi, “Nanyogunto Kenkyu” (Research of South Seas Islands), in YANAIHARA TADAO, eds. Shigehiko Kamosita et al..

¹¹ We can see Yanaihara’s collection of colonial studies (Yanaihara collection) in University of the Ryukyus Library. See <http://manwe.lib.u-ryukyu.ac.jp/yanaihara/> (Japanese only); Shotoku Nakahodo and Yumiko Imaizumi et al., The Micronesia Collection of Tadao Yanaihara at University of the Ryukyus Library: List and annotated bibliography (University of the Ryukyus Library: Okinawa, 1995). His ethnological, botanical and marine life collection of Micronesia was owned by KOMABA MUSEUM, the University of Tokyo.

¹² “Colonial Responsibility” as a historical concept is different from “colonial crime” as a legal concept, and is advocated to realize the “real” decolonization of the colonized people suffering wider and various violence of colonialism. It is a new concept presented by Yoko Nagahara making much of recently visible world-wide movement by colonial victims and their descendants bringing the declaration of “[World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance](#)” held by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights at Durban in 2001. This declaration is closely related to this 1st Mariana History Conference, because one of the evaluation for the Durban conference is “closed the era opened by Christopher Columbus and has called for a new reading of that period of our [colonial victims] common history” reviewed by Pierre Sane in “[Reflections on Durban and after](#),” Pambazuka News, (accessed June 18, 2012). See Yoko Nagahara ed., “Shokuminchi Sekinin” Ron: Datsu Shokuminchika no Hikakushi (Colonial Responsibilities: a Comparative History of Decolonization) (Aoki Shoten, Tokyo, 2009).

Perspective and methodology of Yanaihara's research on Micronesia

Yanaihara visited every Japanese colony for his research. Before visiting Micronesia, he had several trips in Taiwan and Korea from 1920s. He wrote and lectured about these colonies pointing out Japan's imperialistic economy, "KEISATSU SEIJI" (authoritative or oppressive policy under police control) and assimilation policy based on the Japanese Emperor System.

Characterizing Japanese colonial administration, he conducted comparative studies of Japan's, England's and France's colonial policy. He also studied India, Ireland and Palestine especially their nationalism, independence movement or immigrants' activities. His analyses about Japanese administration is marked by comparative examination on historical and world-wide perspective based on archival and field research.

Rating his achievements, the Japanese Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR) requested him to research Japanese mandated Micronesia in May 1932. IPR had a collaborative research entitled "Dependency in the Pacific and its people."

Accepting the request of IPR, Yanaihara set his goal for this research. It was "to ascertain the exact nature and extent of the economic and social development of the inhabitants of the islands under the Japanese administration in comparison with the former German regime, and to note the developments achieved in the islands by the Japanese administration."¹³ He showed special interest in NMI and the reason is as follows. One was his interest for Nanyo Kohatsu Kabusikikaisha (NKK) monopolized islands' economy. Then he noticed Japanese immigration poured into NKK's sugar industry and how they effected on local society. The other interest was Christianity's modernization of local people. In Saipan, the influence of the Catholic Church was very great and this was the point for Yanaihara to analyze modernization of local society. Furthermore, he was conscious of some questions about Japanese mandate presented by the Permanent Mandate Commission (PMC) of the League of Nations, which will be described later.

Yanaihara had another interest to research Micronesia. As a specialist of Immigration and International Studies, he paid special attention to the mandate system. He described the modern history of international relations as the competition among the big powers. Then he recognized world history as a colonizing process and made much of the interaction between colonized people

¹³ Yanaihara, "Preface" in *Pacific Islands under Japanese Mandate*, p.v.

and colonizers to create a new society. However, Yanaihara understood that colonization frequently results in exploitation of the colonized. Therefore, he paid much attention to world-wide sentiments of anti-colonialism and nationalism that brought about World War I prevented the great powers from acquiring new colonies unlike in the past. Then, he attempted to define the mandate system as a new form of colonization in world history. Yanaihara suggested that this new form of colonization is different from the position of the great powers' approach to colonization — to promote the welfare and self-reliance of the people based on international law.

Japanese mandate Micronesia was a class C mandate, and Japan “shall have full power of administration and legislation over the territory subject to the present mandate as an integration portion of its territory.”¹⁴ For Yanaihara, Micronesia as a class C mandate was the place where new colonial policy was tested to promote the welfare of peoples “not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world.”¹⁵

Yanaihara started researching the previous work of ethnological research of Micronesia. He surveyed publications edited by Japanese Government and Nanyo Cho (South Seas Government) as well. We can see in his notebook how thoroughly Yanaihara conducted preparatory research. He also sent the questionnaires to offices, schools and hospitals of South Seas Government, and churches.

Through this preparatory research he decided to go Micronesia. He wrote:

“The publication issued by the South Seas Government contain many valuable statistics but give little or no information regarding the social system peculiar to the islanders. Books written by ethnologists no doubt give much useful information on the social life of the natives, but for an investigation into the present-day economic and social conditions of the islanders the accounts contained in them are not enough without a direct observation of the conditions as they are to-day. For an analytical study of the process of collapse which the native social system have been undergoing, and the gradual advancement of the native toward modern

¹⁴ The 6th paragraph, Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

¹⁵ The 1st paragraph, Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

standards of life, neither government reports nor early accounts of travelers and ethnologists are of much assistance.”¹⁶

In brief, his main objective was getting information about “present-day economic and social conditions of the islanders” through his own direct observations.

His field trip was carried out twice: the first was for all principal islands located in the South Seas Government (July 3rd – September 16th in 1933); the second was mainly for Yap (June 24th – July 31st in 1934), and he stayed a few days on Saipan visiting Tanapag. It took almost one week from mainland Japan to Micronesia by direct line. He wrote in his book that half of the trip was spent on the voyage itself. Once he landed on the island, Yanaihara energetically interviewed, sometimes in German or English, local people, foreign missionaries, Japanese farmers and so on. His notebook shows how he tried to understand the “present-day economic and social conditions,” under Japanese administration compared with former German rule. On his return to Tokyo, he dedicated much time to complete his book. He emphasized that more comprehensive investigations should be conducted to complete his study satisfactorily.

Historical background of Yanaihara’s research

It should be pointed out that when Yanaihara first visited Micronesia in 1932, the Manchurian Incident occurred the previous year. Japan declared withdrawing from the League of Nations in 1933 and it was formalized in 1935. Similarly, the London Naval Treaty and the Washington Naval Treaty expired in the mid-1930s. Japan began its aggressive expansion toward Asia after the Manchurian Incident thus isolating Japan even more from international society. The Japanese called this period the crisis of 1935 or 1936 and brought anxiety among the people on the increasing potential for militaristic rivalries among the Great Powers in the Pacific. Against a backdrop of anxiety, a slogan of “lifeline of the Pacific” in combination with “lifeline of the continent” was trumpeted in Japan. This was viewed by some as Japan’s way to maintain control of Micronesia while others viewed this as an interpretation of the Paris Peace Conference. There were other opinions that this was a move by Japan to annex Micronesia.

The year of 1932 implied another special meaning for South Seas Government. It was the ten-year anniversary for its administration. South Seas Government evaluated themselves highly in fulfilling the high economic growth in mandated

¹⁶ Yanaihara, “Preface” in *Pacific Islands under Japanese Mandate*, p.vi.

Micronesia. In fact, Nanyo Kohatsu Kabusikikaisha (NKK), strongly supported by South Seas Government, monopolized the sugar industry in Japanese mandated Micronesia. In the early 1930s, NKK made the finance of South Seas Government independent from public financial assistance.¹⁷ This company expanded its business and opened its office in Southeast Asia.

On the other hand, South Sea Government emphasized the difficulties of civilizing local people. It said “tropical climate makes local people improvident and lazy as they have abundant foods and little need for clothing. It will take much time to assimilate and civilize the local people.”¹⁸

This is an appeal to the League of Nations for a better understanding about the challenges faced in the islands. The Permanent Mandate Commission (PMC), a committee to examine Japanese annual report, rated Japanese administration in some areas. For example, only Japanese Mandate Micronesia showed rapid economical development and high school enrollment in all class C mandates. However, the Commission was afraid some areas were not administered appropriately. For example, here we can see three questions presented by the Committee. First was rapid increase of Japanese immigrants who occupied local economical activities. Second was educational system focused on teaching Japanese language. And third was decline of native population of local people, especially in Yap.¹⁹

As we will see later, Japanese government insisted that these were not violating Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. It was important for Japan to gain a reputation as a civilized nation and to keep the right to administer Micronesia. It should also be added that Japan’s main objective for ruling Micronesia was to make it her actual territory. Through Naval period, Japan made a policy to send many Japanese immigrants to Micronesia from mainland Japan and to make Micronesia as a keystone of Japan’s economic southward advancement.

¹⁷ Peattie, Nan’yo: the rise and fall of the Japanese in Micronesia, pp.123-234; Yumiko Imaizumi, “Establishment of Social Association under monopolistic system of Nanyo Kohatsu Kabusikikaisha” in Historical Analysis on Japanese Economic Organizations in Modern Asia , ed. Shoichi Namikata (Dobunkanshuppan Kabusikikaisha: Tokyo, 1992), pp.66-72.

¹⁸ South Seas Government, “Introduction” in Nanyocho Sisei Junen Shi (Ten-Year History of the Administration of the South Seas Government) (Nanyocho Chokan Kanbo: Tokyo, 1932).

¹⁹ Peattie, Nan’yo: the rise and fall of the Japanese in Micronesia, pp.79-86, p.100, p.115, p.117; Yumiko Imaizumi, “Moral and Material Well-being of Natives” in Japanese Mandated Micronesia,” The Journal of Japanese Colonial Studies 3(June 2001), pp.39-48.

Japan began to send immigrants from Hachijo island, Okinawa and Korea.²⁰ We can see how Japanese government made much of these policies in the transition process from Navy to South Seas Government.²¹

Yanaihara's research was conducted with much enthusiasm and positive expectations about Japan's role in Micronesia. His research could influence international opinion whether Japan could properly administer Micronesia. Before publishing his book, Yanaihara argued with Masamichi Royama, a political scientist and advisor for Fumimaro Konoe²², about the new pacific policy. He criticized severely Royama's opinion, which was one of the original ideas of "Greater East Asia Coprosperity Sphere."²³

The Carolinians and the Chamorros described by Japanese Government

To comprehend Yanaihara's characterizing of local people, we will begin with checking the description about them in the publication edited by Japanese Government or South Seas Government. They shared a common description of local people as uncivilized and primitiveness. Many research works were conducted during Japanese period, however, their understanding toward local people changed little. Japanese government pointed out Micronesian had diversities of their manners and languages, but they "may be divided into two great tribes of Kanakas"²⁴

²⁰ Imaizumi, "Japanese Rule in Micronesia (1914-22)."

²¹ Yumiko Imaizumi, "Policy making process in transition period from naval administration to Mandatory administration in Micronesia" in Iwanami Series; Modern Japan and her Colonies, vol. 4, ed. Kyoji Asada et al. (Iwanami Shoten: Tokyo, 1993).

²² Konoe was a prime minister of Japan from 1937 to 1939 and from 1940 to 1941. He advocated the establishment of "New Order in East Asia" in 1938 and his cabinet proclaimed "Greater East Asia Coprosperity Sphere."

²³ Royama insisted on "Shin Nanyo Seisaku" (New Policy for South Sea) that proposed Japan should make a new international organization to keep on administering Micronesia against U.S. and European Powers' expansion to the Pacific. Yanaihara criticized his plan that its objective was making Japan-dominated pacific order, and that this was not new policy but old Imperialistic one. See Yumiko Imaizumi, "Dr. Yanaihara's Criticism on Prewar Japan's Policy toward Japanese Mandated Micronesia," International Political Economy 7 (March 2001).

²⁴ This paper uses "Kanaka" when it was quoted the text itself.

and Chamorros,” and explained the character of each “tribe” as follows.²⁵

The Chamorros living in Saipan were a majority of the Chamorros in the South Sea Islands, and their appearance and way of life was comparatively advanced because of their early contact with Europeans. Their gentle and industrious character as well as their European-style clothes, diet and dwelling resulted from their Christianization and intermarriage with Europeans. Contrary to the Chamorros, Kanakas were described as more uncivilized, gentle and lively people. However, they emphasized that they were not industrious because of the tropical weather.

In later years Japanese government began to mention that some changes appeared in local people to emphasize the results of its administration. As we have seen, the PMC of the League of Nations questioned Japan’s compliance with the Covenant of the League of Nations. Japan reported making progress in the following four areas.²⁶

First was a sign of development of mental ability and technical skill of children who attended Japanese public school. Their ability was said to be almost comparable to Japanese children and expected to be civilized “to a certain extent” by Japanese education. Second was local people came to have the idea of ownership for coconut trees or land. Japan saw local people still had primitive economy except the Chamorros, but Japanese economical development stimulated their idea of ownership. Third was the potential power of the chief still in local society. Their powers seemed to be weakened, as the Germans curtailed traditional chiefly power and Japan introduced village officials system into local society. However, Japan was cautious of traditional chiefs’ powers as a possible disruption to the Japanese administration. Fourth, almost all local people could speak Japanese as the result of Japanese education. Japan emphasized repeatedly that local people appreciated the convenience of speaking Japanese as common language. As we will see later, this perception was different in the field of education. In conclusion, Japanese government insisted on that all these changes

²⁵ Japanese Government, Annual Report to the League of Nations on the Administration of the South Sea Islands for the year 1923-1938 (Japanese Government: Tokyo, 1923-1938); South Seas Government, Nanyogunto Yoran (Annual Handbook of the South Sea Islands)(South Seas Government: Tokyo, 1932-1943). The Annual Report to the League of Nations had a section of “Race and Manner” or “Race” to explain local people.

²⁶ Imaizumi, “Moral and Material Well-being of Natives” in Japanese Mandated Micronesia,” pp. 39-41, pp.48-55.

were the result of civilization by Japan. However, Japan also emphasized there remained serious social backwardness in each island.

Yanaihara, however, thought this information was not helpful for “an analytical study of the process of collapse which the native social systems have been undergoing, and the gradual advancement of the native toward modern standards of life.”²⁷ What did he research at Saipan?

Yanaihara’s Classification of local people

In Saipan, Yanaihara visited Chamorros and Carolinians families. He wrote he visited “upper,” “middle” and “low” class families.²⁸ His note had much of the information about the Chamorros, especially interview with them. On the other hand, his note left little information about the Carolinians in Saipan. There is much information about the Carolinians in Carolines and Marshalls. Before going further, we should see how Yanaihara characterized local people and what was the focus of his interest.

Yanaihara’s analysis of local people was intended to understand their economic and social conditions and their historical background. As for the feature of local people, he supported the theory of anthropologist Dr. Kotondo Hasebe (1882-1969).²⁹ He examined 1704 Micronesian adults and concluded that the classification of local people into the Chamorros and the “Kanakas” had no ethnological justification. Focusing on the diversity of Micronesians, Yanaihara criticized the Japanese government’s method of classifying the Chamorros and the Carolinians in racial and psychological difference. He also criticized the analysis of their population conditions by their ethnological difference. He emphasized that the differences were due to their historical background and not their intrinsic racial characteristics.

²⁷ Yanaihara, *Pacific Islands under Japanese Mandate*, preface v.

²⁸ Yanaihara Tadao, “Nanyogunto Ryoko Nikki” (Dairy of South Sea Islands) in *Nanyogunto no Kenkyu* (Pacific Islands under Japanese Mandate) (Iwanami Shoten; Tokyo, 1935), pp.499-501; Yanaihara Tadao, “Nanyogunto Ryoko” (Trip to South Sea Islands)(Notebook), n.d. in Tadao Yanaihara, *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol. 23, pp.732-739. Japanese version of *Pacific Islands under Japanese Mandate*, contains his “Nanyogunto Ryoko Nikki” as supplement. However, English version doesn’t have one. The contents of the notebook overlap that of the dairy, but the notebook is more informative. Bereaved family of Yanaihara told me the original of the notebook could not be found still.

²⁹ Kotondo Hasebe was born in Tokyo and graduate from School of Medicine, Tokyo Imperial University. He established the first department of anthropology in the Faculty of Science at Tokyo Imperial University in 1939. He had research trip to Micronesia in 1915 and from 1927 to 1929.

Therefore, it is interesting why Yanaihara still took two-group classification for local people. He insisted the two groups resulted from European contact and rule. The Chamorros came under Spanish rule in the middle of 16th century and were soon converted to Catholicism. Their intermarriage with foreigners and intervention in the society by missionary drastically changed their social system. The views he shared at this point is almost the same as Japanese government. However, he observed in detail how Europeans forced economic and social system changes in Chamorro society.

Characterization of the Carolinians by Yanaihara showed his unique analysis. He pointed out local people in the Carolines and the Marshall Islands came under European influence as late as 19th century. Only the end of 19th century, German began systematic administration and changed local society abruptly. He pointed out this hasty civilization created changes in people. He demonstrated the Carolinians were so vigorous and active in distant voyage on little canoes, fighting fierce battles and dancing, before their social system were destroyed under German administration.³⁰ Then Yanaihara rejected the theory that the Carolinians were lazy by nature.

Then we may go on from Yanaihara's classification of local people to his research about Japanese administration. It may be worth mentioning that Yanaihara indicated Japanese administration adopted most of their policy from German administration. Then he explained about the hasty civilization efforts by the Japanese under the mandate. As a result, Yanaihara became interested in finding out how the Micronesian people adapted under the civilizing policies by the different colonial powers.

Research in Saipan and Yanaihara's comment ① local economy

We will address Yanaihara's specific analysis focused on economy and education of Saipan. To be more specific, we will look at the remarkable development of the sugar industry and the use of the Japanese language at the public schools in Saipan. As we already see, they were one of the most reviewed areas of administration by Japanese government. Yanaihara showed special interest in those two areas because of his specialties. Furthermore, PMC was also interested in them. As these two topics were argued in detail in his book, this paper will present

³⁰ Yanaihara, *Pacific Islands under Japanese Mandate*, pp.238-240, p.392.

some supplemental information from his archives to analyze his discussion.

On the economic development in Micronesia, and in particular the role of NKK, Yanaihara was interested in the monopoly granted by the Japanese government to NKK. He concluded that in comparing the economy during the German period with the Japanese period, it was the Japanese capital and Japanese labor that increased the islands' productive capacity. He drew a parallel between NKK and some other sugar companies in Taiwan and pointed out that the Micronesian island economy did not rely on native labor. Almost all of the sugar cane farmers were Japanese tenants or employees of NKK and less than 2% of Saipan's sugar cane fields were cultivated by native peoples. He concluded that the natives did not have much to do with NKK's business. Regardless, he considered NKK still indirectly influenced native people economic prosperity from the land or house leases and commercialization of local products.³¹ However, he strongly pointed out imperialistic economy was established by NKK, whose benefit was not for local people but for Japanese government.

This analysis was ascertained by interviews with the Chamorros, and we can see them in Yanaihara's notebook in detail.³² His book showed a small coconut-oil factory ran by a Chamorro in Saipan as "the only native enterprise of a capitalistic nature."³³ Yanaihara's notebook recorded Mr. Guererro, who was a member of Ada's family, talked about his factory. This factory was jointly established in 1932 with 1,500 yen contributed by Mr. Guererro, his relatives and one Japanese. Five Carolinians worked in his factory. The Ada family originally had a coconut-oil soap factory in Saipan, and they had one in Guam. His note showed most of Chamorro families had some members working in Guam.

Yanaihara wrote the Chamorros were in a better economical position than the Carolinians in Japanese economic system. However, this was only one capitalistic activity in Saipan ran by the Chamorros. Then Yanaihara concluded it was "very uncertain how much enterprise will arise among them in future."³⁴

We can see another interview in which Yanaihara was interested in as a capitalistic

³¹ Ibid., pp.60-63.

³² Yanaihara, "Nanyogunto Ryoko," pp.719-734.

³³ Yanaihara, *Pacific Islands under Japanese Mandate*, p.65, p.159.

³⁴ Ibid., p.65.

activity growing from local society. This was the Chamorro Association. We can also see it in his book,³⁵ but his notebook shows us the interview with Mr. Pangelinan, the chair of this Association. He said some young intellectuals of Chamorros established it in 1929 commemorating the accession of Emperor Showa. The fund was 16,000 yen invested by 75 members in 1933. The Members should invest more than 1 yen a month and every member invested much more. However, both members and non-members could borrow money from this association for business funds, cost of medical treatment and so on. They should pay 1 percent interest a month and have joint surety. The poor could be assisted with donated money from this association as well. Yanaihara characterized this association as having many functions such as mutual aid, credit and charitable foundation. He wrote down the real reason of establishing the association as related by Mr. Pangelinan. He said “South Seas Government did not take care of Chamorros, and then we should organize the association ourselves.” Mr. Pangelinan explained the reason why they did not deposit their money in Japanese postal savings. Improvidence of local people was always pointed out by Japanese government to show their economic backwardness, but there was good reason for it. Mr. Pangelinan said they saved money in German credit association under German administration. Then Japanese occupation of Micronesia made German credit association bankrupt and local people could not pay their money back. This was the reason the Chamorros did not believe the public bank and saved their money only in their association.

With reference to the PMC’s concern about Japan’s monopoly of the islands, he researched further Japan’s policy for the Micronesian people. He analyzed island economy depended on Japanese production and consumption. Furthermore, Yanaihara showed his uncertainty for the future of Chamorro’s enterprise. Then he emphasized that Japan’s economy was different from German’s, which needed to force local people to introduce a monetary economy and modern way of life hastily. Therefore, he pointed out South Seas Government had no need to force local people to advance to a monetary economy. Then he concluded “in working for the welfare and development of the islanders, the government is mindful only that they form “a sacred trust of civilization.””³⁶ Yanaihara thought one of the important policies of “a sacred trust of civilization” was education, and then he criticized severely Japanese education in Micronesia.

³⁵ Ibid., p.159.

³⁶ Ibid., p.304.

Yanaihara's comment for Japanese administration ② education

As we already saw, Yanaihara did not consider local people as savages but “they had a culture of their own which satisfied the demands of their social and economic life.”³⁷ He found German administration changed local society so abruptly but that Japan has succeeded with its policies, then he highlighted education as helping local people to adopt modernization. As for elementary education, South Seas Government made a rule that children who used Japanese as everyday language should attend Shogakko (elementary school for Japanese subjects) and others should attend Kogakko (public school for local people).³⁸ What has to be noticed is using Japanese regularly was the requirement for attending elementary school. The regular course of public school was three years, three years shorter than elementary school, with two years Hoshuka (supplementary course). Local people had no chance to have the secondary education in Micronesia, only they had one Mokko Totei Youseijo (Woodworkers' Apprentice Training School) in Palau. In Saipan, there was one public school.

There are other things to note to characterize the education for local people. As this paper mentioned before, Micronesian children as “Inhabitants of the Island” are not Japanese subjects and therefore, Japan had no obligation and right to provide national education for them. However, public school stressed the teaching of moral education and Japanese language. Moreover, they taught Japanese as “Kokugo” (National language). These two subjects were essential for national education of Japan.³⁹ It was natural PMC wanted to know what the moral education was. Japan answered it was the same as education of “moral civique” in France.⁴⁰ Japan did not mention Japanese moral education was based on Japanese Imperial System. Furthermore, we should notice textbooks of Japanese were edited elaborately as moral education.⁴¹

³⁷ Ibid., p.240.

³⁸ “Nanyocho Kogakko Kisoku” (South Seas Government regulations for public schools) issued in 1923. Nanyogunto Kyoikukai ed., Nanyogunto Kyoiku Shi (The history of Education in South Seas Islands) (Nanyogunto Kyoikukai: Tokyo, 1938), pp.197-205. Almost the same time in Taiwan, using Japanese regularly became a requirement of attending elementary school.

³⁹ Peattie, Nan'yo: the rise and fall of the Japanese in Micronesia, pp.90-96. The analysis of the program and textbook of public schools in educational policy of South Seas Government, see Imaizumi, “Public School Policy and Practices of South Seas Government,” pp.570-590.

⁴⁰ Permanent Mandates Commission, Minutes, 26th Session (1934).

⁴¹ Yumiko Imaizumi, “Japanese policy for Micronesians and its actual condition: Focusing on the discussion at Permanent Mandated Commission of League of Nations,” Journal of Historical Studies 665 (November, 1994), pp.34-37.

Yanaihara pointed out Japanese public education in Micronesia was semi-compulsory. He wrote mandating Japanese language “is a common feature of Japan’s educational policy” in Japanese colonies, and Micronesia was not an exception. He said public school had merits and demerits in the process of modernization of local people, however, he criticized it was rather harmful for improving their life.⁴² What problems he found in public school?

We will see them in his research in Saipan. Catalog of Saipan Public School that Yanaihara got in Saipan showed two essential educational policies.⁴³ One was to mandate Japanese language for the benefit of Japanese teachers who could not understand children speaking different languages. In addition, that local language was looked down on to be useless to develop local peoples’ life. The other was to break down superstitions among local society. Japanese government always considered that local children were good at manual work but weak in reasoning skills. The reason for this, according to them, was their dependence on superstitions.

In contrast to the information from the catalog of Saipan Public School, teachers who responded to questionnaires by Yanaihara considered that the average intelligence of Micronesians is not low.⁴⁴ Of interest is that teachers in the Carolines and the Marshall Islands, particularly in the remote islands, pointed out that learning Japanese is useless for their daily life. Only children who could work for Japanese companies or government offices would need to learn the language, however, those were few. In addition, Yanaihara noticed that German was commonly used among some local people and that the Chamorros in Saipan and the chiefs in the other islands spoke with Yanaihara in fluent German. He also found that foreign missionaries taught Spanish and German and also translated hymns, the Bible, and some reading materials into the local languages.⁴⁵ He concluded that teaching the Japanese language was for the benefit of the Japanese administration. Yanaihara also took notice from his interview to Chamorros that the

⁴² Yanaihara, *Pacific Islands under Japanese Mandate*, p.244.

⁴³ “Catalog of Saipan Public School,” (n.p.: N.p., 1933) (Yanaihara Collection), p.11.

⁴⁴ Tadao Yanaihara, “Questionnaires for education of local children,” n.d. (Yanaihara Collection). We cannot find a reply from Saipan Public School, but Yanaihara left his memo on “Catalog of Saipan Public School.” Analysis for teacher’s reply to Yanaihara’s questionnaires, see Yumiko Imaizumi, “Public School Policy and Practices of South Seas Government,” pp.589-602.

⁴⁵ Yanaihara, *Pacific Islands under Japanese Mandate*, p.236.

Germans taught Chamorros their own local history. Yanaihara learned the problems of Japanese education in this fact. The reason why South Seas Government did not teach local history was local people did not have their own history as they lived in superstition.

Yanaihara admitted some good results of practical skills that Japanese administration stressed on besides Japanese language education. However, he ascertained Christian missionaries had great influence on modernizing local life and social system under Spanish and German administration. For example, decline in totemism and shamanisms, wearing clothes, sanitation and prohibiting alcohol could be seen before Japan started her administration.⁴⁶

He also focused on Christianity as a major influence on the habits of the people. In Saipan, Yanaihara attended mass and interviewed the Spanish priest who complained about the negative Japanese influence on the local people, especially drinking.⁴⁷ In Yanaihara's interviews of the branch governor and staff of NKK in Saipan, he learned more about Christianity's influence.⁴⁸ NKK reported that they hired Carolinians mostly as stevedores and complained that Carolinians never worked on Sundays. Furthermore, there were so many Christian events that Carolinians considered more important than their jobs. Yanaihara noted that NKK admitted they did not desire to hire local people not only for their laziness but also for their Christian practices.

Based on this research, Yanaihara concluded "to-day the Christian Church exercises so strong an influence upon the islanders that the like of it is not to be found even in modern civilized countries."⁴⁹ The point of his comment was public school's education was not appropriate for local children for overemphasizing Japanese language moral education. He insisted on the need to educate local people to adopt modernization already started by the Christian missionaries.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp.234-238.

⁴⁷ One of the Yanaihara's criticisms for Okinawan immigrants was their habit drinking their original spirits "Awamori." Okinawan people had small Awamori factories in some main islands in Micronesia, and mainland Japanese immigrants also enjoyed it. As local people's drinking alcohol was prohibited under class C mandate, PMC pointed out the reason of high consumption of alcohol in Japanese mandate and was afraid that it had some bad influence on local people. See Imaizumi, "Nanyogunto Kenkyu", pp.147-154.

⁴⁸ Yanaihara, "Trip in South Sea Islands," pp.747-748.

⁴⁹ Yanaihara, *Pacific Islands under Japanese Mandate*, p.234.

Conclusion

In *Pacific Islands under Japanese Mandate*, we cannot see any description about clear antipathy of local people toward Japanese administration. However, we should analysis local people's behavior and feeling toward colonizer Japanese more carefully. In Yanaihara's notebook, we can find Yanaihara asked two questions to a Chamorro chief of the first district in Saipan.⁵⁰ The one was the impression of Japanese administration compared with Germany. He said nothing was different. The other was what he thought about their future. Chamorro chief asked back the same question to Yanaihara and said "I must think over this question before giving my answer." This answer seems to be symbolized local people's feeling toward Japanese administration.

Yanaihara evaluated whether Japanese administration fulfilled the intent of the mandate or not was "a question which may be left unasked for the time being." He continued "no country on earth can be expected to administer a colony purely or solely for the protection of the natives, and certainly no other country could have better approximated the ideal." So far this evaluation has been regarded as his approval of the Japanese administration. As presented in this paper, however, he criticized some essential policies that Japanese government rated highly by themselves. We also consider this book was published receiving special attention for Yanaihara from Japanese government and in nation-wide lifting spirits for Southward advancement. Furthermore, we should rather pay attention to his proposals that "frequent change of administration is harmful to the welfare of the islanders." Thus he agreed that the League of Nations accepted the continuation of the Japanese mandate of Micronesia. However, he emphasized Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations did not release her from the obligations of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. He also stressed it "does not mean that the South Sea Islands have been annexed by Japan." He concluded his book with this sentence, "it is the author's most earnest hope that Japan will make it her national policy to contribute substantially toward the promotion of the welfare of the islanders and to maintain the peace of the Pacific, thereby fully honoring the spirit of the mandate."⁵¹

In 1935, the year *Pacific Islands under Japanese Mandate* was published in Japan, Japan withdrew from the League of Nations which admitted the continuation of Japanese mandate Micronesia. On the other hand, Japanese government made a

⁵⁰ Yanaihara, "Trip to South Sea Islands," p.738.

⁵¹ Yanaihara, *Pacific Islands under Japanese Mandate*, pp.304-305.

new policy for Micronesia called “Nanyogunto Kaihatsu Jukkanen Keikaku” (Ten-year plan of South Seas Development Project).⁵² This project was propped up making Japanese mandate Micronesia a base for economic southward advancement more earnestly. At this stage Japan clearly stated “Micronesia became an integration portion of its territory” not a mandate where Japan had “full power of administration and legislation over the territory subject to the present mandate as an integration portion of its territory.”⁵³ The most important aim of this project was changing Micronesia’s economic system-monoculture of sugar industry. Then Nanyo Takushoku Kabusikikaisha (South Seas Colonial Company), as a governmental company, was established to promote every area of Japanese tropical industry and immigration in and out of Micronesia. This project also had a plan to send about 1400 Japanese farmers’ households from homeland to Micronesia in 10 years. To fulfill this purpose, the project had the special policy for local people named “Tomin Buiku Hoshin” (policy for cherishing local people).” Its intent was to make local people Japanized and dependent on Japanese administration. It was the first time for Japan, under mandatory administration, to insist on Japanization of local people clearly. Or more precisely, to put more effort into teaching Japanese, giving vocational training and promoting the willingness for work for realizing Japanese new plan. They presented a policy giving nationality to local people as a way to emphasize their position.⁵⁴ These plans were not for local people’s well-being and self-reliance required by Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations but for pursuing Japanese national interest that Yanaihara criticized severely. After Japan-China War broke out, this project was revised to make Micronesia a logistics base for military southward advancement.⁵⁵

We should examine these policies in the context of not only national emergency in

⁵² Nanyogunto Kaihatsu Chosa Inkaishi (The Investigative Commission of the South Seas Development), Nanyogunto Kaihatsu Chosa Inkaishi Toshin (The Report of the Investigative Commission of the South Seas Development), October 1935. Establishment of Nanyo Takushoku Kabusikikaisha under this project and NKK business from semi-war period to war-period of Micronesia, see Yumiko Imaizumi, “Business Development of Nanyo Kohatsu Kabusikikaisha under Micronesia’s wartime economy ” in Historical Analysis on Japanese Economic Organizations under Wartime Asia, eds. Asobu Yanagisawa et al.(Nihon Keizai Hyoronsha: Tokyo, 2004).

⁵³ Articles 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

⁵⁴ See n. 8.

⁵⁵ The process of making Micronesia a logistics base for military southward advancement in connection with Korean labor mobilization, see Yumiko Imaizumi, “Labor Mobilization of Koreans for Micronesia in Wartime,” The Report on Japan's War Responsibility 64(June 2004).

the late 1930s but also historical process of Japanese administration in Micronesia as Yanaihara did. Furthermore, we historians should answer the question that Yanaihara asked the Chamorro chief: “What do you think about the future of Micronesian people under Japanese administration?”



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Imaizumi has conducted surveys of archives and interviews in and out of Japan for 25 years. She served as a consultant on several projects such as listing and microfilming “South Seas Collection” in the Library of Congress in Washington, DC. She was a chief project member of the National Museum of Japanese History.

She is also beginning a new study of Micronesia-Japan relations after World War II. Imaizumi was a coauthor of Kyoji Asada ed., *Iwanami Series; Modern Japan and her Colonies* (1992), “Annotated Bibliography” to *Camp Susupe*, edited by [US Navy, Military Government Section](#), reprinted by Okinawa Historiographical Institute (2004). For further information, see Imaizumi’s [profile](#) at Hosei University.

Concrete Terraces and Japanese Agricultural Production on Tinian, Mariana Islands

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Abstract: *The paper considers four unusual historic archaeological sites on Tinian and their relation to pre-World War II Japanese agricultural production. These sites are large concrete terrace complexes that do not fit conventional categories of known Japanese structures. However, archival and oral history research combined with archaeological investigations indicates that the concrete structures were large-scale Japanese compost-fertilizer production complexes. The complexes are described and their significance is considered in the context of the Japanese settlement and development of the island.*

Introduction

From 1927 to 1944 the island of Tinian was developed for sugarcane cultivation during the Japanese era under the management of the Nan'yo Kohatsu Kabushiki Kaisha (NKK). This produced the landscape grid of agricultural lots that appears in the well-known WWII US aerial photographs of the island. That *cultural landscape* of some 70 years ago has now been recorded by archaeological surveys as a *historical landscape* of remnants of farmsteads and villages of the tenant farmers and NKK laborers, found over surprisingly large areas of the island, despite intensive development of the island by the US military in WWII.

But archaeological research often produces puzzles and the surveys of Tinian are no exception. This paper focuses on one such puzzle: the functional identification of four large archaeological complexes that were part of the Japanese development Tinian, but which do not fit the pattern of Japanese agricultural land-use or military architecture.



Aerial photograph of Tinian in 1944, with inset of island and illustrations of historical research sources.

These four enigmatic complexes are concrete terraced structures that as far as we know are unique in Japanese-era Micronesia. The original archaeological reports that described these sites had to make the inconclusive statement that their function was unknown.¹

Identifying the function of these structures became a priority in our continuing joint research on the history of Japanese Tinian, because such large undertakings were clearly important in the history of the island's development. Archaeological puzzles may be solved by field work as well as by the use of multiple sources of information, and our study of these structures provides an example of the positive results of such combined research. In this case, the sources include Japanese and American archives as well as the recorded memoirs of individuals who lived on the island during the sugarcane period that add details of life and activities that are often not found in the written records.²

¹ These complexes are described in five archaeological survey reports prepared for the U.S. Navy.

² From the archaeological side, the results emphasize that inventory of historic properties without such integration often falls far short of reasonable standards of description, significance evaluation, and research potential.

The Concrete Terraces and Their Function



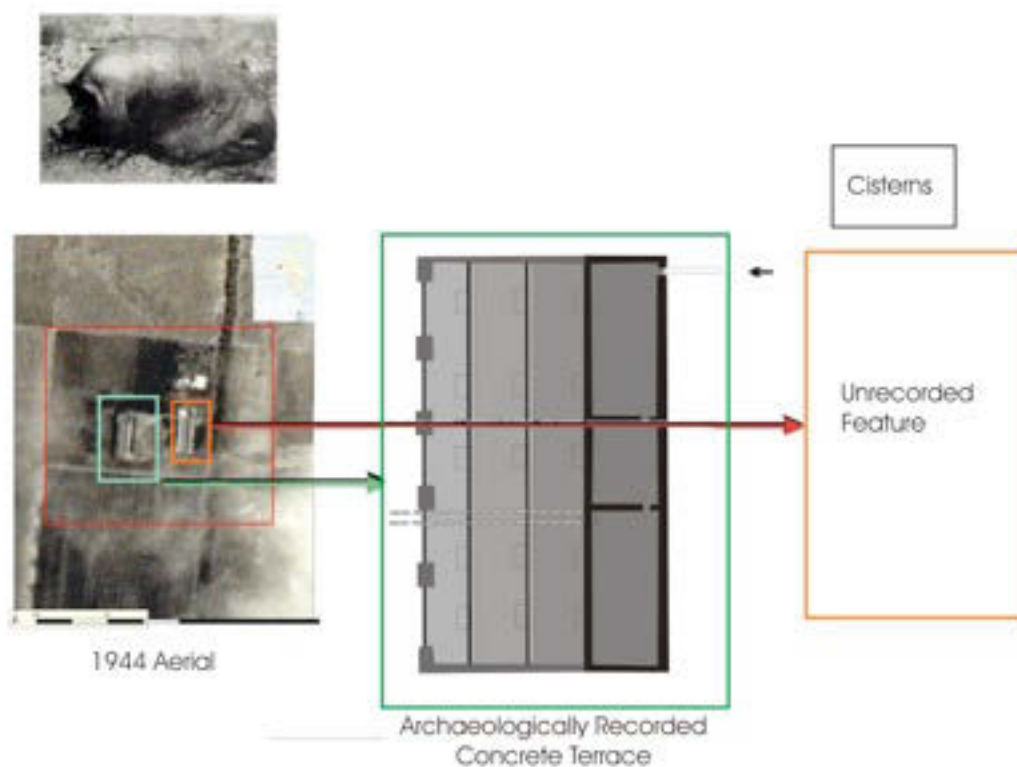
One of the concrete terraces. Plan and cross-section drawings and two photographs of the sides.

The four sets of concrete structures are all built on sloping terrain: each structure is archaeologically recorded as about 30 m across, 14 to 15 m from front to back with a rise of from 5 to 8 m (depending on slope), incorporating four wide, terraced steps each about 1 m high, with side walls as high as 3 m. There is a drainage or flume system running through the terraced steps, and there are support posts for now-demolished shed-roofs. On the slope above each of these terraces are concrete water tanks that drain to them via a concrete canal. However, the archaeological concrete terraces represent only one half of each complex – the other half is evident in the 1944 aerial photographs as semi-permanent structures that were only been sketchily recorded archaeologically – if at all – due to deterioration, bulldozing, and/or the obscuring effects of the jungle.

In the archaeological descriptions of these structures it is variously speculated that they might have been Japanese homesteads, agricultural processing plants, leather tanning facilities, experimental seed farms, dams, molasses extraction facilities, water management, or water purification facilities – but there was no convincing

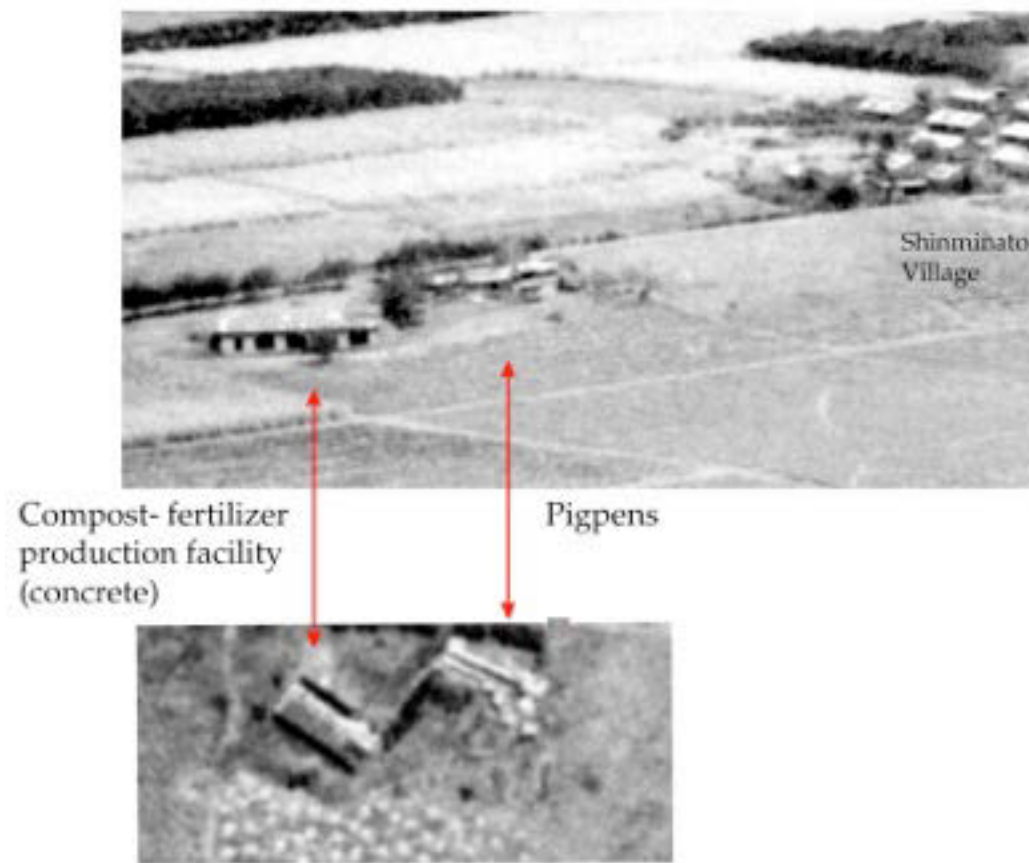
argument or direct evidence for any of these possibilities and the summary remained “function unknown.”

We felt that the semi-permanent half of the complexes held the answer to the puzzle and planned field work to investigate this possibility. At the same time Dr. Higuchi consulted Japanese engineers and pre-war Tinian residents, but the engineers were stumped and the pre-war residents were generally unfamiliar with these features. However, an answer came from interviews with two men who had been NKK employees, Mr. Arimoto Morio, former NKK Land Section staff, and Mr. Honna Mitsuharu, former NKK Motor Vehicle Department employee. *These individuals had seen the concrete complexes and explained that they were for compost-fertilizer production using pig manure as the bacterial base for the decomposition process.*



1944 aerial photograph of a concrete terrace and adjacent structures, with functions identified.

With this information the archaeological and archival photographic information fell into place. The archaeologically invisible, semi-permanent wing was the location of some 300 sq m of piggpens. Pig manure was washed from the pens into the upper sections of the concrete terraces, composting material (primarily sugarcane leaves) was added, and over time the large mass of material was moved by hoe from one tier to the next for aeration and maturation.



1944 aerial photographs showing relation of pigpens to concrete structure, and showing oblique view of the concrete terrace as roofed.

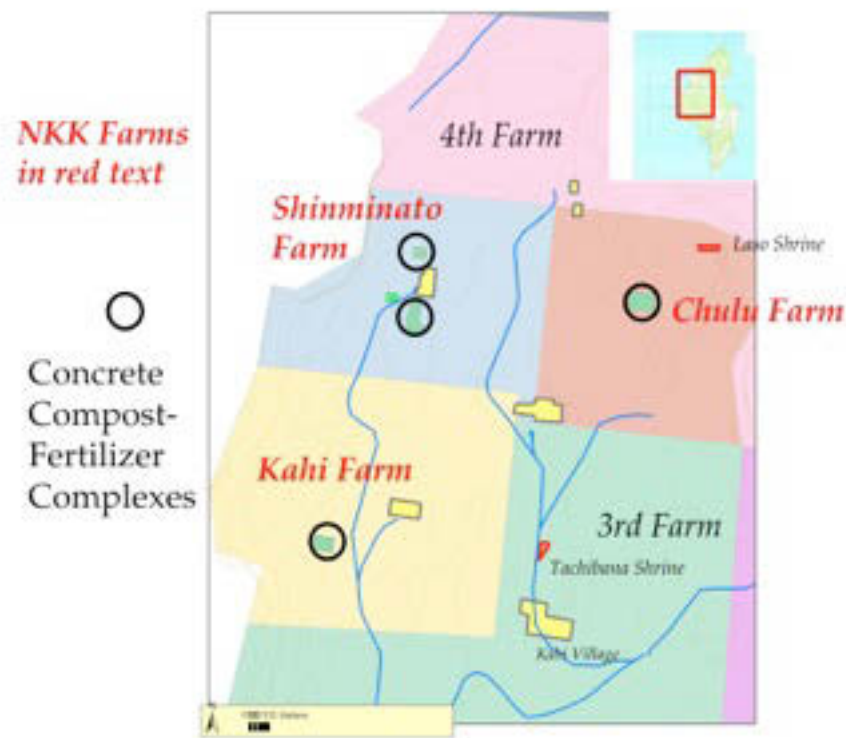
Mr. Arimoto pointed out something else: garden plots adjacent to these structures were large mounds of “*tsukune-imo*” or “*yamano-imo*” (a type of yam³) grown as pig feed. Using this information to recognize a photographic “signature” of yam cultivation, the agricultural plots for pig feed can be seen in aeriols in association with these complexes.

The seemingly mundane conclusion that these large, elaborate structures were for compost production is of significance for two reasons:

1. It leads us to an understanding of much more of the Japanese archaeological landscape than just represented by these few sites, and
2. This archaeological landscape in turn is a dramatic material representation or measure of the state of agriculture in the last phase of the socio-economic history of Japanese Tinian. These points are discussed in the conclusion of this paper.

³Tsukuneimo (Chinese yam) or yamano-imo (the yam family, Dioscoreaceae).

The Concrete Terraces and the Larger Pattern of the Agricultural Development of Tinian



Terraces and farm districts of Tinian.

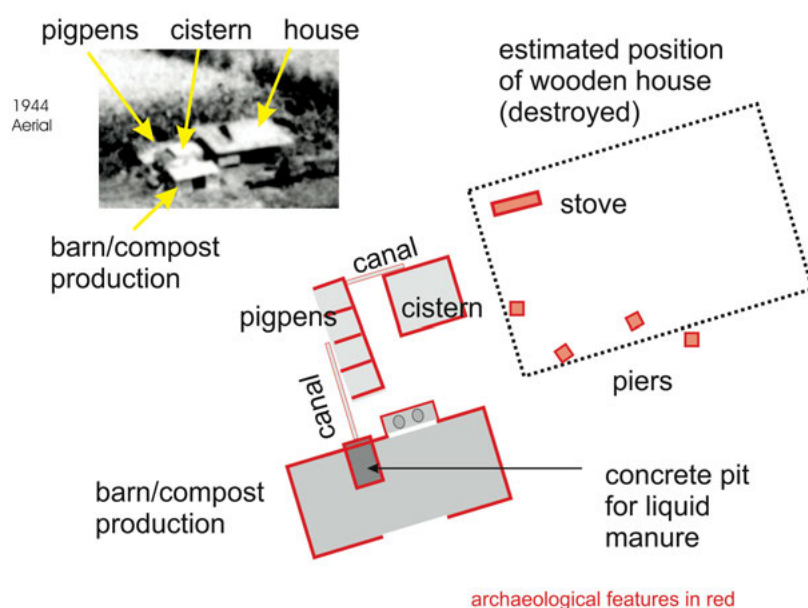
The four specialized, concrete composting terraces are located on the central-western side of the island. To understand this distribution, it is necessary to look at the overall development and agricultural pattern of Japanese Tinian, where in little more than a decade the island was transformed from a wild, largely uninhabited land to a new cultural landscape with a functioning island-wide society of about 15,000 people.

In 1926, the mapping of the island was begun by NKK staff, initiating the process of extensive land clearing and the laying out of an agricultural grid pattern for the creation of a sugarcane island. The topography of Tinian allowed the agricultural development of about 96% of the island. Remarkably the clearing and grid layout of some 15,000 acres was largely completed by 1937 and most of the arable land was in sugarcane by 1938. The harbor town of Songsong was created as the business and management, (administration and fishery, too) center and the location of the sugar processing facilities; farm districts were established, a sugar trail railroad were built, small inland farm communities and tenant farmsteads were constructed, and eventually six Shinto shrines were established.

The island's great field system was laid out with a master grid of about 1,450 farm lots, 6-cho in size⁴, bounded by roads and cart paths and augmented by windbreak vegetation. These agricultural lots were organized into large farm districts, which were of two types. There were districts of tenant farmers in which each farm lot was the residential farmstead for a tenant family. These tenant-farm districts were identified by number, the First through the Fourth Farms. The other farm districts were under the direct management of the NKK using wage labor, with most of the laborers living in small community clusters and each district was given a name, rather than a number.

The four terrace complexes all fall in the NKK farm management districts (specifically the districts of Kahi, Chulu, and Shinminato⁵) and it can be concluded that these large-scale compost-fertilizer production complexes were centralized NKK facilities constructed to serve their direct-management farmlands.

Tenant Farm Composting



Composting on a Tinian farmstead.

⁴The 6-cho farm lot (slightly less than 15 acres) is the master plan pattern, but for many lots there was less than 6-cho of arable land due to natural features such as cliffs and rocks, or cultural factors, such as the railroad bed or wide roads.

⁵ And we can add from informant data that there was probably another NKK concrete composting facility on the Hagoi farm. Mrs. Hatano reports that there was one in West Hagoi (Higuchi notes), but this was almost certainly destroyed by the US military construction.

The identification of the NKK facilities for fertilizer production brings into focus the importance of island-wide composting, and the fact that NKK district composting was being matched at a proportionate scale on nearly every individual tenant farm on Tinian.

Interviews with Japanese Tinian pre-war residents indicate the importance of composting on the tenant farms, and this is demonstrated by the archaeological record: while the wooden farm houses are represented archaeologically by concrete piers or slabs and by the location of the concrete stove,⁶ the most substantial physical remains at virtually every surviving tenant farmstead on Tinian are the concrete structures that form a composting complex. This complex includes the archaeologically imposing concrete barns (commonly misinterpreted as houses), pigpens, concrete cisterns that received runoff water from the farm house, a concrete canal to channel water to the pigpens, which were in turn adjacent to the large barn-compost building. Water moved through the pigpens, draining the liquid waste into an underground concrete box that was inside the adjacent building, and then the liquid waste was moved onto the concrete floor where the compost production process was carried out – overall a very similar pattern to that of the NKK massive composting terraces, but of course smaller and less complex.

The significance of farmstead composting on Tinian is shown in the archival records that refer to (1) monetary payments to farmers for excess compost production, (2) an NKK subsidy provided to farmers in the form of cement for construction of concrete composting facilities on their farmsteads, and (3) NKK directives to change farming methods to help protect or improve the soil.

A description of the farmstead composting is also found as early as Bowers' 1947 post-war study of the Marianas in which he says:⁷

“The farm homes, constructed of wood and thatch or sheet metal, were destroyed by the war, but the ruins of cement cisterns and barns remain to mark the farm sites. Each barn and its associated pig pen was constructed to form a fertilizer unit, all waste draining into a compost pit to which was added night soil, grass, and bagasse from the sugar mill.”

⁶ The history of archaeological interpretation of the Japanese farmsteads is presented in Tuggle, in prep.

⁷ Bowers 1950:46. Bowers reference to the use of bagasse for composting may be a mistake, as bagasse is known to have been used for fuel.

These farmstead concrete structures represent a substantial investment of time, labor, and money, not the least of which was that required for acquisition and distribution of the many tons of cement necessary for the construction.

Construction Dates of Composting Facilities

Archival records and archaeological information indicate that tenant farmstead composting was well advanced by 1939.⁸ The construction date of the large NKK facilities has not yet been determined, but they were probably built around 1940. The NKK worker Mr. Arimoto who saw these in use in 1942 says that they did not appear to be newly constructed. Other things being considered (such as the budget, months available for the NKK to construct, cement and labor supply, shipment, and progress of Hagoi airfield work) they were certainly constructed no later than 1941.

Discussion and Conclusions

The Tinian archaeological remains and related archival records indicate that an enormous amount of money and effort were expended on fertilizer production-- from the level of the small tenant farmer to that of the NKK farm districts. So the question at this point is where does this fit into the picture of Tinian development and its larger place in the Japanese politico-economic system? Of course by the late 1930s, there was another intervening factor: the preparation of Tinian to serve as a naval air base had gotten underway, with important consequences for land-use and agricultural production. This takes us to the relationship between the NKK and the Japanese Navy, and the shift in the role of the NKK from a semi-national sugar corporation to the Japanese Navy's commissioned corporation.

On the eve of the Pacific War, there was substantial pressure on agricultural production on Tinian from decreased agricultural land and increased non-agricultural labor force. At the same time, as the war developed, the need for island subsistence independence became increasingly apparent. In fact, for Japan's occupied areas:

⁸ Research on the dates of construction is one of the future problems to be addressed, but we must mention an interesting inscription discovered by Dr. Higuchi during one of our field trips. At a farmstead site, a water tank has writing scratched into the concrete that says (as translated) "Dec. 15, 1938: tank" and "Oct. 10, 1939: compost constructed" which must surely refer to the date that the concrete composting barn was built on this tenant property.

“Two of the three basic navy administration policies (March 1942) stressed expedited acquisition of vital resources for munitions industries and *food self-sufficiency of local military personnel* as ways to reduce the economic pressure on the homeland.”⁹

Additionally, given its administrative position on Tinian, the NKK had to succeed as a business venture because “in addition to simply being a sugar company, it had to attain its full growth capability in order to carry out other roles”. This was actualized in the Japanese Navy’s 1943 *Outline of Wartime Measures in the South Sea Islands* “that ordered replacement of sugarcane production with the planting of potatoes and vegetables for self-sufficiency.”¹⁰

But the role of the Navy can also be seen in the background during the land development for farming: NKK farms – those without tenant farmers – were in effect recognized as strategically important potential military lands and could be readily converted to military use – as of course happened in the initial phase of militarization when the first air field was constructed in the Hagoi area.

Self-sufficiency in food production and in resources such as wood and charcoal meant emphasis on one thing: soil; that is soil productivity and related agricultural yield. By the late 1930s Tinian was showing soil stress as sugarcane production and sugar yield were declining, and numerous studies by Japanese soil scientists were carried out to address this problem.

Agricultural land was also being lost due to the accelerating construction of large military facilities, the widening of roads for military vehicles, and establishment of stock farms, and at the same time, increasing demand was being placed on agricultural production because of the large work force imported for military construction.

In sum, agricultural production on the NKK farms was increasingly directed toward support of the military and its labor force. With this framework, the reasons become evident for the investment of planning, effort, and money in fertilizer production. This investment ranged from that of the individual tenant farm family to that of the corporate NKK: from small farm composting facilities to the massive composting concrete terraces.

⁹ Higuchi 2008: 56 (emphasis added).

¹⁰ Higuchi 2008: 11-12.

This was investment for survival. But beyond survival, the larger picture was one of the national importance of Tinian. Militarily, it was significant as the home of the First Air Fleet, but the island was also one of Japan's leading sugar producers and had become valuable for the production of sugar-based alcohol, not simply alcohol as liquor, but alcohol for industry and as a fuel additive.

Thus Tinian had a national responsibility, and continued agricultural productivity was critical to the maintenance of that responsibility. The archaeological remains of concrete structures scattered across the island – remains of an effort as seemingly mundane as composting – are in fact a dramatic representation of that national responsibility and ultimately are tangible evidence of the final, deteriorating socio-economic stage of Japanese Tinian.

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Surviving War on Pagan

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Abstract: *This collection of memoirs was originally published as a website then a booklet in 2000 by Okamoto Mariko, daughter-in-law of Okamoto Eiko. Eiko was a child of Japanese settler family on Pagan in the 1930s, and Mariko wrote down Eiko's memories. Once published online, these stories drew responses from people with experiences living on or visiting Pagan. While there are a tremendous variety of stories in this volume, the assortment displays certain themes. Former youthful settlers to the island show nostalgia for idyllic childhoods playing in the natural environment followed by a period of wartime conditions that forced people to live underground, endure the constant threat of air-raids, and scrounge for food. Among the memories by former military personnel, stories often describe the hard labor of constructing the airstrip, extreme hunger and recipes of wartime, war decimation, and postwar searches for the physical remains of friends.*

Introduction



In this paper I present my assessment of the form and content of a collection of Japanese memories about life in Pagan island, Northern Mariana Islands (NMI) in the 1930s and 40s. The collection entitled, “Pagan Island in the Distance,” and in

Japanese, “Harukanaru Pagantô yo” was originally published in the year 2000 by the daughter-in-law of a woman who spent much of her childhood on Pagan.

The Fukahori family, pictured here in front of banana trees, went to Pagan from Saipan in the 1930s and they lived there until the war. The child in the photo is Eiko, who remembers the island shrouded in beautiful nature and that the island was a paradise before the war. To quote the introduction to the collection that was written by Eiko’s daughter Mariko:

Before the war, Pagan was shrouded in beautiful nature and the island was like a paradise. Mangos and papayas ripened all over the island. Fish of various colors clustered together in the sea, and countless white herons¹ danced around the mountain lake. Children would heap lots of bananas into boats floating on the ocean, and would swim and play all day long. Then the war started and people hid under the ground to ward off air raids. Their food supply ran out and they lived through many bitter days.²

The stories in this collection were written by people whose lives and those of their descendants were directly affected by the Japanese colonial period and war in these islands. Their stories have been underrepresented in histories of this area. Their marginalization has probably resulted from prioritizing American postwar interpretive prerogatives that want to write the islands into the history of the US nation-state and away from incorporating them into histories of Japan. But this collection of memories is not a “history” text, and it should be read as one collection among many stories about life in the Northern Mariana Islands. While memories of Japan in the Mariana islands have often been violent, many thousands of civilians lived on the islands and their experiences may have something to teach contemporary residents about how and why social relations between Japan and the NMI exist the way they do today.

I have arranged my paper into five short sections in order to address a range of issues that came to mind when reading these memoirs. The first outlines my method for thinking about memories as sources of insight into history. The second section provides a short background of this project, in addition to a brief summary of some features of the Japanese administration over the Northern Mariana Islands

¹ Most likely the Intermediate Egret (*Egretta intermedia*).

² Okamoto, Mariko, ed. “[Harukanaru Pagantô yo](#).”

that may help to understand these memoirs. Next, I will talk about how this collection is different from other memoir collections about the Japanese colonial period in the NMI, and I suggest factors that have likely influenced the creation of this website.

I move on to discussing the content of the stories on this site, which demonstrate a focus on war recipes. This is why I have entitled this talk “Surviving War on Pagan:” in contrast to the fight-to-the-death events and military violence toward civilians that is remembered about the battles on Saipan, Tinian, and Okinawa during the Second World War, in Pagan military relied on civilian knowledge and cooperation to try to remain alive until the end of the war. This is not to suggest that the military was not violent toward civilians in Pagan, because at least one story describes such a scenario, but this is only to say that the overall goal of the war effort as recalled in these memories was survival rather than suicide or death in combat as patriotic service. Finally, I want to close by explaining that because most of the people who lived in the NMI in the Japanese days were from Okinawa, studies of Japanese memory activities of the postwar period should be considered from within Okinawa histories rather than within histories of memory activities in mainland Japan. In sum I suggest that memories of Japan in the Pacific are not exclusively about memories of war, especially according to those who lived in Japan’s former colony for whom war was as much the end of an era as the beginning of a new one. Understanding that Japan’s presence in the NMI was not just wartime occupation but also thirty-years of colonization and settlement helps to explain the postwar commemorative activities by former Japanese residents who used to call these islands home.

Assessing Memories

Like many places in the world, Pagan Island has been multiply colonized by governments that rely on knowledge produced at distant national-centers to make sense of the local human activity unfolding on these islands. Memories of experiences by people with direct life connections to these histories represent stories that are based in local knowledge rather than primarily driven by distant interpretive prerogatives. Historical writing that might move beyond nation-state bound history frameworks through the integration of memories as one source among many should also consider the methodological implications of memories. This is another way of saying that form and content both matter when assessing memories.

Ultimately, both history and memory are processes of selecting some information to emphasize, while downplaying other information. A person who experienced history cannot remember everything, nor can a historian include every detail in a historical account. But history and memory are not the same. History is an institutionally-backed discipline which requires that information be checked against all other available knowledge before a summary is written down and then peer-reviewed, but memory is the recollection of a past experience in the present moment. In this way, memory is inherently personal.

In the case of people remembering their distant childhoods, their memories are not useful primarily because they represent an account of events as witnessed. When decades of subsequent life separates the original time period being remembered from the present moment, these decades of experience act as a kind of filter through which memories emerge today newly imbued with contemporary meanings. As stories re-assembled again and again in new moments, depending on context, memories take on new qualities at each new iteration. If they did not, they would not be heard in the ongoing conversation. A storyteller must make ideas relevant using contemporary ways of speaking or nobody will listen. Considered this way, remembering is an ongoing process productive of stories that are both memories of a bygone moment and commentaries on the present.

People tend to repeat phrases of others, and in this way memories contribute to one another as they foster mutually-reinforced ways of speaking. This leads to a term that I am not entirely comfortable with but it has its purposes: that is collective memory. Collective memories are those which outlive individual memories. Collective memory is often talked about as shared recollections about specific events, where everybody tends to have their own version of how events unfolded. Treating memories as sources for “facts” about history misses these important factors. Remembering is better thought of as an ongoing process of reconsidering and re-telling past experiences using memory fragments. The social circumstances relevant at the time of the story re-telling influence the way the past comes to mean something in the present.

As a tool to help me assess this collection memories, I think using Gail Herschatter's "good enough stories" idea.³ This concept recognizes that some fragments of memory are not complete stories with a beginning, middle, and an end but even so, they are good enough to be picked up and repeated by many people. These kinds of good-enough stories gain traction and are productive of ideas around which people can focus their own re-tellings of memories. When reading stories, I remain open to finding evidence of these kinds of repeated fragments or phrases.

Because memories are personal recollections they should be understood as commentary based not on facts about events, but on experiences of actual events. Experiences should not be thought of as representing a direct connection to an event however, because subjective understandings always mediate experience.⁴ Experiences told in stories are themselves already bundled in thoughts and language, which means that although memories are representations of something that happened there is no way to ever directly or completely represent an experience in language or other forms of expression. What this means is that even people who lived through events do not necessarily have a more accurate understanding of an event, and actually sometimes the fact that one experienced an event makes it harder to think about a broad array of details relevant to an event. Because people might have stood on various sides of an occurrence, they saw things close-up and felt, smelled, and tasted the direct consequences yet they might not be able or willing to see the complicated web of an unfolding event from a more distant vantage point that could account for multiple such intimate perspectives.

This is where historians come into the picture: historians are supposed to consider memories and other archival data to come up with a broad picture of what probably happened, using all sources available. But just as memories are never totally representative of an event being remembered, there is no such thing as an "objective" perspective for history (despite what the history of History as a discipline would suggest). Even historians trained in professional standards who

³ Herschatter writes that a "good enough story" is "a story that does not provide a complete understanding of the past, but instead surprises and engenders thought, unspooling in different directions depending on which thread the listener picks up. A good-enough story is available to reinterpretation; it can be woven into many larger narratives." Gail Herschatter, *The Gender of Memory: Rural Women and China's Collective Past*. UC Press, 2011: 3.

⁴ Scott, Joan. "The Evidence of Experience." *Critical Inquiry* 17: 4 (Summer) 773-797.

aim to write neutral accounts are entrapped in the subjectivity that is the institutional enterprise of authoring history.⁵ Even saying that one is neutral is to take a political position on what history should be. Historians must make judgment calls about what information is relevant and what is less relevant toward understanding the past, and the selection of relevant data (however well-intentioned) is largely a subjective decision-making process, even through the end of the peer-review stages. Good historians know it is necessary to make one's scholarly methods visible and to let the audience assign value to these methods using their own judgment, while also suggesting that there is a *probable* reading based on the sources that the historian as a trained professional can consider to be more or less reliable. However it is my contention that giving people the tools to understand what history is as a discipline is as important in places that have been multiply-colonized (and multiply incorporated into national histories) as the practice of researching and writing histories about under-researched pasts.

With history and memory thus defined as both overlapping and distinct domains of knowledge production, the social value of memories can be theorized. Despite apparent limitations, memories are valuable especially because they provide insight into how historical events remain relevant nowadays according to people whose lives were directly impacted by the events. It does not make sense to me why the people whose lives and those of their descendants were impacted by the “history” in question would not be given an interpretive priority in suggesting how these histories remain important for understanding how societies have arrived at the present moment. Nevertheless, memories are often left out of official histories because they are suspected to be false insofar as they are inherently personal and therefore insufficiently representative of what actually happened.

But memories can fill in the gaps between names and dates in a history book – they provide information about how people have lived with history and made sense of it for themselves, even without making use of the tools of the professional historian. Moreover, in places like the Mariana Islands where many documents and archival records were burned up during the war, memories are often times some of the only records available to begin to understand a specific time period, incident, or the background of a population. Because memories have been marginalized and stigmatized in the discipline of history, memory itself could be thought of as a metaphor for the mode of knowing used by populations who suffered injustices through centuries of colonialism in the Mariana Islands and whose perspectives

⁵ De Certeau, Michel. *The Writing of History*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1988.

have often been excluded from history texts until very recently. People directly impacted by multiple colonial regimes and war ought to have a say in how history is explained to present and future generations of island residents and to the broader world.

Un-settling the domination of institutional “history” as a mode of knowing the past which frames this past as the singular story of a nation-state should be part of attempts to research multiply-colonial pasts and present day life, but only if one also thoughtfully considers memories alongside a broad range of archival sources which can contribute in important ways to knowledge of the past. Histories as institutionally produced stories need not be revered as hegemonic documents, nor do historians have the final say about knowledge of the past. Historians can perhaps provide a snapshot from the greatest distance away because they are trained to incorporate the broadest range of available information; meanwhile the intimacy of memory reveals unparalleled insights about the human costs of history.

Memory also recasts the past/s in terms of present-day concerns, and in this way it can reveal the factors influencing knowledge production about these past/s in ways that formal historical accounts as scholarly productions tends to obscure.

Project Background

This was originally a translation project. Because of the timing of the grants which I wrote for this project, I view my translation of this collection was part of a cluster of recent studies on Pagan produced as the consequence of the planned 3rd Marine Expeditionary Force move to Guam and parts of the CNMI.⁶ Specifically, I translated the content of this entire website from Japanese to English as the result of two small grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities that were administered by the CNMI government Division of Historic Preservation office, or HPO. I did the translation in two installments in 2008 and 2011.⁷ I am currently working with a translation editor toward making the translation available to the public via the world wide web.

⁶ During the waning years of the first decade of the 2000s, other archaeological, archival histories, and oral interviews were undertaken to produce reports that might assist in mitigating possible impacts of military facilities constructions on the islands of Pagan, Saipan, Sarigan, and Tinian. As requested by the TEC Inc. Joint Venture (TEC) and under contract by Naval Facilities Engineering Command, Pacific (NAVFAC Pacific), a firm called International Archaeological Research Institute, Inc (IARI) prepared a report focused on these islands’ environments and cultural histories for the joint Guam build-up project areas.

⁷ Okamoto, Mariko, ed. “[Harukanaru Pagantô yô.](#)”

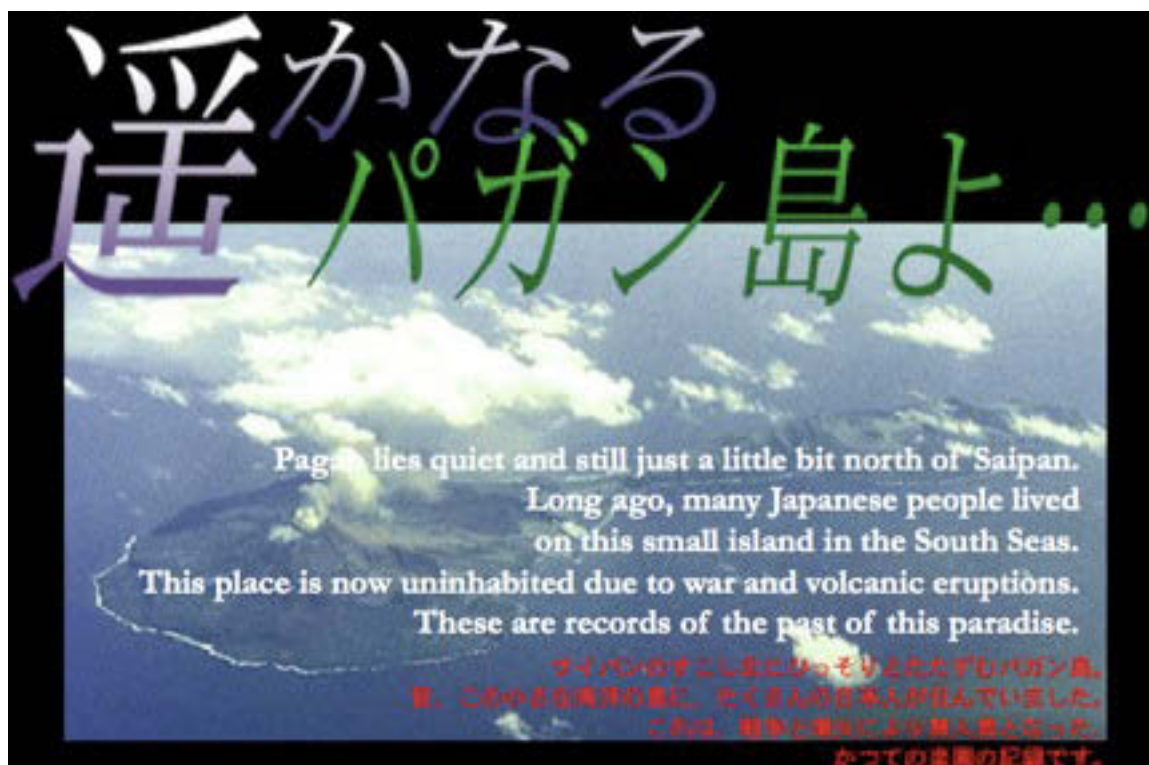
The aforementioned studies were printed in a 2009 military report that incorporated sub-contracted projects including exemplary scholarship about Pagan and Sarigan oral and archival histories by Rlene Steffley and Wakako Higuchi.⁸ In 2005 or 06 when I was working at the Visitor Center, I had heard about their oral history projects from various acquaintances employed in historical preservation related work on the island. Because the “Harukanaru” website contains pithy, moving visions of life on Pagan I thought that these stories might make a worthwhile addition to the growing assemblage of information on this island. After I informed HPO staff members about the existence of this website, they subsequently put out a request for proposals for the translation of portions of the site into English. This paper draws upon information reported in the study to help assess the historical and contemporary relevance of the website collection.⁹

The self-published website and booklet “Harukanaru Pagantô yo” holds a collection of personal memoirs about Japanese era life on Pagan island in the Northern Mariana Islands.¹⁰

⁸ Steffy, Rlene Santos, “4. Oral History of the People of Pagan and Sarigan” (41-57) and Higuchi, Wakako, “5. Japanese Era History” (65-96) in J. Stephen Athens, “Archaeological Surveys.”

⁹ Athens, “Archaeological Surveys,” 18.

¹⁰ Pagan Island is located at the western edge of the Pacific Ocean in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. It lies near the center of the north-south archipelago of ten islands in the Commonwealth’s Northern Islands Mayoral district. The island is comprised of two land masses, with a one-mile-wide neck connecting the two parts. The north lobe is about two-and-a-half miles wide and the island is eight miles long. It has at least one active volcano Mt. Pagan at the north part of the island that ascends to 570 meters, and another volcano in the south part of the island with a land area comprising about eighteen-and-a-half square miles. Along with other volcanoes in the CNMI Northern Islands this volcano has produced several eruptions in the island’s recorded history.¹⁰ There are two lakes on the island, both containing brackish water and two springs have been reported but they are unable to form larger streams because of the sandy and porous soil.¹⁰ There are somewhat well developed reefs around much of the island, with black-sand beaches especially on the leeward side. The island today is a largely undeveloped and partially inhabited.



This is an image of the homepage, and the white text represents a translation of the text in red. The website was created in 2000 by the daughter-in-law of Eiko, the woman who moved to Pagan as a child with her parents who worked there as schoolteachers, and it hosts a collection of memoirs from civilians and military. The collection was published as a soft cover 116-page booklet because Mariko told me she wanted to give copies to senior citizens who did not use the internet.

The editor's mother-in-law Eiko is pictured here with her parents at the Saipan Jinja [shrine] before they moved to Pagan. Eiko was a child on Pagan in the 1930s and throughout the months of the Pacific War. In the first few chapters, Okamoto Mariko summarizes Eiko's memories including recollections of natural flora and fauna, attending the Pagan elementary school, wartime recipes using local ingredients, and memories about interactions with Japanese and US military.



Figure 1 shows the first half of the table of contents, and Mariko wrote all of these sections. But the website attracted submissions by a variety of people who remember living on the island in the days of Japanese rule. In total, eighteen people contributed thirty-two stories based in memories of living on Pagan, with twenty-two stories from military veterans and ten stories from civilians. Some people from younger generations have posted stories they heard from their relatives about Pagan.

Figure 1: Table of Contents

Hajimeni [To Begin]
 Shima no Aramashi [An Outline of the Island]
 Shashin [Photographs]
 Sensô to Shima [War and the Island]
 Sono go no Shima [The Island Thereafter]
 Koborebanashi [Other Stories]

Figure 2 represents the second half of the table of contents that includes many contributions by other people. Contributors to the site might not have otherwise found their memoirs assembled together in one volume. Memoirs and stories about former Japanese settlements in Nanyô Guntô [The South Sea Islands] have often been published by groups with an institutional history in common.

Figure 2: Table of Contents, b

Pagantô Tanbô [Touring Pagan Island] (3 entries)
Pagantô no Uta [Songs of Pagan Island]
Pagantô Bunshû [Pagan Island Anthology] (22 entries)
Minna no Koe [Everyone's Voices] (36 entries)
Rinku Shû [Links]

In this collection, Mariko referenced or paraphrased some previously published memoirs.¹¹ She expressed thanks to the All-Pagan Island Veterans Association and the gathering of Pagan Repatriates for cooperating with her as she assembled the webpage. In this way, Mariko's editorial decisions appear to have been informed by input from various other people who agreed to share their stories. Yet she expresses special thanks to two people in particular. Along with her mother-in-law Okamoto Eiko, veteran Hattori Hideo was the other person whom Mariko identifies as having contributed significantly to the success of the website. It would not be an overstatement to say that these two individuals' perspectives are reflected in Mariko's editorial decisions about the project, and their memories helped her to write the introductory portions of the website which summarize wartime recipes.

Chamorro チャモロ族			
	1935	1936	1937
Saipan	2,337	2339	2,148
Tinian	23	26	21
Rota	782	787	811
Pagan	--	111	110
Total	3,142	3,299	3,263

Kanaka カナカ族			
	1935	1936	1937

¹¹ Okamoto Mariko authored several introductory articles to the collection that are her own summaries of stories she had heard other people tell over the years. In her section called "The Star Spangled Banner and White Flags" she refers memories previously printed as part of a story called "War's End at an Orphaned Island" within a series called "War" published by the Yomiuri Newspaper in September 1976. In addition, Mariko's summary section called "Delicious Water" was previously published by the All-Pagan Island Veterans Association as a contribution by Mr. Sakamoto Masao in the volume Pagantô Shubi Taiki [Pagan Island Garrison Records]. Finally, the section called "The Fallen Zero Fighter" reports that it references a record written by Kamisawa Shôsuke printed in "The Pacific Society Bulletin" no. 59/60 from October 1993. Veteran Hattori Hideo contributed several stories on Okamoto's website that had originally been published in Pagan Shubi Taiki. Another veteran whose stories appeared in both the Shubi Taiki and Okamoto's collection is Mr. Sakamoto Masao.

Saipan	857	883	841
Tinian	1	--	
Rota	6	4	11
Pagan	--	42	45
Total	866	929	897

Japanese 邦人			
	1935	1936	1937
Saipan	857	23,809	23,853
Tinian	1	15,339	15,112
Rota	6	5,590	7,522
Pagan	--	253	196
Total	866	44,991	46,487

As a website, it is easy to access these stories when compared to other stories with a similar focus on memories of Japanese colonialism in Micronesia. Other such Japanese language memories have usually taken printed form and are largely held in archives that are not freely searchable online, although Okamoto listed several other free memoir websites on her “links” page.¹² The history behind the initial emergence of these memoirs especially in the 1980s is said to have been frustration in Okinawa over Japanese government textbook deletions of information about how the Japanese military had killed civilians during the Japan-US battle in Okinawa, and the memoirs were intended to bear witness to accounts that would not otherwise be recorded anywhere.¹³ Although I have not yet been able to fully confirm this suspicion, it is my understanding that many of these memoirs are available at archives in Okinawa. If this is indeed the case, this particular archival situation would suggest that returnee memoirs are held on the margins of mainstream libraries containing information about Japan’s former colonies. This implies that they have not generally been taken seriously as sources for insights about history.

For the average, non-specialist reader, the memories about Pagan on Okamoto’s website in all likelihood have a larger circulation than most other memoirs written by former residents of Japan’s colonies in Micronesia.¹⁴ As a free website that gathered contributions from a variety of visitors, its content is also probably more

¹² “Links” page: <http://www.dd.iij4u.or.jp/~pagan/link.html>.

¹³ Ohara Tomoko, “Sengo Okinawa shakai to Nanyô Guntô hikiagesha hikiagesha dantai katsudô ni chûi” [Repatriated People from Micronesia in the Postwar Okinawa Society] *Imin Kenkyû Dai 6 kô* 2010.3: 36.

¹⁴ As of 6 June 2012, the website had been viewed 442,916 times.

diverse than other memoirs written by groups of former settlers that are publicly accessible from within the NMI today. These other freely accessible collections include mainly a number of association volumes that are held at the CNMI Museum in Garapan, Saipan.¹⁵

The free accessibility of the site allows various people to read the stories.¹⁶ This enabled enhanced participation from an array of former settlers including military and civilians as well as anybody who reads Japanese. Because the website holds a wide variety of perspectives, it could be thought of as a starting point for investigating different individuals and groups with an interest in Pagan and the Northern Mariana Islands. At the same time, while Mariko was accepting new story submissions by e-mail, she allowed people without any affiliation with this history to post messages in what was an online bulletin board.

Mariko writes that Eiko asked her to assemble the collection, and the site has come together in ways that might reflect younger generations' ideas and concerns. Okamoto's primary goal in creating the collection was to share them with as wide an audience as possible. Specifically, she wanted to educate her peers: "As for my generation who do not know about the war and who do not even know that there was a war, it is my hope that they will keep a little bit of the stories from Pagan Island in their hearts."¹⁷ The desire to reclaim memory of Japan's colonial settlements has been the goal of many younger generations who inherited legacies of Japan's former colony in Micronesia. In addition to satisfying curiosity, my intent in translating and assessing these stories has been to contribute to greater public understanding of Japanese histories and memories of the NMI and to assist in the production of educational materials.

It is not easy to visit Pagan island today, which has been remarked on by many visitors to the website. Although postwar travel to Pagan has not been entirely absent, the virtual lack of travel to the island may place greater potential importance on Okamoto's website as a shared space for memory activity about this island. In a way that might be imagined as similar to an incense urn, at least while

¹⁵ Jessica Jordan, "Annotated Bibliography of Japanese Titles in the CNMI," Unpublished paper (Saipan CNMI: Northern Mariana Islands Council for the Humanities, 2010).

¹⁶ Okamoto says she has permission from the original storytellers to relay these stories at her website, as well as permission to distribute the stories via her self-printed books. She has permission from contributors to share the stories for free.

¹⁷ Okamoto, "Harukanaru Pagantô," 4.

it was being actively updated, Okamoto's virtual collection functioned as a certain kind receptacle for collecting stories while also re-producing them at the same instant. As a dynamic body of writing, the website changed as individual contributors read its content and shared their own stories. Much like the memorials that dot the landscape in the heavily-populated and accessible Saipan and Tinian islands, in the case of Pagan this website itself for a while served as a public location for meditating on history and memory of an island where other kinds of physical memorials have been few and the ability to visit the island intermittent. In the future if US militarization of the island proceeds as planned, there is little reason to believe that access would improve for the average visitor. In this scenario, the website (or others like it) could grow in importance as active spaces of collective speculation and remembering about Pagan that bring together voices across distances and backgrounds.

Historical Background

Pagan is part of a group of volcanic islands that extends southward in a crescent shape to connect the Mariana Islands down to Western Carolines. Turning northward from Pagan, the archipelago connects to the Kazan Retto, Iôtô (Iwo Jima), Ogasawara, and Honshu. Because of their proximity to Japan, the Northern Mariana Islands had been stopping points for Japanese exploration, trade, and migration to the islands for decades. As the northernmost island group in Japan's Mandated territory, the Northern Mariana Islands sat at the entrance to the formal South Seas territory from the perspective of boats coming from Japan.¹⁸

The Japanese controlled the area after seizing German Micronesia when German officials retreated in 1914 to fight the First World War. After Japan established an administrative presence on the islands, the industries of sugar cane, fisheries, and phosphate dominated. Japan developed the islands with infrastructure such as sewer systems, hospitals, docks, a narrow-gauge railway, telephones, printing presses, and a variety of private shops and services.

¹⁸ By the 1930s, Northern islands in the Northern Mariana Islands had become familiar as points of entry into Micronesia when traveling by boat from Japan. In a 1927 report by the government, the northernmost Northern Mariana Island of Uracas (volcanically active in the Japanese days) took ten hours to reach from the Ogasawara islands that are 100 miles to the north. This report said that the boat crew termed the island of Uracas "Nanyô Guntô Fuji" because its steep cone shape looked like Mt. Fuji. This same report stated that Pagan Island appeared as an irregular shape, and that smoke billowed from the northern volcano while steam rose from the south volcano. Nanyô-chô, Inin tôchi chiiki Nanyô Guntô chôsa shiryô. Tokyo-shi, 1927: 486-7.

The sugar industry and fisheries recruited mainly Okinawan laborers to settle the islands, and as families put down roots the birth rate increased rapidly which contributed to population growth of Japanese residents in the 1930s.

Northern Mariana Island Populations 1935-37

Source: *Nan'yôchô kôhō*

In 1937, the above population figures reveal that Japanese outnumbered islanders by eleven to one. In the Nanyô Guntô, the Japanese government identified three types of people in their population statistics: Japanese (*hōjin*) including Okinawans, Koreans, and Taiwanese, Foreigners (*Gaikokujin*) and Islanders (*Tômin*). The Japanese colonial government recognized that among islanders or “*Tômin*,” two categories called Chamorro and Kanaka were represented in government statistics. These labels have more complex histories and contemporary meanings than I have space to explain here, but in particular the term “Kanaka” and “*Tômin*” can be offensive and should be used with care. These are the terms used in old documents as well as in the website collection, and that is why I use them here.

The term *Tômin* was not always welcome by the people it was intended to signify. One Saipan senior citizen named Sister Antoinetta Ada (born Nishikawa Kimiko) went to Japanese schools and remembers the existence of a widely-understood racial hierarchy: this unofficial ranking placed Japanese at the top, followed by Okinawans, then Chamorros, and then Kanaka islanders. She describes the Japanese and Okiwanas as being part of the *ittôkokumin* (first-class subjects), children of mixed marriages were *nittôkokumin* (second-class subjects), and islanders were *santôkokumin* (third-class subjects).¹⁹ The term *Tômin* for Antoinetta Ada recalls bitter memories. She was born into a Japanese family but spent a lot of time with the neighbor family of Juan Ada, who adopted her after her parents and most of her family died during the Pacific War. She described *Tômin* as a derogatory racial epithet that the other Japanese children used to tease her when Mr. Ada would drop her off at school riding on a *kareta* bull-cart. Nowadays she is a Catholic Nun living at the House of Maturana at Navy Hill, Saipan, and proudly describes herself as a Chamorro woman.²⁰

¹⁹ Ada, Antoinetta, interview by Jessica Jordan, July 20, 2008.

²⁰ Ibid

In Pagan alone, Wakako Higuchi reported in the Athens study that in 1936 the population was 406 (111 Chamorros, 42 Kanaka, 253 Japanese). In 1940, Higuchi reports that the island's population was 555 (198 Chamorros, 27 Carolinians, 330 Japanese), and in 1942, it further increased to 642 (229 islanders and 413 Japanese). After that, Higuchi adds that 600 more laborers arrived but their data is not accounted for in these figures. She also reports that the Japanese population of Pagan was 2000 in 1944 reflecting the arrival of military troops.²¹

Part of the Saipan branch bureau, Pagan was among other islands controlled by Japan in the Mariana Island district, including Rota, Saipan, Sarigan, Tinian-Aguigan, and the other less populated islands north of Saipan. Yet in Pagan, Higuchi reports that the Nanyô Bôeki corporation staff was deputized to carry out administrative affairs and that the South Seas Bureau did not manage the island's administration until after the Japanese population exceeded 200 by 1936.²² The island became more of a target of Japanese settlement in the mid-1930s, when workers moved there to construct the Suisan bonito fishery plant and the airfield.²³

In the late 1930s a town emerged after a surge in population. Like other islands in Micronesia, Pagan was seen increasingly as a strategic stepping-stone for further expansion into more resource-rich parts of South East Asia. As one of the largest islands in the NMI Northern Islands area, Pagan was made into an airport and communication hub. The facilities listed in Figure 3 were developed in the 1930s.

Figure 3: Emergence of a Town — developments reported by Higuchi (2009)

- A wharf, various commercial stores and a coffee shop
- 1934 construction of runway begins in secret
- 1938 Bonito fishery processing plant (Nanyô Suisan)
- Elementary school
- Town doctor
- Roads across the island

Memory Content

The content of the website can be understood to be envisioned as distant time and space. Temporally, memories of pre-war life are made more remote by the war that acts as a filter for those memories. Spatially, repatriates recall that the island was

²¹ Higuchi "5. Japanese Era" in Athens "Archaeological Surveys," 65.

²² Ibid., 69.

²³ Ibid., 68.

fairly undeveloped and distant from the urban lifestyle of Saipan and from other places in the empire.

The South Seas Government established the first mandatory primary education system managed by a nation governing Micronesia. Previously schools in the area had been mission-run, and mission schools were allowed to continue to operate under Japanese rule until the war. Nanyô-cho established a school system for island residents by creating separate schools for Japanese children and islanders. This compulsory education system had since 1918 consisted of *shogakkô* (elementary schools) for Japanese and Okinawan children which included eight years, and in 1923 the government officially recognized *kôgakkô* (public schools) for islanders and others not fluent in Japanese, which included three years of required classes.²⁴

Okamoto Eiko, whose maiden name was Fukahori, was the daughter of the schoolteachers who moved to Pagan. Eiko remembers that the school building was made of wood with wide corridors down which her father's voice would echo during physical exercises while her mother played the organ.²⁵ She remembers that the classes "consisted of riding on the school's bull cart and helping to pick cotton, or doing lots of other things outdoors like tending to the cows and goats kept by everyone."²⁶ An armed forces veteran remembers that Mrs. Fukahori was an opinionated woman who would reprimand the soldiers.²⁷ The teachers at the school were also remembered favorably for having made the most with limited resources, as the school was considered distant from the modern classrooms in Saipan.²⁸

The school sat next to two black-sand lagoons separated by a tall isthmus, and these lagoons were playgrounds for the children. Mrs. Okamoto remembers floating on banana rafts, making goggles out of old bottles and wax, and gazing at tropical fish. The children could hike up to reach the upper, crystal blue brackish lake inside the smoking Mt. Pagan volcano. Eiko remembers that nothing about life on the island was scary for children, even the deep blackness of night: under the cover

²⁴ Peattie, Nanyô, 91-92.

²⁵ Okamoto Eiko, "[Daifuku Mochi](#)," from "Pagan Island Anthology."

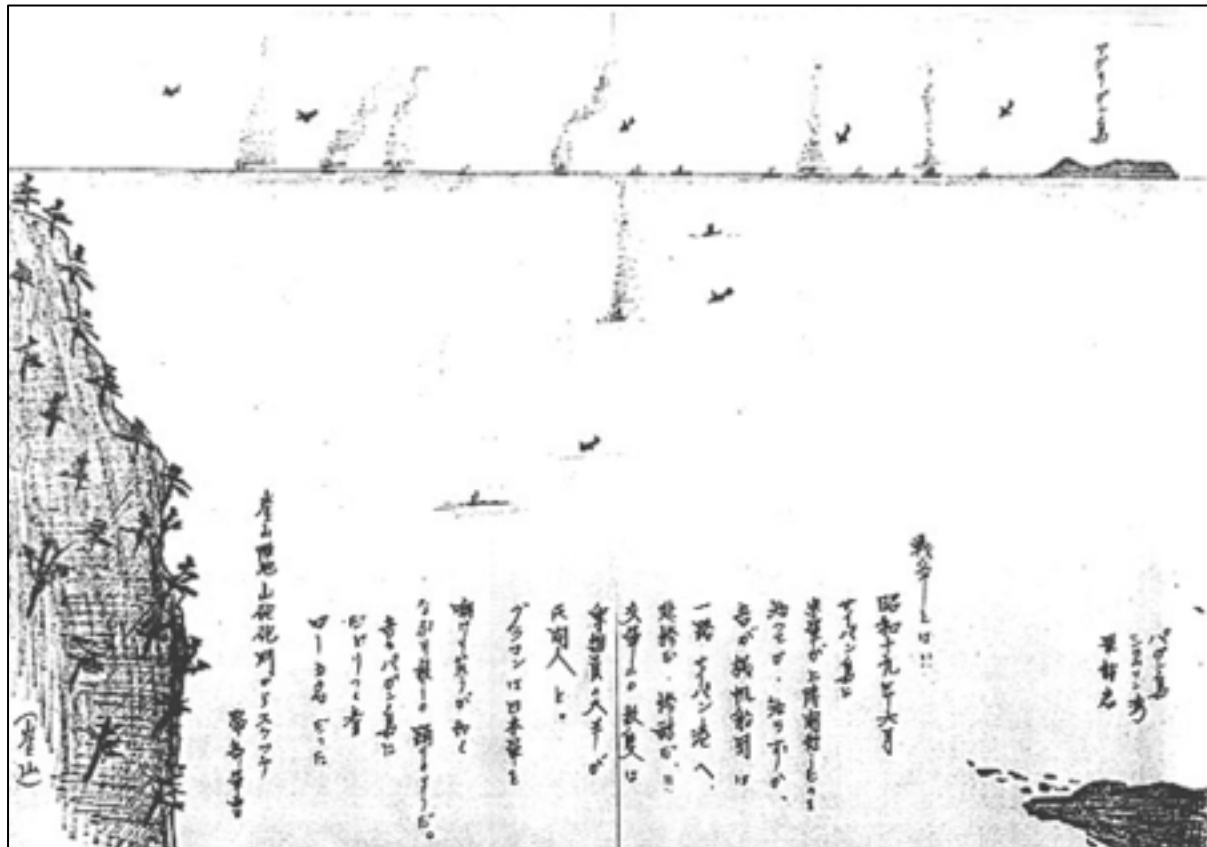
²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Kameoka Shinichi, "[A Short History of Pagan Island](#)," from "Pagan Island Anthology."

²⁸ Kameoka Shinichi wrote in his story, "An Erupting, Solitary Island" that the teachers at Pagan's school were able to provide an education for children despite "a perpetual lack of teaching materials" (Okamoto 2000: 45-6).

of darkness the sound of the nearby surf was a lullaby.²⁹ She recalls that the striking shadows of the coconut trees at twilight looked like paper-cut-outs [*krie*].³⁰ Visually, Eiko remembers that life as a child on Pagan was saturated with bright colors as opposed to the whitewashed look of urban colonial uniforms, buildings, and paved roads on Saipan.³¹

As beaches in Saipan were being stormed by the US in June 1944, Pagan was hit with particularly destructive air raids.



This is a sketch by Hattori Hideo of the bombardment of Pagan on 12 June 1944. Many facilities, food provisions, and boats were destroyed: the Navy barracks, a hangar, a runway, communication cables, and airfield construction was suspended while the army forces moved into caves in the jungle.³² After the air raids struck, the armed forces were down to 1,200 calories per person per day until efforts to

²⁹ Okamoto Eiko, from the story “[Daifuku Mochi](#)” from “Pagantô no bunshû.”

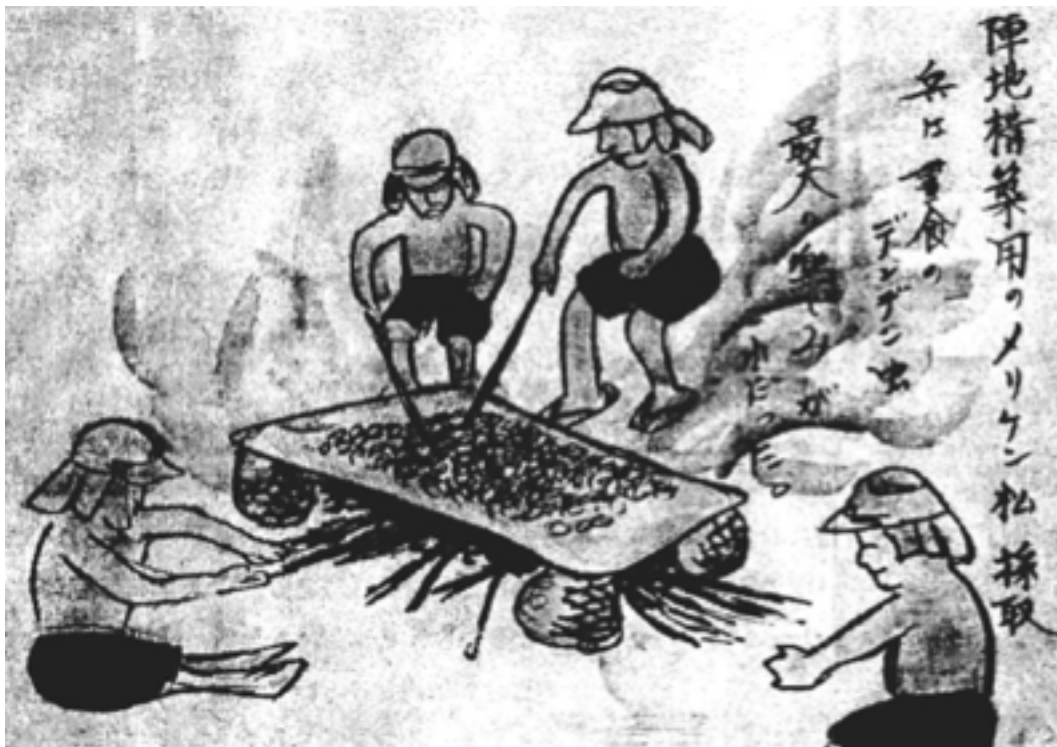
³⁰ Okamoto, “Harukanaru Paganô,” 85.

³¹ Okamoto Eiko, from the story “[Daifuku Mochi](#)” from “Pagantô no bunshû.”

³² Higuchi, “5. Japanese Era” in Athens “Archaeological Surveys,” 75.

increase the production of potatoes and vegetables gave them 2,000 calories per day by December 1944.³³

Faced with food shortages, the residents' wartime duties became the creation of food from the island's natural environment. The challenge of inventing methods for harvesting and cooking various local animals and plants appears as an experience characteristic of living on wartime Pagan.



This sketch by Mr. Hattori is of soldiers cooking snails. These kinds of memories from military personnel reveal the difficulties of war on Pagan. Thinking perhaps of the hard labor the military endured on the island, veteran Kameoka Shinichi wrote that “it was an island that was both hard to attack and hard to defend.”³⁴ In one story, he remembers watching starving men disregard the threat that searching for food out in the open had posed to their lives:

There was a small forest between the headquarters and the Signal Communication Unit. There were lots of snails there. During daytime work, whenever they could hide from the eyes of the commander, four or five corpsmen at a time would appear there and cook and eat snails. However the smoke would rise above the forest and before long enemy airplanes would begin shooting so they would run back. I saw that kind

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Okamoto, “Harukanaru Pagantô,” 70-1.

of thing happen every day. That is how hungry they were. It was a fight against hunger more than a fight for their lives.³⁵

Local residents including civilians and military found themselves inventing various recipes for cooking local plants and animals.

Figure 4: List of Wartime Foods Recalled in Memories

- Breadfruit
- Coconuts
- Coconut crabs
- Eggplant leaves
- (substituted for tobacco)
- Flying fish
- Grasshoppers
- Mice
- Monitor lizards
- Pagan Royal Ferns (Rock Ferns)
- Papayas
- Pig pumpkins
- Peppers
- Rainwater
- Rats
- Snails
- Sweet potatoes

This list represents the foods that were eaten, according to these memories. At all costs, the population searched for food that would enable survival.

After 1944, the military population outnumbered the other residents who had been living there for a number of years prior to the troops' arrival. Because the armed forces lived in densely populated camps, it was a challenge to find space to grow food for each soldier. Moreover these troops did not always possess knowledge of local plants and survival techniques at least when compared with local civilian and islander residents.

After food was destroyed in the initial air attacks in June 1944, the Japanese military on Pagan relied on others until they learned to grow food, and civilians gave food to the military. Many stories by civilians tell of different abilities to manage food supply, wherein civilians provided food to the military. Civilian

³⁵ Ibid., 67.

resident Yumita Chôkô who lived with a cotton-farming family before the war remembers her brothers delivering food to the military every day.³⁶

One memoir called “Beneath a Dark Lamp” by Saburi Rokurô attests to how the local people made intelligent use of a limited water supply:

The people of the island said that the water where mosquito larva hatched was of superior quality. They would whack the top of this water with a ladle, and the mosquito larva would sink to the bottom. Then they would drink the water.³⁷

On the other hand, in another memory, military veteran Kameoka Shinichi did not know about this method for finding potable water. He writes that he drank water that was contaminated with amoebic dysentery. He admits that he did not know better than to drink this water.³⁸ Because the disease latency period is very long (three to five years), Kameoka writes that many military and civilian people became ill with dysentery after repatriation and suffered with the consequences of the disease well after the war. Other diseases including Amebic Dysentery, Dengue Fever, and ulcers also plagued populations on the island and malnourishment made the diseases worse.

More than one story recalls people identified as Kanaka as occasionally providing delicacies from the sea to the Japanese military. Mr. Hattori Hideo who helped Okamoto Mariko in putting this collection together is said to have remembered one particular Kanaka boy with whom he had cultivated a friendship and who appeared in his dreams for years afterward. Mariko summarized stories she heard Mr. Hattori tell about this boy. She paraphrased one instance when the boy gave Mr. Hattori a special gift:

One time, the boy carried an octopus on his shoulders that looked like it was bigger than him. With all his might, he dragged it over. “My father told me to give this to you.” Because of this generosity, everyone was able to enjoy eating octopus for the first time in ages.³⁹

³⁶ Yumita, “[Immigration to Repatriation](#),” from “Pagan Island Anthology.”

³⁷ Okamoto, “Harukanaru Pagantô,” 47.

³⁸ Ibid., 55.

³⁹ Ibid.

Mariko writes that Mr. Hattori says he was eternally grateful to that boy. He even feels as though they were brothers in some regards, and expresses strong affinity for the help he received from this generous boy and his family who perished during bombardment.⁴⁰

Stories such as these recall these indigenous islanders performing a favorable role with regards to the provision of food and the maintenance of life on the island. The islander boy also gave Mr. Hattori a cooked snail once when he was very sick, which Okamoto summarizes Mr. Hattori as saying was gracious gesture but the snail tasted awful:

Mr. Hattori had never tried eating snail up until that moment, but the boy had gone out of his way to show him kindness so he put the whole thing into his mouth. In an instant a fishy taste came over him. He said that even though he drank something right away, a sliminess remained in his mouth for around three days after that.⁴¹

Snails are known for having been brought to the island by Okinawans. Mariko writes in a section about these African snails that they had originally been kept inside a cage, but after a typhoon the snails were scattered all over the island.⁴² This is how they became wild. Although Okinawans ate snails, the Japanese military were not used to it and they threw away an entire truckload that had been donated to them by the school children. The military came to regret this later when food sources grew even scarcer.⁴³

Struggles over food as an experience of war suggests differences in subject positions of populations involved in or entrapped by this war. A dependence of the military government on civilian cooperation during these extreme circumstances points to the indispensability of civilian roles in the war effort.

These stories also suggest the existence of a hierarchy of abilities to negotiate different natural terrains toward staying alive, a hierarchy that did not reflect the colonial social hierarchy at work at the time. From this point onward, I offer my own reading of the stories as I try to use the sources available to me as a historian

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid., 28.

⁴³ Ibid., 66.

to put these memory fragments into conversation with one another toward seeing a broad picture of the social relations at work on Pagan island at the time. During combat conditions, then, the so-called Tômin islanders are remembered as having been the people who were most adept at harvesting the sea's bounty, while the civilian (presumably) largely Okinawan population dominated farming, and finally the Japanese military had depended on imports and then after bombardment they relied on others to help them learn how to survive. Other studies of war memory among people in Micronesia have identified indigenous islanders as being able to harness the sea's bounty during the crisis of the Pacific War, which gave them a kind of affluence on the islands.⁴⁴ Unlike other islands, the fact that the island of Pagan was under the direct flight path of enemy bombers heading from Tinian and Saipan to Japan made fishing with boats particularly dangerous. On the other hand, people on other islands that had been similarly choked-off from support but not invaded did not have such a pronounced struggle with avoiding bombardment to the degree seen in the Northern Mariana Islands as is evidenced in these memoirs.

Captain Amô Umahachi signed the surrender documents on Pagan on September 2, 1945, meanwhile the Japanese Army recorded 279 deaths and the Navy reported 29 deaths on Pagan.⁴⁵ The American government sent the first repatriation ship to Beppu, Japan from Micronesia on 25 September 1945 with 1,600 starving Imperial Japanese Navy sailors.⁴⁶ In October 1945 and January of the following year, a US ship from Pagan repatriated 338 Okinawan civilians and in March 140 Japanese were repatriated to Japan.⁴⁷ With few exceptions, US repatriation of Japanese military and civilians from Micronesia was concluded by May 1946.⁴⁸

Reading Japanese Memories of the NMI

The postwar lives of the people repatriated from Japan's colony in Micronesia and their commemorative and memorial activities are intertwined with the history of Okinawa. This is because sixty percent of people who moved to Nanyô Guntô were from Okinawa and among the 30,000 people repatriated to Okinawa after the war

⁴⁴ Geoffrey M. White, ed. *Remembering the Pacific War*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Center for Pacific Island Studies, 1991.

⁴⁵ Higuchi, "5. Japanese Era" in Athens "Archaeological Surveys," 75-6.

⁴⁶ Watt, Lori. *When Empire Comes Home: Reparation and Reintegration in Postwar Japan*, Harvard University Press Harvard University Asia Center, Cambridge MA: 39

⁴⁷ Higuchi, "5. Japanese Era" in Athens "Archaeological Surveys," 76.

⁴⁸ Watt, *When Empire*, 39.

the majority were from Nanyô Guntô.⁴⁹ Moreover, the wartime experiences of *shûdan jiketsu* (group suicide) or *shûdan kyôseishi* (forced group suicide)⁵⁰ and military conscription or violence by the Japanese military toward civilians leading to defeat known as *gyokusai* are controversial memories shared by many people who survived the battles in Okinawa, Saipan and Tinian. In postwar Okinawa, this shared experience was strongly recognized by *Izokukai* or bereaved family groups to the extent that it has sometimes been thought that the people who had not witnessed suicide and defeat during the war afterward could not readily claim an authentic postwar *Uchinanchû* (Okinawan) identity.⁵¹

Beyond the prominence of Okinawan settlers in NMI history, another more important factor should be remembered when reading Japanese memoirs of living in the region. The tens of thousands of civilian Japanese, Okinawan, Korean, and Taiwanese settlers and indigenous islanders alike could be described as both complicit with and victimized by the war. But rather than approaching questions of war responsibility as a search for people who were either guilty of war crimes or victimized by perpetrators, asking instead about what lasting impacts these experiences had for populations with first-hand experience (and their offspring) yields more information about the factors influencing war memory discourses today as well as the ongoing search for reparations and other forms of partial closure. These factors point to the continuing marginalization of civilian memories of war because the military versions of events (specifically those of the victorious military) are those that have been recorded in archives in places where battles for the most part destroyed all but the records both acquired and produced by armed forces. The remaining documents held by surviving civilians have often been seen as unreliable personal memory fragments, and to date have not readily been incorporated into Japanese and English-language histories about Japan in the Mariana Islands.

In institutional narratives civilians in combat zones have often been seen as bystanders to history, with history seen as the story of a nation-state re-drawing its

⁴⁹ Ohara, Sengo Okinawa, 23.

⁵⁰ These two different terms for the phenomenon of group suicides that took place near the end of the battles of Okinawa, Saipan and Tinian represent two different perspectives on these suicides: *shûdan jiketsu* is associated with mainstream histories that present these suicides as voluntary and patriotic, and *shûdan kyôseishi* calls to mind perspectives especially from Okinawa which view these suicides as coerced by the Japanese military and subsequently written out of mainstream histories.

⁵¹ Ibid, 35.

boundaries through the act of war. Military histories are so dominant in mainstream discourses about “Japan in the Pacific,” that one might be tempted to think that this phrase does not also conjure up images of a civilian Nanyô-cho for people who remember living in these islands before the war. But memories of life before the military arrived are plentiful, and these memories have often been quite nostalgic and happy when compared to life during and after the war. Rather than thinking of Japan’s war responsibility as an idea that can be used to evaluate the relative positions of civilian populations in the same way all across the empire, understanding how conditions unfolded differently at various locations requires thinking about how people were positioned in relation to dominant colonial and wartime power structures in those locations. Hence the need to consider the centrality of populations of Okinawans in how Japanese towns in the NMI have been remembered since then: Okinawans were considered lower-class Japanese subjects during the period of Japan’s empire to the extent that Tomiyama Ichirô has identified colonial-period writings wherein islanders are said to have called Okinawans “Japanese Kanaka.”⁵²

Armed with this frame of reference, in the case of the memoirs on this website it is conceivable to see that social hierarchies could be made more complex in the face of wartime extreme resource scarcity. In Pagan, a dearth of food supplies created a situation wherein the populations who had been living on the islands the longest (the so-called Tômin islanders) had access to the best quality food because they apparently continued to fish the ocean even when boat fishing became too dangerous. These same islanders who had been historically discriminated against in both Japanese and American Mariana Island societies here emerge as the people who were best adept at living on the islands when modern wartime states perused their own mutual destructions. Somewhere in the middle, the civilian and largely Okinawan residents could still produce food by farming, and they taught the Japanese military (the shortest-term residents) how to grow sweet potatoes.

Scholars have often legitimately remarked that this war was fought between the US and Japan and islanders were bystanders.⁵³ Okinawan civilian islanders were also

⁵² Tomiyama Ichirô, “Chapter 4: The “Japanese” of Micronesia: Okinawans in the Nan’yô Islands,” in *Okinawan Diaspora*, edited by Ronald Y. Nakasone. Honolulu: UH Press, 2002: 64-5.

⁵³ Fujitani, White and Yoneyama wrote in *Perilous Memories* of the need to account for multiple perspectives not on WWII or the Pacific War but the Asia-Pacific War(s) as a plural noun signifying a diverse range of experiences during various battles fought across a broad expanse of space and time.

bystanders insofar as they had been living on the islands as working-class farming families long before the military arrived as harbingers of oncoming war. Moreover in the Pagan memoirs, Okinawan and other Japanese civilians' knowledge of survival strategies attest to years of familiarity with island living when compared to the military troops who did not know how to make ends meet once supplies were gone. Meanwhile, it must be said that cooperation with military government policies implicated civilian and armed forces alike in Japan's wartime efforts because these policies were inevitable for all residents — there was no way to escape the military government rule except through revolt or treason. This situation would face anybody subject to a wartime government. Returning to the opening idea of this paragraph, since entrapment by war was not a unique experience, what can be viewed as unique about these stories is that indigenous and settler islanders did not just stand by as Japan and the US fought it out in the Mariana Islands — they continued to survive through livelihoods that seemed affluent during the war when modern life systems were demolished.

Outside of this crisis state, particularly indigenous islanders' lifestyles have been represented as primitive or non-modern based as they are in local knowledge of land and sea and because they apparently de-emphasize mechanized or industrialized means of production. This begs the question, what does an affluent society look like if it does not point to the activities of populations who harness knowledge of the place of residence toward cultivating a descent life? And, if a resident population does not understand the specific conditions capable of sustaining life in the place where they live, does this not implicitly pose a certain kind of challenge to claims over rights to land and sea? If it does not, on what basis should such claims rest? If residents do not work within ecosystems (of which humans remain one species), how can a population claim ownership of land-sea terrains? This is not to imply that one's identity is not authentic unless bound to terrain, as this idea has by now been thoroughly critiqued by scholars who have helped to deconstruct traditional anthropological assumptions about identity. I simply want to point out here that reading Okamoto's collection of memoirs alongside other war memoirs from Micronesia suggests that social exchanges point to contingencies of relationships to the land and sea: in this moment, war survival called fourth local knowledge and gave it renewed value.

As a Caucasian person who grew up on Saipan in the NMI and has lived there for twenty-three years, I am interested in these questions as a settler resident whose own family legacies are closer to those of the Fukahori family than those of the so-

called Tōmin islanders represented in these memories. Like the Japanese settlers who came before me, I consider the NMI my home. Growing up around Japanese colonial and wartime remnants, I see myself an accidental historian who has inherited tormented legacies of imperialism in the NMI within which my own background and interest in history is entangled. I pose the questions above because I think they are the most pressing and they arise from my reading of this collection, but not because I want to dictate answers. I recognize the limits of my own voice in a conversation that is much bigger than me, my family, or the Japanese or American historical legacies in the region.

The voices of settlers and memories of former populations of Japanese and Okinawan residents should be considered as one group among many who enliven NMI histories. Just exactly what place settler domiciles should occupy as either subjects or objects of NMI history is another question—but dismissing stories and perspectives emerging from settler life experiences based in these islands before they can be heard is not a good approach if researching varieties of voices contributing to regional history is one's goal. Moreover attempts to understand how these histories shape present-day economic and personal relationships between Japan, Okinawa, and the NMI can be helped by contemplating these kinds of memoirs.

Thinking about populations as subjects of empires that places them in specific social entrapments, rather than citizens of a nation-state (largely a postwar lens for envisioning subjectivity in the NMI), is the first step in making informed assessments about the colonial realities people struggled with in those days and have labored to remember since then. It is worthwhile to read and consider the stories of various people who have called the islands home, because direct experience does yield insights to which foreign knowledge-producing institutions do not have easy access. This remains true even if settlers' stories are not the same as indigenous livelihoods that perhaps exhibit the most intimate and long-term knowledge of how the islands' pasts can be interpreted to serve shifting present-day needs.

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As a child of US citizens who moved to Saipan in 1981 to help shut down the US Trust Territory Administration, Jessica is interested in understanding frequent changes in NMI territorial status in the twentieth century in terms that make sense from perspectives of daily life on the island.

For her dissertation, she has been talking with senior citizens on Saipan about their recollections of growing up as Japanese subjects while also reading stories published by former Japanese and Okinawan settler children about life in Japan's colonial towns.

The Description and Graphisation of Chamorro During the German Colonial Period in the Marianas¹

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Abstract: *At the beginning of the 20th century, German authors composed a number of texts about the Chamorro language. All of these writers can be assigned to the context of the German colonial period (1899-1914/19). Nevertheless, there are notable differences regarding their personal backgrounds, their attitudes towards the language and people of the Mariana Islands, as well as their motives and competences in describing Chamorro. Accordingly, the documents diverge in terms of quality and size. Whereas some of the texts are well known (e.g. those by German governor George Fritz) other works were never published or remained largely unnoticed until recently (e.g. Hermann Costenoble's dictionary). This paper describes the documents and their authors and will illustrate the qualitative and quantitative differences in outcome of German descriptive work on Chamorro.*

Introduction

When Germany took possession of the Northern Mariana Islands in 1899, Saipan then seat of the government became the center of German activity in the Marianas. The budget did not allow for substantial investments and the number of administrative and military personnel, as well as of missionaries and civilians, remained low throughout the less than two decades of German rule in the Marianas.

Initially, communication with the new colonial rulers occurred mainly in Spanish, but was replaced with German (and/or Chamorro) as soon as possible. German became the language of power and administration and was imposed upon the

¹ The following article is based on subsequent work carried out in the context of the project "Chamorrifica" at the Department of Linguistics at the University of Bremen. Chamorrifica tries to establish a comprehensive collection of those documents, which have been written in/about Chamorro before 1950 in a language other than English. These texts will be (re-)published in an annotated version. Illumination of the author's backgrounds and explanation of terminology and arguments will facilitate the interpretation of the texts. An English translation will be provided to make them accessible to a wider audience.

Chamorros and Carolinians through schooling, administrative praxis and mission (Mühlhäusler 2001: 248f.). Today, German first and last names are a relic of the German colonial era in the Northern Marianas, but no effects of the language contact are attested on the lexical and grammatical level. Solenberger (1962: 60), however, reports that in the 1950s, those Northern Mariana Islanders, who had been educated during the German Colonial period “still showed a marked preference for German speech, literature, music and dances.”

A range of linguistically relevant works on/in Chamorro were produced in consequence of the new linguistic situation. Most of them are widely unfamiliar today, because they were never published and/or are hidden in government, missionary, and private archives, or because they cannot be perceived as they have been composed in German.²

Although lack of linguistic training and insufficient command of Chamorro on the part of individual authors has sometimes resulted in inadequate depictions of the language, the texts are still revealing in several respects. Not only do they reflect contemporary perspectives on and conceptions of the Chamorro language and culture, they also reflect colonial power relations and interpersonal rivalries. Moreover, the texts allow inferences on the state of Chamorro at a certain point in time and thus add to the reconstruction of forgotten lexical material and idiomology. Some of the texts contain valuable information about Chamorro grammar and lexicon, which complements today’s standard reference works.

In the following, I will first introduce the authors and their respective work. Afterwards, I will address the aspects just mentioned. Information on the persons/works is not available to me in equal measure such that my comments might be short and notional at times. I accept this tacitly, because one of the aims of my paper is to draw attention to those authors, who haven’t been credited adequately, yet.

² Several of the texts are available in Spennemann’s digital bibliography of German sources on the Marianas (2004).

The Protagonists

The earliest texts about Chamorro, which date to the German colonial period were composed by Georg Fritz (1865–1944).³ Fritz, the first (and only) German district administrator of the Northern Marianas, arrived in Saipan in 1899 at the age of 34 and stayed until 1907.⁴ He enjoyed relative autonomy in the governance of the Northern Marianas, and he appreciated and cultivated his role as the highest authority on the islands (Hardach 1990: 77). Contrary to his ideological predisposition as a strong nationalist with anti-Semitic tendencies (which should intensify after his resignation from the colonial service), Fritz identified “in an extraordinary manner with his duties and developed a genuine interest in the local culture of the Marianas,” (Hardach 1990: 78, my translation)⁵.



Georg Fritz

His historical and ethnological studies were motivated by his hope to revive the pre-Spanish culture of the Chamorro people (Hardach 1990: 78).

Fritz's manner of government was cause to conflicts with the Capuchin missionaries, on the one hand, and German settlers on the other hand, who accused Fritz of performing “Germanophobic” policies.

Contrary to other German colonies, high value was set on school instruction in the German Marianas. Fritz founded two schools in Saipan (Tanapag and Garapan) and one in Rota, and introduced compulsory education (Hiery 2001: 218).

³ The earliest work produced in a German context is the word list by Adalbert von Chamisso (1781-1831). Chamisso had participated in the Romantsov expedition (1815-18) and visited Guam in 1817. He provided a comparative word list (“Vocabularium der Dialekte Chamori (Marianeninseln) und von Yap, Ulea und Radack”, 1818), which includes numerals and basic concepts. A translation was provided by Alexander Kerr (2009). For a short linguistic evaluation of the word list see Stolz (2011: 202ff.).

⁴ Fritz was still responsible for the Marianas until 1910. He retired from the colonial service in 1911 because of the failure of his policy in the Carolines, where he was held responsible for the rebellion in Pohnpei.

⁵ Fritz identifizierte sich “in ganz ungewöhnlicher Weise mit seiner Aufgabe und entwickelte ein genuines Interesse für die einheimische Kultur der Marianen.”

Beyond the teaching of practical skills, administrator Fritz intended for the schools to impart a Chamorro-German double identity⁶ (Hardach 1990: 175). Chamorro was the language of education for most of the subjects. The majority of the teachers were Chamorros (Hiery 2001: 218f.). History and geography of the Marianas were taught according to Fritz's account (see Fritz 1901 and 1907), and German cultural influence was exerted via German lessons, German textbooks, and German folk songs (Hardach 1990: 174f.). A secondary school and a translation school were preparing Micronesians for professional occupations as craftspersons or in the German administration. Before its establishment, local pupils were sent to Tsingtao for technical education (Hiery 2001: 222).

Fritz published a Chamorro grammar (1903) and a bidirectional German-Chamorro dictionary (1904). A second, revised edition of the dictionary appeared in 1908. In his grammar, Fritz "mixed academic interests with those of practical language teaching and learning" (Stolz 2011: 213). On the one hand, the orthography employed by Fritz allows a precise graphic representation of Chamorro sounds, but it is so overload with superscript signs that it is too exact for practical language learning.⁷ On the other hand, Fritz mostly simply lists examples instead of commenting on his analyses, such that there is too little explanatory text for a truly linguistic description (Stolz 2011: 214).

Fritz also wrote several versions of the "Chaifi" legend, one of which was published with a parallel Chamorro and German version in 1906. His "Short History of the Marianas" ['Kadada na Historian Marianas' or 'Kurze Geschichte der Marianen'] (1907) is written in Chamorro with a German interlinear version and a free translation. The unpublished "Übungsheft" [exercise book] (1905) by Fritz contains handwritten versions of the "Chaifi" and the "Kurze Geschichte", each in Chamorro and German. Allegedly, a private diary of Georg Fritz exists, which he kept in Spanish and Chamorro.⁸

⁶ The Carolinians were supposed to integrate into the Chamorro part of the double.

⁷ This proves true in the observation that the orthography is not applied consistently throughout the grammar and is dismissed in Fritz's later works.

⁸ Also worth mentioning are Fritz's ethnographic text "Die Chamorro. Eine Geschichte und Ethnographie der Marianen." [The Chamorro. A History and Ethnography of the Marianas]. It appeared as early as 1901 and was translated into English in 1986 by Scott Russell. Fritz also published a grammar and dictionary of Carolinian (Die zentralkarolinische Sprache [The language of the Central Carolines] (1913)).

The texts (1906 and 1907) addressed a double audience. They served the purpose as guidelines for Chamorro learners of German on the one hand, and as display of Fritz's Chamorro-related work to the German public and authorities on the other hand (see Stolz 2007: 310 and Pagel to appear).

Interestingly, another text named *Kadada na Historian Marianas* [Short History of the Marianas] was produced in the context of the German colonial period. The manuscript was written by Gregorio Sablan⁹ and is mentioned in an ethnographic text about Micronesia by the Japanese linguist Izoui (1948).

Gregorio Sablan (1890–1945) grew up in the Marianas at the time of the German colonial era. In the course of the professional training program established by the German administration, Sablan attended the German University in Tsingtao. He was a fluent speaker of German and several other languages. Sablan became a teacher at the governmental school in Saipan (Spoehr 1945: 76). He is said to have had a large library of German texts (Laslo 1932) and “the largest existing Spanish manuscript collection on Saipan” (Spoehr 1945: 222).



Gregorio Sablan

Other linguistic work was published by the German Catholic Mission. In the course of the change of power, Spanish Augustinian Recollect missionaries were replaced by German Capuchins, who arrived in the Northern Marianas in 1907.¹⁰ To support the missionary work, linguistic descriptions of Chamorro were written and religious texts were translated into the local language.

Conflicts between the German Missionaries and Fritz occurred from the beginning, because Fritz did not permit religious education in the government school buildings (Hardach 1990: 177) and accused the Catholic Mission of being

⁹ I would like to thank the family of Gregorio Sablan, particularly Frances Patricia Sablan, for sharing valuable information with me.

¹⁰ An overview of the history of the German Capuchin mission in the Marianas is provided by Forbes (2007).



Father Calistus Lopinot

responsible for the uprising in Pohnpei (1910/11) in his often-cited paper *Ad majorem dei gloriam* (1912), which was received by the Catholic mission with intense indignation. A quote from the annual reports of the Capuchin mission in the Carolines and Marianas about Fr. Lopinot is illustrative in this respect: In Saipan “undefying circumstances, for which the Father was not responsible, soon brought him in opposition to some public officers. Generally, we do not concern ourselves with the officers’ actions, but in this case illumination is necessary, since senior civil servant Fritz in his booklet ‘*Ad majorem Dei gloriam*’ has suspected Father Callistus of being illoyal. The bigger part of the church property was lost in the Marianas, as the

Spanish Augustinians, unknowing of the German language and law, did not register the church’s realty for the cadastral register. A further cause of frictions was the complete expulsion of religious instruction from the governmental school on Saipan, which had been founded by senior civil servant Fritz. Also, the relationship between the local civil servant and then protestant government school teacher, who, in consideration of his solely catholic children of the Marianas, was a friend of the Mission, did not add to making Father Callistus’ missionary work easier,” (Müller 1913: 24, my translation).¹¹

Father Callistus Lopinot (1876 – 1966) was a Capuchin missionary from the Rhenish-Westphalian Province and was appointed parish priest to Garapan, Saipan in 1907. He stayed in Saipan for two years only, but had familiarized himself with

¹¹ In Saipan “brachten unerquickliche Verhältnisse, für die nicht er verantwortlich ist, den Pater bald in Opposition zu einigen Beamten. Wir kümmern uns zwar grundsätzlich nicht um die Tätigkeit der Beamten, aber her handelt es sich um notwendige Aufklärung, nachdem Herr Geh. Reg. Rat Fritz in seiner Broschüre ‚*Ad majorem Dei gloriam*‘ den P. Callistus als illoyal verdächtigt hat. Auf den Marianen ging das Kirchengut der Mission zum großen Teil verloren, indem die spanischen Augustiner, in Unkenntnis der deutschen Sprache und Gesetze, die Kirchen-Grundstücke nicht für das Grundbuch anmeldeten. Ein weiterer Anlaß zur Reiberei wurde die völlige Verdrängung des Religionsunterrichtes aus der durch Herrn Reg. Rat gegründeten Regierungsschule auf Saipan. Das Verhältnis des damaligen protestantischen Regierungslehrers, der in Anbetracht seiner ausschließlich katholischen Marianen-Kinder ein Freund der Mission war, zu den dortigen Beamten, trug auch nicht dazu bei, dem P. Callistus die Missionsarbeit zu erleichtern.”

the Chamorro culture and language during his time in Yap (1904-07), where a small community of Chamorros existed (Forbes 2007).

Lopinot wrote a bidirectional German-Chamorro dictionary with a short grammar and exercises attached to it (Lopinot 1910c).¹² Additionally, at least seven religious texts have been (co-)authored by Lopinot (Lopinot 1910a,b,d; Fischer/Lopinot 1910a-c; Lopinot/Schuster 1909).¹³

The double-audience phenomenon, which has been attested in Fritz's work, also shows in Lopinot's dictionary, which explicitly serves the cause of practical language learning. It was meant for Europeans to learn Chamorro, and it was also supposed to be helpful for Mariana Islanders to learn German (Lopinot 1910c: i). For this purpose, the inclusion of Hispanisms was necessary. Lopinot obviously also had a scientific approach to the dictionary and therefore included outdated terms of Chamorro (Stolz 2011: 215).

In the Rota mission station, linguistic material was produced by Father Korbinian Madre (1873-1963).¹⁴ Madre arrived in Rota in 1908. He was the last German who was allowed by the Japanese to stay in the Northern Marianas and had to leave in 1918.

With the help of school teacher José Taitano, Madre learned to speak Chamorro fluently and used it in his sermons as well as in daily communication (Madre 1946: 7). Madre is the one who was said to have adjusted best to his new environment (compared with the other missionaries) and he understood Rota as his



Father Korbinian Madre

¹² The grammar has been translated into English by James R. Grey and Junior Pangelinan in Saipan and can be accessed at MARC.

¹³ For a more detailed account on Lopinot's work see Stolz (2011: 214ff.).

¹⁴ For a thorough investigation of Korbinian Madre's work see Christina Schneemann's contribution to this publication.

home away from home (Hardach 1990: 186).¹⁵ Still, Madre was a patronizing figure in Rota, where the catholic community was “a small world on its own”¹⁶ (Hardach 1990: 193). He strived to constitute a German-Catholic tradition. His means to this end were the introduction of German baptismal names and the focus on German and Religious studies in the mission school (Hardach 1990: 194).¹⁷

A unidirectional German-Chamorro dictionary is attributed to Madre. He has also translated several songs and religious texts into Chamorro. The determination Madre had intended for his dictionary is not known. It might have served as reference dictionary for himself and for his fellow missionaries, for documentation of the language, and/or as teaching material. The religious texts (co-)authored by Lopinot and those translated by Madre, however, were directed towards the Chamorros (and Carolinians) and served the purpose to strengthen the aim of missionization by providing religious material in Chamorro.

The works of two more authors, the siblings Hermann Costenoble (1893 – 1942)¹⁸ and Gertrude Hornbostel (née Costenoble) (1893 – 1982), relate to the German colonial period, although both authors had published their work way after the end of German rule in the Northern Marianas. The Costenobles were the first German family to settle in the Northern Marianas.

They arrived in Saipan in 1903, but moved to Guam only one year later. Conflicts between Hermann Ludwig Wilhelm Costenoble (Costenoble’s and Hornbostel’s father) and district administrator Georg Fritz, and economic failure caused the family to leave the German Marianas.

Hermann Costenoble was the oldest son of the family. During his time in the Marianas, he learned to speak Chamorro fluently. He left Guam in 1913 to join the German military in Tsingtao and became a prisoner-of-war in the Japanese camps Matsuyama and Bandō after a few months in service. Conditions in the camp were

¹⁵ Reading through the annuals of the Capuchin mission, one gets the impression of Madre’s reports as those, which were the least distanced and dismissive towards the initially unfamiliar cultural environment, compared with the reports of other missionaries.

¹⁶ “eine kleine Welt für sich”

¹⁷ He made regular use of the cane in order to “convince” his pupils to attend mass regularly (Madre 1909: 30).

¹⁸ The identity of the author, who had signed his work only with his first name initial H., was proved in Stolz et. al. 2011.

comparatively well and Costenoble was able to finish the first draft of his work on Chamorro upon his release in 1920. The work was to become an extensive grammar of Chamorro (*Die Chamoro Sprache* [The Chamorro Language] (1940)) and a unidirectional Chamorro-German dictionary (*Grundwörterammlung der Chamorosprache* [Basic Word Collection of the Chamorro Language], unpublished) by the time of completion in 1935. Costenoble had also published about the position of Chamorro in the family tree of Austronesian languages in the Guam Recorder (1936, reprinted in 1974).

Costenoble clearly had a scientific interest in the description of Chamorro. Grammar and dictionary were intended as contributions to Austronesianist Studies, particularly to historical phonology. The dictionary should serve as etymological reference text. Costenoble tried to identify common roots of Chamorro words and Spanish loanwords were excluded. Therefore, the dictionary would have been impractical for everyday usage. The etymological approach is also apparent in the grammar, where Costenoble's reconstruction of older sound stages of Chamorro makes up a big part of the chapter on phonology. The text in the Guam Recorder, however, was reprinted to serve the "renewal of interest in the Chamorro language" (Costenoble 1974).

Gertrude Hornbostel (also known as Trudis Alemán in Guam)¹⁹, Costenoble's younger sister



Hermann Costenoble



Gertrude Hornbostel

¹⁹ More information on Gertrude Hornbostel can be found in the article by Judy Flores on Guampedia.

also became a fluent speaker of Chamorro.²⁰ She married US corporal Hans Hornbostel, with whom she left Guam during WWI, but returned in 1921. From 1922, Hans Hornbostel was doing anthropological and archaeological fieldwork for the Bernice Bishop Museum in Hawai'i. Gertrude worked as Hans' assistant. The Hornbostel collection in the Bishop Museum, although filed under Hans' name, also contains handwritten notes by Gertrude Hornbostel. In the course of the couple's anthropological fieldwork, she collected stories told in Chamorro as well as personal and place names. Her only autonomous publication is an article in the Guam Recorder on "Chamorro names" (1934). Part of her work has been taken up in Thompson (1932) and Costenoble (1940).²¹

Hornbostel's linguistic work was not carried out explicitly, but is a by-product of her ethnographic work and is in accordance with her desire to promote the knowledge about the Chamorro culture and history (letter to Agueda Johnston 11/23/1971, Hornbostel manuscript files).

Behind the Scenes

It shows from these introductory remarks to the authors and their texts that we are dealing with individuals of different cultural backgrounds and different colonial experiences, who have contributed in various ways and from various motives to the colonial-era description of Chamorro. Unsurprisingly, however, the different sections of the population are not equally represented in the sources. The majority of the authors represent the colonizing society. They came to the Marianas as foreigners. Some held prestigious authoritative positions in the local colonial society (Fritz, Lopinot, Madre) and the preparation of linguistic access to the colonized society was part of their job. Others (Costenoble, Hornbostel), although they came as colonizers and were clearly privileged in the local society, had spent an important part of their life (their youth) in the new cultural environment and became fluent speakers of Chamorro. Their work was probably more personally motivated. Only Gregorio Sablan was a native speaker of Chamorro and represents the colonized society. It was uncommon for Chamorros at that time to produce written literary text in Chamorro, and Sablan's efforts can be interpreted as the result of the colonial educational program.

²⁰ In a letter to Nell Maynard (06/14/1956, Hornbostel manuscript files), Hornbostel claims that she knew a lot of the older Chamorro, which had become displaced by English.

²¹ Christina Schneemann has made a contrastive comparison of Hornbostel's texts as published in Thompson (1932) and Costenoble (1940). See Vossman (2011).

Chamorro support

Rarely explicitly stated by the authors is the fact that all of the linguistic texts are based on support by Chamorro native speakers. A significant person in this respect is Father José Palomo, the first Chamorro priest, who is the author of a manuscript of a Chamorro grammar, which cannot be located. His work is the main source of Lopinot's grammar (1910c: i).²² It is not unlikely, that Madre, too, knew Palomo's manuscript and used it for his work.²³

Fritz's grammar relies on the Gramática Chamorra²⁴ and the Diccionario Español-Chamorro by Father Ibañez Del Carmen (1865a-b).²⁵ Palomo was Del Carmen's close collaborator and had assisted him with his work on Chamorro. The possibility that Palomo was the author of (some of) Del Carmen's work, cannot be excluded.

A letter from Gertrude Hornbostel to Agueda Johnston (11/23/1971, Hornbostel manuscript files) reveals that Palomo was her consultant whenever linguistic questions came up. She also mentions that Costenoble and Palomo were in frequent exchange. However, the subject of matter was their shared passion of collecting stamps and it can only be speculated that Costenoble consulted Palomo for his linguistic work. The fact that Palomo passed away in 1919 (Taitano/Murphy), when Costenoble was still working on the first draft of his work, puts a limit to the amount of influence Palomo could have had on Costenoble's and Hornbostel's work.

After all, Palomo has probably influenced the German (and American) linguistic work (and the religious texts) considerably.

Fritz does not mention any native help, but the fact that numerous mistakes are attested in the Chaifi (1906), which are increasing in number towards the end of the document, has a lot to commend to the assumption that Fritz had his work supported by native speakers of Chamorro (who were not available to him at all times) (Pagel 2012b).

²² Lopinot also refers to the work by Safford, who refers to Palomo as his major informant, too.

²³ There are a lot of similarities between Lopinot's dictionary and that of Madre, and it is possible that they have either copied each other's work or have relied on the same source.

²⁴ The Gramática Chamorra is not a grammar of Chamorro, but a grammar of Spanish written in Chamorro.

²⁵ Fritz also mentions some Spanish governmental decrees in Chamorro which cannot be identified today.

Considering that the Titel of the manuscript attributed to Sablan is the same as Fritz's "Kurze Geschichte" it is not unlikely that Fritz has based his text on Sablan's.²⁶ As Fritz (1901) is probably the template for Fritz (1907) and comprises about 90 pages, like Sablan's *Kadada na Historian Marianas*, it can be speculated that the texts refer to each other. Sablan might have translated Fritz's text, or both might have had the same source.²⁷

Madre's Chamorro informant on Rota was school teacher **José Taitano** (Madre 1946: 7; see also Forbes 2007, fn.31). He taught Madre Chamorro and helped him with the translation of several Spanish and German songs and religious texts (prayers, liturgies, the old and new testament, etc.) into Chamorro. The likeliness, that he contributed to Madre's dictionary, is high.

Although Costenoble estimated his Chamorro proficiency as almost native, he had to admit that his memory of the language must have been obscured after 20 years of absence from the Marianas (Costenoble 1940: v; see also Stolz et. al. 2011: 235ff.). A Mr. P. Tejada had provided him with a substantial amount of words in use in Saipan, but not on Guam at the beginning of the 20th century. Tejada was also consulted for the correct placement of the glottal stop. Costenoble mentioned that Tejada had lived in Saipan for more than twenty years, and that he had met him in Manila, thus we do not know whether he was a native speaker of Chamorro or perhaps of a Philippine language.

The contribution of Chamorro native speakers to the German linguistic texts has been bigger than is obvious on first sight. This claim, however, relies partly on speculations and more research has to be done in order to verify this assumption. [ausführlicher; überhaupt evtl. mehr Beiträge von Chamorro]

Power struggles

A peculiarity of the German language descriptive efforts is, how they reflect personal rivalries and striving for power. This can be retraced in Lopinot's and Costenoble's resentment of Fritz's linguistic efforts, which both are probable to be caused by Fritz's attitude towards the mission and the German settlers.

²⁶ A comparison of both texts would be necessary for proof.

²⁷ It is unlikely, that Fritz based his ethnographic text (1911) on Sablan's manuscript, because Sablan was only 11 years old when Fritz (1901) was published.

Lopinot mentions that the main reason why he added a grammatical sketch to his dictionary (1910c) is that “a correct treatment of the Chamorro verb ha[d] not appeared in German,” (Lopinot 1910c: i).²⁸ This quote can be interpreted as demonstrative refusal of Fritz’s grammar, which must have been known to Lopinot and which in fact did include a section on the verb.²⁹ In fact, none of Fritz’s texts on Chamorro were acknowledged by Lopinot. As it is highly unlikely, that Lopinot had no knowledge of Fritz’s texts, we can assume, that he did not want to quote him for personal reasons.

Another reason for Lopinot’s ignorance towards Fritz’s work might have been caused by his wish to publish a linguistic work of his own. Linguistic publications swallowed a substantial part of the mission’s budget and it can be argued that Lopinot’s publication would not have been published and the mission would have relied on Fritz’s work had Lopinot accepted it as such.

Fritz’s work is also rejected by Costenoble, who provides negative evaluations in both grammar and dictionary, stating that Fritz’s grammar reflected his improper command of Chamorro. Stolz et. al. (2011: 235), however, suspect that “[m]ost probably, [Costenoble’s] statement about Fritz’s distorted Chamorro reflect[ed] the Costenoble family’s old rancour against the German colonial authorities for not giving them the support they expected to receive.” (Stolz et al 2011: 235). It is also likely, that Costenoble suspected Fritz’s work as competition to his dictionary and took his chance of making a point in favor of his own work by pointing out the impracticality of Fritz’s work.³⁰

A further example of ideologically motivated linguistic efforts is Fritz’s orthography as established in his grammar (1903). Fritz obviously took a big effort in creating an orthography which should be different to the one established by the Spanish. He argued that the latter did not suit the representation of Chamorro, but it is likely that his efforts were driven by the desire to cut off the ties to the former colonial power (Stolz 2011: 214).

²⁸ “... eine richtige Abhandlung des Chamorro-Verbums in deutscher Sprache bisher nicht erschienen ist.” The German word “richtig” can also be translated as ‘concise’.

²⁹ Fritz’s treatment of the verb is incomplete, though.

³⁰ Costenoble tried to convince the board members of the institute, which had published his grammar, to re-consider the publication of his dictionary by arguing that it would be a valuable and necessary complement to Fritz’s dictionary.

Moreover, in both the Chaifi story (1906) and the “Kurze Geschichte” (1907), Fritz adopts an intercultural strategy, pursuing his goal of a revival of the pre-Spanish Chamorro culture. By adding unique elements to the frame of the original Chaifi story, Fritz – according to Pagel’s interpretation (2012a, to appear) – puts “an unconcealed critique of the missionary and perhaps also the colonial work on the Marianas” into his version of the story (for example by the image of Chaifi spreading hatred and envy among his fellows by introducing them to his moral concepts). Similarly, the “Kurze Geschichte der Marianen”, a synopsis of the history of the Marianas since the first encounters of the Spanish with the Chamorros, appears to be an excerpt from Fritz (1901), which is his treatment of older texts on the history of the Marianas (Stolz 2007: 311). “Its value as a reflexion of indigenous oral history is rather dubious, to say the least. Nevertheless, it may be taken as evidence for the kind of pro-Chamorro policy advocated by Fritz in his function as district administrator,” (Stolz 2007: 311).

German conceptions of Chamorro

All linguistic texts are based on German and aligned with a German audience. Even if the texts were intended solely for spreading literacy in Chamorro among the Marianan Islanders, the vehicular language was German and the analysis of Chamorro had not occurred independent from the traditional German (oftentimes Latin-based) system of linguistic categories.

Whereas Fritz’s (1903) and Lopinot’s (1910c) grammars “[follow] largely the established order of word-class distinctions in traditional German school-grammar,” (Stolz 2011: 206), Costenoble is at least aware of the differences between the Chamorro word class system and that of German. Nevertheless, he continuously reverts to word classes of German in his analyses, though (Stolz et. al. 2011). Particularly interesting in respect of German interferences is Fritz’s treatment of Chamorro verbal morphology in the case of the plural subject prefix *man-*. The prefix is separated from the lexical morpheme, ignoring the morphonological changes on the morpheme boundary. Stolz (2007: 312) identifies this as Fritz’s translation practice, by which a German text was translated literally into Chamorro.

The German pronoun *sie* ‘they’ was identified with the plural prefix *man-* and was indicated as a separate word. Fritz’s approach to Chamorro “is a good example of how individuals construct a linguistic reality in their attempt to learn a foreign language and give written shape to a hitherto largely oral code,” (Stolz 2007: 313). The same strategy was probably applied by Costenoble, who seems to have

classified Chamorro lexemes according to the word class which applies to their German translational equivalent (cf. Stolz et. al. 2011 and Dewein to appear).

A similar problem is apparent in the translational equivalents given by Costenoble for the Chamorro third person singular pronouns. Chamorro person markers do not distinguish gender. In German, however, 3rd person pronouns do distinguish masculine, feminine, and neuter gender. Costenoble translates the Chamorro gender-neutral pronouns into either masculine or feminine without commenting on the fact that he is not providing an appropriate translational equivalent.

The result of this lack of stand-off from the German grammatical system was that the Chamorros had to acquire literacy in their native language via an external shaped image of the language.

A significant problem in all German linguistic texts on Chamorro is the treatment of the Glota <'>. Neither Lopinot nor Madre recognize the Glota at all (Stolz 2011: 218). Fritz (1903), interprets it as indicating the separate pronunciation of syllables and thus does not recognize it in word-initial and word-final position (Stolz 2011: 212f.). However, in Fritz's subsequent works, the Glota is not indicated at all. Costenoble does regard the glottal stop as a distinctive sound, but does not provide a separate section for words with an initial Glota in his dictionary. According to Thompson (1932: 59) Hornbostel does insist on the importance of the Glota and does mention that it is pronounced most often in Chamorritas (Thompson 1932: 59). Her transcriptions-(as reproduced in Thompson 1932: 59ff.) indicates the Glota only in the Chamorritas and the Chamorro names, and only at the end of a syllable, but not at all in the elicited stories.

Even more mistakes occur in individual linguistic texts, but assuming that they cannot be of value, anyway, would be jumping to conclusions. Their practical use is to current efforts of corpus planning and language maintenance, because they facilitate the reconstruction of lexical material, which was in use in (one or several of the regional varieties of) Chamorro a century ago.

The second edition of Fritz's dictionary, for example, (1908) contains almost 850 Chamorro lexemes additional to the first edition. Only two of these words are listed in Topping et. al. (1975) and Flores/Bordallo (2009) and thus might give reference to words which have existed at an older stage of the language (Schuster to appear).

Moreover, metalinguistic information as to regional varieties of Chamorro is provided by Fritz.

Lopinot's dictionary also includes outdated terms of Chamorro (Stolz 2011: 215). Madre's dictionary, in addition, contains lexemes that are not listed in Lopinot, and that were perhaps specific to the Rota variety of Chamorro.

Costenoble's etymological dictionary tries to identify common roots of Chamorro words and is therefore particularly helpful for the reconstruction of old words of Chamorro which are not in use today anymore.

Costenoble's grammar is special not only for its extent (550 pages), but because it is an in-depth grammatical study, which covers a broad range of phenomena and provides rich exemplification. Some of the topics discussed in Costenoble (1940) were novelties to Chamorro grammaticography (e.g. his attempt to reconstruct older sound stages of Chamorro; or the discussion of several aspects of Chamorro syntax in a separate chapter). In spite of several deficiencies, the grammar can compete with previous works and can complement Topping's reference grammar (1973) (Stolz et. al. 2011: 236).

Results

The individual authors were acting out different roles in a social network of power struggles and rivalry, which had an impact on their depiction of Chamorro and on the linguistic norms they tried to set.

The linguistic texts produced during the German colonial period were means to the delineation of power spheres (German vs. Spanish). Sometimes their authors even rejected the German context. Consequently, no German school of Chamorro linguistics developed. On the contrary, interpersonal rivalry was carried out via the linguistic texts.

The Chamorro-speaking population was affected by the linguistic attempts insofar as they were confronted with a new language imposed on them and new, not even consistent, linguistic norms to follow. The necessity for the locals to work with didactic material which presented information about their native language via an external language might have led to "an alienated relation of Chamorros to their mother tongue," (Zimmermann 2011: 167). Besides, some of the texts were intended to support the pursuit of developing literacy in Chamorro (uncommon at that

time), which probably brought about the development of new, hybrid literary forms. The manuscript by Sablan might give prove to that speculation.

The German colonial-era language descriptive texts are outdated insofar as they were composed in German and as their depiction of Chamorro often does not correspond with modern standards. However, they can still be of value today. The texts contain descriptions and samples of Chamorro at the beginning of the 20th century (including differences between regional varieties). They (particularly the dictionaries) can be used to add to today's standard lexicon of Chamorro.

Chamorro is in a critical state and the ausbau of the lexicon is part of the efforts to revive the language. The old sources contain lexemes, which have fallen into oblivion today. The texts can also be valuable supplements to today's standard reference works and can even correct wrong information.

I have mentioned texts which I was not able to evaluate sufficiently, because they still await thorough investigation. I still found it important to mention these texts, not only for the sake of completeness, but also for appreciation of their authors. Local (and female) perspectives are underrepresented in the collection of sources on Chamorro. It can be argued that there was no necessity for Chamorros to produce written texts and that the gender roles did not cast for women to speak publicly. Still, there have been Chamorros of high status in the colonial society who were regarded authorities in the language and who produced written texts on/in Chamorro, which only existed as manuscripts. Most of the published texts by Germans rely in parts on the unpublished works of persons (Palomo, Sablan, Taitano, Hornbostel), who are not distinctly and visibly represented in the historiography of Chamorro linguistics. Therefore, attention should be drawn not only to the preparation and evaluation of those sources which are at hand, but also to further research with the explicit aim to visualize the perspectives of the marginalized.

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Images

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The Nan'yō Kōhatsu in the Marianas

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Abstract: *According to monopoly capitalism and the large number of Japanese immigrant laborers, a study of Nan'yō Kōhatsu (NKK) is critical for understanding the Marianas during the Japanese administration. However, as long as our views are captivated by overstatements about NKK and mainly its growth period during peaceful times, it will be difficult to understand the reasons why NKK was established in the Marianas: why NKK could exclusively enjoy the government's supports; and why NKK maintained a close relationship with the Japanese Navy. Given the recognition of businesses undertaken during the period from Japan's semi-wartime to wartime conditions after the late 1930s, this paper focuses on NKK's tasks which expanded from a mere sugar company and a semi-national corporation to a national corporation, and finally to become the Japanese Navy's commissioned corporation. The author takes a general view of historical and geopolitical teachings from Japan's efforts in the Marianas, including Guam.*

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Stories Connecting Islanders: A History of Guam and Chichijima Links

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Abstract: *Stories connecting places with people from the past are the key to foster a deeper sense of place. Guam and Chichijima have a shared history with exchanges that took place from the early 19th century. Chichijima, an island once inhabited largely by whalers from Hawai'i, became a "possession" of the U.S. after Commodore Perry's land purchase in 1853. Large numbers of Japanese began relocating to the island in the Meiji period and today Chichijima is politically a part of Tokyo. Frequent visits to Guam by the early Chichijima settlers from the whaling ship have had an impact on life in Chichijima. Although this is little known outside of Chichijima, many of the residents of Chichijima have blood ties to Guam and share language and culture of the Marianas. This paper will present a number of themes connecting the two islands for a deeper appreciation of the two small islands.*

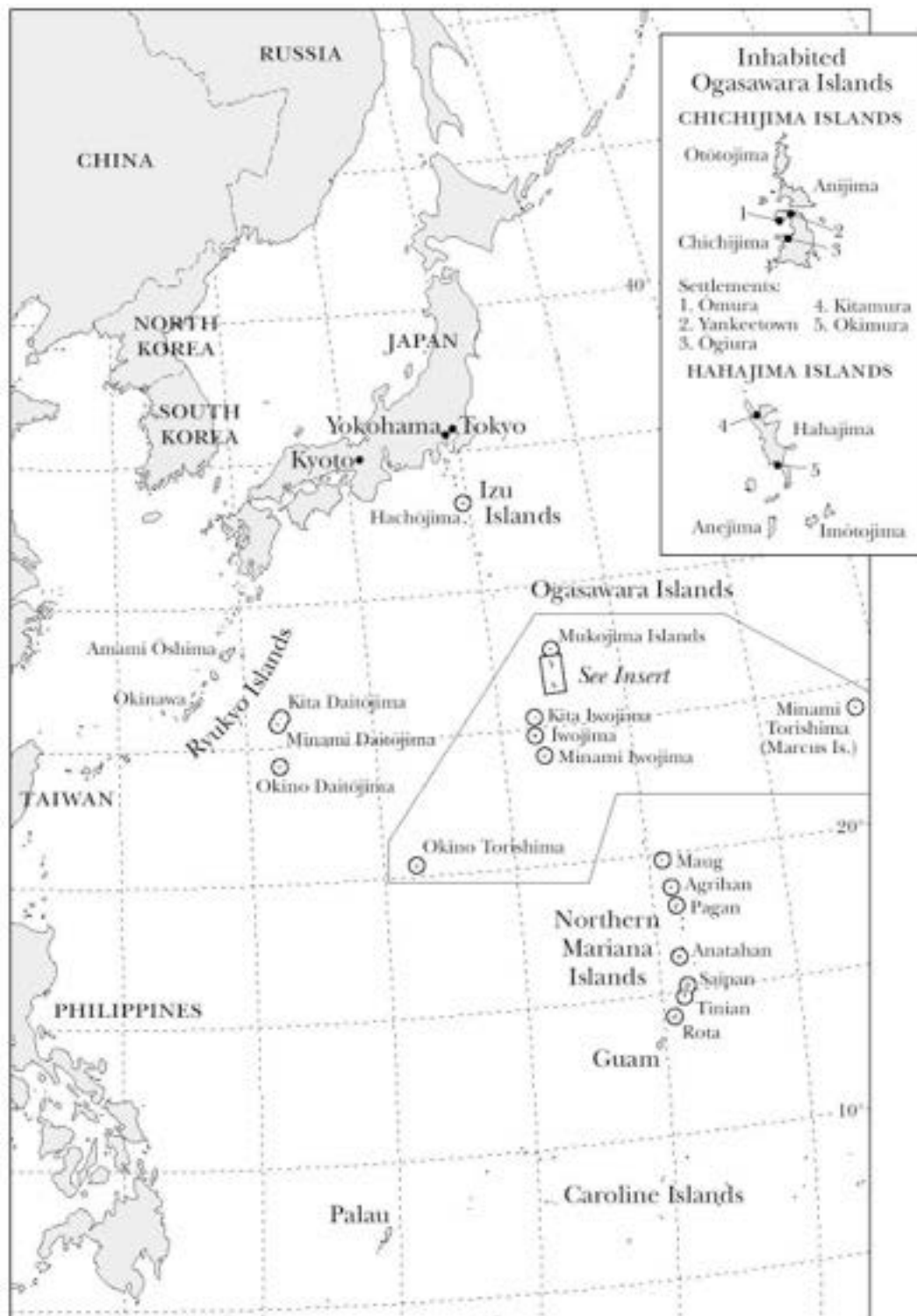
"My name is Anna Washington Stettenbenz. I was born on the island of Chichijima on January 1, 1940, one of eight children in the Washington family. I remember my father, Richard Washington, as being a workaholic, who was able to speak, read, and write in both Japanese and English. When the war started, my father moved us to Saitama Prefecture, choosing an area in the countryside in mainland Japan where he thought it would be safer for us. My mother died in 1944 from an ectopic pregnancy so my father had to take care of all of us. Because he did not look Japanese, my father was often accused of being a spy. Nobody would sell us food so we had to steal food at night. We were all Japanese citizens." (Anna Stettenbenz, personal communication, April 06, 2012).

Introduction

There has been some interest in recent years from initiatives such as Project Sango, a research project in collaboration with several researchers and artists based in Japan, Oceania, and the United States, to investigate the contemporary and historical cultural links between the small islands of Japan and Micronesia. In the words from Project Sango News, "Japan colonized Micronesia for nearly 30 years and Japanese settled those islands for over fifty years; yet, despite strong Micronesian memories (both positive and negative) and nostalgic (both romantic

and bittersweet), there is a surprising lack of critical engagement and dialogue in contemporary Japan about the interconnections between Japan's archipelago and its nearest Oceanic neighbors" (Dvorak, 2011). To the general public in the Mariana Islands and even among scholars of Pacific islands except for a few Boninologists, very little is known about the history of one of its relatively close neighboring islands, Chichijima, an island of the Ogasawara Chain, and of the diverse group of characters that decided to settle on the island in 1832. Even less is known about the connection the islanders have had with Guam and the Marianas. This paper examines the connections that were initially established in the mid-1800's between the two small island communities on Chichijima and Guam through the important whaling activities of the region. It further discusses the cultural exchange conducted via commerce and marriage, along with key events in history that have shaped the current status and relationship of both islands. Although both islands now fly different flags from those that flew on the islands in the mid-1800s, they both still share the culture and history of the Marianas.

Chichijima is part of the Ogasawara island chain named after the legendary feudal lord Ogasawara Sadayori who purportedly discovered the islands in 1593 (Kublin, 1951: 263). Chichijima is situated in the middle of the Pacific Ocean located about 1000km due south of Tokyo and about 1400km due east of Okinawa. The Ogasawara Islands lie about halfway between mainland Japan and the Northern Mariana Islands. Although they are part of the administrative district of Tokyo, the Ogasawara Islands are accessible only via diesel-powered ship once a week. Travel to Chichijima from Tokyo takes 25-hours. The Ogasawara Islands, dubbed 'the Galapagos of the East' (Guo 2007), are also referred to in English as the Bonin Islands. These islands were mostly undisturbed by humans until settlement began in 1826, hence the name Bujin, or Bonin in English, which is an archaic *kanji* reading of Mujin, which literally means "no people" in Japanese. The islands were inhabited by only one species of mammal (a bat) until the first human settlement was established in 1830 (Long, 2007). The Ogasawara Islands encompass more than 30 islets scattered in the northwest Pacific Ocean in the subtropical zone (Fig. 1). Chichijima is the largest island of the chain at twenty-four square kilometers.



In examining the prehistory of the two island chains, a comparative study of the stone adzes of Kita-Iwojima indicate that the Marianas and the Ogasawara Islands belong to the same cultural sphere and research points to the indisputable fact that there was human traffic between the two island groups (Oda, 1983:131). It was not until the 1820s that the islands had recorded repeated contacts with people. Between 1823 and 1830, a number of British whaling ships arrived, with a couple of sailors deciding to remain on the uninhabited island to begin cultivation and

raising pigs. On 26 June 1830, the schooner *Washington* landed on Chichijima with a mixed group of 25 settlers from Hawaii. The schooner had been fitted out by Richard Charlton, the British consul in Honolulu. The group of two Americans, one Dane, one Italian, one Briton and fifteen islanders from Hawai'i arrived and stayed, cultivating corn, pumpkin, potato, bean, melon, banana, sugarcane and pineapple, and raising pigs, chickens, turkeys, ducks, goats and deer (Guo 2007: 83). The new inhabitants of Chichijima settled the island as British territory and became suppliers of provisions to the crews of various whaling ships. The native languages of Chichijima's earliest settlers included English, Portuguese, Hawaiian, Chamorro and many other Pacific island languages (Long, 2007). The island was recently described as "one of Asia's earliest and oddest melting pots", with citizens boasting names like Savory, Webb, Washington, Gonzales and Chaplin (McNeill, 2008).

Connecting Islands via Whaling

The thriving whaling industry was a key factor in bringing into contact the original settlers of Chichijima with residents of Guam. By the 19th century, the U.S. was the leading whaling nation in the world. The whaling stock in the Atlantic had been exhausted by the 1820's, leading the American whaling industry to seek out new and fertile fishing grounds in the Northern Pacific. American and British whalers discovered rich whaling grounds between Hawaii and Japan and within a few years, hundreds of whaling ships from the U.S. and other western powers were operating in Japanese waters. Throughout the 1830s and 1840s, the whaling industry of Nantucket and New Bedford invested heavily in the Northern Pacific. In 1851, the year *Moby Dick* was published, more than 20,000 Americans were engaged in the whale fishery. In that year, 135 ships departed from the New Bedford port and 474 New Bedford-registered ships were engaged in long voyages (National Park Service, 2012).

In the Pacific, Honolulu, Hawai'i functioned as the most prominent whaling port. In addition to Honolulu, Apra Harbor, Guam and Pohnpei also served as important ports for whaling ships traveling through Micronesia. Whalers brought a new way of life to Chamorros on Guam, including a chance for travel. Over 800 Chamorro whalers settled in Honolulu, while many others traveled to places like London and various cities around the United States (Cunningham and Beaty, 2001: 170). Whalers making stops on Guam for supplies were likely given several days leave to allow for the time necessary to travel the distance from Apra Harbor to the capital city of Hagatna to conduct their business purchasing supplies. Approximately thirty to sixty whaling ships visited the Mariana Islands by the 1820s. Although it is not

clear from historical records how much of an impact the whalers had on the economy of Guam, it would seem they would naturally have had a positive impact on the economy (Goetzfridt, 2009).

Social interaction between the Chichijima whalers and Guam residents undoubtedly took place along with commercial exchange in the capital city of Hagatna. Cholmondeley (1915) recounts the story of Maria Del Los Santos y Castro (generally written Maria Dilessanto) who was half Spanish, born in the Island of Guam in 1828, and brought up as a Roman Catholic. When Maria was about fifteen years old, Chichijima's John Millinchamp traveled to Guam and met with Joaquina de la Cruz, Maria's aunt. Millinchamp persuaded Joaquina to leave Guam and a husband who allegedly mistreated her and to come with him on board the schooner, which lay in the harbor ready to sail for Chichijima. Maria also came on board at Joaquina's invitation, but with no other intention than to see the schooner and say good-bye to her aunt. Maria never had an opportunity of going ashore again and was brought to Chichijima with Joaquina. Nobody knows whether or not she had any say in the matter of leaving Guam, but she became the wife of Mazarro, an Italian who headed the first party of colonists from Hawaii in 1830. Mazarro, at the time, was at least four times as old as Maria. Two children were born to them, John, and Reta, or Arita. John Millinchamp later relocated to Guam, where he died in 1897, leaving a wife and two children.

Towards the end of 1850, about two years after the death of Mazarro, Maria became the wife of Nathaniel Savory to whom she bore ten children (Cholmondeley 1915). Mazarro had been a rival of Savory, an American citizen, who was also one of the original settlers on the island and served as the Chief Magistrate of the island. Mazarro had allegedly attempted to hire someone to kill Savory in the early years of the settlement (Magnier, 2002). Five years after the marriage of Maria to Nathaniel Savory, a passport was sent by the Governor of Guam to Mr. and Mrs. Savory to enable them to go to Guam to be duly married, however, this offer could only be accepted under the condition that they comply with the rules of the Roman Catholic church (Cholmondeley 1915). The offer was not accepted then and again in 1871 when another passport was sent to the Savory's.

Nathaniel Savory was an enterprising man who had something to gain from the whalers that stopped by Chichijima for supplies. He himself was a whaler who hailed from New Bedford, Massachusetts. An industrious New Englander, with commercial contacts at Honolulu and other ports in the Pacific, he had built up a

fortune of a few thousand dollars selling rum and supplies. By the end of the 1840's, he was easily the richest man at Port Lloyd, the main port in Chichijima named out of regard to the then Bishop of Oxford (Head and Daws, 1968). Maria Savory survived her husband by sixteen years and two years after his death, she became the wife of a German settler named William Allen (Cholmondeley, 1915).

Commodore Perry and U.S. Interest

Most people familiar with US or Japanese history know of the “black ships” of Commodore Matthew C. Perry, which dropped anchor in Tokyo Bay in July 1853. This event marked the closing of a distinct era in Japanese history. However, few people know about the American ships that sailed into Port Lloyd in October of that year to claim the Bonins for the United States (Burg, 2005). Perry had been in search of coaling stations for American whaling ships. The intent of Perry to make Chichijima a part of American soil via a transaction with a Chichijima resident is detailed in historical records (Kublin, 1951).

Perry and his ships, the *Susquehanna* and the *Saratoga*, arrived at Chichijima on June 14, 1853 and were welcomed by residents at Port Lloyd. The squadron found the atmosphere refreshing compared to their recent experience in Okinawa, where Perry and his people encountered numerous restrictions imposed by the Japanese government. The surveyors, scientists, artists, and writers were able to go about their business on Chichijima free from the government surveillance that they had to endure in Okinawa. Perry had stayed aboard his flagship in Okinawa, but he ventured off when he arrived at Chichijima. Perry went ashore, met fellow New Englander Nathaniel Savory, and bought from him for fifty dollars a stretch of land one thousand yards by five hundred. This parcel of land was located near a place called Ten Fathom Hole, the anchorage at the north end of the harbor. This was a significant event, as the land became the first piece of territory in Asia to come under American control. Perry intended the property to be used as a coaling station for American ships. In one day at Chichijima he had accomplished more than he had in two weeks at Okinawa. The reason was simple: here there was no government with which he had to negotiate; Savory was selling part of his private property, and Perry spoke to him as one New Englander to another (Head and Daws 1968).

In 1862 the islands were reclaimed as a territory of Japan and Nathaniel Savory promised loyalty to the shōgunate. That same year, Japanese citizens immigrated to the Ogasawara Islands for the first time (Ichiki 2003: 18) and a few years later in

1876, a Japanese Government office was built on Chichijima to govern the multicultural group of 69 inhabitants. The Japanese naming of each island as a "family member", such as Chichijima for "father island" and Hahajima for "mother island", was decided and in 1876. The islands were also put under the direct control of the Japanese Home Ministry during that year. Soon after the immigrants from Japan arrived the teaching of the Japanese language was started and settlement systematically encouraged. The dominant language shifted from English (from 1830) to Japanese in 1876 (Long, 2007: 17). In 1882 all islanders of non-Japanese ancestry were forced by the Japanese government to accept Japanese nationality. Nathaniel Savory was not alive when Japanese nationality became a requirement for Chichijima residents – he died in 1874 (Meiji Portraits, 2012).

Life on Chichijima in the late 19th century is portrayed in records left by a number of individuals. There are the volumes left by Commodore Perry, private journals written by John Sproston, history of the Bonin Islands written by Lionel Cholmondeley, and volumes compiled by ardent diarist Philip Van Buskirk (Burg, 2005). These records hold valuable information about life of the earliest settlers and their descendants on Chichijima. As in any small island community, there was considerable strife on Chichijima as recorded by both Cholmondeley and Van Buskirk. Incidents recorded by these two writers included "alcoholism, mayhem, family feuding, suicide, suspected poisoning, and a murder" (Burg, 2005: 20). By 1880, after the immigration of Japanese, the island's stores carried a variety of European and Japanese goods, and there was even a Japanese hotel. The settlement also had a *sake* shop that took in boarders at ¥10 per month, and there were two prostitutes described in the records of an island resident.

The Japanese population outside of mainland Japan began to grow on islands like Chichijima and other occupied territories in the early decades of the 20th century. It was during the occupation of Micronesia in 1919 under a League of Nations' Mandate, and especially after the successful establishment of sugar plantations in Saipan and Tinian in 1920 by the Nan'yô Kôhatsu (South Seas Development Company), that many Japanese migrated to the Pacific islands. In 1933, the Japanese population in Micronesia was 30,670 out of a total population of 80,884, while in Tinian it was 5,538 out of a total population of 7,554 (Yamashita, 2004: 97).

By the 1930s, islands of the Ogasawara chain became a staging port between mainland Japan and Micronesia. Under the Japanese administration, there were some Micronesian islands that provided employment opportunities for residents of

the Ogasawara islands. A Chichijima resident who took on this opportunity was Joseph Gonzales. Gonzales took up employment in Saipan, learned the marching dance and its accompanying Carolinian songs and taught them to Chichijima residents upon his return to in the early 1930s (Konishi, 2005:100). This is a very good example of how culture was exchanged between Chichijima and the Marianas. As stated by Konishi, “Between 1914 and the 1950s, Ogasawara and Micronesia were part of a common political entity under first Japanese and later US administration, and this facilitated exchanges of culture between the two areas” (2005: 99).

War in the Pacific

The population of the entire Ogasawara island chain had grown to 7,711 just before the War in the Pacific, with inhabitants on ten of the islands (Guo, 2007). With Chichijima in a strategic location for Japan and because of its use as a communication center, making it a prime target for heavy attack, it became necessary to evacuate islanders from their homes on the Ogasawara islands. By 1944, virtually all of the islands were evacuated, with many Chichijima islanders relocating to areas in mainland Japan as described by Anna Washington Stettenbenz in the opening of this paper. Most of the descendants of the original settlers stayed together in Tokyo’s Nerima ward, and moved to other places like Yokohama after the war to work as interpreters for the Allied Forces (Chapman, 2011: 198).

Post-War Chichijima and Guam

When the war ended, only those islanders of American and European origin (mainly of mixed White American or European, Micronesian and Polynesian) were permitted to return. This was allowed in 1946 through the efforts of Fred Savory, grandson of the original settler Nathaniel, who drafted a petition to allow the descendants of the original settlers to go back home. That year, about 130 returned to Chichijima, now under the American flag, and restarted their lives in Navy-built huts (McNeil, 2008). The Ogasawara islands were occupied under the U.S. Navy and they became known as the Bonin-Volcano Islands until 1968. The islands were under U.S. Navy occupation from 1945 until 1952 and then U.S. Navy administration until their return to Japan in 1968. During the twenty-plus years under U.S. administration, the descendants of the original settlers were officially identified as “Bonin Islanders”, a category of identification that was recognized only within the internal workings of the U.S. administration (Chapman, 2011: 190-191).

Fred Savory, who had been appointed by other descendants of the colonists to lead them back to their beloved Bonins, was on Guam when he learned the news that his petition to allow Bonin Islanders of American and European descent to return to their homes had been approved in Washington. Marine Colonel Presley M. Rixey, commander of the occupation forces, had hired Savory to be an interpreter at the Guam War Crimes Tribunal (Cant, 1946). At Guam's War Crimes Tribunal, one of the most amazing spectacles was the case of Lt Gen. Joshio Tachibana, one of the last commanders of the Bonin Islands, who was personally implicated in 'eating the flesh' of an American prisoner of war on Chichijima (Maga, 2001: 39). Savory played an important role at the Guam War Crimes Tribunal as interpreter and prompted Colonel Rixey to investigate further about missing American flyers who were shot down over the Bonins. As a result, Tachibana and a number of other officers were hanged and buried on Guam in 1947 after the trials (Head and Daws, 1968).

Between 1946 and 1968, Chichijima islanders were issued passports similar to those in Okinawa. During the U.S. administration of Chichijima, islanders were permitted to travel to Guam, Saipan, Japan and the trust territories of the Pacific Islands. Many islanders were traveling between Guam, Saipan and Chichijima to sell seafood at the markets, and some were employed in construction related jobs on these islands. School age islanders were attending secondary school on Guam and Saipan where they could continue their studies in English (Chapman, 2011: 204).

The Islands Today

After the US Government handed sovereignty of the islands back to Japan, the evacuated Japanese also returned and the descendants of original settlers became Japanese citizens again. Long (2007) points out an interesting fact about the dominant language in the linguistic history on Chichijima, which shifted from English (from 1830) to Japanese (in 1876), back to English (in 1946), and back again to Japanese (in 1968). Currently, Chichijima and Hahajima are islands inhabited by civilians. Today, about 2,000 people live on Chichijima and another 400 to 500 on Hahajima (McNeil 2008). Even now, Chichijima has a multi-racial society, with one in ten of the islanders descended from Europeans, Americans and Pacific Islanders.

Today, a number of descendants of Nathaniel and Maria Savory still reside on Chichijima, but many have relocated to places like Guam, Saipan, and various cities in the U.S. and Japan. With Japan's privacy laws, especially in matters concerning

koseki (family registry), it can be a challenge to determine how many of the Chichijima residents are direct descendants of the young Chamorro, Maria Del Los Santos y Castro, who traveled from Guam to Chichijima in 1843. Maria Savory was asked how she felt about the islands becoming part of Japan in face of the increasing number of immigrants from the mainland. She, as well as many of the settlers at that time, expressed some indifference at the prospect of becoming a Japanese citizen. Ultimately, she considered herself first and foremost a Bonin Islander (Chapman, 2011: 195). In 1940 a Japanese law was introduced requiring people with non-Japanese surnames to change them. This law especially affected the relatively large population of ethnic Koreans residing in Japan. Some of the Chichijima islanders adopted kanji for their names; thus Savory became *Sebori* (Meiji Portraits, 2012).

Anna Washington Stettenbenz, quoted in the opening of this paper, is a direct descendant of Richard Washington, one of the island's original settlers. Anna returned to Chichijima after the war and was educated by Frank Gonzales, another descendant of the original settlers. She later relocated to Guam in 1955, as many other English-speaking Chichijima residents did, to attend Tumon Junior/Senior High School. After graduating in 1961, she moved to Palau for nursing school before returning to Chichijima. As a nurse, Anna delivered many babies on Chichijima. There, she met Jack Stettenbenz, a teacher who was recruited out of the small town of Tecumseh, Nebraska to teach at the 12th Naval District in Chichijima.

Jack Stettenbenz arrived on Chichijima in 1962 aboard a UF Seaplane that flew out of Naval Air Station Guam every two weeks. When he reached Chichijima, he claimed he met practically everyone on the island because most residents were there to collect their mail from the infrequent mail runs. There were approximately 200 people living on the island at that time, 35 to 40 of them affiliated with the military. The younger generation of the islanders spoke Japanese, and the older spoke English, described by Stettenbenz as an old, distinctive Cape Cod style of English, using phrases like, "It's almost tiffin time." (Jack Stettenbenz, personal communication, April 24, 2012). Anna and Jack married and later relocated to Guam where Jack spent many years as administrator and faculty member at Father Duenas Memorial High School. Anna continued serving the community as a nurse until she retired. The Savory family holds a reunion every five years, mainly in US cities.

Today both Guam and Chichijima share some similarities as tourist destinations. Chichijima has become a popular ecotourism, diving, and whale-watching destination. Visitors from Japan must take a 25-hour boat trip from Tokyo to reach this destination. Just like Chichijima, Guam also welcomes most of its tourists from mainland Japan. However, Guam is more easily accessible via air routes from major Japanese cities that take approximately 3.5 hours flight time. Guam and Chichijima both wrestle with issues concerning the commodification of culture, such as the “selling” of Micronesian dance to entertain visitors while maintaining some form of authenticity. On Chichijima, local residents are in the process of reviving the traditional dance, *Nanyo odori* (South Pacific Dance), and also working to further creatively enhance it with their own variations (Guo, 2007: 92). A similar revival is occurring on Guam as well as other Micronesian islands as seen in performances at Guam’s annual Micronesian Fair. In addition, there are efforts on both islands to harness the local language variety as a tourism resource and as a way to preserve culture through the use of local language.

Discussion and Conclusion

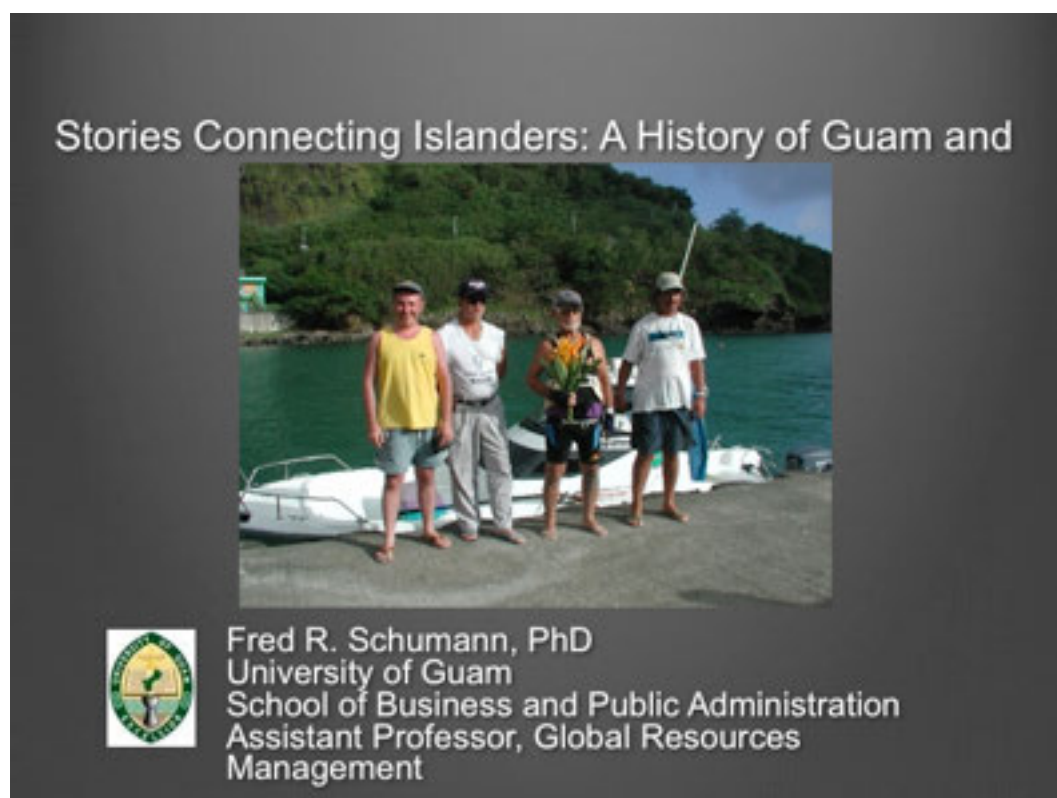
Heritage areas are described as dynamic regional initiatives that build connections between people, their place, and their history and Daly (2003), in her paper that stresses the importance of heritage areas to invigorate communities, adds that these connections are strengthened by capturing and telling the stories of the people and their place. These stories, when linked together, reflect a regional identity and support a collective awareness of the need to protect and enhance the unique qualities of places, such as Chichijima and Guam.

Little has been written about the connection between Chichijima and Guam. The awareness of interactions that took place between these island neighbors is negligible even among both islands’ general population. Very little, if any, discussion on cultural exchange that took place between the islands in the 19th century and beyond takes place in each island’s school history courses. The history about the original settlers on Chichijima and their fascinating stories about the cultural evolution of their island via the exchanges with their island neighbors, such as Guam, should be shared with island residents and visitors.

As discussed in this paper, it is obvious there is a historical link between the islands of Chichijima and Guam, but this link is largely forgotten and under acknowledged. The present-day connection between the islands can be strengthened by capturing and retelling the stories of the islanders’ past, and thus

allow current residents to better understand their place in history. These stories, when linked together, reflect a regional identity and support a collective awareness of the need to protect and enhance the unique qualities of each island. Further research in the social and cultural history of Chichihima and Guam is encouraged, with urgent efforts to record oral histories concerning the two islands from residents on both islands and from those who have moved on to mainland locations. The more we become aware of the connections, the better we can appreciate the current traditions and the uniqueness of these islands. The stories will surely be instrumental in creating an awareness of how our small island destinations participated in the sharing of culture. This can ultimately result in the strengthening of ties between the islands in the future, leading to greater cooperation and creative collaboration.

Presentation Slides



Introduction

- ⊗ Stories Connecting Places
- ⊗ Project Sango: "...there is a surprising lack of critical engagement and dialogue about the interconnections between Japan's archipelago and its nearest Oceanic neighbors."
- ⊗ Chichijima and Guam



2

Ogasawara Islands Map

- Chichijima—One of the Ogasawara Islands of Japan
 - Largest at 24 sq. km.
- Subtropical zone
- 1000km south of Tokyo
- Accessible only via ship
 - 25-hour long journey
- Mostly undisturbed by humans until settlement began in 1830.



3

Connecting Islands Via

- ⊗ U.S. Whaling Industry
 - ⊗ World Leader
 - ⊗ 1851 – 20,000 Americans
- ⊗ Whaling in the Pacific
 - ⊗ Honolulu
 - ⊗ Apra Harbor
 - ⊗ Pohnpei
- ⊗ Chamorro Whalers
- ⊗ Supplier for Whalers



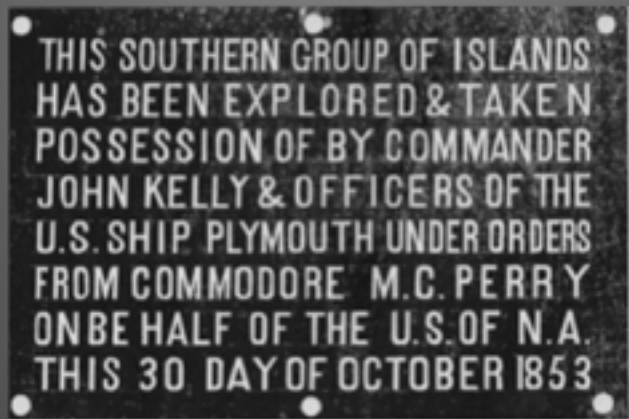
4

Maria Del Los Santos Y Castro: Guam to

- Half-Spanish, Born 1828
- Roman Catholic
- Age 15: Left for Chichijima with Millinchamp and Joaquina Del Cruz
- Married Matteo Mazarro and later Nathaniel Savory: Ten



5



Commodore Matthew C. Perry and U.S. Interest

Plaque used by Perry to claim possession of the U.S.

6



Savory Family, Circa. 1927

A photograph by German-born American geneticist Richard Goldschmidt in 1927. From the left are Horace Savory (second generation), Moses Savory (fourth generation), Aileen Washington (third generation), Benjamin Savory (second generation) and Jane Savory (third generation) (photo source: Kurata, 1983: 141).

7

Youngest Savory Daughter and Son

Isabella Savory



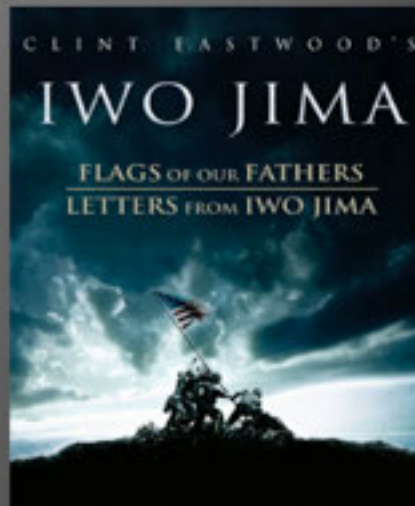
Benjamin Savory



Nanyo Odori

Micronesian dance with Carolinian songs brought from Saipan by Joseph Gonzales in the early 1930's

War in the Pacific



19

09/13/12



Fred Savory

- Instrumental in convincing the US to allow descendants of original settlers return to Chichijima
- Key Figure in Guam War Crimes Tribunal
 - Interpreter
 - Missing American Flyers
 - Cannibalism Case

11



Post-War Chichijima and Guam

- Under U.S. Navy, Bonin-Volcano Islands
- Secondary School on Guam and Saipan

12

The Islands Today

- ⊗ Uncle Charlie Washington at age 87

⊗ The Story-Teller

- ⊗ Father was "a negro cabin-boy from Bermuda" who deserted a vessel on Chichijima in 1843 (National Geographic, 1968).

- ⊗ Mother was a daughter of Nathaniel Savory.



13

09/13/12

Post-War Chichijima and Guam

- ⊗ Fourteen year old Ruth Savory (National Geographic, 1968)
- ⊗ At American school on Chichijima run by the Navy
- ⊗ Many Chichijima youngsters attended high school and college on Guam.



14

09/13/12

Discussion and Conclusion

- ⊗ Stories
 - ⊗ Reflect a regional identity
 - ⊗ Support a collective awareness to protect and enhance unique qualities of places
- ⊗ Link between islands
 - ⊗ Largely forgotten
 - ⊗ Under acknowledged
- ⊗ Need to capture and retell stories
- ⊗ Greater awareness of sharing of culture
- ⊗ Greater cooperation and creative collaboration



15

09/13/12

Thank you very much for your
attention!

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Historic Maritime Activities in the Northern Mariana Islands During the Mid-19th to Early-20th Century

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Abstract: *The maritime history of the Northern Mariana Islands can be seen reflected in the recorded history of the islands. From initial European contact and colonization to multiple culture groups using the islands for settlement, trade, reprovision and eventually a strategically important location during World War II. Saipan is an island within the Northern Mariana Island archipelago and therefore by its very nature is a maritime community. This paper aims to examine historic maritime activities in the Northern Mariana Islands during the mid-nineteenth to early-20th century as well as to investigate the remains of an unidentified shipwreck site in Tanapag Lagoon, Saipan as a view into the maritime activities of that time period. An analysis of the archaeological remains will give insight into the maritime activities of this region during a historical period while examining the association between the historic waterfront in Garapan, Saipan and the shipwreck site.*

Introduction

Over the past 3500 years (Rainbird 2004: 81) several cultural groups have utilized the island of Saipan for a variety of purposes including settlement, trade, provisioning and as a strategic position for wartime activities. Maritime heritage sites ranging from ancient coastal settlements to those of wrecked ships, planes and other World War II (WWII) era sites that have been identified on the island and in the surrounding waters. Until recently a nearly four hundred-year gap existed in the submerged heritage record of its Late Colonial period. The discovery of an artifact scatter associated with the wreck of a nineteenth or twentieth century sailing vessel presented an opportunity to begin filling that gap. Further, the historical and archaeological study of these remains will contribute to a broader understanding of colonial interaction, cultural changes and trade in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI) and the Pacific region during this time period.

Saipan maritime historical context

The Pacific Ocean served as a corridor for a series of trade routes between the Spanish Americas and the Philippines as early as the fifteenth century. These sailing routes served as a shorter alternative to the eastern trading route, aiding in the movement of people and the colonization of new areas for Europeans. Due to their geographic location, the Mariana Islands acted as a refuge for vessels during storms and a place to reprovision during the lengthy voyage across the Pacific Ocean (Olive y García 2006: 7).

Ferdinand Magellan arrived in the Mariana Islands in March 1521, while seeking a westward route to the spice-rich Indies, ultimately ending previous isolation from European influence and marking the beginning of a new era. With the discovery of a route across the Pacific from the Philippines to Mexico, commencement of the Manila Galleon trade began moving people and goods between Spain's colonies in the US and the Asia. For 250 years merchant vessels regularly used the Mariana Islands as the only stop on the long voyage across the Pacific.

During the period 1668-1700, efforts were directed toward the Christianization of the Indigenous population, which resulted in the resettlement of these people into church centered villages on Guam (Carrell 1991). When the Wars for Independence began in New Spain, between 1810 and 1821, shipping traffic between the Philippines and Mexico decreased, ultimately affecting the communication, economy and administration of the Spanish enterprise in the Mariana Islands. Spain's interest in the Mariana Islands was centered around the ability to retain the islands as part of Spain's empire and on being able to prevent other nations with interests in the Pacific from gaining control over them (Valle 1991: 10).

When the Spanish galleon trade came to an end 1815 an influx of other ship types involved in the transport of food and people from the islands to the Philippines, Mexico and North America began (Carrell 2009: 110). Around the same time the American colonies were proclaiming their independence, whaling began to be important in the northern Pacific (Olive y García 2006). As these ships sailed around the Cape of Good Hope on cruises lasting two years, some stopped in the Mariana Islands to replenish provisions and rest the crews (Olive y García 2006). While the decline in Spanish shipping vessels was evident, from the 1820's on, the whaling vessels from America, England, and France compensated for the lack of trade (Driver & Hezel 2004: 26). Unfortunately, there is little material evidence in the Mariana Islands to mark the period of whaling (Olive y García 2006).

Until the late nineteenth century, the Mariana Islands were under Spanish authority. The Spanish-German conflicts over the islands of Yap in 1885 and the succeeding events in Pohnpei revealed Spain's inability to preserve its power in the Pacific against the increasing commercial and political interests of Germany and the United States (Olive 2006: xv). In June 1898, the Mariana Islands were partitioned and Guam became a possession of the United States (US) (Carrell 2009: 143). With Spain's defeat in the Spanish-American War in August 1898, the remaining Spanish possessions in the Pacific were sold to German colonial administrations, thus beginning what is known as the German Colonial period in the Mariana Islands (1899-1914) (Spennemann 2007: 7). Sea transport was the only means of communication between the German Administration and its possessions in the Pacific. Inter-island canoes and European or Japanese-style sailing vessels were relied upon for trade and control (Carrell 2009: 167).

During the German Colonial period, Saipan remained the sole port of entry for foreign vessels in the Mariana Islands (Carrell 2009: 167). While numerous vessels used Saipan's harbor in Tanapag Lagoon, typhoons were frequent – some causing extensive damage (Spennemann 2004). Ships were often overtaken by typhoons and damaged, lost at sea, or dashed against island shores (Carrell 1991: 92).

More than 40 historically documented ship losses are known in Saipan's lagoon and offshore deep waters. The earliest recorded is the Manila galleon *Nuestra Señora De La Concepción* that wrecked in 1638 (Carrell 2009). While there has been a vast quantity of shipwrecks and maritime cultural remains jettisoned, only a few pre-world war sites have been located, identified or scientifically investigated in Saipan.

Previous Investigations of Saipan's Submerged Sites

There have been several submerged cultural resource surveys in Saipan over the last five decades. In 1979 and 1980, Thomas and Price conducted the first literature search and diver visual surveys of the reef flat north of Micro Beach and the Fishing Base Dock and channel area west of Garapan. This survey resulted in objects being documented from the Japanese, WWII and American period (Thomas & Price 1980). Off Garapan, steel pontoons, metal debris and an abandoned Japanese channel marker were documented in or on the water (Thomas & Price 1980: 13).

In 1983 the National Park Service conducted two field seasons to assess submerged lands associated with the American Memorial Park (Miculka & Manibusan 1983). Cultural resources, including US pontoons and barges, were located in the waters encompassing modern day Micro Beach, Smiling Cove Marina/Small Boat Harbor, Outer Cove Marina and inner Tanapag Lagoon (Burns 2008a, b). In 1984, the National Park Service in collaboration with the University of Guam's Micronesian Area Research Centre was contacted by the Defense Environmental Restoration Program to assess the submerged WWII remains in Saipan (Miculka et al. 1984). The survey documented the remains of a WWII Japanese freighter, Japanese submarine chaser or Patrol Boat, three US landing craft, one Japanese "Emily" flying boat, one Japanese "Jake" float plane and two US Sherman tanks (Burns 2008a, b).

In 1985, the Pacific Basin Environmental Consultant (PBEC) in conjunction with the Mañagaha Island Marine Park Management Plan and supported by the Historic Preservation Office conducted an underwater survey of Tanapag Lagoon for historic sites (PBEC 1985). Eighteen WWII sites in Tanapag Lagoon were recorded including aircraft, barges, boats and debris, as well as the documentation of WWII resources on Mañagaha Island (PBEC 1985). Also during 1985, the WWII landing beaches on the west coast of Saipan were listed on the National Register of Historic Places and designated a National Historic Landmark, encompassing 1,366 acres of land and water (Burns 2008a, b). In 1986 and 1987, the treasure hunting company Pacific Sea Resources worked the 1638 wreck of Nuestra Señora de la Concepción off the south coast of Saipan (Mathers et al. 1990). Mathers et al. (1990) produced a final report and the artifacts were divided between the treasure hunting company and the government. The company's share was sold to a private collector who then sold the collection back to the government of CNMI. Today, the majority of the collection is held at the CNMI Museum in Saipan.

In 1990, the National Park Service (NPS) returned to Saipan to measure, photograph, videotape and document the WWII sites in the lagoons on Saipan (Miculka et al. 1990). In the following year, the NPS published the most comprehensive submerged cultural resources summary for Saipan and all of Micronesia (Carrell 1991). Carrell's edited report included chapters and research on Saipan and summarized the NPS's previous research, detailing more than 50 shipwrecks abandoned vessels in Saipan (Carrell 1991).

In the following decade, little research and fieldwork was conducted in Saipan; however, in 2001 the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration's (NOAA) Office of Response and Restoration initiated the Abandoned Vessel Inventory for CNMI (Lord & Plank 2003). Thirty-three abandoned vessels were recorded of which 28 were considered historic resources (Lord & Plank 2003). Again, most were WWII pontoons/barges and freighters (Lord & Plank 2003).

In 2008 Southeastern Archaeological Research, Inc. (SEARCH) conducted remote sensing surveys and diver identification of Saipan's western lagoons (Burns 2008a, b). SEARCH, Inc. identified a total of 1534 magnetic targets of which 142 were identified through diver investigation, side scan sonar or were previously identified. None of the magnetic anomalies corresponded to the artifact scatter site investigated in this study due to the shallow nature of the site. In 2009, Toni Carrell edited a book titled *Maritime History and Archaeology of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands* (Carrell 2009). Funded by the Historic Preservation Office, this book provides a synthesis and overview of the long record of maritime history and the variety of watercraft types used in the Northern Mariana Islands. Since 2009 a research project to record the WWII submerged remains in Saipan's lagoon has been ongoing by researchers from Ships of Discovery (Corpus Christi, Texas) and Flinders University (South Australia, Australia). The project aims to identify and document selected submerged archaeological remains of the Battle of Saipan for the creation of an underwater heritage trail. The research and trail was completed in 2011 (McKinnon & Carrell 2011).

Archaeological Investigations of the "Japanese Channel Light Wreck"

In July 2010, John Starmer, marine biologist, from the Coastal Resources Management Office (CRM) in Saipan, CNMI, notified maritime archaeologists from Flinders University of a possible wooden shipwreck site in Tanapag Lagoon, Saipan. Upon inspection, they identified and photographed several shards of green bottle glass, iron and copper-alloy fasteners and burnt timbers. They also collected a GPS position, and investigated a nearby anchor of similar age to the artifacts. The reconnaissance dive was limited due to time, and the extent of the artifact scatter was unable to be determined. As there is little archaeological documentation of pre-WWII historic maritime-related artifacts within Saipan, the uniqueness of the site justified further investigations. A small contract with the HPO was entered into by Flinders University to conduct archaeological survey of the site to determine its function and historical relevance. Archaeologists initially assessed these remains as

late-nineteenth century artifacts associated with a possible shipwreck or anchorage debris field (J. McKinnon, Personal communication, 2010).

The artifact scatter was visited again during a two-week period in April 2011. Staff and students from Flinders University and maritime archaeologists from Heritage Victoria and the Florida Public Archaeology Network joined staff from the CNMI Department of Environmental Quality (DEQ) and CRM Offices in Saipan to record the extent of the artifact scatter.

The site is submerged in 2- 3m of water and is roughly 1km southwest from the Fishing Base Dock on Garapan's shoreline. An abandoned Japanese marker is located on the southern side of the channel on the inside of the reef, to alert vessels of the opening in the coral reef.



The site is scattered over approximately 90m long by 30m wide. The surrounding topography consists of sand pockets extending in finger-like configurations with rock and coral reef separating the sandy areas adjacent to the shipping channel in the reef. Large coral heads can be found rising within centimeters of the water's surface and would pose a threat to ship's straying from the channel.

indicated by the tear shape created by back splicing them to situate a thimble. Other components of standing rigging included a chainplate and deadeye contained within an iron strop. Chain plates were solidly bolted to the ship's side to which the shrouds are secured by a system of deadeyes and screws and were used to steady the masts (Bathe 1978: 4.08; Stone 1993: 72).

A heavily concreted metal oarlock was found on the site. Also known as a crutch or rowlock, these were u-shaped metal swivels that mounted on a boat's gunwales for an oar (Bathe 1978: 9.02). The oarlock has a ribbed horn-style opening and is most likely off a gig or lifeboat (Bathe 1978: 9.01).

A number of artifacts related to shipboard life were also located. Whole glass bottles, bottle fragments and ceramic sherds scattered across the site represent a wide date range. Many of these are thought to be associated with the wreck, and others are likely intrusive artifacts deposited by cultural or natural means. The most diagnostic of these artifacts are the bottles; types include dark green, three-piece mould or "Ricketts mould" bottles which date between the 1820s and 1920s and a two-piece mould or "turn-mould" bottle which was most common from the 1870s through around 1920 (Toulouse 1969: 532).

Several artifacts of questionable provenance were found scattered around the site. These included glass bottles embossed with characters that indicated Japanese origin and dated from the 1870s through around 1920 (Toulouse 1969: 532); two fragments of an unidentifiable ceramic vessel; a stoneware body and rim shard of indeterminate date; and a shard of blue on white porcelain. Though the manufacture dates for these could be contemporary with this wreck, it is likely that they are intrusive artifacts deposited through cultural or natural means after the time of loss.

Wood Samples

An unidentified conglomeration with wood, iron and copper-alloy metal was the only piece of wood found on site. No part of the object was identifiable, however a timber sample was obtained from the object for possible specie identification. Timber analysis showed the sample as birch (*Betula* sp.) and the structure of the wood is most likely yellow birch after comparison with other samples (J. Illic, email, May 2011).

Site interpretation

Through archaeological recording and historical research it has been determined that this site is the remains of a ship dating to the mid-nineteenth or early-twentieth century. The presence of ballast stones, copper sheathing and tacks, as well as iron drift pins and bolts, indicate that it was a wooden vessel, and the hemp core wire rope, wooden deadeye and chain plate specify that it was a sailing vessel. The small collection of glass and ceramic fragments further signify a mid-nineteenth to early-twentieth century use and illustrate an aspect of shipboard life at this time. The oarlock found on the site is most likely from the vessel's gig or could be an extra oarlock to be used in case one was lost. Timber analysis indicates yellow birch, a species found in North-eastern North America and commonly used in shipbuilding.

The close proximity of the ballast area to the channel suggests that the vessel hit the reef and wrecked while entering or exiting the lagoon through the channel. The shallow nature of the site, the length of the scatter and fact that no major features of the ship were found is a good indication of post depositional salvage; however it is unknown to what extent salvage occurred and when. The depth at which this site is located allows easy access for anyone with a shallow draft vessel to access the site. The distance to shore seems far enough to prevent recovery in the case of a purposely dumped or abandoned vessel. Historic sources do not mention the destruction or discarding of a wooden sailing vessel in or around Tanapag Lagoon, which limits the ability to tie this particular site to a specific vessel. Unfortunately no distinctive artifacts were found on the site to provide an identity and as a result hinder the ability to tie the site to a specific vessel for further research.

The discovery of burnt wood during the February 2010 fieldwork and the overall lack of timber on the site could be evidence of salvage. Often wrecked wooden vessels were burned to their waterline so that below deck cargo could be salvaged or metal fasteners could be removed for recycling. However it is important to note that the abundance of marine wood-boring organisms in the tropical water would have aided in the degradation of any wood left on the site whether the vessel was salvaged or not.

Possible Candidates

Forty-one documented ship losses have occurred in and around Saipan between 1552 and 1941 (Carrell 1991: 280). Though data pertaining to the island during this period is sparse, historical documents suggest that seven wooden sailing vessels are known to have wrecked in Saipan's water between the mid 19th and turn of the 20th

century. Though little historical information pertaining to any of these was located, comparison between them and the archaeological evidence recovered indicates four of them as possible candidates for the identity of the “Japanese Channel Light Wreck.”

The barque *William T. Sayward* was built in Rockland, Maine in 1853 (Fairburn 1946(5): 3421). Accounts state that the barque was sailing from San Francisco to Shanghai with a cargo of flour and \$164,000 in coin, when it sprang a leak off the “Ladrone Islands” and was abandoned on December 21, 1854 (*Daily National Intelligencer* 1855, *Plain Dealer* 1855, *Salem Register* 1855). Unfortunately details about the exact location where *William T. Sayward* came to rest are vague and therefore its association with the wreck in Tanapag Lagoon is unknown.

The next sailing vessel reported to have wrecked around Saipan is the US ship *Lizzie Jarvis*. Historical sources present some discrepancies about the fate and identity of this vessel. One source reports that the whaler *Lizzie Jarvis* was lost in the “Ladrone Islands” while travelling from Hong Kong to San Francisco in 1855. The ship was previously known as *Lady Pierce* and was owned by Mr. Silas E. Burrows, who at one time intended to present the vessel to the Emperor of Japan (Ward 1967(4): 187). A later report states that the ship was actually *John N. Gossler*, another vessel of the same owner which traded between the US and China and which wrecked in 1855, 150 miles Northeast of Saipan (Lévesque 2002(20): 73; Ward 1966(4): 187-188). Though the loss location of *John N. Gossler* would exclude it, the confusion surrounding the loss of *Lizzie Jarvis* make it a possible candidate for the identity of the “Japanese Channel Light Wreck.”

An unknown barque was lost in 1876 in Saipan (Carrell 1991: 280). Current historical research was unable to ascertain further information about this wreck. Until further information pertaining to this vessel and its loss are obtained, it is impossible to determine an association between it and the wreck in Tanapag Lagoon.

The 103-ton American schooner *Iolanthe* was wrecked at Saipan in 1896. All hands survived and were transported to Guam on the Japanese schooner *Chomey-Maru* (Lévesque 2002 (20): 512). Little information was found about this vessel aside from the fact that it was built in Essex, Massachusetts in 1883 (Record of American and Foreign Shipping 1896). Again the limited data relating to this vessel or the

circumstances and location preclude any direct association with the “Japanese Channel Light Wreck.”

Conclusion

Though the identity of the shipwreck recently located in Tanapag Lagoon was not absolutely determined, this investigation is considered significant for its contribution to increasing knowledge of a little explored period in Saipan’s history. As stated previously, until the “Japanese Channel Light Wreck” was identified, a nearly 400-year gap existed in the archaeological record pertaining to shipwrecks that had occurred around the island. The study of this 19th or early 20th century sailing vessel has produced archaeological data that will be added to the growing database of sites in the waters surrounding Saipan, as well as providing the impetus for building a comprehensive understanding of archival information relating to colonial ship losses in the CNMI. Thus the compilation and analysis of this data has begun to fill the gaps, and in doing so provides insight into colonial interaction and trade in the Pacific region around the turn of the century.

The investigation of the “Japanese Channel Light Wreck” also represents the first multi-agency archaeological investigation of a submerged non-military shipwreck in Saipan. This approach allowed multiple local government agencies to collaborate with archaeologists from Australia and the US to assess and record this important piece of CNMI heritage. Due to the site’s location along the fringing reef, it also allowed agencies concerned with reef health and environmental quality an opportunity to monitor and protect the reef that has grown around this site. Ultimately this kind of collaboration offered all groups involved the opportunity to better understand and appreciate each other's work and can be seen as best practice for the protection and management of Saipan’s marine resources.

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The Rota Dictionary: Linguistic Studies on Chamorro by the Capuchin South Sea Mission

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Introduction

From 1885 on not only government agents, settlers, adventurers or scientists traveled to the 'German South Seas'. Until the end of the German colonial times during World War I members of various religious orders found their way to the South Sea as well. It was essential for the clerics to deal with the indigenous languages without any problems. They not only needed to communicate and understand those languages. In order to accomplish their missionary and pastoral work they also had to write texts and do a lot of translations. A so far undiscovered manuscript of a Chamorro dictionary from that time was found recently in the archive of the German Capuchins in Muenster. The unpublished 'German-Chamorro' dictionary can be accounted to Father Corbinian Madre, who lived on the Northern Mariana Islands from 1908-1919. First sightings of the manuscript look promising – not only from a linguistic point of view. Working with the manuscript means doing research on the author, the language (both Chamorro and the antiquated form of German used), the circumstances it evolved from, historical background, etc. The transcription will start in summer 2012, an annotated edition is planned within a project called Chamorrifica. Furthermore, a comparison to Callistus Lopinot's German-Chamorro Dictionary is planned. This paper is a very first attempt to place Corbinian Madre's manuscript on the map of Chamorro research.

German Capuchins in Micronesia

Despite all difficulties¹ between the German government and the Catholic Church the German colonial government felt it necessary to welcome Catholic missionaries to the Micronesian Islands. The main reasons were the pastoral care of Catholic German settlers and their children, the containment of American Congregationalists, whose relation to the German government was rather problematic, and that the colonial government felt it was necessary to strengthen the German language. Thus, in 1903 the first German Capuchins arrived in

Micronesia, namely Palau and Yap. In due course of the German colonial time, Capuchins were sent to various Micronesian islands. Their work habits differed from person to person but the overall procedure within the missionary work was similar. As soon as they acquired the basics of the particular language the priests were sent to the parishes and missionary stations. Usually a priest and a friar were sent out together. The priest would take care of the pastoral needs while the friar would organize daily incidents in and around the church and rectory (Forbes, 2007: 6; Hezel, 2001: 559-560).

Capuchins in the Mariana Islands

In June 1907, the Pope separated the Marianas from the diocese Cébu. This meant that the new apostolic prefecture could be commissioned to the Capuchins of the Rhine-Westphalian Province. This was intended by the province as much as by Georg Fritz, the German 'Bezirksamtman' (District Officer) on Saipan. He wanted the German language to spread and thus postulated the Spanish Padres to be replaced by Germans. Fritz did not want the American island Guam but Saipan, seat of the German government agency, to be assigned to the new prefect. Fritz' plan was Saipan to become the 'Gravitationszentrum' (center of gravity, my translation) of the Micronesian islands (Gründer, 1982: 77).

Table 1 shows the German fathers and friars who lived and worked on the Marianas. The data of their arrivals and departures was taken from the personnel files of the Capuchin archive in Munich. This data seems to be the closest one can get since it is from the missionaries direct environment and therefore almost 'first hand'. Nevertheless, more exact and additional data, e.g. travel dates with longer visits on different islands should be taken into consideration for profound work.

Table 1: List of German Capuchins on the Mariana Islands

German Capuchins on the Mariana Islands		
	Saipan	Rota
Father Basilius Graf	1908 1909 (?)	
Father Callistus Lopinot	1907 1909	
Father Corbinian Madre	February 1908	April 1908 April 1919
Father Gallus Lehmann	1908 1916	
Father Odilo Grabow	1908	
Father Odorich Schell	1913 1915	
Father Paulus Fischer	1908 1911	
Friar Joachim Petry	1907 1913	1913
Friar Kleophas Kiefer		August 1912 (?)
Friar Lucius Keller		1910 1914
Friar Mennas Bohner	1908 1913	1913 April 1919

The first German Capuchin to arrive on the Mariana Islands was Father Callistus Lopinot. He was sent to Saipan from Yap in May 1907. Father Odilo Grabow followed him in August of the same year but already left half a year later. The last German Capuchin on the Mariana Islands was Father Corbinian Madre who left Rota with Friar Mennas Bohner in 1919.

Father Corbinian Madre²

Father Corbinian Madre was born as Engelbert Matre on November 7, 1873 in Rechtenbach which is located in Lower Franconia in Germany. At the age of eighteen, on August 19, 1892, he entered the Capuchin Order. On August 15, 1900 he was ordained as a priest. After spending seven years in the Rhine area of Western Germany, Madre went to Strasbourg for two months in order to achieve a basic knowledge of Spanish. On December 3, 1907 he was sent out to the Capuchin South Sea Mission in the Mariana Islands which he reached on February 1, 1908. Before finally arriving on his appointed mission on Rota two months later, Corbinian Madre got in touch with the local Chamorros on Saipan from whom he

picked up his first Chamorro words. On Saipan he also met Father Callistus Lopinot who was the head of the mission.

Once he settled on Rota, Madre started his catechism lessons in Chamorro. He states:

“Auf diese Weise und durch den Umgang mit den Erwachsenen, besonders mit dem Eingeborenen José Taitano, den die deutsche Regierung mit dem Unterricht an der Volksschule betreut hatte und der die spanische Sprache beherrschte und deutsch notdürftig sprach, wurden meine Kenntnisse im Chamorro immer besser” (Madre, 1946: 7).

(Through this way and the contact to grown-ups, especially the native José Taitano, who the German government appointed to teach at the school and who knew the Spanish language and small parts of German, my knowledge of Chamorro became better and better.) My translation.

Father Madre was eager to please his community as best as he could. The most significant device for this were his language skills. Until his first sermon in Chamorro he spoke Spanish in church. The first Chamorro sermon on October 10, 1908 was a big surprise on Rota. In his memoirs Madre writes that the natives of Rota were honored and pleased on account of this novelty. Rome probably was not, as he writes 'Sicherlich ein großer Nachteil und ganz gegen den Willen der Kirche (Madre, 1946: 7)' (Certainly a huge disadvantage and entirely against the will of the church.) My translation.

As it turned out in due course of World War I Corbinian Madre felt even more confirmed and relieved he had always preached in Chamorro. Once the Japanese took over the island a difficult time for the parish began. Japanese officials discredited the church and made it impossible for Father Madre to keep up an orderly work flow. He was glad he had taught confessions of faith, Catholic hymns and other religious matters in the local language. This way parents and other people who were concerned were able to teach their children what the Father was no longer allowed to. Besides speaking Chamorro Corbinian Madre also translated a number of texts into Chamorro with the help of José Taitano. They worked on “(...) die schönsten spanischen und deutschen Lieder, die wichtigsten Gebete, Litaneien und Andachten, die bei ihnen so beliebten Novenen, die sonn- und festtägigen Episteln und Evangelien und (...) die hl. Schrift des N. Testaments (...)” (Madre, 1946: 12). (the nicest Spanish and German hymns, the most important

prayers, litanies and devotions, the novenas that they (= the Chamorros, C.S.) like so much, the Sunday and holiday epistles and gospels and (...) the sacred writings of the New Testament (...). My translation.

On April 5, 1919 Father Corbinian Madre had to leave Rota which had become a home away from home to him, as he writes. After half a year in Japan, uncertain and undetermined as to his clerical duties, Madre reached the Capuchin monastery in Muenster/Westphalia in the middle of November 1919. He lived a long and fulfilled Capuchin life until his death on June 13, 1963. The time in the Marianas must clearly have been very influential. In 1946 Madre was on visitation in his hometown Rechtenbach where he was asked by the local priest to write down his memoirs as a Capuchin. About sixteen pages of the twenty pages script are dedicated to his time as a missionary on the Mariana Islands.

Callistus Lopinot

Father Callistus Lopinot lived on various Micronesian Islands and New Guinea between 1904 and 1921, where he mainly produced linguistic texts on Chamorro among taking care of his missionary work. Callistus Lopinot's work still plays an important role for Chamorro scientists. One of his linguistic texts is the 'Chamorro Dictionary' which was published in 1910. This dictionary will be used as a reference to Father Corbinian Madre's dictionary. First classifications suggest that the manuscript resembles the published work in huge parts. Obviously it is not a copy, though. It can be seen as an extension of the work of 1910. Especially individual entries which give clues about the Chamorro variety spoken on Rota are of great interest since this variety is known as obsolete.

German-Chamorro Dictionary-Manuscript

Although Corbinian Madre does not mention the work on a German-Chamorro Dictionary in his memoirs, it can be assumed that he started to work on a manuscript while he was still on Rota. Nevertheless, assumptions regarding the whereabouts of the original notes to the manuscript need to be proven. Since Madre was eager to learn Chamorro he most probably made notes, even only for personal studies, in order to consolidate what he had learned. Besides this it is possible he shared his notes with Friar Lucius Keller who assisted him on Rota from 1910 to 1914 and Friar Mennas Bohner who came to Rota in 1913 and left with Father Madre in 1919.

Due to the weather conditions on the Mariana Islands and the well-preserved manuscript of the dictionary it is presumed that the final compilation of the entries took place in the different monasteries Madre lived in until his death.

General data on Corbinian Madre's manuscript

volumes: 28

pages: 2101 double pages

entries: ca. 22120

classification of the volumes: alphabetical from *Aal – zusammenhalten*, the dictionary is uni-directional

character of the entries: left-sided alphabetically ordered dictionary entries, right-sided occasional comments, both pencil-written

information on material: diary- and school journals, yellow-greyish paper

Only once the manuscript is fully transcribed some of the linguistic data can be completed. General conclusions demand intensive work in the archives of the Capuchins in Muenster and Munich but also on the Mariana Islands. To round up the information about the development of the manuscript it is also advisable to search for relatives of Corbinian Madre who may be able to fill gaps in his biography and work that might be of importance.

With regard to the content the transcribed manuscript is to be compared with the Chamorro-German dictionary of Callistus Lopinot (1910). The following questions (among several others) will be worked on:

- Which similarities and irregularities can be found in the format of both books?
- Are there regularities in the choice of the entries?
- Which entries cannot be found in both dictionaries?
- Does Lopinot comment on different Chamorro-varieties of the islands?

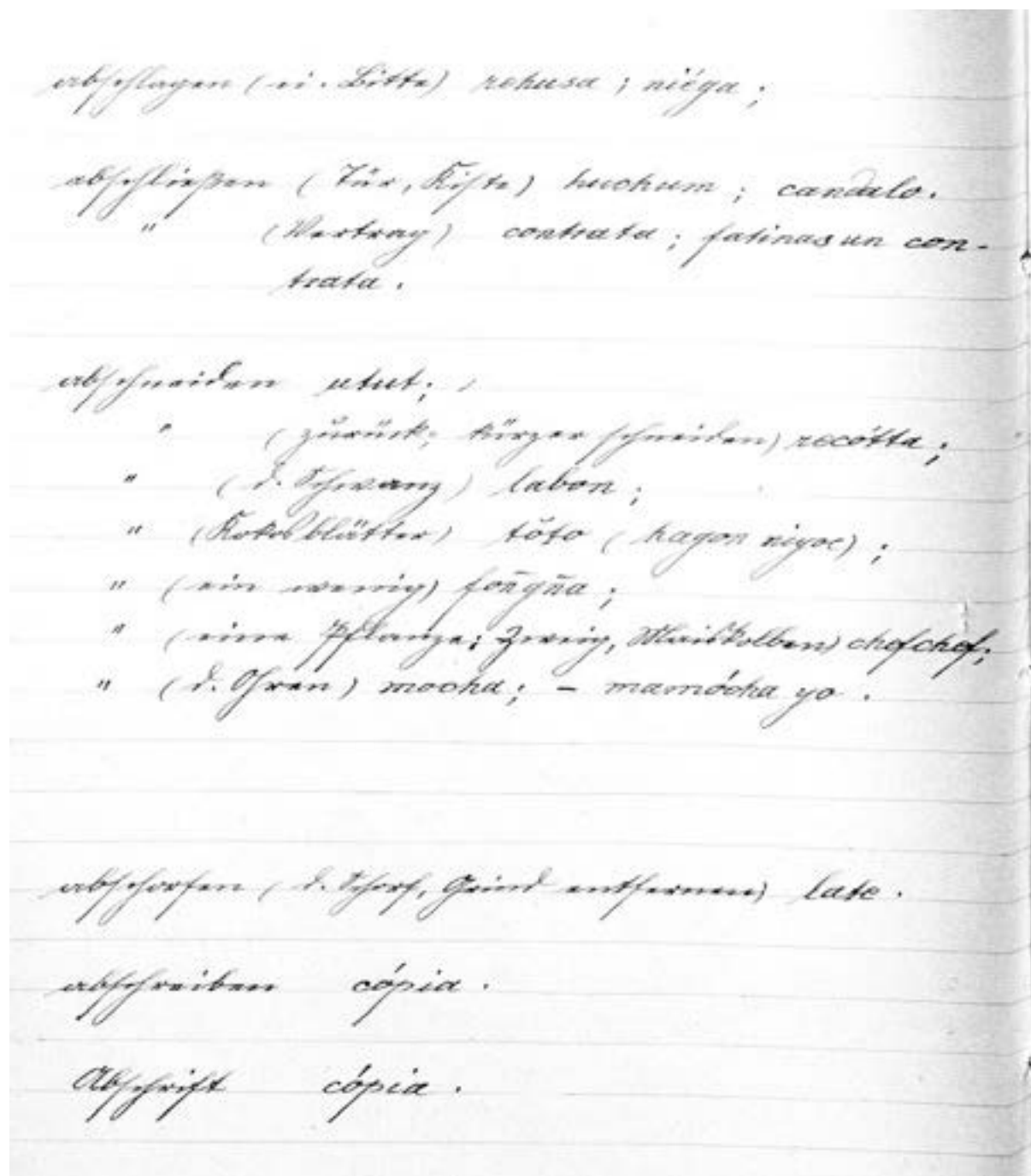


Figure 1: Facsimile of page 14 of Corbinian Madre's manuscript.

Figure 1 shows a facsimile of page 14 of the manuscript, an excerpt of page 2 of Callistus Lopinot's dictionary with corresponding entries can be found in figure 2. This is intended to give a first view on the manuscript and the work that will take place within the Chamorríca project. A transcription and English translation shows how the manuscript might appear in the publication.

abschlagen *rehusa* (eine Bitte).
abschliessen (Türe) *huchum; candalo;*
 „ (Vertrag) *contrata; fatinas un contrata.*
abschneiden *utut; * recotta;*
 „ (d. Schwanz) *labon;*
 „ (ein wenig) *foñgña;*
 „ (eine Pflanze) *chefchef;*
 „ (d. Ohren) *mocha.*
abschreiben *cópia.*
Abschrift *cópia.*

Figure 2: Extract of Lopinot's dictionary

Transcription

abschlagen (ei. Bitte)	<i>rehusa; niéga;</i>
abschließen (Tür, Kiste)	<i>huchum; candalo.</i>
„ (Vertrag)	<i>contrata; fatinas un contrata.</i>
abschneiden	<i>utut;</i>
„ (zurück=, kürzer schneiden)	<i>recóttá;</i>
„ (d. Schwanz)	<i>labon;</i>
„ (Koko*3blätter)	<i>tōto (hagon niyoc);</i>
„ (ein wenig)	<i>foñgña;</i>
„ (eine Pflanze; Zweig, Maiskolben)	<i>chefchef;</i>
„ (d. Ohren)	<i>mocha; - mamócha yo;</i>
abschorfen (d. Schorf; Grind entfernen)	<i>late.</i>
abschreiben	<i>cópia.</i>
Abschrift	<i>cópia.</i>

Translation

to refuse a request	rehusa; niéga;
to lock	huchum; candalo.
to close a contract	contrata; fatinas un contrata.
to cut sth. off	utut;
to trim/cut back	recólla;
to cut off the tail	labon;
to cut back the coconut palm	tōto (hagon niyoc);
to cut off a little	foñgña;
to cut off a plant; branch, corn-cob	chefchef;
to cut off the ears	mocha; - mamócha yo;
to remove scab	late.
to copy	cópia.
the copy	cópia.

Comments

The first and main difficulty of the manuscript is Corbinian Madre's handwriting. It is written in Old German (Kurrent), which has been out of use in Germany since the 1940's. Sometimes single letters cannot be deciphered ad hoc thus reading and transcribing the manuscript takes up a lot of time. Besides the use of Old German handwriting some of the German lexemes are no longer existent in modern German.

The same applies to Madre's Chamorro translation in some cases. These entries need to be checked and translated very carefully so the actual meaning does not get lost. The modern English translation is somewhat problematic as well. The example shows that Chamorro uses a variety of terms to express 'something to be cut off/back' which English does not. This needs to be commented on in the annotated publication.

Even the short example above shows that Madre's manuscript is not a copy of Lopinot's dictionary. The choice of entries and lexemes (German and Chamorro) varies as well as the orthography. This might point to the circumstances the dictionaries came into being. Also, the intentional purpose of both dictionaries may be different.

Outlook: Chamorrica

A number of documents have been written in other languages than English about Chamorro before 1950. Some of these texts are known to Chamorro researchers

and others who take an interest in the language, some are not. In order to reach a broader audience Chamorrica translates and annotates these texts before they are (re-)published. Father Corbinian Madre's dictionary is one of the texts that to the author's knowledge are unknown even to Chamorro specialists. Its publication will hopefully fill gaps in the general Chamorro language research and answer questions especially on obsolete forms of Chamorro that can still be found on Rota until today.

However, not only new data from earlier language phases of Chamorro can be collected. Comments on background of the works of the Capuchins and how this dictionary came into being will provide a further view on the language, culture and history of Chamorro on the Northern Mariana Islands. To conclude, more work not only in the archives of Muenster and Munich but also on the Mariana Islands is inevitable to embed Father Corbinian Madre's manuscript thoroughly into the Chamorro discourse.

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Christina Schneemann studied English and Linguistics before she became a research assistant at the University of Bremen's Institute for General and Applied Linguistics. She is currently working on the translation and annotation of texts written before 1950 in/about the Chamorro language in languages other than English in the framework of the Chamorrica project.

Schneemann is preparing a dissertation on linguistic works of German missionaries who lived in Micronesia during the German colonial times. Her further research interests include varieties of English, Colonial Linguistics, Contact Linguistics and Language Endangerment.

