



3rd Marianas History Conference

ONE Archipelago, Many Stories: Milestones in Marianas History

World War II, Recent History and Genealogy

Three of Three



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World War II History

Mobilization and Perspectives by the Japanese Army on Japanese Civilians and Local People during the Pacific War in Saipan and Tinian

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Abstract: *How did the Japanese Army emerge into a military government operation in Saipan and Tinian prior to the war? What were the perceptions of the Japanese Army about the Japanese civilians and local people and their sense of loyalty to Japan? This paper will attempt to examine, analyze and interpret some of the actions and rationale of the Japanese Army in terms of these two questions and focus on: 1) wartime conscription of Japanese civilians, 2) compulsory evacuation for Japanese nationals only, in principal, and 3) military requisition of facilities and mobilization of the Nanyo Kohatsu Kabushikikaisha organization, personnel, farmers and laborers. Based on civilian survivors' recollections and Japanese archives, this study shows how the Japanese Army and the South Seas Government tried to make the Northern Marianas, especially Saipan and Tinian, a logistical base and experienced grand war in the 1940s by utilizing civilians' daily lives for the battle.*

Introduction

This paper sheds light on the Japanese Army's effort to set up logistics bases in Saipan and Tinian in the closing days of World War II by mobilizing civilians. These two islands in the Northern Marianas experienced a ground war.

This mobilization had an impact on the ground war victims (Imaizumi 2015a, 2015b). Many civilians in Saipan and Tinian were left to strengthen workforce and defense, which resulted in the Japanese Army's "root-and-branch" (that is unconditional) mobilization of civilians working at Nan'yo Kohatsu Kabushikikaisha (NKK). They were all deprived of jobs and life by the Japanese Army.

As for the establishment of a wartime regime to set up logistics bases in Saipan and Tinian, existing studies focus on strategy and battles between the US and the Japanese Army or labor mobilization to construct airports or something, food production expansion and the forced contribution of supplies presenting the voices and

perspectives of Micronesians which were not recorded in official documents (Poyer 2001; Falgout 2007; K. Camacho 2011).

No analysis, however, has been made on policies, the very premise of establishment of wartime regime. In the meantime, the Japanese commitment to the wartime regime and casualties from ground war has often been explained in terms of patriotism and loyalty. But the actual mobilization, which this paper addresses, suggests that patriotism and loyalty alone are insufficient to explain such casualties.

In addition, morale of local Japanese residents during wartime were considered low by the Japanese authorities while not all immigrants were able to deal with tough situations, both of which are worth noting. These indicate that much emphasis was placed on labor control as well as on thought control in establishing the wartime regime, with rigorous controls in place to set up logistics bases in the closing days of the war.

This study provides examples to make these points clear, with focus on 1) evacuation to homeland, 2) enforcement of the Military Service Law and 3) the Yano-Obara Agreement, which stipulated the impressments of NKK by the Japanese Army.

Japan's wartime records contains little information on Chamorros and Carolinians, most of which concerns Chamorros. While 1) and 2) were the policies intended for the Japanese, other policies for local people may provide clues about the situation they were in and the sacrifice they made. At the same time, this study refers to unpublished records of the Japanese Army, Nan'yo Cho [the South Seas Government] and reminiscences made by civilians.

Construction of military installations in Saipan and Tinian and the role of NKK in it

As discussed in Chapter 3 of this paper, the entire NKK was eventually impressed to set up logistics bases in Saipan and Tinian in the closing days of the war. While the close relationship between the South Seas Government and NKK is well known, this paper examines the premises of wartime mobilization and labor management, based on NKK's response to the construction of military installations from the latter half of the 1930s (Imaizumi 2004).

To make clear the characteristic of wartime regime of Japanese mandated Micronesia, it should be confirmed these islands were not a colony under Japan's sovereignty. In addition, the C class mandate and the Pacific arms control treaty prohibited the construction of Army/Naval bases for the defense of Japan and the training and education of the local peoples except those concerning local policing and self-defense.

The Imperial Japanese Navy, however, wanted to utilize the South Sea Islands as a strategic base to face off against the US and therefore was involved in administration and economy as well as the islands' defense before World War II. Specifically, the Navy dispatched military officers to Koror in Palau Islands, where head office of the South Seas Government was located, to take part in Navy-related negotiations, research and intelligence (BBKS 1970, 15).

The Japanese mandate continued even after its withdrawal from the League of Nations and so did the military constraints. The construction of military installations, however, accelerated in around 1937 as Japan's advance to the South was strongly linked with the Sino-Japanese War. This paper, therefore, sheds light on NKK's response to the Navy and its labor policy in the latter half of the 1930s, when NKK participated in the establishment of a system to set up logistics bases in the closing days of the war.

The construction of military installations in the Northern Mariana Islands started in the early 1930s within the scope of the provision of the mandate and arms control treaty. The South Seas Government commissioned NKK to construct nominally civilian facilities such as roads, ports and airports to improve infrastructure in Saipan and Tinian (BBKS 1970, 52-67).

In and after 1937, the construction of military installations gained momentum, with some undertaken directly by the Navy. The most difficult part for the Navy, however, was to secure manpower and protect military secrets. Part of the construction in Saipan and Tinian was commissioned to NKK, which was capable to meet these conditions. With the construction in full swing between 1939 and 1940, the Navy offered a high wage to attract NKK's workforce in Saipan, Tinian and Pagan to naval construction work, which posed problems for NKK's projects.¹

¹ Technical Officer, Captain of Navy, Naoyoshi Hayami, "Nan'yogunto Kinmu no Kaiso [Memoir of the service in South Seas Islands]," November, 1965, Boei-sho Boei Kenshujo Shiryo Etsuranshitsu [The National Institute for Defense Studies, Military Archives].

As NKK's projects centered in these three islands, NKK requested the Navy to prohibit the immigration of mainland workers in exchange for providing sugar factory workers to naval construction work under its supervision. NKK also offered to suspend sugar production in Rota for four years (1939-1943) to provide a workforce of about 2,000 to military construction in Saipan and Tinian, with sugarcane fields in Rota converted into crop fields during the war. NKK went so far as to suspend sugar production in Rota to cooperate in military construction, preceding the administration in labor management, which was followed later by the South Seas Government as part of its management policy. Specifically, NKK Tinian instituted "Nojo Romu-han Kitei [the Farm Labor Squad Regulations]" in July 1939 and mandated all men and women aged 16 or over (excluding immigrants and their families who lived and worked in tenant farms) to report on their labor status and mutually supervise their behavior and transfer (Imaizumi 2004, 312-320).

As they needed more and more workers, the South Seas Government, NKK and Nan'yo Takushoku Kabushikikaisha mobilized many Koreans from the Korean Peninsula to Micronesia (Imaizumi 2009).

As mentioned above, NKK was forced to cooperate with the Navy in the Northern Mariana Islands, bearing the risks of declining revenues and profits, which resulted in a new workforce management system.

Mobilization and screening of holdovers to set up logistics bases

The Navy reorganized the 4th fleet in November 1939 for the defense of the South Sea Islands and began flight training and research activities there. The 4th fleet was integrated into the allied fleet in November 1940 and stationed in the South Sea Islands in July 1941. While Japanese military was everywhere to be seen in Saipan before the outbreak of war between Japan and the US, it was not until the establishment of "Zettai Kokubo Ken [the Absolute National Defense Zone]" that many soldiers were stationed there.

With the Japanese Army defeated in Guadalcanal in February 1943, the Imperial General Headquarters made a significant retreat and secured the Absolute National Defense Zone in September to strategically confront the US forces. As a result, the South Sea Islands were divided into two zones – that is, inside and outside the Absolute National Defense Zone, which included Saipan and Tinian.

The South Seas Government implemented institutional reforms following the establishment of this Zone, with Navy men appointed for the first time as the governor of the South Seas Government and the heads of local mandate offices in November. In addition, six branch offices (Saipan, Palau, Yap, Chuuk, Phonpei, and Jaluit) under the South Seas Government were integrated into the North (former Saipan), West (former Palau and Yap) and East (former Chuuk, Phonpei and Jaluit) branch offices, with the north office having jurisdiction over the Northern Mariana Islands.²

The Army, meanwhile, relocated troops from mainland China and Southeast Asia to the South Sea Islands to shore up defense; a large number of soldiers were stationed in the Northern Mariana Islands from January to May 1944.

Residents of Saipan said to be somewhat tense from 1943, but they could not even imagine the US invasion (Kamiunten 2012). In fact, the US troops went on the offensive much faster than expected (BBKS 1967, 407-408).

On 23 February 1944, the first air raid on the Mariana Islands made the Japanese Army and civilian residents of the islands tense. Both young and old were forced to work constructing an airfield at Susupe (Shinozuka 1951, 8-10). Chamorros and Carolinian were kept under strict surveillance. Many of them could not help moving from Garapan, as mentioned in Chapter 3 (Okuyama 1967, 23). Chamorros have bitter memories about very strict attitude of the newly arrived Japanese soldiers. These soldiers undermined the relationships between Chamorros and Japanese. (Petty 2002, 27, 34; K. Camacho 2011, 53)

Evacuation to homeland to strengthen the military potential

“Nan’yogunto Sangyo Seibi Keikaku Yoko [The South Sea Islands Industrial Development Plan]” was endorsed by the Cabinet in August 1943, just a month before the establishment of the Absolute National Defense Zone. This plan focused on cooperation in securing military supplies and developing national defense resources.

Accordingly, Navy commander Boshiro Hosogaya, who was appointed as the Governor of the South Seas Government in November 1943, developed a policy for the South Sea Islands and prioritized three issues: 1) securement of armed forces for defense

²The South Seas Government, *Nan’yogunto Yoran: Showa 18-nen Ban* [Annual Handbook of the South Sea Islands: 1943 Edition], the South Seas Government: Tokyo, 1943, pp.29-30.

purposes, 2) mobilization of manpower to construct military installations, boost food production and develop resources, and 3) establishment of a self-sufficient system.

The South Sea Islands were dependent on imports from the mainland for their supply of food and everyday commodities. With the security of sea lanes jeopardized, however, the urgent priority was to secure food supply for many newly-deployed troops, building materials for military installations and manpower.

Thus, the need for “evacuation to homeland” arose (Imaizumi 2005, 4-13). “Evacuation” was supposed to ensure the safety of lives by transferring people from dangerous areas to safe ones. The South Seas Government used this expression and clearly stated that “evacuation” was intended to strengthen the defense of the South Sea Islands. Instructions were made and measures were taken accordingly, each of which is worth noting as follows (Imaizumi 2016, 143-145).

In November 1943, the South Seas Government specified people to be evacuated first: those who are too sick and weak to engage in production activities, those who cannot work, and their families. The first vessel that left Saipan arrived at the Port of Yokohama of mainland Japan on December 21, 1943. The evacuation continued until the end of 1944 and a total of 4,635 people were evacuated from the Northern Mariana Islands.

The South Seas Government also announced “Nan’yogunto Jinko Sokai Keikaku [the Evacuation Guidelines for Civilians of South Seas Islands]” in February 1944 and specified in more detail those to be evacuated: 1) The sick and weak, 2) Expectant and nursing mothers, 3) Those aged over 60 or under 14, and 4) Supporters of 1)-3). Some of the qualified individuals, however, were exempted to secure sufficient manpower. Although the South Sea Government said the evacuation was not to be compulsory, based solely on self-reporting, those who may interfere with or reduce defensive capabilities were in some cases forced to evacuate.

Such being the case, “evacuation to homeland” defined by the South Seas Government was not intended to ensure the safety of civilians; it was rather intended to compulsorily eliminate those who were not fit for workers/soldiers or considered to interfere with defensive capabilities or the strengthening of the military potential. Evacuees remember some families of the South Seas Government officials and NKK employees were the first to be evacuated. Some officials or employees were said to take vacation trips for mainland and never came back. Some of those who wished to

remain didn't want to be separated from their families or were just scared of being attacked by the US forces on their way back to the mainland. For the same reason, some families of the South Seas Government officials and NKK employees remained the island.

A total of 2,580 out of 27,341 Japanese residents were evacuated from Saipan, and 1,658 out of 14,437 from Tinian, both constituting about 10 percent of the total.³ The South Seas Government and the Army highly praised the holdovers as patriots loyal to the Japanese Army, with Saipan and Tinian occupied by the US, advertising them as heroes wishing to become the “Bulwark in the Pacific” (Imaizumi 2015b, 294-295). The real reason to remain, however, was not necessarily patriotism, as mentioned before.

While “evacuation to homeland” of Japanese civilians was not necessarily intended to ensure the safety of lives, Chamorro and Carolinian were not evacuated in the first place, which merits attention. In fact, the elderly, the sick and weak, expectant and nursing mothers and those aged over 60 or under 14 of local people were left on the islands, which resulted in a greater number of casualties from wartime requisition and ground fighting.

Enforcement of the Military Service Law

There was no draft system for Chamorros and Carolinians in the Japanese mandated Micronesia, as the League of Nations prohibited military training and education for them for mandatory defense .

The legal status of local people of Micronesia was not Japanese subjects but “Tomin [Inhabitants of the Island].” “Inhabitants of the island” was a formal expression made by Japanese government and found in the annual report for the League of Nations. They could not get the status of Japanese subjects except voluntarily through naturalization, marriage or having some other reason to take this legal procedure. There were, however, a few cases reported who got Japanese nationality. Chamorros and Carolinians thought “Tomin” was a derogatory term, as Japanese used it with a sense of discrimination in daily life.

³ [Kaigai Ijuu Kumiai Rengokai?], “Nan'yogunto Zaijumin Sokai Setshu Jimu Houkoku [Evacuation Report of Residents in the South Sea Islands]”, [n.p.] [1941?].

Men with Japanese citizenship (mainlanders)⁴ were able to postpone undergoing conscription exam by submitting applications even if eligible.

Thus, eligible male mainlanders who moved to the South Sea Islands before the enforcement of the Military Service Law on Japan's mandated Micronesia were able to postpone undergoing conscription. It is said that not a few male mainlanders, therefore, relocated to the South Sea Islands to evade conscription, which is evident from the following survey held by the South Seas Government (Imaizumi 2015a, 276).

This survey was conducted on the entire Japanese mandated Micronesia except East branch office in July 1943 for enforcement of the Military Service Law. According to the results of it, 88 percent of 5,231 individuals scheduled to undergo conscription exam in April 1944 or later were those granted a moratorium. The proportion of those who applied for postponement was highest in 1932 (the year after the Manchurian incident) and 1937 (when the Sino-Japanese war broke out). After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, quite a lot were said to have returned to their registered addresses in the mainland to undergo the conscription exam. Many of them were granted a moratorium, the distribution of which is proportional to the number of Japanese residents 1,800 in Saipan, 1,334 in Palau islands and 1,033 in Tinian.⁵

Males of mainland Japanese in the South Sea Islands did not form military forces. Instead, a veteran's association was organized through the islands and energetically engaged in activities. This association, initiated by the military, included "Yobieki [the reserves]" and "Kobieki [the second reserves]" and was organized nationwide.⁶ In November 1935, the South Seas Branch of the Association of Reservist of Japan was formally organized at Koror in Palau Islands. This association intended to lift the spirit of citizens, provide military education and restore local order and, during wartime, solicit donation for national defense and roll out resource-saving campaigns all intended to unify the residents as Japanese nationals. Carolinians and Chamorros took part in these campaigns as members of their group of Kogakko [public school] or Seinendan [youngmen's association](Imaizumi 2015a, 277-279).

⁴ Japanese government decided enforcement of the Military Service Law on Korea and Taiwan in 1943.

⁵ "Nan'yocho Kannseichu wo Kaiseisu [The amendment of ordinance of the South Seas Government Bureaucratic System]", No.85 Imperial Edict, 19th February, 1944, in "Kobun Ruishu 68-hen, 1944, Vol.32, Kanshoku-mon, Kansei 32, the South Seas Government," National Archives of Japan at Tokyo.

⁶ Japanese local veteran's associations organized in various regions in Japan were merged into the Association of Reservist of Japan in 1910. In 1936, Imperial Edict admitted the association under the control of Department of the Navy and Department of the Army.

During wartime, meanwhile, Kokumin Seisin Sodoin Undo [the National Spiritual Mobilization Movement] started in 1937 under the First Konoe Cabinet was rolled out to wind up, who seemed to have less tension than those in the mainland. It should be noted that the head of the Saipan branch of the South Seas Government and NKK executives were appointed as advisers of the veteran's association of Saipan to cooperate with the administration and companies. This cooperation played an important role for wartime mobilization.

In October 1940, Taisei Yokusankai [the Imperial Rule Assistance Association], a government-led organization to unify the Japanese nationals, was established. One year later, in December 1941, Nan'yogunto Taisei Yokusankai [the Imperial Rule Assistance Association of South Seas Islands] was inaugurated to control each administrative district and residential area shifted into high gear. Civilians in the South Sea Islands, however, seemed to lack a sense of tension even during wartime, according to the authorities and the members of the local Japanese veteran's association. This can be explained by what is described in Chapter 1. Specifically, not a few migrant workers, who came to the South Seas Islands in the late 1930s to earn high wages as day laborers, were reluctant to participate in the labor force for the military or government. They changed jobs for higher pay, or tried earning money as quickly as possible to go back home. In addition, many of them did not participate in the activities of the veteran's association. These factors made it difficult for NKK to manage the workforce.

In September 1943, it was decided that the Military Service Law would apply to men living in the South Sea Islands with registered addresses in the mainland, when the Absolute National Defense Zone was established. The law, however, was enforced exclusively by the South Seas Government branch offices of North (including the Northern Mariana Islands) and West.

Carolinians and Chamorros were not conscripted. But public school students and young men's association members were forced to participate in events hosted by the veteran's association as mentioned above. Following the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, some local people requested that they be granted Japanese citizenship or conscripted for military service. Jose Pangelinan, a Saipan Chamorro for example, submitted a petition to the then foreign minister, representing Chamorro volunteers dated September 11, 1938 (Imaizumi 1992b, 128-129; K. Camacho 2011, 33-34) (Figure1).

Their intent was to “commit themselves to maritime lifeline protection as the Emperor’s children and become naturalized Japanese citizens.”⁷ Likewise, the other Chamorros of Saipan and Rota allegedly submitted petitions to the South Seas Government and the Army Ministry for conscription for military service when the Sino-Japanese War broke out. The authorities welcomed such moves, attributing them to Japanese education, which was widely advertised. Some Japanese in South Sea Islands, however, criticized it, saying that local people cannot be fully educated; it only makes them behave impertinently (Imaizumi 2015a, 279-280).

There are not many records of such petitions submitted by Chamorros. Given the societal hierarchy in the South Sea Islands -Japanese as first-class citizens, Okinawans and Koreans as second-class citizens and “Tomin” as third-class citizens - Chamorros’ petitions might have been intended to achieve the same rights as the Japanese. It should thus be analyzed carefully from perspectives other than the manifestation of patriotism attributable to Japanization. The Japanese Army exploited youngsters who graduated from public schools and joined youth organizations to invade areas outside the South Sea Islands. For example, “Giyu Gun [the voluntary Army]” in the Palau Islands (Higuchi 1986) and “Ponape Kessi Tai [the Ponapean Death Band]” consisting of young men from Pohnpei, Yap and the Chuuk Islands (Poyer 2001, 69-72) were involved in Japanese Army intelligence and fighting; many of them lost their lives. In Northern Mariana Islands, the Japanese Army also exploited Chamorros mobilized in Saipan and Rota and had them involved in intelligence and bloodshed among the natives when invading Guam (Petty 2002, 26; K. Camacho 2011, 49). These should be regarded as Japan’s colonial and war responsibilities as mentioned in Conclusion.

Requisition of NKK by the Japanese Army – the Yano-Obara Agreement

Many of the people who lived in Saipan testify that there had never been any sense of wartime urgency until around the beginning of 1943. However, the mobilization of civilians, including students of public and elementary schools, began to construct infrastructure such as airports. At the beginning of 1944, Army soldiers increased rapidly and private houses as well as public facilities were impressed by the Army. Restricted areas also increased in the island for security protection purposes, with all intruders considered as spies. “Tatemono Sokai [Building evacuation]” was implemented in Garapan, where buildings were torn down to set up fire protection

⁷ “Showa 13-nen Kokusai Renmei Inintochi Mondai Ikken,” Dai 10-kan [Document related to the League of Nations in 1938, Vol.10], Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan.

zones and prevent spreading of fire unleashed by air raids. Chamorros' houses were also torn down, which displaced them (L. Camacho 2000).

Local people were kept under close watch. Catholic Chamorros, in particular, were severely restricted from attending Mass at churches and contacting missionaries as they were closely related to Spanish missionaries (Driver, 1994). In the meantime, US submarine attacks gained momentum in waters around the South Sea Islands, which made local residents tense and anxious. On 23 February 1944, the first air raid took place on the Northern Mariana Islands, which was something totally unexpected for the Japanese Army. As a result, the construction of defense facilities progressed rapidly and more citizens were mobilized.

In April 1944, Headquarters of the Central Pacific Area Fleet impressed all functions and resources of NKK in Saipan, Tinian and Rota for a decisive battle against the US. This is known as the Yano-Obara Agreement, which was made between Rear Admiral Hideo Yano (chief of staff at the headquarters) and Junichi Obara (director and representative of NKK Saipan office). Specifically, NKK offered its farmland, transportation services, buildings, facilities, medical institutions, employees and farmers to the Japanese Army. On the other hand, the Japanese Army exploited NKK's entire personnel/farmland organizations and labor management system, and supervised, managed and gave orders to the members of those organizations while compensating NKK for the loss caused by the discontinuation of business to help them stay afloat (Imaizumi 2015a, 284).

Most of NKK's cultivable land in Saipan and Tinian leased from the South Seas Government before the outbreak of the war, with Kosaku Nojo (tenant farms cultivated by tenant farmers) and Chokuei Nojo (farms under NKK's direct management) to cultivate sugarcane. A 5-6 ha plot was allocated to each tenant farmer's family (some famers were allocated 1.5 ha plot); a group of farmers made a Han [group] and several Han [groups] jointly managed a farm. Farmers at farms under NKK's direct management, meanwhile, were not allocated with a specific area of land. In both cases, on tenant farms and NKK's directly - managed farm supervisors were in place to systematically plant, cultivate and harvest sugarcane (Imaizumi 1992a, 154-156; 1997, 69-72) (Figure 2, Figure 3).

On the farmers of each group formed a community and cooperated with each other. Each farm was an administrative district of the South Seas Government. During wartime, such as Tonarigumi [neighborhood association] system, youngmen's

association and Keibo Dan [civil defense unit] established within each farm or group. As mentioned in Chapter 1, NKK kept track of the employment status and transfer of farm workers other than tenant farmers living in farms. While the Yano-Obara Agreement is rated highly for its contribution to organizing a kind of new military “Unit NKK” under a director and representative of NKK Saipan office,⁸ this achievement can be explained in the context of NKK’s agricultural organizations and labor management (Imaizumi 2015, 284).

Conclusion

Like in the case of other South Sea Islands under Japanese administration, setting up logistics bases in Saipan and Tinian in the closing days of World War II was intended to secure armed forces and mobilize labor force, though it had a unique characteristic i.e., Both Saipan and Tinian developed as “company island” of NKK’s plantation and sugar industry. Specifically, most cultivable land in these two islands (as part of NKK’s farmland) was jointly and systematically managed by NKK and the South Seas Government.

This paper examines how a wartime regime was established in Saipan and Tinian in 1937 (when the Sino-Japanese War broke out), 1941 (when war between Japan and the US broke out) and 1943 (when the Absolute National Defense Zone was established), and points out three facts: 1) NKK began to cooperate with the Japanese Army from the latter half of the 1930s despite potential risks of its business, while constructing military installations and implementing a unique labor management. 2) “evacuation to homeland” and the Military Service Law were implemented almost simultaneously as part of the strategy to set up logistics bases (i.e., screening and securement of healthy workers for homeland evacuation of Japanese citizens), and securement of individuals waiting to be drafted and those eligible for drafting in preparation for local drafting, with the Military Service Law enforced, and 3) the organization of a kind of new military “Unit NKK” in accordance with the Yano-Obara Agreement (1944) based on the aforementioned two facts. The organized mobilization, however, did not involve organized evacuation.

⁸ Koseisho Hikiageengokyoku Gyomu Dai-ni Ka [The Second Record Division of Repatriation Support Bureau, the Ministry of Health and Welfare], “Saipan-to Tenian-to Ippan Zairyu Hojin no Sento Kyoryoku narabi ni Sento Sanka Nisshi Yoroku” [The Digest Record of Cooperation and Participation of Civil Japanese Residents in Saipan and Tinian], “June 1955, Boei-sho Boei Kenshujo Shiryo Etsuranshitsu” [The National Institute for Defense Studies, Military Archives].

On 30 September 1944, shortly after the fall of Saipan and Tinian, the Japanese government announced an “agreement” that it would compensate the bereaved families and the Japanese living in the South Sea Islands by “generally” designating “general Japanese people” (excluding preschool children) who sacrificed their lives for the Japanese Army/Navy as “Gunzoku [civilian employees for the military].” This was intended to calm public unrest and boost morale for the war (Imaizumi 2015b, 295-296).⁹

In the meantime, local people who didn’t have Japanese citizenship had no other option but to stay in the islands. Worse yet, they were mobilized for military and labor services, deprived of their properties and excluded from the agreement. The sacrifice made by civilians, including Koreans and Taiwanese, before the war has yet to be disclosed while the compensation has not been completed yet. An even more serious problem is that Japanese archival records did not shed light on the mobilization of local people and the sacrifice they made. The responsibility of the Japanese government, which is stipulated in the “the Agreement between Japan and the United States of America Concerning the Trust Territory of Pacific Islands (Micronesia Agreement)” (1969), should be continuously discussed by the Japanese (Higuchi 1995) and, as this paper points out, the sacrifice made by the Micronesian people during the war should be considered in light of the colonial responsibility,¹⁰ which dates back to pre-war times.

Figures on following page.

⁹ Rikugun Jikan, Kaigun Jikan, Daitoasho Jikan, Siho Jikan ni yoru Mosiawase [Agreement among Deputy Minister of the Army, Deputy Minister of the Navy, Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Greater East Asia and Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Justice], “Nan’yogunto no zaijumin no toriatsukai ni kansuru ken [The Treatment of residence of the South Seas Islands],” 30th September, 1944.

¹⁰ “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 (Nagahara 2009).

Figures

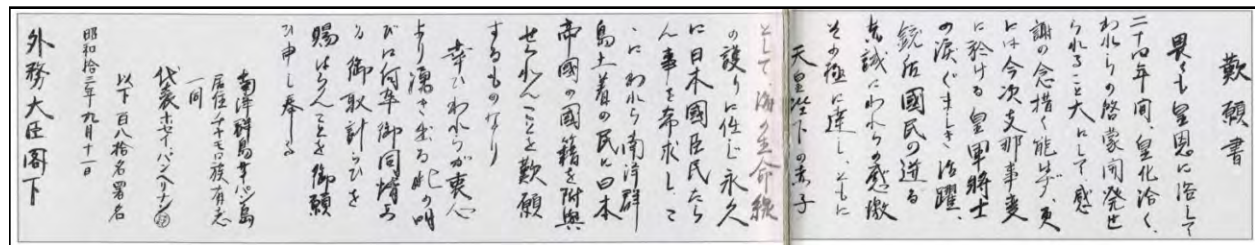


Figure 1. Petition for Japanese nationality by Jose Pangelinan representing 180 Chamorros in Saipan dated 12th September, 1937 (Imaizumi 1992b).

Figure 1. Left detail.

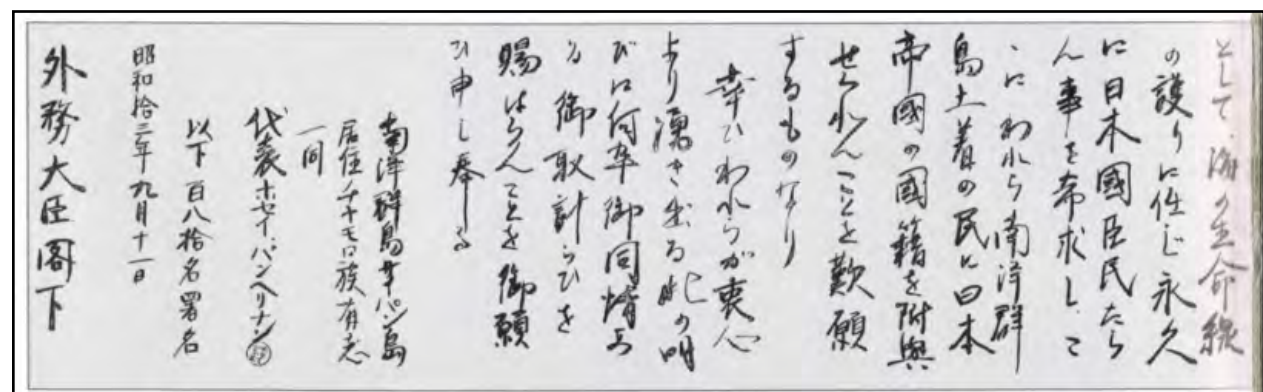


Figure 1. Right detail.

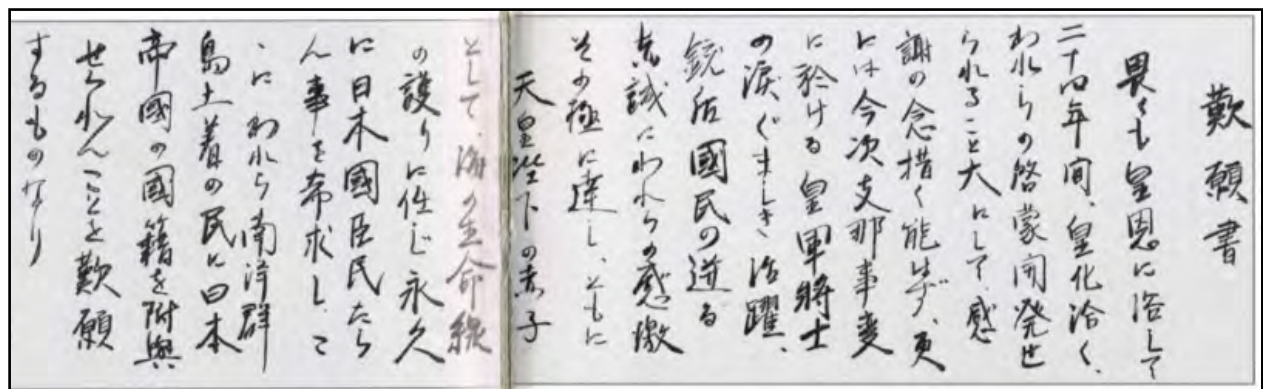
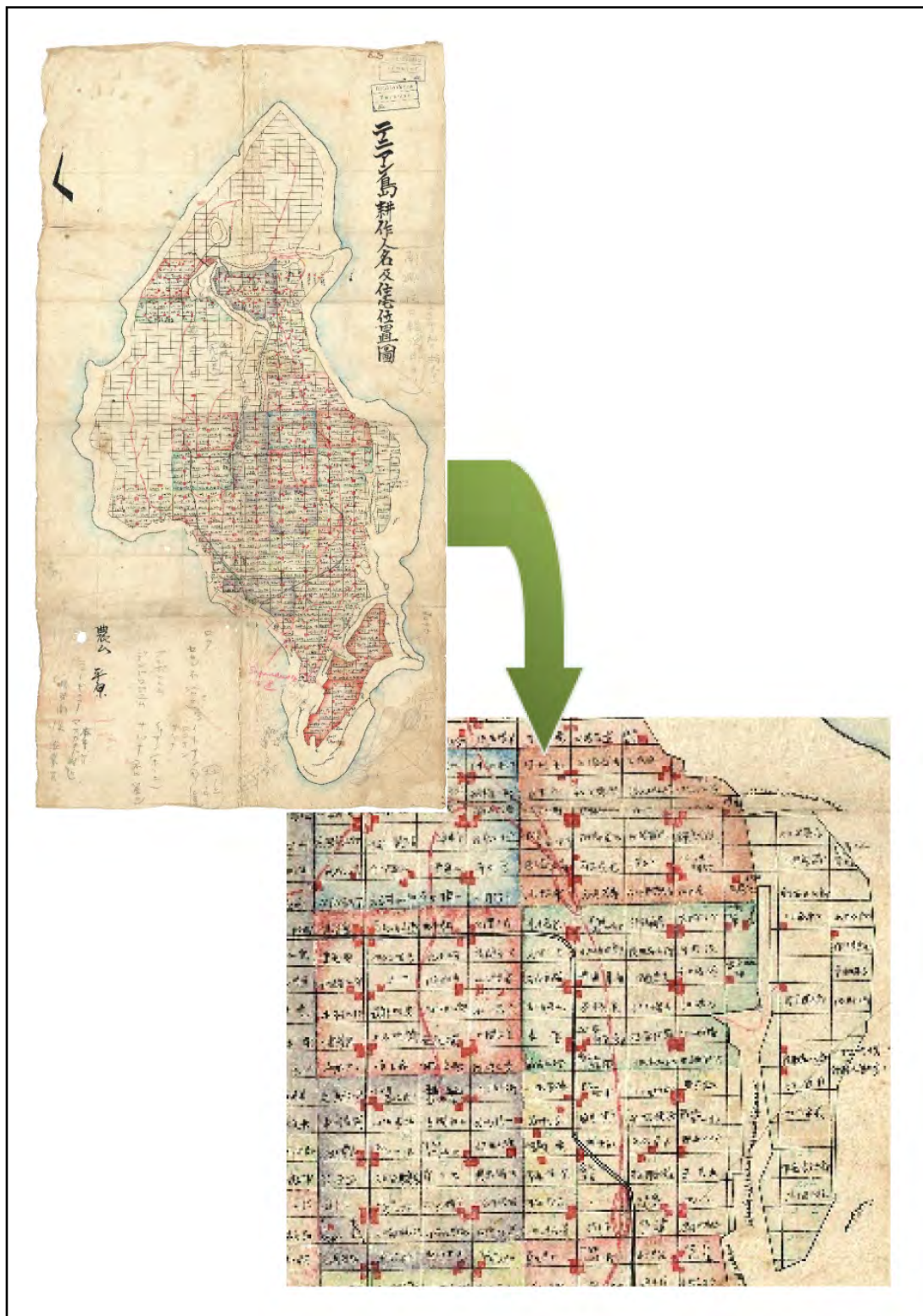




Figure 2¹¹. Agingan, Farm No.1 of NKK in Saipan (n.d.). One plot with serial number is allocated to one tenant farmer with family:

¹¹ The whole map of Saipan is made by Yumiko Imaizumi based on some NKK's farm maps (n.d.) of TTPI Archives in University of Hawaii at Manoa Library with the cooperation of Mr. Kei Saito, graduate student of Hosei University.



Farm No.2 of NKK in Tinian. Name of a tenant farmer is written in each plot. Some plots having the same color makes a Han [group]. Farm No.2 had 10 Han. Small red square indicates the site of farmer's house. Map was drawn by some staffs of NKK dated September 19th, 1937 (Yumiko Imaizumi Collection).

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Military Actions regarding Rota in World War II

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Abstract: *While not invaded by the forces of the United States in the summer of 1944, the fourth largest of the Mariana Islands was not ignored by the opposing forces of the Japanese Empire and the United States. Air, sea, and submarine efforts impacted Rota. On the island the Japanese forces adjusted their defensive strategy to reflect the realities of the failure to previously stop the invaders on the beaches of the three invaded Mariana Islands. Previously, Rota was utilized for the invasion of Guam in December 1941. An examination of archival documents, published books, oral histories, and cultural resource surveys results in this contrasting wartime experience on one of the southern Mariana Islands.*

Introduction

World War II on Rota brought events to the island not of the indigenous inhabitants making, but rather created by powers fighting over the islands. While all suffered, the indigenous people of Rota bore the brunt of the suffering.

Rota, the fourth largest of the Mariana Islands is generally overlooked in the review of World War II in the Mariana Islands, while the opposing forces, Japan and the United States, did not ignore the island. Air, sea, and submarine efforts impacted Rota while on the island Japanese forces adjusted their defensive strategy to reflect the realities of the failure to previously stop the invaders on the beaches of three other Mariana Islands.

In the 1930s, the Japanese changed the character of the island with clearing of the vast plateaus for sugar cane cultivation requiring an influx of alien workers that outnumbered the indigenous inhabitants of the island culminating in the deportation of the Chamorros from the village of Songsong to the coastal location of Tatacho with the intent of transforming the island into a Japanese community.

On 7 December, the Japanese fishing vessels, Heiun Maru and Dai San Honde Maru left Rota to land ten Chamorros on Guam in an attempt to persuade the Chamorros on the American possession to cooperate with the Japanese that landed on Guam in the early morning hours of the next day. Also, at Rota was a detachment of the Special Naval Landing Forces under the command of Commander Hirushi Hayashi numbering four hundred on board the Shoei Maru and several landing barges for the invasion of Guam that departed thereafter intending to land the naval troops at Tumon Bay on December 10.

US Navy submarines began to patrol the offshore waters of the Mariana Islands in 1942 and to occasionally inspect the anchorages at Rota in a Pacific Ocean wide war of attrition to sink Japanese ships. On 1 August 1942, US Navy submarine Pickerel closed onto an anchored merchant ship in Sasanjaya Bay, Rota, to fire torpedoes to possibly damage the ship, the first submarine attack on a Japanese ship in the waters of the Mariana Islands during the war.

The next year on 27 June, the submarine Tunny patrolled the Truk-Empire route east of Rota followed by the submarine heading west to approach Rota on 28 June. After maneuvering submerged to avoid being entrapped by fishing nets from several vessels, the submarine sighted a freighter at 12:30 pm just three and one-half miles west of Rota. Tunny's crew quickly went to battle stations at 12:47 pm, fired three torpedoes set at a depth of twelve feet, and then watched the target disintegrate as two torpedoes slammed into Shotoku Maru, within a half mile of the southern tip of Taipingot Peninsula of Rota. Periscope pictures from Tunny captured the sinking of the Japanese ship, a 1,964-ton gunboat, formerly a steamer constructed in 1938 and acquired by the Japanese Navy in 1941. That day, the survivors and casualties from the Shotoku Maru were brought ashore at the dock on Sasanlagu Harbor, adjacent to the sugar mill at Songsong Village, Rota. The island's residents lined the road and silently bowed as the wounded and dead were taken to the nearby hillside hospital.

Japanese anti-submarine warfare ships began to be deployed in the Mariana Islands including being positioned at Rota. These included Cha 54 and Cha 56, auxiliary submarine chasers of 135 tons, eighty-five feet long, a single diesel engine capable of eleven knots, mounting one 7.7 centimeter gun, and carrying twenty-two depth charges at Rota, along with the minelayer Fumi Maru No. 2, previously a 304-ton whale catcher converted in 1941.

On the night of 16-17 September 1943, the Japanese minelayer Fumi Maru No. 2 was sighted by the US Navy submarine Gudgeon in the Rota Channel, between Guam and Rota. At 5:35 am, the enemy warship was sighted only fifteen thousand yards away. The submarine headed toward the enemy warship on all four diesel engines, which were capable of pushing the boat at twenty knots, with the intent to open fire on the enemy with Gudgeon's five-inch deck gun. When the range had closed to six thousand yards at 6:36 am, and as dawn brightened the sky to the east, Fumi Maru No. 2 challenged the rapidly approaching Gudgeon by flashing "AA" by searchlight. The submarine quickly answered the challenge with a round fired from the deck gun.

The Japanese warship maintained a steady closing course toward the submarine as Fumi Maru No. 2 responded hastily with fire from a forward gun, probably a one-pounder, along with machine-gun fire that soon bounced off the armor of the submarine's conning tower. Gudgeon maintained steady fire from the five-inch gun even though the initial round fired had displaced the alignment of the gun's bore sight, requiring the submarine to aim based upon the fall of the previous round. Closing to four thousand yards of the enemy, Gudgeon scored two hits on the Japanese minelayer, one forward at the waterline and the second hit aft of the stack, resulting in flames and smoke spewing from Fumi Maru No. 2. At 6:50 am, the appearance of a second enemy warship coming over the horizon toward the surface gunnery action was sighted by Gudgeon. Having expended eighty-five rounds of high capacity and common ammunition five-inch shells and with an enemy aircraft sighted at 7:04 am, Gudgeon submerged, after a last glimpse at the listing and smoking enemy warship, and departed while listening over the sonar to increasingly faint distant explosions from the scene of the action. Fumi Maru No. 2 was damaged, but survived the encounter.

Also in 1943 on Rota the Japanese began the construction of military facilities and fortifications. This included the construction of the airfield at Sinapalu, beach fortifications, and gun emplacements. Tunnels were also constructions as shelters. This construction continued and intensified into 1944 especially constructing fortifications along the northern shore between Tatacho and Tatgua. Three twelve-centimeter guns, five mobile seventy-five-millimeter mountain guns, thirty-four twenty-five-millimeter anti-aircraft guns, and seventy-four machine guns comprised the artillery that had arrived on Rota.

By June 1944 the Japanese Army forces on Rota were commanded Captain, later Major, Shigeo Iwagawa and consisted of the following forces and assigned locations

numbering 2,655: Northern coastline: 2d Battalion, 1st Infantry Regiment, 29th Division, As Manila at Sabana: 1st battalion, 10th Independent Mixed Brigade, A battery of the 3d Battalion, 11th Mountain Artillery, and 3d Company, 1st Engineer Regiment.

The Japanese Navy was represented by the 54th Keibitai, construction troops, and the 265th Kokutai with Mitsubishi A6M2 Zero fighters, later commanded by Lieutenant Commander Zenjo Abe, a participant in the 7 December 1941 Pearl Harbor attack, who landed his damaged Yokosuka D4Y (Judy) Suisei dive bomber from the aircraft carrier Junyo on the island during the Battle of the Philippine Sea on 19 July 1944.

American aircraft made an initial presence over Rota on 23 February 1944 with the arrival of the US Navy's fast attack carrier Task Groups 58.2 and 58.3 to attack the Southern Mariana Islands. During this attack, limited to one day, aerial photographs were taken of Rota revealing the on-going construction of the air field at Sinapalu.

Three months later on 22 May 1944 a US Navy photographic reconnaissance flight of four PB4Y-1s, specially modified Liberators for photo reconnaissance, of VD-4, Navy (Photo Reconnaissance Squadron Four), escorted by nine B-24s, Liberators of the Army Air Force's 24th Bomb Squadron. Flying from Eniwetok swept over the island with the aircraft approached from the northeast and headed southwest to cover the island in four parallel routes to acquire intelligence photographs of the airfield, adjacent anti-aircraft batteries, and guns installed at headlands and along the two bays at Songsong.

Infrequent war events and news of distant events quickly changed on 11 June 1944 with the appearance of US Navy Task Force 58 in the waters of the Mariana Islands which brought an aerial onslaught to the island. This arrival of the US Navy aircraft carriers brought almost daily missions to Rota to attack usually military facilities on the island and especially to deny the use of the airfield on the island to the Japanese. This mission was taken over by other sea and land based air units of the United States as events moved along with the invasions of three nearby islands.

Of interest is the demise of the Shoun Maru, caught in Sasanjaya Bay in June of 1944. Spotted initially on 11 June and strafed by F6F-6 Hellcats of VF-50 from escort carrier Bataan, the attack resulted in small fires aboard the ship. Later on 21 June a torpedo launched from an Avenger, TBF, of VC-4, flying from escort carrier White Plains sunk the Japanese freighter in the bay that remains today.

Surface warships of the US Navy bombarded Rota starting on the morning of 27 June 1944 with the bombardment of Rota's sugar mill and facilities in the vicinity of Sasanjaya Bay by light cruiser Miami along with eight destroyers and recorded the destruction of forty-six buildings, the sugar mill, a radar installation, and three vessels. The next month, battleship New Mexico and cruisers Wichita and Minneapolis along with five destroyers bombarded the airfield during the night of 25-26 July. Early the next year on 15 and 16 January 1946 the destroyer Swanson conducted a shore bombardment of Rota.

With the arrival of Marine Air Group 21 on Guam assigned to Orote Air Field, one of the primary assignments of the squadrons, VMF-216, VMF, 217, and VMF-225, flying the gull winged F4U-1 Corsair, was the intermittent attacks on Rota bombing and strafing, along with attacking Pagan further north, starting on 22 August 1944 which was just a one hour flight round trip. Many attacks were against military targets, primarily at the Sinapalu airfield and the village of Songsong, such as the airfield, gun positions, barracks, a radio station, the phosphate plant, and the village, carts, and the railroad while some just attacked farm buildings and the vegetable gardens with tanks of aviation gasoline to be ignited with incendiary bullets.

Three Marine pilots were lost to the anti-aircraft fire in these attacks over Rota. The first, 1st Lieut. J. M. Nearhood, Jr. of VMF-225 was shot down on 8 October 1944 and crashed at sea north of the island. Attempts were made to search and rescue him, but he had vanished.

One Marine pilot, 1st Lieut. J.C. Butler of VMF-225, while dive bombing the phosphate plant immediately east of Songsong village on 13 November 1944 hit the cables of the cable way leading from the Sabanna phosphate mine down the cliff to the plant on the shore of Sasanjaya Bay. His Corsair crashed near the defense guns at Gagani where he died in the crash.

On 25 November 1944 1st Lieut. William J. Gill's, of VMF-225, was lost on a mission to Rota. His parachute was sighted on the island and mirror light flashes were also seen on Rota. Air drops of supplies were made and an attempt to rescue by an off-shore boat was futile on 3 December. After the war the Japanese stated that he had died of wounds the day he landed on Rota.

When the strategic bombers of the US Army Air Force Twentieth Air Force, the B-29 Superfortresses, arrived in the Mariana Islands toward the end of 1944, Rota became a

target for indiscriminate bombing of the island with practice bombing missions and unleashing unused bombs on the return from missions over Japan. In July 1945 the 509th Composite Group flew practice missions from North Field on Tinian to Rota and other nearby islands to drop 500- and 1000-pound bombs to practice radar and visual bombing procedures for forthcoming atomic bomb missions to Japan.

As the nearby islands were now controlled by the United States, considerable sea and air traffic passed usually uneventfully near Rota. At least misadventure occurred. US Navy subchaser SC-758, while on normal patrol between Guam and Saipan, lost power on 17 March 1945 and the current began to carry the wooden ship toward Sasanjaya Bay. The ship's crew began to view the large menacing 14 cm guns at Gagani that was clearly superior to the subchaser's sole 40-mm gun. Fortunately, the ship's crew was able to signal the destroyer escort Osmus and eventually a Navy tug appeared to tow SC-758 away from Rota to Apra Harbor, Guam.

With the loss of the three key southern Mariana Islands in the summer of 1944 by Japan, the Japanese adopted a change in island defense strategy from defeating the enemy invasions on the beaches to a defense in depth, based upon an assumption that the resultant massive loss of American lives would result in the United States negotiating an end to the conflict. This change in strategy resulted in the last year of the war for the Japanese on Rota to construct extensive interior defensive fortifications at Ginalangan and Chudang Palii along escarpments on the eastern slopes of Sabanna.

The Ginalangan fortifications extend for 313 meters and contain at least 100 features with caves, tunnels, pillboxes, stairs, and walls. The walls are concrete. No guns are currently present. The Chudang Palii fortifications are 1,400 meters long and have 130 features with interconnecting caves, tunnels, walls, walkways, and guns located along the limestone bluff primarily comprised of dry-laid limestone rock walls and include 25-mm and 120-mm guns. These fortifications were constructed by forced labor of Chamorros, Koreans, and Okinawans. Ginalangan and Chudang Palii are the best preserved Japanese fortifications in the Mariana Islands.

With the verification of Japan's surrender, Major Shigeo Iwagawa, Japanese Army, and Lt. Commander Zenjo Abe boarded the US Navy destroyer escort Heyliger on 2 September 1945 to surrender to island to Colonel H.N. Stent, USMC. On the island were 2,651 Japanese Army troops and 14 Japanese Navy personnel with 1,019 Japanese, 3,572 Okinawans, 181 Koreans, and 790 Chamorros. The Japanese military

personnel were removed to Guam on 4 September by US Navy LCTs and placed in a prisoner of war camp prior to being repatriated later to Japan.


The same day, the US military government went ashore that consisted of three Naval officers, seven Navy enlisted personnel, ten enlisted Marines, and fifteen Guamanian policemen of the Local Security Patrol Force. The US occupation force by October was reduced to three officers and thirty enlisted personnel along with 150 Marines and 300 Seabees whose primary function was to repair of the Rota airfield which became useable by the end of November 1945.

The Japanese surrender and American occupation also revealed the conditions that the people of Rota had to endure from June 1944 to September 1945. That isolation of Rota brought hardships to the inhabitants of Rota for the last year of the war. People had quickly sought shelter in caves and the jungle. Those fishing were in serious danger of being attacked from the air. Subsistence from gardens and the jungle was inadequate so that malnutrition became prevalent. There was a sudden increase in infant mortality and several Chamorros were killed in the bombings. The Japanese became suspicious of the Chamorros yielding to deaths and rumors of their impending demise at the hands of the Japanese. The end of the war brought an end to a living nightmare on Rota.

Presentation slides begin on the following page.

Presentation Slides

US Department of the Interior
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE




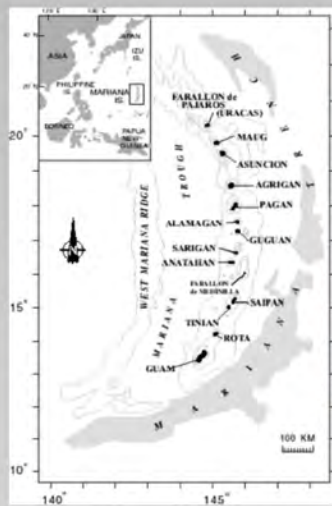
Military Actions regarding Rota in World War II

An Island in Darkness

Dave Lotz
Third Marianas History Conference, Saipan,
September 1, 2017

World War II on Rota brought events to the island not of the indigenous inhabitants making, but rather created by powers fighting over the islands. While all suffered, the indigenous people of Rota bore the brunt of the suffering.





Rota or Luta

Rota, the fourth largest of the Mariana Islands is generally overlooked in the review of World War II in the Mariana Islands, while the opposing forces, Japan and the United States did not ignore the island. Air, sea, and submarine efforts impacted Rota. On the island, Japanese forces adjusted their defensive strategy to reflect the realities of the failure to previously stop the invaders on the beaches of the other Mariana Islands.



In the 1930s, the Japanese changed the character of the island with clearing of the vast plateaus for sugar cane cultivation requiring an influx of alien workers that outnumbered the indigenous inhabitants of the island culminating in the deportation of the Chamorros from the village of Songsong to the coastal location of Tatacho with the intent of transforming the island into a Japanese community.

Hostilities Commence



On December 7, the Japanese fishing vessels, *Heiun Maru* and *Dai San Honde Maru* left Rota to land ten Chamorros on Guam to persuade the Chamorros on the island to cooperate with the Japanese. They landed on Guam the next day.

At Rota, a detachment of Special Naval Landing Forces under the command of Commander Hirushi Hayashi numbering four hundred on board *Shoei Maru* and several landing barges for the invasion of Guam departed to land the naval troops at Tumon Bay on December 10.

Naval Actions

U.S. Navy submarines began to patrol the offshore waters of the Mariana Islands in 1942 and to occasionally inspect the anchorages at Rota in a Pacific Ocean wide war of attrition to sink Japanese ships.

On 1 August 1942, U.S. Navy submarine *Pickrel* closed onto an anchored merchant ship in Sasanjaya Bay, Rota, to fire torpedoes to possibly damage the ship.

On 27 June 1943, the U.S. submarine *Tunny* approach Rota on 28 June.



After maneuvering submerged to avoid being entrapped by fishing nets, *Tunny* sighted a freighter at 12:30 p.m. just three and one-half miles west of Rota.



***Tunny* 's crew quickly went to battle stations at 12:47 p.m. *Tunny* fired three torpedoes set at a depth of twelve feet, to watch the target disintegrate as two torpedoes slammed into *Shotoku Maru*, a half mile from the southern tip of Rota's Taipingot Peninsula .**



Periscope pictures from *Tunny* captures the sinking of the Japanese ship, a 1,964-ton gunboat, formerly a steamer constructed in 1938 and acquired by the Japanese Navy in 1941.





Japanese anti-submarine warfare ships began to be deployed to the Mariana Islands being positioned at Rota including *Cha 54* and *Cha 56*, auxiliary submarine chasers, former whale boats mounting one 7.7 centimeter gun and carrying twenty-two depth charges along with the minelayer *Fumi Maru No. 2*, previously a whale catcher converted in 1941.

On the night of 16-17 September 1943, *Fumi Maru No. 2* was sighted by the submarine *Gudgeon* in the Rota Channel. At 6:36 a.m., *Fumi Maru No. 2* challenged the *Gudgeon* by searchlight. *Gudgeon* answered with a round fired from the deck gun. *Fumi Maru No. 2* responded with gun fire. *Gudgeon* maintained steady fire from the five-inch gun to score two hits on the minelayer, resulting in flames and smoke spewing from *Fumi Maru No. 2*. At 6:50, the appearance of a second enemy warship resulted in *Gudgeon* submerging. *Fumi Maru No. 2* was damaged, but survived.



Japanese Military Construction



**3 twelve-centimeter guns,
5 mobile seventy-five-millimeter
mountain guns,
34 twenty-five-millimeter
anti-aircraft guns
74 machine guns**

In 1943 the Japanese began military construction of the airfield at Sinapalu, beach fortifications, and gun emplacements. Tunnels were also constructed as shelters. This continued and intensified through 1944 with fortifications along the northern shore between Tatacho and Tatgua.

Japanese Rota Order of Battle

By June 1944 the Japanese Army forces on Rota were commanded by Captain, later Major, Akira Tokunaga and consisted of the following forces and assigned locations numbering 2,655 personnel:

**Northern coastline: 2d Battalion, 1st Infantry Regiment, 29th Division,
As Manila at Sabana: 1st Battalion, 10th Independent Mixed Brigade,
A battery of the 3d Battalion, 11th Mountain Artillery, and
3d Company, 1st Engineer Regiment in reserve.**

The Japanese Navy was represented by the 54th Keibitai, construction troops, and the 265th Kokutai with Mitsubishi A6M2 Zero fighters, later commanded by Lieutenant Commander Zenjo Abe.



On 23 February 1944, U.S. Navy Task Groups 58.2 and 58.3 appeared to attack the Southern Mariana Islands. During this attack, aerial photographs were taken of Rota revealing the construction of the Sinapalu airfield.

US Navy Aerial Reconnaissance



On 22 May 1944 a flight of four Navy PB4Y-1s, specially modified Liberators for photo reconnaissance, Photo Reconnaissance Squadron Four, escorted by nine B-24s, Liberators of the Army Air Force's 24th Bomb Squadron appeared. Flying from Eniwetok the aircraft swept across the island from the northeast to the southwest to cover the island in four parallel routes to obtain intelligence photographs of the island.

11 June 1944 brought the U.S. Navy to the Mariana Islands for the invasion of three nearby islands



The aircraft carriers of Task Force 58 brought continued, almost daily, missions to Rota to attack usually military facilities and especially to deny the use of the airfield to the Japanese. This mission was later assumed by other sea and land based air units of the United States as events moved forward with the invasions of three nearby islands.



On 21 June an Avenger, TBF, of Composite Squadron 4 flying from the escort carrier *White Plains*, launched a torpedo to strike and sink the Japanese freighter *Shoun Maru* in Sasanjaya Bay.

U.S. Navy surface ships bombard Rota



On 27 June 1944 the bombardment of Rota's sugar mill and facilities in the vicinity of Sasanjaya Bay by light cruiser *Miami* and eight destroyers destroyed forty-six buildings, the sugar mill, a radar installation, and three vessels.

On 25-26 July, the battleship *New Mexico*, cruisers *Wichita* and *Minneapolis* and five destroyers bombarded the airfield.

On 15 and 16 January 1945 the destroyer *Swanson* conducted a shore bombardment of Rota.



Marine Air Group 21 at Orote Field Guam

With the arrival of Marine Air Group 21 on Guam and assigned to the Orote Air Field, one of the primary assignments of the squadrons, VMF-216, VMF, 217, and VMF-225, flying the gull winged F4U-1 Corsair was intermittent attacks on Rota. The Corsairs bombed and strafed, along with attacking Pagan further north, starting on 22 August 1944. A mission to Rota was just a one hour round trip flight.



Many attacks were against military targets, primarily of Sinapalu airfield and Songsong, including gun positions, barracks, a radio station, the phosphate plant, carts, and the railroad while some just attacked farm buildings and even vegetable gardens with tanks of aviation gasoline ignited with incendiary bullets.

Three Marine Corps fliers lost



1st Lieut. J. M. Nearhood, Jr. of VMF-225, was shot down on 8 October 1944 and lost at sea north of the island.

1st Lieut. J. C. Butler of VMF-225, while dive bombing the phosphate plant on 13 November 1944 hit the cables of the cable way leading from the Sabanna mine down the cliff to the plant on the shore of Sasanjaya Bay. His Corsair crashed near the defense guns at Gagani.

1st Lieut. William J. Gill's parachute, of VMF-225, on 25 November 1944 was spotted on the island. After the war the Japanese stated that he had died of wounds the day he landed.

Indiscriminate Bombing of the Island



With B-29 Superfortresses arriving in the Mariana Islands at the end of 1944, Rota became a target for occasional practice bombing missions and unused bombs on the return from missions over Japan.

In July 1945 the 509th Composite Groups flew practice missions from North Field on Tinian to Rota and other nearby islands to drop 500 and 1000-pound bombs to perfect radar and visual bombing procedures for forthcoming atomic bomb missions to Japan.

The misadventure of SC-758



On 17 March 1945 the subchaser SC-758, on normal patrol between Guam and Saipan lost power and the current began to carry the wooden ship toward Sasanjaya Bay. The ship's crew saw the large menacing 14 cm guns at Gagani loom larger and larger that clearly was superior to SC-758's sole 40-mm gun.

Fortunately, the ship's crew was able to signal the destroyer escort *Osmus* and eventually a navy tug appeared to tow them away from Rota to Apra Harbor, Guam.

Change in Japanese Island Defense Strategy

With the loss of the three key southern Mariana Islands in the summer of 1944 by Japan, the Japanese changed defense of the islands from defeating the invaders on the beaches to a defense in depth, with assumption that the resultant massive loss of American lives that would result might force the United States to negotiate an end to the conflict. This new strategy was adopted on Rota at two locations on the eastern escarpments of Sabanna that are the best preserved Japanese fortifications in the Mariana Islands.



Ginalangan extends for 313 meters and contains at least 100 features with caves, tunnels, pillboxes, stairs, and walls. The walls are concrete and there are no guns at present.



Chudang Palii is 1,400 meters long and has 130 features with interconnecting caves, tunnels, walls, walkways, and guns located along the limestone bluff primarily comprising dry-laid limestone rock walls along with 25-mm and 120-mm guns.

Rota's Surrender



With the verification of Japan's surrender, Major Shigeo Iwogawa, Japanese Army, and Lt. Commander Abe boarded U.S. Navy destroyer escort *Heyliger* on 2 September 1945 to surrender the island to Colonel H. N. Stent, USMC.



On the island were 2,651 Japanese Army troops and 14 Japanese Navy personnel with 1,019 Japanese, 3,572 Okinawans, 181 Koreans, and 790 Chamorros.

The Japanese military personnel were removed to Guam on 4 September by U.S. Navy LCTs and placed in a prisoner of war camp prior to being repatriated later to Japan.



The same day that the island surrendered, the U.S. military government went ashore that consisted of three naval officers, seven navy enlisted personnel, ten enlisted marines, and fifteen Guamanian policemen of the Local Security Patrol Force.



The U.S occupation force by October 1945 was reduced to three officers and thirty enlisted personnel along with 150 Marines and 300 Seabees whose primary function was to repair of the Rota airfield which became useable by the end of November 1945.

The Japanese surrender and American occupation revealed the conditions that the people of Rota had to endure from June 1944 to September 1945.



The resulting isolation of Rota brought hardships to the inhabitants of Rota for the last year of the war. People quickly sought shelter in caves and in the jungle. Those fishing were in serious danger of being attacked from the air. Subsistence from gardens and the jungle was inadequate so that malnutrition became prevalent.

There was an increase in infant mortality and several Chamorros were killed in the bombings. The Japanese became suspicious of the Chamorros yielding to deaths and rumors of their impending demise at the hands of the Japanese. The end of the war brought an end to a living nightmare on Rota.







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Karst Defenses – The History, Archaeology and Heritage of World War (WWII)

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Abstract: *During the Japanese Period in the Pacific (1919-1945), the Japanese military; themselves or by using civilian labor, modified natural caves and excavated tunnels for use during World War II (WWII). Little is known about these sites despite their existence across the Pacific. Based on the data gathered from a study to record and analyze caves and tunnels in Saipan, Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands this article argues that caves and tunnels, referred to here as “karst defenses” are a particular type of site that warrants more historical and archaeological attention if we are to fully understand WWII in the Pacific. This paper provides an overview of how the authors are studying these sites and what they can tell us about the history; archaeology and heritage of WWII.*

Introduction

During the Japanese Period in the Pacific, the Japanese military, themselves or by using civilian labor, modified natural caves and excavated tunnels for use during World War II (WWII). These sites are referred to in this article as “karst defenses.” Little is known about the construction and use of karst defenses throughout the Pacific and to the authors’ knowledge no Japanese archival documents exist on such fortifications. To date, most of the archaeological research on karst defenses has been consultancy-driven and sites are described when encountered as part of larger environmental, observational and post-war studies (DeFant and Fulmer 1998; DeFant et al. 2001; Dixon and Schaefer 2014; Knecht et al. 2012; Lindsay et al. 2015; Lotz 1998; Taborošī and Jenson 2002; US Pacific Fleet and Pacific Ocean Areas 1946).

During an investigation in 2013 by archaeologists from Flinders University and Ships of Exploration and Discovery Research, Incorporated into the significance of caves and tunnels to the Saipan community, locals expressed the need to know more about these sites. As a result, the topic became part of Mushynsky’s doctoral research at

Flinders University on the defensive strategies and tactics people used at karst defenses during the Battle for Saipan. The authors, along with archaeologists from Flinders University, cultural historian, Genevieve Cabrera, and with the help of property owners and volunteers, gathered data from over 70 sites. Using this data, the authors argue that karst defenses are a particular type of site that warrants more historical and archaeological attention if we are to fully understand WWII in the Pacific. This paper provides an overview of how the authors are studying these sites and what they can tell us about the history, archaeology and heritage of WWII.

Karst Defenses – a Specific Kind of Site

The term karst defenses is used by the authors to refer to both caves and tunnels used during WWII in the Pacific and intended to highlight the sites' distinct construction compared to other WWII fortifications. Karst is a geological term that describes a type of landscape made of water-soluble rock, such as limestone, characterized by caves and sinkholes (Stafford et al. 2002:11; Taboroši 2004:2; Taboroši and Jenson 2002:2). Karst defenses are sites that are constructed *within* a karst landscape and the surrounding limestone becomes part of the sites' construction. Karst defenses should not be confused with other types of fortifications such as bunkers and pillboxes, which are constructed of concrete and steel and typically found *on top* of the landscape.

Figure 1 helps to further illustrate the definition of karst defenses. Figure 1 is a photograph of the northwest wall of a site known locally as the "Last Command Post" located in northern Saipan. The Last Command Post is constructed in blockhouse or bunker style in that a large portion of the site is made of concrete, including reinforced concrete walls and internal concrete pillars. However, the reinforced concrete walls of the site are additions to natural openings in the limestone. The concrete augments the natural portion and therefore, the site is considered a karst defense rather than a bunker. In contrast to the Last Command Post is the concrete case mate containing a Type 38 Japanese gun at Laulau Bay in eastern Saipan (Figure 2). This site is built entirely of concrete and does not surround any limestone openings or outcrops and is thus not considered a karst defense.



Figure 1: The northwest wall of the Last Command Post integrated into the limestone.



Figure 2: Type 38 Japanese gun in concrete casemate at Laulau Bay.

Much of the literature seldom differentiates between caves and tunnels and often uses the terms interchangeably. However, the two are distinct. Caves are defined as spaces within bedrock, including rock shelters, alcoves and sinkholes, that are natural or were once natural and then modified and used during WWII. Due to the wide range of natural openings within Saipan's karst landscape, caves range from small pockets to large underground caves with multiple chambers.

Tunnels, on the other hand, are openings in bedrock that are excavated by humans or were once natural openings and then excavated by humans for WWII defense. The tunnels in Saipan were constructed by hand and excavated with pick-axes or a combination of rock blasting using explosives and hand excavation (Figure 3). Each tunnel has at least one entrance/exit and is composed of a single "leg" or a series of intersecting ones. When viewed in a vertical cross-section, the internal shape of legs can be either round or square. The longest tunnel recorded for the project was 80m and the widest in overall width was 100.6m.

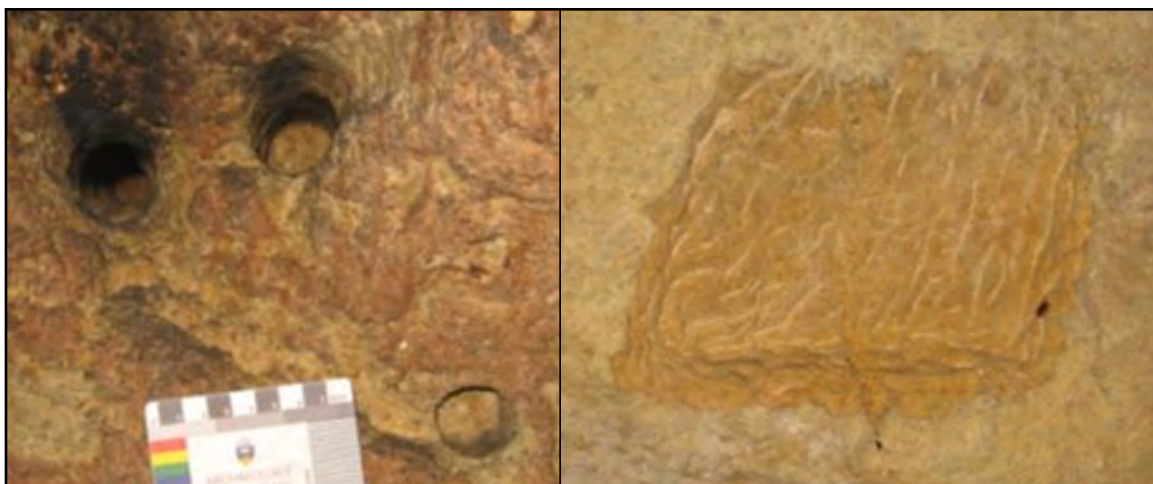


Figure 3: Dynamite holes (left) (8cm scale) pick marks (right).

Both caves and tunnels are modified in various ways. Some of the additions to the sites in Saipan include wood, concrete and stacked limestone walls. The limestone walls can be stacked with or without mortar (eg. cement, dirt). Sites in Saipan also contain limestone stairs, concrete cisterns and some caves exhibit signs of stalactite and stalagmite clearing.

Figure 4 shows the distribution of sites with known locations plotted onto a geological map of Saipan. As expected, the karst defenses in Saipan exist throughout deposits of water-soluble bedrock, but not within areas of beach, wetland and limesand which

occurs along Saipan's western coast. While the project gathered data from the sites identified in Figure 4, it is difficult to know exactly how many sites exist in Saipan as they could be located anywhere within Saipan's limestone topography.

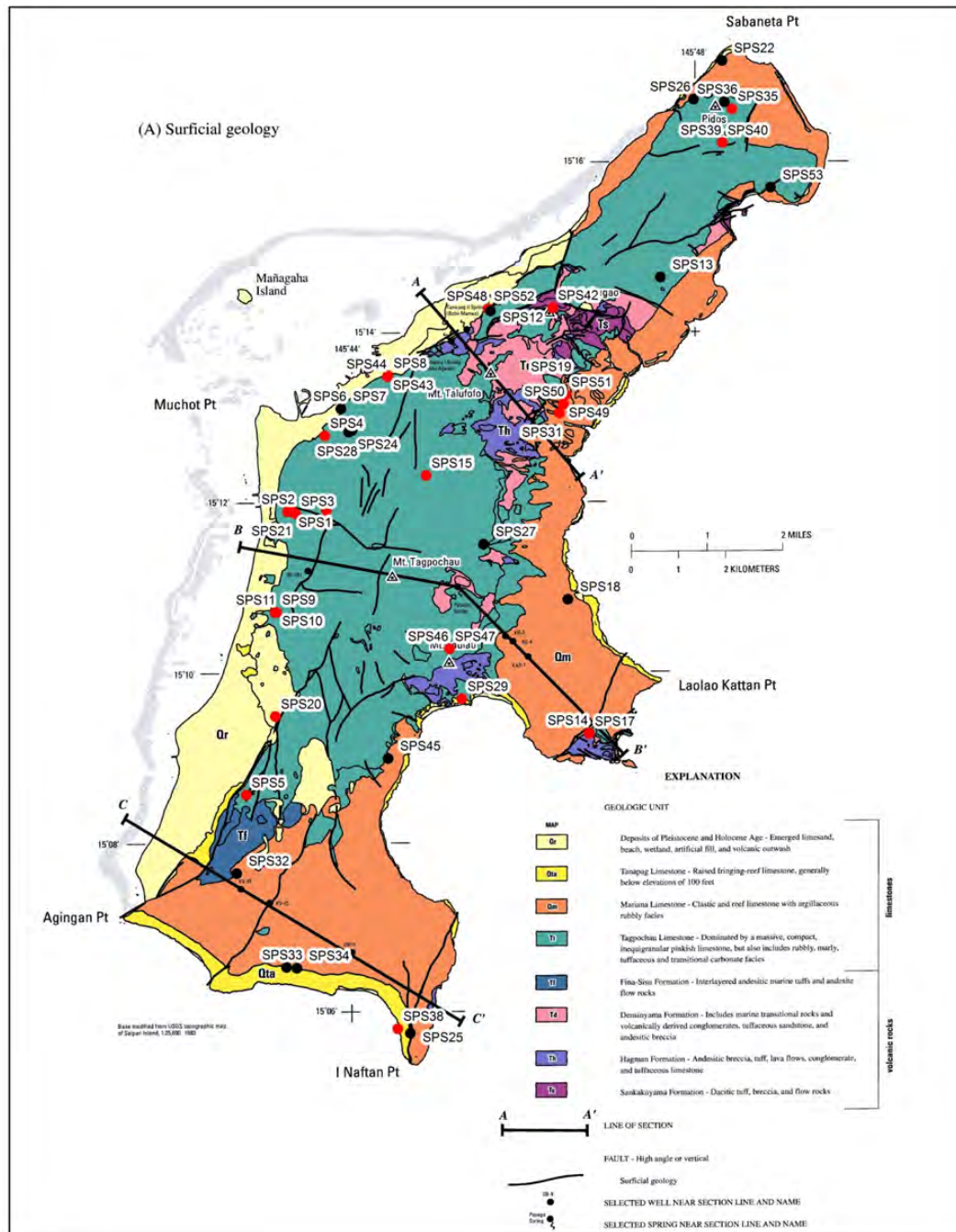


Figure 4: Saipan's karst defenses and their locations relative to geological units (from Carruth 2003).

Historical Context

Exactly when karst defenses were constructed in the Pacific is still unknown and there is considerable historical debate surrounding this issue. The historical research conducted for the Saipan project revealed valuable insights into the timing of Japanese fortification construction and the historical trajectory of karst defenses in the Pacific.

In 1921, Japan was granted a Class C mandate by the newly established League of Nations (Peattie 1988:52–56). The Mandate allowed Japan to administer Micronesia, but it had to remain open to trade with all nations. Article 4 of the agreement prohibited Japan from fortifying the islands and establishing military bases (Higuchi 2013:18; Petty 2002:6; Rottman 2004:9; Russell 1984:58; Smith 2007:54). Throughout the 1920s and 30s, several actions by Japan raised suspicions, particularly among the US that the Japanese were clandestinely fortifying the Pacific. The Japanese refused a number of foreign visits (although not all), made foreign business opportunities difficult to pursue, requested to increase their naval tonnage, invaded Manchuria and finally withdrew from the League of Nations in 1935 (Denfeld 1981:2; Peattie 1988:236–240, 242–243; Rottman 2004:9). Moreover, in Saipan, the Japanese began dredging Tanapag Harbour in 1927 and constructing the Tanapag seaplane base and Aslito Airfield in 1934 (Denfeld 1997:6; Peattie 1988:248). Although these facilities were eventually used during WWII, the Japanese were open about their construction and assured the international community that they were for civilian and commercial use only (Denfeld 1997:6; Peattie 1988:245, 248).

The US sent spies to Micronesia to find evidence that Japan was fortifying the area, but they were unsuccessful. As British journalist, R.V.C. Bodley reported in 1934, there were no signs of airfields, moorings for seaplanes, or fuel depots on his visit to “practically every island” under the Japanese mandate (Bodley 1934:104–107; Peattie 1988:246). One problem in this regard, identified by Peattie (1988), is that this was a transitional period in the conduct of war which favored airpower over other forms of military power. Thus, many “visitors” to Micronesia were on the lookout for facilities that would support aerial warfare, not necessarily inland defenses in the jungle.

According to US unit histories, the first karst defenses encountered by Allied forces were in Bataan, the Philippines, during the Battle of the Pockets in late-January and early-February 1942 (Morton 1953:311, 339). The US subsequently encountered them in the Solomon, Gilbert, Marshall and Mariana Islands, Palau, Iwo Jima and finally

Okinawa. According to the historical literature, karst defenses were not a prominent fortification until after the fall of Saipan in July 1944 (Denfeld 1988:9). Peleliu, for example, had over 500 caves and tunnels, Iwo Jima had over 1.6km of tunnel passageways and Okinawa was reported to have “innumerable caves” (Phelan 1945:2; Smith 2008:1; US Tenth Army 1945:21). According to these sources and the data gathered from Saipan, it appears that karst defense construction took place early on in the war, accelerated as the war progressed and occurred more intensely and extensively on islands that were invaded by the US after the fall of Saipan.

Whether the Japanese constructed karst defenses even earlier than 1942 cannot be determined at this point in the research. War period documents from places such as Iwo Jima suggest that with enough supplies and labor, karst defense construction would have been relatively rapid. For example, according to aerial photography, the vast number of tunnels on Iwo Jima were constructed within the three months between June and September 1944 (CINCPAC-CINCPOA Bulletin No. 136-45 1945:2). Similarly, the karst defenses in the Philippines had to have been constructed in the weeks between the Japanese invasion in December 1941 and when the US first encountered them in January 1942 (Morton 1953:311, 339). Additionally, Antonio Borja, a native Tinian merchant marine was conscripted into the Japanese army at Rota and forced to dig tunnels for cannons. Borja remembers that tunnel preparation took 18 months and the work schedule was from seven in the morning until midnight, six days a week (Petty 2002:62-63). While obviously a greater number of karst defenses would take longer to construct, if the sites on Iwo Jima only took three months, then with enough labor, the karst defenses in Saipan would not have taken any longer than those on Iwo Jima.

Use and Occupation

The Saipan project sought to answer some of the most basic questions about karst defenses including their use and occupation. While war period documentation identifies a range of cave and tunnel use, some historical documentation limits the function of karst defenses to gun emplacements and combat positions (War Department 1944a:123). The karst defenses in Saipan functioned in a variety of ways and were used by three different groups of people: the Japanese military, the US military and civilians.

The majority of karst defenses were constructed by the Japanese military for use during the war. Based on artifacts, oral histories and comparative analysis with sites on

other islands, the Japanese military used karst defenses for shelter, storage, as hospitals, command posts and combat positions. While most caves and tunnels were eventually used as defensive positions, particularly in the throes of battle, artifacts found within these sites identify their original intended use.

A site labeled SPS11 in Saipan was identified as a hospital used by the Imperial Japanese Army. Evidence for its use as a hospital includes an abundance of materials such glass and metal medicine containers and operating tools. Figure 5 is an example of some of the medical items located within SPS11 including a glass syringe and a laryngeal mirror. A site labeled SPS20 was identified as a command post used by the Imperial Japanese Navy. Artifacts that identify its use as a command post include items related to communication devices such as vacuum tubes (Figure 6), which were designed to pass electric current within electronic devices (Reich 1941:1). Also within SPS20 are several radio transmitter components. Figure 7 is a coil for a Japanese Model TM short-wave mobile receiver (War Department 1944b:9-10). Shelter sites were identified based on personal items. Examples include the soap containers and razor components found within SPS18 (Figure 8). Storage sites had stocks of food and sites used as combat positions contained a variety of ammunition types (Figure 9). Identifying the function of sites is more complex than simply locating artifacts to support the interpretation. For example, specific patterns in the construction of karst defenses and how they relate to function are also a part of the identification process and are a topic included in forthcoming publications.



Figure 5: Medical items within SPS11. Syringe (left), laryngeal mirror (right) (8cm scale).

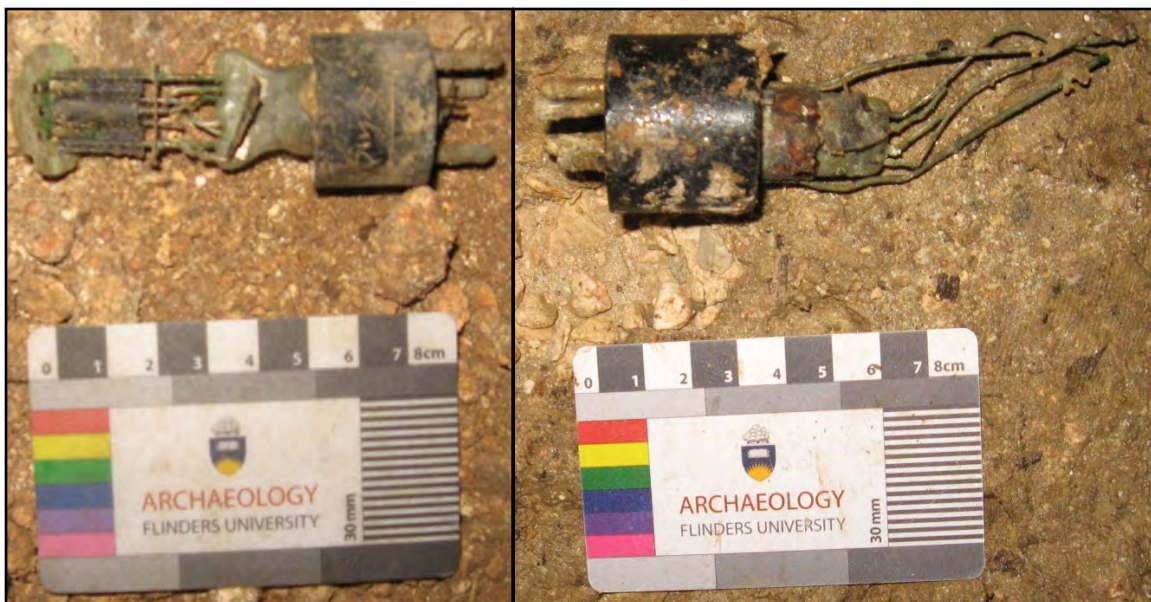


Figure 6: Vacuum tubes without glass bulb component (8cm scale).



Figure 7: Coil for Model TM short-wave mobile receiver (8cm scale).



Figure 8: Soap container (left). Razor (right) (8cm scale).



Figure 9: 47mm bullet (8cm scale).

The research on Saipan identified US military use of karst defenses. The US did not excavate their own tunnels, but repurposed Japanese tunnels. One tunnel in the Laulau Bay area of Saipan was likely used as a hospital and contains 68 US metal cot fragments. Olmo (1992:18) also found that this tunnel was used as a US military hospital.

One tunnel in the I Denni area of central Saipan shows clear signs of US occupation. Two inscriptions in smeared cement appear in one leg of the tunnel. One inscription reads: “A.H. Liddeke” (Figure 10) and the other: “R.S. 19/1/45/.” A.H. Liddeke stands for Albert Henry Liddeke who served as a Carpenter’s Mate, First Class, in the US Navy during WWII (Anon. 1984). Born in February 1908 in Oklahoma, he passed away on August 14, 1984, in Enid, Garfield, Oklahoma (Anon. 1984). According to his obituary, he did not have any descendants. R.S. remains unidentified, but was probably Liddeke’s cohort, and “19/1/45/” is likely the date of the inscription with “45” referring to the year 1945. Within this site are several Budweiser, Schlitz and Miller brand 365ml (12oz) ring-pull tab beer cans. Ring-pull tab cans were introduced in 1965, but petered out in the 70s due to the increasing litter problem caused by the throwaway tab (Busch 1981:100–102; Maxwell 1993:107, 109). The inscriptions and the ring-pull tab cans suggest that this tunnel was likely constructed for Japanese use during the war and then repurposed by the US military and used as late as the 1970s.



Figure 10: Inscription in SPS15 (8cm scale).

Finally, the research in Saipan was also able to identify the civilian caves. Four caves in Saipan were identified as civilian shelter sites. These sites were all unmodified caves and usually deep with multiple chambers or small spaces with little overhead clearance. Civilian caves also contained artifacts not found in other sites. Some examples of the unique materials include the Japanese civilian Air Defense Gas Mask Type 16th Year, Model A (Figure 11). This gas mask had a single plastic eye shield harnessed to the head with wide adjustable fabric straps attached to a small filter cartridge on the front of the face. Thousands of these types of gas masks were issued to civilians in case of chemical warfare or fire (MacDonald 2007). Another item unique to civilian caves included single-color glazed porcelain rice/soup bowls in green and brown (Figure 12). According to archaeologist Leland Bibb, producing simple vessels in solid colors to sell overseas was a trend in the 1930s (Leland Bibb pers. comm. 2016). Single-color glazed ceramics were likely a typical item in most Japanese civilian households. Whether Indigenous civilians had access to the same ceramics is unknown.



Figure 11: Japanese civilian air defense gas mask eye piece (8cm scale).



Figure 12: Single-colour glazed ceramic bowl base (8cm scale).

The use and occupation of karst defenses will vary throughout the Pacific depending on the circumstances surrounding each island. Some islands, such as Rota and Chuuk Lagoon were never invaded by US forces and may not exhibit US military use. In some areas of the Pacific, such as Peleliu, in Palau and Iwo Jima, there will be no evidence of civilian use of caves since civilians on these islands were evacuated before battle between the US and Japan occurred (Poyer et al. 2001:369; Smith 2008:xviii).

Battlefield Reconstruction and Moments of Micro-Change

Since the temporal deposition of artifacts on battlefields occurs over days, weeks or months, rather than years, the potential to evaluate individual behaviors and moments of “micro-change” from portable artifacts is high (Schofield 2009; Scott and McFeaters 2011:107). Micro-change refers to specific human behaviors and choices reflected in material remains known to have been deposited over a narrow temporal period.

This project aimed to investigate the role of karst defenses during the battle as well as identify individual and group behaviors at sites. One way of doing this is through battlefield reconstruction. The reconstruction of the Battle for Saipan uses techniques referred to as gross and dynamic patterning (Fox and Scott 1991). Gross patterning integrates archaeologically identified positions with information from the historical record (Fox and Scott 1991:94). Dynamic patterning is the movement of battle and

incorporates a chronology of events and artifacts representing individual behaviors (Fox and Scott 1991:94). Gross patterning is achieved by identifying karst defenses, obtaining global positioning system coordinates and plotting them onto a map of Saipan. Dynamic patterning was achieved by plotting the sites onto US WWII situation maps (Figure 13). By geo-rectifying the situation maps in a program called ArcGIS and plotting karst defense sites, a detailed story of the battle as it occurred at a particular site and the branch of the US military that was involved can be constructed. Sites were then related to the US official history of the Battle for Saipan, US *Operation Forager* reports and oral histories in order to identify Japanese military and civilian involvement.

A portion of battlefield reconstruction can be conducted at a cave labeled SPS19 in the Talofoto area of northern Saipan. SPS19 is an example of a cave attacked by a flamethrower. Within the cave are expanded metal drums, a large cache of expanded cans with charred insides, charred walls and roof spalling. The glass bottles under the spalled roof at the rear of the western portion of the cave were not impacted by the flamethrower, as they were protected by the roof spall. While some of the cans within SPS19 have exploded, the majority have only expanded; an indication that the site was exposed to heat from a flamethrower rather than a prolonged heat from a fire. By plotting the site onto a situation map, a story can be told about SPS19. It is inferred that between July 2 and 4, 1944, the US 23rd Marine Regiment attacked the cave with a flamethrower from the northeast and blasted here where most of the large spalling occurred, walked towards the cave and turned to blast the western portion of the cave, where more ash and less overt black charring appears. Various levels of this type of analysis can be carried out at different sites and pieced together to understand what happened at karst defenses and how battle occurred.

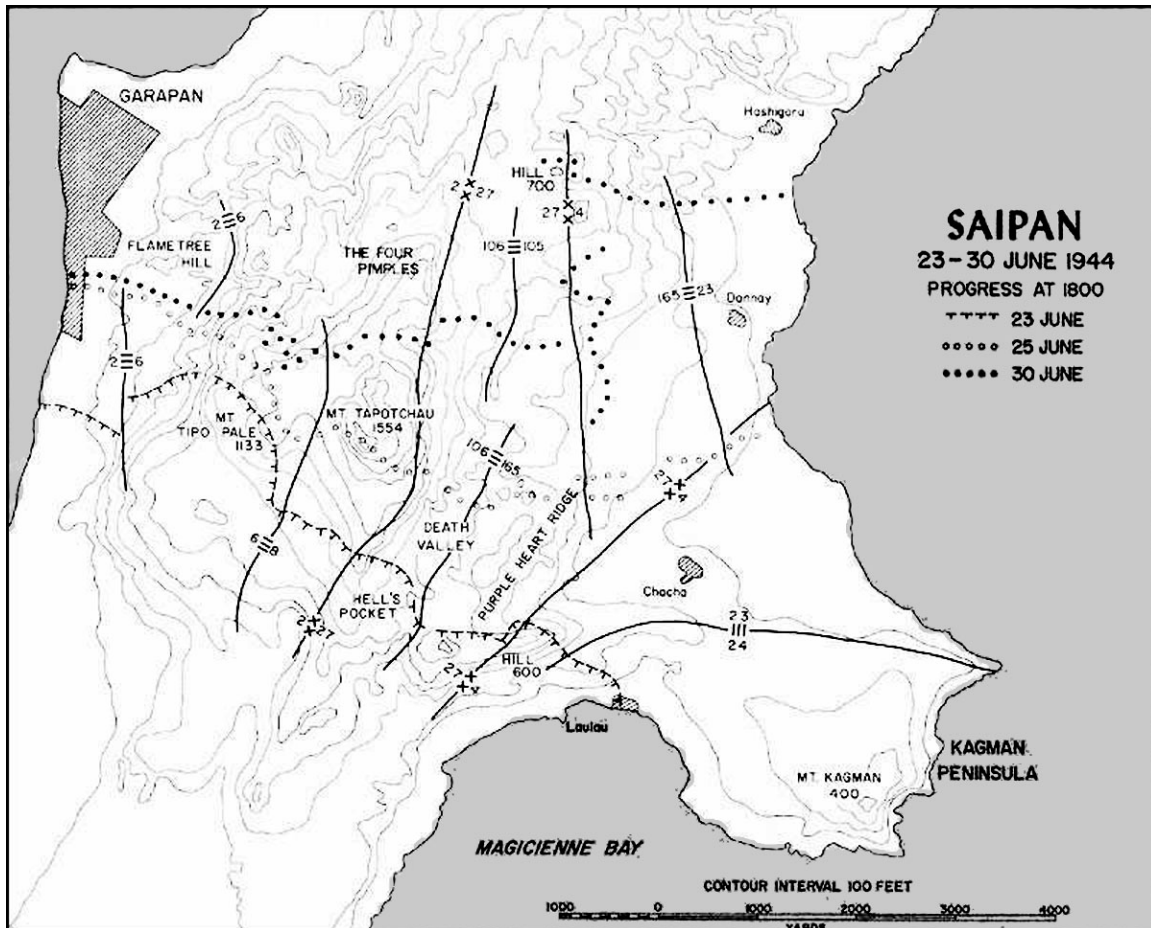


Figure 13: Situation map for the Battle for Saipan from June 23 to 30, 1944 (Chapin 1994).

Another way of tracking human behavior as the Battle for Saipan progressed is through the features and materials found at karst defenses. Considering the Battle for Saipan began in the south and ended in the north (Rottman 2004), the authors looked at whether karst defenses in the south, when the Japanese military was arguably better organized, differed to those in the north when the Japanese military was more scattered and nearing defeat. One feature the authors examined was stacked limestone walls. As mentioned, stacked limestone in both dry-laid and mortared form are common features at karst defenses. When taking all the stacked limestone walls recorded for this project and those from other studies and relating them to how the battle for Saipan progressed, we find that there are more dry-laid stacked limestone walls in northern Saipan than in the southern areas of the island.

The stacked limestone walls in the north are noticeably different to many of the stacked rock walls at the southern karst defenses recorded for this project which show evidence of mortar (either cement or mud) and are more substantial (Figure 14). Eakin et al. (2012) recorded sites in the Sabanettan I Toru area in the northwest portion of Saipan. In their survey, they recorded 26 cave sites, eleven of which were modified with stacked limestone and one with concrete. The stacked limestone walls appear to be small, hastily built structures with no mortar and large gaps between the rocks (except at one site). Stacked limestone walls at the northern sites recorded for this project also resemble those in Eakin et al. (2012). In contrast, the walls at southern sites such as SPS14 and SPS32 in the Kagman and As Lito areas of southern Saipan (Figure 14) were built with precision and were an intentional part of the sites' construction. Although small stacked limestone walls without mortar exist in other parts of the island, they appear more frequently in the north. These hastily stacked limestone walls in the north, many at unmodified caves, were likely built by people retreating to the north with few materials and desperate to shelter and camouflage themselves with whatever was available during the last days of the battle.



Figure 14: Stacked limestone walls at SPS32 (left) and SPS14 (right). Hastily-built limestone wall at SPS40.

The above interpretation adds new information to historical understandings of Japanese war preparation in the Marianas. Historians have suggested that due to the destruction of Japanese supply ships by US submarines between March and June 1944, the Japanese suffered from a lack of supplies and were rushed in constructing fortifications in the Marianas (Crowl 1960:62; Higuchi 2001:27; Peattie 1988:278, 282; Rottman 2004:20). Archaeologists have argued that the use of concrete is evidence that a site was constructed before the Japanese supply ships were destroyed and that the use of stacked limestone occurred after the loss of ships, forcing the Japanese military to use local materials (Eakin et al. 2012:131–132; Mohlman 2011:165–167).

This assertion is problematic, however, as several war period documents discuss a Japanese preference for local materials, such as coral rock and tree logs because they provided better camouflage than concrete (Denfeld 1981:13–14; Dissemination Division G-2 Section 1945:3; Military Intelligence Service 1944:158; Miller 2008:102, 106, 119) even on islands where battles occurred much later and did not suffer from a shortage of supplies, such as Peleliu and Iwo Jima (CINCPAC-CINCPOA Bulletin No. 136-45 1945:4, 21, 25, 55, 69, 82, 86, 95, 102; Phelan 1945:4–16). Additionally, the Saipan sites show that not all stacked limestone walls are the same and need to be analyzed within the context of the Battle for Saipan and how it progressed. Furthermore, cement and stacked limestone were sometimes used together. While the Marianas certainly were hindered in some way by the loss of merchant ships in 1944, more archaeological studies of karst defenses and modifications on other areas of the Pacific would give a better understanding of exactly how the loss of supply ships affected Saipan.

A Dark, Shared Heritage

Karst defenses have many stakeholders. Japanese and US militaries and civilian groups including Chamorro and Carolinian people as well as Asian civilians all used or constructed/modified WWII caves and tunnels. Karst defenses are thus sites of shared heritage where various cultural groups experienced the same event, alongside each other, although sometimes in different ways (Harrison 2004:219).

While researchers have postulated that Indigenous Pacific Island people do not consider WWII their heritage, research into karst defenses reveals that Indigenous groups have a complex, multi-layered relationship with WWII heritage. Caves, in particular, are significant to Micronesians because of their use over time. Caves in Saipan were used by the ancient Chamorro and the various pictographs and

petroglyphs within Saipan's caves are evidence of their presence (Cabrera and Tudela 2006). Some Chamorro and Carolinian people wish to forget their painful WWII past. The war was a period of tremendous hardship for many people and several of their loved ones lost their lives. As a result, many people are indifferent to the contemporary significance of karst defenses. Others who used karst defenses and/or the descendants of people who hid inside caves have a deep connection to the sites. Caves offered people protection during the war and many suffered for days within them. Karst defenses thus represent the courage of Indigenous civilians and the sacrifices they made to survive.

Indigenous groups want to preserve WWII history and “correct the imbalance that makes islands nearly invisible” in accounts of the Pacific War (Poyer et al. 2001:337). Some believe that research on caves and tunnels is an important part of understanding the war, and a study of WWII is valuable as many older people are passing away and their knowledge will be lost (Joe Wabol, pers. comm. 2014). Elders think that such research is worthwhile and what is often expressed over and over by local Indigenous people in Saipan is that most research is important as long as it is available for the next generation to read about (Jesus Sablan, pers. comm. 2014).

The loss of lives during WWII in the Pacific appears to concern Japanese and other Asian non-residents the most. Asian non-residents access karst defenses and other WWII heritage in Saipan in order to memorialize and commemorate those who passed. This is evident in the objects that visitors leave behind. Within karst defenses, Asian visitors often erect small monuments, including stupas and statues, hang paper crane wreaths, burn incense and candles and leave beverage offerings to those who have passed (McKinnon 2015:148–151).

Visitation and commemoration by Asian non-residents have also occurred on a larger scale. Since the 1970s, the Japanese government has arranged pilgrimages to Saipan and other former battlefields and provided memorial services for war-bereaved survivors (Akira 2013:45; McKinnon et al. 2014:69). Additionally, the Japanese government and non-government organizations have erected a number of monuments at past battlefields as part of the Erection of Monuments to the War Dead mission (Akira 2013:44; McKinnon et al. 2014:69; Trefalt 2017:150). Other private and religious groups have arranged the same (Akira 2013:45).

Another form of large-scale honoring of the dead by Japan includes bone collecting missions and repatriation. In an effort to finalize the war, the Japanese government initiated the collection of Japanese soldiers' remains on former battlefields following the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1951 (Akira 2013:44; McKinnon et al. 2014b:69; Trefalt 2017:149). In the 1960s and 1970s, activities shifted to the Japan War-Bereaved Association (JWBA) and to organizations such as Kuentai, which is non-government and non-profit (Akira 2013:45; Price et al. 2015:229; Trefalt 2017:148-149). Kuentai has operated a Japanese division since 2006. In 2014 the organization established a US division in order to recover the remains of US military (Historynet 2014; Kuentai-USA.com 2014).

Comparatively speaking, US non-residents have less of a connection with karst defenses than other groups. Except for the two tunnels showing US occupation mentioned above, the US did not spend a considerable amount of time constructing or using karst defenses during the war. Rather, they destroyed and sealed them. Therefore, except, possibly, for US soldiers or marines who had to face death at karst defenses, the demolition of them during the battle is viewed as part of an honorable and courageous fight (Casaregola 2009; Spennemann 1992:281). US visitors do visit Pacific battlefields, but mainly WWII sites in Hawaii because of their proximity to the US mainland (Spennemann 1992:281). Similar to the Japanese, pilgrimages to other Pacific battlefields, including Saipan, have been organized by US survivors and relatives, and some have been arranged in partnership with former US Marines and Japanese soldiers (Akira 2013:49-50; Bagnol 2014). Whether they visit karst defenses is unknown. Most Western countries have repatriation programs, so, like the Japanese bone collectors, the US also seeks to return the remains of fallen soldiers (Hawley 2005).

Conclusion

The archaeology of WWII karst defenses is an exciting area of research that can contribute new knowledge to well-known histories such as WWII. The research in Saipan suggests that karst defenses are a particular type of site with a unique historical trajectory and have specific uses by a range of people with various backgrounds. The research was also able to identify group and individual behaviors during the Battle for Saipan. Karst defenses matter to people in the present and this research identifies the various ways people relate to these sites and some of the influences on contemporary meanings. Karst defense research contributes to further

understanding the battle's history, archaeology and heritage and shows why we need to work towards preserving these sites for the future.

Acknowledgments

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Presentations Slides

The Archaeology of WWII Karst Defenses by Julie Mushynsky and Fred Camacho



What are karst defenses?

- Karst defenses refers to both caves and tunnels used during the Pacific War.



Photo: W. Eugene Smith

Both the military and civilians modified natural caves and excavated new ones into the limestone.

Cave in Saipan



Tunnel in Saipan



Where are they located?
When were they constructed?





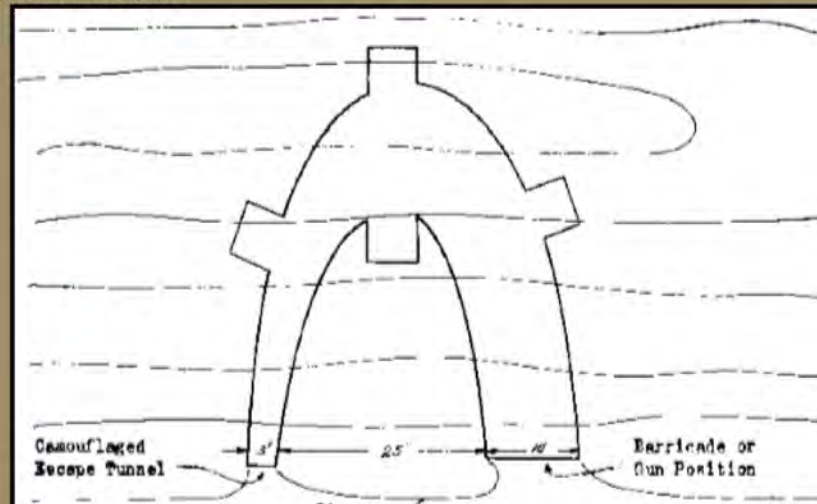
W.C. Phelan

Battle for Peleliu: September 15 to November 27, 1944

Found different army and navy configurations, army tunnels were smaller and used for combat, navy tunnels larger and used for shelter

Plan view of what is described as a navy tunnel used for combat.

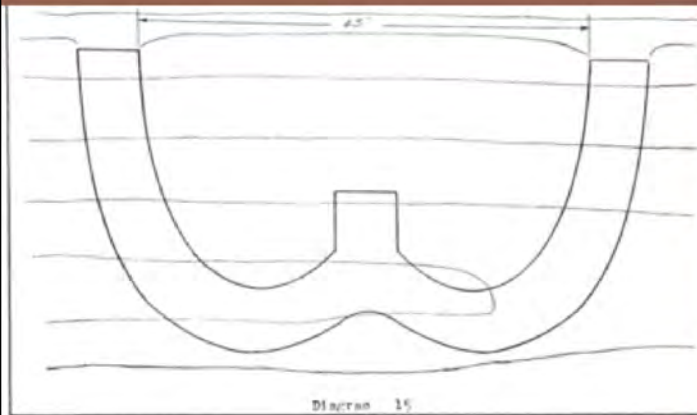
U-Tunnel in Peleliu



Phelan 1945:7

Plan view of what is described as an army tunnel dug out in a W-shape and used as a hospital.

W-Tunnel in Peleliu



Phelan 1945:22

The Japanese Military Division

Since its inception, the Imperial Japanese military was divided in that the Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN) and the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA) worked independently of one another and constructed their own defenses.

Are there different Japanese army and navy caves and tunnels in Saipan?



Methods

With local co-researchers Fred Camacho and Genevieve Cabrera

Several property owners allowed us to document their sites.

Three field seasons -

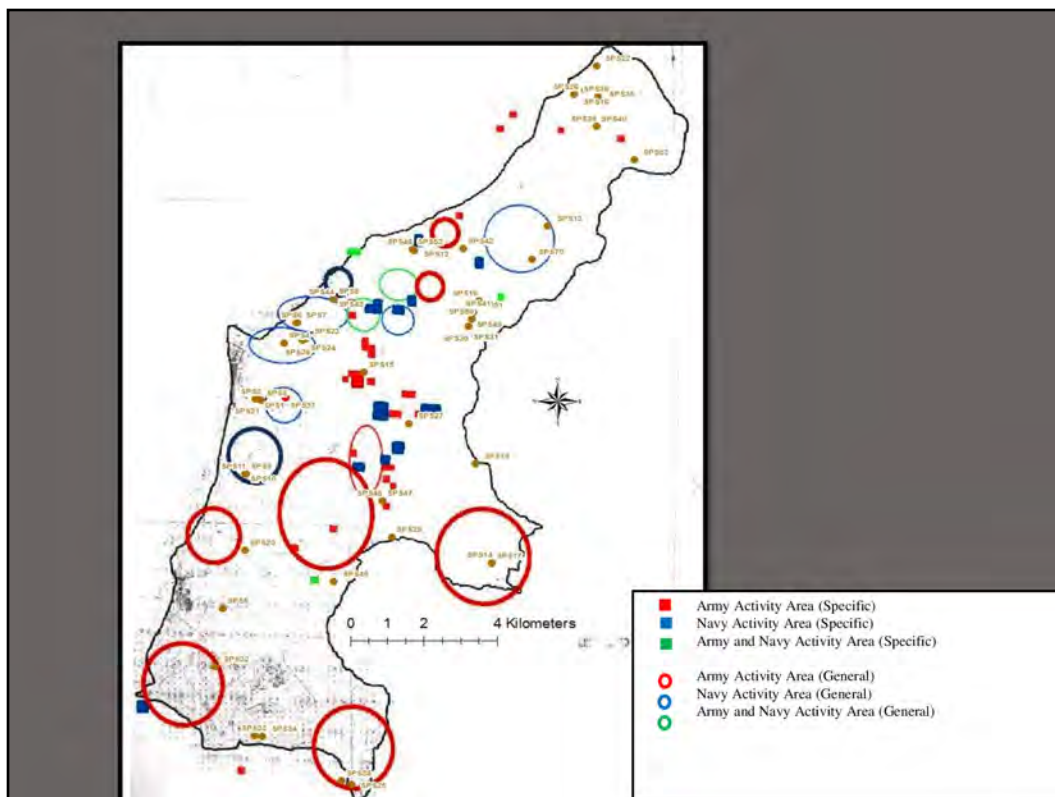
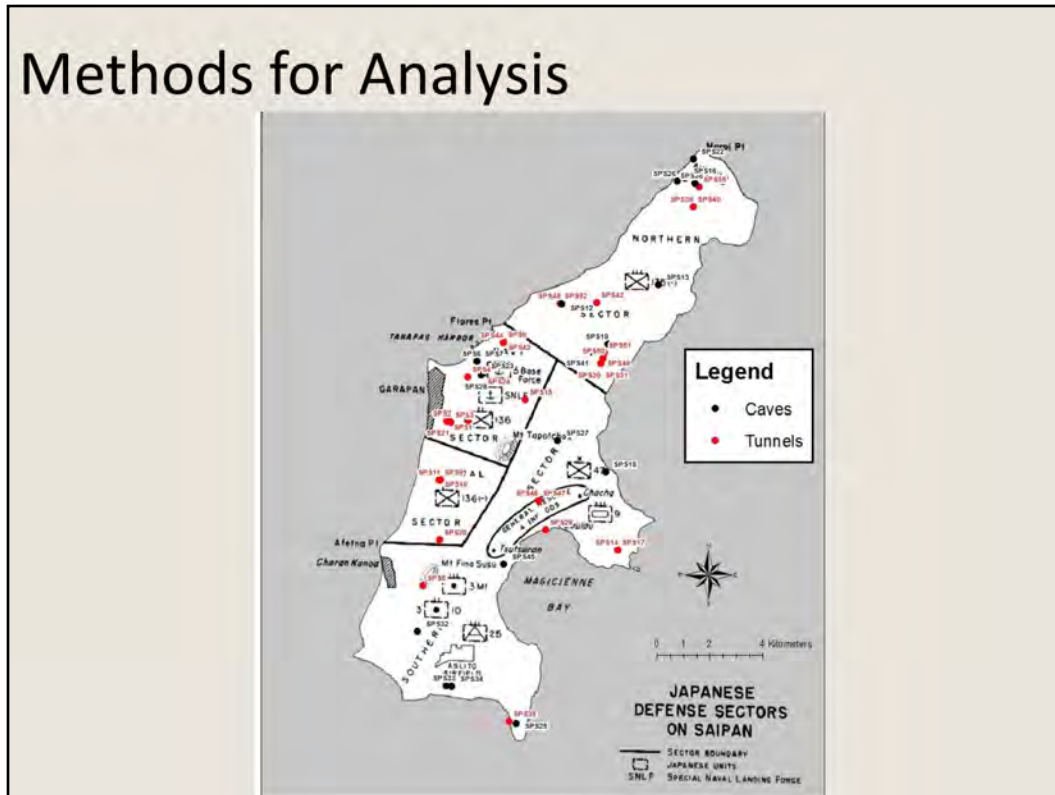
- Over 70 sites
- Over 4000 artifacts



Oral histories and volunteers



Methods for Analysis





Army Gas Mask



Navy Gas Mask



SNLF Uniform Button



IJN Identity Pin



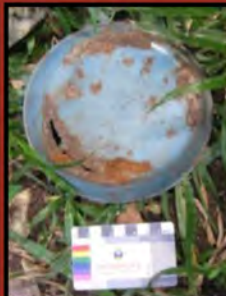
IJA Identity Tag



IJA Button



IJA Bowl



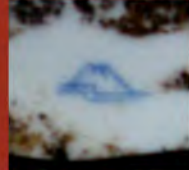
IJN Bowl



IJA Mess Kit Lid



Wave Pattern



Fukagawa Seiji Kaisha Company



Noritake



IJN Canteen Retainer Chain

Command Post



Field Phone Speaker



Medal Hanger



Vacuum Tube



Model TM short-wave mobile receiver



Mica



Toothbrush



Hard Tack



Razor



Soap Container

Shelter



Storage



Civilian



Kerosene Lamp Base



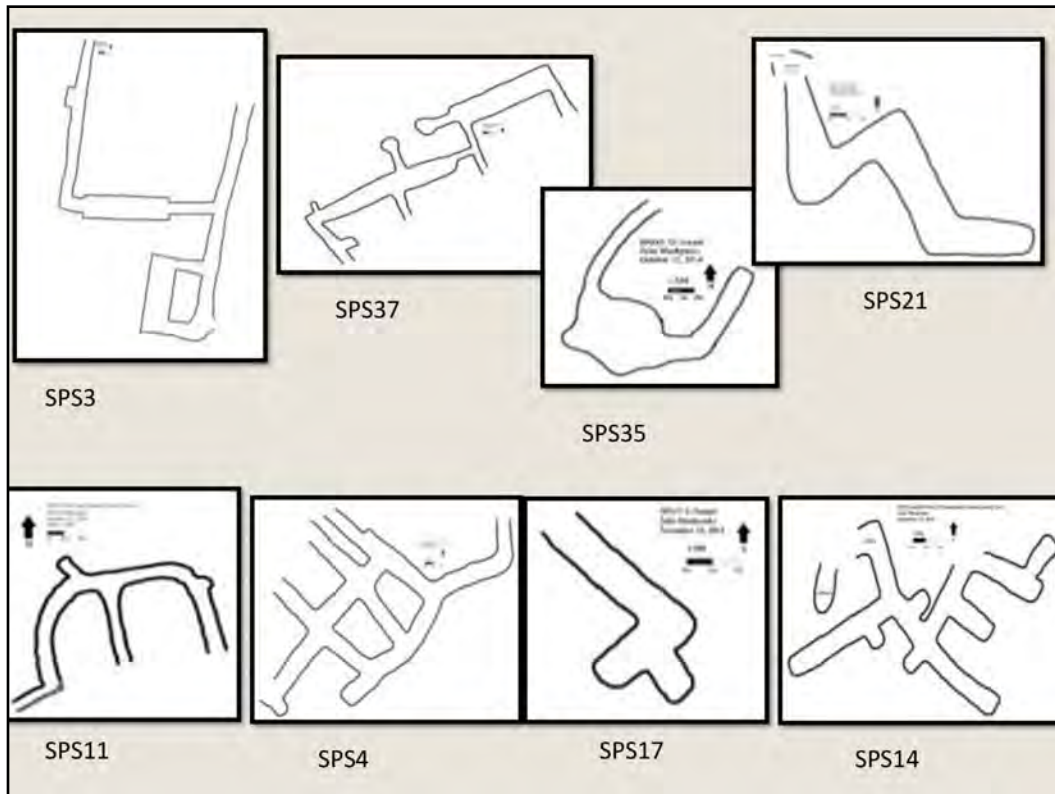
Cooking Pot



Single-Color Glazed and
Celadon Ceramics



Japanese Civilian Air
Defense Gas Mask Eye



Results – Size and Modification

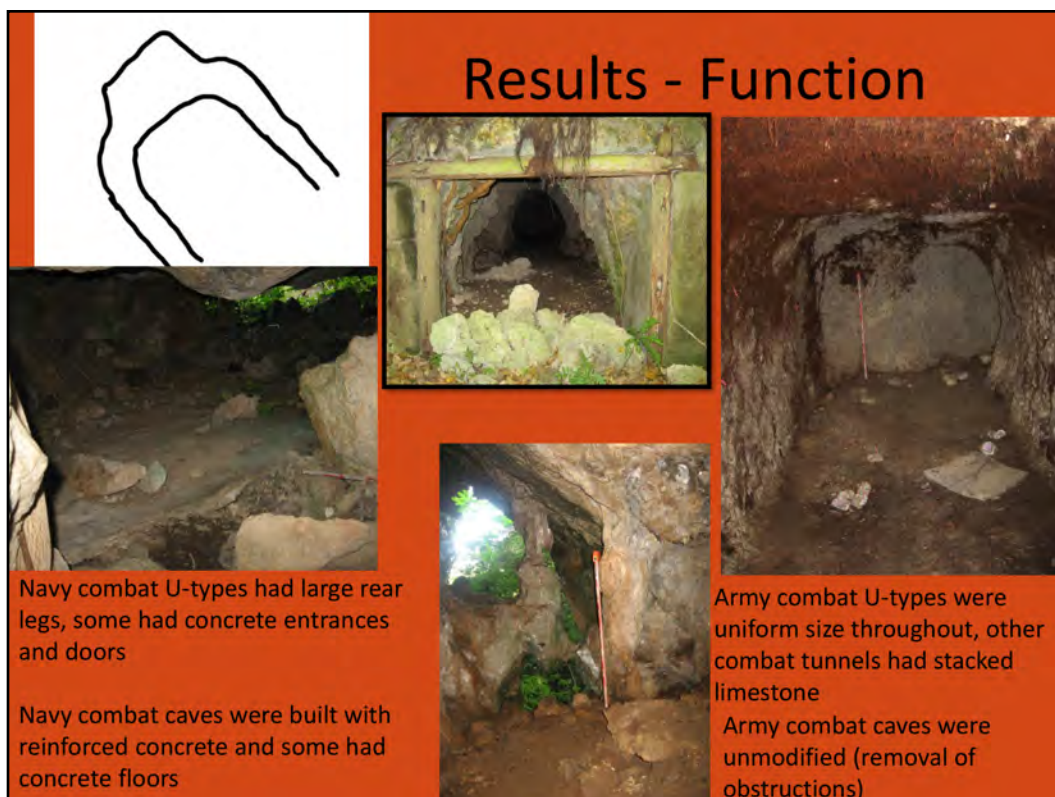


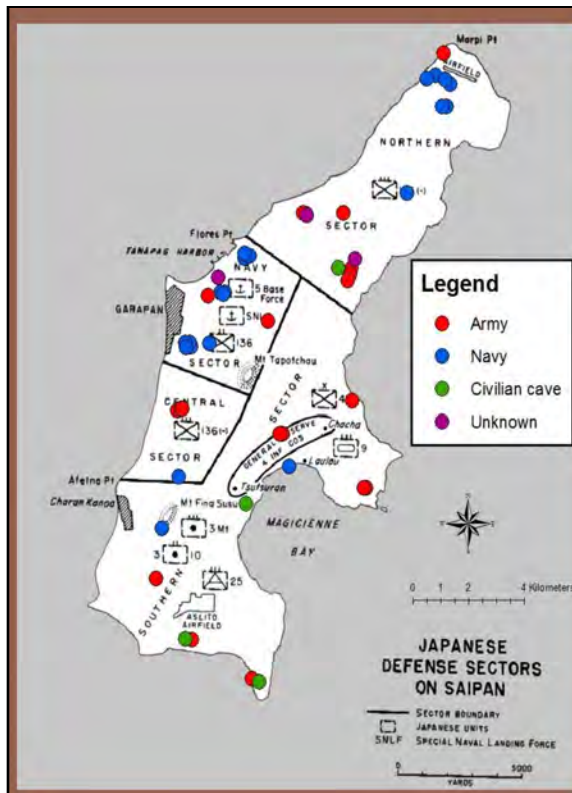
The army constructed tunnels with narrower internal widths (2m for army and 4m for navy) and shorter entrances. The army also constructed tunnels that were narrower overall.

The navy modified sites with more concrete and the army modified theirs with stacked limestone and mortar (cement or dirt).



Civilians used large, deep, unmodified natural caves





Results - Location

Navy sites were located near airfields and harbours

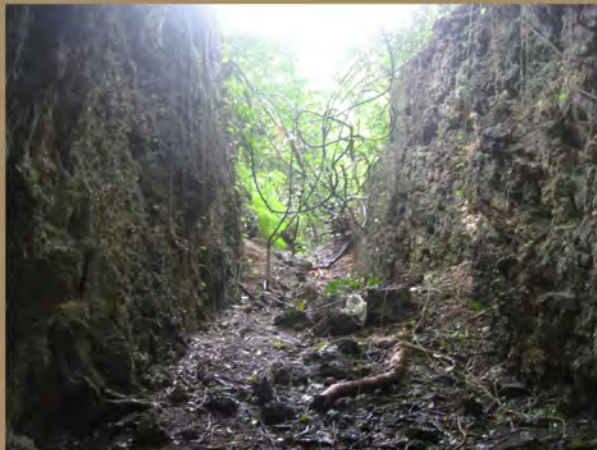
Army sites were more interior

Civilian caves anywhere except not near the western coast

Defense Sectors did not dictate where sites could be located, probably due to timing.

Results – Size and Modification

- The more elaborate and larger tunnels on Saipan were built for the navy despite there being only 6,200 IJN on Saipan versus 25,450 IJA



Results

- Some of the size differences and concrete modifications were also due to timing.
- The IJN had time to enlarge their combat U-tunnels, construct combat sites with concrete



entrances and flooring despite having far fewer men.

Conclusions

- The IJN did not construct defences for the IJA
- Civilians were left to fend for themselves
- There were likely standard designs and guidelines for karst defense construction. Saipan's may be the prototypes.
- The rift between the IJN and IJA likely effected the defenses on many islands and contributed to the Japanese defeat during WWII.
- The archaeological potential of WWII sites in Saipan is high, as long as the materials can remains where they are and if people work towards preserving them and the materials within

Acknowledgments

- This project would also not have been possible without the help and participation of the many property owners and volunteers
- This project was made possible by support from Flinders University and the Northern Marianas Humanities Council, a non-profit, private corporation funded in part by the National Endowment for the Humanities.



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Dr. Julie Mushynsky is a sessional lecturer in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Regina in Saskatchewan, Canada. She is also a consulting archaeologist for Canada North Environmental Services. She recently completed her PhD in archaeology at Flinders University in Australia and her dissertation focused on the archaeology of WWII karst defenses in the Pacific. The project was funded by Flinders University and the Northern Marianas Humanities Council, a non-profit, private corporation funded in part by the National Endowment for the Humanities. She is currently working on turning her dissertation into a book.



Fred Camacho is an avid hiker and avocational historian and archaeologist. He has been documenting Saipan's caves and tunnels on his own and with specialized projects for number of years. He is currently a discussion leader for the War in the Pacific: A Difficult Heritage project led by Dr Jennifer McKinnon.

3rd Marianas History Conference

Recent History

Marianas Sinahi: A Prestigious Enigma

By Judith S. Flores, Ph.D.

Folklorist, Historian, Teacher and Visual Artist

judyflores@guam.net

Abstract: *A crescent-shaped pendant carved from the thick hinge of the giant Tridacna clam shell is a prestigious and popular body adornment for contemporary Chamorros of the Mariana Islands. This paper outlines the history of the sinahi in contemporary times, from its revival from obscurity in the 1990s to its role in the development of Chamorro nationhood and identity. Yet, this object is rarely noted in historical documents, and archaeologists have not reported finding it associated with burials. What was its function in ancient Chamorro society? The value of the object is significant in terms of labor and skills needed to make it. Who made them, and why weren't the objects observed by early explorers and missionaries? What were they used for? Where are they now?*

Contemporary artist Gordon “Figo” Salas described the Marianas chain of islands as the “Sinahi Archipelago” because the 15 islands stretch over 500 miles in a northward crescent from Guam towards the Bonin Islands of Japan. He posted a satellite image that graphically emphasizes this shape. (Salas, Gordon “Figo”. Maga’lahi blogspot.com/ 2010). It is unlikely that ancient Chamorros ever saw this view, but their star navigation skills would have revealed the shape to them. Did ancient navigators create the *sinahi* pendant? These are some of the questions and suggestions for further research that emerged from two talks I gave about the enigma of the sinahi – first, at the September 1-3, 2017 Marianas History Conference in Saipan; and second, at the 2017 MARC Seminar Series presentations at the University of Guam on 21 November 2017. This paper details my presentations and incorporates ideas garnered from discussions.

Historical Overview

Chamorros of the Mariana Islands experienced near genocide during the Spanish colonial period, 1668 to 1898. A population estimated to be about 50,000 at the time of foreign intervention was reduced to less than 3,500 by 1710. Decimated by newly-introduced diseases and 30 years of sporadic battles against the Spanish, the remaining people, mostly women and children, intermarried with their colonizers and created a “neo-Chamorro” society (Rogers, 1995). When the US Naval government assumed rule over Guam in 1900 as a spoil of the Spanish-American War, the Mariana Islands were split politically. Guam became a US military base, while the northern

Mariana Islands were sold to Germany. Japan seized the northern Marianas in World War I, and used their foothold to seize Guam at the beginning of World War II. The US re-took the islands in a series of devastating battles in 1944. Guam became a US Territory in 1950 under an Organic Act of Congress. The Northern Marianas became part of the US Trust Territory, and was granted US Commonwealth of the Marianas status in 1976. The point of this brief political history is to show the many varied admixtures to the native Chamorro population. The repopulation of Saipan by Micronesian islanders beginning in 1815 added to the possible origins of the *sinahi*.

The Chamorro language continued to be spoken in the home, infused with new words derived from the Spanish language, and later by German, Japanese and American words. The Catholic religion introduced by Spanish missionaries continued to be practiced. Indigenous beliefs persisted, often hidden within colonial rituals. Indigenous art was discouraged; dances and body ornamentation forgotten. Oral histories were not passed on; and ancient ways were forgotten.

Rapid Americanization following World War II saw a severe drop in Chamorro language speakers by the 1970s. American popular music replaced traditional songs. American television brought California street culture into island homes. This contemporary identity crises was countered by a Chamorro cultural renaissance that began to take root in the 1970s.

A Chamorro Renaissance

The 1970s Cultural Renaissance was influenced by several factors. A growing tourism economy created a hotel building boom. Excavations during the construction of hotels and infrastructure revealed ancient artifacts. This created an awareness of an ancient society, revealed in body ornamentation found in burial sites.

Chamorro history became an official class curriculum for the first time. Chamorro arts and culture were showcased in schools. Schools would vie to create the best-built Chamorro huts and present an abundance of traditional foods, crafts demonstrations and cultural dances. The celebration of Chamorro Month spread to businesses, which would offer samplings of Chamorro pastries and crafts displays.



“Princess of Ipao” burial revealed a woman adorned with Spondylus beads adorning her head, waist, across her chest, with disks hanging from her front and back. Alejandro Lizama Interview 1998. Photo courtesy of Dept of Parks Historic Resources Division.

Political changes in Micronesia caused Chamorros to think about self-determination. Islands of the former Trust Territory negotiated their political status. Identity began to develop around nation-building and Chamorro pride. Chamorros began to re-connect with their Pacific island brothers and sisters.

Chamorro Artists’ Responses

Artists first embraced artforms remembered by their elders: weaving, bilembaotuyan, kantan Chamorita, blacksmith forged tools, and Spanish-era dances.



1988 Artistic presentations were by palm leaf weavers, blacksmiths, 1 canoe carver, Chamorita singers and colonial-era dances. PHOTOS BY RON CASTRO.

“Ancient” Chamorro dance was re-created in 1984, based on research of missionary documents that described lifestyle activities. Movements, sounds and rhythms were borrowed from Micronesian and Polynesian dances.

Guam and CNMI first officially participated in the Festival of Pacific Arts in Australia in 1988. This Pacific-wide festival which happens every four years, is hosted by a selected island, rotating among Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia. Chamorro artists participating in the Festivals were inspired and influenced by their fellow Pacific Island artists. They began to re-connect with their Pacific Islander brethren.



Ancient Chamorro dance was re-created in 1984 and presented at the 1988 Festival. Notice the absence of body ornamentation except for a few flowers. PHOTOS BY J.FLORES.

First Awareness Of The Sinahi

The *sinahi* was first worn by Angel Santos as leader of Nasion Chamoru, formed as a Chamorro rights organization in 1991 to protest military land-taking and to force local officials to implement the “Land for the Landless” law. The object, which he wore as a neck pendant, was obviously very old, with the look of old ivory. A few collectors

found the object, but it was very rare. Artists began to replicate the object to show support for activists.

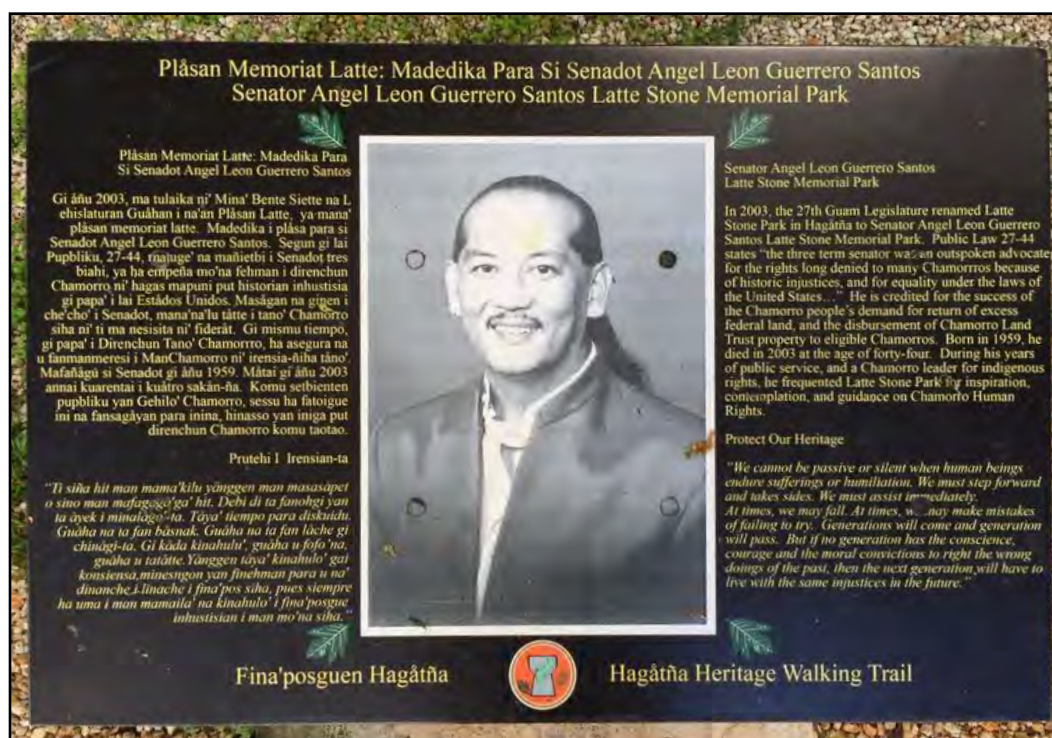


Photo source: Guampedia.com. Juried articles about Angel Santos and Nasion Chamoru by Dr. Michael Bevacqua

The pendant was first reference by German Governor Georg Fritz' book, Die Chamorro (1904):

“The half-moon shaped stones with pierced tips illustrated in Figure 4b, found in three different sites on Tinian, Saipan, and Alamagan, seem to have served as money of the ancients. Eight of the largest of these were found in the ruins of Alamagan standing upright in a buried container made of fired bricks.” (1986, p 36. CNMI Division of Historic Preservation)



“SINAH” on display in the Berlin Museum Für Volkerkunde in Germany.

Sketch 4.b of “moon-shaped objects”, top right. Description for 4.b. says, “Ancient Chamorro Pendants”

My research for Chamorro artifacts in European museums revealed three large *sinahi* displayed at the Berlin Museum of Ethnography. The only details attached to the objects were that they were from the Mariana Islands.

Approximately 6” long from tip-to-tip. It is carved from the dense, thick hinge portion of the giant *hima* (*Tridacna*) clam. Each end has a slanted hole drilled through the tip from which a cord was probably tied.

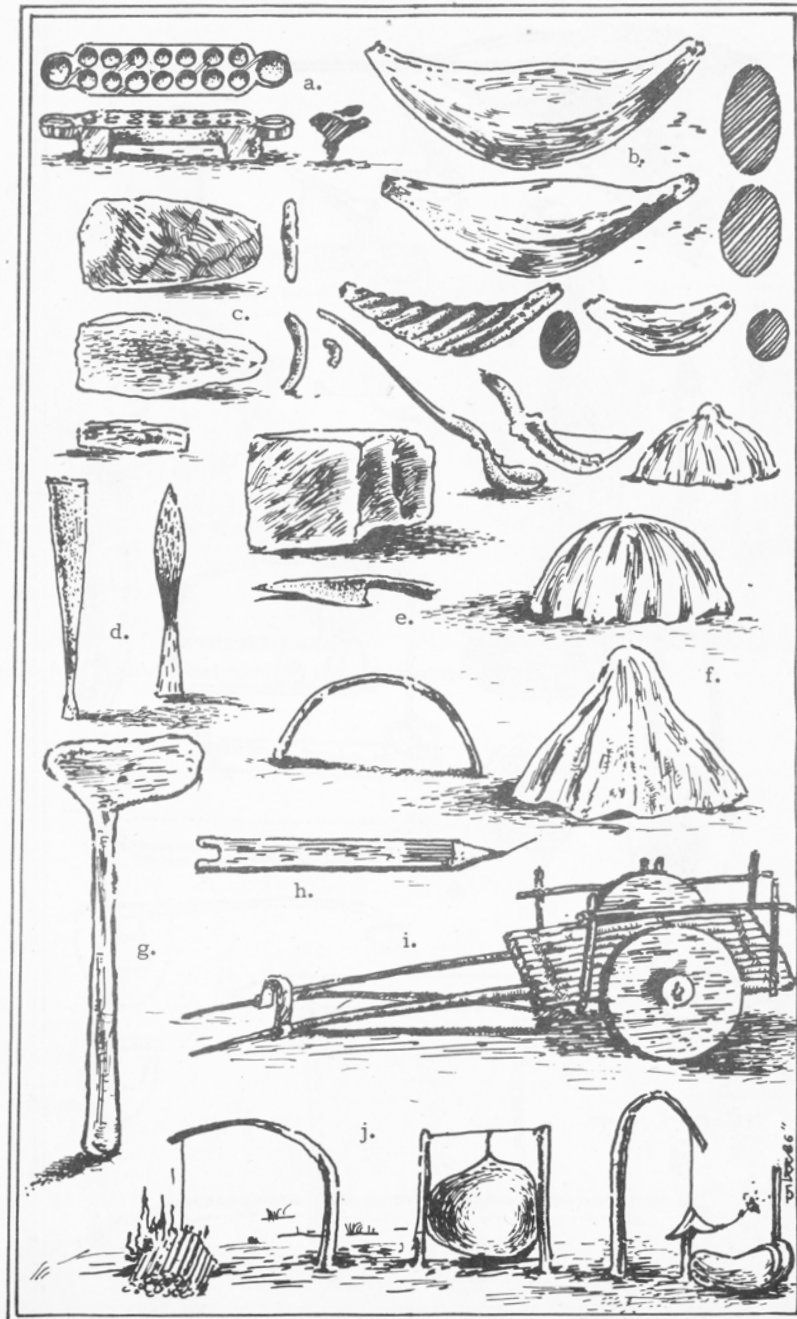
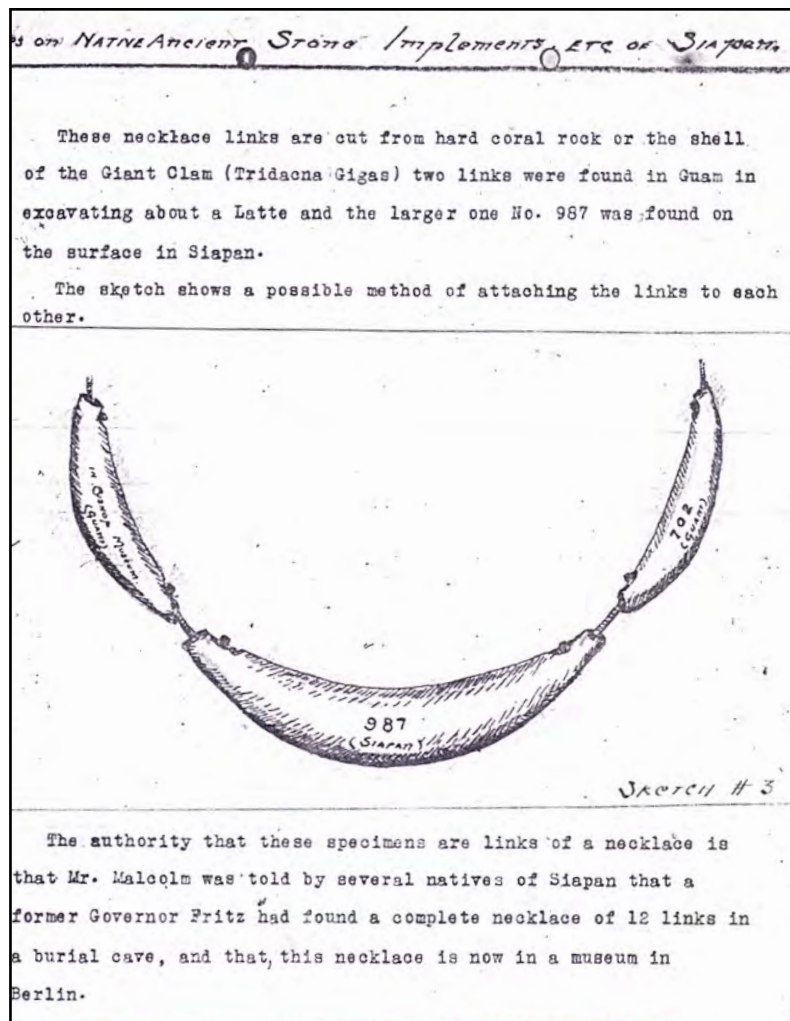


Figure 4. Original Illustration from Fritz's Journal Article. a. Tonka Board; b. Ancient Chamorro Pendants; c. Stone and Shell Adze Blades; d. Iron Adze Blades; e. Iron Implement; f. Clavos; g. ?; h. Net Repairing Needle; i. Bullcart (Kareta); j. Traps. (Redrawn by R&M Printers).

OFFICIAL PHOTO BY GRAFF FROM THE BERLIN MUSEUM

The next known reference to *sinahi* was by Hans Hornbostel who collected Chamorro artifacts in Guam and Saipan. In 1924 he wrote:

“..two links were found in Guam in excavating about a Latte and the larger one No. 987 was found on the surface in Saipan.



The sketch shows a possible method of attaching the links to each other. The authority that these specimens are links of a necklace is that Mr. Malcolm was told by several natives of Saipan that former Governor Fritz had found a complete necklace of 12 links in a burial cave, and that this necklace is now in a museum in Berlin.”

Hornbostel, H. and G. (1924). Microfilm 261.1 contains the Hornbostel papers filed in the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Proud of their ancient heritage, and seeing scientific excavations in ancient sites being stored and inaccessible, prompted some Chamorros to collect artifacts beginning in the 1970s. Several interviewees described being “given” artifacts to their care when they walked jungle paths; or finding them in storm-washed areas or excavated dirt piles. Some described these artifacts as containing spirits that followed them to their homes. By the 1990s several collectors were showing and talking about their collections at schools, especially during Chamorro celebrations. Any *sinahi* among these collections were greatly treasured by the collector and their source was typically not shared.



A Search To Confirm Sinahi Found On Burials

Mr. Noel Quitugua, formerly of the CNMI Historic Preservation Office, shared a photo of his *sinahi* collection, with the following note:

“The term Kalang is attributed to an elder from Rota who told Mr. Richard Manglona the vernacular word for the pendant...

TOP: My first pendant was found (1974) in Puntan Agingan, Afetna, on the reef at the exact Santa Margarita shipwreck site. It is now in the care of my nephew, Fabian Indalecio, as part of his exhibit.

SECOND: This was given to me by my sister which she acquired from her friend who found it on a burial remains in the island of Sariguan. The pendant was placed on the frontal neck section of the remains.

THREE SMALLER pendants I found in the village of Chalan Piao in 2000.” *Noel Quitugua, August 2017. Email message.*

John Castro worked on several archaeological sites during his time at the CNMI Historic Preservation Office. He stated the following:

“I have recovered this artifact on archaeological sites but haven’t encountered it on a Burial;

Saipan HPO has a beautiful piece still intact 6” long...discovered during the testing phase of the court house construction not on a burial;

The other is ..the Casino site in Saipan by Swift and Harper Archeological Resource Consultants in 1995 ...less than a foot below surface;

In Luta, [Rota] someone shared that he had found one after the road to Coconut Village was graded;

Alamagan island also encountered one in a latte site, exposed by erosion.” *John (Mamis) Castro, Aug 16, 2017. Email communication*

Archaeologist Judith Amesbury supplied the following statement:

“Darlene Moore and I have done archaeology together on Guam, Saipan, Tinian, and Rota for 29 years, and we have never worked on an excavation where a *sinahi* was discovered.

Another archaeologist I know told me he (or the group he was working with) have found only one *sinahi*...it was not more than 3 or 4 inches.

People sort of assume that these kind of items are found on human burials, but Darlene told me that she doesn’t know of any *sinahi* found on a human burial. That would make news among the archaeologists.

I know that some collectors have old *sinahi* that were found in the ground. But since collectors don’t usually record the archaeological context, we don’t know much about those artifacts.” *Judith Amesbury, Micronesian Area Resource Services. April 2017. Email message*

Scott Russell, former CNMI Historic Preservation Officer and editor of *The Chamorro*, added:

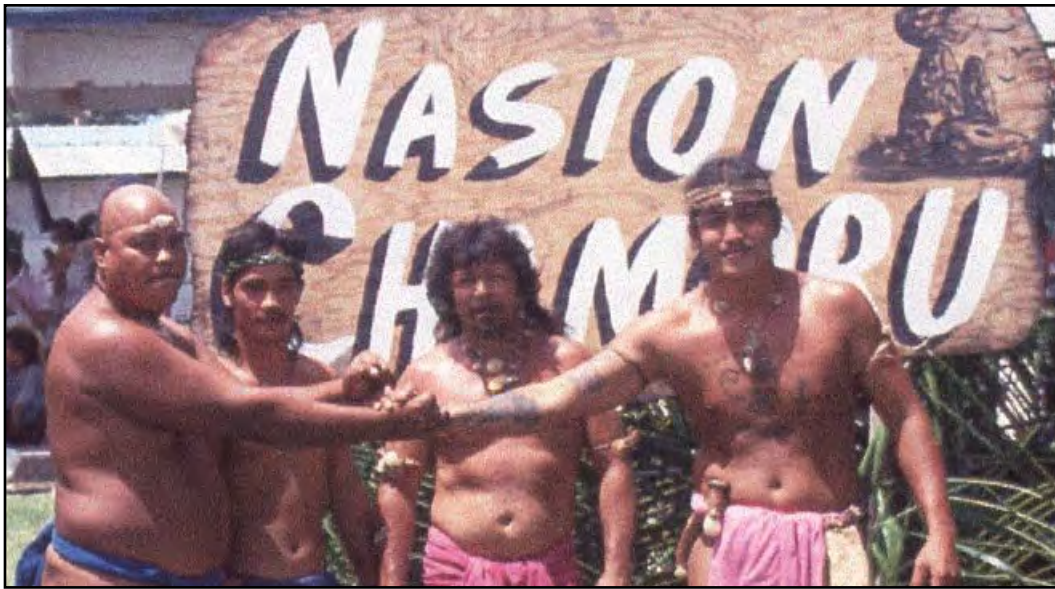
“The information about the linked necklace comes to Hornbostel as second hand information. It is hard to assess the accuracy of the statement given by Mr. Malcom.

In 1999, a German couple, Mr. and Mrs. Klaus Moller of the German Consulate in the Philippines arranged for our museum to receive a collection of index cards that described artifacts collected by Fritz which he subsequently sent to the Berlin Museum of Ethnology. Each card has a b/w photo of the artifact. The *sinahi* that is in the latest edition of “The Chamorro” (2001, Figure 30) came from that collection. There was no mention of a multiple-*sinahi* necklace... with the other artifacts. I suspect that some of the details related to Malcom might have been altered in translation.” *Scott Russell, former CNMI HPO Officer and editor of THE CHAMORRO. Email communication, August 2017*

While the use of *sinahi* in ancient times is inconclusive at this time, the object has become a significant marker of Chamorro identity today. This began with the formation of Nasion Chamorro, whose founder, Angel L.G. Santos, wore a *sinahi* neck pendant as a mark of Chamorro pride and connection with his ancient heritage.

Building Nationalism

Chamorro activists worked to create a strong link to their ancient past. Some began to dress like ancient warriors. They began to adorn their bodies with icons that linked them to an ancient past.



Proud Nasion Chamoru members stand in front of their display booth at the Guam Micronesia Island Fair, 1994. L-R: Danny “Pagat” Jackson, unidentified, Johnny “Matingan” Siguenza, and Ko San Nicolas. PHOTO BY J.FLORES, 1994

Chamorro artists were sympathetic to the Nasion Chamoru movement and began to create tangible objects that harkened back to a time before colonial interruptions. By 1996 activists were beginning to use *sinahi* replicas. Two 1996 photos of activist confrontations with military gatekeepers in Guam show a mix of Chamorro body ornamentation, from Spanish-era gold crosses to shell pendants.

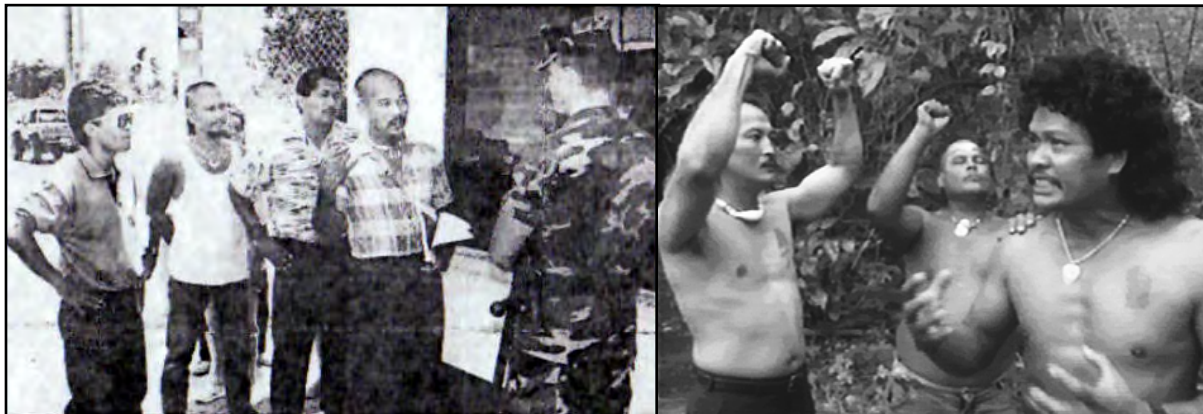


Photo A: TIYAN WARNING, 1996. Photo B: Honolulu Star Bulletin, 12/19/1996. www.guampedia.com/nasion-chamoru/

In 1998, the first Chamorro Artists Association formed, I A’CHA’OT GUAHAN SIHA, at The Guam Gallery of Art in the Chamorro Village, Hagatna. Encouraged by President Filamor Palomo Alcon and others, Artist Joe “Mala’it” Garrido created a series of charcoal sketches that depicted ancient Chamorro Maga’lahi, inspired by present-day Chamorro faces.



*Maga'lahi (L) Aguarin & (R) Taga drawn by Joe "Mala'it" Garrido, 1998
(inspired by contemporary Chamorro faces).*

Revaluing Ancient Valuables

Ben Del Rosario earned his name "Sinahi" as being skilled at carving the crescent-shaped object. The final hole drilled through each end of the *sinahi* was difficult to achieve without breaking the brittle *Tridacna* shell. By 2000, Ben "Sinahi" had established himself as a skilled carver of the *sinahi*.



Photo by J. Flores, 2000.

Another pioneer artist, Joe Guerrero, carved in wood, stone, shell and bone to create one-of-a-kind art pieces and replicas based on the use of natural materials and historical/archaeological artifacts and images. By 2000, he was also successfully carving *sinahi*.

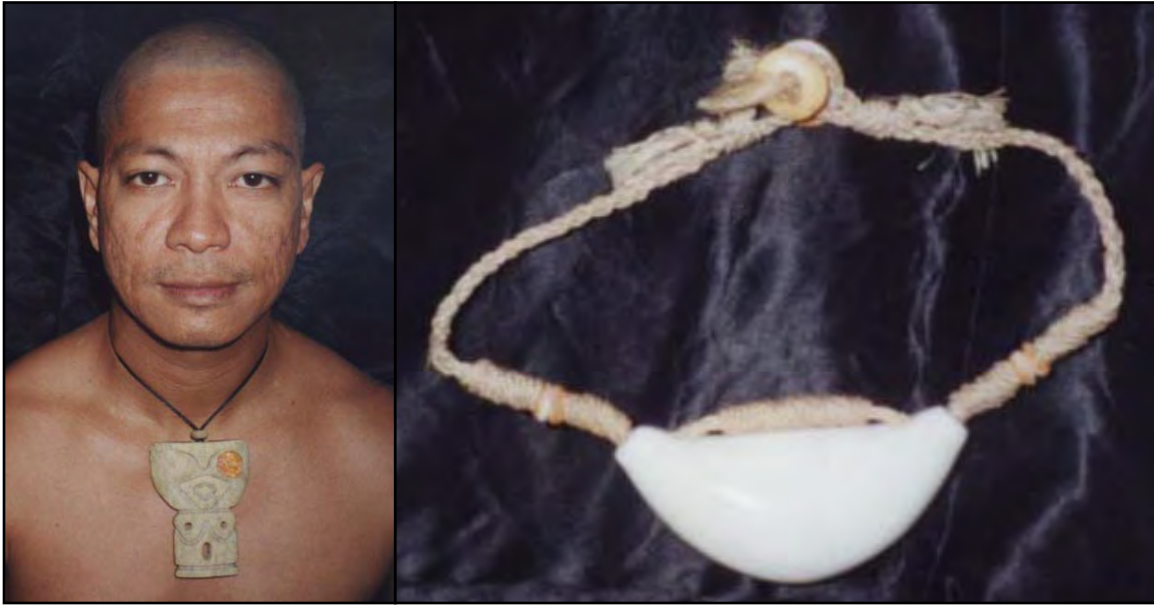


Photo by J.Flores, 2000.

The Power Of Social Media

Contemporary artists can be seen on Facebook, YouTube and media channels – a powerful medium for sharing information and mis-information. A Google-search for *sinahi* revealed several sites that showed beautiful interpretations of *sinahi*:

- Guahan Heritage Carvings/www.facebook.com shows George Francisco's examples of *sinahi* storyboard carvings.
- Guampedia.com. A juried-entry online encyclopedia affiliated with the Richard Flores Taitano – Micronesian Area Research Center at the University of Guam.
- New Moon Creations/www.facebook.com shows many *sinahi* and other body ornamentation made by Ben “Sinahi” Del Rosario.
- Sinahi According to si Mama Jill/www.youtube.com/watch?v=yAiGCIWPx_U A UOG Tritonfilms production by Dr. Hattori's Spring 2012 Modern Pacific History Class
- Connecting to the Past Through the Sinahi/www.youtube.com/watch?v=PoIET1e8IdE UOG Tritonfilms production by Dr. Atienza's Spring 2012 History of Guam Class
- Island Images, Military News Channel on cable TV features many stories about contemporary artists.

- Salas, Gordon “Figo”. Maga’lahi [blogspot.com/2010 - 2013](http://blogspot.com/2010-2013) *sinahi* creations and exhibits of artifacts, Mariana Islands

Social media shows the varying degrees of connections artists have made to their ancient past. A spirit of Chamorro pride has clearly developed since the beginning of the renaissance in the 1970s. Today, more than a generation of Chamorro youth have participated in dances, songs, and crafts that proudly display Chamorro body ornamentation. Our youth of today are clearly connected to their ancient heritage.

Artists are at the forefront of creating icons that evoke Chamorro identity. They are also subjected to criticism from peers and the general community if their creations push boundaries of cultural sensibilities beyond acceptable limits set by its members. It is the nature of artists to be inspired by ideas and to express their inspirations with ever-increasing levels of skill and creative ingenuity. Artists by their creative nature exceed boundaries set by historical, archaeological, geographical, and many other parameters. Artistically, this is acceptable and even expected. Ultimately, the test of time will determine the acceptance of an iconic movement, sound, or image. The Chamorro artistic renaissance has produced a classic set of dance movements, sounds and iconic images that have flourished since the 1970s. The *sinahi* is prominent among these icons of Chamorro identity.

As we continue to research the origins of the *sinahi*, we need to qualify authentication as opposed to the creative spirit that this icon has fostered. It is problematic to “authenticate” cultural property. Dr. Vince Diaz responded to a request by the arts council in 1995 to authenticate the issue of Chamorro Tatu by making the following statement:

The harm comes when the question of authenticity and the process of authenticating — drawing upon very specific time periods and perspectives as the grounds for certification — ends up employing narrow definitions of culture and history. It hurts the self and hampers progress when the question of authenticity and the process of authenticating something becomes a process that suffocates a peoples’ cultural ability to revive, invent, create and innovate. In my studies of Chamorro and Micronesian custom and tradition, the most inspiring theme of history is the cultures’ durabilities; their ability to move their traditions and customs throughout the course of time and influence from without. (Diaz, 1995: email statement)

This statement applies to the issues surrounding the *sinahi*. What can artists say about their artistic creations? The following are examples of possible approaches:

- 1) We don't know how our ancestors used the object we call *sinahi* today. We do know that it was so valuable that no historical accounts ever reported seeing it.
- 2) Today we respect the high artistic skill of our ancestors who made the *sinahi* by wearing it proudly as a symbol of our Chamorro heritage.
- 3) One way to avoid the "authentication" issue is to say, "this is my interpretation.."

Conclusion

Sinahi is a term that means new moon in the Chamorro language, so called because of its crescent shape. It has also been called Kalang (pendant) in the Luta vernacular. Georg Fritz called the crescent objects he collected "moon-shaped", and the Chamorro word *sinahi* may have derived from his reference. *Sinahi* is the contemporary name given to these objects. Although he found and gave Marianas' *sinahi* to the Berlin Museum and sketched them in his book, he does not explain where he found them. Hornbostel's notes and sketch say that he was told that they came from a burial cave not on burial remains. A few *sinahi* have been found in archaeological excavations.

According to archaeologists none have been found on a burial. A few collectors have them in their collections. None can be officially verified that they were found on a burial. However, that doesn't mean that it couldn't have happened at some time in our history. The heirs of our ancient culture can decide how much importance should be given to the issue of authentication. In this search for the origins of the *sinahi*, we need to have open, sharing of information among collectors, historians, and archaeologists.

This brief overview of artistic production since the 1970s shows that the makers of Chamorro heritage jewelry have progressed in their artistic skills to a level that can compare favorably with indigenous artists anywhere in the world. The art produced shows examples of beautiful interpretations and fine workmanship that have been inspired by ancient artifacts. They emote a sense of cultural pride and identity for those who admire and wear them. The *sinahi* remains an enigma from ancient Chamorro times. Let us continue the search!

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From Exotica to Erotica: Historical Fiction or Fictional History in Mariana Islands Novels, 2012-2017

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Abstract: *For much of the 19th and early 20th centuries, the Pacific novel referred to works by Herman Melville, Robert Louis Stevenson, James Michener, and other Western writers. More recent decades have seen the emergence of indigenous novelists, led by the likes of the late Epeli Hau'ofa of Tonga, Albert Wendt of Samoa, Sia Figiel of Samoa, and Patricia Grace of Aotearoa New Zealand. Indeed, fictional works written by natives about Pacific Islands south of the equator have proliferated over the past 40 years.¹ The same, however, could not be said of our region, the near-absence of Micronesian novels in Pacific Literature classes across the region attesting to this lacuna.² Since 2012, however, more than 10 novels have been published that feature the Mariana Islands, the Chamorro people, and our indigenous culture. These novels make heavy use of island landscapes, Chamorro legends, and Marianas history, sometimes as mere backdrops in their storylines but other times as key ingredients in their plots' unfolding. This brief paper, firstly, summarizes some of these novels in the hopes that local readers might be inspired to seek them out and read what others are writing about our islands and culture. Secondly, this work analyzes some of the ways in which these novels represent Chamorro culture and history – at times exotically and sometimes erotically. Thirdly, this project evaluates the historical accuracy of the novels, assessing the degree to which the stories fairly and ethically represent the actual historical events around which their plots revolve.*

The Exotic Environment

The Greeks defined “exotikos” as “foreign,” this notion extending into modern times to include characteristics or qualities “from another country” and thereby deemed to be “mysteriously different or unusual” (merriam-webster.com). The central idea behind the exotic emphasizes the non-native and strange origins of a person, place, or thing in order to pinpoint its difference or “Otherness.” The Pacific Islands as exotic is a common motif in literature, film, and other forms of popular culture, and in each of the novels, written by both Chamorro and non-native authors, the otherness of both

the Chamorro people and culture, as well as the island landscape, is central to the story.

On perhaps the most basic level, Mariana Islands' exoticism is expressed in terms of the tropical environment, ranging from balmy weather to gentle breezes, from sandy beaches to dense jungles. The novel *Spirits of the Island* (2014), for example, demonstrates this practice, describing Guam as a tropical island with "warm sun and endless beaches" (30), a "gentle breeze" (198, 1121, 1939), "magnificent views" (978), "wonderful beauty" (37), and pinkish-orange sunsets that make "photo[s] look surreal" (37).³ Not only the sunsets, however, evoke surrealism in this novel, written by East Texas author K. Latham and dedicated to indigenous Chamorro Daniel Affleje for "the many wonderful memories of Guam" (12). The plot revolves around a small group of teenaged Chamorros said to have been appointed by the *taotaomo'na* (spirits of the ancestors) to be "Guardians," individuals with the ability to shape-shift into the animal forms of a dog, a puma, a reef shark, a large bird, and a snake. The teens undergo these transformations when necessary in order to "protect the people from the jungle, and the jungle from the people"; their animal figures acting as "a go between for the living and the dead." Perhaps attempting to capitalize on the success of the popular *Twilight* book and film series that also features shape-shifting teens, in *Spirits of the Island* the exotic jungle becomes the mysterious space in which the ultimate exoticisms play out.

The island landscape similarly becomes an exotic backdrop in *Conquered: A World War 2 Erotic Historical Romance* (2016), written by Chamorro author Paula Lujan Quinene. This novel opens with the invitation to enter "the exotic world of the Pacific, complete with coconut trees, banana doughnuts, dolphins swimming in the ocean, and moonlight on Pago Bay" (12). Quinene tells the love story of Mangilao teenager Jessica (Jesi) Taimanglo and American GI Johan Landers, a member of the USMC invasion force. Beginning with Jesi hiding in a Pago Bay cave in the hours before Guam's "liberation" from wartime occupation, she is discovered by Japanese soldiers and on the verge of being raped when rescued by Johan who kills her attackers in the process. The remainder of the novel maps her undying love and lust for Johan, manifested initially in massive amounts of delectable Chamorro dishes, some recipes of which are included at the back of the book, woven between equally large doses of explicit sexual activity. Detailed and repeated descriptions of the coconut husking, splitting, and grating process, as well as mouth-watering descriptions of specific food items such as breadfruit, coconut crab, and *kelaguen* effectively serve to drill in an image of Guam as a place that would be unfamiliar, indeed exotic, to its presumably non-native readers.

Native animals, particularly in their capacity as food sources, appear exotically in numerous of the novels, with predictable references to *hilitai* (iguana), *fanihi* (fruit bat), wild boars, and slithering snakes. As in *Conquered*, the 2017 *Shadows in the Water*, a novel set on Guam during the whaling era of the 1800s, exoticizes the island diet. Authored by long-time Guam resident Joan Awa ostensibly as an homage to Chamorro culture with considerable parts of the novel written in the native language, the novelist writes of “exotic dishes the ship’s crewmen have eaten – an array of sea turtles, an endless supply of coconut, and a variety of savory fish that only swim in the ocean of the Pacific” (379). But tropical food-as-exotic runs into other problems in some of the novels, particularly in describing the presence of animals that are not actually found in Guam’s tropical island jungles. In *Some Boy* (2014), for example, the author erroneously states that Chamorros survived World War II by eating most of the monkeys on the island, while *The Ghost of Guam* (2016) describes the survival of Japanese straggler Yokoi for 28 years in the jungles near Talofoso as a result of his diet of squirrels, chipmunks, and rabbits. Going a step further, one novel resorts to creating a fictional beast. In Kent Johnson Olsen’s *Chamorro* (2014), a community of Chamorros living in an underground “cavern city” find themselves at the mercy of vicious *guegpo* birds flesh-eating specimens with 18’ long bodies, 30’ wing spans, and jaws longer than an alligator’s body (1297). Killing them and then finding a way back to the “sun world” forms the primary storyline of this self-labeled historical fiction.

In different ways and in different degrees then, virtually all of the recent novels portray the Marianas environment as exotic – as remarkable, different, and unusual. At the extreme, some elevate the environment to a central role in the storyline, as if our flora, fauna, and weather determine the course of our history. The particular convergence of heat, humidity, wildlife, spirit-filled jungles, sunsets, and sunrises experienced in the Mariana Islands fuels the action within each novel. Amidst the storied struggles with giant birds (in *Chamorro*), shape-shifting creatures (in *Spirits of the Island*), and jungles filled with a wide variety of both natural and supernatural threats (in *Some Boy*, *Ghost of Guam*, *Shadows in the Water*, and *Spirits of the Island*), one gets the impression that the described events could not have happened in just any other place. Consequently, as a result of being exoticized rather than treated simply as the geographical setting for the various plotlines, the Mariana Islands tropical environment becomes a principal actor in these stories – indeed, a determiner of history. In this act of environmental determinism, Chamorros become pawns of nature, rather than the agents, or makers, of their history and culture. Such exploitation of this notion of the exotic thus fails to credit Chamorros throughout past centuries for

making intelligent and thoughtful decisions concerning their families, villages, and islands.

From Exotica To Erotica

Dictionaries define the erotic as that which arouses sexual desire or sexual excitement (merriam-webster.com, macmillandictionary.com), and indeed, among the novels under consideration in this essay are two works categorized within the genre of erotica

Conquered and *Tropical Medicine* (2013). *Tropical Medicine*'s storyline revolves around a high powered New York art designer's business trip to Saipan and the sexual liaisons that await her in the surrounds of the Hyatt. This work does not merely contain tidbits of sexually explicit material; rather, its purpose is to deliver erotic content and the actual storyline is insignificant. It does, nonetheless, contain descriptions of modern Saipan and some of its tourist attractions, lust-worthy men being among them. The second erotic fiction, *Conquered*, declares itself with its subtitle, *A World War 2 Erotic Historical Romance*. Unlike *Tropical Medicine*, however, Guam's history is an important part of the storyline. Indeed, the Second War provides the ideal historical context to support the plot of a heroic American soldier who rescues a Chamorro damsel in distress from the violent clutches of evil Japanese brutes.

Quinene's *Conquered* fuses the exotic with the erotic in numerous ways. Despite its wartime context, this story is ultimately a love story set in a romantic environment, thus every breeze is a sensual treat, every sunset more glorious than the one before, and every Chamorro dish a stimulating explosion of scent and taste. In an interesting twist of the definition of exotic as foreign, different, or unusual, *Conquered* exoticizes its leading female, Jesi Taimanglo, in terms of traits that would seem not unique but instead familiar to its readership, presumably comprised mainly of non-Chamorros who would be unfamiliar with the local foods described in detail throughout the book. Specifically setting Jesi apart from other local women are her frequently-referenced green eyes (476, 518, 2484, 4938) and light colored skin (689, 693, 1088, 4940). Due to these physical characteristics, attributed by Jesi to a "light-skinned" ancestor from a "long, long time ago" (695), she becomes distinguished from other Chamorros who are described as only as "pretty dark" (693). Her green eyes, coupled with persisting descriptions of sexual arousal activated by the scent of her coconut oiled skin (971, 1497, 1613, 3108, 4398), become the primary aspects of her exotic and erotic appeal to Johan.

Thus part of *Conquered's* exoticism entails a layering of traits both foreign and familiar; that is, rather than treating Chamorro women in general as exotic because of their physical and cultural "Otherness," *Conquered* isolates Jesi as unique because of her combined native and non-native characteristics. In *Conquered*, the exotic Chamorro woman is not some dark sensuous Islander cliché, but instead a coconut-scented woman who might pass for white.

Erotica is not limited to those works classified within the genre. Indeed, even in some of the non-erotic historical fictions, only a thin line separates the exotic from the erotic as gentle breezes, spectacular sunsets, and warm waters are often accompanied by sensuous and sexualized bodies. *Shadows in the Water* commits the stereotypical "hula dancer" sexualization of Pacific Island women with Awa describing a group of female dancers in terms of the "swaying of hips, the clanging of shells and the dark hair flowing with the wind" (459). Another novel, however, seemingly subverts this exotic-as-erotic motif. In *A Mansion on the Moon* (2015), Chamorro author C.S. (Cathy Sablan) Gault repeatedly refers to her protagonist Vivian as "exotic," yet conspicuously avoids equating that with eroticism or sexuality. Instead, Vivian's exoticism is explicitly defined in terms of curiosity (1986); resilience, strength, and physical fitness (2240); confidence (2664); and rarity (4688). Despite the author's declared exoticism of this character, Vivian is not at the same time turned into a sexualized object of physical desire. In this way, Gault redefines the terms of the Island exotic, emphasizing outstanding character traits rather than physical difference.

Interestingly, some of the novels under review eroticize the male body more so than the female one, a departure from the typical sexualization of Pacific women as seductive, hip-swaying, coconut scented hula dancers. The erotic novel, *Tropical Medicine*, described little of the female lead character, instead focusing on the three men with whom she has sexual encounters. Ambrose exploits the "sex on the beach" fantasy with the main character who, while on a business trip to Saipan, imagines herself on a hidden beach, "lying under a hanging cliff, with waves breaking and salt air, watching the sunset" while engaging in explicit sexual activity (280). She describes her main interest, Gregorio, as "a shaggy-haired, barely-clothed, chocolate-skinned fisherman ... [who] smelled like salt, sweat, and Budweiser" (323-327). Describing his skin as "the color of the gooey syrup at the bottom of a Starbucks mocha" (587), Gregorio is her "tropical medicine, a close and special friend who gave me something amazing" (893).

Similarly eroticizing its male characters, Latham's paranormal shape-shifting fiction, *Spirits of the Island*, describes its leading male, Miguét, as having a "chiseled chest and sexy six-pack abs" (348) and his circle of male friends as "all varying degrees of hotness" (1151). After meeting this cohort of teenaged males, Tori, the primary female character, asks, "*Do all island guys look buff and sexy?*" (1153, emphasis in original). The sexualization of Chamorro men extends even to their speech, with Tori commenting that "the light accent in [Miguét's] voice was enough to send a rush of heat to my cheeks" (204).

In these works, the authors commingle the exotic island landscape with the erotic sexuality of its Chamorro male and female characters. This motif of linking the exotic and erotic should perhaps come as no surprise, since the global tourism industry's portrayal of the Pacific as a place for weddings, honeymoons, and romance is well-entrenched, particularly in Polynesia and Micronesia. Pacific Islands have ostensibly become ideal places in the world's imagination for the fusion of the exotic and the erotic.

Historical Fiction Or Fictional History?

All of the novels under review could be classified as works of historical fiction, a genre that has recently mushroomed in popularity. Historian Jerome de Groot notes in his 2010 *The Historical Novel* that "the last few decades have seen an explosion in the sales and popularity of novels set in the past."⁴ Yet what qualifies as historical fiction is not a simple matter. To address this issue, the academic journal, *Historical Novels Review*, created a working definition of the historical novel as "a novel which is set fifty or more years in the past, and one in which the author is writing from research rather than personal experience."⁵ Other scholars define the genre more inclusively, focusing on the subject matter, rather than a historical timeline. For example, Daniel McGarry and Harriman White, authors of the *World Historical Fiction Guide* (1973), define historical fiction more broadly as works that include "reference to customs, conditions, identifiable persons, or events in the past."⁶

By McGarry and White's definition, all of the novels under review qualify as historical fiction, dealing with the Mariana Islands and its people and culture at some point in the past. Four, however, situate their stories in current times – the erotic novel *Tropical Medicine*, set amidst Saipan hotels, duty-free shops, and Japanese tourists; the shape-shifting *Spirits of the Island*, with references to cell phones, tablets, and BFFs; *Mariana Sky* (2016) by Steven Afleje LeFever, pointing to Guam's hosting of FestPac in 2016;

and P.F. Kluge's *Master Blaster*, set in Saipan in the midst of the past decade's economic downturn. In these contemporary-era novels, the historical content and context is assumed, rather than explained and developed.

Self-categorized as historical fiction, LeFever's *Mariana Sky* (2016) tells the fantastical story of an English-speaking Marianas Fruit Dove named Tsewi that travels to each of the Mariana Islands in search of philosophical growth and spiritual enlightenment. Each chapter is set on one of the islands as the bird flies from the northernmost Farallon de Pajaros to southernmost Guam and conveys its impressions of the landscapes and personalities encountered in the voyage. Along the way, the bird comes into contact with Chamorros struggling to maintain their connections to the land and ocean, as well as their cultural and linguistic traditions with the American military posing as the chief threat to the islands, ocean, and Chamorro lifestyle. *Mariana Sky* is part travelogue, part armchair philosophy, and part historical and cultural critique, representing the Marianas as places of immense physical and cultural beauty that are currently threatened by arrogant and condescending imperialists. The author intends his story to be both a personal statement of cultural pride and a broad cry for Pacific Islander unity.

The last of the contemporary novels, *Master Blaster* (2012) by renowned author P. F. Kluge, tells a sordid tale of corruption and exploitation in Saipan. The title refers to an anonymous website author, "the Master Blaster," who takes it upon himself to expose to the world acts of malfeasance occurring on the island. His litany of offenses lists "Slavery, human trafficking, prostitution, gambling from cockfights to poker to casinos, drugs from pot to ice to crack, corruption, nepotism, swindling, crimes against tourists, sanctuary for Japanese and Chinese gangsters, disbarred lawyers, tax evaders and trust fund fiddlers" (503), and his website "blasts" Chamorros, both individually and collectively, for their assumed characteristics of laziness, greed, and foolishness. As the main character (and heroic figure) who arrived in Saipan as a Peace Corps volunteer in the 1960s and never left, the Master Blaster bemoans the loss of the island's simpler times, before the Commonwealth Covenant.

In the novel, various statesiders come and go, all attempting to fill some emptiness in their lives and wishfully thinking that Saipan might do the trick. In the meantime, Chamorros lurk in the shadows as crooked characters waiting for their golden opportunity to swindle the latest batch of new arrivals on the island. In *Master Blaster's* version of history, the Northern Marianas received the so-called gifts of America on a silver platter, and, having done absolutely nothing to deserve this largesse, proceeded

to squander the bounty, quickly and corruptly. In the process, the Chamorros have willfully destroyed their island and culture. Although praised by the *New York Times* as “stingingly funny,”⁷ this book serves as a rich illustration of Maori author Patricia Grace’s admonition that “books are dangerous.”⁸ At an Early Childhood Conference in 1985, Grace cautioned that “books are dangerous” to indigenous readers when they fail to reinforce our values, culture and identity; when they write things that are untrue; and when they perpetuate negative and insensitive images of indigenous, colonized people. In the case of *Master Blaster*, evidence of all three fill the pages, Chamorros being painted as generally unethical and lacking any cultural pride. Moreover, the author cynically implies that for Chamorros there is no turning back. This bleak perspective is voiced by one of Kluge’s key indigenous characters, “Big Ben” Romero of the Saipan Governor’s Office, who states, “We didn’t control the past. We don’t control the present. Or the future” (824).

In addition to these four contemporary novels, two works, *Chamorro* and *Shadows in the Water*, are set in the 1800s, and five (5) are situated around or shortly after the Second World War--*Conquered*, *The Ghost of Guam*, *Some Boy*, *A Mansion on the Moon*, and *Natural Destiny* (2012 by Sherry Dizon). These all make considerable use of historical events and contexts, yet for the most part would more appropriately be labeled as fictional history rather than historical fiction due to their free invention of historical events and wild interpretations of Chamorro culture. The issue of historical accuracy has been hotly debated by those who seek to delineate and evaluate the field of historical fiction. Some argue that these novels are, after all, works of fiction and do not represent themselves as histories, even if they categorize themselves as historical fiction.

But leading scholars of the historical fiction genre disagree. Richard Lee of the Historical Novel Society, for example, asks, “How much distortion of history will we allow before a book becomes more fantasy than historical?”⁹ Similarly, scholars such as Jerome de Groot of the University of Manchester and Susan Johnson of the *Historical Novels Review* urge novelists to embrace a “duty” to history and historical accuracy, as well as to avoid misrepresenting the past and/or committing anachronisms.¹⁰ This is particularly significant in light of a trend since the beginning of the 20th century to use historical novels “as something educational ... and as a form which in some ways was in dialogue with history rather than with the aesthetic strategies of fiction.”¹¹

While *Mariana Sky*, *Tropical Medicine*, and *Spirits of the Island* steer fairly clear of much historical commentary, both of the novels set in the 19th century, *Chamorro* and

Shadows in the Water, immerse themselves in it. Yet their storylines commit numerous errors of fact, in addition to considerable faults of anachronism, attributing to the 1800s aspects of Chamorro lifestyle from both pre-colonial and contemporary times. *Chamorro* obviously intends to be a fantasy rather than a history, as evident in its author's creation of a species of gigantic birds, the *guegpo*, that threaten Chamorro lives. Nonetheless, the novel opens up with the suggestion of cultural and historical authenticity by citing an "old Chamorro legend," but then delivers invented tale. Rather than the cosmological account of brother and sister gods, Pontan and Fo'na (sometimes spelled Puntan and Fu'una), who co-create the universe, the author invents a legend, writing, "The Ladrone Island was created when the Sun God placed three stone pillars in the ocean and covered them with dirt and trees and plants and animals" (44). Later portions of the novel describe 19th century Chamorros maintaining their "ancient religion" by continuing to keep the skulls of their leaders in order to worship them as *aniti* (855), a practice which ended in the 1600s. It also invents the cultural attire of Chamorro Chiefs, itself a position nonexistent by the 1800s, as comprised of a necklace made with a *guegpo* bird talon (5356) as well as "a tall headdress filled with guegpo feathers" (4013-4015). The blurring of fact and fiction that permeates this novel can be difficult for unfamiliar readers to discern, and indeed, some reviewers on Amazon.com have praised the author for sharing stories of their home island, for loading the book with educational facts, and for sacrificing so that future generations of Chamorros can learn their stories.

Shadows on the Water similarly misrepresents Chamorro culture in its exoticized description of cultural rites and ceremonial wear, as well as in its numerous anachronisms. Awa describes performance of Chamorro cultural dances and chants by young, nubile islanders in the late 1800s, a la the contemporary Pa'a Taotao Tano' or Fanlalai'an troupes, while also fictionally depicting the chiefly ceremonial dress to include "an overlay resembling a poncho made of dried coconut leaves and a tie in the center.... [while] dried nut shells dangle from a rope bound to their calves" (523). Further distorting Guam's history, the clans and warriors of Guam are shown to unify in order to wage war against visiting whalers, while the Spanish priest is called upon by the Chamorros as a respected ally to lend the services of his government's military in support of the native warriors. The characters have names like Torahi, Pulan, Fu'una, Isa, Inina, and Apu, again more reminiscent of 20th and 21st century naming practices, while the central figures live in latte stone houses, almost 200 years after their actual disuse. In much of the novel, events in history from the 1600s, 1800s, and 1900s become (con)fused within the fictionalized plot line. Despite its noble intent to

tell a story of the beauty and strength of the Chamorro people and culture, its misrepresentation of history undermines its credibility.

Chamorro supernatural beliefs are distorted in numerous of the novels, particularly whenever the subject of the *taotaomo'na*, or spirits of our ancestors, emerges. *Shadows in the Water* represents the *taotaomo'na* as primarily malevolent and the jungle as an ominous space. For instance, when one of the female characters, Apu, goes missing from the village for a secret rendezvous with some American whalers, her family and friends express their concern for her disappearance strictly in terms of a *taotaomo'na* occurrence (679, 789). Similarly representing them as malevolent, *Spirits of the Island* portrays the *taotaomo'na* as life-threatening forces whose dangers require the intervention of the shape-shifting animal characters. This novel, moreover, describes the *duendes* as malicious and dangerous beings. Named from the Spanish word *duende* meaning elf or goblin, they are typically described by Chamorros as dwarflike beings who lure away young children, occasionally for extended periods of time and returning them physically unharmed but often in a temporarily mute state.¹² In *Spirits of the Island*, however, the author takes fictional liberty by defining *duendes* as Chamorro children who had been slaughtered by the Spanish during their conquest of the Marianas and who continue to grow in population today by “trick[ing] living children to follow them into the jungle, then shrink[ing] them down and keep[ing] them there. Eventually these children become more Duendes” (3132-3134).

Perhaps the most severe historical inaccuracies can be read in *The Ghost of Guam*, a story based on the experiences and insights of the Japanese straggler, Yokoi, and his 28 years in the island's jungles. The novel flips between World War II and modern Guam, spanning Yokoi's wartime experiences to his eventual discovery and return to Japan. Right off the bat, the novel begins in error with the Japanese invading Guam a year too soon, in December 1940. It also creates a handy disclaimer by naming the main character Satoshi Yoko, rather than Shoiichi Yokoi. True to life suggestions of Chamorro suffering and malnutrition, American valor, and Japanese brutality infuse the story, as do flagrant errors and misinformation. For example, author Flannery writes that when the Japanese caught Chamorros hiding food, they would “cut off the victims' heads and put them up for display for months” (615). He also erroneously describes that “It was nothing special to see the soldiers cut open one of the Chamorro, while still alive tear out his heart and intestines to the screams of the person” (784) and, yet again, speaking through Yokoi, says, “I saw once how babies were tossed around on bayonets among a group of laughing soldiers, and another time thrown against a rock, and yet another time dumped into boiling water” (818). The

author also combines the wartime suicides of Japanese civilian and military personnel on Saipan's Suicide and Banzai Cliffs and situates them instead at Guam's Two Lovers Point (1124, 1251). The novel's grievous over-exaggeration of wartime violence ultimately undermines and even devalues the very real and actual truth of Chamorro wartime suffering.

Three other World War II novels fare better in terms of representing the day to day challenges and fears faced by Chamorros who lived through the experience, although serious questions of historical accuracy nonetheless arise. The novel *Natural Destiny* (2012) tells Guam's wartime history from the perspective of Sumay child, Bernidita, only eight years old at the war's onset. Novelist Sherry Dixon forewords her tale with a powerful story about her mother, the novel's Bernidita, who more than 50 years after the war suddenly and shockingly opened up about her wartime experiences. According to the author, over the course of several months, her mother shared her traumatic memories. Dixon describes, "I wrote notes in a journal so I would not forget. After I had filled a couple of journals, she said, "Sherry, this needs to be a book" (30). Thus was *Natural Destiny* initiated, Dixon dedicating the book "to my mother and the thousands of other Guamanians who struggled under the Japanese occupation during World War II" (11). Despite the grandest of intentions, however, a number of severe factual errors negate the book's historical value.

In *Natural Destiny*, Bernidita loses both her parents by the age of four and thereafter moves from Hagåtña to live in Sumay with her bachelorette godmother (Nina) and her godmother's mother (Nanan Beha). On December 8, 1941, while Guam celebrated the feast of the island's patron saint, Santa Marian Kamalen, Japan's bombings began. From this point on, the events, dates, and places become jumbled. As Dixon (mis)reports it, most of Sumay's people, including her Nina and Nanan Beha, were attending mass in the Sumay church when the building was bombed, killing virtually the entire village of Sumay and leaving Bernidita orphaned. The Japanese proceed to invade two days later, forcibly marching Bernidita and the other Sumay survivors to a concentration camp in Mannengon where they remained for the entire war's duration (2-½ years, rather than the actual 11 days). The story errantly describes that all of the infants and toddlers, as well as the elders and those with any physical disability, were ushered out of the camp and killed (603-631). All of the unmarried females, ages 7 and up, were taken to serve as comfort women to the Japanese (669), a horror that Bernidita escaped because an extremely short haircut enabled her to be mistaken for a boy. Although some Chamorro women were forced into sexual submission, it has never been reported on the scale described in *Natural Destiny*.

Indeed, historical memory can be slippery in the best of circumstances, even immediately after an event has occurred, and what a child remembers and comprehends of an event is also debatable. Nonetheless, while *Natural Destiny* may be the result of understandable errors of memory and judgement coming 50 years after the event from someone who was a child at the time, the compounding of errors makes for challenging reading. Although the novel admirably captures the emotional strength, determination and cohesion of the Chamorro wartime community, its glaring factual errors undermine its utility as a representation of Guam's wartime history.

Conquered similarly captures the history of Chamorro suffering, fear, and sacrifice, although it does not attempt to introduce many exact details of historical events. Despite being set during the war and classifying itself as historical fiction, *Conquered* is ultimately a love story that uses the historical event primarily as an occasion to throw together its two main characters, an American Navy officer and a young Chamorro woman. Rather, the novel is more instructive in terms of addressing Chamorro cultural attitudes towards Americans and the military, and the author makes it clear from the start where her loyalties lie. Quinene begins her book with a dedication not only "To the survivors of WWII on Guam," but also "To the military families who lost loved ones fighting for Guam during WWII; To the veterans and their families who have served Guam and the United States of America; To the men, women, and their families who still serve, protecting and defending Guam and the United States of America" (85). To them, Quinene states, "I thank you. We thank you" (85).

In *Conquered's* story of the 1944 biracial courtship between Jesi Taimanglo and Johan Landers during segregation-era America, notions of Chamorro gratitude to the US for its defeat of occupying Japanese forces are highlighted, but not in the usual terms of Chamorro men enlisting in the US Armed Services as a form of cultural reciprocity. Instead, the Islanders' gratitude plays out as eagerness for their daughters to marry white men. Although some of the American characters in the novel expressed surprise at the interracial wedding, Johan explains that "The locals were so grateful they didn't have any reservations" (2827). This story of American valor and heroism, accompanied by Chamorro gratitude, is a common narrative that can be read in most of Guam's history books and other publications concerning World War II. The accuracy of this perspective, however, is highly problematic and has been called into question in recent years, although it does undoubtedly represent views held by some portion of the population.¹³

The most ambitious of the novels, *A Mansion on the Moon* (2015) by C.S. Gault, is a saga across three-generations of Chamorro women in the de Leon family, beginning in 1899 with Amanda facing the arrival of the first Americans to colonize the island; followed by her daughter, Sylvia, who marries Tino Flores Camacho and incrementally acculturates through the early Americanization process; and ending with Amanda's granddaughter, Vivian, whose romance with a US Navy officer survives the hardships of World War II. Unlike *Conquered's* romanticized treatment of the American military presence on Guam, *Mansion* offers a more even-handed approach, showing signs of both American racist and condescending attitudes against Chamorros and benevolence and goodwill of some of the men stationed on the island. Gault's storylines show Chamorro characters to be resilient, facing major earthquakes and typhoons without fanfare or drama. After one typhoon, for instance, one of the Navy men reflects that "the strong Chamorro instinct for survival had developed not only out of their will to live, but also on their recognition of nature's foibles, their stoic acceptance of the consequences, and on their dependence on one another" (2727-2730). Chamorro response to the war would align with this general pattern of behavior, the novel concluding, "Nothing in Guam or for any of its people was ever going to be the same again. Yet the people of Guam would triumph over it all, as they always had" (4777). In *Mansion on the Moon*, Chamorros emerge as the true heroes of the war, raising pointed questions about the American military's postwar land-grabbing on Guam.

Exotica To Erotica: Historical Fiction Or Fictional History

Although this paper examines only a handful of historical novels, it highlights the need for local readers to immerse themselves in the discussion and analysis of works written about us. With the proliferation of on-demand presses and online vendors, publishing novels has seemingly never been easier. Moreover, while locating these historical novels, I encountered other literary publications worthy of attention, including collections of poetry, short stories, personal memoirs, and general travelogues.¹⁴ An explosion of children's books has also hit the market in recent years, some retelling cultural legends and folklore, others creating fictional stories, and yet others sharing personal experiences. One children's book by Riza Oledan-Ramos, for example, *The Boy Who Dreamed to Be with His Parents on Saipan* (2012), tells the story of a young Filipino boy whose parents leave him as an infant with relatives in Manila while they pursue career opportunities in Saipan. Although the book focuses on the emotional needs of children caught up in a migrant labor situation, it does nonetheless exoticize Saipan as a stereotypical paradise, replete with "white, sandy

beaches” (148), delicious fruits, and pleasant weather. The genre of children’s literature, with books written both in Chamorro and English languages, offers much opportunity for further analysis.

Works of historical fiction are easily accessible as both paperbacks and e-books to audiences around the world through global vendors such as Amazon and Apple’s iBook store. Written by Chamorros and non-Chamorros alike, these books contain elements of tropical exoticisms that portray the Mariana Islands as other-worldly paradises that look, taste, and smell unlike anything found in the Western world and are free from the problems of modern civilization. While perhaps enticing to readers, the romanticized, exotic imagery fails to reflect the complex challenges that Chamorros have faced over time. Exotic representations, furthermore, come dangerously close to committing an environmental determinism that privileges nature as the source of history, rather than focusing on actions and reactions of Chamorro people.

In the case of the novels under review, this research finds that grievous inattention to historical accuracy permeates most of them, as does some amount of serious cultural misrepresentation. These inaccuracies range from careless depictions of monkeys, giant birds, and chipmunks in the islands’ jungles to serious falsehoods about the experiences of violence during the Second World War. Breaches of creative license occur in the recitation and explanation of Chamorro legends and particular cultural beliefs (especially concerning supernatural phenomena such as *taotaomo’na*), and imbalanced, utterly negative descriptions of Chamorro character and morality further plague some of the novels. Despite taking up the seemingly innocent form of novels, these fictional works nonetheless become dangerous sources of misinformation about the Mariana Islands, as well as unwitting tools that undermine the vitality and vibrancy of the Chamorro characters.

Some novelists may rely on the convenient disclaimer that their work is fictional, thereby somehow excusing them from being accountable for factual errors. Yet novels that fictionalize our history and culture trivialize our history and culture and constitute a form of cultural exploitation. Such works dishonor the richness and complexity of the Chamorro experience, and surely we and our ancestors deserve better than this.

Endnotes

- ¹ Micronesian poets, on the other hand, have made significant contributions to Pacific literature, led by writers such as Craig Santos Perez and Cecilia Taitano Perez of Guam, Kathy Jetnil-Kijiner of the Marshall Islands, and Emelihter Kihleng of Pohnpei.
- ² See, for example, <<http://www.hawaii.edu/cpis/psi/>>, a site sponsored by the Pacific Studies Initiative, a joint project of the University of Hawai'i Center for Pacific Islands Studies and the East-West Center Pacific Islands Development Program (PIDP) that provides online instructional support, including sample syllabi, for Pacific-related courses.
- ³ The 11 novels were read as e-books on a Kindle reader, thus the references included in this paper all refer to the "location number" of the text, rather than the page number.
- ⁴ Jerome de Groot, *The Historical Novel*, Routledge, 2010, 152.
- ⁵ Sarah Johnson, Defining the Genre: What are the rules for historical fiction?, 2002, <https://historicalnovelsociety.org/guides/defining-the-genre/defining-the-genre-what-are-the-rules-for-historical-fiction/>
- ⁶ Quoted in de Groot, 986.
- ⁷ Janet Maslin, "A Far-Off Island: Where the American Dream Curdles," *New York Times* March 25, 2012.
- ⁸ Quoted in Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Zed Books, 2nd Edition, 2012 (1999), location 936.
- ⁹ Richard Lee, "Defining the Genre," <https://historicalnovelsociety.org/guides/defining-the-genre/>
- ¹⁰ de Groot, 288, and Johnson, "Defining the Genre."
- ¹¹ de Groot, 947.

¹² For elaboration on *duendes*, see “I Duendes” by Pale Eric Forbes.
<<http://paleric.blogspot.com/2011/10/i-dendes.html>>.

¹³ See, for example, the writings of Michael Lujan Bevacqua.

¹⁴ Craig Santos Perez’s works are especially noteworthy. See, in particular, his three collections of poetry: 1) *from unincorporated territory [hacha]* (2008), 2) *from unincorporated territory [saina]* (2010), and 3) *from unincorporated territory [guma’]* (2014) for which he was honored the prestigious American Book Award in 2015. He was also recognized with the 2011 PEN Center USA Literary Award for Poetry and, most recently, the 2016 Lannan Literary Fellowship.

Acknowledgements

In March 2017, I received an email inquiry from Professor Carolina Fernández Rodríguez of the University of Oviedo in Spain, a faculty of American literatures and cultures. As part of a research group studying literature written by American authors about “exotic” places, she encountered Guam through her discovery of the novel, *Conquered: A WW2 Erotic Historical Romance Set in Guam*, written by Chamorro writer Paula Lujan Quinene. Prof. Fernández Rodríguez took an interest in Guam’s past and present and emailed to ask me for recommend readings in order to learn more about us and our history. Her curiosity about Guam and novels about the island spurred me to read *Conquered*, and from there, other recent novels. It struck me that as a University of Guam professor who teaches classes in Guam history and Chamorro Studies, I ought to be familiar with these publications. So for that bit of motivation and inspiration, I offer my thanks Si Yu’us Ma’ase, Prof. Fernández Rodríguez.

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Presentation Slides

Marianas History Conference
Saipan, 2 Sept 2017

From Exotica to Erotica: Historical Fiction or Fictional History in Mariana Islands Novels, 2012-2017

Anne Perez Hattori, Ph.D.
Professor, Univ of Guam
History Program and Chamorro Studies Program

My purpose today?

- **Introduce a few novels so you might read them**
- **Analyze exotic and erotic themes**
- **Evaluate historical accuracy**

“Exotikos”

**Foreign
Different
Mysterious
Unusual**



Spirits of the Island

by K. Latham

Eirelander

Publishing, 2014

Spirits of the Island (2014)



Spirits of the Island (2014)

Assume animal form in order to:

**“protect the people from the jungle
and the jungle from the people”**

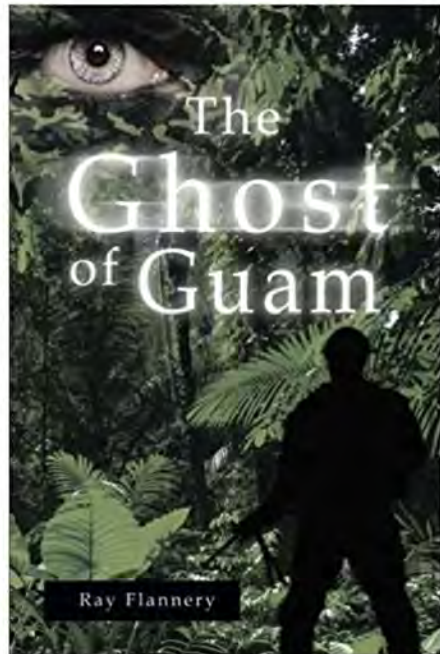
**“go between for the living and the
dead”**



***Some Boy* by
Susie Sample**

©susan sample
hughes, 2014

Monkeys?



***The Ghost of Guam*
by Ray Flannery**

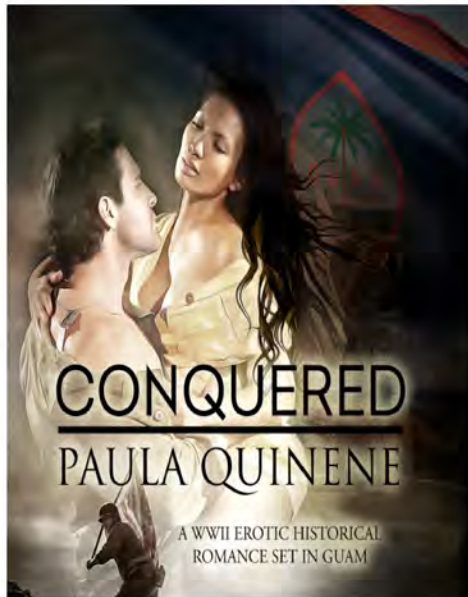
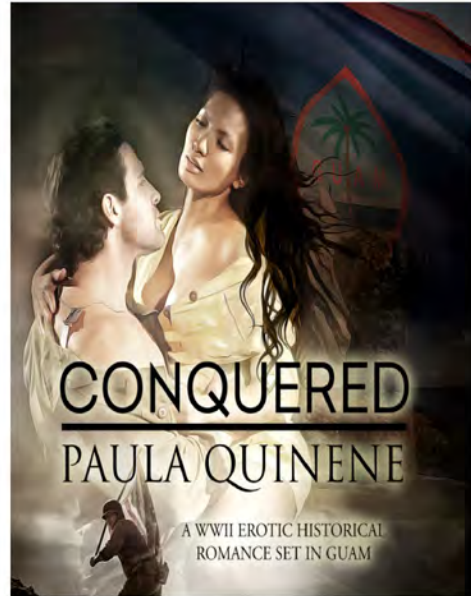
WestBow Press, 2016

- **Squirrels?**
- **Chipmunks?**
- **Rabbits?**

Pitfalls of Exoticism

- **Elevates environment to central role**
- **Environmental Determinism**
- **Islanders become pawns of nature, rather than the agents or makers of our history and culture.**

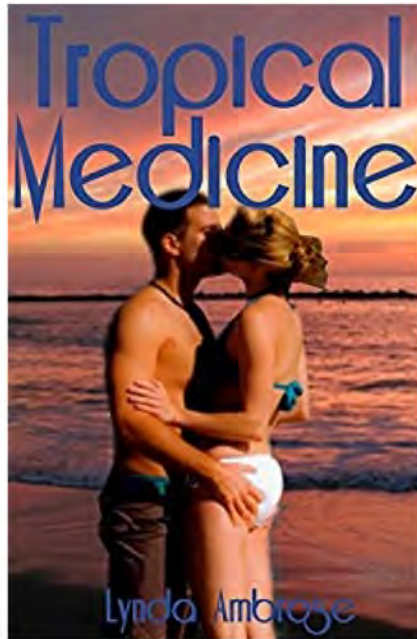
Erotica



Conquered by Paula Quinene

Infinity Publishing, 2016

- **Postwar gratitude
—Chamorros
eager to marry
their daughters
to military men**



***Tropical Medicine*
by Lynda Ambrose**

Amazon Digital Services,
2013

- **Eroticizes the male body**



***Spirits of the Island*
by K. Latham**

Eirelander Publishing, 2014

- **Miguet**
- **“the light accent in his voice...”**

Erotica

- **Commingling of Exotic with Erotic**
- **Both foreign and Chamorro authors**
- **Tourism's portrayal of Pacific**
 - **Place for weddings, honeymoons, romance**

Historical Fiction

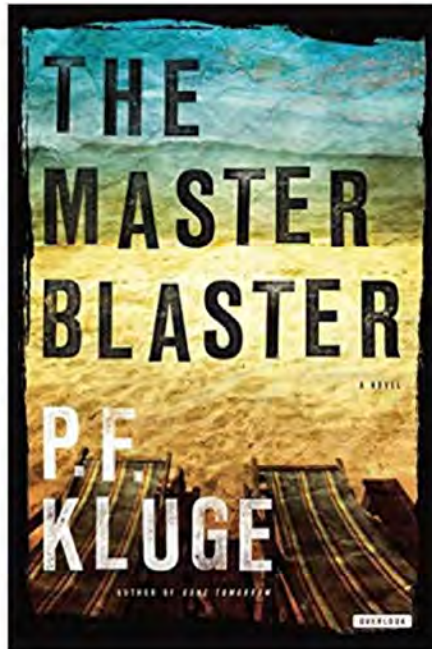
- ***Historical Novels Review*: a novel set 50 or more years in the past**
- ***World Historical Fiction Guide*: works with any reference to customs, conditions, identifiable persons, or events in the past**

Historical Fiction

- Issue of historical accuracy
- Novels as fiction and entertainment

VS

- A duty to history



Master Blaster by P.F. Kluge

The Overlook Press, 2012

- Saipan: corruption and exploitation
- Slavery, human trafficking, prostitution, gambling, drugs,...

Patricia Grace

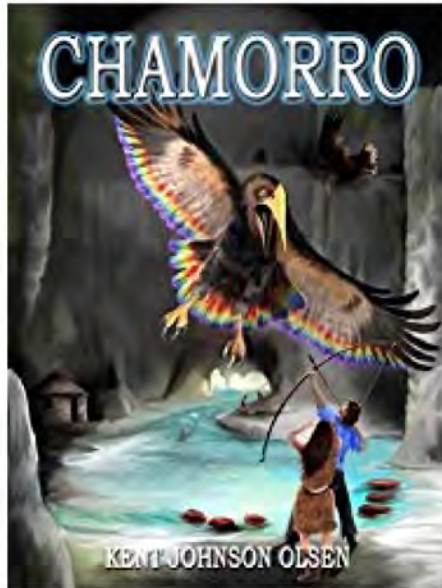
**“books
are
dangerous”**



Patricia Grace

Books are dangerous to indigenous readers:

- 1) when they fail to reinforce our values, culture and identity**
- 2) when they write things that are untrue;**
- 3) when they perpetuate negative and insensitive images of us.**



Chamorro
by Kent Johnson
Olsen

Outskirts Press, 2014

- **Guam in 1800s**
- ***Gueppo* birds**

***Chamorro* by Kent Johnson Olsen**

“Old Chamorro legend”

“The Ladrone Island was created when the Sun God placed three stone pillars in the ocean and covered them with dirt and trees and plants and animals.”

***Chamorro* by Kent Johnson Olsen**

Reviewer on amazon.com

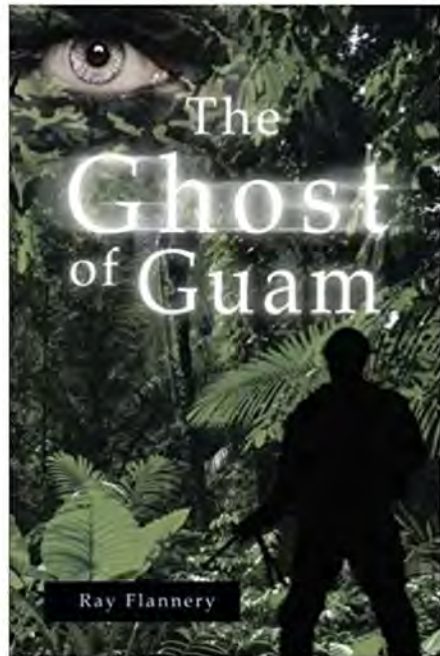
“Great story of my ancestors with tons of educational facts (language, customs, ways of life, legend, etc.)”

Jay Castro, 1/29/17



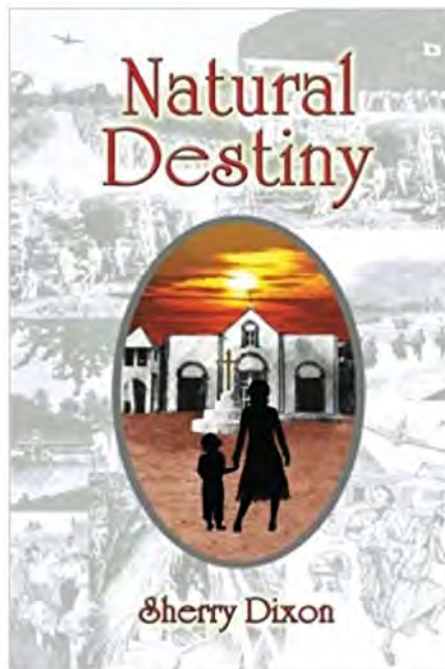
***Spirits of the Island*
by K. Latham**

- **Taotaomo'na**
- **Duendes**



***The Ghost of Guam* by
Ray Flannery**

- Banzai/Suicide Cliffs ~ Two Lovers Point on Guam
- Undermines and even devalues the real and actual truth of wartime suffering



***Natural Destiny*
by Sherry Dixon**

CreateSpace Independent
Publishing Platform, 2012

- Her mother Bernidita's story
- World War II
- Sumay, Guam

***Natural Destiny* by Sherry Dixon**

- **Historical memory slippery**
- **Childhood memories**
- **Glaring factual errors**

Some Concluding Thoughts

- **We need to read and analyze works written about us.**
- **Problems with historical accuracy and cultural misrepresentation**
- **Dangerous sources of misinformation**

Historical Fiction or Fictional History?

- **Fictionalizing our history and culture
= Trivializing our history and culture**
- **Cultural Exploitation**
- **Dishonors the richness and
complexity of the Chamorro
experience**

- - -



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Tides of Change: Mechanistic vs Organic Models of Education in the Northern Marianas

By Galvin Deleon Guerrero

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Abstract: *Since the Trust Territory administration, the history of education in the Northern Marianas has been characterized by a steady Anglo-Americanization of formal schooling in the islands. This trend is rooted in the industrial model of American education that arose at the turn of the 20th century to meet the workforce needs of the country's growing industrial economy (Zhao, 2009). That mechanistic model of education persists into the 21st century, despite new models of more organic learning that have emerged in the new millennium (Osborn, 2005). As opposed to mechanistic models of education that are standardized, hierarchical, and competitive, organic models are more personalized, engaging, and collaborative (Robinson and Aronica, 2015). Sharing some preliminary research towards a doctoral dissertation, the author will discuss the steady mechanization of education in the Northern Marianas, contrasting that mechanistic model with organic models of education that are not only emerging in 21st century pedagogy, but are also embedded in indigenous cultures.*

Introduction

Growing up, my late grandfather, Jesus Diaz Sablan, used to tell us this joke he heard while serving as an assistant to a white US military leader immediately after World War II. This leader used to tell him, "If you're white, you're alright; if you're black, stay back; but if your brown, stick around." Now, of course, at the time, I did not think anything of what he said. But looking back, what surprises me is not what this military leader said, but the fact that my grandfather told that joke so many times. He thought it was funny, because, to some extent, he thought it was true.

That perspective reflects a kind of internalized racism that sometimes affects oppressed or marginalized peoples (Fanon, 1952). In this landmark study of the psychological effects of racism and colonization, *Black Skin, White Masks*, Frantz Fanon (1952) explains how colonized peoples sometimes internalize the sense of inferiority imposed upon them by colonizers who tout their mother countries as superior. Under this construct, colonized peoples come to idealize the privileged lifestyles and cultures

of the colonizers, striving to emulate how they speak, act, and even dress. It helps explain why the colonized would come to believe that since they were brown, they could stick around, and then maybe partake in that privilege of being white.

I, myself, took this to heart. Growing up, I was too light-skinned to be considered Chamorro. Many people, even in my own family, called me “American Po’asu” and insisted on speaking English to me. On top of that, armed with that coveted US citizenship granted by the Covenant, there was a drive for everyone in our family and everyone on island to go to the states for college or a better life. So, it should come as no surprise that I chose to embrace white culture, going so far as to major in English, perfect my English so that it had no accent, and shunning my college’s ethnic clubs so that I could surround myself with nothing but white friends. However, despite those efforts, once in college, I realized that while I was too white for Saipan, I was too brown for Tacoma, Washington. Thus began my lifelong reckoning with what my grandfather told me. Should I stick around and wait until I get a whiff of that white privilege? Or should I come back home and come to terms with my own internalized racism?

Fortunately, my mother convinced me to come home after graduation, and I have spent the past 21 years in education trying to help my students understand Anglo-European culture without forgetting or shedding their own cultural or personal identities. Sadly though, in that time, I have come to realize that the very internalized racism that I had contended with and continue to struggle with has spread throughout our education system. Specifically, since the Trust Territory administration, the history of education in the Northern Marianas has been characterized by a steady Anglo-Americanization of formal schooling in the islands. This trend is rooted in the industrial model of American education that arose at the turn of the 20th century to meet the workforce needs of the country’s growing industrial economy (Zhao, 2009). That mechanistic model of education persists into the 21st century, despite a new model of more organic learning that has emerged in the new millennium (Osborn, 2005). As opposed to a mechanistic model of education that is standardized, hierarchical, and competitive, an organic model is more personalized, engaging, and collaborative (Robinson and Aronica, 2015). Moreover, this organic model seems to be embedded in the indigenous cultures of our islands. Ironically, though, just when current research is beginning to understand and appreciate the value of the organic model of education, here in our islands, we are doubling down on the mechanistic model, much to the detriment of our students, our welfare, and our culture.

To chronicle and discuss how this has happened here in the Northern Marianas, I will separate this talk into three parts. First, I will discuss the evolution of education and education theory in the United States, explaining how the mechanistic model emerged. Second, I will examine how the education system in the Northern Marianas coevolved with and mimicked the mechanistic model of the US. Third and last, I will explore the promise of returning to a more organic model of education, one that may not only help revalidate indigenous cultures, but also provide a more sustainable culture for living in the 21st century.

The Industrial Devolution Of Education In The US

To begin with, let us look at the roots of American public education. Free and compulsory public education as we know it did not emerge until the turn of the 20th century after education pioneer, Horace Mann, lobbied for schools that were patterned after Prussian common schools (Groen, 2008). This led to the creation of American common schools that were built to meet the workforce needs of the industrial revolution, so much so that the design of these schools was categorized as the factory model school (Darling-Hammond, 2000). This factory model had several key characteristics that mimicked the industrial factors after which they were patterned. First, the curriculum was highly standardized with children grouped by age, not ability, much in the same way that machine parts and processes were standardized in the industrial process. It was a curriculum based on what critical education theorist Paolo Freire called the “banking model”, in which the teacher merely transmits knowledge to students who passively take it all in (Freire, 1993).

Second, the daily class schedule was divided into distinct, specialized subjects that had bells signaling the transition from subject to subject, just like a factory workday for which bells indicated the start and end of tasks for factory workers (Robinson & Aronica, 2015). Third, the layout of schools was very similar to factory assembly lines, with students grouped into separate classes and seated in desks that lined up along neat rows and columns (Robinson & Aronica, 2015). Fourth, like the companies that ran industrial factories, the governance of schools was extremely hierarchical, with all major decisions about curriculum and teaching methods made by top-level managers like principals and superintendents (Robinson & Aronica, 2015). Fifth and last, in response to middle-class concerns over urban squalor and the surge of immigrants from Ireland, Italy, and Eastern Europe, American Progressives injected etiquette, national celebrations, and American patriotism into the school curriculum, all in order to better assimilate children of immigrant families into white, middle-class American

culture (Bullard, 2014). Indeed, that is how the Pledge of Allegiance became inscribed into American education, out of an effort to ensure the allegiance of foreign students to America, and not to their countries of cultural origin.

Taken together, these characteristics of the factory model school made schools into well-oiled industrial machines that, in turn, churned out workers for the industrial machine, with blue-collar workers manufactured to work the assembly line and white-collar workers manufactured to manage that assembly line. To this day, most schools, public and private, still resemble this 100-year-old mechanistic model. Schools are run by hierarchical management structures according to a standardized curriculum, with students transitioning from one specialized class to another at the sound of a bell, and often find themselves seated in neatly lined desks much like a factory assembly line who merely transcribe and regurgitate lecture notes from the teacher (Robinson & Aronica, 2015). And they still recite the Pledge of Allegiance.

So, the question is, why has this mechanistic model of education persisted? Towards the end of the 20th century, advances in brain science and behavioral and cognitive psychology introduced new paradigms for learning that could have revolutionized the model. However, socioeconomic and political forces beginning in the 1970s coalesced to reinforce rather than revolutionize this mechanistic model.

Prior to the 1970s, especially after World War II, the American public held its education system in high regard, especially as it helped war veterans advance in education through the G. I. Bill, creating an educated, middle-class workforce that stimulated the economy (Null, 2007). However, in the 1970s, economic stagnation, brought upon by the world oil crisis and increasing competition from foreign countries, fueled anxieties that American education was lagging behind other countries (Null, 2007). These anxieties culminated in the 1983 publication of *A Nation at Risk* by President Ronald Reagan's National Commission on Excellence in Education. Commissioned to evaluate the quality of American schools and colleges, especially in comparison to other industrialized nations, *A Nation at Risk* issued a damning assessment of American education. As its authors wrote, "the educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a Nation and a people" (p. 5). The report went on to assert that "if an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might well have viewed it as an act of war" (p.5).

This clarion call ushered in the accountability movement in education, which intensified rather than tempered standardization in American education. As part of this movement, more and more curricula were standardized across the nation, and standardized testing became even more prominent (Mehta, 2013). Moreover, the accountability movement increased the role that politicians and the general public have played in education (Jeynes, 2007). Whether by political oversight, popular initiative, or funding mandates, education decisions that were once entrusted to the professional judgement of educators were increasingly made by stakeholders outside education (Jeynes, 2007; Mehta, 2013). However, just as these political and societal pressures expected more out of education, since the 1970s, most public schools and colleges experienced a steady decline in public funding (Jeynes, 2007). This situation only intensified the tension between education and a public that demands more from it.

The accountability movement reached its apex in 2002 with President George W. Bush's No Child Left Behind Act, or NCLB, which raised the stakes of accountability. In exchange for more federal funds, states needed to implement more standards for educational quality and demonstrate annual improvement in student performance against those standards, which became known as adequate yearly progress, or AYP (Sherman, 2008). States were further authorized, under this funding scheme, to allow students to leave schools that failed to meet AYP, and states could also take over or even close down those failing schools (Sherman, 2008). Many states followed suit, not only accepting the high stakes terms of NCLB funding, but also adopting their own legislation that mandated standardized curricula, tests, teaching qualifications, and, in some cases, standardized instructional methods that dictated how teachers teach.

While NCLB became widely known for its impact on K-12 education, many in the general public overlooked a similar development in higher education. In 2006, US Education Secretary Margaret Spellings convened a Commission on the Future of High Education, which became known as the Spellings Commission. The Spellings Commission would go on to extend the accountability movement to higher education, which had largely been exempted from the movement because of its historic autonomy from such social and political pressure. The Spellings Commission proceeded to employ accreditation as a tool to impose standardization on any college or university, public or private, that received federal funds and whose students received federal financial aid. While accreditation had long been a voluntary process of peer review among comparable institutions, it was never really intended to force participating institutions to comply with standard requirements. However, the

Spellings Commission recognized that only accredited institutions could receive federal funds and only students enrolled in accredited institutions could avail of federal financial aid. Moreover, the Commission understood that only accrediting bodies approved by the US Department of Education could grant such accreditation. The Commission thus began requiring that accrediting bodies require accredited institutions to improve in standardized performance indicators, such as retention rates, graduation rates, and job-placement rates.

Despite these efforts, though, what ensued from the Spellings Commission and NCLB was far from what their architects intended. Not only did NCLB fail to raise student performance across the nation, but it widened the achievement gap for many students, especially minorities and the poor (Apple, 2007). More importantly, it increased standardization and mechanization in education just at a time when the brain science and cognitive and behavioral research were suggesting a different approach to education (Robinson & Aronica, 2015). For its part, the Spellings Commission led accrediting bodies to sanction several colleges and universities, and even revoke the accreditation of some. In response, these colleges and universities filed civil lawsuits against the accrediting bodies, many of which are still being litigated today (Barber & McNair, 2017).

One would think that the failures of these accountability programs would lead us all to reconsider the value of such a standardized, mechanistic approach to education. Instead, states have doubled down on standardization with the Common Core, which has set forth a standardized curriculum and even standardized pedagogies for participating states. Not only has the Common Core been implemented without much adequate empirical research, but it is dictating what and how teachers teach (Bailey, 2013). This de-professionalizes a craft that thrives on autonomy, flexibility, and informed discretion, and withers under a command-and-control construct like the Common Core (Robinson & Aronica, 2015).

So, whether it be the Common Core, the Spellings Commission, NCLB, or *A Nation at Risk*, the accountability movement has only solidified the 19th century mechanistic model of education by promoting standardization, expecting more productivity from the education machine through high-stakes testing and measurements, and objectifying teachers and students as cogs in a machine that can either be improved or replaced.

Internalized Mechanisms Of Northern Marianas Education

The education system in the Northern Marianas has not been immune to this mechanistic model of education. At times, our education system has fallen victim this model, and at other times it has been complicit in perpetuating the model.

In their study of how countries borrow education ideas and practices from other countries, Phillips and Ochs (2003) caution against policy and curricular decisions to import models that are ill-fitted or inappropriate for host countries. They explicitly warn “policy makers of the dangers inherent in any quick decision making based on a sudden enthusiasm for an education idea born and nurtured and brought to maturity in a foreign context” (p. 460). In their study of Western influence on Hong Kong schools, Walker and Dimmock (2000) go one step further and question the negative impact of Western policies and practices in Asia. As they put it, “the societal cultural values of Chinese communities may not fit the assumptions and practices of the imported approaches [from the West]” (p. 173). In short, what works in the West may not work in the East.

What these and many other studies have in common is the importance of ensuring the cultural appropriateness of education systems for the students and communities that they serve. My contention is that this critical analysis of the cultural appropriateness the education has not occurred in a significant manner here in the Northern Marianas. While there have been admirable efforts to embed Chamorro and Carolinian culture, language, and values into our education system, the system itself has never been critically examined for its systemic relationship with and impact on the Chamorros and Carolinians. By looking at the history of education in the Northern Marianas, I hope to shed some light on this issue. To do this, first I will discuss higher education in the Northern Marians, then I will address K-12 education.

Since our islands clearly chose to be a part of the American political family, it should come as no surprise that many in the islands also sought to become a part of the American education family. This drive went as far back as the Trust Territory days, when many promising Chamorros and Carolinians were sent off to the American mainland to pursue secondary and post-secondary education at American institutions (Kupferman, 2013). Upon returning, these islanders became exemplars of the value of an American education, inspiring countless others to also pursue an education off-island. This set the stage for an eventual Anglo-Americanization of our local education

system as American education was valued above whatever holdovers might have remained from the German and Japanese vocational eras.

Moving forward, we must recognize that the Northern Marianas became a US Commonwealth just as American anxieties over education led to the publication of *A Nation at Risk*. Against this backdrop, in 1985, just two years after the publication of *A Nation at Risk*, in order for its students to avail of federal financial aid and its programs could benefit from federal funding as a land-grant institution, the Northern Marianas College secured accreditation with the Accrediting Commission of Community and Junior Colleges with the Western Association of Schools and Colleges, or WASC. The CNMI Public School System soon followed as its schools each earned accreditation from WASC through the 1990s.

Let us recall that accreditation is a process of peer review among institutions that voluntarily seek membership with an accrediting body. Ideally, the membership of that body should be made of comparable peer institutions, especially institutions that share the same socio-cultural, demographic, and geographic characteristics. However, at the time, no accrediting body existed for US islands in the Pacific. This left NMC and PSS no choice but to seek membership in WASC, which is dominated by the membership, and interests, of California schools and colleges. While WASC made an attempt to include representation from the islands on their board and in their visiting evaluation teams, that representation was often token and still left Pacific island institutions in the minority when it came to WASC standards, policies, and institutional reviews.

The clearest example of this minority status for Pacific islands was WASC's 2006 white paper, "Enhancing and Sustaining Higher Education Quality in the Pacific", which became known as the PPEC White Paper because it was tailored for the Pacific Post-Secondary Education Council. Authored by four WASC Commissioners, none of whom were Pacific islanders, the PPEC White Paper set forth a scathing critique of Pacific island institutions. Referring to evolving, as opposed to different, definitions of good practice, the paper argues, "Pacific island institutions need to develop capacity to address evolving higher education institutional practices, particularly around teaching and learning, but also around administrative theory and organizational management, business practices, student development, etc. to keep pace with evolving practices reflected in the Standards of Accreditation." The White Paper faults Pacific island institutions for inappropriate interference from government officials, inappropriate board micromanagement, and inadequate development of institutional leaders. However, what a Californian considers to be political interference may be a valid form

of collaboration on an island with limited resources. Why should not an elected official work closely with college officials, and even express concerns about the college? As for board micromanagement, in an island community as small as ours, why would it be inappropriate for a board member to hear a college employee's concerns over a cup of *chala kilis* at a *licazu*? And as for the inadequate development of institutional leaders, many great local leaders, like former Governor Pedro Tenorio, may have never received a piece of paper proving their expertise, but that does not mean they were either inadequate or unfit to lead. Many of them were great leaders, regardless.

In short, the PPEC White Paper assumed that educational standards that may have been appropriate for California were automatically mandatory for the Pacific Island institutions, without any consideration for the cultural context of Pacific islanders. It is no coincidence that the PPEC White Paper was published in the same year as the Spelling Commission report, as both deliberately exerted accountability and standardization pressures on colleges and universities. It is not surprising, then, that 50% of Pacific colleges and universities were on some kind of accreditation sanction, at point or another, in the early 2000s (Beno, Moses, Rota, & Takeuchi, 2006). Here in the Northern Marianas, NMC found itself in constant accreditation trouble, being sanctioned with "Show Cause", WASC's most severe sanction, in 2008, 2011, and 2013. While many attributed NMC's accreditation woes to issues of educational quality, the alternative narrative is that NMC was subjected to culturally maladapted pressures from an accrediting body that neither understood nor represented the cultural values and practices of the Northern Marianas.

Fortunately, NMC has since been taken off accreditation sanction and has switched over to another branch of WASC, what is known as the Senior Commission. However, despite this switch, in recent Senior Commission communiques, WASC has continued to expect that NMC demonstrate that it is meeting standardized measures of educational quality (Petrisko, 2017). Moreover, upon switching over to the WASC Senior Commission, NMC changed its minimum qualifications for its instructors in order to meet accreditation standards (Northern Marianas College, 2013). While these new minimum qualifications may have been implemented to raise the quality of instruction at the College, many long-standing and effective faculty were suddenly deemed unqualified to teach courses that they had been teaching for decades. Again, one must question the cultural appropriateness of adopting WASC standards within the context of the Northern Marianas.

Thus far I have focused on Northern Marianas College. However, I now switch to the CNMI Public School System. As I mentioned earlier, following NMC's lead, PSS sought and earned accreditation with WASC in the 1990s. This coincided with the system's increasing use of nationally based standardized tests for its students. We must remember that most national standardized tests are not criterion-referenced, or based on objective benchmarks of academic achievement. Rather, most national standardized tests are norm-referenced against the majority of students taking the test. This means that white, middle-class American students, who form the majority of most testing pools, become the norm. This basically sets white, middle-class America as the norm against which students in the Northern Marianas are measured. Not only does this raise serious questions about the validity of such tests, but it delegitimizes the culture, language, and experience of Northern Marianas students. In this dynamic, our students either are made to feel their cultures are inferior or they learn to idolize and prefer white, middle-class culture over their own.

It should be noted that at the turn of the century, some in PSS capitalized on recent developments in education theory to develop a home-grown curriculum for the Northern Marianas. Millions of dollars were invested into a standards-based curriculum, which included assessments that were designed by indigenous educators for this home-grown curriculum (Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands Public School System, 2009). These assessments were included in report cards and were criterion-referenced against that curriculum, and not norm-referenced against a foreign pool of students.

However, while the PSS standards-based curriculum showed incredible promise for reflecting the cultures of the Northern Marianas, especially with its criterion-referenced assessments, that curriculum was eventually abandoned (Deposa, 2014). In place, the PSS adopted the Common Core (Deposa, 2011). As mentioned earlier, the Common Core only exacerbates the standardization of the mechanistic model of education. Furthermore, as a national set of standards, the Common Core neither reflects nor acknowledges the cultures of the Northern Marianas.

In addition to adopting standardized curricula and standardized tests, like NMC, PSS has also adopted standardized requirements for its teachers. As part of its compliance with NCLB, in the 2000s, PSS changed its certification process for highly qualified teachers by requiring teachers to pass standardized tests for teachers, Praxis I, Praxis II, or both, in order to avail of a higher salary (Marianas Variety, 2008). It is true that some research suggests that highly qualified teachers who pass such tests are more

effective teachers than those who do not. However, an equal body of research strongly suggests that many otherwise effective teachers do not pass such tests because of test anxiety, arbitrary score thresholds for passing, and the misalignment of test content within cultural contexts. As with standardized tests that students take, Praxis tests have been criticized for being culturally irrelevant for some test takers.

Dr. David Kuperferman from the University of Hawaii documented a similar experience in the Marshall Islands. As he argued, “The production of the ‘highly qualified’ teacher, however, only prevails if that process also produces the ‘unqualified’ teacher, one which is characterized by expertise in ‘false’ knowledges, lacking in technical credentials, and therefore immediately erased” (p. 106). He further argued, “What is more troubling, however, is that the discourse surrounding the need for ‘highly qualified’ teachers in the RMI...is couched in no uncertain terms of the subjectivation of the Marshallese ‘teacher’ as a problem, and indeed a threat to the wellbeing of the state” (p. 123). Dr. Kupferman thus concluded, “What has been displaced through the foregoing construction of the teacher is not the ‘Marshallese teacher,’ but rather the conditions of possibility that allow us to consider alternative conceptions of what it means to act as a legitimate teacher, one that is not prescribed by such unhelpful language as ‘highly qualified’ or ‘licensed’ or ‘certified.’...Through [this] wholly unimaginative...licensing process we have, in a word, lost our creativity in conceptualizing the ‘teacher’” (p. 125).

When we consider the broader mechanistic model that has taken a foothold here in the Northern Marianas, we must ask, other than creativity, what else have we lost? More disturbingly, to what degree does this machine reflect internalized racism? Are we victims, or accomplices?

Organic (R)Evolution

Whether victims or accomplices in the persistence of mechanistic model of education, models of more organic learning that have emerged in the new millennium (Osborn, 2005). As opposed to mechanistic models of education that are standardized, hierarchical, and competitive, organic models are more personalized, engaging, and collaborative (Robinson and Aronica, 2015). Noted education theorist, Sir Ken Robinson, has spent over a decade studying this shift from a mechanistic model to an organic one. Drawing on the work of New York Times columnist, Thomas Friedman, Robinson points to the democratization of information technology and the growing interconnectedness of the global community as a tide that is changing everything from

economy to politics to learning. In particular, digital technology and the accessibility of information and social networks have given students the tools to design learning that is customized, interesting, and communal. However, Robinson notes that while the learning landscape has evolved into something more organic, education systems remain largely mechanistic.

But education systems must evolve to meet the demands of the new millennium. As Linda Darling-Hammond (2001), one of the leading researchers on 21st century learning, has pointed out, “may have worked reasonably well many decades ago for the purposes for which it was designed...[but] it has proven increasingly inadequate to the new” demands on education (p. 355). A recent workforce study conducted by IBM affirms this need for change, finding that as opposed to the standardized, rote learning manufactured by the mechanistic model, the new economy prioritizes adaptability to change and creativity in generating new ideas, both of which stem from a more organic model of education.

Beyond the needs of the 21st economy, Robinson also notes that the global challenges of this millennium require a paradigm shift. Instead of the competitive, compartmentalized perspective of the mechanistic model, we need more collaborative, integrated perspectives that can help everyone better understand and solve problems like terrorism and international conflict, volatile economic markets, and global warming. That is why we need to revolutionize our education systems to cultivate better global citizens who are equipped with the skills and values to address global problems.

Here in the Northern Marianas, this paradigm shift may be less a move forward and more a return to our roots. We personalize our interactions in the countless ways that we trace our familial relationships, which my mom is adept at doing when she tries to explain how so and so is my uncle and my cousin. We teach engaging lessons when we gather at the *licazu* and share the latest juicy gossip, which is simply our way of enforcing social mores. And we live collaboration before, during, and after typhoons when we help each other instead of looting our stores.

Unfortunately, these aspects of our organic cultures seem limited to anecdotes, because the scholarly research on Chamorro and Carolinian education is sadly thin. Most of the research about education in the Northern Marianas reinforces the Anglo-Americanized mechanistic model, but rarely critiques it. We need more scholars to use that mechanistic model to unleash the organic potential of our education system,

which really should be less a system and more a culture: a way of seeing things, a way of doing things, and way of valuing things. Perhaps then, we, brown people, don't have to stick around waiting for what's white and right. Perhaps then we can sail off in a new direction, one of our own choosing and our own design.

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Presentation slides begin on the following page.



Tides of Change

Mechanistic vs Organic Models of
Education in the Northern Marianas

Galvin Deleon Guerrero



Internalized Racism

- If you're white,
you're alright.
- If you're black,
stay back.
- If you're brown,
stick around.

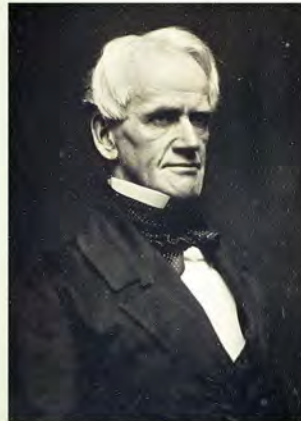


Mechanistic vs Organic Models

- History of US education
- History of CNMI education
- Looking ahead



Industrial Roots of US Education



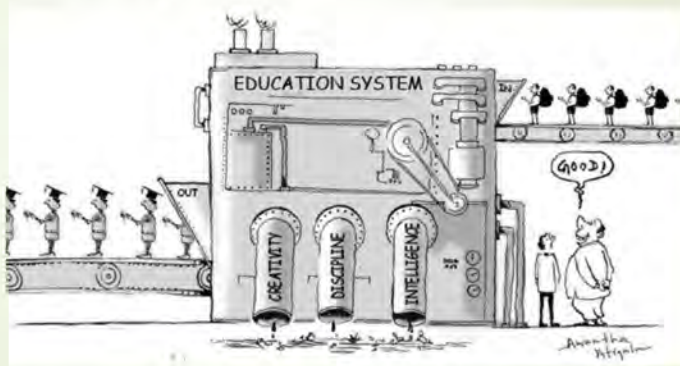
- Horace Mann
- Prussian Common Schools
- Factory Model

Industrial Roots of US Education: The Factory Model

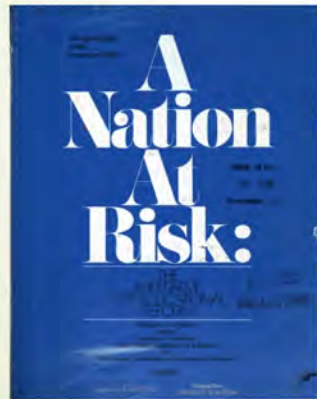
- Standardized Curriculum
- Specialized Subjects
- Factory Spaces
- Hierarchical Management
- Cultural Assimilation



Industrial Roots of US Education: The Factory Model



Persistence of the Mechanistic Model:
A Nation at Risk



*"...a rising tide
of mediocrity
that threatens
our very
future..."*

Persistence of the Mechanistic Model:
The Accountability Movement



Persistence of the Mechanistic Model:
No Child Left Behind



Persistence of the Mechanistic Model:
The Spellings Commission



Margaret Spellings
Secretary of US
Education
(2005—2009)

Failure of the Mechanistic Model



Persistence of the Mechanistic Model: The Common Core



The Mechanistic Model in the NMI

- Importing the West
- A fit for the islands?



The Mechanistic Model in the NMI: Studying Off Island



The Mechanistic Model in the NMI: WASC



The Mechanistic Model in the NMI: WASC Pacific White Paper

- "Best" Practices
- Political Interference
- Board Micromanagement
- Inadequate Leaders
- Spellings Commission & Accountability
- WASC Sanctions



The Mechanistic Model in the NMI: PSS Standardized Tests



- Criterion-referenced
- Norm-referenced to white, middle-class majority

The Mechanistic Model in the NMI: PSS Homegrown Curriculum



The Mechanistic Model in the NMI: PSS Common Core



The Mechanistic Model in the NMI: PSS, HQT, & Praxis



The Mechanistic Model & Praxis: "Qualified" and "Unqualified"



The Mechanistic Model in the NMI



Moving Forward: An Organic Model



- Personalized, engaging, collaborative
- Economic imperative
- Global imperative

Moving Forward in the NMI? a Return to Organic Roots?

Or,

- Personalized family connections
- Engaging interactions
- Collaborative support
- More research is needed



Stick Around or Sail Ahead?



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How Do the People of Guam Understand Historical Injustice?

The Beginning of the Commission on Decolonization and Color-Blind Ideology

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Abstract: *The Chamorro indigenous rights movement developed in the 1970s in Guam, raising concerns about reverse discrimination against non-Chamorros, such as white or Asian Americans. Some have claimed that Chamorro rights may be unconstitutional, as violating the principle of color-blindness that is held to be anti-discriminatory. The backlash against Chamorro rights has been growing since the Rice v. Cayetano decision of 2000, which ruled unconstitutional the Hawaiians-only voting restriction for trustees of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA). There have been conflicting views concerning historical injustices resulting from American colonialism in the Pacific Islands, including Guam and Hawaii, as well as similar injustices in the continental US itself. This paper will examine how color-blind ideology has affected the people of Guam, and has encouraged some to disregard the historical injustices perpetrated on the Chamorro people; focusing on discussion concerning the political status plebiscite, from 1997 to the early 2000s, from the establishment of the Guam Commission on Decolonization for the Implementation and Exercise of Chamorro Self-Determination to a few years after the Rice decision.*

Decolonization Plebiscite and the Definition of “Chamorro”

It is highly important, at this time, to review the past experience of the people of Guam from almost 20 years ago. In recent years, the political status plebiscite has been a central concern in Guam, most recently since Arnold “Dave” Davis filed a lawsuit in November 2011, and the District Court of Guam ruled that the plebiscite was unconstitutional on 8 March 2017.

The political status plebiscite was planned when the commonwealth movement in Guam reached a deadlock in the mid-1990s. In 1997, Public Law 23-147, proposed by Senator Hope Cristobal, established the Guam Commission on Decolonization for the Implementation and Exercise of Chamorro Self-Determination. Based on the fact that

Guam has been listed among the Non-Self-Governing Territories (NSGTs) of the United Nations, the purpose of the commission is to implement the political status plebiscite, voted on by the Chamorro people.

In December 1996, the Guam Legislature passed Public Law 23-130, which created the Chamorro Registry Advisory Board and defined the “Chamorro,” the eligible voters in the plebiscite. The law defined “Chamorro” based on the 1950 Organic Act of Guam.

In the meantime, the US Supreme Court ruled that the Hawaiian vote on the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) was unconstitutional. The *Rice v. Cayetano* decision had a major impact on Guam as well, where the political status plebiscite for Chamorro self-determination had been scheduled for July 2000. On February 25 of that year, the *Pacific Daily News (PDN)* covered the decision on its front page, with the headline: “Hawaii vote ruling rattles Guam.” Inside, the *PDN* reported the majority and dissenting opinions in the decision, and the reaction of local senators and officials. While those opposing the plebiscite gained further grounds for argument, its supporters were forced to justify their support. *PDN* gave considerable space to the voices of politicians, officials, journalists, scholars, activists, and many others, in articles and columns.

It seems that the supporters wished to avoid the constitutional argument, while questioning the decision itself and pointing out the impossibility of applying the case of Hawaii to Guam. This is obvious from a discussion about the definition of “Chamorro,” in which Leland Bettis, a director of the Commission on Self-Determination, emphasized that the definition was neither ethnic nor racial, but political (*PDN*, 25 February 2000).

Before the *Rice* decision, some officials, politicians, and activists had already been anxious about the definition, because they realized there had been a backlash against minorities and indigenous peoples in the US. According to one article, “Bettis said the removal of protection of indigenous rights and [the rights] of segments of the American population that have been treated unfairly has been going on for some time. ‘There is within the US judicial system what is called a ‘colorblind’ view’” (*PDN*, 25 February 2000). Bettis also pointed out that it had become difficult “to offer remediation for past discrimination,” because of negative rulings against affirmative action (*PDN*, 25 February 2000). He realized that color-blind ideology had supported such a backlash.

As a result of such discussions, the Guam Legislature passed Public Law 25-106 on 24 March 2000. The law created the Guam Decolonization Registry, and defined the eligible voters as “Native Inhabitants of Guam,” which means “those persons who became US citizens by virtue of the authority and enactment of the 1950 Organic Act of Guam and descendants of those persons.”

The discussion about the plebiscite, before and after the *Rice* decision, showed that the US judicial system was influential in obstructing Chamorro self-determination. The plebiscite, which was supposed to be based on the UN decolonization process, became subject to the US Constitution.

The Opponents of Chamorro Self-Determination

In general, the legitimacy of indigenous rights has been carefully discussed because non-indigenous people tend to feel themselves excluded. The Guam political status plebiscite became subject to criticism in terms of racial and ethnic discrimination, criticism based both on international and on national or domestic norms.

Some opponents of the plebiscite argued that the peoples of the NSGTs should exercise their rights of self-determination, referring to a number of international norms. After the *Rice* decision, for example, A. Gaffar Peang-Meth, a professor of political science at the University of Guam, referred to the United Nations Charter, the “Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,” and other international treaties (Peang-Meth 2000a, 2000b).

However, the opponents did not support the rights of indigenous peoples, and relied on a number of international norms regarding equality. Peang-Meth, for example, argued that:

“The plebiscite is non-binding. It does not have the sanction of the competent administering authority, the US Congress and the US Constitution. It is not binding because contrary to the UN Charter’s ‘faith’ in the ‘dignity and worth of the human person’ and ‘universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion,’ the plebiscite is limited to the Chamorros who form some 43 percent of the island population. The other 57 percent are excluded from a decision that would affect the fate of the population of Guam as a whole.” (Peang-Meth 2000a)

Like other opponents, Peang-Meth disregarded the context in which people had been suffering from historical injustices, giving rise to the concept of indigenous peoples and their rights; but instead, focused solely on the present, superficially criticizing Chamorro self-determination for contradicting international norms.

In the US, the granting of special rights to specific people has not been easily accepted, due to backlash against affirmative action; and in Guam, the indigenous rights of the Chamorro people were criticized in the same manner. The opponents of the plebiscite did not grasp the historical context, and were highly supportive of anti-affirmative action and/or color-blind ideology, relying on the US Constitution to criticize the plebiscite. Peang-Meth also claimed that the plebiscite was unconstitutional.

E. Robert Statham Jr., an associate professor of political science at the University of Guam, was another critic of the “Chamorro-only plebiscite,” arguing that the *Rice* decision raised important questions about the plebiscite for Chamorro self-determination. Although Statham recognized the self-determination of the people of Guam as American self-determination, he regarded indigenous Chamorro self-determination as unconstitutional, based on the *Rice* decision.

“The impact of the *Rice vs. Cayetano* case on Guam’s quest for self-determination is that a plebiscite to determine the ultimate political status of the island must be open to all inhabitants. Indigenous Chamorro self-determination is disallowed under the Constitution and its animating principles since it is rooted in the quest for self-government for a sub-group of the island’s population to the exclusion of all others on the basis of race, ethnicity and ancestry.” (Statham 2000)

In sum, the opponents of the plebiscite typically argued that Chamorro self-determination was discriminatory against non-Chamorros, based on international and domestic norms, largely ignoring the history and background of the Chamorros’ request, and the historical injustice Chamorros had suffered under American colonization.

Ethnic Nationalism and Historical Injustice

Why did the opponents of the plebiscite disregard its context? It seems they perceived ethnic nationalism as, essentially, a cultural reaction. Satham's argument, focusing on "ethnic nationalism vs. American constitutionalism," is typical in its conception of ethnic nationalism initiatives, such as the Hawaiian and Chamorro movements, as irrational and emotional, with their roots in the respective cultures.

"There is a basic conflict between the principles of American constitutionalism and ethnic nationalism/separatism. The cause of this conflict is found in the direct relationship between the term 'ethnicity' and the term 'race.' Indeed, it is for this reason that the Supreme Court found 'ancestry' to be a proxy for 'race' in *Rice*, as ethnic nationalism tends to be grounded in the combination of race, customs, and traditions. In this way, culture becomes race specific, particularistic, and exclusive, against the 'self-evident' universal truths of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution it informs. The conflict between ethnic nationalism and American constitutionalism is fundamental and irreconcilable." (Satham 2002: 138)

However, in arguing that it was merely a cultural matter, Satham failed to grasp the nature of indigenous or ethnic nationalism.

"Indeed, it would appear that the appeal to culture, as it is shaped in terms of race, customs, and traditions, is unjustified. To say that something is just simply because it is old, or because it has been done a certain way for a very long time, is to forget that time alone is an insufficient guide to or proof of justice. The practice of cannibalism may very well have existed in certain quasi 'cultures' for long periods of time, but that does not justify the practice." (Satham 2002: 139)

Satham understood that the term "culture" had been misused, and blamed this on "ethnic nationalism." However, he himself had a mistaken understanding of ethnic nationalism, in deriving it from the concept of "culture."

“Furthermore, the term ‘culture’ is inappropriately linked to race, traditions, and customs since it connotes the cultivation of something in particular, reason. Put directly, the term ‘culture’ is related to the efforts of individuals and groups toward human excellence in every respect, and in this way it refers to civilization. The accomplishments of a civilization hold no relation to ‘accidents of birth.’” (Statham 2002: 139)

Conclusion

This paper focuses on the period before and after the *Rice* decision, which affected Guam as well as Hawaii, since it clearly forced the supporters of the Guam plebiscite to justify their support.

At the same time, the plebiscite was criticized from universalistic positions based on international norms such as the 1966 Civil and Political Rights Covenant, and domestic norms such as the US Constitution and the Organic Act of Guam. Opponents of the plebiscite claimed that it was not right to exclude specific people “on the basis of race, ethnicity and ancestry,” yet disregarded relevant historical injustices such as colonial rule and war atrocities. Such an attitude would not improve the colonial social situation or structure of Guam, but instead illustrates a further kind of colonialism or color-blind ideology.

Color-blind ideology is related to the perception of ethnicity and nationalism. The opponents of the plebiscite misperceived ethnic nationalism as a merely cultural matter, failing to acknowledge that the ethnic nationalisms in Guam and Hawaii were addressing historical injustices.

The case of Guam should be discussed from a broad and comparative perspective, as this issue of decolonization is also relevant to other regions such as the Northern Mariana Islands, the United States, and even Japan. For example, the decolonization movement in Okinawa has been growing due to the construction of a new US military base there. It seems that many in Okinawa have paid attention to Guam’s planned plebiscite and the *Davis* case. I am personally aware of many activists, journalists, and researchers in Okinawa who are following what has been going on in Guam. In addition, Japan’s colonial responsibility (or responsibility for colonialism), as well its war responsibility in Asia and the Pacific, have been important topics for discussion.

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The Contextual Reality of the Present-Time for the People of the Marianas: Chamorros and Carolinians

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Abstract: *Water can cut a large piece of rock out of a mountain - Old Man By The Sea – not because of its strength, rather because of its persistence (Author Unknown). A culture's survival, that is a people's survival is based on the same variables that allow some species to survive while leading other species to their demise: adaptation. Adaptation to current changes in the people who come and leave the community; adaptation to the laws that can uproot a whole segment of society and, at other times, open the doors of opportunity for still other groups; and, adaptation to the technological advances that find their way into the economy that require further education, beyond the 12th grade. Adaptation allows a people to thrive and survive.*

No one knows adaptation better than the Chamorros and the Carolinians of the CNMI, for they have adapted to nature's political challenges. When the Spanish arrived, they resisted, were then all but decimated and, finally, and unwillingly adapted to a "guest" who imposed their language, their religion, and their well as to social and political challenges. When the Spanish arrived, they resisted, were then all but decimated and, finally, and unwillingly adapted to a "guest" who imposed their language, their religion, and their customs on a people that could not have been more different than that of this European colonizer. Then, the Chamorros and Carolinians would adapt three more times to unwelcome invaders who stayed and built this place in the image of their homes: Germany, Japan, and the United States of America. Chamorros and Carolinians have survived because they have adapted. Let us celebrate their resiliency, their hope, and their strong survival instinct as two distinct ethnic groups that occupy the same land.

The water that shapes the culture and the present-day reality of the Chamorros and Carolinians in the early part of the 21st Century, slowly and gradually (and, imperceptibly) chips away at the foundation of their respective cultures. This water is comprised, in part, by a new language, American English, and is sometimes substituted, instead of added to the Chamorro and Carolinian languages.

Another contributing droplet of water, is the mass digital culture projected into homes and minds through the mass mediums of cable television and the World Wide Web, along with the Internet, and combined, dissolve the homegrown culture with a culture of fiction and fake reality, convincing people here that they share similar challenges with other minorities in the mainland United States, while not really capturing the regional challenges of being an island community that borders Southeast Asia and Asia and happens to use systems from a North American country, 9,000 miles away. Things couldn't be stranger.

Like water cutting through the rock of a mountain, we often don't think of small contextual changes as threats to a culture, especially, one that is 3,500 years old, like that of the Chamorros and Carolinians. But, the facts are different: demographic, legal, and technological changes are like the droplets of water that gradually cut through a culture's foundation and wreak havoc with a people's identity.

The solution is simple: a focused and concerted effort to do three things to redirect the energies of people who want to sustain their culture here and adapt to an imposed culture which requires learning: a new language, new norms that are in contrast with island norms individualism versus collectivism; and, an uncomfortable and, for some, an undesirable feat of joining a colonizer's system while not betraying their natural desire to be free from external input and externally imposed laws and standards. Before this chasm becomes too wide to cross; before this chasm leaves us with another extinct culture; before this chasm annihilates a people who have been casualties of large battles for land and geographical advantage by countries with large navies, let us consider some intensive critical care as a solution.

First, to stabilize the cultures here, an intentional effort toward focusing on preserving the culture by using its language must occur. Decisions to speak and use the language at home will be the metric upon which this intervention to save the cultures here will be measured. Here, the school system has said it is interested in bilingual education, but the resources allocated and used to support this stated mission (including, incentives to author books in the Chamorro and Carolinian languages, for translations into Chamorro and Carolinian, for printing costs, and for efforts to standardize bilingual instruction) are wanting, at best). This must be a concerted community effort, if it is to have its intended success.

Secondly, an intentional effort and focus on securing the place the land where the Chamorro and Carolinian customs and rituals are practiced, must be made by

holding on to both public and private land. A culture without land has no place to practice their customs and rituals and rites of passage. A culture without land – like, present-day Assyrians (with an ‘A’) is an endangered culture...endangered of vanishing like so many other cultures that have already vanished (Phoenicians, Babylonians, Carthaginians, etc.).

Thirdly, an intentional effort and focus to codify the Chamorro and Carolinian languages in written form must be made, so that these are recorded and, hence preserved, for the present and future generations.

So, there is a clear problem – that of gradual and imperceptible change that slowly chips-away at the foundation of Chamorro and Carolinian cultures – as well as, a clear solution to this challenge. This solution can clear symptoms, but it doesn’t neatly point to the causes – a separate, but related discussion.

Societal shifts are impacting people around the world, including Chamorros and Carolinians, and are causes for the symptoms of cultures in danger, including a decreased level of language transmission from one generation to the next. We will explore three of these shifts (macro-variables) before we list particular local societal shifts (micro-variables) that add complexity to the work of maintaining Chamorro and Carolinian identities without being lost, for instance, in the values and vices of a TV and Internet culture whose values are commercial and marketplace-driven, as opposed to values that emphasize familial and community values.

The macro-variables of demographic shifts, legal shifts, and technological shifts comprise the water droplets that are impacting every human being on the planet, including denizens of the Mariana Islands in the Western Pacific Ocean.

The world’s population has ballooned. Three-fifths, or 60 percent, of the world’s population is found in Asia, alone...with whom we share the neighborhood, as Chamorros and Carolinians. This incredible challenge has provided opportunities to entrepreneurs and to laborers, alike.

We have seen the impact on our island community of a developing Japan; of a developing Korea; and now, of a developing China. We have adapted, not only to political colonizers, but to economic colonizers as well. Some of which have integrated themselves into the community, while others, in their quest to get as rich as quickly as it is possible to do so and return to their homeland have done anything and everything

imaginable without one iota of care for the people of the Marianas, let alone the preservation of their culture – including the environment.

Demographic shifts impact all of us. The legal shifts have impacted Chamorros and Carolinians here on a scale of a tsunami wave. It is difficult enough to create laws and enforce them to make a safer and improved community by lawmakers who live here... that's difficult enough. When the reality sets in that federal laws are being enacted by people who have never lived here and who are acting, solely, in the interest of the country – as opposed to acting in the interest of the Chamorros and Carolinians – then that level of uncertainty and arbitrary imposition of laws makes it futile to imagine what a great society might look like here. In other words: you cannot decide on the color to paint your house if you know your neighbor can come over at any time and paint over it with any color of their choice. The Chamorros and Carolinians have been handed this bad deal, and it impacts their ability to determine their own destiny.

Thirdly, the technological inventions have been diluted into our society are additions of opportunity and symptoms of anomie (disconnectedness). Whether these technologies are used in homes, or at schools and colleges, or in the economy, they have changed the way we communicate – and, don't communicate. These technologies have become piers that extend the number of hours we work each day, since where we work is no longer limited to a specific physical place, like an office.

Technology has also changed how much information we have access to. Today, without knowledge and skills to operate a computer, a person will not be hired as a clerk for minimum wage by the local supermarket. Think about that for a moment. Similarly, without knowledge of basic software programs, a person will neither be hired in the school system nor the greater economy. Technological shifts (that is, 'changes') impact all of us.

Micro-variables also impact modern-day life and living here in the Marianas for the Chamorros and Carolinians and, in fact, for the other people who live and work here, as well. These locally experienced micro- shifts (i.e., 'localized-changes') impact our present-day experience in the Marianas and include: a huge brain- drain that accompanied an economic downturn that lasted nearly 20 years; a brain-substitute that has been occurring for decades which has brought English speaking people from other countries to do work here that Chamorros and Carolinians could do but for a whole lot less, thus displacing people by decisions driven by profit instead of principle; and, life

as it is experienced in an atmosphere of questions concerning political status, and its impact on people's decision to participate fully and legally in the economy.

Water can cut through rock as well as it can irrigate our farms, boil our food, and satisfy our thirst. The point of view that we take on these macro- and micro-variables all facts...and, none of which are matters of opinions will determine our attitude, which will determine what we do and, consequently, the outcome we will live with. We have to ask ourselves in the Marianas, a place where Chamorro and Carolinian cultures have thrived for 3,500 years whether we see an opportunity or an obstacle. That choice is as important as whether we see water as a source of life for our crops or whether we see water as the knife that can separate a large rock from an enormous mountain through persistence...unnoticeable, gradual, and erosive, persistence.

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3rd Marianas History Conference

Genealogy

Finding Apolonia : A case study in assembling Direct, Indirect and Negative Evidence in the search for her parents

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Abstract: *In Guam, many families do not know much about their ancestors who lived in the early 1800s. One significant event that may have contributed to this situation was the worldwide influenza pandemic in 1918-19. Brought to Guam on board the military transport ship the USS Logan, the "Spanish Flu" killed over 6% of the island population. The very young and the elderly were especially vulnerable. Because of the high rate of mortality in the elderly, it has been said that over 80% of those who spoke Spanish perished because of the epidemic. For today's elderly, it is not uncommon for Guam residents to not know who their great grandparents were. For those who do, they know very little about their lives. This was the case with Apolonia Ada. This paper explores the challenges of researching elusive ancestors.*

Introduction

Proving the parentage of individuals born in Guam during the 1800s is difficult, and in some cases, appears impossible. Finding any written documentation for those born during this period is a challenging endeavor. This is because much of the written documentation for this period did not survive. Guam's turbulent history, the tropical climate and the devastation of World War II are responsible for the dearth of information.^{1,2} This presents a challenge to genealogists and requires them to use creative strategies to assemble evidence in support of their research. Unless a hidden cache of historical documents is found to bridge this gap, this will continue to confound genealogists and historians for years to come.

¹ Safford, W.E., "The Mariana Islands Notes compiled by W. E. Safford: From Documents in the Archives at Agaña, the Capital of Guam, from early Voyages found in the Libraries of San Francisco, California," (bound transcript 1901, Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam) p. IV-V.

² O.R. Lodge, "Attach Preparations," *The Recapture of Guam*, (Fredericksburg: Awani Press Inc., 1988), 33.

In Guam, many families do not know much about their ancestors that lived in the early 1800s. One significant event that may have contributed to this situation was the worldwide influenza pandemic in 1918-19. Brought to Guam onboard the military transport ship the USS Logan, the “Spanish Flu” killed over 6 percent of the island population.³ The very young and the elderly were especially vulnerable. Because of the high rate of mortality in the elderly, it has been said that over 80 percent of those who spoke Spanish perished because of the epidemic.⁴ While this event brought an abrupt halt to the use of the Spanish language on Guam, it is also believed to have hindered the transmission of family histories from one generation to the next. For today’s elderly, it is not uncommon for Guam residents to not know who their great grandparents were. For those that do, they know very little about their lives. This was the case with Apolonia Ada.

Apolonia Ada

Apolonia was born about 1861-3. She gave birth to a daughter named “Josefa” around 1885 when she was 22 years old. The father of Josefa is unknown. She later married Juan de la Torre y Acosta and bore him four children: Soledad, Vicenta, Juan and Felicita. She died between 1941-1944. She has been associated with several surnames including Ada, Cruz, Reyes, and Torre. Her surviving grandchildren know very little else about her. With this in mind, a search for written evidence of Apolonia Ada was launched with the hopes of uncovering her family origins.

Research Objective

The objective of the research was to determine who Apolonia’s parents were. The first place to start was to investigate the various names associated with her. In order to understand the significance of her name, a review of the naming traditions in Guam is in order.

What’s in a Name? Naming traditions in Guam

Naming traditions in Guam are confusing. The indigenous people of Guam, the Chamorro people, did not traditionally have surnames.⁵ When the Spanish arrived in

³ Shanks, G.D., Hussell, T. and Brundage, “Epidemiological isolation causing variable mortality in island populations during the 1918-1920 influenza pandemic”, *Influenza and Other Respiratory Viruses*, 6 (January 2012) 417-423.

⁴ Julius Sullivan, “Men of Navarre,” *The Phoenix Rises* (New York: Seraphic Mass Association, 1957), 118-119.

⁵ 1727 Census of the Mariana Islands, “Padron General de las Islas Marianas 1728,” Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, Mangilao, Guam.

1668 and began baptizing the population, Chamorro natives were given Christian first names and their Chamorro names became their last name. This meant that siblings all had different last names.⁶

During the Spanish period, the Hispanic naming system was followed. Wives did not take their husbands surname. Children many times were given composite names. Jose Maria for a male would be a composite first name. Maria Angelica would be a composite first name for a girl. This creates problems when searching for individuals as either name could be recorded. Hispanic surnames were compound names comprised of their mother and father's surnames. Sometime they were conjoined with the conjunction "y". In the Spanish tradition the paternal name came first followed by the maternal name. The Portuguese tradition was the opposite - the maternal name came second and the paternal name last. In cases where parents weren't married, children usually carried their mother's surname (s).⁷

When Guam was ceded to the United States in 1898, the Americans eventually introduced a different naming pattern. In many cases, the maternal surname became the middle name and the paternal surname became the last name. In some cases, compound surnames like de Leon Guerrero were shortened to "de Leon" or "Guerrero". In many cases the particles: de, de la, de los and the copulative conjunction "y" were lost. During this period many were known to change their names to make it easier to get employment with the American administration. Some used their maternal names as a last name instead of their paternal name. Some were known to completely change their name and siblings in one family were known to each spell their names differently. This can be attributed to the Naval Governments order that all adults learn to write their names. The law stipulated that, "any citizen may procure from the Government a suitable sample of his or her written name for use as a copy to be imitated in practice and instruction."⁸ It can be assumed that those in the government that were teaching the residents to write their name had no idea of the correct spelling or Spanish naming tradition.

⁶ Garcia, Francisco, S.J. "He Distributes His Companions throughout the Islands and the Baptism of Adults Begins," *The Life and Martyrdom of the Venerable Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, S.J.*, James A. McDonough, S.J., editor (Mangilao: Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, 2004), 188-189, particularly 188.

⁷ Jillette Torre Leon-Guerrero, "Genealogy: Challenges, Tools and Techniques," *1st Marianas History Conference 2* (June 2012), e-journal (http://issuu.com/guampedia/docs/marianas_oral_genealogy_history/1?e=1294219/5924647 : accessed 14 November 2014), especially pages 14-18.

⁸ United States. Naval Administration of Guam. General Order No. 13., 23 January 1903.

Apolonia in the Historical Record

There is much confusion about Apolonia's name. Her name has been recorded as "Apolonia Ada de la Cruz", "Apolonia Reyes Ada" and "Apolonia Ada".^{9,10,11}

The earliest instance of Apolonia is found in the 1897 Spanish Census. According to this document Apolonia was born about 1863.¹² She is found in the household of Francisco de la Cruz along with 7 others. Although the document indicates that all are the children of Francisco de la Cruz, a widower, the two youngest are known to be Apolonia's children.

The next document that we find Apolonia recorded in is the 1920 Guam Church Census.¹³ She appears as Apolonia Ada and is now married to Juan de la Torre Acosta (61). This is Juan's second marriage as he is listed as the widower of Vicenta Borja. Recorded along with the couple are their children: Soledad (26), Vicenta (23), Juan (20) and Felicitas (18). Josefa, (31) is also recorded as the natural child of Apolonia. Josefa and Soledad were first recorded along with Apolonia in the 1897 Spanish census in the household of Francisco de la Cruz. From this we learn that Soledad was born prior to the marriage of Juan and Apolonia. The father of Josefa is unknown.

The 1920 US Census for the Island of Guam records the same family as such: Juan A La Torre (60), Apolonia A. La Torre (58), Josefa (34), Soledad (22), Vicenta (20), Juan (18), Felicitas (16). All are recorded with the surname "La Torre".¹⁴

⁹ Chamorro Roots Genealogy Project . "Genealogy Library" members-only database, Chamorro Roots Database (<http://www.chamorroroots.com>; accessed 14 November 2014), Lineage report for person ID #13939, Apolonia Reyes Ada.

¹⁰ "International Genealogical Index (IGI)," database, FamilySearch ([http://familysearch.org/pal:/MM\(2.1/9NQM-PC](http://familysearch.org/pal:/MM(2.1/9NQM-PC)) : accessed 14 November 2014), entry for Apolonia Ada Cruz.

¹¹ 1920 census of Guam, "Censo Oficial de 1920 Guam," for Agaña, page 101, household 880 for Apolonia Ada; Archivo de los Padres Capuchinos, Aragon-Cantabria Burlada, Navarra, Spain, 1921.

¹² 1897 census of Guam "Padron de Almas: Año de 1897" for city of Agaña, Barrio of Tepungan page 99-78b, household of Francisco de la Cruz, widower, Apolonia Ada; Micronesia Area Research Center, University of Guam, Mangilao, Guam.

¹³ 1920 Church Census, of Guam, "Censo Oficial de 1920 Guam," for Agaña, p. 103, household 880, Apolonia Ada.

¹⁴ 1920 US Census, The Island of Guam, population schedule, Agaña City, p37b, dwelling 129, Family 145, Apolonia A. La Torre, digital image, Ancestry.com (<http://www.ancestry.com>; accessed 14 November 2014); citing NARA microfilm publication T625, roll 2032.

Table 1: Apolonia in Historical Records

Name	Age	Date	Head of Household/ Document	Others	Source
Apolonia [No indication of surname but assumed to be de la Cruz]	34	1897	Francisco de la Cruz (67) [entry indicates that Francisco is the father of Apolonia]	Children of Head of Household: Vicente (36) Jose (24) Tomas (20) Manuel (17) Ana (18) Josefa (12) Soledad (8)	1897 Spanish Census. page 99-78b
Apolonia Ada	59	1920	Juan de la Torre Acosta (61)	Children: Soledad (26) Vicenta (23) Juan (20) Felicitas (18) Josefa (31)	1920 Guam Church Census. page 103
Apolonia A. La Torre	58	1920	Juan A. La Torre (60)	Children: Soledad (22) Vicenta (20) Juan (18), Felicitas (16) Josefa (32)	1920 US Census. San Vitores Street. Agaña City, The Island of Guam
Apolonia A. de la Torre	54 [67]	1930	Juan Acosta de la Torre (71)	Children: Soledad (35) Felicita (26)	1930 US Census. Machananao Barrio, The Island of Guam
Apolonia A. Torre	76	1940	Juan A. Torre (80)	Stepdaughter of head of household: Josefa Ada (49) "Servant?" Teresita Cruz (10)	1940 US Census. Barrio San Antonio. Agaña, The Island of Guam
Appollonia Reyes Ada		1988	Death Announcement of Vicenta Ada Torre Leon Guerrero	Family members in announcement: Juan Acosta Torre Josefa Ada Reyes Felicita Torre Munoz Soledad Ada Torre Juan Ada Torre	Pacific Daily News 10/15/1988 page 10
Apolonia Reyes Ada		2003	Death Announcement of Felicita Torre Munoz	Family members in announcement: Juan Acosta Torre Josefa Ada Torre Soledad Ada Torre Vicenta Torre Leon Guerrero Juan Ada Torre	Pacific Daily News. 9/10/2003. page 25
Apolonia Ada Cruz		2009	De la Torre Family Tree [indicates that Apolonia's parents are Fabian de la Cruz and Juliana Ada]	Juan Acosta de la Torre Soledad Ada Torre Vicenta Ada Torre Juan Ada Torre Felicita Ada Torre, Josefa Ada	Tronkon y Familian. Francisco de la Torre yan Maria Acosta by Joaquin Torre. 23 Oct. 2009

In the 1930 US Census Juan Acosta de la Torre (71) is recorded with Apolonia A. de la Torre (54), Soledad (35), and Felicita (26) in Machananao.¹⁵ It is known that Vicenta and Juan had married by this time and no longer lived with the family. Josefa is listed as the head of a household in Agaña [Hagåtña].¹⁶ Many families had two households during this period. One located in the capital city of Agaña, and another in a rural area. This was the case with the de la Torre family. It appears that Josefa [*recorded as Josefa A. Torre*] kept the house in Agaña while the rest of the family was with Juan and Apolonia in Machananao, where the family farm was located.

The 1940 US Census records Apolonia A. Torre along with Juan A. Torre and her daughter, Josefa.¹⁷ Josefa Ada (49) is listed as stepdaughter to Juan. Another person, 10 year- old Teresita Cruz, is listed as “servant?” It is more likely that Teresita was a niece or granddaughter of Apolonia who was living with the elderly couple to help them out. A common practice in Guam at the time was that one daughter would remain single to live with and care for elderly parents. It appears that Josefa fulfilled this duty. In other cases young children (many times nieces and nephews) would live with extended family members to help out with household, farming or other duties that the family was involved in. The host family would take the children as their own and provide for their welfare and education.^{18,19}

A search through the Guam Newsletter index for the period 1914 - 1921 and the Guam Judicial records index for the period 1807-1935. Neither mentions Apolonia Ada,

¹⁵ 1930 US Census, The Island of Guam, population schedule, Machananao, Agaña, p31A, dwelling 284, Family 306, Apolonia A. de la Torre, digital image, Ancestry.com (<http://www.ancestry.com>; accessed 14 November 2014); citing NARA microfilm publication T626, roll 2629.

¹⁶ 1930 US Census, The Island of Guam, population schedule, Agaña, p42A, dwelling 346, Family 402, Josefa A. Torre, digital image, Ancestry.com (<http://www.ancestry.com>; accessed 14 November 2014); citing NARA microfilm publication T626, roll 2629.

¹⁷ 1940 US Census, The Island of Guam, population schedule, Agaña, p4A, dwelling 113, Family 30, Apolonia A. Torre, digital image, Ancestry.com (<http://www.ancestry.com>; accessed 14 November 2014); citing NARA microfilm publication T627, roll 4643.

¹⁸ Leon-Guerrero, “Genealogy: Challenges, Tools and Techniques,” page 19.

¹⁹ Thompson, Laura, “The Native Culture of the Mariana Islands,” *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin* 185, (1945) : 18.

Apolonia Cruz, Apolonia de la Cruz, Apolonia Reyes or Apolonia Torre or Apolonia de la Torre.^{20,21}

No death records for Apolonia were found. She died during the Japanese occupation of Guam [WWII] and the exact location of her last resting place is not known. During the war she lived in the household of her daughter. Justo Torre Leon Guerrero, her grandson remembers her death but was not allowed to go to the funeral. He believes that she was buried on what is now federal land, and houses the US Air Force base in Yigo, Guam.²² The area is restricted and access is prohibited. It is not known if the burials located there were moved to another location after the war.

Moving forward, the next place we find reference to Apolonia, is in the Guam People Data Cards compiled by Anthropologist Jane H. Underwood between 1965-1992.²³ She is simply listed Apolonia Ada and is found along with Juan Acosta de la Torre [*who is incorrectly recorded as Juan Acosta de la Torres*] and children: Josefa, Soledad, Juan, Vicenta and Felicita. She is also found recorded as the daughter of Francisco de la Cruz on another card.

Another mention of Apolonia is found in the death and funeral announcements of two of her daughters, Vicenta and Felicita. Death announcements for her daughters Josefa and Soledad and son Juan were not found. Vicenta Ada Torre Leon Guerrero passed away in 1988. In her death announcement her mother is recorded as Appollonia Reyes Ada. In 2003, the death announcement of Felicita Torre Munoz, Apolonia Reyes Ada is listed as the mother of the decedent.^{24,25}

This appears to be a mistake on the part of the funeral home that prepares the announcements for publication. The surviving grandchildren have no recollection of

²⁰ Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, "Familian Chamorro Genealogy Database Index: *Guam Newsletter* 1914-1921," Richard Flores Taitano Micronesian Area Research Center (<http://ns.gov.gu/genealogy> : accessed 14 November 2014)

²¹ Brunal-Perry, Omaira, editor., "Index of Guam Judicial Records," CD-ROM (Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, 1995)

²² Personal interview with Justo Torre Leon Guerrero, June 15, 2009

²³ Jane H. Underwood Papers Series Guam People Data Cards A to Babauta, Manuscript collection, Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, Mangilao, Guam.

²⁴ "Vicenta Ada Torre Leon Guerrero Death and Funeral Announcement," *Pacific Daily News*, 15 October 1988, Agaña Guam.

²⁵ "Felicita Torre Muñoz In Loving Memory," *Pacific Daily News*, 10 September 2003, Agaña Guam.

their grandmother being from the Reyes clan. There was an Ada family that married into the Reyes clan. Perhaps the drafter of the funeral announcements mistook this family for the family of Apolonia. All of the evidence gathered so far does not support a “Reyes,” as a viable option for Apolonia’s maternal line. A visit was made to the funeral home but they said that all records prior to the 1990s were lost in a typhoon.

Only one other item was found for Apolonia. It is a photo that is believed by the family to be of Apolonia and her two eldest daughters, Josefa and Soledad. It was originally published in an article entitled *General Schroeder and American Rule* in Guam by the Reverend Francis E. Price in the *Independent Magazine* in 1903.²⁶ The caption of the photo reads, ‘Chamorro “Wash women”’. It was later published in a pictorial history of Guam in 1986.²⁷ According to family members, it was incorrectly captioned and has created even more confusion about this ancestor. The caption reads, “*These women, posing in front of their employer’s house, were nicknamed ‘Vicenta Eslau.’ They are, from left, Rosa, Dolores, and Victoria.*” When the author of the book was contacted recently he could not remember where he obtained the photo or who identified those in the image. The photo in question was identified by Herbert and Emilie Johnston and given to the author of this study in 2010. Emilie was the first curator of the Micronesian Area Research Center’s photographic collection and Herbert was the grandson of Apolonia’s husband, Juan de la Torre y Acosta. They were both confident that the photo was of Apolonia and her eldest daughters. Unfortunately both have passed on and we cannot confirm where they obtained the photo. When the photo is shown to the surviving grandchildren of Apolonia they all agree that they recognize Apolonia, Josefa and Soldedad. For this reason, we believe that the photo is a photo of Apolonia, Josefa and Soledad.

Although we have found no direct evidence for the birth name of Apolonia, we have assembled evidence that gives us some insight into Apolonia’s life.

²⁶ Available online at (<http://www.digitalhistoryproject.com/2012/11/general-schroeder-and-american-rule-in.html>)

²⁷ Don Farrell, “The First Naval Administration,” *The Pictorial History of Guam: Americanization 1898-1918*, Phyllis Koontz, editor (Tamuning: Micronesian Productions, 1984), 94.



Image 1: This photo is reportedly of Apolonia Ada and her daughters Josefa and Soledad about 1903.

Fabian and Francisco de la Cruz

Numerous family trees published in recent years both online and in book form have indicated that Apolonia's parents are Fabian de la Cruz and Juliana Ada.²⁸ In many cases she is listed as Apolonia Ada Cruz.²⁹ In this study, we could find no direct historical evidence of Fabian de la Cruz and Juliana Ada as Apolonia's parents. In fact, many of these family trees have grouped the children of Francisco de la Cruz listed in the 1897 Spanish census incorrectly as the children of Fabian de la Cruz. It is possible that many of these were grouped based on the combination of the "Ada," and "de la Cruz" surnames.³⁰

In order to shed some light on this situation we compared the families of Fabian de la Cruz and Francisco de la Cruz. [no other composite Cruz Ada families were found]

Table 2: Comparison of Cruz Ada families

Fabian de la Cruz (64, widower) 1897 Census page 99-4a	Francisco de la Cruz (67, widower) 1897 Census page 99-78b
Children	<i>Children</i>
Manuel (29)	Vicente (36)
Ana (25)	Jose (24)
Felipe (21)	Tomas (20)
Juan (20)	Manuel (17)
	Ana (18)
Margarita de la Cruz (65 – sister?)	Apolonia (34)
Antonio de la Cruz (37 – nephew?)	Josefa (12, daughter of Apolonia)
	Soledad (3, daughter of Apolonia)

In the 1897 Spanish census we find Fabian de la Cruz, a 64 year-old widower along with 4 children: Manuel (29), Ana (25) Felipe (21) and Juan (20). Margarita de la Cruz (65) is believed to be his unmarried sister and her son, Antonio (37). We find mention of Fabian next in the 1920 Church census as the father of Felipe de la Cruz Ada.

In the same census we have the children of 67 year-old widower, Francisco de la Cruz, as: Vicente (36), Apolonia (34), Jose (24), Tomas (20), Manuel (17), and Ana (18).

²⁸ Torre, Joaquin Aflague, "Tronkon y Familian Francisco de la Torre yan Maria Acosta," p.1; Descendant Report to Torre family members, 23 October 2009; photocopy held by author.

²⁹ *ibid.*

³⁰ Geni.com, People search, database (<http://www.geni.com> : 14 November 2014) Search for Fabian de la Cruz.

Incorrectly classified as Francisco's children, are Josefa (12) and Soledad (3), who we know are the children of Apolonia.

From the information in Table 2 we can see that Apolonia, at age 34, fits better age wise into the family of Francisco de la Cruz.

Francisco de la Cruz is recorded as the father of Apolonia in the earliest document. He is a widower and there is no indication of the name of his wife. The census does not reveal his maternal surname. While Apolonia is listed as his daughter, there is no indication in the document as to the children's maternal surname. It can be assumed that their paternal surname is "de la Cruz" since Francisco is listed as their father. But this may not be the case if he did not marry their mother. In that case, they would carry their mother's surname.

99-4a									
Casa	Clase	Nombres	Excluidos	Edades	Varones	Mujeres	Excluidos	Total	
		Suma anterior			62	69	38	169	
		Mariano de la Cruz	(Co	38	1			1	
		Josefa de los Santos	(Ca	36		1		1	
		Rita	Sa	13		1		1	
		José	Pa	4		1		1	
		Pedro	Pa	ms		1		1	
		Pedro Gumastion	Vo	61	1			1	
		Luis	Sa	36		1		1	
		Luis	So	32	1			1	
		Antonio de la Cruz	(Co	27	1			1	
		Rosa Ignacio	(Ca	22		1		1	
		Purendiana	Pa	ms		1		1	
		Rita de los Reyes	Vs	64		1		1	
		Josefa de la Cruz	Sa	25		1		1	
		Fabian de la Cruz	Vo	64	1			1	
		Manuel	So	29	1			1	
		Ana	Sa	25		1		1	
		Felipe	So	21	1			1	
		Juan	Pa	2		1		1	
		Margarita de la Cruz	Sa	65		1		1	
		Antonio de la Cruz	So	37	1			1	
		Manuel Chantagua	(Co	29	1			1	
		Mariana Aguiar	(Ca	23		1		1	
		Mano	Pa	1		1		1	
		Jose Chantagua	Vo	70	1			1	
		Jose M.	So	31	1			1	
		Ramon Fieran	(Co	41	1			1	
		Ana Chantagua	(Ca	35		1		1	
		Vicente	So	15	1			1	
		Candelaria	Sa	12		1		1	
		Josquin	So	9	1			1	
		Rosa	Pa	5		1		1	
		Dolores	Pa	4		1		1	
		Vicente Chantagua	Sa	60		1		1	
		Juan de los Santos	(Co	23	1			1	
		María Aguiar	(Ca	25		1		1	
		Jose	Pa	2		1		1	
		Jose	Pa	ms		1		1	
		Luis de los Santos	(Co	64	1			1	
		Justo Mateo	(Ca	30		1		1	
		Francisco	So	30	1			1	
		Maria	Sa	27		1		1	
		Antonia	Sa	20		1		1	
		Jose	So	18	1			1	
		Ana	Pa	4		1		1	
		Ana	Pa	4		1		1	
		Maria	Pa	2		1		1	
		Vicente Aquino	(Co	38	1			1	
		Carmen de la Cruz	(Ca	32		1		1	
		Maria	So	17	1			1	
		Ursula	Sa	16		1		1	
		Soledad	Sa	11		1		1	
		Ana	Sa	7		1		1	
		Maria	Pa	4		1		1	
		Ignacia	Pa	5		1		1	
		Felix de la Concepcion	(Co	29	1			1	
		Rosa Guerrero	(Ca	34		1		1	
		Ana de la Concepcion	Pa	5		1		1	
		Rita Guerrero	Sa	17		1		1	
		Suma y sigue			63	71	34	168	
					70	71	34	175	

99-78b									
Casa	Clase	Nombres	Excluidos	Edades	Varones	Mujeres	Excluidos	Total	
		Suma anterior				27	54	27	108
		Magdalena Quirga	Vs	31		1		1	
		Juan	So	11	1			1	
		Antonio	Pa	7		1		1	
		Maria	Pa	2		1		1	
		Juan de la Cruz	Co	66	1			1	
		Manuela de Salas	Ca	30		1		1	
		Antonio	So	20	1			1	
		Juan	So	17	1			1	
		Ana	Sa	10		1		1	
		Graciela	Pa	7		1		1	
		Francisco	Pa	6		1		1	
		Lucas Fieran	Co	32	1			1	
		Antonio de la Cruz	Ca	30		1		1	
		Juan	So	9	1			1	
		Rosa	Pa	6		1		1	
		Josquin	Pa	5		1		1	
		Antonio	Pa	1		1		1	
		Francisco de la Cruz	Vo	67	1			1	
		Vicente	So	36	1			1	
		Jose	So	34	1			1	
		Francisco	So	20	1			1	
		Manuel	So	17	1			1	
		Ana	Sa	18		1		1	
		Apolonia	Sa	34		1		1	
		Soledad	Sa	12		1		1	
		Soledad	Pa	3		1		1	
		Ana de la Cruz	Sa	39		1		1	
		Rita	Sa	14		1		1	
		Maria	Pa	7		1		1	
		Ana de la Cruz	Vs	49		1		1	
		Dolores Chantagua	Sa	19		1		1	
		Maria de los Santos	Sa	21		1		1	
		Ignacio	So	20	1			1	
		Dolores	Sa	14		1		1	
		Luis	So	9	1			1	
		Francisca Camacho	Vs	26		1		1	
		Rosa	Pa	6		1		1	
		Dolores	Pa	4		1		1	
		Juana de los Reyes	Vs	41		1		1	
		Juan Mendigola	So	15	1			1	
		Juan de los Santos	Co	34	1			1	
		Amparo Camacho	Ca	26		1		1	
		Soledad	Pa	6		1		1	
		Maria	Pa	5		1		1	
		Manuel Fieran	Co	81	1			1	
		Maria Manibon	Ca	87		1		1	
		Maria de los Santos	Sa	58		1		1	
		Viviana	Sa	26		1		1	
		Manuel	So	24	1			1	
		Vicente Tajalle	Co	38	1			1	
		Candelaria de la Cruz	Ca	26		1		1	
		Josefa	Sa	11		1		1	
		Jose	Sa	9		1		1	
		Felix	So	5	1			1	
		Dolores	Pa	5		1		1	
		Suma y sigue			47	75	41	163	

The 1897 Spanish Census records both Fabian and Francisco de la Cruz with their families

The judicial records index was searched for Francisco de la Cruz.³¹ Prenuptial agreements were often used during this time period to ensure that property owned by each spouse prior to marriage, did not become community property. If a prenuptial

³¹ Brunal-Perry, "Index of Guam Judicial Records."

agreement was found it would reveal the wife of Francisco de la Cruz. The search revealed 175 entries. None were for prenuptial agreements. Most of the documents were for Francisco de la Cruz y Martinez. Also listed was Francisco de la Cruz y Benavente, and Francisco de la Cruz y Salas. There were also several recorded as only Francisco de la Cruz. From past experience, each document would have to be reviewed in order to determine if there was any mention of other family members of the Francisco de la Cruz noted in the index. This is painstaking work as most of the documents are in Spanish and require translation. Because of time limitations this was not pursued.

Apolonia's Siblings

In order to determine if the children's mother was an "Ada" we searched for Francisco's children in the historical record with the combination surname of Cruz and Ada. If they followed the naming patterns of the time, their compound surname would have been either de la Cruz Ada or Ada Cruz [if they followed the American naming pattern.] We searched for both de la Cruz and just Cruz since the practice of dropping the preposition was common at the time. If Francisco did not marry the children's mother, then "Ada" would be their last name. Because the Ada family was very small, all instances of "Ada" were checked. The search revealed candidates for all of Apolonia's siblings. All carried the Cruz Ada or Ada Cruz name.

During this period the 1897 Spanish census, the Guam judicial records and the 1920 Church census used the Spanish naming pattern while all US census documents used the American naming pattern. It is interesting that even the early American judicial records used the Spanish naming pattern. This is very confusing for the researcher.

Vicente de la Cruz y Ada was found in several judicial records for the years 1901 and 1903.³² We also found him referenced in the 1920 Church census as the late husband of Basilia Camacho Taitano.³³ Because he died before 1920 we were not able to find any further references for him in the historical record and could not confirm his age. A search was conducted for information on his wife, Basilia. It was here that we found

³² *ibid.*

³³ 1920 Church census page 158

letters of administration after his death which held a goldmine of information.³⁴ These records listed his birth, marriage and death dates as well as the names of his parents: Francisco de la Cruz and Josefa Ada. This lends credible evidence that this is Apolonia's brother. The fact that on the same page of the census we find Manuel Cruz Ada [Spanish naming pattern with the "de la" omitted] of the same age as Apolonia's brother seems to add credence to the possibility. Manuel is married to Maria Aflague. We also find Manuel listed as Manuel A. Cruz [American naming pattern] in the 1920 US census married to Maria A. Cruz. They are listed along with six children.³⁵ This is the same person and appears to be Apolonia's brother. Manuel, the son of Fabian de la Cruz, was not found in the church census but he was found in the 1920 US census as Manuel A. Cruz.³⁶ He is the same age as Fabian's son Manuel. He is enumerated along with his wife, Ana M. and two children.

Jose and Tomas Cruz Ada, also appear in the 1920 Church census, both are the right age to be Apolonia's brothers.³⁷ According to this document, Jose married Candelaria de la Torre Acosta, the sister of Juan de la Torre Acosta who married Vicenta Ada Torre, Apolonia's daughter. Jose is also found in the 1920 US Census listed along with his wife Candelaria T. and 5 children.³⁸ This finding establishes a close relationship between the de la Torre Acosta and the de la Cruz families.

Tomas also was found in the 1920 Church census and the US census.³⁹ In the US census he is listed alongside his wife, Ana Leon Guerrero, who was also recorded with him in the 1920 Church census. The couple have 7 children. This is another indication of allied families as Apolonia's daughter, Vicenta, would also marry into the Leon Guerrero family.

³⁴ "Guam Judicial, Land, Obituaries, and Census Records, 1712-2000," database with images, *FamilySearch*. (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33SQ-G5L2-QNTB?cc=1392581&wc=M62C-2MS%3A13861901%2C19664501> : 22 May 2014), Judicial records > 1916 (vol 1, box 9A, folder 4500-4546) > image 226 of 338; La Universidad de Guam, UOG estación Mangilao, Guam (University of Guam, UOG Station Mangilao, Guam).

³⁵ 1920 US Census, Piti, Agaña, Guam., pop.sch. p.15A, dwell. 24, fam. 24, Manuel A. Cruz.

³⁶ 1920 US Census, Anigua, Agaña, Guam., po.sch. p. 6B, dwell. 44, fam. 49, Manuel A. Cruz.

³⁷ 1920 Church census page 88.

³⁸ 1920 US Census, Agaña, Guam, pop. sch., p. 29A, dwell.231, fam. 269, Jose A. and Candelaria T. Cruz.

³⁹ 1920 US Census, Agaña, Guam, pop. sch., dwell. 280, fam.322, Tomas A. Cruz and Ana L.G.

Ana de la Cruz Ada was found in the 1920 church census and was a good candidate to be Apolonia's sister.⁴⁰ She is listed along with Ignacio Cruz Manibusan and five children. Unfortunately, her age was not given. According to the census Ana's eldest child was born in 1908. The mean age for women to marry in Guam at the time was 21.5 years old.⁴¹ If she married at 22, it is possible that she gave birth to her first child in 1908. Fabian de la Cruz also had a daughter named Ana. She was 7 years older than Apolonia's sister, Ana. This means that both were of childbearing age in 1908. This makes it difficult to determine which Ana is mentioned in the census.

Because Apolonia's siblings appeared to have carried the Cruz Ada/Ada Cruz name, and because there were only two families in the historical documentation with de la Cruz or Cruz as the paternal line and Ada as the maternal line, it is evident that Francisco and an unnamed "Ada" parented Apolonia's younger siblings. It is possible that Fabian de la Cruz and Francisco were brothers and married Juliana and her unnamed sister. Due to an absence of records for the time period we may never know if this is the case. Church records would normally be a good source for this type of information but those records were lost in the destruction of the Agaña Cathedral during WWII.

The Ada Question

The question remains, why did most recordings of Apolonia list only Ada? If her elder brother Vicente went by the surname Ada we could conjecture that Francisco had not married her mother before she was born. But we cannot confirm this since there was no age information for the Vicente de la Cruz y Ada that was found in the 1920 Church census and we have not found a Vicente Ada of the correct age in the records. All the rest of her siblings appeared to have carried the Cruz Ada surnames. It could also be possible that Francisco was not actually her father. The question regarding the name, Apolonia Reyes Ada, in her daughter's death announcements is still unsolved. Or perhaps it was simply a recording error. The records for Apolonia start in 1897, only a year before the United States Navy took over the administration of the island. It was a time of change that is reflected in the confusing naming patterns of the island. Because of this, today there are siblings in one family that spell their name differently.⁴²

⁴⁰ 1920 Church census page 161.

⁴¹ Underwood, Jane H., "Effects of the 1918 Influenza Pandemic Mortality Experience on Subsequent Fertility of the Native Population of Guam," *Micronesica* 19 (December 1983): 1-9, specifically 7.

⁴² Personal interview with Jerome Fejerang, 13 April 2012.

The first source that was found for Apolonia is the 1897 Spanish census. It is not uniform in the recording of names. In most cases the children's names are listed below the parents and it is assumed that they follow the Spanish naming pattern. In most cases this has proven to be correct. In some cases, the surname is actually indicated, especially if only one parent is in the household. There doesn't appear to be a uniform reason for this other than the desire of the recorder. For the villages in Southern Guam, the names are written using the copulative conjunction "y," while in Northern Guam the maternal surname is not indicated at all.

Because of these irregularities and unless more documents become available, we may never know the true origins of Apolonia. But based on the following evidence, we can reasonably assume that her mother was an Ada. There is also compelling evidence to suggest that Francisco de la Cruz is her father and not Fabian de la Cruz.

Summary of Evidence

Table 3: Summary of Evidence to support each possible name

	Apolonia Ada	Apolonia de la Cruz	Apolonia Reyes
Direct Evidence	1920 Church Census		Death notices of her daughters
Indirect Evidence	"A" is her middle initial in: 1920 US Census 1930 US Census 1940 US Census Death notices of daughters has "Apolonia Reyes Ada" Naming Patterns: All her children carried the Ada de la Torre surname.	1897 Spanish Census lists her as the child of Francisco de la Cruz. All of her younger siblings carried the Ada Cruz surname	
Negative Evidence		"A" is her middle initial in: 1920 US Census 1930 US Census 1940 US Census Death notices of daughters Names of her children	Not supported by her living descendants

Table 4: Summary of Evidence to support each candidate for Apolonia's father

	Francisco de la Cruz	Fabian de la Cruz	Unknown Reyes
Direct Evidence	1897 Church census		Death Notices
Indirect Evidence	Her younger siblings carried the Ada Cruz surname	Her younger siblings carried the Ada Cruz surname	
Negative Evidence	Death Notices	Absence of direct evidence	Not supported by living descendants

There is compelling evidence to indicate that Apolonia is the child of an unnamed Ada who was the wife of Francisco de la Cruz. It is not clear if Francisco is Apolonia's birth father. It is also not clear what is the relationship between Francisco and Fabian de la Cruz.

This case study reveals challenges that researchers face in searching for evidence of familial lineages in Guam and the Northern Marianas. While this research centered on family and records based in Guam, interviews with family members here indicate a need to research records and possible family links in Saipan. The 1897 Spanish census of the Mariana Islands includes the island of Guam and Rota. It is not certain if the census ever included the islands of Tinian and Saipan, or if the records for those islands were simply lost. For this reason, a search of possible connections in Saipan needs to be undertaken. To date we have located at least one possible candidate in Saipan who has agreed to have their DNA tested in the hopes of finding a connection with Apolonia's descendants in Guam.

While this study has shed some light on Apolonia, it has raised more questions than it has answered. In spite of this, evidence and information gathered during this study have given new direction to the search for her origins.

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