

The “Japanese” Locals of Davao and of Guam:

Shifting Belongings amidst Successive Empires

during and after the Pacific War

ダバオとグアムのローカル「日本人」

—戦中・戦後における連続する帝国の帰属先の変遷—

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the experiences of Japanese locals of Davao and of Guam to understand the shifting belongings of people amidst the changing US-Japan empires in the 1940s. Living in US territories invaded and occupied by the Japanese military in December 1941, the Japanese locals of Davao and of Guam had the unique experience of being part of the locality, then declared enemy aliens at the outbreak of the war, then co-patriots of the new imperial masters after the Japanese invasion, and then again as enemies to be shipped out at Japan's defeat. Existing histories of the overseas Japanese are Japan-oriented. The Japanese in Davao are treated as Japanese, even those born of mixed Filipino-Japanese parentage. The Japanese of Guam, because they were numerically insignificant and barely any of them (if at all) stayed in Japan postwar as repatriates, are largely ignored. This study questions the current portrayal of them as belonging solely to Japan. Using a postcolonial historical perspective, the study holds that notions of "Japanese," "Filipino," and "Guam Chamorro" are shifting and unsettled. Employing historical analysis and comparing Davao and Guam, it seeks to answer: How did the Japanese locals' belongings shift during the turbulent 1940s when the US and Japanese empires alternated in dominance?

It finds that before the war, the Japanese locals were classified either as Japanese or as otherwise, with racially mixed persons fitted into one or another. At the war's outbreak, civilian hostilities between Filipinos and Japanese broke out in Davao, but amidst the violence, Filipino-Japanese prewar ties mediated allowing locals in both clashing armed forces to survive. During Japanese Occupation, Japanese locals serving Japan fought against Filipino guerrillas, though a few gave and received information that allowed them and fellow Filipino locals to survive. As the war worsened for Japan, the Japanese evacuated en masse to the hinterlands, while Filipinos fell victim to Japanese war crimes. Postwar, they were shipped out and were unable to return for decades, while new Filipino settlers poured in. As the physically separated people continued to narrativize Davao, two histories of the same locality were created. In the Japanese Davao, the place was Dabao-kuo and Japanese mestizos were Japanese. In the Filipino Davao, the Japanese were minute and demonized. Outside history, however, cross-racial ties persisted and traversed the gap between Davao and Japan.

In contrast, neither civilian hostilities nor contending armed forces clashed in Guam. Japanese locals served as a bridge between the two disconnected worlds of the Japanese military and the Chamorros. At Japan's defeat, they were shipped out along with other POWs, but immediately came home thanks to their Chamorro families. Rather than a physical divide, a polarized grand narrative of us-versus-enemy was created as a result of postwar racial discourses. In this divide, Japanese locals were embraced by their Chamorro families as part of "us," separating them from "the enemy," hence creating the contradiction of being Japanese but not "The Japanese." Despite differing experiences, histories of both Davao and Guam were polarized into us-versus-enemy, a polarization that leaves no option to be in between. Outside history, however, several Japanese locals and their families continued to live between conflicting poles or to live with both poles conflicting within their persons.

The dissertation argues that successive empires classified peoples of hybrid spaces into mutually exclusive racial categories which were actualized socially during the war. However, it was the locals' participation in the imperial war and their acquiescence to its total war ideologies that gave these racial labels social force and embedded these into history. Having

shown this, the dissertation supports the capacity of the locals to write their own histories and address the social-historical ruptures that emerged because of imperialism. Moreover, it converses with Japanese historical studies for which “Japanese” is a defined category, albeit heterogenous and transforming. Seen from a postcolonial perspective, “Japanese” is racial and thus is relational and contested alongside other belongings. The dissertation contributes to the resolution of locals’ conflicting belongings as well as to furthering Japanese diaspora studies’ notion of overseas Japanese and the localities where they lived.

Keywords: Japanese locals, Davao, Guam, shifting belongings

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ABBREVIATIONS

AGS – Allied Geographical Section

BNCT – Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes

C.A. – Commonwealth Act

CEA – Civilian Emergency Administration

CNMI – Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands

DJA – Davao Japanese Association

FSM – Federated States of Micronesia

MARC – Micronesian Area Research Center

NIDS – National Institute of Defense Studies

PFP – *Philippines Free Press*

POW – Prisoners-of-war

PTA – Parents-Teacher Association

ROTC – Reserve Officers' Training Corps

UOG – University of Guam

USAFFE – United States Army Forces in the Far East

NOTES ON NAMES AND NON-ENGLISH WORDS

For consistency, all names are written with first names first and family names last, whether the person is East Asian or otherwise. As far as possible, I refer to primary sources in English for the transliteration of Japanese names. However, there are names for which I supplied my own, for example, for Okinawan farmers in Davao whom we know about only from their own oral history in Japanese. Many of the Japanese locals in our stories have two names (a Japanese name and a Filipino or Chamorro name) be they of mixed parentage or not. As far as possible, I follow the one used in prewar primary sources. Thus, for example, I call Takekuma Shinohara by his Japanese name throughout the narrative even though the name he used in his memoir was “Samuel Shinohara,” whereas his cohort Jose K. Shimizu is called by his Chamorro name because these are the names used in the prewar magazine, *Guam Recorder*.

For place names, I follow the spelling in the prewar census reports, where possible and unless specified otherwise in the list of names in the Appendices. I understand that some scholars in the indigenous movement might prefer their homes spelled in its non-Anglicized names. My decision is for readability. As it is, most readers will already be bombarded with unfamiliar place names. By using the Anglicized names, I hope to make the ordeal less grueling for them. For the same reason, the Anglicized place names are retained throughout the dissertation despite their Japanization during the Japanese Occupation Period. The only exception are Japanese terms with ō and ū (for example, nan’yō) unless these have commonly used English counterparts without the diacritic (for example, Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyushu).

Non-English terms such as barangay [village], nan’yō [south seas], and taotaomo’na [spirits of ancestors] are not italicized. These words are not foreign to the locals and, because this dissertation advances the local perspective, I do not see the need to italicize them. Not italicizing non-English terms reflects my stance in the power dynamics I see in the academe. These terms were part of the locals’ milieu and by treating them as non-foreign, I wish to take my readers into mixed (at times, disjunct) milieu of localities. Returning to readability, I supply loose and simplified English translations as I did in the above examples.

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This section is influenced by the preface of Vivian Dames' dissertation (2000) where she lays out her positionality as a Filipino-American local of Guam researching about Chamorro identity. Here, I trace the influences of my thinking and hence the assertions in this thesis, and acknowledge those who made this dissertation possible.

I was born to Filipino settlers of Davao. My mother is from Pangasinan and grew up in Manila. My father is from Cebu. Both met, married, and had their first three children in and around Manila. In the 1980s, my father got a job in an agricultural company in Davao and brought his family there. Born and raised in Davao, I was surrounded by my siblings and the children of my father's colleagues who, like him, were from other parts of the country. To me, they were extended family. Besides them, I had cousins in Manila, Pangasinan, and Cebu. That I was with so many sets of families from so many different places and who spoke a mesh of languages was not at all strange. Others in Davao had the same.

This exposure to diversity continued in and out of school. As in other parts of the Philippines, we learned about the ills of the Spanish Colonial Period, the brilliance of Jose Rizal, and the bravery of Andres Bonifacio. But alongside this national history, we also learned to appreciate (among others) the rhythmic music of kulintang, the elegant dance of singkil, and the sight of a Philippine Eagle in mid-flight. For school trips, the Jesuit-run Ateneo de Davao (AdDU) took us to orphanages and impoverished villages to interact with and learn from its residents. Holidays were spent at the shelter that my mother supervised, where many a playmate were girls abused by their guardians or kidnapped and sold to slavery, ending up in the streets or in beer bar/brothels of 1990s Davao. Other times, I accompanied my father in his drives around eastern Mindanao where the rolling mountains and shimmering sea gained an intimate significance. Having friends from all over Mindanao, I knew that the same mountains were a place where armed violence was rife. In hindsight, such environment underscored three things: that my homeland is far more beautifully layered than portrayed in textbooks, that the world is unjust, and that, precisely so, *cura personalis* [humaneness] is ever valuable.

For college, I was sent to Manila and later entered the undergraduate program of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology (DSA) of Ateneo de Manila University (AdMU). Then, urged by the gut feel, "You can understand society better if you know how it came to be," I double-majored in the program by the Department of History.

When I returned to Davao six years later, I did so as an "insider-outsider."¹ Having long taken for granted that our cathedral is shaped like a mosque, I now gazed at it with respect anew. Although the divides in Davao were not simply along the borders of religion, the cathedral's architecture nevertheless symbolizes the locals' struggle for peace, a struggle which seemed distant for us in Manila. Radicalized by my professors in DSA and Liberation Theology, I became gravely aware that the street beggars were indigenous peoples. I returned to Manila intending to gear my Masters towards Davao. Early on, I read Shinzo Hayase's dissertation.

¹ Lanzona puts it "cultural insider and outsider" (2009, 17).

Given Davao's diversity, Hayase's insistence on using source materials in different languages seemed most sensible given the English-dominated Philippine academia and the Tagalog-dominated nationalist countermovement.

Soon I found that Davao had an eminent Japanese community and that much has been written about them. Clearly, many sources were in Japan. For this, Ateneo de Manila's Japanese Studies Program under Karl Cheng Chua was incredibly supportive. They shared books, advised, and adopted me as their own even when I was not officially their student. It was through their urging and recommendations that I applied for and received JENESYS Special Invitation Programme for Graduate Students (2012) by which I first came to Japan and met Hayase Sensei, Japan Foundation's Japanese-Language Program for Specialists (2013) which provided intensive language training and access to Japanese sources, Sumitomo Foundation's Grant for Japan-Related Research Projects (2013-2014) which allowed me to conduct fieldwork in Davao, and finally the Japanese Government Scholarship (2016) with which I am writing this dissertation.

During my Master's, two points about Davao history became apparent: First, despite the assistance I received from Japanese institutions and the obvious role played by prewar Japanese migrants in Davao's development, I could not accept that the history of *my* Davao is all Japanese. The sheer amount of Japanese materials was troubling, as if a group of people was examining me and my family without us knowing. Adding fuel to the fire, titles such as "Senkusha: Dabao Kaitaku no Chichi: Ohta Kyōzaburō" and "Ohshiro Kōzō: Dabao Kaitaku no So" felt so thoroughly wrong. Second, that Davao was a prewar Filipino-Japanese settler zone was well-known, yet besides one chapter by Hayase (1999) none analyze how the war affected Filipino-Japanese local relations. Moreover, perhaps because I grew up in that diverse and conflict-ridden place, Hayase's conclusions triggered more questions than answers. I, too, played with children from different origins; my parents were from different regions. Had we lived a few decades earlier, would we balkanize as Hayase portrays? How, despite years of armed violence, can there still be efforts for peace?

Towards answering this, I owe much to AdMU History Dept. My informants welcomed a strange graduate student into their homes, fed her, and shared with her stories long gone, some of which were painful to remember. Although my methodology forbids me to rely heavily on our interviews, their generosity fuels this research. Given the national framing of Philippine historiography, especially of its Japanese Occupation Period, articulating my ideas was an ordeal. Conferences and workshops by Firipin Kenkyūkai (2013 and 2019), the Japan Institute of ANU (2014), ARI-NUS (2015), Ateneo Center for Asian Studies (2015), and the Occupation and Liberation (2015) served as venues to gain much-needed feedback. The writeshop by the UP-TWSC (2015) not only walked me through the year-long process of academic journal publication, it networked me to blind reviewers who were incisive and well-versed on the topic. After I moved to Waseda, Harvard-Yenching Institute/Waseda GARC (2018), UH East-West Center (2018), UH Center for Philippine Studies (2019), and AdDU ISD/AdMU JSP (2020) provided venues where I met more like-minded individuals..

As a graduate student, I was blessed with research-oriented employments. The Institute of Philippine Culture taught me research ethics. Its value for action-research is the source of my devotion to community-based research with socio-cultural minorities. Through the Qualitative team of TNS, I got to visit conflict areas, with only one or two female field guides for security. (With their knowledge of the terrain, the languages, the people, and the unwritten rules, these women were actually the best protection one could hope for.) Working as TA for Ambeth Ocampo twisted my idea of history. Emphasizing that perspective is as important as data, he pulled down national heroes from their pedestals, thereby humanizing them. Finally, my students in Asian History and Philippine History in AdMU drive my passion to expand national histories. Their honest critiques on Philippine historiography pinpointed the limitations of my profession and the urgent need to write more inclusive, conscientious interpretations of the past.

When I entered Waseda, I had a vague plan of comparing Davao with Guam and an even vaguer idea of locating both within the Japanese nan'yō and the US empire. Central to the progress of this dissertation is my PhD supervisor, Shinzo Hayase. He patiently listened as I blabbered half-formed ideas and then, as response, plopped in front of me stacks and stacks of readings and source materials. Himself a historian, he often gave me mental shakes whenever my discipline faltered. An expert on Davao history, he spotted even the tiniest mistake, which though inconsequential to most readers, can have grave impact on my credibility as a researcher. In the final stages of the dissertation, he challenged me to critique his work, indeed, *pushed* me to critique it and establish my own place in the field. Such mentorship is rare in the historical discipline and I am grateful to have had one.

For the research on Guam, I went to the Marianas for about two weeks per year in the last three years. In the first year, I was able to fly to Saipan and then to Guam out of the money saved by living with kind relatives in Tokyo. The second trip for data gathering was sponsored by Haraguchi Memorial Asia Research Fund. In the third trip, I presented in and outside of the Marianas History Conference through a grant by Waseda's CIE, with MARC's Omaira Brunal-Perry as host. In Guam, Vivian Dames and Fumiko Harada took me under their wings and introduced me to their circles. Tita Vivian chatted with me about self-determination movements as she drove me around the island. Fumiko sheltered me and fed me. Reo Nagashima, whom I met in Saipan, was my gateway to Taiheiyō-gaku. Chats with him affirmed many of my findings and raised questions on others. Librarians and archivists of MARC went well beyond their duties. Their knowledge of the collections is astounding and their hospitality made the freezing reading rooms feel like home. There were others and I am sorry that I cannot mention all. Because of them, trips to Guam were more productive and meaningful than expected.

No acknowledgement section is complete without mentioning libraries, offices, and individuals: Besides Rizal Library and MARC, AHC, Waseda libraries, Lopez Museum and Library, NDL, and IDE safekeep most of my sources. Others were the UP libraries, the UST library, Davao City Library, Tokyo Metropolitan Library, Philippine National Library, and Philippine National Archives. Through another grant from Haraguchi Fund, I returned to the Philippines to present in a conference organized by AdMU and AddU, with MSU GenSan

having quite a presence. I met with faculty members of UP Mindanao and with friends in AdMU and the Jesuit Archives. After I was away for so long, chats with them pulled me back. Waseda's Writing Center provided part-time employment conducive to writing a thesis. Peers at GSAPS and GSICCS (inhabitants, transients, forerunners alike) offered intellectual and emotional companionship. Special thanks to Julz, Herlyn, Tricia, Erika, Kenta, Diego, Kim, and River, and to friends from offshore Eri, Laura, and Liza for reading different parts and versions of the draft. Classmates in M.A. helped me acquire references and materials in Manila and answered quick random questions about Philippine historiography which pointed me to exact titles and locations hence saving me much time and money. Lastly, I thank my examiners Gracia Liu-Farrer, Mariko Iijima, and Hatsue Shinohara for their time and incisive comments during the exams and in consultations and seminars.

To That Whose eternal dance continuous to bewilder and awe.

Part 1. Introduction

Chapter 1. Locating the Study in the Scholarship

1. Background

1.1. Contended and Contradictory Belongings

In 1946, a man who seemed to have spent a life in the farms sat at the war crimes investigation. Teodoro Tatishi (sic), of Filipino-Japanese descent, had just admitted his involvement in the torture and murder of his fellow workers during the Japanese invasion of the Philippines five years before. “The Tibungko Lumber Company,” he said grimly, “had volunteer guards to protect the civilians but they did not protect me or my father.”¹ At the outbreak of the Pacific War on December 8, 1941, Teodoro’s father was arrested by the joint US-Philippine army as a national of the enemy country and then crammed into dismal concentration camps along with other Japanese with barely any food and water for twelve days. Upon the invasion of the Japanese military, they were released from the camps and then were tasked to aid in the establishment of the Japanese military occupation. With their new-found roles, they extracted vengeance from those who had abused them and their families twelve days earlier. Teodoro, for example, was party to the beating and beheading of his co-worker and neighbor, the head of the Filipino volunteer guards.

Long-time Japanese settlers and their children living within the US empire, especially in places invaded and occupied by the Japanese military, have been largely ignored in the histories of Japanese diaspora, US empire, Pacific War, and even in the histories of their own localities. They are virtually invisible. Did these Japanese locals collaborate with the Japanese or with the Allied forces? Were they victims of anti-Japanese atrocities or were they perpetrators of Japanese War Crimes? Were they perceived as enemies of the US territory or was the US-Japan War deemed as external and imposed on the locality? What befell mixed families such as Teodoro Tatishi’s when the Japanese were interned in 1941 and when they were repatriated in 1944 or 1945?

Indeed, even who “they” were has not been adequately problematized. Officially, Teodoro could have been a Japanese national or a Filipino citizen (i.e., US national), depending on whether his parents were legally wed in the Philippines and on whether his father entered his name in the Japanese family registry. In the short period between the outbreak of the war up to the Japanese military invasion, Japanese nationals such as Teodoro’s father were called “enemy aliens” by Philippine authorities and were thus interned. Meanwhile, those of mixed unions such as Teodoro were deemed non-Japanese and were not allowed inside the camps. After the defeat of the US-Philippine army, the invading Japanese military called the Japanese settlers, the Japanese born overseas, and the Japanese born of mixed unions (depending on how desperate imperial Japan was in soliciting support and consolidating its forces) “zairyū nihonjin” [Japanese resident], “kaigai zairyū hōjin” [nationals residing overseas], “hōjin” [national], or “dōhō” [compatriot]. Had Teodoro lived in Guam, another US territory invaded by Japan, present-day Pacific Islands scholars, like Philippine authorities in 1941, would argue that he was *not* Japanese at all, regardless of what historians of Japan might say.

¹ “Japanese War Crimes Trials,” Bundle 17 Report 163.

This dissertation does not seek to define who “they” are. Instead, it shows that how the notion of “they”—in this case “the Japanese”—emerged. It inquires into the shifting, contended, and at times contradictory belongings of people during the turbulent 1940s when the colonial reins were passed from the US to Japan, then back to the US. It asks: Amidst changing empires, how did belongings shift? It compares the Japanese locals of Davao and of Guam so as to work toward a regional approach. The former was a Philippine province with a well-known Japanese community; the latter was an island in the Pacific Ocean where Japanese locals were barely known. As people living in places within the US empire invaded and occupied by Japan, these Japanese locals had the unique experience of being part of the locality, and then dubbed enemy aliens at the outbreak of the war, and then co-patriots of the new imperial master at Japan’s invasion, and then again as enemies to be shipped out at the US’s return. Coming from a local perspective, the dissertation is premised on the idea that people on the ground—their lives and their relations with each other—do not break as abruptly as historical periodization often portrays.

This chapter first introduces overseas Japanese/Japanese migrants and then reviews the literature on them in the Philippines and in Guam. Next, it sketches out the perspectives, key concepts, and approach taken by the dissertation. Having done so, it articulates the research objectives and questions, contributions, and the organization of the thesis.

1.2. As Overseas Japanese or as Japanese Minorities

Japanese emigration, remigration, lives overseas, and return to Japan have much been studied. The Japanese started leaving Japan in mid-19th century, first as students, then as colonial settlers, labor migrants, professionals, and merchants. They sailed to the far east (i.e., to the Americas), to the west (i.e., continental Asia) and to the south (i.e., parts of Southeast Asia and Oceania).

Overseas Japanese within the Japanese empire—blurred as its borders might have been—had been participating in the imperial construction since the end of the 19th century.² Meanwhile, in the Americas and Hawaii, immigration plummeted if not halted altogether in the late 1910s and early 1920s because of anti-Asian sentiments and exclusionary policies. Here, a distinct generational divide can be observed: The *issei* [first generation] pertains to the immigrants who arrived at the end of the 19th and the start of the 20th centuries. Their children, the *nisei* [second generation], were born overseas and were in their youth in the 1940s.

The war between Japan and the US was a turning point for these overseas Japanese. Those in US territories (Hawaii, Alaska, the Philippines, and Guam) as well as those in other Allied countries (e.g. Canada, Mexico) and in their colonies/territories (e.g. Dutch Indies) were deemed enemy aliens regardless of their nationality and citizenship.³ In varying extent and time periods, they suffered displacement, incarceration, persecution, and loyalty tests. At the fall of the Japanese empire, Japan’s borders were redrawn and the very basis of the Japanese nation

² For example, Guelcher (2006) describes how colonial settlers aided in the Japanese expansion in Manchuria; Hiroko Matsuda (2019) tackles Okinawans as colonial settlers in Taiwan; Azuma (2019) provides an overarching story of Japanese colonial settlers as frontiersmen expanding the Japanese empire.

³ For example, see Fujitani (2011) for Japanese Americans, Kashima (2011) for US policy in the Americas and Hawaii, Fiset and Nomura (2011) and Oiwa (2006) for Japanese Canadians, and Chew (2015) and Garcia (2014) for Japanese Mexicans.

and the definitions of being a Japanese had to be re-thought.⁴ Japanese nationals in former colonies in East Asia, in the Pacific Islands, and in the newly occupied Southeast Asia were repatriated to Japan. Former Korean colonials in Japan had to be shipped out. Mixed race families were separated.⁵ Many were left behind.

Those from Latin America continued to live in instability. During the war, they were arrested and sent to internment camps in the US. At the end of the war, anti-Japanese sentiments in their home countries disallowed them from returning. Japanese nationals were to be deported to Japan while their Latin American families who had pleaded to be interned with them were to be repatriated to Latin America. It was not until about a decade that the processing of permits allowing families to continue living together in the US were begun.

Eiichiro Azuma (2019) observes that in the US academia the history of overseas Japanese falls within the domain of Asian American studies in which they are deemed as ethnic minorities within the larger US national history. The field emerged postwar in the context of the redress movement and focuses on the injustice they suffered during and immediately after the Pacific War and overlooks their participation in Japan's empire-building prewar. Meanwhile, the US-based Japanese studies, as area studies, has ignored overseas Japanese because they left the "area" under study.

Although as someone writing outside US academia I do not observe such absences, I do notice a similar gap in the scholarship. On the one hand, studies on Japanese diaspora (e.g., Adachi 2006) and Okinawan diaspora (e.g., Nakasone 2002) emphasize linkages to Japan, the creation and re-creation of a Japanese identity, and the desire to come home. These studies call the Japanese as overseas Japanese, migrants, colonial settlers, and repatriates. On the other hand, histories of Japanese ethnic minorities highlight their positions within their host societies. These focus on the Japanese minorities' relation with the mainstream majority and with other ethnic minorities. For example, Jerry Garcia (2014) and Selfa Chew (2015), both concerned with the injustice experienced by the Japanese Mexicans during World War 2, emphasize their belonging to Mexican society and downplay their linkages to Japan.

Indeed, only a few deal with the Japanese as being in between the places they were from (be it Japan or Okinawa) and the places where they lived. Eiichiro Azuma's *Between Two Empires* (2005) is one of the few. Focusing on the issei's transnationalism during the years before the Pacific War, it demonstrates their active use of the racial discourses both in the US and in Japan for their own rivalries, against the US government, and against other ethnic minorities in the US. Taku Suzuki's *Embodying Belonging* (2010) is another. Stretching from the 1950s to the 1990s, it elucidates the shifting, contending, and at times contradictory racialized belonging of Japanese Bolivians as they faced others in their community.

Like Azuma and Suzuki, my study tackles the malleable belongings of the Japanese. Unlike the research trend that heavily leans toward the Americas and Hawaii, it veers the peering glass on the western side of the Pacific. Specifically, it focuses on the Japanese living in Guam and in the Philippine locality of Davao. These Japanese had the unique experience of being part of the locality, and then dubbed enemy aliens during the brief interregnum between the outbreak of the war and the Japanese military invasion, and then co-patriots of the new

⁴ Araragi 2008, xii.

⁵ Lori Watt (2016) focused on US wartime plans for Japanese repatriation after its eventual defeat. For a more on-the-ground execution of US policies for repatriation in the Marianas, see Trefalt (2009) and Meller (1999) on Camp Susupe in Saipan.

imperial masters during the Japanese rule, and then again as enemies to be shipped out at Japan's defeat. Without overlooking their linkages to Japan and their participation in Japan's war effort, the study locates them within the places where they lived during the war.⁶ These places—Guam and Davao—were themselves connected by intertwined colonial histories. Before zooming into the Japanese locals, the next section provides a historical overview of the colonial histories of the Philippines and Guam.

1.3. The Philippines and Guam in the Overlap of the US-Japan Empires

When the US won the Spanish-American War in 1898, it inherited from Spain its Pacific territories: the Philippine Islands in Asia, Guam in the Mariana Islands, and Puerto Rico in America. In the same year, it occupied Wake Atoll, annexed the Hawaiian Islands, and gained possession of American Samoa. With Alaska which it had purchased from Russia in the 1860s, the US now possessed territories around the Pacific. These territories were connected through cable telegraph, shipments, and later through radio and aircraft. Through these communication and transportation lines traveled people, goods, messages, ideas, know-how, as well as biases, prejudices, laws, and armed forces.

Parallel to the rise of the US empire was that of Japan. From 1880s to 1940s, advocacies to move south, collectively called *nanshin-ron* [views on southward advance], casted the South Seas [*nan'yō*] as “vital not just to Japanese economic development but to its very existence as a nation.”⁷ In 1919, Japan was granted mandate for the former German Micronesia by the League of Nations. The islands were named *Nan'yō Guntō* [South Sea Islands], were administered by the civilian body *Nanyō-chō* [South Seas Bureau] in 1922, and were seen as a base from where Japanese economy could expand into Southeast Asia.⁸ Meanwhile, Davao in US-occupied Philippines was becoming economically dominated by Japanese businesses. Through territorial acquisition, settlers, and investments, the Japanese empire expanded as did the US.

This was to set both empires into conflict. With Japan's expansion into China, Japanese imperial project became militaristic. In 1937, the purpose of *Nan'yō Guntō* became solely to supply Japan's war efforts.⁹ In 1941 *Nan'yō Guntō* was reverted from *Nan'yō-chō* to the Navy.¹⁰ Finally in December 1941, Japan bombed Hawaii, Guam, and the Philippines. Guam surrendered on the 10th, Davao was occupied on the 20th, Wake Atoll on the 23rd, and the Philippine capital of Manila on the 2nd of January the following year. As Figure 1-1 shows, the Philippines and Guam (and Wake Atoll) were the only places within the US empire invaded and occupied by the Japanese military.

⁶ As Azuma (2005, 6) articulates, “while they were caught between the conflicting ideological and often repressive apparatuses of the two nation-states, their bodies were anchored in America...”

⁷ Hajime Shimizu 1987, 386.

⁸ Imaizumi 2014, 277.

⁹ Imaizumi 2014, 277-278.

¹⁰ Higuchi 2013, Chapter 1.

Figure 1-1. Summary of the US Territories Acquired before the Pacific War

	Year acquired	How the territory was acquired	US military rule	Japanese occupation
Philippine Islands	1898	Treaty of Paris	1898-1901 (1898-1913 for Mindanao)	1941-1945
Guam	1898	Treaty of Paris	1898-1950	1941-1944
Puerto Rico	1898	Treaty of Paris	1898-1900	None
Hawaiian Islands	1898 (Annexed)	US Congress Resolution	1941-1944	None
Wake Atoll	1899	Executive Order	1899 to present	1941-1945
American Samoa	1898	British-US-German Agreement	1900-1951	None
Alaska	1867	Purchased from Russia	1867-1870s	None

Connections between the Philippines and Guam span long before the US made its entry. From the 16th to the 19th centuries, the Spanish-sponsored Galleon Trade linked Manila (capital of Spanish colonial Philippines), Guam (southernmost island of the Marianas), and Acapulco (in present-day Mexico). With the independence of Mexico in 1821 came the eventual demise of the galleons and the transpacific cord it sustained. The Marianas and the Philippines, which had been under the Viceroy of New Spain in Mexico, both fell under the jurisdiction of Spanish Manila. Thus, when Manila surrendered to the US army in August 1898 and signed the Treaty of Paris that December, both the Philippines and Guam were ceded to the US. (The other Mariana islands were sold to Germany.)

As newly acquired territories, the Philippines and Guam encountered censuses which counted and classified its inhabitants into distinct races. Efforts were made to civilize them: Both saw infrastructure development, public education, and health care. Massive road construction projects were begun, hiring local and migrant laborers. Public elementary schools sprouted in villages; hospitals were built and staffed by American and local nurses and doctors. The Philippine Normal School and University of the Philippines welcomed aspiring teachers and doctors from various Philippine localities and from Guam. The more affluent of both territories pursued further studies in mainland US.

The US empire employed local men for the defense of the territory and for the maintenance of its rule and order. The Philippine Scouts under the US Army and the Insular Constabulary under the civil governor were organized to quell rebellions. In Guam, islanders employed by the US Navy were collectively called Insular Force. The island police called Insular Patrol, composed of US Marines, assigned natives in stations across Guam. Later, the Reserve Officers' Training Corps and the Guam Militia trained the youth in the Philippines and in Guam, respectively. As the war approached, a joint Philippine-US force trained Filipinos en masse and then inducted them into the US Army. Meanwhile, in Guam, an infantry unit under the US Navy was organized.

Despite the wide extent of the US's reach, it was not total. After the commercialization and industrialization in the 1920s, cities in both territories glittered with electric lights, movie

theaters, cars, and buses. In the homes of the wealthy, music streamed not only from the piano but also from the phonograph and from the new fad, the radio.¹¹ However, even in Manila, prided for its technological advancement, the use of firewood and fossil fuel continued, especially in less affluent homes.¹² While Agana City, Guam's capital, dazzled those that visited it, most parts of island had neither electricity nor running tap water. Many places remained inaccessible or accessed only with great difficulty.

In Guam and in the so-called special provinces of the Philippines, indigenous peoples continued to perplex state authorities. Many times, they eluded imperial categorizations and defied definitions set in the censuses.¹³ By virtue of them being natives, they should be of lower civilization, yet many were educated either by America or by the preceding regime. They were supposedly pagans and infidels, yet many were Catholic and had Christian names. Some had even proven themselves capable of using their fluid identity as indigenous people to advance their own interests in legal matters. Obviously, the Philippines and Guam were more than just US territories. Both had imperial, institutional state apparatuses as well as fluid peoples which this dissertation (for lack of a better term) lumps into "indigenous."¹⁴

The Philippines and Guam were different in one very important aspect. When the US acquired both territories, a Philippine Revolution against Spain had erupted two years prior. Given the strong nationalist sentiments in the Philippines and the political ambitions of its leaders,¹⁵ a civilian government was immediately instituted.¹⁶ In 1907, the first election for the National Assembly was held and by landslide the Nacionalista Party won with its platform "immediate, complete, and absolute independence."¹⁷ In 1916, the legislative body became fully Filipino and other parts of the government were rapidly "Filipinized." By 1934, the Philippines was drafting its constitution and in 1935 the Philippine Commonwealth—autonomous, with a popularly elected president and legislature, constitution, and the promise of independence in 10-years' time—was begun.

Such fiery anti-colonial pursuit for national independence was absent in Guam. In contrast to Filipinos' dramatic Siege of Manila (which threatened to starve and then bombard Intramuros along with its Spanish civilian women and children),¹⁸ the closest thing Guam had to an uprising was a conspiracy among creole sentinels resulting to the murder of one

¹¹ Dacudao 2017, 284-85. The "War Claims of Juan Aguon Roberto," "War Claims of Manuel Frederico Ulloa," "War Claims of Eduardo Eclaves Perez," and "War Claims of Riye Dejima" all had prewar phonographs.

¹² See Doeppers 2007.

¹³ The artificiality of the census and other statistics has been tackled by Anderson (1998), specifically in pp. 29-45 and pp. 318-330; as well as by Okamura 2008, 22-30.

¹⁴ Indigenous studies in the Philippines and in the Marianas developed separately. Nevertheless, both now seem to be problematizing the concept of indigeneity. Please see Chapters 3 and 6 for the separate discussions.

¹⁵ Paredes 1988, 49.

¹⁶ This civil government and political participation did not extend to the so-called "Special Provinces," the largest of which was the Moro Province in Mindanao Island, which remained under US army rule until 1913.

¹⁷ Hutchinson 1972, 159. Historical lens tells us that Nacionalista leaders had to balance between fanning Filipino nationalist sentiments and calls for independence on the one hand, and securing a smooth transition from being a military protected territory with economic preferential treatment to an independent nation-state on the other. See Hutchinson 1972.

¹⁸ Motsch 1994, 81-85. American allies of Filipinos (not Filipino themselves) handed out an ultimatum to the Spanish in Manila. However, the siege of Intramuros that began long before the ultimatum were by Filipinos. As Motsch noted, "the Tagal who works as a coachman or domestic in a foreigner's household is fully aware that Aguinaldo's troops have killed a large number of Spaniards" and that they would say so with great pride. See Motsch 1994, 54.

governor.¹⁹ Remaining under US naval government, Guam's petitions for civil rights were conciliatory at best.²⁰ Whereas violent anti-colonial nationalist movements raged in the Philippines, Guam lobbied for civil rights in a peaceful, even non-confrontational manner.

This thesis covers only Davao, not the entire Philippine archipelago. Davao experienced the same counting and racial classification, civilizing projects, militarization, and Philippine anti-colonial nationalist movement. As part of the Moro Province (one of the special provinces), Davao also had fluid indigenous peoples. What distinguished Davao from the rest of the Philippines (at least for our purposes) was its economically dominant and politically influential Japanese community—an alien presence that triggered nationalist debacles in the midst of the impending national independence. This makes Davao's Japanese strikingly different from other Japanese communities not only in the Philippines but also in the region including Guam. The next subsection introduces the Japanese in Davao and in Guam as well as the general trend of the histories that tackle them.

2. Literature Review

In its October 1939 report to the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Japanese Consulate General in Manila reported that there were 25,269 Japanese nationals residing in the Philippines and 62 residing in Guam. In the same document, the Japanese Consulate in Davao reported 18,271 Japanese nationals. Meanwhile, the census conducted by the Philippine Commonwealth recorded 29,057 as citizens of Japan, of which 17,888 were in Davao. The census of Guam conducted by the US Bureau of the Census the following year records 326 as racially Japanese, of which 38 were considered “foreign-born.” Despite the variations in the official records, we can more or less gauge that there were about 25,000 Japanese in the Philippines, more than 60% of which were in Davao. In contrast, very few were in Guam.

Figure 1-2. Japanese Population in the Philippines and in Guam, 1939, 1940²¹

	Philippines	Davao	Guam
In the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1939)	25,269	18,271	62
By the Philippine Commonwealth (1939)	29,057	17,888	n/a
By the US Bureau of the Census (1940)	n/a	n/a	326 (38)

Because of their relatively large number and visibility during prewar period, the Japanese of Davao had been much discussed. As early as the 1950s, histories of them were published both in the Philippines and in Japan.²² Since the 1960s, Philippine-Japan relations

¹⁹ Brunal-Perry 1998, 85 and 86.

²⁰ Rogers 1995, 155.

²¹ Gaimushō Chōsa-bu [nd], *Kaigai Kakuchi Zairyū*, 55-57; Commission of the Census 1941, 433 and 438; Territorial, Insular, and Foreign Statistics 1941, 3.

²² See for example Furukawa 1956; Quiason 1958; Cody 1959.

has turn its attention to prewar Davao as a case study.²³ In the 1980s, historian Shinzo Hayase established a prewar local history with the Japanese as the fulcrum, so much so that in 2015 historian Patricia Dacudao and Philippine-Japan relations scholar Lydia Yu-Jose asserted that, in Davao's prewar local history, the Japanese are visible, the Filipinos are invisible. Meanwhile, in Japan, journalists and other concerned writers published about the Philippine *zanryū* [Japanese left behind in the Philippines after the Pacific War] in the 1990s to advocate that the Japanese government recognize them (e.g., Ohno 1991; Amano 1990). Their advocacy led to the revision of the Japan's Immigration Control, allowing the *Nikkeijin* to work in Japan.²⁴

This section provides a summary of existing histories about the Japanese in Davao. It is followed by a contrasting absence in Guam. The literature review ends with an explanation for the difference, pointing to a larger trend and limitation in the history of overseas Japanese in general.

2.1. The Japanese in Davao: The Japanese Story

The story of the Japanese in Davao follows this narrative: The first few waves arrived in the early 1900s from other parts of the Philippines. With migration permits issued mostly from Fukuoka, Hiroshima, and Kumamoto prefectures,²⁵ many came to the country for the Kennon Road Construction. With the impending completion of the construction in 1905, a number of them moved to Davao. In Davao, they established the Ohta Development Company so that, as a corporation, they could legally own land.²⁶ The Company employed the *jieisha* system or the *pakyaw*,²⁷ in which it entrusted portions of its estate to independent cultivators. Because of their small number and assimilation into the local community, the Japanese pioneers were not viewed as a threat by the other locals.

World War I led to a boom in agricultural businesses.²⁸ In 1914, the Ohta company established the Mintal Plantation Company and the Riverside Plantation Company as subsidiaries. In 1916, it bought 1,256 hectares of land and leased another 2,857 hectares. In the next two years, four more subsidiary companies were formed in Biao, Guianga and Talomo.²⁹ Besides those already in Davao, Japanese in Japan were also enticed by the booming abaca [manila hemp] production industry. Yoshizō Furukawa, backed by the Ito Shoten conglomerate, established the Furukawa Plantation Company, the largest Japanese venture in prewar Davao.³⁰ As early as 1918, the land occupied by the Japanese was larger than American and Filipino plantations combined.³¹ By the 1930s, Japanese businesses dominated Davao

²³ In particular, Saniel 1966; Goodman 1967. In the 1990s, they were joined by Lydia Yu-Jose (1992; 1996; 1997).

²⁴ Yoneno-Reyes 2017, 189.

²⁵ Hayase 1995, 131-133.

²⁶ Goodman 1967, 2. Individuals besides those with Philippine or US citizenship were barred from owning land

²⁷ 自営者 [*jieisha*] literally means independent cultivator. *Pakyaw* is a Chinese-Filipino term. For an in-depth discussion on the *pakyaw*, see Patricia Dacudao 2017, 163-167.

²⁸ Hayase 2007, 176.

²⁹ Hayase 1984, 158-159.

³⁰ Yu-Jose 1992, 81.

³¹ Hayase 1984, 158-160.

economy, an alien dominance which became an issue in a Philippines that was preparing for national independence.³²

Along with the rise of the Japanese businesses was an influx of migrants and a shift in demographics. As Hayase demonstrates, the prefectures issuing travel permits swung heavily toward Okinawa.³³ Moreover, unlike the pioneers of the 1900s who married locals, many summoned their brides and families from Japan. The Davao Japanese Association (DJA) was established in 1918 to advocate Japanese business interests in Davao.³⁴ An Okinawan association was similarly established two years earlier.³⁵ In the 1930s, Japanese elementary schools sprouted across Davao that by 1941 there were 13; most teachers were from Japan.³⁶ As argued by Yu-Jose, the Japanese community had become so self-reliant that migrants were able to come, find work, and settle in Davao without relying on any Filipino institution.³⁷ By late 1930s, Davao was dubbed Dabao-kuo after the Japanese-occupied Manchuria.³⁸

Shun Ohno observes that while Davao's prewar Japanese had much been studied postwar, the link between the two is rarely made.³⁹ Focusing on children of mixed Filipino-Japanese parentage, especially those left behind after the Japanese were repatriated, Ohno fills a lacuna in history. In the years leading to the war, Filipinos had become frightfully suspicious of the Japanese. In the early 1930s, the Secretary of Agriculture canceled all land applications associated to the Japanese.⁴⁰ In 1941 a legislation requiring all foreigners to register targeted the Japanese, many of whom were suspected to be spies.⁴¹ At the outbreak of the war, the Japanese were interned; meanwhile, their properties were looted.⁴² They were released at the Japanese invasion and during the Japanese occupation, they aided Japan's war effort. The end of the war was tragic, especially their escape to the mountains.⁴³ Finally, in 1945, the Japanese were repatriated to Japan and those left behind hid their Japanese identity in fear of Filipino persecution. Okinawans, many of whom were married to indigenous people called "Bagobos," were safeguarded by their kin. Ohno ventures to assert that Bagobos were pro-Japan because of these intermarriages and because of the land dispossession they experienced prewar.⁴⁴

The postwar history of Davao's prewar Japanese were not entirely nil. Following the paper trail, Shinzo Hayase (2012) and Mariko Iijima (2013a; 2016) follow the story of the repatriates in Japan and their eventual return to Davao. Upon reaching Japan, the repatriates had to start from scratch and did not have time to wallow in tragic memories.⁴⁵ Besides that,

³² Ohno 2008, 372; Yu-Jose 1996, 77-78.

³³ In the period between 1926 to 1939, the prefectures which issued most travel permits for the Philippines were Okinawa (5,084), Hiroshima (1,404), and Kumamoto (1,066). In the preceding period of 1913 to 1921, these were Hiroshima (1,382), Fukushima (977), and Yamaguchi (886). In the period before that, 1907 to 1912, these were Fukushima (579), Hiroshima (306), and Okinawa (238). And finally, in the first period, 1903 to 1905, it was Fukuoka (651), Hiroshima (481), and Kumamoto (477). See Hayase 1995, 131-133.

³⁴ Hayase 1984, 161.

³⁵ Ohno 2015, 18.

³⁶ Masaru Kojima 1999, 185; Cody 1959, 181.

³⁷ Yu-Jose 1992, 7.

³⁸ Hayase 2014, 149.

³⁹ Ohno 2008, 722.

⁴⁰ Ohno 2008, 731.

⁴¹ Ohno 2008, 733.

⁴² Ohno 2008, 733-734.

⁴³ Until this point (tragedy in Tamugan), a similar narrative has been written by Hayase (1999).

⁴⁴ Ohno 2008, 736. He makes the same contention in an English work published in Manila. See Ohno 2015, 81.

⁴⁵ Iijima 2013a, 703.

the promulgated war history focused on the US and Japan and did not include them.⁴⁶ In 1964, an association of repatriates called Dabao wo Aisuru-kai [Society that Loves Davao] was established.⁴⁷ In 1968, the first group went to Davao. Although they initially faced Filipino hostility, the repatriates and their families were able to continue their annual visits through the help of Davao local elites, their prewar family and friends, and their efforts to foster friendly relations with Davao locals.⁴⁸ As Iijima argues, to many of the repatriates, Davao was the hometown where they were born [umare furusato]. Albeit different from native land [sokoku], it was nevertheless home.⁴⁹

2.2. The Japanese in Guam: An Absence

As I show elsewhere, Japanese researchers have largely ignored Guam until recently (Barriga 2018). Prewar, Guam was not part of Nan'yō Guntō and was outside Southeast Asia to which the Japanese empire was expected to expand. Because of its absence prewar, Guam was also absent in postwar efforts to recover archival materials. The bibliography of prewar and wartime Japanese materials on Micronesia compiled by a team led by Sachiko Hatanaka (1979), one of the earliest postwar Japanese researchers on the Pacific Islands, is one example. Similarly, in the catalog by the team of Iris Tanimoto-Spade (1982), Guam was mentioned only six times in 26 reels of documents.

In the 1980s, Guam saw the rise of a war-oriented tourism industry. In Japan, tour guides feature the ruins of their battles and military histories detailed the US-Japan faceoff. The fanfare accompanying the surrender of Japanese straggler Yokoi also led other Japanese veterans to write their own accounts.⁵⁰ In the 2000s, various fields—specifically, ethnic studies, US diplomatic history, war studies—zoom in on Guam as a case study. Although separate and non-discoursing, these studies point to a similar concern: the continued US colonialism on the island. In the 2010s, this concern gained traction. The plan to move US troops from Okinawa to Guam sparked collaboration among scholars in both places. Meanwhile in Guam, the politicized scholarship focused its energies on facing not only centuries worth of colonialism but also the very configuration of the historical discipline which silences it. Thus both in Japan and in Guam, Guam's Japanese are absent.

There are, of course, exceptions. Predating the scholar-activists of the 2010s, Hiroshi Shinohara (1963a) visited Guam in the 1960s and drew parallelism between the US bases in Okinawa and in Guam. While on the island, Shinohara (1963b) met with members of the Japanese association and published their voices in the magazine *Bungei Asahi*. In the same decade, Takekuma [a.k.a., Samuel] Shinohara (1963), a former Guam local imprisoned in Sugamo after the war, published his memoir. In 1977, Teruo Kosuge, a friend whom he met in Sugamo published another account posthumously. Within Taiheiyo-gaku [Pacific Islands Studies], at least two works were published in the 1980s. One is by researcher Terutarō Nishino (1984) and the other is a conference presentation by Shōnosuke Okada (1988), civilian employee of the Nan'yō Kōhatsu sent to Guam during the Pacific War. Finally, Wakako

⁴⁶ Iijima 2013a, 705-706.

⁴⁷ Iijima 2016, 598.

⁴⁸ Iijima 2013a, 714.

⁴⁹ Iijima 2016, 599.

⁵⁰ Yamashita 1987, 298. Shōichi Yokoi's account was published in English. See Omi 2009.

Higuchi (1998) wrote for an anthology on Guam history.⁵¹ From these exceptions, we can more or less construct an outline of the history of the Japanese in Guam.

Nishino follows the adventures of the 42 who left Yokohama in 1868. Through the mediation of a Prussian resident, they were promised a three-year contract as farmhands. Of the 42, two disembarked in Ogasawara; three died on board; eight died while on Guam; and one did not return after one of their regular trips to the island of Saipan. Nishino highlights that, given the context of 1868,⁵² Japanese authorities were utterly clueless about the Pacific. He speculates that the Japanese authorities did not even know where Guam was. They seemed to have thought it was in Prussia because the intermediary was a Prussian resident. This Prussian, too, was shrouded in mystery, not so much because of his illegal dealings but because the names in official records were spelled based on pronunciation and greatly diverged in different documents.⁵³ Given the involvement of the Dutch-American Hawaiian Consul in Yokohama and the presence of German businesses in Micronesia, Nishino asserts that, rather than migrant laborers sent by a cognizant country, these 42 were part of a Pacific-wide slave trade.⁵⁴

None of the 42 experienced the 1940s in Guam, however their story sets the stage for those who did. Guam was part of an ocean-wide network which Japan had only started to join. Its harbors saw vessels from various origins. Its people were not new to foreigners toiling for or alongside them. By the time Jose K. Shimizu, one of the pioneers of Guam's Japanese community today, left the Ogasawara for Saipan in 1894, a number of Japanese companies were already established in the Marianas. Unlike the first 42, Shimizu believed in expanding the Japanese empire by moving to the south [nanshin-ron].⁵⁵ According to Higuchi, Shimizu moved from Saipan to Guam in 1900, married a local, acquired lands, established J.K. Shimizu Company, and brought in workers from his hometown Ibaraki. Together with his brother in Tokyo, Shimizu maintained a transport between the Marianas and Japan.⁵⁶ By the 1930s, Shimizu had risen the ranks of top businesspeople in Guam. Other Japanese merchants such as Takekuma Shinohara, Kaneki Sawada, and the Takano family were also visible. There was a migrant association called "Japanese Society of Guam," but no Japanese elementary school was formed. As Higuchi noted, the Japanese Society of Guam was emmeshed in an anti-Japanese rhetoric⁵⁷ but as I will show later, it was of a totally different color as that in Davao.

Based on Higuchi's and other postwar accounts, the Japanese of Guam suffered greatly during and after the Pacific War. Some of the Japanese youth were drafted and died off-island. When the US reached the Marianas, those on the island trekked with the Japanese military to the northern mountains and were expected to join the *gyokusai* [honorable death]. Besides the difficult march in the mountain, many were injured or killed by the US air raids. At Japan's defeat, they were all interned in Saipan as enemy aliens.⁵⁸ Upon their return to Guam, they suffered prejudices from other locals. Takekuma Shinohara, the president of the Japanese Society of Guam, was convicted of war crimes and imprisoned in Sugamo in Tokyo. After he

⁵¹ Higuchi 1998. Higuchi later published a book (2013), though this focused on wartime Japanese policies on Guam and dealt with the Japanese of Guam only tangentially.

⁵² Entitled "Keiō Yonen no Guamu Rōeki Dekaseginin" [1868 Guam Labor Migrants], the article contextualizes this emigration within the fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate, the recent opening of Japan, and the impending regime change.

⁵³ Nishino 1984, 11-12.

⁵⁴ Nishino uses the term "black birding." See Nishino 1984, 20.

⁵⁵ Higuchi 1998, 155.

⁵⁶ Higuchi 1998, 155-156.

⁵⁷ Higuchi 1998, 165.

⁵⁸ Higuchi 1998, 173; Samueru Shinohara 1963, 72.

was released in the 1950s, islanders protest rallies barred his return to the island.⁵⁹ The Japanese informants of Hiroshi Shinohara in the 1960s shared that they still suffered prejudices because of their Japanese ancestry.⁶⁰

2.3. Research Gap and Statement of the Problem

The absence of the Japanese of Guam is indicative of a larger limitation in the scholarship. The history of the Japanese in the Philippines and in Guam come from a Japanese perspective: It is seen in the terms scholars use. *Kikan* [repatriate], *zanryū* [those left behind], and *imin* [migrant] imply a move from Japan to somewhere else. While such perspective is useful in studying overseas Japanese as people who left the country, it impedes the study of Japanese people living within diverse communities. As Paul Chang reminds, “these are not mere linguistic quibble... these linguistic matters speak to the heart of how we proceed as scholars.”⁶¹

Besides word choices, interpretation of data from archival sources without due attention to the changing local academic discourses is insufficient. For example, Goodman and Hayase note that Japanese-Filipino marriages were generally unregistered so as to preserve the Filipino woman’s Philippine citizenship and her right to “possess or purchase public lands.”⁶² However, women did not enjoy equal access to land, as exposed by Philippine scholar-activists, their advocacy reaching national policy only in the 1990s.⁶³ Hayase cited newspaper articles and investigation reports.⁶⁴ Claims that the Japanese in the Philippines used Filipino women (without marrying them) to acquire land certainly filled archival documents of the time. However, given the 1990s feminist movement, the claim that Japanese men did not register their marriage to Filipino women to preserve their right to own land is logically unsound—not when that right was not recognized or was impeded by tiny clauses in the laws in the first place. Arguably, these claims are more a reflection of male nationalist fears than the actual “method generally used.”⁶⁵

Proving that is not the objective of this thesis.⁶⁶ What is clear is that discussions over indigenous women’s role in Japanese land acquisition and Filipino-Japanese intermarriages

⁵⁹ Kosuge 1977, 97.

⁶⁰ Hiroshi Shinohara 1963b, 21.

⁶¹ Chang 2016, 24.

⁶² Ohno 2006, 94; Hayase 1984, 222-223; Goodman 1967, 107. The [revised] Public Land Act of 1919 (Act No. 2874) limited land ownership to Philippine and American citizens. The Act Providing for the Ways in which Philippine Citizenship may be Lost or Reacquired of 1936 (C.A. No. 63) stipulated that a Filipina will lose her Philippine citizenship upon marriage to a foreigner by whose country's laws she acquires his nationality.

⁶³ Notably, the Women in Development and Nation Building Act of 1992 (R.A. 7192) and Magna Carta of Women (R.A. 9710).

⁶⁴ Hayase 1984, 222-223.

⁶⁵ Goodman 1967, 107.

⁶⁶ A cursory glance at Supreme Court rulings on land-related Bagobo-related cases filed prewar shows that most land applicants were male; one title holder was a widow. (The revised Public Land Act of 1919 allows widows to take over their husband’s land applications upon his death. An exception where the woman was a land claimant is tackled in Chapter 5.) Also, the examples offered by Hayase about Japanese pioneers joining the abaca rush of the mid-1910s managed tracts of the *fathers* of their Filipino wives, not of their wives themselves. See Hayase 1984, 521-525. In an oral history, ethnohistorian Heidi Gloria echoes her Bagobo informant, “A Bagobo woman is allowed to inherit property, and in marriage it is the husband who administers their property.... A son-in-law would be ashamed to claim land that belongs to his wife” (1984a, 40).

cannot be adequately discussed without grappling with the issues feminists in the Philippines surfaced in the 1990s. Goodman and Hayase wrote long before the agrarian reform intersected with the feminist movement. Their claim, which is more than 35 years old, needs reassessment.

More closely connected to this study, I point to three problems concerning the history of the Japanese in the Philippines and Guam: (1) selection of data to show anti-Japanese Filipinos, (2) the absence of many, and (3) a Japan-oriented interpretation of data.

First, the prevailing narrative is that the Japanese in Davao suffered discrimination and persecution from anti-Japanese Filipinos. To support this narrative, several facts were ignored. Ohno, for example, mentions that in the prewar anti-Japanese fervor, the Philippine Secretary of Agriculture canceled land applications connected to the Japanese. President Quezon halted the cancelation as he “probably realized the seriousness of this problem especially after it became one of the topics of his discussion with Emperor Hirohito... in 1937.”⁶⁷ Given Quezon’s political somersaults since 1905, I do not doubt Ohno’s conjecture. What I question is his portrayal of an anti-Japanese Philippine press despite Quezon’s efforts.⁶⁸ Ohno presents journalist Modesto Farolan as an exception. Farolan was indeed a well-known supporter of the Japanese businesses in Davao, but he was far from unique. A look at the *Philippines Free Press* shows articles with similar stances: those by Leon P. Bunag and Vicente F. Barranco, to name a few. There were also non-journalists whose writings were printed, for example Jose G. Sanvitores (former Director of BNCT) and Atsuhiko Hoshi.⁶⁹ Granted that, as Ohno observes, there were anti-Japanese writers such as Ramon L. Navas, it was not an anti-Japanese Philippine press. Without discounting the discrimination suffered by the Japanese in Davao, one cannot conclude that the prewar Philippine press was anti-Japanese. Rather, the press served as a battle ground for pro- and anti-Japanese Filipino nationalist rhetoric.⁷⁰ Nor was there an anti-Japanese Philippine state. Philippine politics (just like its press) was too hybrid for such a label.

Second, a Japan-oriented narrative leaves out scores of people and periods in their lives. Relying on the works of Dabao-kai, Hayase and Iijima do not tackle the Japanese in the immediate postwar Davao. Following the repatriates, their narratives move its setting to Japan, returning to Davao only in the 1960s when the repatriates began their annual visits and when they began reclaiming their Japanese roots.⁷¹ The most glaring silence is that of the Japanese of Guam. Not only were they numerically insignificant but they also opted to remain in Guam, outside Japan. The only historian who published about them, Wakako Higuchi, had long immersed herself in Guam, studied in the University of Guam, and published her piece as part of an anthology on Guam history—not Japanese diasporic studies.⁷²

⁶⁷ Ohno 2015, 38.

⁶⁸ Ohno 2015, 38-39.

⁶⁹ On October 11, 1930 and on March 7, 1923, respectively.

⁷⁰ As I.R. Collado observes, “Such conflicting articles have appeared from time to time on the Japanese situation in Davao that one may wonder whether the public in general really knows what is happening in the south” (Collado, *PHP*, Oct 6, 1934).

⁷¹ Hayase 2012, 221-239.

⁷² Nishino (1984) writes about a group of Japanese that is unrelated to the present-day Japanese of Guam. Okada (1988) presented about the Nan’yō Kōhatsu in Guam and deals with the Japanese locals only tangentially. Hiroshi Shinohara’s essays (1963a; 1963b) were published in magazines, not academic journals. The two publications by Takekuma Shinohara (1963; 1977) are personal narratives. Not included in the Literature Review above, Jun’ichi Shibano (2014; 2016) writes about Japanese migrants who moved to Guam postwar. Arguably, Higuchi is the *only* academic who has published about the prewar Japanese of Guam.

Third, the interpretation of data culled from archival and oral sources leans toward Japan. The Philippine Nikkeijin's survival postwar is credited to the pro-Japanese Bagobos. Ohno argues that Filipino settlers' prewar seizure of Bagobo land and Bagobo-Japanese intermarriages turned the Bagobos into pro-Japanese. However, as Hayase has shown, Bagobos' prewar dispossession was by Filipino and Japanese partnership—not by the Filipinos alone.⁷³ Moreover, as I will show in Chapter 5, there were Japanese and Bagobos who considered each other as enemies during the war. To say that the Bagobos were pro-Japan comes from a Japan-oriented perspective.

Most notably, those of mixed parentage are treated as Japanese. As can be seen in Hayase's narrative, Filipino-Japanese mestizos are lumped with the similarly discriminated Okinawans. But why would Filipino-Japanese individuals born in the Philippines (and most likely had never seen Japan) become "oversensitive to the idea that they were humiliating Japanese society"?⁷⁴ To recall, Teodoro Tatishi's testimony at the start of this chapter spoke of nothing about Japan, but instead of anger toward fellow locals who failed to protect his family from harassment borne from prewar racial prejudices.

Likewise, what can be gleaned in the history of the Japanese in the Philippines is the Japanese's affinity to Japan and their inclusion (or exclusion) to the Japanese society. Ohno and Fresnoza-Flot follow the story of Philippine Nikkeijin empowerment, the establishment of their associations, and their eventual recognition by the Japanese government and society. Ohno and Fresnoza-Flot's narratives give voice to the then-long-forgotten Philippine *zanryū* but, as in all research, their works are partial. Here, it is partial to Japanese locals' belonging to Japan.⁷⁵ To give a counternarrative, local historian Macario Tiu ends the account of a Filipino-Japanese mestizo, who had opted to stay in Davao and whose relatives have gone to Japan, with what seems to him like a socio-cultural issue. Tiu writes, "Those born in Japan hardly pay them any attention any more. Some no longer remember nor care about their Davao roots."⁷⁶ Similarly, Guam historian Vicente Diaz claims that Guam locals with surnames such as Shinohara are not Japanese but rather are Chamorros often mistaken as Japanese.⁷⁷ Juxtaposing the works by Ohno and by Fresnoza-Flot with those by Tiu and by Diaz, it becomes apparent that the Japanese locals did not belong solely to Japan despite the overwhelming assertion that they did and that they do.

As will be explained in the next section and elaborated in Chapters 3 and 6, categories such as "Filipino" (or Philippine citizen), "Japanese," and even "mestizo" are racial and thus relational. These categories reflect more the racist perspective of those who were classifying rather than the characteristics of those being classified.⁷⁸ As I maintain, the history of the

⁷³ Hayase 2007, 159-193.

⁷⁴ Hayase 2014, 174.

⁷⁵ Fresnoza-Flot 2008. As Yoneno-Reyes (2017) explains, Ohno was part of the Japan-based journalist-led advocacy to recognize the Japanese left in the Philippines. Their advocacy led to Japanese laws allowing Japanese descendants to stay in Japan without work restrictions. Beyond this, the concept of Japanese diaspora is generally predicated on the diasporians' desire to return to their homeland, be it physically or emotionally. See Adachi 2006, 2-3.

⁷⁶ Tiu 2005, 153.

⁷⁷ Diaz 1994, 51.

⁷⁸ In her review of Ohno's *Transforming Nikkeijin Identity and Citizenship*, anthropologist of the Cordillera and Mountain Province, Michio Yoneno-Reyes (2017) criticizes the lack of its adequate conceptualization of "identity." I agree with this assessment. For example, Ohno defines how he uses the term Igorot, cultural minority groups, and indigenous peoples without going through the long history of racial baggage that accompanied the terms (Yoneno-Reyes 2017, 8). The consequence is apparent when, for example, Ohno uses

Japanese in the Philippines and in Guam needs to be a discourse not only among Japanese studies scholars. If it remains solely within their domain, there lies the probability of ignoring well-known facts in Philippine and in Guam histories, of silencing people and aspects of their lives not affiliated to Japan, and of interpreting data to address concerns solely those of Japan. The problem is not that Ohno and Hayase come from a Japanese perspective. As Jordan Sand maintains, “we all enter the discipline from particular national-regional starting points, and no one masters the entire literature of other regional fields.”⁷⁹ I do not discredit the works of Japanese historians who painstakingly wrote in a language and published in a way accessible to the local. The problem I see is that their perspective is all there is. They could not possibly converse with Philippine and Marianas historians if the latter do not engage in the discourse. That is the research gap that my dissertation seeks to fill.

3. Conceptual Framework

This study presents an alternative perspective to the Japan-oriented scholarship on the Japanese of Davao and of Guam. Advancing local perspectives, it is grounded on postcolonial histories of the Philippines and the Marianas, and to a limited extent Oceania. This section lays out the perspective, the key concepts, and the metanarrative that guides the dissertation.

3.1. Postcolonial Histories in the Philippines and the Marianas: The Perspective

“The islands are too beautiful for (and they represent more than) the names multiple colonizing regimes have given to the people and places...”⁸⁰ In her local history of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, Jessica Jordan succinctly captures the perspective taken by this dissertation. This subsection provides an overview of postcolonial historical studies in the Philippines and (admittedly to a lesser extent) the Marianas.

3.1.1. Questioning Colonial Histories: On Names and Narratives

“History” in Filipino is “kasaysayan.” It is rooted in the Tagalog “salaysay” [narrative] and “saysay” [meaning].⁸¹ History, thus, is a narrative that is meaningful to those for whom it speaks. History is not just a list of names; that list is called a catalog. Neither is it a rundown of dates and years; that is a timeline. It is not the discovery of old materials; those are the tasks of collectors, archivists, and (if older) archaeologists. Nor is it the telling of the narrative; that

culture to explain motivations for marriages between Japanese pioneers and indigenous peoples (Ohno 2015, 28-29). However given the comparatively little racial discourses in the Philippines despite its numerous racialized groups, an adequate conceptualization of identity of Japanese-Filipino mestizos is, I think, too much to ask from one scholar. That Ohno provides on-the-ground information spanning almost a century is already much contribution. It serves as groundwork for future studies. That said, I also agree with Yoneno that his treatment of archival records (at least for the Philippine side) is sometimes off. The report of the 1939 Census, for example, did explain how it classified mestizos (p.55). The strength of Ohno’s book is on his interviews. Readers who reference his work, as in any other work, must understand what and what not to cite.

⁷⁹ Sand 2016, 1.

⁸⁰ Jordan 2015, 2. Parenthetical statement in the original.

⁸¹ History can also be translated as “(h)istorya” which comes from Spanish. Ambeth Ocampo explains why the former is preferred and how both terms are intertwined in “Reflections on Meaning and History” (2014).

is the expertise of tour guides. Of course a person can wear different hats, but the job of the historian (at least in postcolonial studies) is to interpret records of the past into a meaningful narrative.

Meaning is vital because archival records are replete with euphemisms and absences. US President McKinley's 1898 "Benevolent Assimilation" was not all benevolent.⁸² The "pacification" of the Philippine "insurgents" was nothing more than the purging of anti-American Filipino revolutionaries. Officially, the Philippines was not termed a US "colony" because the US, having been itself a colony, could not impose a similar burden on others. Instead, the Philippines was a civilian "territory" under the Bureau of Insular Affairs—which, to underscore the irony, was under the US War Department.⁸³ For decades, Guam was nothing more than a "Naval Station."⁸⁴ Only in 1950, after the entire Guam Congress walked out and news agencies such as *The New York Times* reported the event, was Guam recognized to have been made a "possession" and then elevated to the more dignified status of "territory."⁸⁵

That the Japanese Co-Prosperity Sphere was not at all co-prosperous, that "Asia for the Asians" is nothing more than Japanese war propaganda, and that "Liberation" was both liberation from the Japanese military and return to the US are not at all new in the Philippines and Guam which had had centuries' worth of colonial experience. It is because of such euphemisms and absences that postcolonial historians maintain a critical eye on archival materials—a perspective different from the conventional Rankean historical discipline.

The idea of a "complete history" based on documents is understood to be a colonial one. Most notable for its early influence, Paul Carano and Pedro Sanchez's *A Complete History of Guam* (1964) chronologizes one Spanish and American governor after another. Theirs is a history of Spain and the US in the islands, not of the islands themselves. In his desire to rectify a similar colonial history, Filipino historian Teodoro Agoncillo published the *History of the Filipino People* in 1971 (1990, 8th ed.), the bulk of which is on the Propaganda Movement and the Philippine Revolution in the late 19th century.⁸⁶ Among themselves, postcolonial historians debate (often times, furiously), still the basic precept remains: History is structured by colonialism and, to decolonize, historians must expand the discipline and write a narrative that can articulate people's identity/Self. Rey Ileto terms it "history wars"⁸⁷—the struggle to craft one's own history amidst the vestiges of imperialism in the industry of knowledge-formation.

⁸² As will be discussed in the next section, colonialism is more complex than the dichotomy "colonizer" versus the "colonized." For example, in *Bearers of Benevolence* (2001), Judy Ick and anthropologist Mary Racelis organizes documents and memoirs from the ground to paint community life in the context of McKinley's proclamation. Well-meaning American teachers were thrown to the barrios to teach foreign ideals, knowing neither the language nor the people, their salaries delayed. They were taken under the wings of the locals and later endeared themselves with the local children. The book flips our understanding of McKinley's proclaimed "Benevolence."

⁸³ Philippine Organic Act of 1902.

⁸⁴ Guam did not seem to be under the BIA, like the Philippines and other territories. Its American governor reported directly to the US Secretary of War

⁸⁵ Organic Act of Guam (1950). See also Cogan (2008). Doloris Coutler, editor of the *Guam Echo* and one of those who linked the island to Hawaii and mainland news agencies, published a memoir concerning the affair and the events leading to it.

⁸⁶ Not mentioned here but was also an influential nationalist movement in the Philippines (or rather, in the Tagalog-speaking areas) was "Pantayong Pananaw" Literally "a view for us, by us," it echoes nativist scholars and indigenous historical revisionists elsewhere in the Pacific Islands. For a classic on Chamorro indigenous and self-determination movement, see Souder and Underwood (1987).

⁸⁷ Ileto 2017, 12-14.

3.1.2. Questioning National Histories: On Rivalries and Aliens

Within the realm of academic discourse are less popular assertions: The Manila-based Philippine nation-state was US-sponsored.⁸⁸ Once independence was in sight, Nacionalista leaders sought to delay it, in fear of its repercussions given the Philippines' economic dependence on the US. It was a move contrary to their long-held platform of "immediate, complete and absolute independence," but one they deemed realistic. Moreover, the 1930s Independence Missions was the site of a power struggle among Nacionalista leaders, a rivalry from which Manuel Quezon emerged as victor and Philippine president.⁸⁹ Perhaps readers from Guam find echoes with the rivalries among their leaders during the long search for political status.⁹⁰ My objective here is not yet to establish a comparison, but to show that postcolonial histories are more complex than the dichotomous "the colonized" versus "the colonizers."

Even less popular is the exclusion of people within Philippine society as the boundaries of "Filipino-ness" oscillated. Caroline S. Hau shows that post-independence Philippines:

witnessed perhaps the most dramatic reversal of policies on the "Chinese," from a period of nationalist protectionism that constructed the Chinese as preeminent foreigner, Other, and "alien" of the Philippine nation, to a period of "integration" of the Chinese into the Philippine national community and nation-state, to a period of resignification of "Filipino-ness" to highlight "Chinese contributions" to its making, to a period of revival of Chinese identification among mestizos and Filipinos wishing to forge regional connections with rising East Asia and mainland China.⁹¹

Investigating Chinese-Filipinos within the context of the West Philippine/South China Sea dispute, Tina Clemente (2017) maintains that the maritime conflict puts Chinese-Filipinos' Philippine nationalism under trial. In a similar vein, Chapter 3 of this dissertation points out the anomalous racial classification of "mestizos" in the Philippines. Chapter 6 makes a similar argument for the Japanese locals of Guam. Along with Hau and Clemente, I question the boundaries and definitions of "the Filipino," and by extension, of "the Japanese," "the Chamorro," and "the mestizo."⁹²

To summarize, postcolonial historians insist that names and narratives inaccurately depict the places under study. It is a problem not only because of the inaccuracy but more importantly because colonialism is perpetuated through it. Furthermore, history is more

⁸⁸ Among others, Paredes (1988) argues that the Nacionalista Party emerged as victor in the first election for the National Assembly because of Governor Taft's support. Mojares (2006) shows that Filipinism (the creation of a Philippine national identity) developed under US colonial rule.

⁸⁹ Hutchinson (1971) details the rivalry between Manuel Quezon and Sergio Osmeña with the impending Philippine national independence as background.

⁹⁰ For example, see Roger's (1995, 271-289) take on the Guam's postwar quest for self-determination and a clearer political status screams of frustration. Roger ends his history of the Guam with a suicide of one of its leaders.

⁹¹ Hau 2014, 13-14.

⁹² Not mentioned in the main text is the minoritization of Muslim Filipinos. As Patricio Abinales shows, the minoritization of Muslim Mindanao came with emergence of the Philippine nation-state. Since winning in the 1907 elections, Nacionalista Party latched on the project of integrating Mindanao, formerly controlled by the US Army (2004, 30). By the 1930s, Muslims from Mindanao had come to participate in Philippine colonial politics. They had representatives in and funding from Manila. But, it was a political game in which they were a minority (2004, 46-47 and 61-62).

complex than the colonizer-colonized dichotomy. Among colonized peoples are layers of exclusion. In the regional context, these layers—institutionalized in state categories and gained social force by people's acquiescence to them—influence people's belongings.

3.1.3. Addressing Similar Concepts

Postcolonialism is a loaded term and is used differently by other scholars. *Teikoku Igo no Hito no Idō*, edited by Shinzō Araragi (2013), for example also uses it. Focusing on the repatriation of overseas Japanese, the shipping out of non-Japanese in Japan, and those left behind after the fall of the Japanese empire, Araragi uses “postcolonialism” as a period and the issues during that period. In contrast, postcolonial histories in the Philippines and the Marianas are historiographical movements. They advocate a reification of names and narratives and the reconfiguration of the historical discipline.⁹³

Hiroko Matsuda uses the concept of liminality to describe the in-betweenness of the Japanese who lived at the southern periphery of the empire particularly during the decades when imperial borders shifted. She discusses interactions in Okinawa and Taiwan as colonials of Japan, albeit at times beyond the reach of the metropole.⁹⁴ I raise the concept of liminality because while both Matsuda and I tackle how local interactions create and cross the social borders, the perspectives we take are different. Matsuda's is a Japanese colonial history;⁹⁵ what she examines is (as she entitles her book), the liminality of the Japanese empire (2018). Postcolonial perspective does not deny the experience of colonialism, but because its objective in writing history is to be free from it, treating people *as colonials* defeats the purpose.

The crux of the difference is the objective of writing history. Colonial histories seek to examine, nuance, and/or critique nation-state-empires. It takes people as colonials, colonial-settlers, migrants, and repatriates and investigates how they relate to the nation-state-empire. Postcolonial perspective does not deny these categories because these are historical facts, but it insists on going out them (hence, the prefix “post”). It writes a history outside colonial discourses—as accurately, inclusively, and fairly as possible. Colonial and postcolonial histories can talk about the same people in the same position doing the same thing. However, postcolonial historians position these people as something other than imperial subjects because doing so liberates their history from the neo-imperial present.

3.2. Space, Place, Belonging: Conceptualizing Locality

Critical to postcolonial perspective is people's agency amidst the vestiges of successive imperial incursions. Keith Camacho (2011) shows that decades of imperialism divided the Marianas and insists that Chamorros take the task of liberating themselves from such history. Vivian Dames (2000), having examined Guam's ambiguous relation with the US, proposes that

⁹³ Reconfiguration of the historical discipline is borrowed from Jordan Sand, “Reconfiguring Pacific Histories,” *Amerasia* 42, no. 3 (2016): 1-6. Sand recognizes David Chang's paper in the same journal issue. Its insistence of “Looking at the Pacific from the Pacific” echoes indigenous revisionist/nativist scholars' long-held advocacy.

⁹⁴ Hiroko Matsuda 2019, 6.

⁹⁵ Hiroko Matsuda 2019, 5.

Guam “rethink” its “circle of belonging.” Given that postcolonial scholars are still struggling (at times, overly defensively) to liberate their histories from the legacies of empires one of which is Japan, how then can we write a history of the Japanese in the Philippines and in Guam? I draw concepts from another postcolonial tradition: Oceania.

3.2.1. Hybrid Space

Judith Bennett uses the concept of “hybrid space” to examine the spread and management of malaria in Melanesia during World War II, when scores of military forces poured into the islands. A glance at her work might help explain the concepts used in this dissertation.

Hybrid space emphasizes on looking at encounters from various vantages. Just as the newcomers encountered malaria, malaria and its vector mosquitoes encountered the newcomers. To the mosquitoes, the new non-immune bodies were “capacious source of blood meals.”⁹⁶ Changes in the environment (for example, stagnant water in tire tracks running across the islands) provided them with expanded breeding grounds and their parasites with wider habitat. In response to increasing infections, military units conducted educational campaigns, relocated native communities (whom they saw as “seedbeds”⁹⁷ of disease), and restricted the native laborers’ movements. In Bennett’s narrative, the war in Melanesia was not so much a clash of empires. Rather, it was the encounter between people and disease, and between natives and the newly arrived armed forces.

Spaces are where encounters occur. These encounters can be between persons, or between a person and the environment, or as in Bennett’s example, between people and disease. These encounters occur within plots of lands and waters and are certainly influenced by geography; however geography does not define space. Encounters are the essence of space. Space is useful in writing histories involving various peoples. The objective is not to portray a “they” or an “us,” but to create a narrative which can speak for the space with all its hybridity.

3.2.2. Place and Belonging

If the essence of space is the encounters, the essence of place is the narrative. As Damon Salesa, explains, “Place is what people make of the territories and waters they inhabit. Place needs naming and narration. It does not exist prior to people making it.”⁹⁸ The great expanse of waters had been existing and were known to those who inhabit it, but until Europeans named, imagined, and drew it on a map, the “Pacific Ocean” did not exist. Places are narrativized spaces. To space and place, I add a third concept: Belonging. In this thesis, I define belonging as a person’s affinity to a place and inclusion to the imagined community that narrativizes it into existence. Applying these to the study of the Japanese in the Philippines and Guam, two points are important:

⁹⁶ Bennett 2006, 34.

⁹⁷ Bennet 2006, 35.

⁹⁸ Salesa 2014, 44.

First, places can overlap. The native seas which Salesa presents lay within the European Pacific Ocean.⁹⁹ Likewise, local histories in the Philippines emerged in an effort to write an inclusive national history. Here, local histories are not a resistance to national or global impositions.¹⁰⁰ Instead, they seek to enrich narratives larger than their own.¹⁰¹ Thus, a locality is a place within a nation. In this logic, Davao and Guam lay within the Philippines and the Marianas, respectively. A person can belong to both Davao and the Philippines; or to both Guam and the Marianas. The Japanese protagonists in this thesis can belong simultaneously to Davao/Guam and to Japan. So long as a person holds affinity to a place and is included in the community that narrativizes it into being, we can say that that person belongs.

Second, space, place, and belonging are works-in-progress. Doreen Massey, from whom Salesa draws his ideas, writes, “If space is rather a simultaneity of stories-so-far, then places are collections of those stories.” Because spaces and places are ever-changing, a person can leave a space, un-belong to a place, and then re-insert herself to it and its narrative.¹⁰² Defining belonging is essential as it varies greatly from those in the censuses and statistics by which “the Japanese” are currently defined. Census and statistics are tools of nation-states to make sense of and manage people. They reduce each person into a number and classifies it into static categories.¹⁰³ When scrutinized, these categories are revealed to be racial and anomalous. Just as geography guides but does not define space, racial categories influence but do not define a person’s belonging.

3.2.3. Writing Histories of Hybrid Spaces

Nicholas Thomas explicitly warns against a schematic way of history-writing.¹⁰⁴ His book *Islanders* (2010) does not treat Islanders as a coherent group, not even as a collection of coherent groups, that interacted with “the Europeans.” Rather, he tells the story of the “Pacific in the Age of Empire” through numerous vignettes. His characters are individuals: male, female, unknown; sometimes well-known and influential, at times nameless. In weaving diverse anecdotes of individual characters, Thomas tells the story of the Islanders of the Pacific—of increasing mobility and encounters, of increasing violence, dispossession, and disease, and of increasing discoveries and potentials.

This is the way of writing history which I follow. My thesis focuses on on-the-ground experiences of people, anecdotal as these might be. Some of the characters were persons of influence who wrote their accounts and/or have been written about. Others, we know only from their own oral histories. Others still, we know only their names and nothing more. Following the concept of hybrid spaces, the thesis examines not only the experiences of the Japanese locals but also of Filipinos and Chamorros in relation to them. Of course, the selection of

⁹⁹ Salesa 2014, 49. Salesa expounds on this in pages 46-48.

¹⁰⁰ This is different from how Jonathan Y. Okamura discusses local identity in Hawaii. There, local identity serves to resist “the ongoing cultural and economic globalization of Hawai’i.” See Okamura, 2008, 117.

¹⁰¹ For example, Executive Order No. 486, s. 1951 provided for the compilation of histories of barrios, municipalities/cities, and provinces. National conferences of local historians were also held annually. Some, for example the proceedings edited by Lacar (1982), were documented. Recently, the National Historical Commission of the Philippines has begun publishing the *Journal of Philippine Local History and Heritage*.

¹⁰² Massey 2008, 130.

¹⁰³ The census has been discussed at length by Southeast Asian scholar Benedict Anderson. See Anderson 1998, 35-38 especially page 36.

¹⁰⁴ Thomas 2010, 127.

anecdotes can be questioned. Why include that but not this? Echoing Thomas,¹⁰⁵ my response is that the inclusion of all stories in one project is not the objective. A comprehensive history of an “area” or a “people” is *not* the objective. The objective, rather, is to work toward a narrative which stories, even those not mentioned in the thesis, can still relate to. Somewhat like a platform, it is where local and individual stories, even those yet unwritten, can stand.

3.3. The Creation of Social Borders and the Polarization Histories

But how can we write a history of “the Japanese” without first defining who they are as a people and distinguishing them from “the Filipinos” and “the Chamorros”? Gratefully, historians of the Pacific War have laid the groundwork. This section first provides a brief historiography of the Pacific War in the Philippines and Guam, points out one large pitfall, and then moves on to sketch another way of tackling the period.

3.3.1. Pacific War in the Philippines and Guam: A Brief Historiography

Histories of the Pacific War in the Philippines do not follow the US-Japan war. As early as 1952, Elmer Lear had argued that contrary to the prevailing grand narrative of the American Liberation, Filipino guerrillas supported the US forces not out of loyalty to the US, but to reclaim their homeland from the Japanese. Viewing the other side of the coin, Motoe Terami-Wada (1999) shows that the Filipino non-elites who collaborated with Japan did so to evict the Americans. Apparently, the Philippines had its own concerns. As Morton Netzorg summarizes, the concerns of Philippine writers were human casualties, material damages, and social ruptures due to Filipino collaboration with the Japanese invaders.¹⁰⁶ Motivations of national leaders in collaborating or resisting the Japanese military, Alfred McCoy argues, were colored by deeply seated socio-political factions predating the war.¹⁰⁷ Filipinos certainly had concerns different from the US and Japanese empires; defending Mother Nation was but one of it.

In Guam, war histories are written in response to the Liberation grand narrative.¹⁰⁸ Early Guam historian Pedro Sanchez’s *Uncle Sam Please Come Back to Guam* (1979) speaks of the “Guamanian” unstinting faith that the US will return to liberate them from the Japanese.¹⁰⁹ Although Tony Palomo (1984) does not counter this narrative, he shifts the focus to how the Chamorros fought the Japanese and survived the harsh occupation period. Vicente Diaz addresses the Liberation narrative head on. Without denying Chamorro wartime loyalty to the US, Diaz observes that, because of “unresolved issues such as postwar land condemnations, war reparations, and Guam’s neocolonial status...,” the Liberation was already being questioned.¹¹⁰ Taking a radical stance, Michael Bevacqua attacks the image of the American Liberator. Against the Scene of Liberation in which “the Chamorro is made to feel as if life

¹⁰⁵ See the forum reviewing the book and Thomas’ response in Munro et al (2012).

¹⁰⁶ Netzorg 1977, ix.

¹⁰⁷ McCoy 1977, 747.

¹⁰⁸ Not mentioned here are the numerous military histories and oral histories which forms the bulk of the war literature. They will be discussed in Chapter 2, Notes on Sources.

¹⁰⁹ Reprinted as Part 3 in *Guam Guahan* published in 1987.

¹¹⁰ Diaz 2001, 156.

could not be possible without the US figure present,”¹¹¹ Bevacqua foregrounds the Chamorro endurance as a form of resistance.

Guam historians’ opposition to the Liberation grand narrative and Philippine historians’ relegation of the US-Japan war to the background can be situated within the larger postcolonial struggle to write one’s own narrative amidst vestiges of successive colonial impositions. As Bevacqua maintains, the Chamorro endurance during the Japanese Occupation “emblemizes the Chamorro experience during the long historical sequence of colonizers – Spain, the US, Japan and the US again[.] Chamorros have long retained a shred of sovereignty and developed a pride in their durability and toughness.”¹¹² The Pacific War period, as part of the larger postcolonial history, is the site of decolonization and the struggle to write a narrative of the Self/nation.

Consequently, the Japanese locals are hardly present. In Guam historiography, there is only one published work focusing on Japanese locals. This work, by Wakako Higuchi, is but a chapter. Spanning from late 19th century, it discusses wartime experiences in just one section. Philippine war historian Ricardo Jose’s 299-page *Japanese Occupation* (1998) deals with the Japanese locals in barely a column. Shinzo Hayase’s “Japanese Residents of Dabao-kuo” (1999) provides a longer analysis—a chapter. Noteworthy, this chapter was originally written in Japanese for a Japanese readership. Considering that scholars since the 1950s have much discussed prewar Davao and its Japanese community, the dearth of Davao war histories is indeed intriguing. That prewar Davao was a Filipino-Japanese settler zone is well-known, so why is there barely any analyses on what befell Filipino-Japanese local relations during the Philippine-Japan war?

As Chapters 5 and 8 will argue, the absence of Japanese locals in Philippine and Guam war histories is itself a legacy of the war and of the alternating colonial regimes. At this point, it is enough to mention that there is an emerging history in Davao. Echoing Japanese oral histories, the narrative depicts a prosperous prewar community victimized by war. Fostering Philippine-Japan friendship, it puts the blame of the invading Japanese military, not on the Filipinos.¹¹³ Adapted to Philippine war history however, another racial trope appears: Because “the Japanese” and “the Filipinos” were friends, the Japanese military who committed crimes against the Filipinos were actually not Japanese. They were the uneducated, less cultured Koreans. Not only is this interpretation numerically improbable, it is woefully racist.¹¹⁴ Its

¹¹¹ Bevacqua 2016, 115.

¹¹² Bevacqua 2016, 118. Besides Bevacqua, a similar positioning is made by Iletto (2017) for the Philippines, by Camacho (2011) for the Marianas, by Shigematsu and Camacho (2010) for Asia and the Pacific.

¹¹³ For example, the narrative told in the Philippine-Japan Historical Museum in Davao City when I visited it on January 28, 2020. I do not hold the museum tour guides responsible for this narrative. As mentioned, the interpretation of data into a meaningful narrative (accurate, inclusive, and fair) is the job of the historian.

Besides the museum, newspaper articles on Davao’s prewar Filipino-Japanese cordial relations have increased since 2017. Clippings of these articles were collated and kept in the Davao City Library and Information Center.

¹¹⁴ Admittedly, this trend is but an observation based on comments and questions I received during formal interviews and informal conversations in my field research in Davao (April 22-May 1, 2014; January 28-February 4, 2020) and in Manila (February 4-13, 2020). There is yet to be a written study on it. I thank Philippine war historian Ricardo Jose for affirming this observation and for pointing me to Brandon Palmer’s *Fighting for the Enemy: Koreans in Japan’s War, 1937-1945* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013). The book gives empirical data on the recruitment/conscription, mobilization, casualties, and demobilization of Korean colonials. Korean soldiers sent to the Philippines were relatively few compared to other places (p. 125). There were only 3,107 demobilized Koreans (p.126) and 2,156 casualties by 1945 (p.135). We hope this nonsense about “the brutal Japanese” as actually “the Koreans” be stopped.

existence serves as a warning to historians against the dangers of relying on national-racial frames to determine the loyalties and actions of people.

3.3.2. The Pacific War as an Imperial All-out Race War

Labels such as “the Japanese,” “the Filipinos,” “the Chamorros,” as well as “the enemies” and “our allies” are useful in military histories which trace the movements of military units. As Jeremy Yellen shows in his book on the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (2019), it can also be useful in international relations which deals with “high policy” and in which “Philippines” is understood to be limited to its national representatives. In social history, however, these labels have grave consequences. They box societies and its histories into polarize tropes to which not everyone subscribes.

Gratefully, war historians and empire historians have grappled with the polarizing character of the Pacific War, providing this dissertation with a guide. Early on, John Dower (1986) shows the parallels between how the US and Japan conducted their all-out race war. Both belligerent countries “raised the banner of liberation, morality, and peace... moreover, they condemned atrocities, exploitation, and theories of racial supremacy.”¹¹⁵ In both, newspapers and posters were filled with race speeches such as “yellow bastards” on the one hand and depictions of cruel and inhumane western colonizers on the other. Wartime atrocities affirmed these stereotypes: Japan’s bombing of China was something that the “yellow bastards” would do. Just the same, US air raids on Tokyo was a ruthless attack on civilians typical of the inhumane Western colonizers. Each having a perceived “Self” and “Other,” the US and Japan portrayed each other as polar opposites.

In an all-out race war, atrocities were assumed to be the Other’s national policies, a reflection of its barbaric national character. Making these atrocities a national/racial trait extended it to non-combatants and to people outside the warfront. These homogenized, objectified, and demonized images of the “Other” were the basis for “policies and practices that became fixated on exterminating the enemy and verged, for some participants, on the genocidal.” For both the US and Japan, destroying the “incorrigibly evil (or base, or mad)”¹¹⁶ justified the killing of thousands.

Fujitani (2011) builds on Dower’s US-Japan parallels in several ways. First, Fujitani points out that by employing cultural structuralism,¹¹⁷ Dower’s analysis fails to consider that both US and Japan were empires with diverse colonies and national minorities. As Dower himself notes, “In the final analysis, in fact, these favored idioms denoting superiority and inferiority transcended race and represented formulaic expressions of Self and Other in general.”¹¹⁸ The hierarchical categorization of people based on their perceived level of civilization—an aspect integral to race discourses—is absent in Dower’s conclusions.

Second, while Dower demonstrates parallel exclusivist “vulgar” racism, Fujitani’s work centers on the inclusivist “polite racism” by both empires. As Fujitani argues, the US and

¹¹⁵ Dower 1986, Chapter 2.

¹¹⁶ Dower 1986, Chapter 2, parenthesis in the original.

¹¹⁷ Fujitani 2011, 15.

¹¹⁸ Dower 1986, Chapter 1.

Japan had long harped their principle of equality and thus were compelled to prove to themselves and to the world that they were not racists. During the war, both disavowed racism, embraced their discriminated peoples as part of the nation, and cared for them as people worthy of life.¹¹⁹ For the discriminated peoples, the possibility of being accepted into the majority led to the exclusion of those who refused to try and those who were deemed beyond the possibility. To illustrate, while most Japanese Americans were provided with welfare in “relocation centers,” those judged as disloyal languished in “segregation camps.”¹²⁰ Likewise, Korean women can strive to become the cultured, submissive Japanese woman worthy of respect. Those beyond this possibility—the comfort women—were treated with great brutality.¹²¹

3.3.3. War as the Creation of Social and Historical Borders

Sociologist Sinisa Malesevic argues that “mass participation of individuals in large-scale violent acts” necessitates “highly developed organizational mechanisms of social control and well-articulated and institutionally embedded ideological doctrines capable of justifying such actions.”¹²² Simply put, for people to wage war, organized groups and an ideology justifying aggression are vital.

Hidekazu Sensui (2018) provides us an example within a colonial set up. Sensui compares a Mexican American in the US navy and an Okinawan trainee in the Japanese Imperial force. Both soldiers, though discriminated, were engaged to fight for their nations through professions of institutional equality and, further, by “violent nationalism” in the battlefields. They were not blind to the persisting racial discrimination against them and other minorities. Yet even as they recognized the discrepancy between what was professed and what they experienced, they felt the need to protect the nation-state-empire. In fact, precisely because they were discriminated that they wanted to prove themselves at par with other nationals.¹²³

Interestingly, Hayase’s and Ohno’s aforementioned works corroborate with Malesevic and Sensui. The Japanese military considered the Japanese in Davao a disappointment and made efforts to make them act as the racially superior Japanese should. In response, Japanese residents strove to prove their patriotism, but always in vain. Meanwhile, the aggression by Filipinos intensified animosity between them. War, therefore, is a story of centrifugal movement of diverse people into conflicting poles, each pole deeming the other as enemy and leaving no option to be in-between.

But as the succeeding chapters will show, many Japanese of Davao and of Guam did try to stay in-between, to bridge opposing poles, and to maintain discreet linkages across the divide. The next section articulates the thesis’ objective, question, and aimed contributions.

¹¹⁹ Fujitani 2011, 104-105.

¹²⁰ Fujitani 2011, 135.

¹²¹ Fujitani 2011, 290.

¹²² Malesevic 2010, 4-5.

¹²³ Sensui 2018, 47.

4. Objective, Question, Contribution

4.1. Research Objective and Questions

This dissertation veers the orientation from Japan to the place where the Japanese lived. Instead of examining the Japanese relations to Japan, it focuses on their changing relations with other locals. It inquires into the Japanese's shifting belongings to their localities during the turbulent imperial shuffling in the 1940s. Recalling our concepts of place and belonging and latching on the Pacific War as the lynchpin of the imperial alternations, it asks: How did Japanese locals' affinity to their localities and their inclusion to their communities transform during and immediately after the Pacific War? To dissect that central question, it asks specifically and going chronologically:

1. As people within the overlap of the US and Japanese empires, how did the Japanese locals learned of and prepared for the impending war?
2. As people in between clashing nations, how did they experience the outbreak of the war?
3. As people in between the new imperial master and the locals, how did they use their position during the Japanese military occupation?
4. Given the use of exclusive and inclusive racial rhetoric to mobilize the entire populace for the total war, how did their participation in Japan's war effort affect their relations with other locals?
5. Given the polarizing character of the Pacific War, how did they survive Japan's defeat and the immediate postwar in a US territory?

4.2. Contribution and Originality

The study of the Japanese in the western side of the Pacific is Japan-oriented. In contrast, this dissertation comes from the locality, the places where the Japanese lived. Academically, it seeks to contribute in three ways: First and empirically, the dissertation writes a history of the Japanese of Guam. Being numerically insignificant and having opted to stay outside Japan, they had been overlooked. The thesis fills a lacuna both in Guam history and in Japanese migration history.

Although it fills a lacuna, the dissertation by no means presents hitherto untapped primary sources. I am certain that all my sources have been used by some scholar in some part of the Pacific. What I offer is a new perspective and approach, one that seeks to address what Matori Yamamoto deems as differences in historical recognition.¹²⁴ Given the digitization of archives, the accessibility of more and more source materials, and the increasing interactions among scholars in different parts of the Pacific, a more collaborative approach is ever important.

¹²⁴ Yamamoto 2005, 87.

Second and conceptually, it complicates the definition of “the Japanese.” The study of the Japanese in the Philippines is currently the domain of Japanese studies and Philippine-Japan relations. Here, the Japanese is well-defined, linked to Japan, and distinct from Filipinos. The fluidity of their identity follows the narrative of being Japanese, to hiding their Japanese-ness, to finally reclaiming it or losing it altogether. In contrast, this thesis shows that being Japanese (i.e., belonging to Japan) is relative and is negotiated alongside other belongings. It follows studies such as Suzuki’s (2010) and Hau (2014). Suzuki shows that racialized belongings of Japanese Bolivians shift, contend, and at times are contradictory. Hau “highlights the unsettled and shifting meanings not only of ‘Chinese’ and ‘Chinese-ness’ but of mestizo-ness, ‘Filipino,’ and ‘Filipino-ness’ as well.”¹²⁵ In short, the thesis does not paint a picture of “the Japanese,” well-defined and coherent albeit heterogeneous and constantly transforming. Yu-Jose (1992), Hayase (2014), and Ohno (2015) have successfully done that. Instead, it narrates how “the Japanese” came to be defined in the locality, how borders between them and other locals were created, and how those borders were crossed. Third and deriving from the second, the dissertation offers alternative interpretations of some data presented by preceding historians.

Beyond the academe, I seek to provide people of hybrid places with a means to tell their stories. The silence of the Davao Japanese has been observed by Iijima (2013a). However, considering the Philippine Nikkeijin empowerment gleaned in Ohno’s (2015) and in Fresnoza-Flot’s (2008) works, the Davao Japanese (i.e., the Dabao-kai and the Philippine Nikkeijin Kai, Inc.) are arguably a minority but not, as Iijima herself also notes,¹²⁶ entirely voiceless. They can articulate their story even if it is only among themselves. The people I am concerned with are of a different sort. They have been excluded from or forcibly included in national histories which, at times, contradict their own memories. They deal with the contradiction of having “the enemy” within their families, their communities, or for some, within their own persons. They are in-between segmented fields which Azuma (2019), Sand (2016), and Fujitani (2011) insist *must* work collaboratively. By showing how the social fissure emerged, I aim to help resolve conflicts. Moreover, I hope that presenting their stories to a larger audience can lead to more humane conversations among those of different, contesting worldviews.

5. Organization of the Thesis

Stories have power and story-telling is one of the tools historians wield. In this dissertation, I strive to paint the scenes and tell the tales from Davao and Guam before comparing them and answering the dissertation’s central question. With this in mind, the dissertation is organized into four parts: (1) “Introduction,” (2) “The Japanese of Davao,” (3) “The Japanese of Guam,” and (4) “Conclusion.”

After this chapter, Chapter 2 explains the methodology, its limitations, the development in the discipline, and the approach which the research follows. Then, it is followed by a section

¹²⁵ Hau 2014, 5.

¹²⁶ Iijima 2013a, 708.

called “Notes on Sources” which gives the background of the sources and a guide to the dissertation’s referential footnotes and bibliography.

Within Part 2, Chapter 3 provides a historical background on Davao, breezing through its transformation from a regional borderland to a bordered Filipino-Japanese settler zone where Japanese locals were racially classified as either Filipino or Japanese. Chapter 4 begins in eve of the war, when suspicions against the Japanese locals fueled preparations for the war, at times in collaboration with Filipinos. At the outbreak, Japanese locals were targeted as enemy aliens and, at the invasion, they extracted vengeance from the Filipinos who abused them a few days prior. Marked by violence, this period highlights racial prejudices and cross-national solidarities existing prewar. Chapter 5 spans the occupation period and the immediate postwar, showing the contending Japanese and Filipino forces within Davao. Here, Japanese locals received and gave information which allowed them and their fellow Filipinos to survive. It ends with the polarization of the settler zone. Outside the Filipino and the Japanese social-historical poles, racialized highland communities harbored Japanese (and Filipino) locals and correspondences between Davao and Japan maintained strands of cross-racial ties.

Within Part 3, Chapter 6 begins by describing Guam as where three worlds melded. In the overlap of these three, Japanese locals straddled. They were betwixt between the two empires and they could simultaneously be Japanese and Chamorro. Chapter 7 starts from the eve of the war and covers the Japanese Occupation Period. It demonstrates how Japanese locals navigated the racial divide created by Japanese colonization. Unlike prewar, no longer were they in the overlap of worlds; now they bridged the two separate worlds of the Japanese occupiers and the Chamorros. It ends as the military prepared for its last stand in 1944, physicalizing the divide between the Chamorro and the Japanese—a divide that had not existed prewar. Chapter 8 takes off from 1944 and traces the creation of the Japanese enemy in postwar Guam. In the postwar narrative of us-versus-enemy, the Japanese of Guam were embraced by their Chamorro families as part of “us” and distinguished them from “the Japanese enemy.”

Within Part 4, Chapter 9 compares Davao and Guam so as to glean features of the Japanese locals common to both. By teasing out commonalities and differences, the chapter answers the dissertations’ central question. Finally, Chapter 10 returns to the importance of local perspectives in regional studies. With the increasing convergence of interests among scholars across the Pacific, diving into localities (or partnering with academics who do) can reassess definitions on which academic discussions are based.

Chapter 2. Methodology and Sources

1. Historical Analysis: Its Uses, Limitations, and Development

This dissertation employs historical analysis. I take data from primary sources, supplement these with alternative sources, and weave it into a narrative. I weave this narrative from a certain perspective and with the purpose of joining a discourse laid out in the literature review. The types of sources I use and the approach with which I weave (i.e., interpret) them are intertwined. This section briefly outlines how.

1.1. On Historical Analysis

In the historical discipline, our basic tenet is that history is not the past, but rather an interpretation of the past based on source materials. Broadly speaking, historians classify their sources into two: primary sources and secondary sources. Primary sources are those written during the period in question (e.g., diaries, in-situ reports). Secondary sources are works written after research has been done, usually long after the period under study (e.g., present-day journal articles). Primary sources are where data with which to weave the narrative and conduct the analysis are culled. Secondary sources ground the study on academic discourses and provide background information on the primary sources.

In general and simplistic terms, the closer to the period, the more reliable the primary source, however other factors are also considered. Foremost is testing for the source's veracity, or simply, ensuring that the source is what it purports to be.¹ For example, in the course of this research, I found that not all sources with "diary" in their titles are actual diaries, i.e., primary sources. The "Wartime Diary" of Santiago Dakudao (published by his grandson Michaelangelo Dakudao in 1994) is technically a memoir. The *Diary of the War: WWII Memoirs of Lt. Col. Anastacio Campo* (Yap-Morales 2006) is neither a diary nor a memoir but rather a family history. This is not to discredit Dakudao and Yap-Morales for authors are free to entitle their work as they see fit. It is the historians' responsibility to handle their sources based on the methodology they employ.

Accounts written for private reasons (e.g. correspondences, personal notes, diaries) are deemed more honest—albeit not automatically truthful—than those for public eyes (e.g., transcripts of speeches). This dissertation extensively uses the *Guam Recorder*, *Dabao Shimbun*, the "Closed Reports" concerning Davao, and files on the war claims in Guam. All are useful and are biased in their own ways. The two periodicals have been judged to have limited readership; their topics concerned only but a few. *Dabao Shimbun*, in particular,

¹ External veracity is concerned with physical integrity of the source. This can be verified, for example, through carbon dating. Internal veracity is concerned with the consistency within the text and with other texts written by the same author. Notably, historian Glenn May, in his frustration over the preponderance of unverified yet widely accepted sources on Philippine hero Andres Bonifacio, proceeded to change his research project from writing a history of Bonifacio to a history of how Bonifacio's image as a hero was created posthumously by nationalist historians. See Glenn May, *Inventing a Hero...* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1997).

published under Japanese military occupation, was a mouthpiece for war propaganda. The last two official records were done immediately after the war in the context of anti-Japanese sentiments. The war claims involved money, hence there is a potential to highlight loyalty to the US and victimization by Japan. Knowledge of such background is imperative in knowing what sort of data should and should not be culled from which source.

1.2. On Oral Histories

The reliance on textual evidences had left multitudes—women, slaves, indigenous peoples, children, among others— “hidden from history.”² As postcolonial historians assert, history is colonial. It is the story of colonizers who happened to be in the area. But how indeed can we write a history of those who left no records of themselves? To address the limitation of the text, alternative sources such as oral histories, photographs, films, artifacts, music, and literary compositions have been considered. Particularly in fluid “non-lettered” societies of Maritime Southeast Asia, “oral tradition has significant meaning.”³ In the Pacific Islands, islanders had been absent in war histories until the 1980s when historians partnered with scholars from neighboring disciplines and started using oral histories.⁴ Because oral histories substantially supplements this dissertation’s primary sources, a brief explanation of it, its uses, and its limitations are in order.

According to the guide by Sarah Barber and Corinna Peniston-Bird (2009), oral history can mean either the source material or the methodology. As a source material, oral history pertains to the recorded memory, whether in written or in audio form. These include memoirs, audio recording of interviews, and transcripts of recordings. As a methodology, it pertains to the use of these recorded memories so as “to capture the experiences not only of the ‘Great Men of History,’ but of everyday life and experiences...”⁵ These may come in the form of a historical narrative or collective biography. This dissertation does not employ oral history as a method. It simply taps recorded memories to supplement the sparse, but not entirely absent, primary sources on Japanese locals.

Because oral histories (as source materials) were recorded long after the events they describe, these may be faulted for “factual inconsistencies and interpretative shifts.”⁶ Memory can be faulty. It is highly understandable that a grandpa relating his experiences in an interview conducted fifty years later make factual mistakes. Moreover, oral histories are dependent on the context during which they were recorded. The same event can be interpreted by the same key informant differently in different periods of her life. Pushing it further, key informants may vary their way of telling their stories depending on their interviewer. Lastly, it is possible that

² Jenkins 1991, 7.

³ Hayase 2007, 7.

⁴ White 1991, vii.

⁵ Peniston-Bird 2009, 105

⁶ Peniston-Bird 2009, 107.

key informants have read about their experiences and thus the story they tell are informed not only by their own memories but of the perspectives of the writers they had read.

To cite a specific example, Shinzo Hayase did his field work among the indigenous peoples of Davao in early 1980s; Shun Ohno did his in early 1990s; I did mine in the 2010s. The indigenous movement in Mindanao took form in mid-1980s in the context of the growing social unrest during Marcos Regime. In 1997, the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act (IPRA) finally gave a definition for "indigenous peoples" (IPs) and the protection of their land and cultural rights.⁷ By the 2010s, indigenous peoples were organized into indigenous cultural communities (ICC). Their representatives were provided with political participation in the local level by the Department of the Interior and Local Government.⁸ Indigenous movements have profound impact on how "indigenous peoples" call themselves and tell their stories. Thus, although Hayase, Ohno, and I did our fieldwork in the same community and at times interviewed the same person, the narratives shared to us differed.

As far as possible, historians avoid relying on oral histories for historical facts such as dates, years, and official names of institutions. What I lift from oral histories are narratives of *personal* experiences and descriptions of places and events, which I teased out from data that seemed to have been lifted from textbooks. Identification of personalities through oral histories are done with much care involving a mix of source materials. Despite these precautions, I am aware of the dangers of using oral histories in historical analysis. In the narratives that follow, I strive to be as transparent as possible, citing primary sources and oral histories alike and allowing readers to make their judgement. I invite those who hold contrasting source materials into a conversation.

1.3. On the Treatment of Sources

Early on, Alfred McCoy critiqued Philippine local histories as perpetuating the grand narrative from Manila despite their proclaimed aim of providing alternative perspective to the Manila-centric national history.

Responding... to the obvious demands of a scattered archipelagic nation, a number of Filipino and American scholars have undertaken local studies... With some notable exceptions, however, most of these scholars have studied their local fields with the same historical techniques once applied to the earlier Manila-centric national studies.... If the same historical questions and research methods once applied to Manila continue to define the boundaries of provincial

⁷ Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act of 1997, R.A. 8371.

⁸ Mandatory Representations of Indigenous Cultural Communities or Indigenous Peoples in Policy-making Bodies and Other Local Legislative Councils, DILG circular 2010-119.

research, there is danger that the efforts of this generation of historians will produce new information but no greater understanding.⁹

McCoy demonstrated the need to immerse in the field, to search for (and then privilege) local source materials, and to converse with the locals in their own languages. In doing so, he found that the issues and concerns of the locals were different from those in the national center. This local perspective then defined the specific questions of his research.¹⁰ Local history, then, is not only echoing local voices or analyzing local trends. Rather, it is letting the concerns of the locality direct the research down to its very question and objective.

In this study, I privileged local source materials. The only source materials that I poured over from the first to the last available issues are those that came from the localities under study, e.g. *Dabao Shimbun* and files concerning the war claims in Guam. For non-local sources, I relied on the research tools (i.e., indices and catalogs). For example, in using *Firipin Jōhō*, I looked up keywords such as “Dabao” and “Mintal” in Hayase’s *Firipin Jōhō Fukan (Kaisetsu, Sōmokuroku Sakuin (Jinmei, Chimei, Kokumei, Jikō))* [Philippine Information Bulletin: Annotation, Catalog, Indices (Persons, Places, Items)] (2003). These indices referred me to the issue where those words can be found. No such research tools exist for Guam, besides MARC’s catalog. In searching for Guam’s non-local primary sources, I relied on the references of secondary sources, then snowballed my way from there.

The desire to write a local history distinct from those in the national and imperial centers, as well as the privileging of local sources and the tapping of alternative materials, however, do not suffice. Robert Rogers’ *Destiny’s Landfall* (1995) for example, sought to write a history of Guam which, unlike those by Carano and Sanchez (1963) puts Guam and its people centerstage. A look at his notes and references shows that, to do this, Rogers used oral histories along with extensive archival sources. However, as Vicente Diaz incisively demonstrated, contradictions in Rogers’ narrative “reveal deeper social and political contradictions that inhere in an ongoing history and historiography of colonialism...”¹¹ In writing his history of Guam and the Chamorros, Rogers adopted the same “privileging of race, purity of blood, and genes as significant markers of difference, the very foundations by which racist exclusions...are built and through which they continue to take place.”¹² Because Rogers left unproblematic the contradictory and arbitrary racial bases for exclusion and inclusion, he inadvertently perpetuates the very basis of colonialism against which he was trying to write. Despite Rogers’ “manifest intent is to be anti-colonial [and] anti-racist” and his use of alternative sources along with conventional ones, readers still find “a colonial legacy alive and well and lodged firmly in the narrative.”¹³

Therefore, besides the privileging of local sources and local histories, the contradictions therein must also be questioned. How, for example, can Diaz insist that the Yamaguchis, the

⁹ McCoy 1977, 740-741.

¹⁰ Summarized from McCoy 1977, 741-744.

¹¹ Diaz 1996, 182.

¹² Diaz 1996, 193.

¹³ Diaz 1996, 180.

Tanakas, the Shinoharas, the Okadas, and the Yamanakas are Chamorros often mistaken as Japanese¹⁴—particularly when the “Records of Class-B and -C Guam Trials” available in the Women’s Active Museum in Tokyo reveal so much hatred for the patriarch of the Shinohara family? Were these families considered as Japanese in the late 1940s then became Chamorros-mistaken-as-Japanese by Diaz’s time (1990s)? If so, how? Why? Can they not be hyphenated like so many in Guam, for example, Filipino-Chamorro, American-Chamorro, Filipino-American, and so forth? Must they be either-or? And if so, why?

Turning to Davao, Hayase (2014) finds that “certain incidents prevented Filipino-Japanese friendship from continuing.”¹⁵ These events included the incarceration of the Japanese residents at the outbreak of the war, the confiscation of their properties, their exhilaration at Japan’s invasion, and so forth. With scenes of massive looting and of people fleeing “into the mountains, leaving behind the bodies of those who lagged behind,”¹⁶ one can picture an embattled and severely ruptured Davao. Yet, why, in the first place, would a frontier settler zone, with solid-tight Filipino-Japanese business partnerships and Filipino-Japanese families that had been defying Philippine land laws for years, suddenly balkanize at the outbreak of the war between the Philippines and Japan? Moreover, the complexity of prewar Davao has been enrapturing Philippine scholars since the 1950s,¹⁷ yet why is there no war history of them in Philippine historiography besides Hayase’s, which (to thicken the plot further) was initially written in Japanese?

Returning to Diaz’s critique, ambiguities such as these “reveal deeper social and political contradictions that inhere in an ongoing history and historiography of colonialism.”¹⁸ Besides privileging local sources, alternative ways of approaching them is also necessary.

Conventional historical methods are source-based. Historians pour over volumes and volumes of the same source materials to glean an image of its writers and the context in which those writers wrote. Because of this leaning, the backgrounds of the source materials are of prime importance: What was the profession writer? For what purpose, under what organization/company, and through what funding was the material written? Who were the intended readers? And so forth. However, the writing of most source materials (or the funding for that writing) was done outside the locality. Hayase, for example, used the local newspaper *Dabao Shimbun* while highly conscious that it was a “local branch” of *Manila Shimbun* which in turn was “managed by the Tokyo Nichi-Nichi Shimbun and Osaka Mainichi Shimbun publishing companies.”¹⁹ And so, Hayase found that “the content concentrated on information about Japan and the world... all for the purpose of helping local Japanese residents keep in touch with their homeland.”²⁰ Here we find a problematization of Japan- Japanese dynamics. Although Hayase

¹⁴ Diaz 1994, 50-51.

¹⁵ Hayase 2014, 167.

¹⁶ Hayase 2014, 167.

¹⁷ See Chapter 1, Literature Review.

¹⁸ Diaz 1996, 182.

¹⁹ Hayase 2014, 153.

²⁰ Hayase 2014, 154.

used a local source, he treats the Japanese residents and local newspaper as being *of Japan in Davao*.²¹

In contrast, I treat them as being *of Davao* (and of Guam). They first and foremost belonged to their locality. My concern is their shifting belongings in the locality. Whether or not they were nationals of Japan, whether they were obliged to join Japan's war effort and to prove themselves just as patriotic as what was expected of Japanese nationals are but secondary importance in this research. These matter only in so far as it affected Japanese locals' relation with other locals. While I also use *Dabao Shimbun* and am aware of its background and of the general pattern of its contents, I focus on snippets and articles that pertain specifically on Davao—snippets and articles which Hayase either glossed over or relegated as exceptions. For instance, unlike the general trend that Hayase noted, the June 20, 1944 issue was filled with articles on Davao, not on Japan and the world. I zoom-in on exceptions such as this and, laying them alongside data from other sources, venture an explanation.²² This treatment of the sources is what precolonial Philippine historian William Henry Scott calls peering through the “cracks of the parchment curtain.”²³ In the purposive search for those that had been left silenced, omissions and sudden reappearances in colonial documents, too, can build a narrative.

Returning to the objective in writing history (See Chapter 1), building this narrative is important. Following McCoy and Diaz, its very topic and questions are directed by the concerns and contradictions in the locality. It tells the story of the locality and not just the empires that happened to be in it. And, because narratives are the essence of a place, such local history is a means to decolonization and self-determination.

2. Notes on Sources

Having introduced historical analysis and the approach that I follow, this section provides a background on the study's primary and alternative sources. As the thesis deals with a period and people about which scant archival sources is available, many of the primary sources had been published long after they were written, some in the form of collections, others as standalone accounts.

²¹ I thank Vivian Dames for pointing out these nuances in the language, especially important in mixed societies. See Dames 2000, 13, note 45.

²² The box containing the price of subscriptions also reveal another local newspaper, the *Davao Times*. In 2019, issues of *The Davao Times* had been digitized and are available online in Hoover Institute's digital collections, <https://hojishinbun.hoover.org/>. Like the *Dabao Shimbun*, it is a Davao Branch of the Manira Shimbun-sha. A four-page broadsheet published twice a week, the first two pages are in Japanese while the last two pages have Bisaya translations of some articles along with a language section and ads. Geared toward Filipino readership, the paper does not have any references on Davao's Japanese locals. Interestingly, like Hayase's take on the Japanese *Dabao Shimbun*, I see the articles in the English-Bisaya *Davao Times* as largely war propaganda geared toward encouraging Filipinos to join Japan's war effort. In my study on Japanese locals' in-betweenness, I could not find a way to use *Davao Times* besides to glean the general context. Perhaps scholars researching on Davao's Filipino “collaborators” would find them useful.

²³ Scott 1978.

2.1. On Davao

2.1.1. Primary Sources

Davao had been written about in source materials from both within and outside the locality. For this dissertation, I gave more weight to those from Davao. First, *Dabao Shimbun* (which ran November 1942 to the end of 1944) is the Davao Branch of *Manila Shimbun* published by Tokyo Nichi Nichi (Osaka Mainichi) Shimbun-sha.²⁴ The copies of the *Dabao Shimbun* that I accessed are those from the Diet Library and the PDF copies from Hoover Institution; both began in May 10, 1943. For the articles in 1942, I rely on the reprints in the postwar Dabao-kai's newsletters.

Second are the documents by Davao Japanese Association and Davao Consul Haruki Mori. Eleven chapter presidents and one area representative wrote reports concerning their chapter's conditions during their arrest/rounding up, internment, liberation, and after liberation; a tally of the casualties, missing, and damages; and their recommendations to the Japanese military. Reports that are dated range from December 29, 1941 to January 17, 1942. Mori collated these and wrote his own report dated February 25, 1942.²⁵ This collection was preserved by Dabao-Kai Chief Komiyama Sadao and then published in *Senka ni Kieta Dabao Kaitaku Imin to Manira Asa: Dabao Kaitaku Imin Jitsuroku Shi* [The Davao Pioneers and Abaca Lost in the War: The Annals of the Davao Pioneers] (1993).

Third are the "Japanese War Crimes Trials—Closed Reports." According to Setsuho Ikehata, "Until the Philippines became independent in July 1946, war crimes trials against Japanese officers and men were handled by the U.S. Army; after this date, the Philippine War Crimes Commission took over the unresolved cases."²⁶ I accessed the Records on the Japanese War Crimes Trials accessed in the National Archives of the Philippines which classifies them into two: files concerning particular individuals and the so-called "Closed Reports." The former is arranged by the Japanese individual under trial; the latter is arranged by province. "Closed Reports" pertains to war crime cases that were closed for various reasons: "perpetrators could not be identified, or where they were presumed to have died"²⁷ or because there was not enough evidence to prove the case.²⁸ For this research, I accessed only the 37 files of "Closed Reports" concerning Davao Province. (We cannot assume that these are all the cases filed for some folders might have been lost or mis-filed. As far as I know, there is no master list of all cases drawn in-situ.) Some case files include interview transcripts and/or testimonies of suspects and witnesses, most of which seem to have been translated. There are also reports and other communiques by the investigating officers. Additionally, the files concerning the war crimes trials of Hideichi Matsuzaki were from Shinzo Hayase's private collection.

²⁴ Hayase 2014, 94-95.

²⁵ Dabao-kai 1993, 249. In the Bibliography and in the footnotes of this study, I credit the chapter presidents who wrote the report. However, in Dabao-kai's publication these are but section in Mori's long report. This explains why, in the Bibliography, the pages of Mori's report and of the chapter presidents' reports overlap.

²⁶ Ikehata 1999, 294.

²⁷ Ikehata 1999, 294.

²⁸ For example, in Bundle 22 Report 235.

Fourth, the census reports, legislations, and Supreme Court rulings are commonly used by Philippine historians. Not only are these accessible in many university libraries, they provide landmarks (i.e., years and official names) in managing data from other sources. Moreover, legislations and Supreme Court rulings have been made available online via databases such as the *Philippine Official Gazette* by the Presidential Communications Operations Office (<https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/>), *The LawPhil Project* by Arellano Law Foundation (<https://lawphil.net/>), and *Chan Robles Law Firm* by the firm of the same name (<https://www.chanrobles.com/>).

Three censuses were held during the American Colonial Period: 1903, 1918, and 1939. This dissertation utilizes the reports for the 1939 census—both the provincial report published in 1940 and the country summary published in 1941. It also uses the report of the first postwar census held in 1948, published in 1953. It uses Supreme Court rulings, especially those on Bagobo-Japanese land problems. The Philippine Supreme Court, since its establishment in 1901, has had a Filipino chief justice with other judges mostly Americans during the American Colonial Period.²⁹

Legislations are trickier to handle. There were two laws in the country: those by the US Congress and those in the Philippines. To complicate further, the legislative body in the Philippines changed over time. In 1901, the Philippine Commission (mostly American) served both as Executive and as unicameral Legislative. After the national election in 1907, the Philippine Commission came to share the legislative branch with the Philippine Assembly (comprised of popularly elected Filipinos), with the former serving as the upper house and the latter as the lower house. With the Jones Law of 1916, legislature changed yet again. Called “Philippine Legislature,” it was entirely Filipino and had a Senate and a House of Representatives. Until the inauguration of the Philippine Commonwealth in 1935, however, legislatures in the Philippines were only enacting the Acts by the US Congress. Thus, in the online databases mentioned above, a legislation before 1935 is registered as “Act,” while a legislation from 1935 is “Commonwealth Act.” Legislations after the Philippine independence in 1946 are called “Republic Acts.” In the Bibliography, I credit the pre-1935 Philippine Commission and Philippine Legislature by putting them within brackets, for example, “Public Land Act (1903). [Philippine Commission] Act No. 926.” (A third system might be added to the first two: Special provinces, while they existed, were not under the Philippine Assembly and instead relied on their respective provincial boards, however they were still under the Philippine Supreme Court and covered by the Philippine Organic Act of 1902.)

Fifth, the “Historical Data Papers,” available at the Philippine National Library, is also a well-known source material in Philippine local histories. Consisting of numerous volumes arranged by province, they were written in accordance to the Executive Order (1951) instructing public school teachers to compile their province’s local history. Done without a clear methodology, its veracity as a local *history* might be questioned. However, as a primary source for the postwar period, it provides a picture of the locality’s historical consciousness in

²⁹ “The Supreme Court,” *Official Gazette*.

the 1950s. As of this writing, several volumes have been digitized and made available as open-source, however the volume on Davao Province is not yet one of it.

Sixth, *The Japanese Occupation of the Philippines* by A.V.H. Hartendorp was published in 1967 but as the author attested, it “as written from day to day during the three years of the author’s internment in the University of Santo Tomas and is therefore to be considered as a prison document.”³⁰ A.V.H. Hartendorp was a known writer in prewar Philippines. He was the sole owner of “the *Philippine Magazine*, the country’s leading prewar literary-political monthly” and at one point, editor of the American-owned *Manila Times*.³¹ During the war, he was interned at the University of Santo Tomas (where he was a teacher before the war), the main concentration camp in the Philippines. His thick two-volume account is on their lives at the camp and on the stories of the arriving internees from other parts of the Philippines. The account on the outbreak of the war in Davao must have come to his knowledge in the same way.

Other primary sources from which much data had been lifted were come upon by accident or through the help of individuals: First is the terrain study, dated September 25, 1944, by the Allied Geographical Section (AGS) of the US Army which was in charge of the Southwest Pacific Area. As a terrain study, it provides information mostly from aerial surveys in 1944 as well as from prewar photographs. Its primary objective is to guide US landing operations in Mindanao. It was accessed online through Monash University library which is undergoing digitization projects.

Second were postwar publications in Davao. Three issues of Caltex’s *Official Philippine Motor Road and Touring Guide* (1949, 1950, 1951) provide a rare picture of the immediate postwar for tourists. Likewise, Salvador Pacis’s *Davao: Its Progress and Future* (1950) seeks “to present Davao in its actual and candid light, so that the readers especially the prospective investors in the ‘promises’ which Davao offers for their exploitation may make a correct appraisal based on bare facts.”³² Souvenir programs of Davao’s Foundation Day (“Araw ng Dabaw”) were accessed in Davao City Library. The programs feature early local historians such as Gloria Dabbay and Ernesto Corcino. The collection spans from the 1970s to the 2000s, albeit with incomplete copies. Finally, early issues of local academic journals were browsed. *Dansalan* of Dansalan Research Center published as early as the 1970s. *Kinaadman*, also from the 1970s, was by Xavier University, Ateneo de Zamboanga, and Ateneo de Davao. *Tambara* of Ateneo de Davao began in 1984. These academic journals show a dynamic postwar scholarship in Davao linked to others in Mindanao (and in the case of *Kinaadman*, to Manila).

Finally, *Firipin Jōhō* (Philippine Information Bulletin) and *Nan’yō* are periodicals by Firipin Kyōkai [Philippine Society of Japan] and Nan’yō Kyōkai, respectively. As these periodicals were not from the local, I did not peruse through all volumes. Unlike the other non-local sources by Hartendorp and census, these spanned years, from December 1936 to

³⁰ Hartendorp 1967, xiii.

³¹ Hartendorp 1967, jacket flap.

³² Pacis 1950, Foreword.

December 1944 and from February 1915 to November 1944, respectively. The periodical of Nan'yō Kyōkai changed titles in the course of those years. To jump straight to the articles that concerns Davao (and to Guam), I relied on the catalog and indices by Hayase. As Hayase notes, “The Philippine Society of Japan was established by people in Tokyo, who had hardly any knowledge of the Philippine reality.”³³ Nevertheless, its *Firipin Jōhō* does hold information—names, events, even prejudices—that are useful to glean prewar and wartime Davao.

Also tapped were *Dabao Hōjin Kaitaku-shi* of Hiroji Kamohara (editor of the prewar *Nippi Shimibun* and mistakenly Romanized in Waseda University Library’s OPAC as Kanbara) and *Dabao Kaitaku-ki* of Yoshizō Furukawa (founder and president of the wealthy Furukawa Plantation Company). Kamohara’s was published in 1938 and has nothing on the war; Furukawa’s on the other hand was published in 1956 and can be considered already an oral history. Both are useful for this thesis for their profiles of known Japanese in prewar Davao.

2.1.2. Oral Histories and Other Alternative Sources

As mentioned, oral histories were used only to supplement sparse wartime data from the primary sources. Six memoirs were tapped: Already introduced were those by Yoshizō Furukawa and Santiago Dakudao.³⁴ Another three were by children and a youngster during the occupation: Hiroyuki Mizuguchi (2010) was a student in Davao Central High School; Kenji Migitaka (2003) and Tadatsugu Maruyama (2008) were schoolboys in Japanese elementary schools. In addition, Taemichi Hara (1961) was part of the invading Japanese force in December 1941. Although Hara is a non-local, he provides a candid account of the attack, invasion, and occupation. Besides these, the aforementioned Dabao-kai’s *Senka ni Kieta Dabao Kaitaku Imin to Manira Asa* (1993) and *Ikoku no Furusato Dabao* (2000) edited by Yoshio Tanaka (himself part of the Dabao-kai) contain both brief memoirs and excerpts of previously published memoirs. Cris Kabasares, a local journalist who was in elementary school in Davao Central, published his memoirs in local newspapers such as *SunStar Davao* (1999) and *Mindanao Journal* (2001), which I accessed at the Davao City Library.

Six local histories provide collective biographies. Three are in Japanese: the first two are by Kin Town in Okinawa—one focuses on Kin overseas migrants (1996) while the other is on the war (2002). The third is by the Yomitan Village, also in Okinawa (2002). I read only the accounts by those who were in Davao during the war. Another three are in English. Marie Silva Vallejo, in her book on the *Battle of Ising* (2009), provides a collective biography of Filipino guerrilla fighters as well as some civilians. Josephina San Pedro (1996) collated bios of Bago Award recipients from 1969 to 1995. Finally, Macario Tiu (2005), in his desire to write

³³ Hayase 2014, 141.

³⁴ A manuscript of Dakudao’s memoir is available at the Lopez Museum and Library. Dakudao’s memoir is part of a collection which also includes a letter to Dakudao by one of his former employees Ken’ichi Migitaka. The letter is rich in detail and would have been a valuable source material. Worth noting, the transcript of the letter itself is dated 1946 but in the introduction to the collection, it is dated 1948. At present, I have no way of verifying the date.

an inclusive history of Davao, includes accounts of various settlers, one of whom was a Japanese settler whose story was told by his Filipino-Japanese son.

Also considered were family histories of Anastacio Campo (Morales 2006), of Nena and Jose Suarez-Magallanes (Suarez Magallanes 2007), and of Carmen Soriano (Panuncialman, 2002). Admittedly, family histories, already woven into a narrative, could hardly be called source materials but rather are works that employed oral histories as methodology. In dealing with family histories as oral histories, I lifted only personal memories of family members, clearly distinguishable from general information available elsewhere.

Finally for oral histories, I conducted my own interviews in 2014 with ten old-timers who experienced the war in Davao. Before I came to Davao, I hired a local guide who introduced me to five Filipino key informants, of whom three had been neighbors and close friends since prewar. From the first five, two more were referred to me. Additionally, a friend introduced me to her neighbor's grandmother. All eight informants were quite surprised that someone was interested in their stories; they were well-convinced that their experiences were neither dramatic nor special. The remaining two were Filipino-Japanese whom I was able to contact through the Philippine-Japan Historical Museum in Calinan, Davao City. Both had been previously interviewed by Japanese scholars and at least one local journalist.³⁵

When I conducted the interviews, I had but basic training in qualitative social research; I did not have training on interviewing old people about what might be a sensitive topic. (Their ages ranged from 78 to 94, with most in their 80s.) While I planned to conduct semi-structured interviews, in most cases, it evolved into unstructured ones. In more than one interview, we had to stop for the informant to take her mid-day nap or afternoon exercise. At least one had been diagnosed with dementia and two had trouble maintaining a conversation. In these interviews, I was helped by family members and others in the vicinity. Indeed, most of the interviews became a family affair, with many others chiming in and joining the conversation.

Our interviews were conducted in a mix of languages and dialects, mostly based on Tagalog and Cebuano. Those familiar with Philippine languages can hear the difference in dialects between the Tagalog of Manila and the Tagalog of Cavite, places in the Philippines where my informants' families lived before settling in Davao. Likewise, the Cebuano of Cebu City is different from the Cebuano of Danao in Cebu Province. Plus, a dialect/language that is not quite Tagalog or Cebuano developed in Davao. One key informant used a form of Cebuano with a spattering of (what I can only assume were) Bagobo words. The languages used in an interview depended on the key informant. But, when they noticed that I did not understand a statement, they repeated it in a different language/dialect. Rather than a barrier to my research, this motley of languages (as part of fieldwork) helped me gain a clearer picture of the mixed locality that I now seek to paint.

Nine of the ten interviews were recorded and transcribed, with the contexts of the interview also noted down. Following the "Guidelines for Research with Human Participants

³⁵ Soco-Bantayan, April 14, 2012.

v. 07/30/2013” of Ateneo de Manila University (the institution under which I conducted the interviews), I explained the research to my key informants verbally and in written form, promising that “The recording and transcript of the interview will remain private.” Rather than coding, anecdotes within the transcripts were arranged based on the most likely chronology. For example, when a key informant said their house was bombed at the outbreak of the war, I note it as a probable factual error—not that their house was not bombed but that it could not have happened in 1941. Given that all other sources say that the 1941 air raids were concentrated on the Sasa airfield and the wharves and that she lived in the vicinity of neither, I locate her entire account of the bombing of their house sometime in late 1944 to 1945 when the air raids devastated towns and villages as well as mountain camps. This was done for all oral histories including memoirs and collective biographies.

Lastly, photo collections both of prewar and wartime periods were of much help in picturing scenes. Besides the AGS 1944 terrain study, Dabao-kai published a photo collection, *Dabao: Natsukashi no Shashin-shu* (1988) available at the Diet Library. Likewise, a commemorative photo album by Ryozo Hattori, a school principal in prewar Davao, was organized and privately published by Atsuki Sasaki of Rotary International. A PDF copy was emailed to me by a Japanese living in Davao who read my journal article in *Kasarinlan* (2015). Through him, Dr. Sasaki allowed me to use some photographs so long as the entire album is kept private. The Philippine Nikkei-jin Legal Service Center (PNLSC), an NPO based in Tokyo helping Japanese descendants left in the Philippines to gain access to Japan, also maintains an online photo collection. Shinzo Hayase safekeeps the “Asahi Shimbun Osaka Honsha Shozō no Fuji Sōko Shiryō (Shashin) Tōnan Ajia Kankei,” many of which were on prewar Davao. Because of copyright restrictions, I could not lift Asahi Shimbun photos in this dissertation. Finally, most helpful for the Filipino side is the Facebook page “Davao of the Past.” Members, many of whom were or are Davao locals, share photos—some from published materials, others are privately shot family photos. For the photos I include, I cite the collection, not the current owner or photographer.

2.2. On Guam

2.2.1. Primary Sources

Most data on Guam come from the Micronesian Area Research Center (MARC) and so a brief description of it is in order. Located in the University of Guam, it is housed in two rooms: First, the library holds published materials such as newspapers, books, and monographs. Second, the Manuscript Collections holds non-published materials, i.e., personal papers of well-known writers, researchers, and officials as well as official reports and communications by the US Naval Government. (It also holds the Spanish Collections, though, whether these include published pre-20th century materials, I did not check.)

Published primary sources can be classified into three: newspapers, public documents, and personal accounts. First on newspapers, the *Guam Recorder* began in 1924, privately

owned by William W. Rowley, a former sailor of the 19th century USS *Yosemite*. In 1933, it was sold to the US Navy.³⁶ By the outbreak of the Pacific War, it was under the directorship of the governor and editorship of the lieutenant commander. Unlike its predecessor, the bilingual (English and Spanish) *Guam News Letter*, the *Guam Recorder* was entirely in English. Despite being owned by the Navy, it sought to be inclusive. As it attested:

The *Guam Recorder* belongs to the people of Guam. It has a two-fold purpose, namely to interest its readers in current affairs of the Island and to record those happenings in a permanent form for the future... The Editor of the *Guam Recorder* request the assistance of citizens, residents, and friends of Guam in gathering material suitable for publication.³⁷

It had regular columns, though not all of which were in all issues. Some of these concern officials and officers in the Naval Government and of the wealthy, for example “Naval Station News” and “Clippering Through” (which featured the passengers of the Pan American Airways). There were also sections which seem to appeal to the readership beyond the Naval Government, for example, “Vital Statistics” (which listed births, marriages, and deaths in municipalities) and “News of Island Affairs” (which mostly reported noteworthy harvests and catches in different municipalities). Besides those, “Department of Education Notes” occupied quite a lot of space, fostering what seemed like an imagined community centered on the public schools. It reported not only school statistics and PTA meetings, but also the names of enrollees, of graduates, of contest winners, of promoted and on-leave teachers, as well as offered congratulations and well-wishes for marrying teachers and those having babies. Quite a number of Japanese surnames appear in the “Department of Education Notes.” Also, because many of the Japanese locals were merchants, the section “Shipping Notes” and the ads were of special interest to this research.

In the immediate postwar, an important source was the *Navy News: Guam Edition*. Unlike the bound *Guam Recorder*, copies of the broad pages were loose, unindexed, and incomplete. Some pages had duplicates; others had large incomprehensible blots. After I arranged the pages in chronological order, I found that the copy of MARC library ranged from July 29, 1945 to December 14, 1947. As can be gleaned from the title, the ownership and the concern were of the US Navy. A page shows a “Hawaii edition,” from which we can assume that the paper was not only of Guam. How both Guam and Hawaii differ, I cannot ascertain; the articles, however, are mostly on news outside Guam.

In the *Guam Daily News* collection of the Northern Marianas Humanities Council website, one can access *Guam News*, which began on January 4, 1948. As declared by the editors, it is “Published daily and Sunday for personnel of the Army, Air Force, Marine, Coast Guard, navy and civilians of the Western Pacific Islands.” Though different newspapers, both

³⁶ Rogers 1995, 147.

³⁷ Editorial Box, *Guam Recorder*, April 1938, 5.

the *Navy News* and *Guam News* were by the US navy. Moreover, the series “History of War Crimes Trials” by George W. Wilbur was carried over from one to the other.

Public documents are available online. Particularly used in this dissertation are the files and reports of the 1940 census. The 1940 census was summarized in the *Guam: Population [and] Agriculture* by the Division of Territorial, Insular, and Foreign Statistics which, in its short life from August 17, 1935 to June 12, 1941, was under the US Bureau of the Census.³⁸ Unlike the voluminous census reports of the Philippines, the document is only 18-page long. Besides this report, digital copies of handwritten records by enumerators were accessed online.³⁹ The enumerator sheets contain the names of individuals, grouped per family. For each individual, enumerators noted the position in the family, age, sex, race/color, marital status, years of education, capacity to read and write, capacity to speak in English, place of birth, and occupation. I skimmed all the available pages in the digital archive for those classified as racially Japanese and lifted information on them and on their families. To underscore the importance of perspective in handling data, although I had a copy of the collection for years, it was not until my interview with Chamorro scholar Anthony Ramirez (who was referred to me by the Guam Nikkei Association) that I was pointed to its potential use.

Personal accounts, published as early as 1942 to 1949, were brought to my attention by secondary sources such as Rogers (1995): Leona Jackson was a nurse in Guam who was sent to Kobe along with other American POWs; she was able to return to the US and immediately publish her account in *The American Journal of Nursing* (1942). Miguel Olano is Guam’s bishop at the outbreak of the war. A Spaniard, he was mistakenly taken as prisoner-of-war and shipped with the others to Kobe. George Tweed was a US Navy radioman, infamous not only because he was the only American straggler who survived the Japanese Occupation of Guam (many Chamorros were tortured in the Japanese military search for him) but also because of his unfavorable depiction of Jesus Duenas, the martyred priest of Guam. Tweed escaped when the US forces returned in 1944. His memoir, written for him by Blake Clark, was published in 1945.⁴⁰ I use the 50th anniversary edition edited by D. Turner Givens (c1994). Alvin Josephy was a journalist-turned-sergeant of the Third Marine Division that battled the Japanese military on Guam in 1944. Before this, he had never been to the island. He offers a candid and vivid depiction of the mop-up operations, of US Marines’ racial prejudices against their Japanese enemies, and of the bafflement they experienced upon meeting Guam’s Chamorro and Japanese locals. Josephy left Guam early 1945. His sea bag containing the notes he typed while on the island followed him soon after. He published his account in 1946.

The “Notes taken at Commissioners’ Meetings—16 May 1942 - 16 March 1943” was transcribed in full by Richard Barrett Lowe, a postwar governor of Guam, in his memoir (which generally has nothing to do with wartime Guam because he was not on the island during the

³⁸ Davidson and Ashby 1964, 78.

³⁹ National Archives, *Official 1940 Census Website*.

⁴⁰ In 1962, however, Tweed’s story was loosely adapted into the big screen as *No Man is an Island*. Although the controversial references to Guam’s priests were downplayed, the Chamorro characters nevertheless erroneously speak in Tagalog. Clips of the movie is available open source in YouTube.

war). As Lowe attested, he found a handwritten notebook in which “notes were made during the period when the Japanese ‘governed tolerably well,’ and cover 10 monthly meetings.”⁴¹

For files in MARC’s Manuscripts Section, I was guided by MARC’s Working Paper 44 which inventoried its records on “American Naval Period on Guam U.S. National Archives.” Most used for this dissertation were (1) the records concerning the War Claims; (2) field reports on the enemies captured, surrendered, and killed; and (3) communications regarding the war criminals and the Stockade. Besides these, there were other loose documents such as Governor McMillin’s report of their 1941 surrender and Governor Alexander’s 1940 request for more budget on the Insular Force. I did not find any files concerning the war crimes trials (though Timothy Maga cites them as being kept in MARC)⁴² even with the help of the collection’s curator.

First, the War Claims was a program that sought to provide relief to victims of war-related damages. The legislation to establish a commission and allow for the “settlement of meritorious claims” by “the residents of Guam” was approved on November 15, 1945, however there were applications dated as early as June 1945.⁴³ Applications continued to 1946. Transcripts of interrogations of the applicants and of their witnesses were dated mostly 1948, some of which had a revision date of 1949. Besides reports and acknowledgment receipts, there were folders for 15 claimants. These folders include the list and estimated prices of items being claimed, the commission reports and appraisals, and the transcripts (or translations) of interrogations of the claimants and the witnesses. Questions were standardized, many of the witnesses repeated, and some were themselves war claims applicants. Given these and that the war claims involved money, we can assume that witnesses and applicants prepared their statements prior to the interrogations. This suspicion is reinforced by the rather messy start of Joaquina Baza Sayama’s interrogation transcript which, after some time, shifts to the usual, neatly articulated liberation-themed pronouncement common during her time.

In the 1980s, another round of war claims applications was carried out; its records also held by MARC’s Manuscripts Collections. As the abstract of the collection goes, it “was conducted under the direction of the Guam War Claims Reparations Project, which was established and initiated in 1979 by Senator Cecilia C. Bamba (15th Guam Legislature).”⁴⁴ Unlike its 1940s predecessor, it included 7,362 claims, the folders of which consisted only of two-page applications. Moreover, many of the claimants were deceased and were applied for by a family member or a neighbor. Following historical analysis, the 1980s claims are here considered oral histories for wartime experiences but primary sources for postwar views on the Japanese locals.

⁴¹ Lowe 1967, 281.

⁴² Maga cites heavily from the “Records of the US Navy Commission-Guam, 1945-1949” in “‘Away from Tokyo:’ The Pacific Islands War Crimes Trials, 1945-1949,” *Journal of Pacific History* 36, no. 1 (2001): 35-50.

⁴³ The Guam Meritorious Claims Act of 1945, Pub. L. No. 224.

⁴⁴ Parenthesis in the original. “Guam War Reparations Commission Records, 1979-1990,” *UOG University Digital Repositories*, accessed December 14, 2019, <http://hasso.uog.edu:8080/jspui/handle/20.500.11751/175>.

Records concerning the enemy captured, killed, and surrendered were penned by heads of various regiments and sections of the Third Marine Division from October 18 to July 9, 1945.⁴⁵ Although these vary in length and layout, it usually reported the number of enemies killed and captured and the location where they were found, as well as the estimated number and potential situations of the enemies still at large. Ending with analyses of the enemies' potential capacities and recommendations on how to deal with them, these field reports seem to serve the purpose of guiding military plans for reoccupying Guam. In line with these, the Marines also interrogated prisoners-of-war, many of whom were non-combatants such as "prostitutes" from Korea who came to Guam via Palau and fisherfolks from Okinawa who came to Guam via Saipan to serve in the fishing industry. Brief profiles of the interrogated and information of the enemy were recorded in the "POW Interrogation Reports with Summary and Memorandum (July – November 1944)."

Reports concerning the war criminals and the stockade include official communications and enclosed reports, guidelines for managing the stockade, the schedule of the in-mates, guidelines for the executions of convicts, and photographs. Again, these were mostly by the US Marines in charge of the Stockade. Dates of the documents range from 1945 (when the War Crimes Commission began its investigations) until 1949 (after the Stockade was closed). I agree with Donald Shuster when he asserted that, despite the general context of the war crimes trials, the War Crimes Commission seemed to have been aware of the potential of being accused of employing "victor's justice" and thus put in place extensive guidelines and protocols toward impartiality.⁴⁶ As mentioned, I did not find records concerning the war crimes trials at MARC. My source on Takekuma Shinohara's war crimes trials came from the digital archive of Women's Active Museum.⁴⁷

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Japanese sources on Guam are more of an absence. The bibliography compiled by Sachiko Hatanaka (1979), one of the earliest postwar Pacific scholars in Japan, barely had any item with "Guamu" or "Omiyajima" in its title. The catalog of Japanese materials compiled and translated by Iris Tanimoto-Spade of the University of Guam and her team (1985) only had six mentions of Guam in the titles and in the tables of contents in all 24-reel worth of archival collections. Even in Hayase's indices on the periodicals of Nan'yō Kyōkai (2018), there were only four mentions of prewar and none at all on wartime Guam. Searches in the OPACs of the National Diet Library (NDL) and Waseda University Library yielded the same scant mentions.

Given this absence of Guam, my research owes much guidance from Wakako Higuchi's references in her *The Japanese Administration of Guam, 1941-1944* (2013). Leafing through her notes and bibliography led me to published materials at the Diet Library. Most important was the 1943 account by Yūkichi Yamano, the first chief of the Minseibu, a civilian, and a Nan'yō-chō official before he took up his position in Guam. The often-mentioned Japanese

⁴⁵ Note that in MARC Working Paper 44 lists only field reports from October 18-23, 1944 – March 6, 1945 in Reel 32 Folder I. Here I also considered other field reports found in Reel 33 Folder II but are not listed in the working paper.

⁴⁶ Shuster, "US Navy War crimes trials on Guam," *Guampedia*.

⁴⁷ Accessed October 31, 2019, <http://wam-peace.org/ianfu-koubunsho/list/m-all-list.html>.

priest in English sources, Shigeru Komatsu, also published his memoirs on Guam in 1942. Admittedly, I can barely lift any data from Komatsu's rather philosophical (perhaps allegorical) account entitled "Konjiki no Hikari no Tawamure" [Play of Golden Light] published in the religious periodical *Koe* [Voice]. Nonetheless, the piece does give a glimpse of the kind of man who lived.

Higuchi's work also emphasized the importance of scavenging through the catalogs of the National Institute of Defense Studies (NIDS). Foremost was Sanbō Honbu's [Office of the General Staff] report specifically on Guam. Given that it was dated March 1, 1944, I assume it was to orient the Army whose numerous troops from China and Manchuria arrived that month. Although the writers were fantastically optimistic, their report was not at all sugar-coated. For instance, it mentions that no food was distributed to the natives in 1943. Moreover, its candid observations shed much light on Japanese-occupied Guam when juxtaposed with prewar and postwar source materials. It reported, for example, that the only mode of transportation was the *kalesa* [horse carriage], the cow, and the carabao. There were no mentions of the taxis, jitneys, and buses of which we have ads and photos from prewar source materials. Meanwhile, in the records of the postwar War Claims, witnesses and claimants attested that their vehicles were commandeered, many of which they speculated to have been shipped out of the island or were left to rot due to lack of maintenance and fuel. Doubt as we might of the records of the War Claims, that a 1944 document was silent on automobiles somehow lends credence to claimants' testimonies. Returning to our methodology, silences too can build the narrative.

Finally for primary sources on Guam is the "Gaichi Jōhō (Beigun Sesshū Chiiki) Firipin, Guam, Saipan: Shōwa 21. 6. 8 – Shōwa 21. 12. 1" [Overseas Report (US Military Occupied Areas) Philippines, Guam, Saipan: 1946 June 8 – 1946 December 1], a bound compilation of reports from Guam and other US-occupied territories accessible at NIDS. The reports are mostly updates on repatriation and on the conditions of POW camps. The part on Guam ends with a long, handwritten list of names, ranks, and locations of the military.

2.2.2. Oral Histories and Other Alternative Sources

Unlike Dabao-kai, no repatriates association of prewar Guam Japanese locals developed. This might be because, as will be argued in Chapter 8, many Japanese of Guam returned to the island soon after they were shipped out. Being in Guam, their stories of the war were handed down in English (or Chamorro). In the Japanese language, we have only the two accounts by Takekuma Shinohara: one was published by Shinohara himself. The other was an essay he supposedly gave to Teruo Kosuge whom he met in Sugamo and who published it in 1977 during which Shinohara had already passed on. Shinohara is the only Japanese local with known written wartime accounts in the Japanese language. These and the records of his war crimes trials are what led me to write a section on him. (See Chapter 8.)

Besides Shinohara, Shōnosuke Okada, one of the employees of the Nan'yō Kōhatsu Kabushiki Kaisha [South Seas Development Company] (henceforth Nan'yō Kōhatsu) sent to

Guam, also published an account of his time in Japanese-occupied Guam. Published in 1988, Okada made use of archival materials as well as his own memory of Nan'yō Kōhatsu. Rather than a memoir, Okada's was a presentation in Pacific Society's [Taiheiyō Gakkai] workshop on Pacific War history, specifically focusing on small island nations in the Pacific. While his presentation gave well-prepared data, the open forum (which was also transcribed) provides spontaneous responses to question from the floor which seemed to be concerned especially on the hiring and treatment of comfort women by the Nan'yō Kōhatsu branch in Guam.

Hiroshi Shinohara, a researcher from Japan visited Guam in the early 1960s and interviewed members of the Japanese association existing then. Through him we can hear the voices of Ritsuko Dejima (daughter of the wealthy prewar merchant) and Jesus Sayama (a Japanese settler married to a Chamorro). Using comparative analysis, the fact that Guam had a Japanese association as early as the 1960s highlights its non-existence in Davao.

In English, more oral histories can be found. In her book, Higuchi enclosed a collective biography of Japanese military officers, wartime migrants, and Japanese locals. The nice coffee table books published by Guam Humanities Council (2005) and by Guam War Survivors Memorial Foundation (2015) also include collective biographies. Besides these, teachers and students interviewed war survivors and kept the collated oral histories at MARC. Perhaps by far the largest oral histories project (also conducted by students and led by professional researchers of MARC) is the two-volume collection edited by Katherine Owings. Conducted in 1980 to 1981 to supplement the accounts of military personnel displayed in the National Park Services (a.k.a., war museum), Owings' collective biography includes 74 accounts, some of which were presented in dyads. Besides collective biographies, there are memoirs such as Ben Blaz's (a child during the occupation), Donald Giles's (Rear Admiral in the Naval Station), and Anthony Ramirez's interview with a Japanese wartime migrant named Kichida. Finally, journalist Tony Palomo's *An Island in Agony* wove a war history of Guam from his interviews.

Noticeably, many stories repeat. This might be because one key informant gave numerous interviews. For example, Naoe Takano gave an interview to Higuchi (2013) and was heavily quoted by Palomo (1984, 189-191). One of the survivors of the massacre during the invasion, written about by Bishop Olano in his 1949 account, gave his own account in Owings' collective biography. His story also appears in Palomo, though Palomo did not cite whether this was from Olano, Owings, or from his own interviews. Again, the story appears in Rogers' book (1995), citing only Owings.⁴⁸

MARC holds a vast collection of photos. I accessed those in the Manuscript Collections (on the War Criminals Stockade) and those in the "Naval Era Gallery" of Guampedia, an online encyclopedia "that highlights the unique Chamorro heritage and history of Guam and the Mariana Islands." Its articles are peer-reviewed by a roster of advisers, many (if not all) of whom are scholars from the University of Guam.⁴⁹ Besides that, an album of photos and

⁴⁸ Palomo 1984, 1984, 23-24; "Vicente A. Limtiaco," 1981, 314; Rogers 1995, 167; Olano 1949, 142.

⁴⁹ For the roster, see https://www.guampedia.com/about-guampedia/#Guampedia_Scholars_and_Advisors.

description of articles left behind by Japanese soldiers in Guam, compiled by Hiroshi Nakajima of Taiheiyō Gakkai, was also accessed in MARC.

I did not conduct in-depth interviews in Guam. Unlike the dearth of Filipino oral histories, Chamorro voices are not at all silent. I did, however, attend two Marianas History Conferences; both turned out to be somewhat like a fieldwork. Co-organized and co-sponsored by the Guam Humanities Council, the Northern Marianas Humanities Council, the University of Guam, and Guampedia, the two-day conferences were attended not only by academics but also by activists, public officials, Chamorro elders, public school teachers, their students, local artists, and basically anyone invested in the Marianas. In the 2017 conference, participants were invited to join the protest rally against US militarism, particularly the planned live-firing range in Tinian, an island between Saipan and Guam. The 2019 conference was sandwiched between a lecture by Robert Underwood (politician and former president of the University of Guam) about Chamorro self-determination and a march for self-determination. The conferences themselves had charged discussions concerning historical interpretations, decolonization, indigenous movement, and how to balance ideology with academic objectivity. As one professor responded to my query in the 2019 conference: For us in the Philippines, colonialism is but history; but for them in Guam, it is a present reality.

My immersion in the politically charged academia of Guam and Saipan, as well as my background on Philippine social movements, color the way I frame and approach this dissertation's research questions. Returning to McCoy's insistence, historians *must* immerse in the locality and allow the issues, contradictions, and questions they find there to guide their research. Only then can my research reflect the concerns of the locality and not of imperial and national centers. Only then can my dissertation work towards liberation from the legacies of colonialism.

2.3. Secondary Sources for Historical Background: A Limitation

Because the dissertation focuses on the Pacific War as the lynchpin in the imperial alternations in the 1940s, narratives before 1941 incorporate data lifted from secondary sources. Historical analysis demands that narratives must be based on primary sources, however, my research is limited to the war and to the immediate postwar. As such, for the historical background on Davao's pre-Spanish period, I rely on academic works, especially those by Macario Tiu (2003; 2005) and Patricia Dacudao (2017); for the Japanese in Davao, on works by Shinzo Hayase (1984; 1995; 2007), Grant Goodman (1967), and Lydia Yu-Jose (1992); and on the American colonial period, on Peter Gowing (1977), Ernesto Corcino (1998), and Patricio Abinales (2004). For the Japanese prewar imperial expansion on Guam, I rely on Wakako Higuchi (1998; 2013) and Mark Peattie (1988). Because there is barely any scholarship on prewar Guam relevant to Japanese locals, I mostly accessed primary sources for this. Finally, because the history on precolonial and contact period Guam is still highly contested, I provide a historiography instead of a history.

Part 2. The Japanese of Davao

Chapter 3. Davao: A Bordered Settler Zone

1. Introduction

Aiko Tanaka, a Filipino-Japanese mestiza, was referred to me by a personnel of the Philippine-Japan Historical Museum in Davao City. Already in her 80s, Lola¹ Aiko had previously given interviews to researchers from Japan and journalists in Davao. At ease and articulate, she welcomed me into her home and then asked in which language I preferred to hold our interview. English, Japanese, Tagalog, Bisaya—she can converse in them all. Wanting to establish rapport, I offered Bisaya, the lingua franca in the area, but as interview went on, we fell into a mix of languages plus a spattering of words which I can only guess was Bagobo.

When I asked what she thought about the war, Lola Aiko replied as a Filipino-Japanese:

We won't say bad things about Filipinos because we are in the Philippines and we are Filipino. We are mestizos. We don't like it if we hear bad things about Filipinos. But we also dislike hearing bad things about the Japanese because a portion of our blood is Japanese. We sympathize with both sides. We despair if Filipinos are disparaged. Same with the Japanese.²

Finally, when I asked the standard question if I may use her real name in the thesis, Lola Aiko responded, "Yes. I said no lies. Neither did I say bad things about anyone. I just want everyone to understand that before the war, the Bagobo tribes (which is what we have here) and the Japanese were friends."³

Shun Ohno, who interviewed Lola Aiko years before, paints a different portrait of her. As she "narrates in fluent Japanese: 'Even after the war, I have continued to consider myself Japanese.... I have never had a sense as Filipino... I had a conversation with my Bagobo mother in Japanese, and told her that I would remain Japanese forever...'"⁴

I present this difference not to debunk Ohno's findings or to suggest that Lola Aiko lied to one of us. As Suzuki (2014, 4) discovered in his conversations with Japanese Bolivians, identities are consistently shifting, contended, and most importantly in this example, relational.⁵ I present this difference to show the malleability of belongings and to insist that the study of the Japanese in Davao cannot be the sole domain of scholars concerned about Japan, the Japanese community, and the Japanese identity. Philippine historians must join the discussion, especially since Japanese historians already went out of their way to write in English and publish in ways accessible to the local.

¹ "Lola" means grandmother in Filipino. Placed before a name, it serves as an honorific.

² Interview by the author, Davao City, April 30, 2014.

³ Interview by the author, Davao City, April 30, 2014.

⁴ Ohno 2015, 149. Translation by Ohno.

⁵ Also, it is well-known that oral histories are influenced by the context in which they were recorded. See Peniston-Bird 2009, 106-108.

Six years after my interview with Lola Aiko, I returned to Davao City. Together with Japanese professors and a peer, we searched for Japanese memorials.⁶ As we wandered quite lost along a generic-looking highway, a local met us, led us inside a cemetery, and guided us to a large mint green monument which stood out against the somber white-and-gray tombs typical of Philippine public cemeteries. While my companions lit their incense, stood in silence in front of the memorial, and took pictures, I chatted with the kind local. How did he know we were searching for this particular place? How did he even know we were searching for something? (We could have been just another passersby.) What is this place anyway? (See Figure 3-1)

He explained, referring to my apparently Japanese companions, that around August every year, buses and buses of Japanese tourists come to this memorial. Sometimes, smaller groups like us come at different times of the year. He did not know who these Japanese are; another local just tells him to clean the place before they arrive. The Japanese are nice, he said nonchalantly. They give candies to the local kids. As the urban legend goes, many Japanese died in this place and the tourists come to commemorate that. Many of those Japanese who died were children. Perhaps, that is why the tourists give out the candies.

Figure 3-1. Japanese Memorial in Lubungan, Daliao, Davao City⁷



In the Japanese language, quite a lot has been written about the yearly Japanese pilgrimages to Davao. Historian Mariko Iijima locates this within a growing scholarship on dark tourism and extends it beyond the more commonly discussed military and onto the civilian memorials and places of death.⁸ For the repatriates, the trip to Davao was not simply a visit. They were returning to what was once their home, to which they still held affinity, and the story of which they still tell.⁹ As Iijima further argues, examining their association newsletters and tour posters, the Japanese repatriates were commemorating not just the tragedy of 1945. They were commemorating their lives in prewar Davao and reconnecting with long lost family and friends.¹⁰

Such dark tourism is not new to locals. In the Philippines, the practice of visiting cemeteries every November and on every other special occasion and of hiring locals to clean

⁶ I thank my professor, Shinzo Hayase, for inviting me to the trip. He wrote about the same trip in a forthcoming work to be published in *Journal of Asia-Pacific Studies* October 2020 issue.

⁷ Courtesy of Eri Kitada, personal copy.

⁸ Iijima 2013a, 713-714.

⁹ This can be gleaned from the repatriate organization's biannual publication *Dabao*.

¹⁰ Iijima 2013a, 712-713.

tombstones beforehand is recorded as early as the 19th century.¹¹ Locals are quite adept at dealing with outsiders who visit their place a few times a year. To locals, such as the one my companions and I met, the Japanese are visitors. They are not from Davao. They are not part of the community. They are simply foreign tourists.

In this introduction, I presented four images of the Japanese in Davao, two of which were told by a single person. To Shun Ohno, Aiko Tanaka was one of those who were left behind, who had to hide her Japanese-ness, and then later reclaimed it. To me, she was a Filipino-Japanese mestiza who served as a bridge between the Philippines and Japan. To the Japanese repatriates in the postwar annual pilgrimages, Davao was home. They were returning to it and reconnecting with families and friends. To the locals who now live in the place they left, the Japanese are foreign tourists to be entertained.

The next three chapters aim to understand how those different “Japanese” came about. As an introduction to a three-part narrative, this chapter provides a background on the emergence of Davao as a Filipino-Japanese settler zone before the Pacific War. Then, it outlines how the racial divides in the Philippines were drawn and how these were lived by the locals of Davao. It does not paint a picture of the Japanese community in Davao. The aim is not to give their number, their industry, their migrant associations, their intra-national ethnic divide, or their stance with or against the Filipino. Those have been written about by Hayase, Yu-Jose, and Ohno and are summarized in Chapter 1. Instead, this chapter illustrates the place which Japanese locals called home. It was a bordered settler zone, but that border was racial, shifting, and quite often crossed.

2. From Borderland to Bordered Settler Zone¹²

2.1. A Regional Borderland

Davao was the region surrounding the gulf in southeastern Mindanao, an island in southern Philippines. To Davao’s east was the Pacific Ocean and to its south, the Moluccas; to its north were present-day Agusan and Surigao; and to its west were mountains leading to centers of former Muslim sultanates of Cotabato and Maguindanao.

Archaeological finds of stone and flake shell tools in Talikud Island in Davao Gulf reveal human presence as early as 2700 BCE.¹³ The wooden coffins discovered in nearby Samal Island and the local residents’ descriptions of comparatively large human remains corroborate with legends about early giants.¹⁴ On the western coast of the gulf, pots were also unearthed. Although these are yet to be dated, they were likened to those found in Sarangani further south dating back to around 300 BCE to 500 CE.¹⁵ With archeological finds and

¹¹ In particular, Chapter 12 of Jose Rizal’s *Noli Me Tangere*, originally published in 1887, describes the event. November 1 and 2 are holidays “All Saints’ Day” and “All Souls’ Day” [Todos Los Santos in Spanish; Undas in Tagalog], respectively.

¹² The idea of borderland becoming bordered lands comes from Adelman and Aron (1999).

¹³ Tiu 2005, 2.

¹⁴ Tiu 2005, 6.

¹⁵ Tiu, 2005, 3.

creation myths and legends, local historian Macario Tiu (2005) illustrates a Davao area that has long been inhabited by humans. By the time European “missionaries, explorers, and early ethnographers” began describing the people of Davao in the late 19th century, the space was deemed a potpourri of peoples and languages, a “mezclar las razas” or “mix of races.”¹⁶

In early historical records, Davao was a borderland.¹⁷ It was distant but still accessible to the sultanates, kingdoms, and empires that rose and fell in maritime Asia. In the early 16th century, expeditions by Portugal and Spain reached the region in search of the much-coveted spices. By the 1530s and 1540s Portuguese and Spanish forays to eastern Mindanao were recorded—replenishing their supplies, baptizing indigenes, and inciting locals against each other.¹⁸ Later that century, Spain and Portugal fell under the same Crown, ending the Spanish-Portuguese rivalry in the region.¹⁹ Thereafter, the Spanish colonial seat in Manila came into constant conflict with Muslim kingdoms in western Mindanao.²⁰ The largest of these kingdoms, the Maguindanao Sultanate, traded with the Chinese and with the new European power, the Dutch, which had lodged itself in Java. Under Sultan Kudarat (r. 1616-71), the sultanate established a foothold in Sarangani and got the seafaring Badjao under its influence.²¹ With the advancement of Spanish naval technology, the sultanates declined in the 19th century.²²

Around the same time, Spanish settlements finally saw light in Davao. Initiated and supported by flagging partnership between colonial government, Jesuit missionaries, and various ethnic groups, settlements remained unstable and were unable to consolidate the area.²³ Unlike conventional Philippine history, Davao experienced no Spanish Colonial Period. As a borderland of regional powers, it was a site of encounters and engagement among peoples from different origins; it was dominated by none.

2.2. A Filipino-American Frontier

In early 20th century the US empire transformed Davao from a borderland of regional powers to a frontier to be colonized, civilized, and exploited. Roads were constructed, first by American soldiers and equipment, then by indigenes and imported Visayan laborers.²⁴ In 1903, the Moro Province, a military government based in Zamboanga, was established; by 1905 Davao was one of its districts. *Mindanao Herald*, the Moro Province’s mouthpiece, exalted Davao’s potential: There was vast space for the American pioneers and their families,²⁵ the

¹⁶ Dacudao 2017, 30 and 32.

¹⁷ Tiu begins Davao’s history in the 16th century. Hayase, pertaining to Mindanao in general, notes that a 14th century Chinese account *Tao-I-Chih-Lhio* mentions a “Min-To-Lang” which some interpret as Mindanao. See Tiu 2005, 1 and Hayase 2007, 42.

¹⁸ Dacudao 2017, 41-42; Tiu 2005, 9.

¹⁹ Tiu 2005, 9; Hayase 2007, 84.

²⁰ Hayase 2007, 48-56.

²¹ Hayase 2007, 28.

²² Warren 2007, 318.

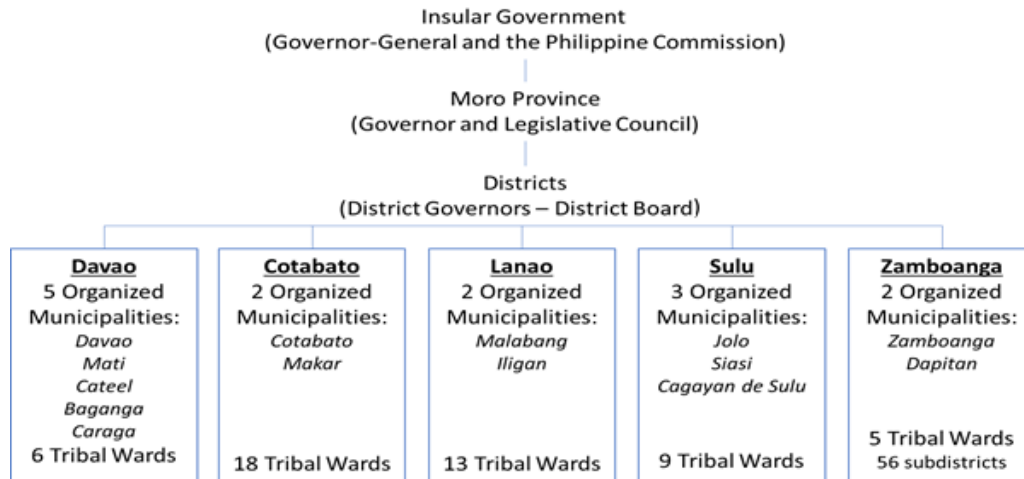
²³ Tiu 2003, 1 and 14-15.

²⁴ Dacudao 2017, 75.

²⁵ Tiu 2003, 89.

land was fertile and fit for agriculture and livestock, and the native population were good workers and less warlike than those in western Mindanao.²⁶ In the “civilized” areas of Davao District, five municipalities were organized, while indigenes were forced into tribal wards.²⁷

Figure 3-2. Administrative Organization of the Moro Province²⁸



American planters often reported difficulties in keeping the indigenous laborers under leash as these kept leaving the tribal wards in the coast and returning to their hinterlands.²⁹ To better manage them, American “settlers had themselves appointed as tribal ward leaders.”³⁰ In a similar manner, the Constabulary dealt with the natives harshly. In April 1906, a skirmish between the Constabulary and a group of natives (two men, five women and two children) was reported. Scorched-earth policy was implemented in response to the murder of the Davao District Governor Edward Bolton.³¹ In 1908, another anti-American movement had to be stamped out in northern Davao. A year later, native members of the constabulary staged a mutiny which took a month to suppress. Thereafter, “relative peace reigned in Davao.”³² As Tiu maintains, by 1910, the American conquest of Davao was completed.³³

The transformation of Davao as a frontier was not by the Americans alone. Indeed, the American military government of Moro Province competed with and was later toppled by the emerging American-sponsored Philippine nation-state based in Manila. Curtailed by the Public Land Act of 1903 (Act No. 926), American settlers in Mindanao particularly planters in Davao lobbied for the separation of the Moro Province from the Philippines. This proposal, the anti-colonial newspaper based in Manila, *El Renacimiento* opposed vehemently.³⁴ In 1913, Governor Francis Burton Harrison, bent on giving Filipinos self-rule, handed the reins of

²⁶ Abinales 2004, 73.

²⁷ Gowing 1977, 113 and 116.

²⁸ Gowing 1977, 116.

²⁹ Hayase singled out “chronic labor shortage and investment problems... [as] even more serious than natural calamity.” See Hayase 1984, 75-76.

³⁰ Abinales 2004, 79.

³¹ Tiu 2003, 99-100.

³² Tiu 2003, 42.

³³ Tiu 2003, 41-42.

³⁴ Tiu, 2002, 58

government to Nacionalista leaders, thus marking his administration with rapid Filipinization.³⁵ The Moro Province was dissolved and Davao District became a sub-province of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, with Eulalio Causing as appointed Filipino governor. In the same year, Francisco Bangoy joined the provincial board as the first popularly elected Filipino official. In 1920, Davao became a province, with Celestino Chavez as its first elected provincial governor.³⁶ In 1937, the Chartered City of Davao was organized, putting its directly under the office of the Philippine president. Thus, by the end of the 1930s, Davao became a frontier incorporated into the emerging Philippine nation-state.

Meanwhile, Davao's population grew from a mere 65,496 in 1903 to a staggering 292,600 in 1939, of which 92.6% were classified as Filipinos. In the fertile Digos-Padada Valley in the southwestern coast of Davao Gulf, for example, homestead applications (i.e., free land provided for by the Public Land Act), which was stalled at two claims until 1920, jumped to 71 claims in 1935, and in 1939 leapt even higher to 463.³⁷ More than half of the provincial population (51%) spoke Bisaya and 11.8% spoke Tagalog—dominant Philippine languages in Visayas and Luzon, respectively. Another 2% spoke Iloko and a small number spoke Pangasinan (513), Pampangan (259), and Bicol (326).³⁸ Almost half of the population (42%) were aged 14 and below.³⁹ To cater to these children, public schools and parochial schools were opened.⁴⁰ By 1937, there were 17 (public) primary schools, three intermediate schools, and one high school with 4,402 students. Influenced by the rapid Filipinization in government and with the economical benefit of hiring lesser-paid Filipino employees, public schools saw more Filipino and less American teachers.⁴¹ The in-migration to the Davao frontier and the taking up of land to till espoused by the Moro Province was finally achieved, albeit by Filipinos.

2.3. The Filipino-Japanese Settler Zone

As Davao was being Filipinized, its economic transformation was led by the Japanese. The first waves of them arrived in the early 1900s from the Kennon Road Construction in northern Philippines. To circumvent the Public Land Act which disallowed individual foreigners to purchase public land, they pitched in their savings and established the Ohta Development Company.⁴² During the First World War, the abaca production industry experienced a boom. The Ohta Development Company established subsidiaries and expanded its land holdings.⁴³ Japanese in Japan also invested on Davao. Most notable, Yoshizō Furukawa established the Furukawa Plantation Company backed by the Ito Shoten

³⁵ Abinales and Amoroso 2005, 139-140.

³⁶ Corcino 1998, 136-137.

³⁷ Simkins and Wernstedt 1971, 52.

³⁸ Commission of the Census 1940, 12-13. These are Philippine languages.

³⁹ Commission of the Census 1940, 12.

⁴⁰ Dacudao 2017, 306.

⁴¹ Dacudao 2017, 312-313.

⁴² Goodman 1967, 2.

⁴³ Hayase (1984, 158-159) details the land acquisition of the Ohta Development and its subsidiaries.

conglomerate based in Japan.⁴⁴ In 1918, the land occupied by the Japanese abaca plantations was larger than those by the American and Filipino plantations combined.⁴⁵

Along with the rise of the Japanese corporations was the emergence of a Japanese settled community. Unlike the pioneers of the 1900s, more than a few summoned their families from Japan. Bachelors brought in migrant brides who eventually raised families in Davao. The number of Japanese children born in Davao increased after the increase in the number of women.⁴⁶ As migration was done through networks in their hometowns, whole families and neighborhoods came to settle in Davao.⁴⁷ Shinto shrines, Buddhist temples, Japanese bazaars, Japanese restaurants, Japanese hotels, Japanese photo studios, Japanese schools, and Japanese-style homes sprouted around Davao. Local associations based on their ward, town, and prefectures in Japan were formed. Among the Okinawans from Yomitan Village, for example, those from Kina organized the “Kina Dōshikai,” while those from Nagahama had the “Nagahama Shinzen Dōshikai.” Associations helped alleviate the difficulties of living in a foreign land. In Kina Dōshikai, for instance, “everyone celebrated together occasions like New Year, arrival of new migrants, birth of a child, and arrival of migrant bride.”⁴⁸

A divide between Japanese from Okinawa and from mainland Japan was observed. Okinawans were perceived poorer and inferior than the Japanese residents from other prefectures. Toward the end of the 1920s, a report by the Japanese vice-consul to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs described the Okinawans as having inferior culture with tiny “pig-style” houses. Okinawans, according to the report, were uneducated, profit-oriented, and did not cooperate with the Japanese from other prefectures. This report was strongly refuted by the Association of the People of Okinawa Prefecture,⁴⁹ one the “five powers” in Davao.⁵⁰ Their rejection of the vice-consul’s report shows that despite being a minority, the Okinawans had a voice. Okinawans in Davao opposed the mainland Japanese discrimination against them with equal vehemence. Despite this divide, Okinawans saw themselves as Japanese. Japanese elementary schools inculcated devotion to the “Yamato spirit” by making students recite the Imperial Rescript every national holiday, bow toward the direction of the imperial Palace, and at times sing military songs.⁵¹ Okinawan children began to see themselves as Japanese even though they remained discriminated.⁵² While many Okinawan children had difficulty learning Japanese and were bullied because of it, they nevertheless saw themselves as Japanese and wanted to be recognized as so.

⁴⁴ Yu-Jose 1992, 81.

⁴⁵ Hayase 1984, 158-160. The table includes plantations occupying an area of at least 100 hectares.

⁴⁶ For the female population, see Hayase (1995, 49-51) who collated the figures from documents from Foreign Ministry Archives. For the number of birth from 1920-1935, see Yu-Jose (1992, 70) who cites Furukawa Yoshizo’s memoir (1956, 411).

⁴⁷ See for example, Kamado Nakama, 2002, 252 and 232.

⁴⁸ Matsuda 2002.

⁴⁹ Yu-Jose 1992, 91-93.

⁵⁰ Ohno 2015, 21.

⁵¹ Ohno 2011, 238; Kaneshiro 2002, 84.

⁵² Ohno, 2011, 238.

3. The Racial Borders

In the histories of prewar Davao, the Filipino and the Japanese are clearly defined. Within the Japanese group, two subgroups are outlined: the Okinawans and the mainland Japanese. However, history that is solely of clearly defined groups is problematic. For example, to which group should a mestizo belong? Also, among the Filipinos are the “tribes” whose belonging—indeed, whose very definition—is elusive.

This section complicates the notions of “Filipino” and “Japanese” as it was used in prewar Philippines. It first shows the contentious definition of Philippine citizens by showing how the Philippine State dealt with the non-Christian tribes and Filipino-Japanese mestizos. Next, it shows how that contentious definition was taken up by the locals to describe themselves and relate with others in Davao, thus actualizing the racial border. It ends with anecdotes from mixed families and mixed communities to show of how this racial border was crossed.

3.1. Drawing the Racial Border: On Tribes and Mestizos

In 1919, a group of Mangyans (the indigenous peoples in Mindoro Province) had escaped the settlement where they were forcibly placed. Reaching Manila, they filed a case demanding that, as Philippine citizens, they were free to reside and move as they wanted unless with due legal process. The case reached the Philippine Supreme Court which then decided, “If all are to be equal before the law, all must be approximately equal in intelligence.... The [Mangyans], in order to fulfill this governmental policy, must be confined for a time... for their own good and for the good of the country.”⁵³ The Mangyans may be called “non-Christian Filipinos” but they could not, because of their inherent lower intellectual capacity, be held equal to Philippine citizens.

There were dissenting opinions. As one of the judges stated as counterargument to the comparison of the Mangyan to the Native American Indian:

The [Mangyans] are not a separate state.... They are citizens of the Philippine Islands. Legally they are Filipinos. They are entitled to the rights and privileges of any other citizen of this country. And when the provincial governor of the Province of Mindoro attempted to take them from their native habitat... he deprived them of their rights and their liberty without due process of the law, and they were denied the equal protection of the law.

⁵³ *Rubi et al v. Provincial Board of Mindoro*, 1919. The original spells “Mangyans” in its Spanish form “Manguianes.”

Still, as the judge himself acknowledged, “a dissenting opinion carries little weight.”⁵⁴ Indeed, it was (to borrow words from Asian American studies) “institutionalized racism” at work.⁵⁵

Indigenous peoples had been a puzzle to state officials since the start of the American Colonial Period. In 1901, the Philippine Commission established the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes (BNCT). Under the Department of Interior, it was tasked to investigate the customs of these curious peoples “with special view to determining the most practicable means for bringing about their advancement in civilization and material prosperity.”⁵⁶ Academics filled the ranks: The Bureau’s first chief, David Barrows was an anthropologist from the University of California. His boss, the Secretary of Interior Dean Worcester, was a zoologist. The deputy chief of BNCT, Albert Jenks, was likewise a respected anthropologist. As with social scientists, they disagreed on how to classify the tribes, agreed that “tribe” itself was a vague term, and then proceeded to keep using “tribes” in their publications.⁵⁷

For the judges whose decisions had immediate and palpable effect, the term’s malleability was not an issue. As the judges who tried the Mangyan maintained, “‘Non-Christian people,’ ‘non-Christian inhabitants,’ and ‘non-Christian Filipinos’ have been the favorite nomenclature, in lieu of the unpopular word ‘tribes.’”⁵⁸ Clearly, “tribes” as a category was shunned and the basis for identifying the “non-Christian tribes” had become their non-Christian religion. However, this too became irrelevant because many of those deemed tribal were Christians. In the land dispute involving the Bagobo family of Agol Palad (Christian name, Santiago), the Philippine Supreme Court acknowledged the anomaly in labeling a Christian “non-Christian.” Moreover, it recognized that not everyone under the BNCT’s supervision was intellectually inept.⁵⁹ Despite this acknowledgment, when it came to particularly sticky issues such as the sale and lease of tribal lands, the “non-Christian tribes” were still deemed of lower intellectual degree, “a class of people easily duped by designing individuals.”⁶⁰

Thus, since its first use in the early 20th century, the terms “non-Christian” and “tribes” were anomalous and contested. Regardless of their religion, education, and proficiency in non-indigenous languages, indigenous peoples were to be perceived as having lower civilization and lacking intellectual capacities. Although some of them might “have made great progress in civilization... [and] are well educated, they are,” the Supreme Court stubbornly upheld, “one and all ‘non-Christians,’ as the term is used and understood in law and in fact.”⁶¹ Most

⁵⁴ *Rubi et al v. Provincial Board of Mindoro*, 1919. The ruling for the Mangyan case is also discussed by Volker (1997) in his comparative study between the Mangyan and Northern Luzon. The ruling is also important as it becomes the precedent and basis for future trials such as *Palad v. K. Saito and Madrazo*, 1931.

⁵⁵ Azuma 2016a.

⁵⁶ Act Creating a Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes for the Philippine Islands (1901), Act No. 253.

⁵⁷ Worcester openly criticizes Barrows in “The Non-Christian Tribes of Northern Luzon” (1909) particularly in page 798. Clymer writes that Barrows “disliked the Bureau’s name (feeling that the term ‘tribes’ was misleading)” (1976, 500, parenthesis in the original). Go examines the differences between Barrows’ and Worcester’s conception tribes (2007, 123-126). Additionally, Jenks (1907) reviewed Worcester’s 1906 piece.

⁵⁸ *Rubi et al v. Provincial Board of Mindoro*, 1919. Italics supplied.

⁵⁹ *Palad v. K. Saito and Madrazo*, 1931. The BNCT was given the supervision of land conveyances of tribal persons by the revised Public Land Law of 1919 (Act No. 2874).

⁶⁰ *Palad v. Saito and Madrazo*, 1931.

⁶¹ *Rubi et al v. Provincial Board of Mindoro*, 1919.

importantly for our purposes, the category distinguished the “non-Christian tribes” from other Philippine citizens. By the Philippine Organic Act of 1902, the Philippine Autonomy Act of 1916,⁶² and the Philippine Constitution (1935), the tribes were Philippine citizens. Presumably they were counted as such in the Philippine Censuses of 1903, 1918, and 1939. In theory and collectively, they were Philippine citizens. But whether or not *individually* they were considered as Philippine citizens, whether or not they were considered as Filipinos and part of the Filipino nation, was a point of contention.

For our study on the Japanese of Davao, similarly unsettling is the classification of Filipino-Japanese mestizos. The annual count by the Japanese Consulate General in Manila and the Japanese Consulate in Davao does not account for them.⁶³ That is, we do not know if the numbers in these reports included the Filipino-Japanese mestizos. At least the Philippine census of 1939 details its rubrics for classification. The census was conducted by the Philippine Commonwealth Commission of the Census which hired and dispatched enumerators to barrios. As the census report admits, “Most of the difficulties concerning the citizenship classification arose in connection with the classification of those whose father and mother belong to different *races*.”⁶⁴ In the census, a person may not belong to two citizenship categories and thus the Commission had to decide whether a Filipino-Japanese was to be recorded as a Philippine or as a Japanese citizen.

To address this problem, the Commission instructed its enumerators to classify as Philippine citizens “Those whose fathers are citizens of the Philippines” and “Those whose mothers are citizens of the Philippines, and who upon reaching the age of majority, elect Philippine citizenship.” To make the enumerators’ job more difficult (and perhaps embarrassing), these instructions applied only to individuals born within wedlock. As for the rest, “Enumerators were instructed to report the citizenship of children where parents were living together consensually, the same citizenship as that reported for the mother.” At last in 1941, thanks to the nameless enumerators’ work, the Commission reported that of the 754 children of “male citizens of Japan with wife reported as citizens of the Commonwealth of the Philippines” residing in Davao, 487 were Philippine citizens and 267 were Japanese citizens.⁶⁵

Whether or not this number is accurate is not the point. What I highlight is that the classification of people was messy and arbitrary (and patriarchal). Citizenship in the Philippines, be it Philippine citizenship or Japanese citizenship was based on *race* —as can be gleaned in the faux pas in the census report and in the contentious label “non-Christian tribe.”

⁶² Officially (and listed in the Bibliography) as “Act to Declare the Purpose of the People of the United States as to the Future Political Status of the People of the Philippine Islands, and to Provide a More Autonomous Government for Those Islands.” It does not have a shortened title, though it is commonly known as the Jones Law of 1916. At times, it is also referred to as Philippine Autonomy Act as it provides a fully Filipino legislature, thus putting two of the three branches of government under Filipino hands.

⁶³ Gaimushō Chōsa-bu, 1940, 55-57.

⁶⁴ Philippine Commission of the Census 1941, 393. Italics supplied.

⁶⁵ Philippine Commission of the Census 1941, 465. To the Commission’s defense, it followed the 1935 Constitution

Understanding the racial basis of “Filipino” and “Japanese” in prewar Davao guides our succeeding discussion on how locals related with each other in the eve of the Pacific War.

3.2. Living the Racial Border: Filipinos, Japanese, and Bagobos

As the Philippines prepared for national independence, Japanese economic presence became an issue. Since the early 1930s, the Bureau of Lands had been pushing for the cancellation of land lease applications that were found connected to the Japanese. In 1935, the Agriculture Secretary finally did so.⁶⁶ Japanese cultivators were told that they will be given due compensation for the improvements they made on the plantations and that they will be repatriated to Japan.⁶⁷ In their general meeting of that year, the Davao Japanese Association (DJA) declared that they will defend “to the last drop of their blood” their rights of the land. Japanese clubs in Manila, Zamboanga, and Sulu, voiced their support.⁶⁸ For Japanese businesses, such Filipino protectionist policy was discriminatory. The “Philippine problem,” as they called it.⁶⁹

As Japan flexed its muscles in Manchuria, Filipino national economic protectionism coupled with the suspicions of a planned military invasion. The 1931 editorial cartoon in the *Philippines Free Press* illustrates the reservations of Filipinos about the presence of Japanese companies given Japan’s expansion to “Formosa, Korea, Shantung, Mandates, [and] Manchuria.”⁷⁰ Philippine government-sponsored resettlement projects to Mindanao formed a “distant crescent... [which] might have served as a buffer to the future expansion” of the Japanese in Davao.⁷¹ For many Filipino settlers in Davao, most of whom arrived in the late 1930s⁷² and had access to Manila-based newspapers such as the *Philippines Free Press*, the proximity of these potential enemy aliens was a cause of worry.

Filipino suspicion against their Japanese neighbors was not entirely unfounded. Outside the schools, war propaganda movies such as *Shina no Yoru* were brought into Davao and shown in plantation warehouses.⁷³ Rumors of military spies in Davao spread not only among Filipinos but also among Japanese locals.⁷⁴ Top-level executives gave the Japanese military information about the Philippines during their visits to Japan.⁷⁵ As Yu-Jose (1992) observes, the diverse views of the Japanese in the Philippines, increasingly united toward the idea of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. While the Japanese in Davao were not tapped in Japanese military war preparations (military spies were few and did not socialize with other Japanese locals),

⁶⁶ Dacudao 2017, 169-170.

⁶⁷ Yu-Jose 1992, 84.

⁶⁸ Yu-Jose 1992, 127.

⁶⁹ Yu-Jose 1992, 126.

⁷⁰ Rivera-Yu 2006, Figure 19.

⁷¹ Of the three planned settlement projects, only the Koronadal Project went beyond paper. See Scaff 1948, 120.

⁷² Simkins and Wernstedt 1971, 54.

⁷³ Chibana (b.1916) 2002.

⁷⁴ Yu-Jose 1996, 73; and Matsuda 2002.

⁷⁵ Yu-Jose 1996, 73-74.

their affinity with Imperial Japan and its Pan-Asian ideology strengthened, consequently highlighting their difference with Filipinos.

The story, however, is more complex than a “Filipinos versus Japanese” conflict. The Davao Land Problem was not just about Japanese acquisition of Filipino lands, it was that they did so through Filipino political leaders and professionals. In a Philippines nearing its national independence, the issue at hand was national unity. In its article “Nganong ang mga Haponanon Nakabaton ug Yuta sa Dabao: Ang Taga-Gobyerno Nakayuta Usab Hangtud ang Ilang Asawa” [Why the Japanese Acquired Land in Davao: Government Officials, Even Their Spouses have Land], Cebu-based newspaper *Bag-ong Kusog* gave a stinging criticism of Filipino public officials. After narrating the plight of a poor Filipino migrant in Davao, the article listed the names of officials, including their wives, classified per government agency and the number of hectares under their names.⁷⁶ Davao provincial governors Sebastian Generoso (1925-1928 and 1935-1936), Juan Sarenas (1931-1935) and Romualdo Quimpo (1937-1940) were all accused of amassing lands for the Japanese.⁷⁷

Furthermore, indigenous Bagobos accused Filipinos and Japanese settlers of cavorting with each other against them. As one investigation team from Manila reported, “The Bagobos... expressed their grievances...against the Constabulary for their siding with the [Japanese] claimants and ‘Grabbers’ of their lands, and against the employees and officials of the Bureau of Lands...”⁷⁸ The use of the Philippine armed forces to keep the Bagobos in check seems to hold water. In November 1941, when the joint US-Philippine military was rushing to militarize Filipinos in preparation for the impending US-Japan war, *Dabao Nichi Nichi* reported with anticipation the planned installation of a Philippine squadron in Malagos in southern part of Davao City. “It is desirable to have soldiers in Malagos as it is at the heart of the abaca production and also has prowling savage tribes. The realization of this plan will bring complete security to the region.”⁷⁹

When Agriculture Secretary Eulogio Rodriguez cancelled all public land claims involving the Japanese, 365 Bagobos protested. Their leader, Andres Awe, bemoaned in the *Monday Mail*:

You will note that when the Japanese tried to invade our territory, we resisted. But the provincial officials intervened in behalf of the Japanese ... We are an obedient people, so we acquiesced. We are not so civilized as you Christians, we believed that any advice given us were good. So we entered into an agreement with the Japanese, leasing some three hectares and in some cases, ten hectares of property... Now they cancel our applications. We must confess now that we had committed errors in good faith. For this we are asking for

⁷⁶ *Bag-ong Kusog*, October 24, 1930, in Abinales, “Davao 1930s.”

⁷⁷ Abinales 2004, 88; Corcino 1998, 137.

⁷⁸ “Report of the Special Committee on the Land Grants in Mindanao” in Abinales “Davao 1930s.”

⁷⁹ “Maragosu ni Rentai Secchi,” *Firipin Jōhō*, November 1941, 104.

reconsideration. We can't see why the government would not grant our petition; the government itself has leased large tracts of lands to the Japanese.⁸⁰

Important things to note from Awe's statement: First, the protesting Bagobos distinguished themselves from the Filipinos settlers, they labeled as "Christians." In doing so, they acknowledged the racial classification set by the American officials of the BNCT and by the Manila-based Philippine Supreme Court. Moreover, the protesting Bagobos use the prevailing discriminatory language that deem them "not so civilized." Finally, while they used the language of the State, they did so to push for their own agenda. Apparently, the Bagobos, though minoritized, maintained their own agency. They echoed the discrimination against them so as to participate in the diplomatic and economic games played in Davao City and in Manila.⁸¹

Prewar Davao was thus bordered and socially divided. Although the racial border drawn by the State was arbitrary and contested, it was lived by the locals. Three social groups were recognizable: the Filipinos, the Japanese, and the Bagobo [Filipinos?]. However, a point to remember is that belonging to a group is based on race and that race is relative. Trying to use race to delineate objective and static groupings spirals into never-ending contradictions and contestations—as were suffered by the academics in the BNCT, justices of the Philippine Supreme Court, and enumerators of the Commission of the Census. Rather than drawing three circles and labeling them "Filipinos," "Japanese," and "Bagobos," it seems more accurate to identify poles which people can float toward or away from, depending on the context. These poles were: "Filipinos against the Japanese menace," "Japanese against the Filipino problem," "Bagobos against Filipino-and-Japanese land grabbers," and "Filipino-and-Japanese against the savage Bagobos."

3.3. Crossing the Racial Borders: Mixed Families and Mixed Communities

Relations are not always antagonistic. Amidst clashing ideologies brought about by the parallel Philippine nation-state-building and Japanese national-imperial expansion, cross-national solidarities existed. Contrary to Filipino accusations in the Davao Land Problem, Filipino-Japanese business partnerships were not at all insidious to many Filipinos involved. Hayase noted that Filipinos could not "rise to positions of real prominence."⁸² Be that as it may, Filipinos in these companies did not always harbor ill-feeling against their Japanese business partners because of it.

The Ohta Development Company, in particular, was seen in good light. Years after his death in 1917, the company's founder Kyōzaburō Ohta was remembered kindly by Filipinos. "A Filipino old-timer," writes Cecil Cody, "recalls having seen him stripped to the waist,

⁸⁰ *Monday Mail* (Oct 14, 1935) in Abinales, "Davao 1930s."

⁸¹ This is not an isolated case. A similar appeal by Amparo Duyan was printed by *PPF* on August 6, 1932.

⁸² Hayase 1984, 217.

struggling together with a group of laborers to set piles for a dock at Talomo Beach to replace one torn out by a typhoon.”⁸³ The company hospital in Mintal provided health services not only to Japanese but also to Filipino employees. The doctors and nurses were provided with lodging nearby. As the oral histories conducted by Ayson and Campado describe, “The hospital... in prewar Mintal was an important feature of the place.”⁸⁴

The ties binding Filipino physicians, Japanese pharmacist, Filipino and Japanese nurses and attendants, and their patients went beyond the Company and its hospital. Doctor Santiago Dakudao, for instance, maintained high regard for his colleague, the Japanese pharmacist Shigeida, and his wife.⁸⁵ In turn, the Dakudao family was well-remembered by Japanese locals in the area. As the son of one of their employees recalled decades later, Santiago was “the kind Filipino of the Ohta Development Company Hospital in Mintal who delivered me at birth...”⁸⁶

Cordial relations among workmates extended outside the Ohta Development Company and its hospital. In Tibungko in the other side of Davao City, for example, Helen Saramusing recalls that her father worked for a Japanese repair shop and was adored by the Japanese in the community. “[T]hey were nice to us and they loved us especially my father.... I remember my father had a *compradre* named Simoto (sic)... he was the godfather of my sister.”⁸⁷ Godparents in Philippine communities were conventionally deemed as secondary parents who shared in the task of molding the child; they were part of the extended family. As seen in these anecdotes, cordial relations in the workplace extended to the community; what began as economic transactions and professional interactions evolved into affinities so personal that it ran close to kinship.

As late as 1941, despite the news of Japanese aggression in China and rumors about Japanese militarization in Davao, journalist Florence Horn succinctly painted the atmosphere in Davao City, “The Japanese in Davao lived among Filipinos who are blandly unworried about their presence and who staunchly defend the Japanese in all discussions.”⁸⁸ One can argue that this was the Filipino-and-Japanese collaboration that Bagobos clamored against, but returning to our definition of race as relational, the Bagobos were not in the picture. The point here is that alongside Filipinos who considered the Japanese a threat, there were also Filipinos and Japanese who maintained cordial, even familial ties with each other.

Besides, Bagobos also maintained communal and familial bonds with Japanese. Actual familial ties were limited in number, at least as was recorded by the 1939 census. However, most (or rather, most of the recorded) of these Filipino-Japanese unions were between indigenous peoples and Japanese pioneers who arrived before the abaca industry boom in 1914. As such, these unions were tucked in the highlands of Davao and far from centers of nationalist discourses. Moreover, because highland communities were tightly knitted, these Filipino-

⁸³ Cody 1959, 153.

⁸⁴ Ayson and Campado 2004, 87.

⁸⁵ Dakudao 1994, 68.

⁸⁶ Migitaka 2003.

⁸⁷ Vallejo 2009, 179.

⁸⁸ Horn 1941, 267.

Japanese unions involved not just the basic family unit consisting of the couple and their children, but extended to their local community.

Contrary to Filipino discourses in the Davao Land Problem, the Bagobos did not seem to be exploited. Modesto Farolan, journalist of the *Herald* who had visited Davao ventured to argue that motivation for these cross-national unions might not have been merely for land acquisition. “Was it unnatural then that love developed between Japanese and Bagobos,” he asked rhetorically:

I had the pleasure, during my stay in Davao, of visiting at the home of a Japanese-Filipino Bagobo family in the district of Guianga.... The couple were most hospitable and to all appearance happy. Their mestizo children seemed to me a fine type of kids, healthy and bright. Their home is in the midst of wholesome surroundings, plantations of abaca, an orchard where a large variety of Philippine fruits may be had at all times of the year, and a garden which is itself beautifully symbolic of the nature of the union of its owners.⁸⁹

Modesto Farolan was a well-known supporter of the Japanese in Davao during the media battles concerning the Davao Land Problem. It is difficult to ascertain whether his view of the Filipino-Japanese family he visited was influenced by his professional stance or his stance was influenced by what he saw on the ground. Returning to Lola Aiko, however, we see Farolan’s depiction supported. Of course, Lola Aiko’s tale is an oral history and should be taken with a grain of salt when trying to reconstruct the past, even though her story corroborates with many others.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, from what we can know, it seems that Farolan’s depiction of harmonious Filipino-Japanese families and highland communities holds water. This is not to say that the Bagobos, as a people, were pro-Japanese. Rather, alongside Bagobos who deemed Japanese and Filipinos as a threat, there were Bagobos who maintained familial and communal ties with Japanese locals.

4. Geographies of Davao

This chapter serves to set the stage of the Davao Settler Zone where our story unfolds. Before ending it, this last section provides a bird’s eye view it in the eve of the Pacific War. It aims to sketch the landscapes and introduce what might be strange-sounding place names to non-Davaweño readers so that they can locate our narratives in the succeeding two chapters.

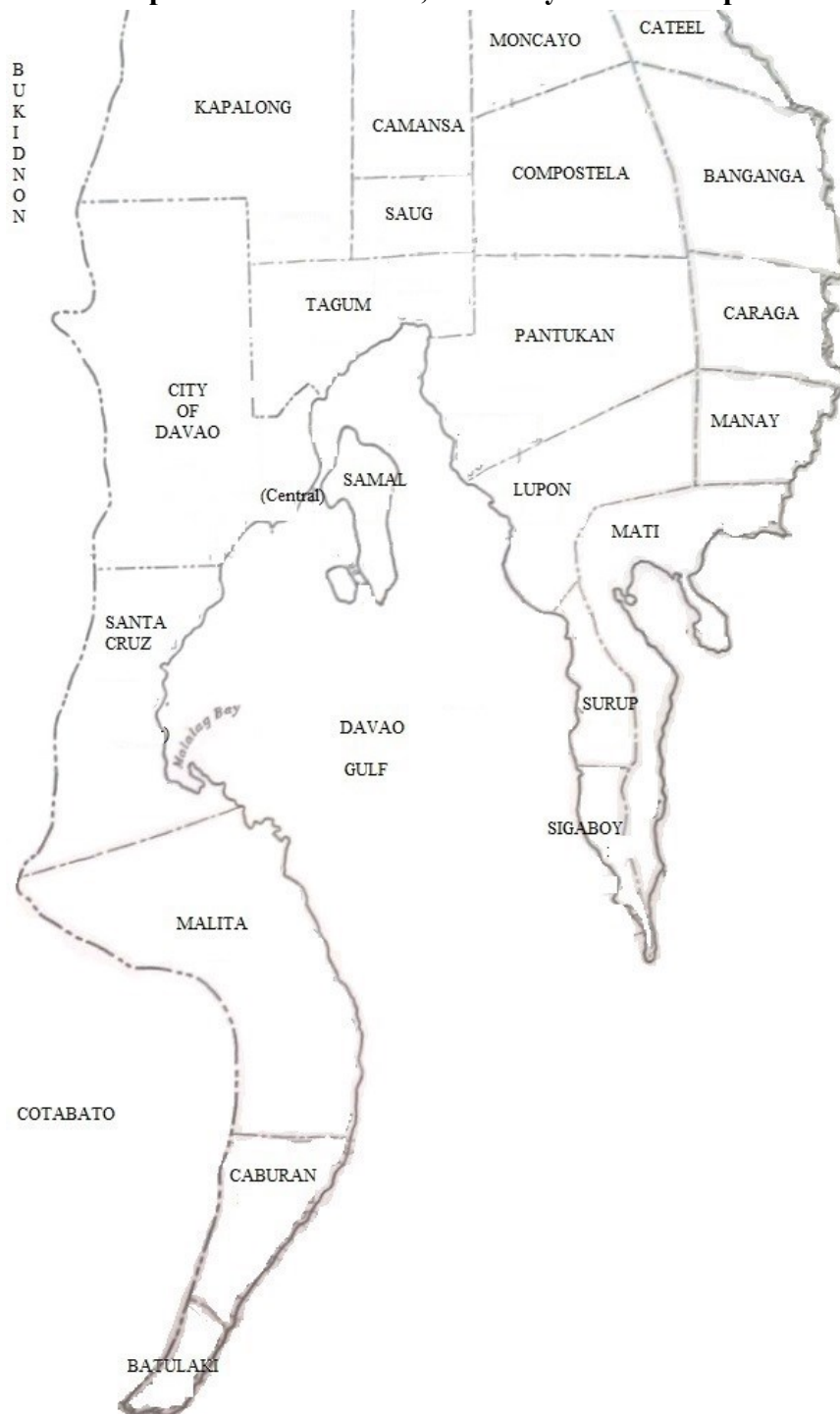
By the 1939 census, the region around Davao Gulf had become a province. Administratively, it had 20 municipalities and one city, each of which were further divided into barrios [villages]. Municipalities and the city were politically centered on a “poblacion” or

⁸⁹ Farolan 1935, 9-10.

⁹⁰ Ethnohistorian Heidi Gloria for example writes that one Bagobo recalled, “Bagobos who married Japanese were ‘big shots’ in Santa Cruz [municipality]. They had the biggest houses in town” (1987, 94).

“Central.” Traditionally, the poblacion had the municipal hall and the public market, and was the most populous among all the barrios. However, as can be gleaned in the 1939 census, some municipalities had other emerging barrios. This was especially so in municipalities which received numerous settlers. Notably, Santa Cruz Central had a population of only 1,841, far smaller than the barrios of Digos (11,495) and Padada (7,587) in the same municipality.⁹¹

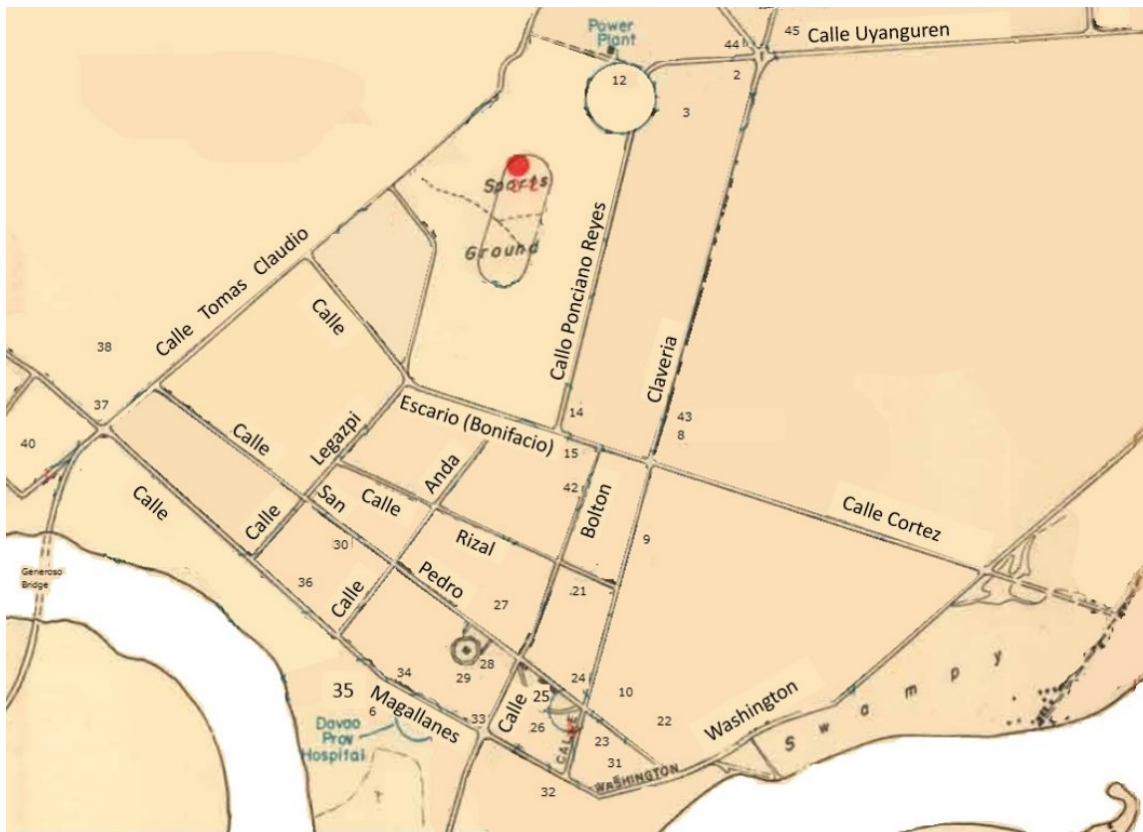
Figure 3-3. Map of Davao Province, with City and Municipalities⁹²



⁹¹ Commission of the Census 1940, Davao, pp. 3-4.

⁹² Commission of the Census 1940, 2.

Figure 3-4. Map of Davao City Central, Excluding Santa Ana and Agdao⁹³



The province's lone city, the Chartered City of Davao, lay in the north western coast of the Gulf. It used to be two separate entities: the municipalities of Guianga and of Davao.⁹⁴ After the merger in 1937, the new Davao City had 19 barrios. Its poblacion, Davao City Central, had the city hall, the provincial hall, the military barracks, the church, the public market, and the Santa Ana Wharf. Although Davao City was cumulatively denser than the rest of the province, it also had vast plantations sparsely dotted by houses and workers' quarters as well as difficult-to-reach highland villages especially up the slopes of Mounts Apo. In its coast closest to Samal Island, in a place called Tibungko, was a lumber yard and a shipyard.

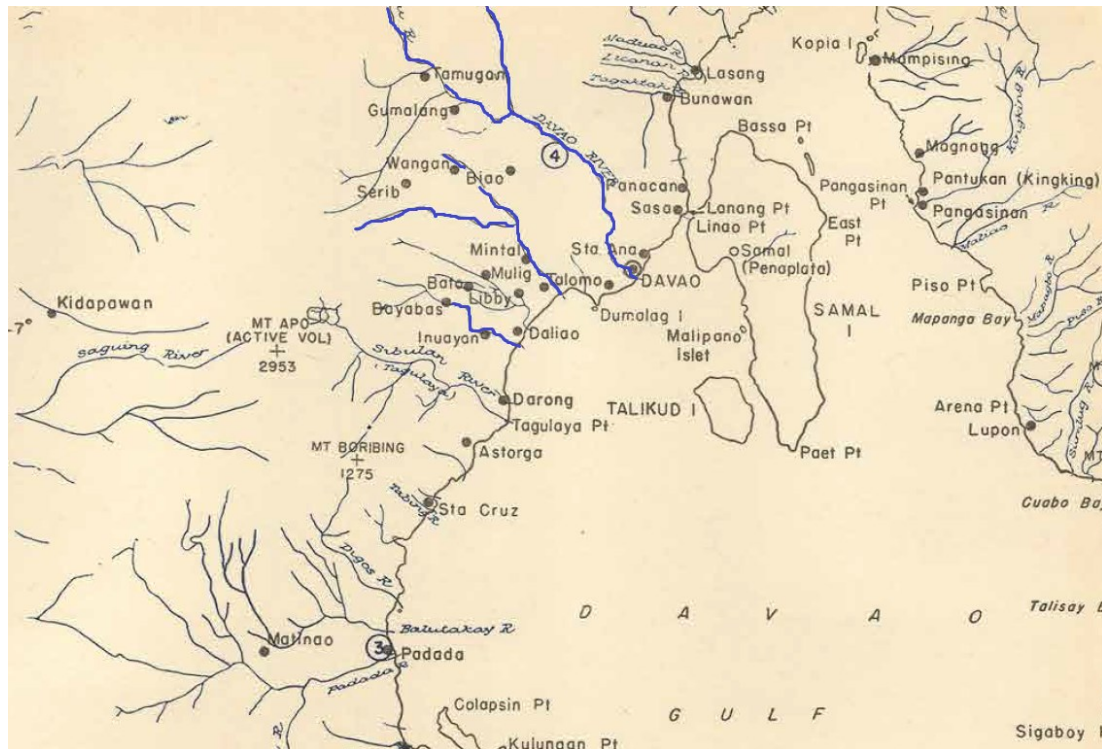
In several mouths of rivers and in the junctions of major roads emerged towns (or pueblos). Davao City Central, being at the mouth of Davao River, was the province's largest town. Besides being the political, religious, and military center of the province, it also had Davao Central Elementary School and Davao Central High School, as well as the Japanese

⁹³ AGS 1944, Insert Map 23. Buildings and markings for areas occupied by the Japanese forces were erased to highlight prewar Davao, the names of which were retained. Legend: 2. Long Distance Tele. Co.; 3. Public Markets; 6. "Ideal" Cinema; 8. Spanish Club; 9. Post Office; 10. Awad Building; 12. Davao Light and Power Co.; 14. Japanese Consulate; 15. DJA; 21. Large single storey residential; 22. Constabulary Barracks; 23. Filipino Club; 24. St. Peters R.C. schools and church; 25. Osmena Gardens; 26. Provincial Buildings; 27. Methodist Mission Church; 28. Quezon Gardens; 29. Municipal Buildings; Police Dept.; 30. Liberty Theater; 31. Provincial Governor's Residence; 32. Davao High School; 33. Helens Hotel; 34. Methodist Missionary Residence; 35. American Mission Hospital; 36. Santo's Pharmacy; 37. Texas Oil Coy Service Station; 38. Gallera; 40. Davao Auto-bus Company; 42. Japanese School; 43. Molina's Socony Service Station; 44. Standard Oil Co. Service Station; 45. Service Station Shell.

⁹⁴ Commission of the Census 1940, Davao, pp. 3-4.

consulate and DJA Main Office. The Osaka Bazaar, which had branches in other major towns, had a large store in the City Central. Besides the Japanese and Filipino establishments, there were also the Chinese Elementary School, Syrian and Bombay bazaars, the Mission Hospital, and the American-owned Davao Light and Power Company. Toward the north was the Santa Ana Wharf, with its large warehouses and the nearby residential area of Agdao. Further north, away from the bustle, was the Sasa Airfield.⁹⁵

Figure 3-5. Map of the Northwestern Coast of Davao Gulf, Highlighting Davao River, Talomo River, and Sirawan River⁹⁶



South of the City Central, at the mouth of Talomo River was the town of Talomo. Around the town and following the riverbank were plantations leading up to the town of Mintal. Mintal was the seat of the Ohta Development Company and thus landmarks included the Mintal Japanese Elementary School and the Ohta Development Company's Mintal Hospital. The former had a vast school ground punctured by a towering obelisk in memory of the pioneering spirit of Kyōzaburō Ohta. The latter provided free medical services and medicines to company workers, Filipinos and Japanese alike.⁹⁷ Around Mintal and stretching to Guianga and Tugbok were plantations, such as the Filipino-owned Dakudao, Lacson, and Ventura Plantations.⁹⁸

Further south, at the mouth of Sirawan River in the municipality of Dalião, lay the headquarters of the Furukawa Plantation Company, the largest and wealthiest corporation in the province. Dalião had its own wharf. Its map was marked by a grid of roads which made

⁹⁵ AGS 1944, Map 23.

⁹⁶ AGS 1944, Insert Map 20. The three rivers were traced to show the highlight.

⁹⁷ Ayson and Campado 2004, 87.

⁹⁸ Dakudao 1994, 65.

transportation easier. Telephone lines connected it to the City Central and then to Manila. It had abaca and rami plantations and large warehouses for the produce. Workers and employees settled around the company installations and were provided with a Japanese elementary school, a recreational field, and the Daliao Furukawa Club. Its commercial district, the town of Toril, was linked to the City Central and to Talomo by a highway.

Skipping back to Talomo River and following it upstream beyond Mintal and all the way close to Mount Apo, we reach the town of Calinan. Most recent of the three, Calinan emerged as a major town after the completion of the Davao-Mintal-Malagos Provincial Road in 1930. What began as one Chinese bazaar and a cockpit in the 1920s, Calinan grew into arguably the busiest commercial district in the area. It came to have two large bazaars, a gas station, and several welding shops—all owned by Japanese locals. It also had a bowling alley and a theater owned by Filipinos, as well as five Filipino practicing physicians and dentists. Japanese and Filipino owners and employees of these establishments, as well as workers in plantations in the vicinity, set up houses in Calinan. Catering to the emerging settled community, a Japanese elementary school was also built. Located at the junction of the Provincial Road and of a road leading up Mount Talomo, Calinan was the crossroad between the plantations and other towns downstream and the highland barrios of Sirib and Wañgan up the mountains.⁹⁹

Lastly, in the eastern side of the Gulf, in the land of indigenous Mansaka and Mandaya, plantations and settlers can also be found spread out in the municipalities of Lupon (centered on Lupon Central) and Pantukan (centered on Kingking).¹⁰⁰ As since pre-American times, it can be reached by boat. As Davao developed into a Philippine-American frontier, a highway going around the gulf and passing through the northern coast and connecting it to the City Central.

5. Summary and Discussion

Unlike many parts of the Philippines, Davao was not colonized by Spain but rather remained a borderland where fluid peoples interacted, traded, warred, and struck alliances. In the early 20th century, the US Army's Moro Province successfully established itself as a hegemon, turning the borderland into a frontier that was to be economically developed and civilized. The US-sponsored Philippine nation-state based in Manila, however, was fast consolidating, toppling the Moro Province, and integrating Davao to the rest of the Philippines. While Davao was being Filipinized, its economic development was led by Japanese companies and by the late 1930s a Japanese community was entrenched in the settler zone. Thus, by the 1930s, one can see two groups interacting in Davao: the Japanese and the Filipinos.

A critical eye on the archival sources and on the conclusions of postwar and present-day historians reveal that the basis of defining these groups and of people's belongings to them was racial and relative. Among Filipinos were the so-called "non-Christian tribes" who might

⁹⁹ "History of Calinan," Philippine-Japanese Historical Museum, Calinan, Davao City.

¹⁰⁰ Commission of the Census 1940, 3-4.

or might not be Filipinos depending on who was doing the perceiving. Likewise, Filipino-Japanese mestizos were forcibly fitted into either the Filipino or the Japanese category based on the race of their fathers and on the legality of their parents' marriage (and perhaps even on the discretion of the nameless census enumerators). These labels did not remain on paper; they were imbibed by the locals and they guided the locals' relations with each other. By the 1930s, one can see social groups based on them: Filipinos, Japanese and Bagobo [Filipinos?].

That being said, the three groups were not static. Race is relative and belongings shift. Within our story, it is more helpful to imagine four poles from which people can move toward or away: "Filipinos against the Japanese menace," "Japanese against protectionist Filipinos," "Bagobos against the Filipino and Japanese land grabbers," and "Filipinos and Japanese against the Bagobo savages." Not all relations were antagonistic. There were also Filipinos who viewed the Japanese as part of the community and even as part of their extended families. Lastly, there were Filipino-Japanese families that were harmonious. Mostly in the highlands, these families extended beyond the basic household unit and encompassed their communities.

Painting prewar Davao as a racially hybrid space sets the premise for the argument made in the next two chapters. The answer to the question "How did belongings of Japanese locals shift in the imperial changes during and immediately after the Pacific War?" is grounded on their position presented in this chapter. They were anomalously classified either as Japanese or as Filipino. They saw Filipinos and were seen by Filipinos as a threat. At the same time, they (and Filipinos) saw the Bagobos and were seen by the Bagobos as a problem. Lastly, they deemed Filipinos and were deemed by Filipinos as family and part of the Davao community.

Chapter 4. Between Two Nations at War

1. Introduction

Kama, a pretty 20-year-old Japanese girl, arrived in Davao in 1933 to meet her husband. At that time, Kama explained decades later to a local history project of her town in Okinawa, parents arranged young ladies' marriages. And so, when an offer came from Kamagoro Yamashiro, a fellow Okinawan who had gone to find his fortunes in Davao, Kama's parents accepted. From her town, Kama journeyed to Naha from where she sailed to Kagoshima. At Kagoshima, she transferred to a train for Nagasaki where she did her papers, photos, and then boarded a ship that took her to Manila then finally to Davao. Once in Davao City, she had to travel across the Gulf to her husband's farm in the eastern coast.

In this place called Tagnanan, many other Okinawan families had already settled. Before hers, the families of Genzō Nakata, Kamayoshirō Ginoza, Kikusaburō Kobayashigawa were also cultivating the prime produce of the province, abaca. There was no misunderstanding among them neighbors, though the next house was indeed quite distant, and they earned enough in the farms to send money to their bank account in Okinawa. Her husband contracted indigenes called Mansaka to work as farmhands. One Mansaka lady, Kama fondly recalled, taught her how to use the sewing machine. As the 1930s plodded on, Kama gave birth to three children. When they were of schooling age, they crossed the Gulf to the city and lived in a dormitory there. Kama lived a good life in Davao. But, as tensions between the US and Japan escalated, she and the other Japanese knew they were in potential enemy territory and families prepared to return to Japan.¹

Such was the Davao Kama knew. It was home to Filipinos and Japanese.² It was a frontier settler zone that was tightly connected to other parts of the Philippines as well as to Japan and the US. Its development was ushered by the production and export of its cash crop, abaca. Even in far-flung farms such as Kama's where settlers mingled with indigenous people, money was remitted to Japan, kids went to school in Davao City, and as the US-Japan war approached, specters of enemies were whispered around.

Within the Davao Settler Zone was a border (albeit not physically delineated) dividing the Japanese from Filipinos and the indigenous peoples, a border which Filipino-Japanese families and communities straddled and crossed. Following the Philippine anti-colonial nationalist movement, Filipinos in Davao were wary of a Japanese invasion. Parallel to this, Japanese locals subscribed to the Japanese national-imperial expansion. These two nationalist movements were bound to clash and Davao locals, Filipino and Japanese alike, were very much

¹ Summarized from Yamashiro 2002, 243-244.

² The commemorative history, enclosed with a collective biography, by Yoshio Tanaka of Dabao-kai is entitled *Ikoku no Furusato Dabao* [Foreign Homeland Davao] (1993). Iijima (2016, 599) teases out Davao Japanese repatriates' notion of "home" (or, furusato or homeland). Particularly the second-generation born in Davao, furusato can mean native land or land where they were born.

aware of it. Meanwhile, cross-national solidarities and collaborative efforts prepared for war, especially for the event of having peoples of the two opposing sides caught in close contact. The Settler Zone was mixed not only in the origins of its locals but also in its locals' view of each other and of the impending war.

How then did Japanese locals such as Kama, her husband, and her children experienced the clash of Japan and the Philippines in Davao? This chapter begins in the eve of the war. It covers the internment of the Japanese locals at the outbreak on December 8, 1941, the hostilities at the Japanese invasion, and the atrocities during the establishment of the Japanese military occupation. Addressing the limited study on the war in Davao, it expounds on the previous assertions that friends turned enemies. The outbreak of the war indeed sparked civilian hostilities, however these were motivated by prewar Filipino-Japanese tensions. Moreover, prewar local cross-national bonds persisted and became a means of survival in the changing regimes. Rather than a drastic shift in local relations, this chapter shows a continuity: Prewar tensions erupted into a series of armed violence; meanwhile prewar bonds endured.

2. Toward the Outbreak (Early 1941 – December 8, 1941)

2.1. Preparations for War

Through large sliding windows of the second floor of their airy, wooden house in downtown City Central, Jose Campo could view the tree-lined Escario Street below.³ Down the road was similar two-story wooden building with a visible “Davao Japanese Association” sign over its wide portico. Jose noted that as the war approached more and more meetings were held in that office.⁴

Figure 4-1. Davao Japanese Association Main Office⁵



³ Yap-Morales (2006) locates the house along “Bonifacio street.” Cf the photo below and AGS 1994 (See Chapter 3), it seems that Escario Street was the former name of present-day Bonifacio Street. It should not be confused with the prewar Bonifacio Avenue.

⁴ Yap-Morales 2006, 52.

⁵ Sasaki, personal copy.

In school Jose and his classmates, a hand-full of whom had Japanese parents, followed news on the Sino-Japanese War and the worsening US-Japan relations. Jose's father, Anastacio Campo, had been recalled to active service as part of the Philippines' late and desperate preparations for the impending war with Japan. Following General Douglas MacArthur's plan to train Filipinos en masse to defend the Philippine beaches, a military training center was established in the City Central. Belonging to the 10th military district of the Visayas-Mindanao Force of the US Army Forces in the Far East (USAFFE), the center accepted Filipino trainees for a ten-week course. Their induction was attended by church leaders and local officials and "[e]very effort was made to make the people realize that it was their army being called into service."⁶ The war was fast approaching Davao.

The officials of the Davao Japanese Association (DJA) whom Jose saw frequenting their head office, as well as the other executives of the Japanese companies that dominated Davao businesses, did not seem to mind the increased military presence in the city. True, the current city mayor Pantaleon Pelayo had spoken passionately against them in the Philippine Constitutional Convention a few years back, but they were in good terms with the very popular Philippine President, Manuel Quezon, who was friends with MacArthur himself.⁷ The president of the two largest Japanese companies in Davao, Yoshizō Furukawa and Yasaku Morokuma, as well as the Japanese consul of Davao, Jitaro Kihara, had access to Malacañang Palace.⁸ In fact, as the monthly *Firipin Jōhō* (which many of them must have read) expressed in its November 1941 issue, the plan to install a squadron in the Malagos Barracks "will bring complete security in the region." Three battalions each consisting of three companies were rumored ("from a reliable source") to be stationed in Malagos. As the magazine explained, "The Malagos area is at the heart of the abaca production industry and also has prowling savage tribes. It is thus *desirable* to have soldiers in the area."⁹

The Japanese of Davao also kept abreast with Philippine preparations for war. Following the establishment of the Civilian Emergency Administration (CEA) in Manila last April, a CEA committee in Davao was also formed. It was composed of the city mayor, the city finance department, city public persecutor, city civil engineering department, school inspector, head of police, and head of the city fire department.¹⁰ As in Manila, the committee's task was to stock up emergency supplies, assign evacuation sites, and drill the civilians in case of war.¹¹ The DJA was preparing the same. Those whom Jose saw frequenting their Head Office must have been doing so to draft "a detailed self-defense plan in the event of an emergency."¹² Its district chapters all over the province, even as far as Wañgan on the slopes

⁶ Ancheta 1982, 8.

⁷ For a thorough description of the "good and were in fact getting better" relations between Japan and the Philippines, see Goodman (1967).

⁸ Furukawa 1956, 563.

⁹ "Maragosu ni Rentai Secchi," *Firipin Jōhō* 53, November 1941, 104, emphasis not in the original. Malagos is near Calinan.

¹⁰ In the original, it is called ダバオ非常時対策委員会. I equated it with Davao's provincial emergency committee of the CEA after cross-referencing to Article 2 of Executive Order No. 335, s. 1941 which lists the same official positions as members of the committee).

¹¹ "Dabao Hijōji Taisaku Iinkai," *Firipin Jōhō* 49, July 1941, 72-73.

¹² Mori 1993, 244.

of Mount Apo, had assigned as evacuation sites the various Japanese elementary schools and other establishment large enough to hold people. At least some of these were stocked with food. In Santa Cruz municipality in the south of the city, preparations seem to have been known to the local Philippine public officials.

Frontier and geographically peripheral Davao might have been, its locals were aware of the approaching war. Top Japanese officials and company executives prepared in sync with those of the Philippine governments in Manila and in Davao. In the barrios, there were patches of collaborative efforts between Filipino officials and Japanese association chapter presidents.

2.2. Surrounded by Potential Enemies

Although USAFFE's 10th military district might not have alarmed them, that they were in potential enemy territory was not lost to the Japanese locals. While the DJA and local Philippine public officials prepared for war, an exodus ensued. Japanese, even in far flung villages, worried about becoming enemy aliens. "The talk that Japan and America will go to war made people anxious, and so whole families returned to Okinawa," recalled Kama.¹³ Sons were sent back to Japan in fear that they be targets if war was to break out. Kamado Nakama, for example, sent her two oldest sons and a grandmother home.¹⁴ On September 5, reported *Firipin Jōhō*, a vessel already packed with Japanese repatriates from Australia was docked in Davao. At least 205 women and children, males with illness, and others with special conditions were given special boarding passes.¹⁵

The suspicion was mutual. Filipinos followed the news of Japan's territorial expansion, of its exit from the League of Nations, and of its ongoing hostilities in China. For Filipino nationalists whose country had been struggling against colonialism for half a century, the prospect of another imperial incursion was grim indeed. Given the Japanese's loud presence in Davao, it was perhaps not surprising that the province would be painted as the next entry in the Japanese empire's checklist. In Davao, rumors flew about—rumors which the Japanese faction in Manila deemed hysterical and fanciful. As early as 1935, journalist Modesto Farolan commented:

In Davao as even in Manila, one hears of Davao Japanese plots, of hidden arsenals, of landing fields, of night drills. The Constabulary of Davao... know how absurd such rumors are. They remind of an old lantaka... which was responsible for so many rumors about Japanese military plans. When the harmless lantaka ... was discovered it caused such terrific commotion because

¹³ Yamashiro 2002, 245.

¹⁴ Kamado Nakama 2002, 252.

¹⁵ "Dabao Fujoshi no Hikiage," *Firipin Jōhō* 52, October 1941, 74.

it was reported as one of an entire arsenal of Japanese heavy field ammunition hidden or buried in some dark spot in the mountain.¹⁶

In 1941, Florence Horn an American journalist visiting Davao found similar rumors:

When [Yoshizō Furukawa] imports an auto crane the rumor flies that the Japanese are bringing in armored tanks into Davao... people say there is ammunition stored in his warehouses, or that the recreation field he has built for employees is so located and designed that it would be an excellent landing-field for Japanese war planes...¹⁷

Mutual suspicion existed between Filipinos and Japanese in the Davao Settler Zone. For Filipinos, it was a generalized vision of “the Japanese,” the specter of invading Japanese army, and the lurking Japanese spies. For Japanese, it was the threat of being caught in a US territory which had displayed anti-Japanese tendencies. Whom exactly in their community they suspected was not clear—or at least there was no consensus, no singular, solid image of the enemy. Before the war, the enemy was but a specter.

2.3. At the Attack on Davao

Captain Taemichi Hara stood at the helm of his destroyer, baffled at what was “a most peculiar operation.” On the way from Palau, he had been pouring over maps of Davao to prepare for their attack. It was known to them in the Japanese navy that the Philippines had “a key American naval base” and that there was an American force in Davao. Yet, even as the 20 light bombers and fighters launched from the carrier *Ryūjō*, attacked the Sasa Airfield area, and circled Davao for more than two hours, “Not a single plane arose from the Davao airfield, or from any other base.” At 9:30 am, nineteen planes returned; one “had to be ditched because of engine trouble,” its “crew was rescued by the [accompanying] destroyer *Kuroshio*.”¹⁸

On the ground, Davao residents were just starting their day. “We were awakened from our sleep by the heavy drones of devastating planes in the early morning,” plantation owner Santiago Dakudao wrote. “It was remarkable, I thought to myself, that the Americans were out on target practice this early.” In the farm where he was supposed to weed that morning, Matsuda, an Okinawan who had been doing odd day jobs for various farm owners along Talomo River, could hear other Japanese laborers talking and speculated the same: the Americans were having their drills again.¹⁹ In Agdao, the residential area near Santa Ana Wharf in the City Central, residents’ reaction was less lethargic. “We were having breakfast at home when the planes came,” Cris Kabasares described. “Our neighbors poured into the open

¹⁶ Lantaka, loosely translated, is a traditional cannon. Farolan 1935, 36.

¹⁷ Horn 1941, 275.

¹⁸ Hara 1961, Part II.

¹⁹ Matsuda 2002.

then screamed, ‘Ayroplano sa Hapon.’” Still, as the “bombing did not last long,” his mother sent them to school and “so did most of the other parents in the neighborhood.”²⁰

The DJA, having been on tenterhooks for months, acted fast that morning. Codebooks and decode lists containing sensitive data were incinerated. Imperial Rescripts and national flags displayed in Japanese elementary schools and agricultural centers as well as in the Mintal Women’s College were taken down and transferred to the military barracks. Lastly, the officials at the Main Office visited “the heads of the military police, the city mayor, and the officer-in-charge in the provincial hall (as Governor Quimpo was on a business trip) to request for an assurance that they will do their utmost best to protect the lives of the nationals;” and instructed every DJA chapter to do likewise.²¹

It took a while for the outbreak of the war to sink in among the general populace, but when it finally did, Filipinos’ long-held suspicions against the Japanese erupted into open hostility. In Davao Central High School where a hand-full of Japanese and Filipino-Japanese students were studying, a riot broke out after it was announced that Japan had gone to war with the US. One of its Japanese students, Hiroyuki Mizuguchi luckily woke up late that morning, decided to skip the Monday school assembly, and was spared the mob. From the attic where he hid, he saw Japanese locals being rounded up in the streets by Filipinos. Later, his friends from school and baseball team, donned in their ROTC uniforms, came to pick him up. They surrounded him, apparently for his protection, as they escorted him to the tennis court outside the constabulary barracks where Japanese locals were already gathered.²²

Outside the City Central, DJA chapters and plantation company employees gathered to find safety in numbers. A number of those in Daliao were able to prepare their essentials and assemble in locations previously assigned by the Daliao Chapter.²³ Likewise, Moto Yonamine, an Okinawan farmer in Tagnanan, recalled that their local association convened that morning. “We are now in an enemy country,” she recalled their leader announcing.²⁴ He told them to wait for his instructions and the women and children were encamped in the Pindasan Plantation Company manager’s mansion. Employees and laborers of the Dakudao, Lacson, and Ventura Plantations “congregated in one place for security purposes... [and waited for] the authorities to gather them.” Dakudao recorded that he was able to give “word to our Japanese workers that they are free to deposit their possessions to the custody of the plantation for safekeeping.”²⁵ In some areas, such as Digos and Malalag in the south of the city, it was the Filipino local officials that informed the Digos Chapter office that war had broken out and they should call their members to evacuate to the pre-assigned well-supplied Japanese elementary school.

²⁰ Kabesares, December 13, 2013.

²¹ Mori 1993, 244.

²² Summarized from Mizuguchi 2010, 3-4 and 7-8

²³ Tsutaya 1993, 277.

²⁴ Yonamine 2002, 225.

²⁵ Dakudao 1994, 68.

Meanwhile, the Philippine Constabulary, numbering barely 200,²⁶ were instructed with the herculean task of gathering nearly 18,000 Japanese nationals. Rumors of a Japanese uprising already raged around the city. If the constabulary failed to separate the Japanese from the Filipinos at once, a civil war might ensue. With the help of the ROTC and other civilian volunteers, the constabulary apprehended the Japanese nationals they encountered. Thus, while some in Daliao went to their pre-assigned evacuation sites, many were also apprehended by the unknowing Philippine Constabulary “on the spot and were interned with only the clothes they wore.”²⁷ Matsuda, the Okinawan youth who had gone to weed the Filipino farm early that morning, was told to go home. Upon reaching his neighborhood in Riverside (upstream of Talomo River), he was again dispatched to the markets of Calinan to buy emergency food. Walking toward an Ohta store, with a hundred pesos in hand, Matsuda was approached by Philippine soldiers and then was led to the nearby Malagos Barracks—quite different from the pre-assigned evacuation site, the Calinan Japanese Elementary School.

Despite prewar preparations, the rounding up of Japanese residents was generally haphazard. DJA chapter offices sought to assemble its members to its preassigned evacuation sites. Meanwhile the Philippine Constabulary, together with the ROTC and other volunteers, fanned out and apprehended all Japanese they encountered. Other Japanese locals who were not reached by the DJA or by the constabulary gathered by themselves, finding safety in numbers as they waited for whatever authority to intern them.

3. Internment and Liberation (December 8-20, 1941)

3.1. From Evacuation Sites to Concentration Camps

The Philippine Constabulary, led by Major Firriol and then later by Colonel Rogers Hillsman,²⁸ attempted to put order into the internment. Faced with a limited force to guard the camps, they increasingly concentrated the Japanese internees into fewer and fewer camps. Aware that Japanese men would try to get in contact with the approaching Japanese troops and plausibly join in the fight against them, the combined military-constabulary-volunteers transferred the Japanese males to the City Central. Concentrated, they could be better guarded. The recently appointed Consul Mori, anticipating that the camps in the City Central could not hold the roughly 11,500 male internees, repeatedly requested that they be transferred to Daliao where their shelters were assured of resources. This was rejected. “Apparently, they suspected that we wanted to move to Daliao because that is where the Imperial Military was to land,” Mori wrote.²⁹

²⁶ Hartendorp 1967 Volume 1, 282.

²⁷ Tsutaya 1993, 277.

²⁸ Hartendorp 1967 Volume 1, 282.

²⁹ Mori 1993, 247. The USAFFE was partly correct. One detachment did land in Daliao-Talomo, however internees there did not aid the invasion.

As the men were moved to the City Central and larger camps in Calinan, Daliao, and Mintal were freed up, women from outlying areas were poured in and the camps they left were closed. Women from Wañgan were sent to Calinan Japanese Elementary School. In Catigan, the first batch that left was transferred to Daliao; the second batch two to four days later were taken to Davao Central Elementary School and to Santa Ana Elementary School. Those from Manambulan were similarly distributed to Daliao, Mintal, and the City Central. Japanese from Lasang and Digos—both of which were distant from Mintal and Daliao—were transferred to the City Central. In Mintal, four of the initial seven camps were closed, leaving only the Mintal Hospital, Mintal Women’s College, and Mintal Japanese Elementary School.

Figure 4-2. List of Internment Camps and Estimated Number of Internees³⁰

<u>Within the City Central</u>	
Davao Elementary School	4,200 (males and females)
Davao Central High School	2,000 (males) ³¹
Bangkerohan Cockpit	300 (males)
Japanese Elementary School	2,400 (females)
Santa Ana Elementary School	1,200 (females)
Chinese Elementary School	1,000 (females)
TOTAL	11,100
<u>Outside the City Central</u>	
Davao Penal Colony	1,200 (males and females)
Daliao Japanese Elementary School, Daliao Furukawa Club	1,000 (male and females)
Mintal Japanese Elementary School, Mintal Hospital, and Mintal Women College	980 (females)
Calinan Japanese Elementary School	2,800 (females)
Pindasan (within Pantukan municipality)	250 (females)
Pangasinan (within Pantukan municipality)	250 (females)
Lupon (added by author)	29 (nd)
Others outside Davao City, within Davao Province	50 (nd)

Having prepared for war beforehand, Japanese and Filipino village-level officials collaborated to resist the mass transfers of their Japanese evacuees out of their jurisdiction. In Digos, for example, Japanese local leaders and Malalag barrio officials received an order to take all internees to the City Central. Both agreed to ignore the command. Higher ranking officials arrived the next morning and demanded the same. By late evening, the Digos camp was mostly vacated. Resist, negotiate, and bribe as they might, with the in-pouring of more constabulary and military troops, Japanese locals were transferred and concentrated as ordered.

³⁰ Mori 1993, 245.

³¹ Mori recorded “2,000 women.” However, looking at other sources, Davao Central High School was occupied by men, not women. Moreover, summing up the number of internees based on Mori’s records suggests a larger number of women in the Central and in the Province. This no other evidence can support. More likely, Mori made a mistake in this particular instance

In Calinan, the DJA Calinan Chapter President met with local Philippine officials and secured a compromise that the internees will be kept within the area. Despite this agreement, internees were hauled from one camp to another, the males ending up in the City Central. The Okinawan youth Matsuda, who was confined in the Malagos Barracks, was later moved to the Calinan Elementary School. For a few hours, he and other Japanese men were crammed into the already packed school. By nightfall, they were again herded on a truck and driven to Davao Central High School several kilometers away. The following day, December 9, more trucks wheeled into Calinan and took away more men. Under threat that the women too were to be transferred to some place unknown, the exhausted Calinan Chapter President again negotiated with the military and the women were allowed to remain. By the 13th only women and small children remained in Calinan.

In Wañgan, upstream of Talomo River and already in the slopes of the mountain ranges, Philippine authorities arrived with instructions to move the Japanese locals to the Malagos Barracks downhill. Lieutenant Villares, the commander of the constabulary station near Ventura Plantation, overruled the order. As a military man, Villares, was bent to “give hell to the inhuman Japanese invaders,”³² but he was in good terms with the locals in the Mintal-Calinan area, many of whom were in one way or another affiliated to the Ohta Development Company. Villares allowed the Japanese locals to stay in their community.³³

With this permission, the DJA Wañgan Chapter sent word to its members in outlying areas that they were to gather in their local school. Up the mountain and across rugged terrain, Japanese from Tomayon, Upper Tomayon, and Sirib trickled in and by the following evening the internees numbered a thousand. Wañgan Chapter members stranded in Calinan downhill were exchanged for Calinan Chapter members staying at Wañgan. However, the following day, a patrol from Toril arrived and demanded that the Japanese chapter officials managing the assembly of internees also be interned. They evaded through bribery. On the 11th, more Philippine soldiers came and the transfer of internees out of Wañgan began. As some roads going up to Wañgan became unpassable after a rain, it was not until the 19th—a day before the Japanese military invaded Davao—that the transfers were completed.³⁴

3.2. Managing the Concentration Camps

In contrast to the well-stocked pre-assigned camps in outlying areas, those in the City Central seemed to have been identified and set up on the spot. They were makeshift and ill-prepared. Initially, Japanese residents were gathered in the tennis court adjacent to the constabulary barracks. Later, they were transferred to the nearby Davao Central Elementary School where, for a time, they stayed at the schoolyard. An internee from Catigan recalled, “We were exposed under the bare sky throughout the day and night for the first two or three

³² Dakudao 1994, 72.

³³ Furushō 1993, 289.

³⁴ Summarized from Furushō 1993, 289-291.

days.”³⁵ What was more infuriating was that, as the City Central Chapter President Totoki Omi angrily reported to the Japanese military a few days later, there were *three* school buildings but the Philippine authorities showed no intention of using it. At the high school, Matsuda had to share a plate with fourteen others. “Because there was very little rice,” he recalled, “we could not even use a spoon. Instead, we ate by picking [the grains] with three fingers.”³⁶ Similar stories came from the Santa Ana Elementary School.

To alleviate conditions in the hastily set up camps, Filipino and Japanese officials and ordinary residents sent aid. “On the 9th,” Consul Mori reported, “I visited the American Commander Hillsman and inspected the Japanese nationals’ camp. We gave the American government unlimited funds and they said that they will do everything in their means to improve the situation.”³⁷ The Dairiki Company also started conducting emergency feeding operations on the 9th, though it was able to provide but little. Later, the Osaka Bazaar assisted in food rationing. Some internees volunteered to help in food preparation and were taken to its store along San Pedro Avenue.

Figure 4-3. Davao Central Elementary School³⁸



Friends and families also came by to bring food, though these seems few. Food supply seems mostly obtained through black market. Food, bread, even liquor were snuck into the camps and (presumably because of the danger involved in smuggling them in) were sold at exorbitant price.³⁹ As for shelter, the school buildings were eventually unlocked and internees were allowed inside. With the school’s carpentry tools they borrowed from Filipino teachers,⁴⁰ internees collected plywood and galvanized iron in the grounds and constructed huts and toilets.

³⁵ Tsukasa Fujii 1993, 288

³⁶ Matsuda 2002.

³⁷ Mori 1993, 246

³⁸ Courtesy of Davao of the Past.

³⁹ Kiichi Fujii 1993, 273; Mizuguchi 2010, 19; Chibana (b. 1907) 2002.

⁴⁰ Mizuguchi 2010, 15.

By December 15, the fact that Davao Central Elementary School was full to bursting could no longer be ignored. Hence, a few hundred men were (yet again) moved to the High School and to the Bangkerohan Cockpit, and more than a thousand were sent to Davao Penal Colony in the north. During the transfer, one truck, speeding at an earsplitting 100 kilometer per hour—with neither seatbelt nor roof—overturned. One woman died instantly, others were returned to the City Central to receive first aid. Around this time, another truck, one bearing influential Japanese officials, arrived safely in the Penal Colony. Contacted and informed about the incident, the Japanese officials negotiated with the Philippine authorities and after hours of prodding, seven injured internees were hospitalized.

Security was provisional, which perhaps contributed to the severity of the guards. Guarding the entire vast open field and three buildings were only four machine guns, boosted by a fence of barbwire and thinly armed soldiers, constabulary, and volunteers. To supplement their arms and to prevent unwanted hostilities inside, the guards confiscated pistols, knives, and shaves from arriving internees. Movement was restricted. Going to the toilet, for example, was done in groups of ten to fifteen, under guard. “We had to hold it in and so many got sick.”⁴¹ Once, a Filipino guard was cleaning his rifle and by accident sent it off. One internee was hit by the stray bullet and died. When Japanese planes suddenly soared above the Elementary School on December 15, the guards panicked and open fired, killing two internees.⁴²

Conditions in Calinan and Mintal were no different. Many slept in the schoolyard, under open air and guarded by menacing-looking sentinels.⁴³ The order to separate the men from the women and children also had grave consequences. Japanese locals from other parts of the city sent to the City Central were plagued by worry for the women and children left behind. Chibana, a farmer in Talomo interned in Davao Central Elementary School, for example, left his wife and children in Mintal Hospital.⁴⁴ He had cause for worry. Fely Campo, a nurse there, heard talks of guards abusing the Japanese attendants. Fely and the other Filipino personnel left the hospital every day after 5:00 pm, leaving the Japanese attendants with other Japanese internees and their Filipino guards. “One day, the female Japanese attendants were crying,” Fely recalled in her family history. “They said the guards had raped them.”⁴⁵

Following the haphazard rounding up of Japanese locals was their ill-planned and ill-advised concentration. Not only were these camps insufficient to house hundreds of civilians, provisional security made the ordeal arduous for both the guarded and their guards. Efforts to alleviate the situation succeeded through prewar connections between Filipinos and Japanese.

⁴¹ Chibana (b. 1907) 2002.

⁴² Mori 1993, 249. Cf, Hara 1967, Part 2. On December 15, the navy force which attacked Davao on December 8, having seen the landing in Luzon go smoothly, was ordered back to Palau. They must have been what the Filipino guards saw fly over Davao.

⁴³ Migitaka 2003.

⁴⁴ Chibana (b. 1907) 2002.

⁴⁵ Yap-Morales 2006, 44.

3.3. Japanese Invasion and Liberation of the Japanese Internees

The Japanese military invaded Davao at wee hours of December 20, with one detachment landing in Talomo-Daliao and another in Sasa-Tibungko; later the Santa Ana Wharf itself was attacked.⁴⁶ Once again, the City Central plunged into bedlam. Explosions racked the houses of sleeping residents, made more ominous by echoes of cheers coming from the internment camps. The Generoso Bridge over Davao River, “the proud monument of our progress,” was detonated;⁴⁷ the Davao Light and Power Company electric plant barely escaped the same fate.⁴⁸

In the chaos abounded atrocities (which defied rational explanation but nevertheless recall the killing spree by Japanese soldiers in April to May 1945). After blowing up Generoso Bridge, a group of Filipino privates rushed to the Bangkerohan Cockpit and open fired on the internees.⁴⁹ Twenty-four of the 300 or so died. Meanwhile in Osaka Bazaar, ten food rationing volunteers had their hands tied, tortured, and killed; their cries heard in the next building. Similarly, violence took place in concentration camps outside the City Central. In Calinan, “The armed Filipino guards became nervous and unnaturally restless,” recalled Kenji Migitaka, a boy incarcerated in his own grade school building.⁵⁰ In Mintal, that restlessness exploded into actual atrocity as terrified guards fired on the women and children in sight.

In Davao Central Elementary School and High School, where male internees were kept, the Japanese civilians joined the crossfire between the two armed forces. When the Imperial Forces drew near, tables turned and Filipino guards were beaten to death by their wards. That night, corpses were gathered on top of an assortment of firewood and they burned all night; their bones, collected the following morning.⁵¹ Since December 8, 41 Japanese and an unrecorded number of Filipinos and Americans were counted dead in the City Central alone.⁵² In a tally by *Dabao Shimbun* a year later, 57 names were remembered and honored.⁵³

When they arrived home, what welcomed Japanese locals were houses stripped of supplies as well as stores wiped clean of merchandize. In the reports to the Japanese military in 1942, at least 80% of Japanese properties in the entire province were looted. It seems that many of these were out of need. Anastacio Campo writes, for example, that they entered random houses and got what they needed. When the house was occupied, the owners (or fellow evacuees stopping by) offered what food they had to share.⁵⁴ One can speculate that whole families on the move, with little children bobbing along and with barely a few hours to prepare

⁴⁶ Hartendorp 1967 Volume 1, 282.

⁴⁷ Yap-Morales 2006, 42.

⁴⁸ Frank 2010, Chapter 25.

⁴⁹ Yap-Morales 2006, 42.

⁵⁰ Migitaka 2003.

⁵¹ Matsuda 2002.

⁵² Totoki 1993, 271.

⁵³ “Dōhō no Gisei Gojū-yo Mei,” *Dabao Shimbun*, December 20, 1942.

⁵⁴ Yap-Morales 2006, 63-67.

for evacuation, did the same. That banana trees of Japanese homes were stripped off their ripening fruits was not at all strange. Even those of Filipinos were similarly bare.⁵⁵

Rather, what was telling was that not only were Japanese houses and stores empty, a few were also destroyed, vandalized, and burned. In Calinan, a dozen houses were set to flames. In some, furniture was smashed.⁵⁶ Even in areas where local Philippine authorities collaborated with DJA chapters, cases of arson were reported. In Wañgan, for example, a water tank was slit open and two houses were burned.⁵⁷ Obviously, these cases—though their numbers greatly vary per barrio/chapter—were not only out of need but of anger born from prewar affronts, whether imagined or real.

The twelve-day internment of Japanese locals in makeshift internment camps was remarkably violent, violence due partly to unpreparedness and partly to prewar Filipino suspicions against the Japanese. Amidst the pandemonium, however, prewar Filipino-Japanese cordial ties struggled to safeguard, feed, and alleviate the abject conditions of the Japanese locals. Most of their efforts were in vain.

3.4. The Exceptions

In the chaos and violence that erupted in the camps were a few exceptions.⁵⁸ A closer look at these exceptions reveals much about the war in Davao. Employees of the Furukawa Plantation Company were allowed to stay in their pre-assigned camps in Daliao. As in the many other preassigned evacuation sites, internment in the two Daliao camps was less severe. Internees were later allowed to temporarily exit the camp to get their essentials. “We were supervised by a volunteer *guide*,” reported the Daliao Chapter President. “But all in all, they were not very strict. One at a time, we were able to purchase what we needed.”⁵⁹

At the invasion, there was no tension in Daliao. Hearing the news that the Imperial Forces had landed in nearby Talomo, the internees gave loud cheers. Unlike in other camps however, the jubilant internees were not fired upon as “during this time,” explained the Chapter President, “the guard was out for a while.” About noon, a Filipino visitor shared that Japanese

⁵⁵ Yap-Morales 2006, 67.

⁵⁶ Aone 1993, 276.

⁵⁷ Furushō 1993, 291.

⁵⁸ Not mentioned in this subsection is the Davao Penal Colony where top executives of the Davao Japanese Associations were kept. The penal colony was several kilometers north of Davao Central, away from the bedlam of populous towns. With wide grounds, it had its own farms and food storage house. The superintendent, Pascual Robin, was praised by Consul Mori and Japanese Association chapter presidents for his proper management that kept the internees fed and “unlawful acts” prevented. His and American businessmen’s timely intervention during the invasion ensured that there was not even one casualty in the camp (Mori 1993, 246; Furushō, 291; Frank 2010, Chapter 28). This story is not included in our main narrative because the dynamics was more between the Japanese and the Americans in Davao, not the Japanese and the Filipinos which is our focus.

⁵⁹ Asaki 1993, 278. Italics added.

troops were in Toril about two kilometers away. Two messengers were immediately sent out and around 4 pm the internees welcomed the Imperial Forces.⁶⁰

Similarly spared was the eastern coast of Davao Gulf. Our source materials give us a glimpse of the camp in Lupon. On December 8, the Japanese residents in and around Lupon were gathered, interned, and then later allowed to return home to get necessities. A one-kilometer mark was demarcated around the municipal hall. Within that perimeter, internees cooked and wandered around and a sense of normalcy slowly dawned in. “Furthermore,” reported the Lupon Area Representative, “if the food supply brought in by the Japanese nationals would run low, the camp personnel had the capacity to provide the 29 individuals with food supply equivalent to 7.50 pesos a day. That said, no need arose for such provisions.”⁶¹

As in other areas, Japanese men were sent to the City Central, but the women and children, plus a few Japanese local leaders who served as chaperones, were allowed to stay in the municipal hall. Similarly in Pindasan, just north of Lupon, women and children remained in their company president’s mansion. Here, they did not experience the invasion. As one of these women related, not once did they see a Philippine soldier.⁶²

In areas inaccessible to the USAFFE and the constabulary, Japanese internees remained under the supervision of village-level authorities, some of whom they were in good terms with. Daliao, though it was easily reached from the City Central via the highway, was also mostly spared because of the Furukawa company’s influential connections in the City Central.

4. At the Imperial Shift (December 20-31, 1941)

4.1. DJA Chapter Presidents

Immediately after they were liberated from the concentration camps, the various DJA chapter presidents and area representative drafted reports concerning the events during their internment for the Japanese military. Following a standardized template, the reports included conditions of the Japanese locals on the eve of the war, while in the camps, at the invasion and liberation, casualties and damages, and their impressions and recommendations. The reports were dated from December 24 to January 17, 1942. A look at the recommendations shows the impact of their twelve-day experience in their future dealings with Filipinos. The Japanese internment was a turning point in Filipino-Japanese local relations in Davao.

Internees in the City Central, Calinan, and Mintal had undoubtedly the worst conditions. Japanese nationals from Mintal, in particular, were not only separated from each other but also in the two camps where they were placed Filipino guards open fired. Moreover, it was in Mintal

⁶⁰ Asaki 1993, 278.

⁶¹ Tarō 1993, 293-4.

⁶² Yonamine 2002, 225.

where an actual case of rape was reported. It was in this context that the Mintal Chapter President wrote to the Japanese military:

Because of the hardship we endured, we will fight to the last man and win no matter the cost. We therefore request [the Imperial Forces] for guns and immediate reconstruction [of Mintal].⁶³

In stark contrast, in Daliao, where many internees were kept within their locality through most of the twelve-day internment and under local Philippine officials with whom they were in good graces, the Chapter President tried to convince the Japanese military to be more conscientious with their dealings with Filipinos:

The Filipinos have to trust the Japanese. For this to happen, objectively and at once, we have to let go of behaviors that offend the good [Filipino] citizens. Following the Great Spirit of Universal Brotherhood, we must treat the Filipinos as our brothers. Otherwise, it is most likely that blood will flow and, with revenge, will keep flowing...⁶⁴

In Lupon, which was barely visited by authorities from the City Central and executed the internment in close collaboration with municipal officials, the DJA Area Representative seemed wary of incursions regardless which side. In his report to the Japanese military, the Lupon area representative pleaded that the Imperial Forces consult Japanese locals in identifying Filipinos willing to collaborate:

The Imperial Forces to be stationed in the area must understand the disposition of the locals. The Japanese nationals who are well-versed on the conditions be organized into a unit to aid the military; and considering that the [municipal] president and the councilor did not escape, collaborate with them.⁶⁵

Just as the execution of the internment was colored by prewar Filipino-Japanese local relations, so the experience of internment influenced Japanese and Filipino local relations afterwards. A turning point though it might be, the story is still one of continuity, a continuous widening of prewar disconnections and of persisting local bonds.

4.2. Interpreters and Volunteers

Some Japanese locals of Tibungko (northern part of Davao City) were encouraging the Filipinos who evacuated outside their residential area to come back. They can get safe passes called “certificate of good conduct” from the Tibungko Lumber Yard office and with it, they

⁶³ Kiichi Fujii 1993, 274.

⁶⁴ Asaki 1993, 279.

⁶⁵ Tarō 1993, 294.

can freely move around. One of them, the elderly Maragiro Tatishi (sic), along with his two Filipino-Japanese sons and several other Filipinos, came to the Babao residence. Sixto Babao was seen as the head of the Filipino volunteer guards at the outbreak of the war a few weeks earlier and the party wanted to encourage him to surrender his gun to the Imperial Forces. Sixto refused and the troop left his house. Later, the Tatishi family returned, this time without the Filipinos, and demanded the same, warning Sixto and his wife Justina that they will bring Japanese soldiers next time. Prodded by her wife, Sixto left the house to comply.

At the Tibungko Lumber Yard office, several Filipinos were already gathered. There, Japanese locals, many of whom were their neighbors and fellow workers, battered them with bamboo sticks. That afternoon, four, including Sixto, were blindfolded and led out of the office, toward the wharf. Gun shots were heard. A week later, one Tatishi son, Teodoro, returned to the Babao residence with Japanese soldiers as his entourage. He told Justina that “the head of Mr. Babao was chopped off and the body was thrown into the water.” Having said thus, Teodoro laughed and had the house ransacked. Other houses seemed to have been looted by Japanese locals as well. In the war crimes investigation five years later, Teodoro admitted to the crime. “The Tibungko Lumber Company,” he said grimly, “had volunteer guards to protect the civilians [at the outbreak of the war] but they did not protect me or my father.”⁶⁶

Meanwhile, in the southern plantations in the other side of the city, several families had taken refuge at the Lorenzo Plantation just outside Calinan. At around “10 pm, the Japanese entered the huts and started pulling down the mosquito nets,” narrated Lucena Dionisio. “Then a Japanese soldier, with the help of a Japanese civilian, whose name I don't believe I know, started calling the roll of all names of the males from different families.”⁶⁷ The men were tied up and everyone were marched to the main office of the plantation. There, women and children were instructed to stay, while the men were loaded in a truck and sped away. The plantation manager, Ricardo Ramos, was “the only man not taken by the Japanese for some reason or another.”⁶⁸

The following morning, December 29, Lucena along with the other women left the office and went to Calinan Japanese Elementary School. They found the men, about 30 of them, “sitting under the school house with their hands still tied behind their backs.” Felicitas de Lara was able to talk to her husband and got him some food. As more residents filed into the schoolyard, a Japanese soldier gave a speech while a Japanese local translated. If they cooperate, they will not be harmed. Thereafter, Filipinos were given safe passes and let go.

Felicitas tried to get hold of Akiyama, whom she knew was an officer of the DJA Calinan Chapter, but did not find him. The following day, she returned to the school to give her husband food and change of clothes. This time, she was able to reach Akiyama who assured

⁶⁶ “Japanese War Crimes Trials,” Bundle 17 Report 163

⁶⁷ “Japanese War Crimes Trials,” Bundle 22 Report 235.

⁶⁸ “Japanese War Crimes Trials,” Bundle 22 Report 235. Cf Dakudao, manuscript. The Lorenzo Plantation was supervised by a Japanese named Fumio Mihara which seemed to have been in friendly relation with the Dakudao family and the Japanese managers in its employment. It is likely that Ricardo Ramos was spared because of his relations with the Japanese plantation supervisors and managers in the Mintal-Calinan area.

her that her husband was being held only for questioning and will not be harmed. The men were exhibited in the school for three days “so that those who know them may charge them.” On New Year’s Day, most of the men were released—all except five, including Felicitas’ husband and Lucena’s husband. The five were never found again.

In the course of 1942, some of the wives of the disappeared were told by Japanese friends of what befell their husbands. Ceferina Lucas, another of the widowed, was told by a certain Mrs. Kodaka that her husband and a few others were killed and then buried where they were executed. Takisawa, owner of the Sun Drug Store, told Lucena that her husband was killed, assured her that her husband was a good man, and offered to testify in Lucena’s application for life insurance.

During the investigation for the disappearance, top members of the DJA Calinan Chapter were implicated. Lucena in her testimony speculated their potential motives:

When the war broke out, my husband and a few other prominent Filipino residents, with the help of a Philippine Army lieutenant formed a volunteer guard unit. The Japanese residents of Calinan did not like this at all. Aside from this possible reason, there were some personal differences between Dr. Alejandro Lara who owned a drug store and the Japanese residents who wanted to monopolize the drug store business in the locality. Akiyama was not in good terms with my husband because of some dental bills... Watanabe was not in good terms with Dr. Augusto Lucas.⁶⁹

In the postwar war crimes investigation, Alfonso Oboza, the mayor of Davao for the most part of the Japanese Occupation, testified that “most of the complaints of the residents of this city were against the members of the Volunteer Guards,”⁷⁰ composed of Japanese locals to aid the military. Indeed, of the five cases of war crimes examined for this dissertation,⁷¹ all except one were perpetrated by Japanese locals. Motives point to victims’ involvement in Filipino volunteer guards during the outbreak of the war and internment of Japanese civilians. There were other personal motives, as Lucena was quick to mention. In two cases, the suspects were seen laughing as they watched their victims (or their victims’ families) suffer.⁷² These were not executions or killings by an invading imperial force. These were cold murder out of hatred and vendetta.

That one exception is worthy of mention. In Daliao, Filipinos were apprehended as in Tibungko and Calinan. Soon, twenty were released because Matsumoto of the Furukawa Plantation Company⁷³ told the Japanese soldiers in Darong that they were workers of the

⁶⁹ “Japanese War Crimes Trials,” Bundle 22 Report 235.

⁷⁰ “Japanese War Crimes Trials,” Bundle 24 Report 241.

⁷¹ This five include only to crimes against Filipinos from 1941 to early 1942, not the entire war period.

⁷² See the cases of Ilang in the “Japanese War Crimes Trials,” Bundle 17 Report 163 and the case of Emilio Rafols in Bundle 24 Report 241.

⁷³ Possibly 松本勝司, vice-president of the Company. See Furukawa 1956, 174 and 335. Matsumoto studied in various schools in the nan’yō including Manila. Because of this, he was said to be one of the Japanese residents

Company. As in the case of Calinan, however, two disappeared. Around the same time, two other Filipinos sought the help the Company. The fourteen-year old daughter of one of them was raped by Japanese soldiers immediately after the invasion. The following day, military authorities arrived to investigate and the implicated soldiers were transferred.⁷⁴ As in the internment, Daliao was an exception. Although there must have been atrocities by the Japanese of Daliao, the Furukawa Plantation Company exerted enough influence to intervene. It could not safeguard *all* residents, but it nevertheless was able to intercede for the victims.

In the immediate aftermath of the Japanese military invasion, Japanese locals served as translators and guides and assisted the military in weeding out anti-Japanese Filipinos. Japanese locals used their newfound roles to extract vengeance from Filipinos who had abused them and their families a few days back and to exterminate those with whom they were at odds before the war. In these atrocities, one can still glean Filipino-Japanese cordial ties. Although most were unable to prevent the crimes, they at least provided information and (perhaps) comfort.

5. Summary and Discussion

The Pacific War was not a typhoon that swept through Davao, victimizing its hapless inhabitants along its way. The war played out through the Davao locals themselves. At the outbreak of the war, more casualties were claimed by the locals than by Japan's aerial attacks. At the Japanese landing and invasion, locals jumped into the fray. Filipinos, trained only since April and inducted only in November, formed into volunteer armies to support the limited USAFFE. Likewise, Japanese residents especially in the camps in the City Central, angered by their twelve-day internment, joined the invasion. At the establishment of the new regime, tables turned and Japanese locals were tasked to aid the military. With their newfound roles, they murdered and tortured and ransacked houses as retaliation for the tragedies they experienced. Imperial as the war might have been, it was executed by the locals motivated by preexisting racial prejudices, vendetta, and personal rivalries.

Just as the war is a story of violence, it is also a story of cooperation, forbearance, wit, and survival. In a mixed locality such as Davao, this was seen not only among the Japanese on the one hand and among the Filipinos on the other, but also in cross-national solidarities. Before the war, the DJA, which was in good terms with many of Filipino top officials, made their preparations in coordination with those by the CEA. At the outbreak of the war, they sought the assurance of Filipino leaders. During the internment, they provided funds for the maintenance of the camps. Outside the City Central, evacuation sites were well-stocked; some were guarded by Filipinos from the community who were in good terms with those interned. At the order to concentrate the Japanese residents in select camps in Mintal, Calinan, and the

who was most amicable to Filipinos (Kamohara 1938, 1449-1450). Besides Matsumoto, Saburō Akamine maintained close ties with Filipinos especially with Bagobos (Kamohara 1938, 1435). Akamine was said to have testified in defense of Justo Pacheco albeit in vain ("Japanese War Crimes Trials," Bundle 22 Report 236).

⁷⁴ "Japanese War Crimes Trials," Bundle 22 Report 228. Felisa, the rape victim, died in 1943 out of depression.

City Central, both Japanese and Filipino collaborated to resist. After the invasion, managers of Japanese companies and local officers of the DJA, who were treated fairly during the internment, tried to appeal to the Japanese military on behalf of Filipinos. In the purging immediately after, cross-national ties could do little to abate Japanese civilian atrocities against Filipinos. Several informed the families of what happened to their vanished husbands and fathers, perhaps offering them at least closure and comfort.

Locals, especially the Japanese on whom quite a few studies had been made, are often seen as mere victims of the war. Like Takashi Fujitani (2011) who emphasized the empire's mobilization of its colored minority through inclusive racism, Shinzo Hayase also elaborated on the struggle of the Davao Japanese to be accepted as part of the Japanese race, highlighting the persisting discrimination against them. He credits this to the rigidly structured racial hierarchy in which Japanese emigrants, especially Okinawans and those married to Filipinos were at the bottom—higher only than Filipinos, Chinese migrants in the Philippines, and other indigenous and Muslim Filipinos.⁷⁵ Their efforts in vain, the Davao Japanese's know-how and assistance were not tapped by the invading Japanese military.

Marginal as the Japanese of Davao might have been in Japan's empire, it was through them that the war was waged on the ground. Transcending the colonial discourse, postcolonial perspectives treats people not only as colonials but credits them historical agency. They were not passive victims. By zooming into local experiences, this chapter highlights the agency of the locals in the outbreak of the Pacific War. In doing so, the chapter not only credits them the dignity of shaping their own history but also lifts the shield that had been protecting them from war responsibilities. It was through Japanese (and Filipino) locals that violence occurred. It was also through them that many survived or coped with death of loved ones. As will be seen in the next chapter, it was through their participation in the war effort (valiant and patriotic their asserted motives might have been) that the Davao Settler Zone was torn and polarized. And, it is through their persisting prewar cross-national connections that separated families and communities can reunite.

⁷⁵ Hayase 2014, 175.

Chapter 5. In a Polarizing Settler Zone

1. Introduction

The year was 1979. Mintal Alumni Association members coming all the way from Okinawa and Kyushu braved the rain that morning. In this reunion in Tokyo, they shared stories of the past, sang their alma mater song, and watched an eight-millimeter film of a group's visit to Mintal. In the excitement of things, a dish of kangkong appeared. Tasting very much like what they used to have in Davao, the dish surprised and pleased those at the reunion. In the article covering the occasion published by the Dabao-kai [Davao Association], association members who had not yet gone to Davao were enjoined to do so in the trip the following year.¹ By 1979, many trips and pilgrimages to Davao had been made by former Davao locals. Down the 1980s, Dabao-kai would be publishing a bi-annual newsletter, with lists of members and their activities.

Meanwhile back in Davao, Abay, a schoolboy of Mintal Elementary School, and his classmates received crayons from a group of old Japanese visiting their school. This happened every year. First, the tourist bus wheeled into the school grounds. Then, the group headed toward the towering obelisk not too far from Abay's building. After offering their prayers, the group headed to the pupils and gave out nice school supplies. Why they came, it would take decades before Abay understood who these old Japanese were and why they kept returning to his school.²

In the 2010s, when Abay had become the barangay [district] captain³ of Mintal, he shared his childhood stories. On the walls of the barangay hall where he held office hung photos and maps of old Mintal. One small framed sepia picture showed Abay's elementary school before the war, except back then it was called "Mintal *Japanese* Elementary School." In that picture, already standing was the obelisk to which he saw the old Japanese visitors offered prayers; it was a monument for the pioneering spirit of Kyōzaburō Ohta.

After a brief interview at the barangay hall, the officer-in-charge (Captain Abay was out-of-office) introduced me to a caretaker of the Mintal Public Cemetery, the former Japanese cemetery.⁴ In that cemetery stood a monument of seemingly two large rectangular stones, one on top of the other. The upper tier bears a plaque on which were engraved: "For Eternal Peace" and "Sensō Giseisha no Ireihi" [Cenotaph for the Victims of War] (See Figure 5-1). Not too far, in the district of Calinan, was the Japan-Philippine Historical Museum maintained by the Philippine Nikkeijin Kai, Inc.

¹ "Mintaru-kō Dōsōkai" [Mintal Alumni Association], *Dabao*, March 1983, 20.

² Soco-Bantayan, *Mindanao Times*, April 14, 2012. Abay is a nickname. His real name is Ramon Bargamento.

³ Barangay is the smallest political unit in contemporary Philippines, replacing the barrio. It is headed by a popularly elected barangay captain.

⁴ I visited Mintal Barangay Hall on April 23, 2014 without an appointment. The Officer-in-Charge, Kagawad [barangay councilor] Eliseo Gamayot, was the one who welcomed me.

Figure 5-1. Monument at the Mintal Cemetery⁵



In this chapter, I narrate how the Davao Settler Zone was polarized and show that, despite polarization, prewar local bonds endured. After the war, most Japanese locals were shipped to Japan; those who remained hid their Japanese background in fear of Filipino retribution for Japanese atrocities. Filipino locals, busy rebuilding their province and their lives, received waves and waves of new Filipino settlers. With vastly different wartime experiences and then physically separated after the war, each (the Filipinos on the one hand and the Japanese on the other) wrote their own history of the same war in the same locality differently. However, just as they had crossed social borders within the settler zone before the war, cross-national solidarities traveled the gap between postwar Philippines and Japan. Moreover, though living outside history, highland communities served as a sanctuary for Filipinos, Japanese, and Filipino-Japanese who sought to escape the war in the towns and plantations below. Despite the polarization of the settler zone, a divide evident in its history, prewar local bonds persisted, quietly waiting to reunite separated friends and families.

2. The Context: Davao under Japan (January 1942 – April 1945)

In early 1942, a sense of normalcy descended over Davao City Central and other towns. The local government resumed in February 1942 with Alfonso Oboza appointed as city mayor.⁶ For the ceremony, residents filed outside the city hall as a Filipino band played the national anthem.⁷ Prewar provincial governor Romualdo C. Quimpo, ill, paralyzed, and in a wheelchair, retained his position. The Furukawa Plantation Company and the Ohta Development Company, the two largest Japanese companies in the province resumed operations. Hospitals, dental clinics, and shops reopened. Every morning of Tuesdays and Thursdays, locals could expect

⁵ Personal photo, captured in Davao City, April 23, 2014.

⁶ “Japanese War Crimes Trials,” Bundle 24 Report 241.

⁷ Morales 2006, 59.

their mails from Manila.⁸ By early 1943, movie theaters were reshewing Sampaguita Picture's *Kahapon Lamang* [Only Yesterday]. A month later, people lined up to see the alluring Norma Blancaflor in her 1940 movie, *Dalaga* [Maiden].⁹

However, things were not the same as prewar. When the Philippine national anthem was played, it was preceded by the Japanese *Kimi ga Yo* and shouts of Banzai.¹⁰ Mayor Oboza and Governor Quimpo worked under the Japanese Military Administration. In the various hospitals, Filipino doctors were replaced as head physicians by their Japanese colleagues. In Ohta Development Company's Mintal Hospital, for example, Dr. Santos Cuyugan became resident surgeon while Dr. Michiharu Terao stepped in as head physician. In the Taiyōdō Dabao Hospital, Dr. Hideo Kojima was but assisted by Drs. Godofredo Cereño¹¹ and Aberardo Teani.¹² Mission Hospital was the only major prewar hospital that remained under Filipino management, albeit its building was later commandeered by the Japanese military and the care for patients was moved to the large house of Drs. Baldomera and Leocadio Sexton at the corner of Anda and Magallanes streets.¹³

The Japanese companies of Ohta and Furukawa were also changed. By military orders, the Ohta company received 300 hectares of rice land owned by a Chinese named Funa (sic) near Davao River. It also received three coconut plantations in Padada (southwestern Davao), which the Military initially had given to the Furukawa Plantation Company. From its Filipino affiliates such as Torres, Vargas, and Alano, it bought land. Outside Davao, it was made to manage farms of Chinese cabbage in Calamba (Laguna Province) and in Montalban (Rizal Province), and rice paddies in Montalban and in Pangasinan Province. Together with the Furukawa Plantation Company, it managed the coconut and copra production in the entire Mindanao. The International Harvester's Company's 2,300-hectare abaca plantation in Madaum (in northern Davao) was assigned to the Furukawa company. As the Furukawa Plantation Company already owned a lumberyard in Tibungko, it was entrusted with the lumber and plywood production. In nearby Panacan, it opened a shipyard. To work on these expanded industries, both Furukawa and Ohta companies absorbed more Davao residents, hiring new hands and taking employees from defunct prewar companies.¹⁴

Expanding their businesses in such a way under the Japanese empire's flag had been a long-time dream for both companies—a dream they had fought for in the recurring Davao Land Problem. It was, however, a Pyrrhic victory. Although they amassed lands and industries, the management and decision-making remained in the hands of the Japanese military which—Yoshizō Furukawa later vehemently accused—knew nothing of crop production yet paraded

⁸ "Manira-Dabao-kan Kōkūbin," *Firipin Jōhō* 55, January 1942, 101.

⁹ In the ads section of *Dabao Shimbun*, May 13, 1943 and June 7, 1943.

¹⁰ Morales 2006, 59.

¹¹ Admittedly, I am unsure of this transliteration. The original is シリニオ.

¹² In the ads sections of *Dabao Shimbun*, May 18 and 31, 1943.

¹³ San Pedro 1996, 21.

¹⁴ Furukawa 1956, 244-245, 335-337. Note that Furukawa's is technically already a memoir. Although he might have had documents at hand, he did not cite them. Particulars might be doubted, but that the two Japanese companies expanded by eating up non-Japanese companies seems to hold.

as if they did, thus destroying Davao's economy.¹⁵ To be fair, some Japanese businessmen from Davao were consulted concerning economic matters. Furukawa's cohorts such as Uichi Kojima published their ideas in the magazine *Nan'yō*.¹⁶ Noticeably, Furukawa did not seem to have any wartime publication or interviews, quite exemplary given his prewar influence and popularity as *the* founder and president of *the* largest Japanese business in Davao-kuo. Perhaps, this was because—as Furukawa himself speculated—he had been vocal about his opposition to Japan's war with the US.¹⁷ Whatever the reasons for the change, Yoshizō Furukawa fell out of the limelight, even as his company expanded and the community it built in Davao remained.

Another influential institution replaced during the war was the Davao Japanese Association (DJA). Besides its well-known role in the establishment of Japanese elementary schools in the early days of the settler zone, the DJA was originally formed as a mouthpiece of the Japanese businesses during the revisions of the Philippine Land Act in 1919. In the invasion in December 1941, its headquarters in the City Central and chapters across the province played a crucial role in organizing the Japanese locals. In August 1942, another organization, the Mindanao Nihonjin-kai [Mindanao Japanese Association] was organized. With neighborhood associations as its foundation, the Mindanao Nihonjin-kai sought to achieve the self-sufficiency of every community through farming and cottage industries, as well as providing Japanese education especially to Japanese children born in Davao. In October 1942, it formed an executive committee to manage local conflicts among residents.¹⁸ The prewar DJA receded in role, if not in existence.

Along with the expansion of Japanese businesses and the creation of new organizations, Japanese culture also poured into Davao. Movie houses screened films such as *Hawai, Marei-oki Kaisen* [Naval Battles in Hawaii and Malaysia] for free. Sumo wrestling was reported by *Davao Shimbun* with special fondness. In its May 15, 1943 issue, the *Davao Shimbun* added two more pages to its usual two-page broadsheet to cover the sumo tournament of Filipino and Japanese school children. Street names in the City Central were also Japanized. Some were for convenience: Emilio Jacinto Avenue, for example, became simply "Hashinto-chō," Piapi, a road along the coast just south of Santa Wharf, became "Kaigan Dōri" [Coastal Road]. Others were to replace names that were blatantly American. For example, the connecting Washington Avenue and Quezon Road became "Kyō-A Dōri" [Asian Development Road].¹⁹ In 1943, nineteen teachers arrived from Japan to fill positions in various public schools in the province.

¹⁵ Furukawa 1956, 334-335

¹⁶ *Nan'yō* 28, no. 2 (1942), 31-44.

¹⁷ Furukawa 1956, 173. Cf Yu-Jose 1996, 74. Yu-Jose narrates how various Japanese businessmen provided information to the Japanese military. She writes that Furukawa, along with Seitarō Kanegae of the Nippon Bazaar, was invited to the 1939 Conference on Economic Conditions in the Nan'yō. "Taking opportunity of Kanegae's presence in Tokyo, the Navy General Staff requested him to give a briefing on the Philippines to some thirty admirals and staff officers. Imamura Eikichi, in the lumber industry... established contact with the military and together with Morokuma Yasaku, president of the Ohta Development Corporation, attended the meetings on strategic landings in the Philippines." Noticeably, Yu-Jose does not mention that Furukawa provided information to the military despite his presence in economic conferences in Japan.

¹⁸ "Davao Hōjin ni mo Tonarigumi," *Firipin Jōhō* 67, January 1943, 57. The Mindanao Nihonjin-kai was limited to Japanese residents. Co-existing with it was another neighborhood association which included Filipinos in the community. "Japanese War Crimes Trials," Bundle 23 Report 239 and Bundle 15 Report 154.

¹⁹ "Davao Shinchōmei Happyō," *Davao Shimbun*, December 8, 1942.

As in prewar Japanese elementary schools, teachers taught the Japanese language and values, along the usual arithmetic and other subjects.²⁰

For their part, the Davao Japanese showed their support for Japan's war efforts. Shortly after the Japanese military invasion, an association "for the tribute to the hardship suffered by Davao co-patriots" was organized. On January 31, they installed a cloth which held the names of the Japanese casualties in an altar of a shrine decked with flowers donated by newspaper companies and other Japanese firms of Davao.²¹ A year later, on the first anniversary of the invasion, the Dabao Fujin-kai [Davao Women's Association] visited ruins of battlefields, paid their respects to the graves of the fallen, and offered comfort and gratitude to the injured soldiers in hospitals.²² *Dabao Shimbun* was filled with commemorative accounts of the tragic internment, of the heinous Osaka Bazaar Massacre and Bangkerohan Cockpit Shooting, and of the liberation brought by the Imperial Forces. As the editorial declared, "We, the 20,000 co-patriots residing in Davao, remember this day,"²³ the day when they were salvaged by their Imperial Forces.

Figure 5-2. *Dabao Shimbun* Reported Davao Locals' Patriotism²⁴

The image shows a page from the *Dabao Shimbun* newspaper. The main headline is "同胞熱誠の蓄積" (Accumulation of Fellow Countrymen's Sincerity) in large, bold characters. Below it is a sub-headline "荒鷲二機は出来た!" (Two Wild Eagle Aircraft are Ready!). The text is in Japanese and discusses the collection of funds for aircraft and the patriotic spirit of the Japanese community in Davao. There is a section titled "飛行機献金" (Aircraft Donation) and another titled "愈よあす締切り" (Closing Tomorrow). The page is filled with columns of text, some in smaller font, providing details about the fundraising efforts and the community's support for the war effort.

²⁰ "Kyōin Fusoku no Ichidai," *Dabao Shimbun*, May 31, 1943.

²¹ "Davao Jun'nan Dōhō Tsuitō-kai," *Firipin Jōhō* 57, March 1942, 129.

²² "Dabao Fujin-kai," *Dabao Shimbun*, December 20, 1942.

²³ Editorial, *Dabao Shimbun*, December 20, 1942.

²⁴ "Dōhō Nessei no Chikuseki," *Dabao Shimbun*, May 24, 1943. Published along with reports of Japanese compatriot's fury in the news of General Yamamoto's demise, the article title reads, "Compatriots' Sincerity Accumulated Two Aircrafts! Let's Do Our Best Until the Enemy is Destroyed."

Their show of support extended beyond words and commemorative events. Davao's Japanese locals poured in money—lots of it—into Japan's war effort. In a solicitation campaign spearheaded by *Dabao Shimbun*, the Japanese residents amassed 224,981.12 pesos in a span of five months. They offered it to the Navy during its anniversary celebration in May 1943. This amount, wrote *Dabao Shimbun*, was a symbol of the “Japanese co-patriots’ sincerity” and “a reflection of the devotion of the 20,000 co-patriots residing in Davao.”²⁵ This was not a one-time event. Solicitations continued into 1944, with the bottom of *Dabao Shimbun*'s broadsheet occasionally lined with a list of names of generous donors supportive of Japan's war.

Whether such show of devotion to imperial Japan was heartfelt or not, whether it was (as Eiichiro Azuma demonstrated in Japanese America) to advance their own interest—neither our sources nor our methodology allows us to say. What we can show is how civilian efforts supporting Japan's war affected Japanese locals' relations with their Filipino friends, neighbors, and families.

3. Organized Efforts for the Nation (January 1942 – April 1945)

3.1. The Neighborhood Watch²⁶

Shortly after the invasion, the neighborhood watch was organized. Although Davao City Central and other major towns had fallen under Japanese military occupation, in the outskirts, bullets still flew from unseen sources. For the Filipino and American guerrillas, the war was still on. The masses of Japanese locals who were concentrated in major towns of Mintal, Calinan, and Davao City Central could not return to their homes in plantations and other inner villages. Filipinos against Imperial Japan, dangerous as they were, had to be weeded out and exterminated. It was thus the task of the neighborhood watch to pacify the area and wipe it clean of remaining Filipino-American resistance.

The officials of the DJA, under which the neighborhood watch was institutionally structured,²⁷ emphasized the dire need to increase military support. “A group of 50 individuals (all resident of the district) were selected and given 25 guns,”²⁸ the president of the Manambulan Chapter reported, subtly conveying that two Japanese nationals had to share a gun as they went about the dangerous task of sweeping villages off of guerrilla fighters. The Daliao Chapter President was more direct: “The 2,000 individuals who were requested to scatter all over Davao should be made to carry weapons, even if these are just war booties.”²⁹

²⁵ See for example the bottom pages of *Dabao Shimbun*, May 24, 1943; May 26, 1943.

²⁶ Mori 1993, 253. Hayase (2014) translates it “civilian defense brigade.” We both refer to *jikeidan* or 自警団.

²⁷ Mori 1993, 253.

²⁸ Seisaku 1993, 281, parenthetical statement in the original.

²⁹ Tsutaya 1993, 279.

After villages were deemed pacified and Japanese locals returned to their homes, the neighborhood watch's work continued. "The district neighborhood watch had its station in front of the first district elementary school in Lower Catigan," wrote the Catigan Chapter President. "They walk around the area and four stood day and night as guards."³⁰ Certainly, the neighborhood watch—sons and husbands and fellow residents—sent as vanguards to fight the guerrillas and then stationed in the area to keep neighborhoods safe were deemed courageous by Davao's Japanese.

That in supporting Japan they were going against former neighbors, friends, and colleagues was not lost to Japanese locals who had been friendly with Filipinos. Hiroyuki Mizuguchi, a member of the neighborhood watch in the City Central, had studied in the Davao Central High School and was friends with Filipinos there. Born and raised in Japan to both Japanese settlers working in downtown of Davao City, Hiroyuki and his older siblings were summoned to Davao by their parents when Hiroyuki was twelve years old. Unlike most other Japanese children, Hiroyuki was sent to Davao Central Elementary School so that he could learn English. After graduation, he proceeded to the High School where he joined the baseball team and, of course, the compulsory ROTC.

As Hiroyuki later wrote, in the early days of the occupation, Japanese locals served as interpreters, distinguishing good Filipinos from the bad ones. They sat at a table in front of the Autobus Terminal in the City Central. One by one, they appraised Filipinos lined up in front of their table. To those they judged harmless, they handed out "Good Citizen Certificate." Otherwise, Filipinos were sent to the stockade from where they were later "taken out in groups of ten or so with their hands tightly bound. They were loaded on buses and Japanese [neighborhood watch]³¹ surrounded them and hid them from view. After two or three hours, the buses returned only with the [neighborhood watch]."³² One of Hiroyuki's friends, the houseboy who smuggled hot buns through the barbwires when Hiroyuki was still in the concentration camp, was one of those Filipinos who boarded the bus and disappeared.

Hiroyuki was initially offered the position of interpreter. He declined. "I grew up with Filipinos," he reasoned decades later. "I played baseball with them. We trained for ROTC together in the heat of the scorching sun. We shared good times and bad times. They were my friends. How could I judge them?"³³ Later, boredom (schools had halted) and youthful energies propelled him to join the neighborhood watch of the City Central. But, even as he joined it, Hiroyuki declined any task that involved armed confrontation with Filipinos. "They tried to convince me that this was the best way to become a brave soldier. But I refused. I did not mind being called a coward as long as I was not forced to turn against my friends."³⁴ Instead,

³⁰ Tsukasa Fujii 1993, 288.

³¹ Mizuguchi referred to them as "Japanese Vigilante Troop." I retain "neighborhood watch" for consistency.

³² Mizuguchi 2010, 41.

³³ Mizuguchi 2010, 39.

³⁴ Mizuguchi 2010, 42.

Hiroyuki guarded the makeshift bridge over Davao River, connecting Davao City Central to the southern towns and plantations of the city.³⁵

Perhaps because he was in the City Center where the Imperial Forces were lodged, Hiroyuki was given a choice to decline pacification tasks. Those in the plantations, where military presence was thin and resisters lurked, did not have the same freedom. Chibana, who sailed to Davao from Okinawa in 1929, was a member of the neighborhood watch in the outskirts of Davao City. Like other Yomitan villagers in Davao, Chibana settled in Riverside in the upstream of Talomo River. By 1934, he was able to save enough money to manage his own abaca farm and summon his wife and child to the settler zone. Having lived and worked closely with Filipinos, Chibana understood that the anti-Japanese sentiments of many Filipinos were because of the impending US-Japan war. He saw it in action when they were concentrated in the City Central and he shook his head in dismay as it triggered equal contempt from Japanese internees at the invasion (See Chapter 4). As Chibana explained:

The war in the Philippines did not end [after the invasion]. Filipinos were trained by the US military and they proceeded with guerrilla warfare. That is why [the war] did not end but rather continued. There were guerrillas here and there; they emerged in various places we did not know where. Likewise, the Japanese, by military orders, organized into the neighborhood watch to oppose the guerrillas. And so, enmity toward each other increased. Of course, animosity was held by both sides. [We] did awful things and saw awful things done.³⁶

Outside major towns, pacification (i.e., armed confrontation between the neighborhood watch and Filipino resisters) was tearing Filipino-Japanese local relations further and further apart.

Figure 5-3. Calinan Neighborhood Watch under the Japanese Military³⁷



³⁵ The prewar Generoso Bridge was detonated by retreating USAFFE during the invasion. See Chapter 4.

³⁶ “Chibana” (b.1907) 2002. In Japanese, Chibana said in an interview for Yomitan Village history, “*Firipin de no sensō wa, ikkai de wa owaranakatta.*” Literally, this can be translated into “The war in the Philippines did not end after one [battle].” I translate “after one [battle]” with “after invasion” because many of the interviewed Okinawans as well as other Japanese sources referred to the hostilities during the invasion as the war period. The Japanese military occupation was a period of Japanese victory or postwar. For example, see *Dabao Shimbun*, May 31, 1943.

³⁷ Fujisaki 1997, 90.

Later, the neighborhood watch was moved institutionally from the DJA to the military. With the towns and villagers swept clean of guerrilla resisters, they served as neighborhood police.³⁸ For example, when a five-year-old boy went missing, the call posted in *Dabao Shimbun* directed concerned residents to the Calinan neighborhood watch. As war heroes, they also served in the war propaganda. As the *Dabao Shimbun* gushed in bold letters, the neighborhood watch helped make hemp ropes along with the other plantation employees. “Even moving soil litters,” the newspaper continued, “the neighborhood watch offers its service for the country.”³⁹ The neighborhood watch was disbanded after the Kempeitai (Japanese military police) arrived in Davao. Until the end, they were hailed as local heroes.

For many Filipinos, however, the neighborhood watch was the face of a Davao at war. The Japanese suspected of murdering and torturing Filipinos—Teodoro Tatishi and the officials of the DJA Calinan Chapter (see Chapter 4)—were all members of the neighborhood watch and committed the crimes while on-duty.⁴⁰ Certainly, it is unfair to condemn the lot of the neighborhood watch, perhaps most of whom simply wanted to protect their neighborhoods, based on the crimes of a few. Nevertheless, such crimes were enough to confirm prewar Filipino suspicions that their Japanese neighbors were enemies. As Davao Mayor Oboza later testified, “most of the complaints of the residents of this city were against the members of the [neighborhood watch].”⁴¹

3.2. Volunteer Labor Corps⁴²

Besides the neighborhood watch, labor volunteers also contributed to Japan’s war effort. Unlike Filipinos, who toiled in construction sites of the Japanese military through their neighborhood association, the Japanese locals were either employed by Navy’s Engineering Department or organized into various labor corps.

When the US Army surveyed Davao in 1944, it found progress in airfields and ports. Adding to the prewar ports in Daliao, Talomo, and Santa Ana, installations along other smaller wharves were made. In the port in Panacan (in the northern fringes of the city close to the Sasa Airfield), recruits of the Navy’s 103rd Engineering Department constructed “several jetties and slipways. This is probably the landing point of supplies for the Sasa Airfield. The largest jetty is 400 feet long, 56 feet wide, with a wharf at the end 130ft x 46ft.”⁴³ The volunteer corps also poured their energies in constructing airfields. Sasa Airfield, the main airport in prewar Davao,

³⁸ Apparently, they served alongside province-wide Filipino police force under Erasto Batongmalaque headquartered in Davao City Central and under the supervision of Hideichi Matsuzaki.

³⁹ “Katamari no Tsuchi,” *Dabao Shimbun*, June 7, 1943.

⁴⁰ According to Mori, and to Hayase who cited him, the neighborhood watch were renamed “the Volunteers” or “*giyūtai*.” I follow *Dabao Shimbun* which consistently used “*jikeidan*” until mid-1943 when they were disbanded at the arrival of the Kempeitai.

⁴¹ “Japanese War Crimes Trials,” Bundle 24 Report 24. Oboza used the term “volunteer guards” and “volunteer army,” in parallel to the Filipino volunteer guards/army organized immediately after the outbreak of the war.

⁴² Corps here is a translation of 隊, read as “tai” such as in Kempeitai [Military Police].

⁴³ AGS 1944, 10.

was turned into a navy field and “is one of the most important in the area.”⁴⁴ Besides the airfield in Daliao which Furukawa had constructed shortly before the outbreak of the war, the prewar airports and airstrips in Santa Cruz and Padada respectively were developed and extended. New airfields in Buayan, Libby, Matina, Licanan, Baracotan, and Tamugan were constructed during the occupation. All thanks to the labor corps in Japan’s war effort.

Noteworthy, many of these construction sites were located in places far from occupied territories. The major towns might have fallen under the Japanese military by early 1942, but the outskirts still stirred with intermittent hostilities. Kinking in the eastern coast of the Gulf, for example, had been blanketed by a tensed stillness. A gulf away from the City Central, the local Filipino police had struct cordial relations with the guerrilla fighters. However, in October 1943, two Japanese civilians were murdered, triggering the police headquarters in the City Central to order an investigation. The head of police, Major Erasto Batongmalaque sent an outfit of about 50 men to reinforce the local police stationed in nearby Pantukan. Captain Elinio Rodriguez and his guerrilla fighters were forcibly made to surrender.

Readers of *Dabao Shimbun* were treated to occasional news of resisters happily surrendering to the military authorities,⁴⁵ but the resistance did not die down. On the contrary they gained ground. Filemon Plaza Mordeno, a Filipino youth of 22 years, joined the guerrillas late in September 1942. Pablo Lapitan Pacon joined a year later. Unlike commanders such as Colonel Laureta and Major Silva, Filemon and Pablo and many other new recruits like them were not part of the prewar USAFFE; their experience of warfare began only when the war approached their plantation settlements. These lads and strapling lot got their food from the streams and forests, stole it from the Davao Penal Colony, or received it from nearby villagers who “pitied us.”⁴⁶

In these areas where Filipino guerrillas gained ground, various Japanese volunteer labor corps were dispatched for months at a time.⁴⁷ We can assume that being pitted against the Filipino guerrillas (as in the case of the neighborhood watch) further strained Filipino-Japanese local relations. As the US military later acknowledged, “by persistent harassing actions [of the Filipino guerrillas], large areas of Mindanao were cleared of enemy forces.”⁴⁸ Like the neighborhood watch, the volunteer labor corps were treated and paraded as local heroes. “The production corps went to their assigned areas in high spirits,” reported the *Dabao Shimbun*,

⁴⁴ AGS 1944, 60.

⁴⁵ Interesting and important to Davao wartime history yet left undiscussed here are the collaboration between the Japanese Military Administration, Filipino police headquarters, Filipino local police detachments, and guerrilla resistance.

⁴⁶ Vallejo 2009, 145.

⁴⁷ Unmentioned here are the continuing resistance inside Davao City Central. See for example, Morales (2006) and Mizuguchi (2010). Interestingly, the *Dabao Shimbun* ads of Davao Mission Hospital, the only hospital that remained under Filipino management (See Chapter 4), states that it those in trouble [komatteiru-kata] can visit them any time. Against the many other hospital and dental clinic ads which specified limited consultation schedules, this seems an innocent promotion of a business edge over its competitors. Cf San Pedro 1996, 21. In a Filipino collective biography, the hospital is said to have aided Filipino underground resisters. But if the ad was to offer services to resisters (as I suspect), why publish it in a Japanese newspaper? A critical analysis of Filipino collaborators’ position in Davao is yet to be undertaken. I hope other scholars will take the challenge.

⁴⁸ “History of X Corps on Mindanao” 1945, 61.

detailing how the group, in uniform, gathered at the Davao Elementary School, listened to encouraging words from district heads, swore their oaths, and turned toward their assignments.⁴⁹ In its next issue, the paper asked its readers to remember the sacrifices of the volunteer corps of the engineering department. Like the neighborhood watch, the labor corps were hailed for their devotion to Japan, but at the same time faced Filipinos in the battlefield.

3.3. The 20,000 Compatriots⁵⁰

Meanwhile, back in occupied City Central, blissfully unaware of Japan's series of defeats in the Pacific, Hiroyuki was pulled into a Chinese restaurant by his fellow cadets in the prewar ROTC. "We are your best friends and brothers," Hiroyuki recalled them telling him, "but this isn't simple... Japan seems to be winning the war but the truth is the American forces will be back soon. You might be in serious trouble because you've been an interpreter for the Kenpeitai (sic)."⁵¹ They advised him to leave Davao where he was already known and affiliated with the infamous military police. Hiroyuki arrived in Manila in August 1943. His friends were right. Celso Saiso (sic), the Filipino-Japanese whom Hiroyuki recruited as his replacement, was consistently implicated in the postwar Japanese War Crimes investigation because he was seen assisting the Kempeitai.⁵² In contrast, not once was Hiroyuki named in the "Closed Reports."

In May 1944, the workplace of the volunteers had been equated to their battlefields, encouraging them to use their breaktime to work for the war effort and to practice air raid drills.⁵³ As news of Japan's valiant struggle in Rabaul (in May) and in the Marianas (in June) flooded the broadsheets, Japanese locals were enjoined to muster all their energies toward Japan's total war. No longer were they simply Japanese residents [zairyū Nihonjin] or even nationals [hōjin]. Now they were referred to, repeatedly and in bold letters, as co-patriots [dōhō], sharing the same flesh with all Japanese.

At the same time, military examinations had begun in Calinan, and then in Daliao and other districts of the city. If they passed the exam, the young Japanese men—most (if not all) of whom were already working for the military—became no longer merely "gunkankeisha" [someone affiliated to the military]. They would become "gunzoku" [civilian employed by the military]. As *Dabao Shimbun* reported, the passers were joyful because, of course, not everyone can hurdle the exam and certainly not everyone did. The passers were to become "sōtei" [men of conscription age] and were to be given military training so that they could finally be part of

⁴⁹ "Sagyō Hōshi Taiinra," *Dabao Shimbun*, May 20, 1943.

⁵⁰ This number, consistently repeated in wartime documents and consequently cited in many early historical works, has no documentary basis. Hayase noted that "there is no way of verifying it statistically" (2014, 144n1). I speculate that it is a round-up of prewar figures, e.g., 17,888 (See Chapter 1). After all "20,000" is easier to write, read, remember, and looks better in propaganda materials than the numbers in the prewar records.

⁵¹ Mizuguchi 2010, 55.

⁵² "Japanese War Crimes Trials," Bundle 23 Report 246 and Bundle 18 Report 184.

⁵³ "Sagyōba wa Warera," *Dabao Shimbun*, May 30, 1944; "Sonaete Ureinaki," *Dabao Shimbun*, June 19, 1944;

the imperial force.⁵⁴ By August 1, Japanese nationals helping the military in food production, whether they passed the health exam or not, became gunzoku as well.

Not every Japanese in the settler zone was as eager to join the Imperial Force; yet, though unenthusiastic, they nevertheless took their participation in Japan's war effort as inevitable. "I had to enlist," wrote Minoru Hirano, an employee of the Ohta Development Company. "Like my brother, not even the Company can help me."⁵⁵ Upon arriving in Calinan, Minoru found that the enlistment was to be delayed and so—by foot, despite the distance, and knowing he needed to walk back again to enlist the next day or the day after—he returned home to Manambulan.⁵⁶ In his account of his experience as a soldier, Minoru betrayed neither self-pity nor anger at this compulsory service.

On the contrary, many times his readers sense his camaraderie with the Imperial Force and especially with his platoon.⁵⁷ Minoru was particularly sympathetic to his fellow 1944 conscripts, some of whom had Filipino mothers:

At the Mintal Hospital building, which was then being used by the platoon, I met the younger brother of Kamiyama who worked under me in the Lasang Farm.... This guy was not able to return to Japan. He was mostly brought up by his Filipina mother and was more of a Filipino than a Japanese; he did not know Nihongo and could only speak it sparsely. Yet he had to take lessons as a Japanese soldier. I felt his pain and felt sorry for him.⁵⁸

For Minoru, serving Japan was his responsibility. That it was done was a given. Although Minoru showed no radical opposition to the fact that this responsibility extended to those of Filipino-Japanese parentage, he nevertheless sympathized with them. Not everyone in Japan's total war was as passionate as the war propaganda purported. And, even if they shared the burden, they knew that not everyone readily did so. They knew, and they sympathized.

As Japan plunged into its total war, it required that all Japanese must be one with the empire—regardless of their nationality, citizenship, length of stay in the settler zone, even parentage. In August 1, Davao's Consul General became the president of the Nihonjin-kai. Under his leadership, all remaining Japanese civilians were organized. Given that the Consul General was previously the head of the Internal Department of the Military Administration, the Nihonjin-kai became, from its top official down to the tasks of its individual members, an organization for Japan's total war.⁵⁹ As *Firipin Jōhō* announced:

The war plans for the final battle by our 20,000 compatriots is almost complete. Because of the oppression by the US authorities, pestilence and

⁵⁴ "Sōtei no Taikaku," *Dabao Shimbun*, June 27, 1944.

⁵⁵ Hirano 2000, 219.

⁵⁶ Hirano 2000, 19.

⁵⁷ See for example, his account of their battles in Mintal and Libby areas in pages 220 and 221.

⁵⁸ Hirano 2000, 19.

⁵⁹ "Nihonjin-kai wo," *Dabao Shimbun*, August 1, 1944.

fighting continue to plague [us for] four years. Our compatriots' strength had taken root in this vast land we had developed. Precisely because of this, we must muster our strength for this total war for Davao. The fields, mountains, and towns are filled with the sentiment, "Davao was [made] by our hands."⁶⁰

On the 29th of that month, a US plane bombed Davao at around 1 am. Two days later on September 1, more B-24 fighter planes soared overhead.⁶¹ These air raids continued and increased in tempo as 1944 ended and 1945 began.

4. The Polarization of the Settler Zone (April 1945 – Last Quarter of 1945)

4.1. Escape to Tamugan

Around late April 1945, Angheline Rallon went to her office in Santa Ana and found it closed. Her Japanese friends were all gone. Before the war, Angheline was the darling of the town. Born and raised in Santa Ana to Filipino settler parents, she regaled the city's beauty pageants, bagging at least a crown. After the invasion, friends at the city hall got her a job at a warehouse in Santa Ana in charge of controlling and rationing out the rice. Here, Angheline worked with many Japanese, all of them prewar civilians of Davao. They were decent people. They and she spoke in mixed English, Japanese, and Filipinized Spanish.⁶² Perhaps their disappearance was not so sudden, Angheline mused decades later as she sat at her son's home munching on biscuits prepared by her niece. Her Japanese co-workers *had* been quite tensed and whispered tightly among themselves for weeks (or was it months?) before they vanished. Still, she was at a loss to where they all went. Maybe they're all dead, she muttered gloomily.⁶³

Quite likely. On April 17, US forces had begun shelling the coast of Cotabato in the other side of Mindanao and successfully occupied it the following day.⁶⁴ Soon after, all Japanese nationals were ordered to evacuate with the Imperial Forces to Tamugan, in the uppermost upstream of Davao River. It was an experience which many of those who survived described as hell.⁶⁵ In the 1939 census, there were 18,642 Japanese citizens and Filipino-Japanese individuals.⁶⁶ Despite the continued Japanese in-migration until the outbreak of the war and in-

⁶⁰ "Dabao no Kessen Taisei Kanpeki," *Firipin Jōhō* 87, September 1944, 40.

⁶¹ "Dabao ni Tekki Raishū," *Firipin Jōhō* 88, October 1944, 29.

⁶² Ohno and Hayase call this vernacular "Chabacano." Literally meaning "vulgar" in Spanish, it refers to the bastardization of the language, i.e., creole Spanish spoken in colonial Philippines. I use of "Filipinized Spanish" because none of my local sources called their language "Chabacano." Even the 1939 Census does not list it in the languages spoken in Davao. Rather, it lists "Dabawenyo," which was also mentioned by my informants. As one informant explained, while present-day Dabawenyo is predominantly Cebuano, it once contained many Spanish words. Most likely, what Hayase and Ohno calls "Chabacano" (at present, associated with the language in Zamboanga in the other side of Mindanao) was prewar Dabawenyo. Since I am not a linguist and cannot verify this, I retain the general and more descriptive "Filipinized Spanish."

⁶³ Rallon-Bajado, interviewed by author, April 30, 2014, Davao City.

⁶⁴ "History of X Corps on Mindanao" 1945, 13-15.

⁶⁵ For example, see Yonamine 2002, 227 and Gaja 2002, 255.

⁶⁶ Computed from Commission of the Census 1940, 6-7 and Commission of the Census 1941, 465.

pouring of more Japanese into Davao during the war, survivor Yoshizō Furukawa estimates that only about 14,000 returned to Japan.⁶⁷ Doing the math, that amounts to at least 4,642 dead or straggling in Davao.⁶⁸

Japanese families already in evacuation were also ordered to head to Tamugan. More than half a year ago, Shōji Kojima, a student of the Davao Central Elementary School, and his brothers and sisters were packed into their car, driven to a plantation settlement in Bayabas, and lodged in the residence of one Japanese plantation manager. Shōji's father, Hideo, was the chief physician of Taiyō Dabao Hospital in San Pedro Avenue and, unlike most other Japanese men of conscription age, was able to stay with his family. The Kojima family resided for a while in Bayabas and Shōji went to its elementary school. Later, the family moved again. Here in a place called Tagurano, enemy bombers zooming overhead was a daily sight and taking cover at around noon had become a routine. One night, a group of evacuees approached their place from the south. Thereafter, Shōji's family readied to move yet again. "We are all Japanese," Shōji recalled his mother explaining, "We received orders from the army to go to Tamugan and so we go."⁶⁹ Before the Emperor's birthday (April 29), the family was on the road, along with other families and joined by more as they trekked further up the mountain.

Tamugan was of towering cogon grass and even taller, denser forests. Confused, many evacuees moved about without a destination. They were instructed to go to Tamugan but where and what to do in that vast plateau, they were not told. Many stayed in groups. In one of the makeshift camps was Masa Ginoza, an Okinawan lady in her mid-forties. "Our group," Masa recalled decades later, "included my family, my older brother Eitaro's family, and families from other towns and villages. In all we were about 30." Because of the forced conscription the previous year, many women led their children without their husbands.⁷⁰ One of these women, Kama Yamashiro joined the large family of her fellow Kin Town settler Moto Yonamine. It seemed safer to stick with a group.

Occasionally, Masa had to leave her camp and her children to search for food to supplement their depleting supply. Such seems to have been the norm while they were in the mountains. At times, the evacuees found fruit-bearing trees. In Masa's group, her older brother first tasted it for poison and when he judged it safe, passed it to the others.⁷¹ Other groups, when they were desperate, sneaked into huts constructed or commandeered by soldiers. Kamado Nakama, another Okinawan lady, recalled chancing upon soldier mess kits. "Growing weaker and sensing the soldiers returning, we grabbed the mess kits and scampered home."⁷²

⁶⁷ Furukawa 1956, 564.

⁶⁸ Hayase counts 4,627 names in the Davao Memorial in Okinawa including repetition. See Hayase 2014, 150.

⁶⁹ Shōji Kojima 1993, 23.

⁷⁰ Yamashiro 2002, 14; Gaja 2002, 255; and T. Harada 1993, 237-38) were but a few of those women. Alingan Oyo, a Bagobo woman married to a Japanese pioneer Kichiro Tanaka, also went with her children to Tamogan where she was reunited with her husband. Author's interview with her daughter, Aiko Tanaka, Davao City, April 30, 2014; Soco-Bantayan, April 14, 2012.

⁷¹ Ginoza 1996, 128.

⁷² Kamado Nakama 2002, 253

Rainy season soon began and the rivers rushed with white waters.⁷³ “We used a rope tied to the other end of the river to cross the rapids,” Kamado described. “There was a woman who did not have a rope. She was carried by the current.”⁷⁴ Once, as Masa and her team struggled through the torrents, a group of fierce-looking Bagobos carrying bamboo spears charged toward them. Now certainly, the Bagobos might have been sallying to rescue what must have seemed to them an odd set of daredevils ignorant to the terrain. Regardless, Masa felt threatened; she appealed to whatever Power for help and screamed. Masa survived that ordeal, but her group would later have to ford the same river again to return to their camp.⁷⁵ Once their supplies were depleted, they again had to ford the same river to search for food, and again to return to their camp. Such became their deadly routine in the mountains.

Others were even less fortunate. Once, Kamado related, she saw a grown man leaning on the roots of a tree and calling to them weakly, begging for an onigiri [rice ball]. Her group can only give him half. Many of those who survived Tamugan spoke of pitiful, wandering children.⁷⁶ “Even if I wanted to help them, I could not,” Yasue Igei shared in an interview. “The children who were separated from their parents mostly died. In the mountains, there wasn’t even a small path. There was no way but to ford the rivers. There were no provisions. And, it rained very hard.”⁷⁷ In that unfriendly mountain jungle, sticking together was a way to share resources; those who drifted apart, especially the children, hardly survived.

However, clumping together made them more visible from the skies. Staying with children who walked slow and cried aloud made them (they feared) an easy target for enemy bombers. Several camps were hit. One of these was Moto’s:

Ritsuko, my third [eldest] daughter, died instantly. A shrapnel stuck on my second daughter, Taeko, and she died due to excessive bleeding.... Takao’s one leg was ripped off. It exhausted him. “Mom, it hurts. It hurts.” ... He bled profusely and then lost consciousness.⁷⁸

In just one day, Moto had three of her five children die in front of her. Her eldest daughter, Chieko, was also hit by a shrapnel but her wound was tended by a kind medic who had wandered into their camp. Her eldest son, Nobumitsu, escaped with but a graze.

Finally, around August or September, talks of Japan’s defeat was growing into a deafening crescendo. Previously, they had heard that US forces had reached Okinawa; many disbelieved it.⁷⁹ Now planes were dropping leaflets claiming that the war was over and that they should descend the mountain. Some of them said that they had met American soldiers who gave them food and medicine and told them to return to the mountain to convince others to go

⁷³ Ginoza 1996, 128.

⁷⁴ Kamado Nakama 2002, 5.

⁷⁵ Ginoza 1996, 128.

⁷⁶ For example, Tanaka 2000, 223; Igei, Yasue and Shige 2002, 250-251.

⁷⁷ Y. Igei 1996, 123.

⁷⁸ Yonamine 2002, 228-229.

⁷⁹ For example, see Matsuda 2002.

down. Later, a voice magnified by a microphone spoke to them in Japanese and said the same. The evacuees convened and discussed. Many of them still refused to believe Japan could lose the war. Others speculated that this must be a ploy to get them to surrender. Masa recalled reasoning, “I felt I was about to die anyway, I thought it’s okay if I were killed by an American soldier.”⁸⁰

In trickles evacuees staggered down Tamugan and into field camps where they were fed, given first aid, and then boarded on a truck toward Daliao. As Minoru’s truck trudged into the grounds of the Furukawa Plantation Company, he saw about 400 tents, grouped into four, and surrounded by barbwire on what was once a field of rami. There was a field hospital and roving Japanese staff checking people’s names. Around the tents, children played. Inside it, haggard Japanese evacuees feasted on bread, milk, and corned beef. Minoru had reached what would be called the Daliao Stockade.⁸¹

4.2. A Very Different Experience

Once down the mountain, the Japanese evacuees were confronted by an explosion of Filipino fury. Trucks wheeling toward Daliao were hammered by stones and shouts of anger. Once inside the stockade, Teiko Okuma had wanted to go out. She had been separated from her husband while they were in Tamugan and, after asking around, she was told he might still be in one of the field camps. Teiko had already lost her three children in Tamugan, each one by a different illness, and her last remaining child’s health was rapidly deteriorating. She *needed* to find her husband. But, outside Filipinos were shouting in murderous discordances.⁸² As one Filipino narrated:

When the Japanese surrendered, we were assigned by the Americans to guard them. I told my comrade that we’re glad that we are the guards. By using a sling, we shot the Japanese who was eating and hit the eye. We shot many Japanese prisoners who were fenced through a barbed wire. There were also women. We told ourselves since they harassed our women, we will also harass their women. I don’t know with my comrade (if they harassed the women). But I did not participate with that.⁸³

The principal of Wañgan Elementary School, a wartime migrant from Osaka who arrived in May 1943,⁸⁴ was indignant. “Among the Japanese there were those who committed crimes, but

⁸⁰ Ginoza 1996, 128.

⁸¹ Hirano 2000, 19.

⁸² Okuma 2002, 243.

⁸³ “Antonio O. Abiao” 2009, 91. Parenthesis in the original.

⁸⁴ “Kyōin Fusoku no,” *Dabao Shimibun*, May 31, 1943.

there are also those who are faultless,” he wrote. “Many of the Filipinos were starving and hence went crazy for blood. They killed many Japanese, even the non-combatants.”⁸⁵

To understand Filipino anger against the Japanese, we must turn back half a year, to April 1945 when Angheline Rallon found all her Japanese friends had vanished. We do this not to justify Filipino crimes, just as we cannot condone those by the Japanese. Our objective is to understand. The Wañgan Principal, and even Teiko, knew that Filipinos were harassed by the Imperial Forces, but I doubt they reckoned the extent. Similarly, Filipinos were oblivious of the struggles in Tamugan. Here, I present a picture of the Filipino experience (incomplete as it might still be) to show its difference from the Japanese experience I have just described, a difference that in the decades that followed became the wellspring of contrasting Filipino and Japanese war histories.

While Japanese non-combatants were instructed to go to Tamugan, platoons moved from one barrio to another. They trained, planned, and, when needed, engaged the enemy. Minoru’s platoon for example moved between Manambulan, Daliao, Mintal, and Libby. Others remained in their stations near plantation settlements. At times, the settlements were empty. In others, Filipinos resided. It was in these populated settlements that the Imperial Forces engaged in what was no less than a killing spree.

On May 2, 1945, Filipino residents in Bacaca were reported to have been taken to an air raid shelter. From the group, a 17 year old girl was plucked and raped at the entrance. After her, another 21 year old was sexually assaulted. When they were done, Japanese soldiers threw in five or six grenades. The following day, another massacre was reported in another air raid shelter in the same barrio. Two days later, 30 were gathered in a house in Mulig, and like those in Bacaca, grenades were thrown in. After the blasts, the soldiers went inside and bayoneted those who seemed breathing. Meanwhile, other Japanese soldiers marauded the streets, bayoneting families in their homes and outside of it. They did so not only in Bacaca but also in the barrios of Tigatto, Wañgan, and Biao.⁸⁶

On May 10, three families were reported to have been massacred in Bunawan. In the first two, each throat was cut. In the last, a woman was abducted. Her body was found the next morning, stripped and mutilated. On the 14th, more than a hundred Filipinos were gathered in Tugbok, divided into two groups, and fired upon. The following day, a survivor counted 89 cadavers. In Biao, about 30 Filipinos were massacred on the 17th. In Tagakpan, three were killed on the 18th. In Gatugan, another two were murdered on the 19th. In Catalunan Grande, six were killed on the 21st. In Matina Pangí, three men were hung by their feet from a tree. When the soldiers found these were still alive, they open fired. Before May ended, about twenty

⁸⁵ Yoshida, in Tanaka 2000, 230.

⁸⁶ “Japanese War Crimes Trials,” Bundle 15 Reports 150, 152, and 154; Bundle 23 Report 244; Bundle 24 Report 264; and Bundle 25 Report 271. Around this time, May 2-3, US forces have entered the city, and engaged the Japanese troops in Mintal, Talomo, and Davao River. By late afternoon of May 3, Davao City Central was declared secured. See “History of the X Corps on Mindanao” 1945, 25. See Appendix 1 for the summary of cases.

to thirty more Filipinos were made to line up on the road, and in fours and fives, were taken to a nearby grove from where shots were heard.⁸⁷

During the war crimes investigations for these murders, the implicated Japanese soldiers included Japanese locals inducted the year before. Among those who gathered the massacred Filipinos in Tugbok were prewar sharecroppers of the Ohta Development Company, known to the Filipino residents by their last names. Likewise, two and four Japanese from the area accompanied the soldiers in the Biao and Catalunan Grande, respectively. Among the suspects of the murder in Tagakpan, a prewar vegetable farmer Odonomo Matsumoni (sic) was identified by witnesses. In most cases, the Japanese locals were described merely as civilians in military uniform. Not in all cases were the Japanese locals party to the murders. At least two of them forewarned the residents of the impending massacres, allowing several to flee.⁸⁸

In one case, a Japanese local was the instigator. The Torres family were massacred in their farm in Biao by their tenant, Tetsuo Naito. Virginia, the only survivor of the massacre testified that some of their Japanese tenants refused to pay rent⁸⁹ after the invasion. “This is no longer your land inasmuch as we have won the war,”⁹⁰ Naito supposed to have said. This sparked conflict between them and her mother. Plus, Virginia’s mother rebuffed the order to send her sons to the compulsory labor in the airfields. This, Virginia speculated, must have angered Naito who was then in charge of their neighborhood association. On the day of the massacre, Naito along with two soldiers came to their house and killed each member starting with the much-despised matriarch. Virginia, bleeding from gaping wounds, stumbled through the fields until she reached a neighbor’s house. After the war, when Virginia had been patched up and the case had been brought to the war crimes investigation, she was asked to identify the murderer of her family. Together with Investigating Officer Samuel Rowe, she went to the Daliao Stockade and pointed to the prisoner-of-war Tetsuo Naito who, when asked, recognized her as “Torres.”⁹¹

Such was the Filipino experience of 1945. While the Japanese languished up on Tamugan, Filipinos suffered remarkable brutality from some of whom they were already at odds with since before the war. It was a month-long violence so traumatic that it became the face of “the Japanese Period” in Philippine history.

⁸⁷ “Japanese War Crimes Trials,” Bundle 17 Report 166; Bundle 20 Report 208; Bundle 21 Reports 221 and 222; Bundle 22 Report 226; Bundle 23 Report 240 and 243; and Bundle 36 Report 356. The Battle of Ising (in northern part of Davao) continued from May 3 to 10, long after Davao was declared reoccupied by the US forces (Vallejo 2009).

⁸⁸ “Japanese War Crimes Trials,” Bundle 23 Report 244 and Bundle 25 Report 271.

⁸⁹ Rather than “rent,” it was more like percentage in a sharecropping agreement called “pakyaw.” Patricia Dacudao devotes a subsection explaining the pakyaw. See Dacudao 2017, 163-167.

⁹⁰ “Japanese War Crimes Trials,” Bundle 15 Report 154.

⁹¹ “Japanese War Crimes Trials,” Bundle 15 Report 154.

4.3. Outside the Two Poles

The war is a story not only of cruelty and atrocities. In a time when violence engulfed the settler zone—violence wrought not only by invading militaries but also by the locals themselves—acts of kindness persisted.

Toshie Harada wandered through the forests of Upian, a little girl in hand. Her husband, an accountant of an Ohta Development Company farm in Padada, left her last November. Having enlisted, he needed to report to his company in Bayabas and she had not heard from him since. Toshie had been to Tamugan. There, she lost her two children. The last remaining child, her four-year old daughter, was as weakened as she. As they drifted, Toshie and the child found a small hut, one of several scattered throughout Upian. After an unknown span of time, a family came to live with them. The mother was a Moro⁹² and the father was a Japanese.

Ever since the family moved into the hut (which was probably theirs), Toshie and her child grew healthier. Every morning, the family set off toward the direction of Suarez and then returned with food. After about a week, the Japanese father informed Toshie that the US military had arrived and that they should go down the mountain. At Daliao Stockade, Toshie chanced upon a friend of her husband, a hemp buyer from Calinan named Kai married to a local woman. Kai apparently had been hired to assist in the stockade. In about a week or so, Kai helped Toshie and her husband reunite.⁹³ Although Davao was indeed polarized into the warring sides of “the Filipino” and “the Japanese,” kindness between Filipino and Japanese individuals are remembered and recognized by those who experienced them.

Toshie and her daughter were not the only ones who found refuge in the mountain. Similar stories, patches of them yet to be organized into a metanarrative, are recorded in oral histories.

Morihide Arasaki and his family came down the mountains healthier than most other Japanese from Tamugan. Even before the order to evacuate, they had been receiving rice from Bagobos. Morihide was a migrant hailing from Yomitan Village in Okinawa, sailed to Davao in 1939, and served as teacher and then as principal of Calinan Japanese Elementary School. Before the war, he happened to befriend a Japanese settler in Baguio (eastern outskirts of Davao City) named Yogi who was married to a Bagobo woman. At the order to evacuate in 1945, Morihide and his family went to Tamugan but soon found that food was scarce and the environs were difficult. They moved to nearby Upian where they reunited with Yogi. The following day, Yogi’s wife introduced Morihide to the chieftain who invited him to become his “amigo” [friend]. As Morihide was made to understand, this meant that the chieftain will give him and his family food and everything else they needed, and in return they will accede to whatever the chieftain requested. It was a relationship that resembled, as Morihide described decades later,

⁹² Indigenous Muslim Filipino. See Chapter 3. Note that this story comes down to us through Toshie Harada’s husband. Whether the woman was indeed Muslim cannot be ascertained.

⁹³ Summarized from Harada, in Tanaka 2002, 237-240.

that of a father-and-child, a system of patronage which the chieftain maintained with about 40 to 50 persons under him, each family living separately in their own huts.⁹⁴

The chieftain's community was self-sustaining. They ate five to six times a day of palay or mais, with pepper and salt as side dish. They also set traps in the forests and at times caught a boar or a monkey. When the rice Morihide received from the chieftain dwindled, he snuck back toward Tamugan in search for food. As can be expected, it was not a happy or a safe endeavor. When the chieftain saw that Morihide's family no longer had rice, he called a boy, instructed it to fetch rice, and gave it to the family. In return, Morihide was made to oversee a rice paddy under the chieftain's jurisdiction. While waiting for its harvest, the chieftain and several of his amigos ventured into the forests and returned with small sacks of food for them to share with the community. Morihide understood the difficulty of searching (and finding) food at that time. As he later wrote in great respect, "I bow to the actions of these people."⁹⁵

One day, a boy reported to the chief that he saw three or four Japanese soldiers in the direction of their paddies. A Japanese mother and her child were attacked by these soldiers and stole their food, the boy continued. Apparently, these soldiers were violent. Morihide was made to carry Yogi's pistol and the boy was given a gun that seemed to have come from the USAFFE before the war. Joining a group led by the chieftain, they marched toward the direction of the paddies but when they got there, the soldiers were gone.

After some time, they ceased to hear the sounds of blasts. Morihide's brother came up to their highland community and told them that the war was lost. Fujii, the Japanese living in the hut next to Morihide's, said that his family will depart for Tamugan in the morning. When they did, Morihide decided that his family should do the same. When they left their refuge, they were carrying a sack of rice and a sack of clothes—far more than those they met along the way toward the Tamugan field camp. Morihide knew that they lived a happy life by the blessing of the chieftain. And though they had to leave, he left with mixed sadness and gratitude.⁹⁶

Although Davao was polarized into the Filipino on the one hand and the Japanese on the other, a sanctuary away from the divisive war existed in the mountains. Indigenous people who had since before the war distinguished themselves from the Filipino settlers organized highland communities. Self-sustaining and armed, they served as a third pole, away from the polarizing settler zone.

⁹⁴ Arasaki 1993, 623.

⁹⁵ Arasaki 1993, 624.

⁹⁶ Arasaki 1993, 626.

5. Ruptured Histories⁹⁷ (End of 1945 – 1949)

5.1. Leaving Davao

As their ship sailed off, Minoru looked up and saw Mount Apo. Still majestic with white tints shimmering by its peak, Apo looked the way it did when he first beheld it ten years ago. “Generally, soldiers were happy to be going back to Japan,” Minoru wrote decades later, “but I was filled with different emotions. It was the end of Japanese migration to Davao.”⁹⁸

For many of the children born in the settler zone, the journey was not one of going home. Davao was their home and it was their first time to see Japan.⁹⁹ Tadatsugu Maruyama, a Japanese boy born in Davao, boarded an American ship¹⁰⁰ that was to take him to Japan around late October or early November. His older brother had enlisted and died in the battle of Leyte in 1944; his father disappeared before they left for Tamugan. Thus, it was only Tadatsugu, his mother, and another brother that will go to Japan.

As the three were leaving the Daliao Stockade, a Filipina called to his mother from outside the barbwires. This lady had been here before. Once, she had brought a basket full of fruits: bayabas, lansones, santol, papaya, abocado, mangostein, and pineapple. Now, she was seeing them off. “Señora Maria, Dario, adios!” Tadatsugu recalled her calling their Filipino names. In a mix of English, Japanese and Filipinized Spanish, the lady cried that she will be waiting for their return. To this, Tadatsugu’s mother invited her to visit them in Japan. The two ladies will not be able to reunite and his mother was not able to return to Davao, something which Tadatsugu would write about decades later in deep remorse.¹⁰¹

Before the war, the trip from Nagasaki to Davao was enough to make unseasoned passengers queasy. Now, after enduring months in Tamugan and weeks at the stockade, they were crammed into war-worn military vessels and cargo ships. As they sailed north, the wind went colder and colder. According to Tadatsugu’s mother, they were supposed to head to Seto in Hiroshima but because its harbor was suspected to be decked with mines, they disembarked instead in Kagoshima—they, as well as the Okinawan ladies Moto, Teiko, Kama, and Kamado. In general, the women and children docked in Kagoshima and in Hiroshima. The men, who

⁹⁷ Concept was taken from Jager and Mitter 2007.

⁹⁸ Hirano, in Tanaka 2000, 225.

⁹⁹ Describing repatriation of Japanese nationals in general (i.e., focusing on Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria), a scholar on the Asia-Pacific War, Hideo Kobayashi noted, “Talk about ‘going home to Japan and finding no food there’ spread quickly. People often had no choice but to remain where they were” (2000, 168). From Minoru’s and Tadatsugu’s recollections, however, it seemed that those from Davao had no choice but to *leave*. Mariko Iijima expounds the Philippine Nikkei Diaspora’s concept of “home,” noting that home [furusato] can mean either native country [sokoku] or country where one was born [umare furuto]. See Iijima 2016, 598-601.

¹⁰⁰ As this was a repatriation, Japanese vessels should have been used. However, because most had been sunk or rendered no longer seaworthy, US vessels were also used. The “Notice to Japanese Personnel on Guam (“Gaichi Jōhō...,” 1372) allowed Japanese-manned US vessels to ferry Japanese POWs and disarmed personnel from the island. I assume that the same happened in the repatriation in Davao.

¹⁰¹ Maruyama 2008, 116.

were repatriated separately from the women, got off in Kanagawa. In the flurry of things, Masa and her daughter found themselves in the camps of Kanagawa.

Tadatsugu's first taste of Japan was devastation and an awful chill. It was autumn and he was still in his tropical shorts. The train to his mother's hometown in Nagano was even more packed than the American vessel that took them to Kagoshima. On the deck, it was so crowded that some fell off and (most likely) died. Inside, it was so crammed that people could not move. Because the stopovers took so long, the passengers ate, slept, peed, and defecated inside. Despite the stink, Tadatsugu scarcely left the cabin. He had not known autumn or was he dressed for it.¹⁰²

Those from Okinawa took months, even years to return to their towns and villages of origin. As one explained, "the American bases were everywhere in Yomitan. We could not return immediately."¹⁰³ Some went to different cities, others moved from one repatriation camp to another. Those who had connections outside Okinawa were able to move and find work elsewhere. The rest stayed in makeshift, overcrowded camps. Moto's last remaining daughter Chieko, who survived the air raid in Tamugan with a wounded leg, died in the camp. Her leg had been growing worse on board the repatriation ship.¹⁰⁴ "It was cold and malnutrition was prevalent," another Okinawan lady recalled. "In a day, fifteen or sixteen died. The local newspapers say, 'The Fukuoka Central Crematory is filled with Philippine migrants.' I see such news and my anger could not be abated."¹⁰⁵

Again, these were unknown to Filipinos in Davao coping with their own tragedies. Much of the remains of the victims of the May 1945 massacres remained unburied for months. Immediately after the Japanese who murdered his family departed, Anastacio Ehara of Bacaca gathered the bodies and wrapped them in a canvas, but it was not until November before he could bury them in the Catholic cemetery in Wireless (at the western end of the City Central). It seems that for Catholic Filipinos, departed loved ones must be buried in a Catholic cemetery. Unfortunately, as one postwar report described, "Many sections of the roads were not passable by motor vehicles on account of bomb holes, destroyed bridges and second growth vegetations." Five permanent bridges—Davao, Matina, Talomo, Sirawan and Bunawan—were destroyed.¹⁰⁶ George Abando, whose mother and brother-in-law were killed at Wañgan, placed their remains in a box and could not bury them because the Wañgan Bridge had not been rebuilt.¹⁰⁷ By the time that the US army investigated the Japanese war crimes in 1946, many remains of the Tigatto and the Lapoy massacres still had to be buried.¹⁰⁸ Carmen Soriano, whose husband was taken by Japanese soldiers in May 1945, continued to wait for his return.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰² Maruyama 2008, 121-122.

¹⁰³ Hahira 2002.

¹⁰⁴ Yonamine 2002, 232-234

¹⁰⁵ E. Nakama 1996, 132. For more stories of repatriation, see Ohno 2015, 92-96.

¹⁰⁶ Pacis 1950, 38.

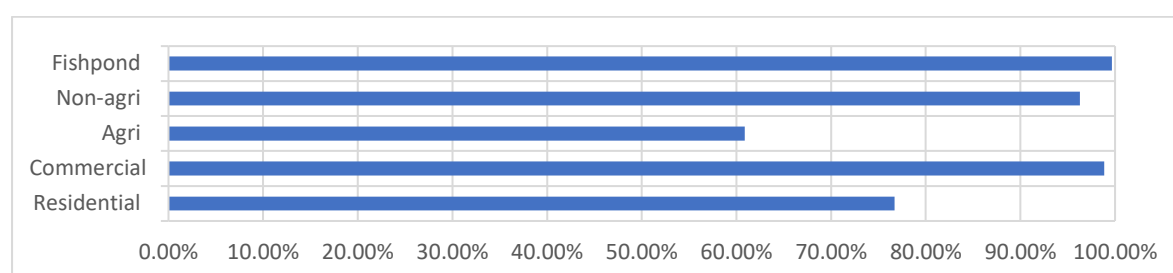
¹⁰⁷ "Japanese War Crimes Trials," Bundle 24 Report 264.

¹⁰⁸ "Japanese War Crimes Trials," Bundle 23 Report 244 and Bundle 21 Report 221.

¹⁰⁹ Panuncialman 2002, 122.

Filipinos in Davao had to rebuild their lives and their province. Even as she waited for her husband's return, Carmen, mother of six, had to resume the operations of her farm alone.¹¹⁰ Angheline, who worked in the rice rationing office under the Japanese, now rationed out food supplies under the Americans.¹¹¹ Many of the guerrillas who fought in the May 3-10 Battle of Ising returned to their farming or to their studies. They were ordered to surrender their arms and were awarded with military ribbons (which some of them soon misplaced).¹¹² Parent-teacher associations "constructed temporary school buildings at their own expenses and in some cases provided the necessary funds for the salaries of the teachers needed." Because the war damage funds were delayed, reconstruction were funded locally.¹¹³

Figure 5-4. Percentage of Filipino Families with No Land, 1948, Philippines¹¹⁴



Along with this crawling rehabilitation was an in-pouring of Filipinos from other provinces. The 1948 census records 361,389 Philippine citizens in Davao, an increase of almost a hundred thousand since the 1939 census despite the numerous deaths during the war and immediately after.¹¹⁵ Among Filipinos with gainful occupation, 61.7% had a yearly income below 600 pesos, or an average 50 pesos a month, or scarcely over 10 pesos a day.¹¹⁶ To put that into perspective, a night's stay at a hotel in Davao in 1948 ranged from 5 to 10 pesos.¹¹⁷ Moreover, most Filipino families had neither residential land, commercial land, agricultural land, non-agricultural land, nor fishponds. (See Figure 5-4).

Clearly, the rebuilding of Davao was not going as well as one hoped and it was causing a new form of armed violence. Agdao in the Davao City Central, devastated during the war, donned a different face. As one of its old residents recalled:

In post-World War II Agdao, you lived with the kids of the bodegeros, the men who worked in the bodegas of Columbian Rope, Elizalde & Company, and the wharfhands who labored in the pantalan (pier). This was the social milieu

¹¹⁰ Panuncialman 2002, 122.

¹¹¹ Interviewed by author, April 30, 2014, Davao City.

¹¹² For example, Vallejo 2009, 109 and 117.

¹¹³ Pacis 1950, 41.

¹¹⁴ "Filipino families" in the census report is "families classified according to... citizenship of the head." Note, this is percentage comes from the aggregate Philippine count, not Davao alone. Computed from Bureau of the Census and Statistics 1953, 2260-2261, 2274-2275, 2288-2289, 2302-2303, and 2316-2317. Measurements differed between types of land. See Appendix 2 for the table.

¹¹⁵ Computed from Bureau of the Census and Statistics 1953, 387-88, 389-390, and 391-392.

¹¹⁶ Computed from Bureau of the Census and Statistics 1953, 2018-2019..

¹¹⁷ *Caltex Official Philippine Motor Road and Touring Guide, 1948-1949*, 207.

in which you moved around. They were the families the war had harshly impoverished.... It was not unusual that Agdao kids somehow learned to fight with their fists earlier than those from other parts of the city.¹¹⁸

The new settlers, struggling as they were to rebuild Davao and to survive its postwar travails, did not know Davao's prewar hybridity. Nor did they have the same experience and memory of the war. Moreover, there seemed to be a conscious erasure of the Japanese in official records. Most noticeably, in the 1948 census, there was no "Japanese" among the categories for non-Philippine citizens. There were categories for citizens of China and the US (the second and third highest number of non-Philippine population in the country),¹¹⁹ but not for the citizens of Japan.

In the immediate postwar histories, there were barely any mentions of the prewar Japanese and what little there was recalled the Japanese prewar economic dominance akin to colonial incursion. Davao's volume in the 1950's Historical Data Papers does not mention the prewar Japanese locals.¹²⁰ Caltex's 1948-1949 motor guide describes "The people of Davao, freed from the Japanese socially, economically, and agriculturally, feel that they have come into their own."¹²¹ In the same tone, local popular historian Gloria Dabbay writes for the souvenir program of Davao's Foundation Day, "Rising from the chaos and rubble of World War II, Davao City emerged liberated from Japanese economic dominance."¹²²

More sinister though even fewer in appearances were memories of the Japanese locals participating in Japan's dreaded Imperial Forces. As Pacis writes, "The 19,000 Japanese civilians before the war joined the army and took command of civilian affairs."¹²³ Local historian Damian Lomocso was recorded to have presented in a 1972 conference organized by the National Historical Institute:

When Japan attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the Japanese civilian workers, more than 22,000, in the Davao abaca plantations were already prepared for any eventuality. As soldiers of the Japanese Imperial Army they occupied the city immediately after the Japanese Air Force bomb Davao.¹²⁴

Astoundingly erroneous, it was unfortunately shown to a wider audience within an academic and historical setting. However, Lomocso's take is but a reflection of the historiography of his time. It evidences the postwar polarization of Davao history where Japanese locals were either absent or demonized as the Enemy. As this thesis argues, the writing of history is a legacy of the war and the imperial alternations of which the war was part.

¹¹⁸ Kabasares 1999, 7. Translation in the parenthesis in the original. In the original, "pantalan" was italicized as a non-English word.

¹¹⁹ This is true for the aggregate count for the Philippines but not for Davao where there were 2,968 citizens of China, 342 of the Netherlands, and only 62 of the US. See Bureau of the Census and Statistics 1953, 387-88, 389-390, and 391-392.

¹²⁰ The Historical Data Papers were collected by local public school teachers in a nationwide effort toward Philippine local history.

¹²¹ Caltex 1949, 206.

¹²² Dabbay 1983, 6.

¹²³ Pacis 1950, 21.

¹²⁴ Lomocso 1976, 70.

An odd exception, Cecil Cody's 1959 article paints a peaceful, civic-minded prewar Japanese in Davao.¹²⁵ Cody relied heavily on key informants, one of whom was Elias Lopez, a Bagobo and later Davao City mayor famous for his assistance to returning Japanese repatriates. Besides Lopez, also credited were Antonio Habana Jr., Manuel G. Cabaguio, Arsenio Suazo, and Diosdado Perez Sr.—professionals and government officials whose names appeared in the prewar publication recognizing them alongside Japanese businessmen such as Yasaku Morokuma and Ozao Mizobe as “Builders of Davao.”¹²⁶ Although informants were acknowledged at the start of the article, Cody noted that “specific citations are not given for fear of possible embarrassment.”¹²⁷ Unlike in the 1930s when they can have their names and faces printed in the same page as those of the Japanese even amidst the Philippine anti-Japanese nationalist rhetoric, Cody's informants shared their stories to an outsider who carefully removed any individual affinity to the Japanese. They seem to know that their narratives had become different from Davao's.

5.2. Living outside History

And so the Japanese locals were repatriated while the Filipino locals remained. What became of the Filipino-Japanese families? Some of them, such as the Lola Aiko's family (Chapter 3) and the Matsuo family, were separated. Because of the compulsory military service, many Filipinas lost their Japanese husbands and older sons. One can expect that they preferred to stay in Davao rather than risk it all going to Japan, which they most likely had not seen and which had lost the war.¹²⁸ Despite the variety in the stories, one theme prevails: Filipino-Japanese children were stigmatized for their Japanese background. Like a stain, ugly and reeking of foul odor, it led other kids in school to bully them. They and their Filipina mothers lived in fear of former resistance fighters. Many used their Filipino names and hid their Japanese background.¹²⁹

Discriminated and persecuted though they were, family, friends, and prewar business clientele offered support. Lolo Alfredo, one of my interviewees, recalled that his cousin,

¹²⁵ Besides Cody, there were three other postwar works on the Japanese in Davao: Goodman (1967), Saniel (1966), and Quiason (1958). Cody is here highlighted because of his Davao informants. My focus is not Cody as a postwar writer but his postwar Davao informants. That said, Cody himself was an enigma. He specialized in Japanese history and had a PhD from the University of Washington (see “Contributors and Reviewers” page of the journal issue). Yet, he openly relied on interviews long before oral histories was welcomed in the historical discipline. The other three writers went on to influence future generations of historians. Quiason later led the National Historical Institute; Saniel became one of the proponents of Asian studies in the University of the Philippines; and Goodman was influential in the works of Hayase and Yu-Jose. Yet, Cody seems to have disappeared from academia in the 1960s.

¹²⁶ Cody 1959, 172. Antonio Habana Jr. was Davao City Councilor (p.1); Manuel G. Cabaguio, Davao City Councilor (p. 9); Arsenio Suazo, lawyer, planter, and former representative of Davao (p. 26); Diosdado Perez Sr., (description incomprehensible in the source, p. 27); and Eliseo Braganza, Assistant Building Inspector of the Engineering and public works (p. 30). See Pacifico 1938.

¹²⁷ Cody 1959, 172.

¹²⁸ Oddly enough, Furukawa records that the Filipina wife of his friend who had died during the war went to Japan (1956, 193-195). Hayase also notes that he met Filipino wives in Okinawa in the 1980s but they did not return his survey interviews (2020, forthcoming).

¹²⁹ See for example, Fresnoza-Flot 2008, and Ohno 2015.

Kanding was able to support her child even after her Japanese husband was shipped to Japan. Before the war, Kanding used to peddle at the Davao Public Market together with Lolo Alfredo's parents and the other Caviteños. Postwar, she continued doing so. "She had loyal patrons [suki]," Lolo Alfredo explained. And then further, he mused, "If you have a child to feed, you forget those things [like losing your husband]." ¹³⁰

Those who were lucky, that is those who had connections with indigenous chieftains, were assured of protection. In the northern slope of Mount Apo, Cesar Matsuo and his siblings lived under the protection of another Bagobo community. Lolo Cesar related that he was a grandchild of a Bagobo chieftain in Sirib area. ¹³¹ After the war, his father was repatriated to Japan, his eldest brother who was inducted into the Imperial Force surrendered to the US, another brother had died in an air raid, and his mother died of depression soon after. Orphaned, he and his remaining siblings were cared for by their uncle. They were rarely teased in school, he recalled. "There were those who would [shout] to us, 'Japanese! Japanese!' But we had many cousins who defended us. [They'd say,] 'Don't bother that [kid].'" ¹³² he also remembered his teachers handing them letters from their repatriated father telling them to study well. How the letters travelled from devastated Japan to anti-Japanese Philippines, Lolo Cesar could only speculate.

Correspondences *did* seem to flow from Japan to Davao, sporadic and few they might have been. Jose Nakamura Original was in Japan and got word that his land was being occupied by his Bagobo relatives. Jose's Bagobo mother died in 1928 when he was four years old. Though unwed, his Japanese father took guardianship of both Jose and the land until his death in 1945. At Japan's defeat, Jose was taken to the US to serve as interpreter in the US Army. While Jose was away, several of his Bagobo relatives occupied the land and then later claimed it for their own, declaring that Jose's mother did not have any heir. She and the Japanese were unwed, they reasoned, insinuating that Jose was illegitimate and thus could not be an heir. ¹³³

In 1951, Jose, still in Japan, authorized Brigido R. Valencia (later Public Works Secretary) to take charge of his properties in Davao. Valencia took the matter to court. The judge in Davao ruled that Jose is the rightful owner of the land and that his relatives should move out, leaving behind all their improvements on it. Jose's relatives elevated the case to the Supreme Court which later upheld the local judge's ruling. During the investigation for the appeal, it was further found that Jose relatives "had filed charges in the Philippine Consulate in Tokyo to the effect that [Jose]... became a member of the Japanese Military Police (Kempetai) and as such, had committed all kinds of crimes." The Supreme Court dismissed Jose's relatives as "frivolous" and asserted that "they knew all along that all their charges were false." ¹³⁴ For Jose to know that his Bagobo relatives had occupied his land, for him to authorize Valencia, and for the probable correspondences between the two in the course of the trials, correspondences must have flowed between Davao and Tokyo.

¹³⁰ Alfredo Arieta, interviewed by author on April 26, 2014, Davao City. "Lolo" is grandfather in Filipino. Placed before a name, it serves as an honorific for men older by two generations.

¹³¹ Matsuo, interviewed by author, April 26, 2014, Davao City; and Ohno 2015, 92.

¹³² Matsuo, interviewed by author, April 26, 2014, Davao City.

¹³³ *Aring Bagoba et al v. Fernandez and Original*, 1958.

¹³⁴ *Aring Bagoba et al v. Fernandez and Original*, 1958

This story is illuminating in several other ways: First, there were of-age Filipino-Japanese mestizos who went to Japan to serve as interpreters in the US Army. They were not “repatriates.” Second, a Filipino-Japanese was proficient in the Japanese language enough to serve as interpreter in the US Army. Even before the outbreak of the war, the US Army had been training Nisei in the US to serve as interpreters for the armed forces. As Ano (1977) shows, it was not an easy task. Not everyone passed and were “sent to the Pacific theater of operations.”¹³⁵ This puts into question the assertion that children of Bagobo-Japanese parentage, *as a people*, could not speak proficient Japanese whether it is due to their lack of Japanese education or the strength of their ties to their Bagobo kin. It can be argued that their proficiency was not at par with the Japanese military expectations, but it was apparently at par with those of the US Army. Third, Filipino-Japanese mestizo’s Japanese background were indeed used against them but in a sudden plot twist, it was their Bagobo relatives who were discriminatory and it was the judges (i.e., state officials) who went in favor of the mestizos. As I insist, Davao was a hybrid space. While there were Filipinos against the Japanese menace, there were also Filipinos who deemed the Japanese as part of the community.

A schematic portrayal of the pro-Japanese Bagobo, the discriminated Japanese mestizo, and the anti-Japanese Filipinos does not hold water. The space was too hybrid for such boxes to contain its people. Furthermore, as I argue, the crafting of Davao history anchored on those three tropes is itself part of the legacy of war and colonialism.

6. Summary and Discussion

After the invasion, the neighborhood watch was organized, putting its members into conflict with the ever-increasing Filipino resistance. As the war intensified, more pressure was placed on the Japanese populace to contribute to Japan’s war. From just the volunteer labor corps, involvement extended to all Japanese compatriots including Filipino-Japanese families. By 1944, Japanese (and Filipino-Japanese) men were conscripted into the military. In 1945, the evacuation to Tamugan physically uprooted the Japanese from their localities, separating them from their Filipinos neighbors and creating differing experiences of the most dramatic phase of the war. Finally, after Japan’s defeat, the Japanese were repatriated out and new Filipino settlers poured in, burying Davao’s hybrid past in postwar efforts to rebuild Davao and consequently silencing or demonizing the Japanese of Davao in Davao’s local history.

The Pacific War polarized Davao. Fueled by nationalist rhetoric dating back prewar and by atrocities since the outbreak, parallel organized war efforts created two contending forces. Demographic shifts through mass evacuation, repatriation, and new in-migration physically separated hybrid localities. This created different experiences of violence and, consequently, starkly contrasting histories of the same war in the same province.

This war was not merely an imposition from external imperial-national powers; rather it played out in the locality through the Davao locals themselves. The writers of the *Dabao*

¹³⁵ Ano 1977, 277.

Shimbun and the reports of the DJA spoke the language of imperialism, something which (as our comparison with Guam will show) is neither natural nor inevitable. Japanese locals participated in organized war efforts and adhered to the total war ideology. Valiant, patriotic, and honorable though many of their motives might be, it was their participation and adherence that polarized Davao. Atrocities by Japanese locals further aggravated Filipino image of a Japanese enemy. In brief, Davao's polarization was effected and perpetuated by the Davao locals themselves.

With this narrative, we can respond to the current discussions on the Japanese locals in the Pacific War. First, it shatters the distinction often made between Japanese civilians (prewar residents) and the military (wartime migrants). The former has been portrayed as mere victims of a war that was not of their own doing. The latter has been blamed for destroying Davao. The findings show that Japanese civilians were absorbed into the military and some of them used their positions for their own ends whether this was for the protection or for the destruction of Filipino fellow locals.

Second, zooming into the war clarifies what Ricardo Jose describes as friends becoming enemies and expounds Hayase's contention that "certain incidents [at the outbreak of the war] prevented Filipino-Japanese friendship from continuing."¹³⁶ Cross-national communal and familial relations in the settler zone did not turn sour immediately at the declaration of war. Polarization did not happen overnight, not even over the two-week internment and invasion. Rather, it developed in stages over three and a half years' time, culling from a wellspring of prewar Filipino-Japanese tensions.

Third, in his study on second-generation Filipino-Japanese, Shun Ohno echoes his key informants that Bagobos tended to be more pro-Japan than Visayans (Filipinos settlers from the Visayan Islands) because of the Japanese-Bagobo intermarriages and their dispossession by Filipinos before the war.¹³⁷ Although intermarriages did seem to play a part, my findings leads to a different conclusion: Evacuees in Tamugan dreaded the Bagobos. Japanese soldiers died through Bagobo's hands and haggard scavengers screamed in fear of them. On the other side of the fence, accounts of Japanese evacuees who were with Bagobos showed that the highland community felt the need to defend themselves from Japanese soldiers who wandered close to their demesne. Finally, studies on prewar Davao insist that indigenous dispossession was both by Filipino government officials and professionals and by Japanese plantation companies. A distinction between a pro-Japan Bagobo and an anti-Japan Visayan settler cannot be drawn. Rather, highland communities formed a third organized force outside the two contending poles of imperial Japan and Philippine nation.

Heeding Filipino sources allows us to contextualize not only the Bagobo collaboration but also the discrimination and harassment suffered by Filipino-Japanese children in the aftermath of the war.¹³⁸ Postwar, Davao was in shambles and rehabilitation and in-migration

¹³⁶ Hayase 2014, 167; Jose 1998, 22 and 24.

¹³⁷ Ohno 2015, 81 and 98.

¹³⁸ Ohno 2015, 91-92.

were propelling new waves of social unrest both in the town centers and in the inner lands. Threats to life and property plagued not only Filipino-Japanese but also Filipinos, be they old or new settlers or indigenous. That anyone associated with Japan bore the stigma of the defeated enemy cannot be contested. However, as comparisons with Guam will show, there was no sustained effort at remembrance and commemoration refueling hatred and demonization.

Fourth, nationalist sentiments which led Davao locals to join the war were not always equal to adherence to the total war ideologies. Highlighting this distinction is important as it explains how Filipino-Japanese bonds persisted despite the divisiveness of the war. There were Filipinos willingly part of the guerilla resistance who aided their Japanese prewar friends, just as there were Japanese soldiers who worried over prewar neighbors and who forewarned them of impending massacres. By looking at localities with preexisting cross-national bonds, this study shows that total war ideologies were not the same as wanting to fight for the nation. Precisely because they were conflated by war propaganda that Filipino and Japanese locals who fought for their nations yet did not ascribe to the total war ideology became conflicted. It is this nuance which previous studies, by approaching the Japanese as imperial subjects instead of as members of hybrid localities, were not able to tease out.

How common these persisting cross-national ties are is beyond the limits of our anecdotal narrative. Nevertheless, our findings complement those by Sensui (2018), Ohno (2015), Hayase (2014), Fujitani (2011), and Malesevic (2010). By zooming into hybrid spaces where residents from the warring nation-states had been coexisting, I show the limits of “centrifugal (mass) ideologization.”¹³⁹ Although contending organized forces did develop in Davao, it did not obliterate cross-national/cross-racial solidarities. Moreover, although these solidarities were buried in war history dominated by national grand narratives, they nevertheless endured.

¹³⁹ Malesevic 2010, 5. Parenthesis in the original.

Part 3. The Japanese of Guam

Chapter 6. Guam: Where Worlds Merged

1. Introduction

The Honolulu Boeing Clipper, Pan American Airway's newest addition to its line of transpacific transports, landed and taxied on the waters of Apra Harbor in the western coast of Guam.¹ Apra Harbor and its vicinity were largely a US military district. Sprawled in the Orote Peninsula in its south were the airfield, the Marine barracks and houses for the officers, the Standard Oil yard, the J.H. Pomeroy Construction Company, the Commercial Pacific Cable Company, and the US Navy radio station. If one wanted a feel of the city, one had to drive a few minutes north to Agana City, the capital of Guam. There, jitneys, cars, buses, and bikes plied the paved roads. Walt Disney's *Snow White* "dominated" the Gaiety Theater.² Ice cream and fruit drops in different flavors were, given the sweltering tropical heat of the island, understandably a hot seller. Residences were mostly equipped with "a refrigerator, telephone, electric lights, and all the conveniences we could have had anywhere."³ The homes of the most affluent were even grander, furnished with phonographs, pianos, and libraries with books such as the full collection of *Harvard Classics* and subscriptions to the Book of the Month Club.⁴

Meanwhile, the rest of the island lived on the produce of the land and the sea. Taro, papaya, and banana abounded all year round.⁵ Taro, in particular, was harvested in large amounts and all for the islanders' subsistence.⁶ From the coconut, they can have materials for their huts, utensils, vinegar, beverage, liquor, and much more.⁷ A variety of fishes and turtles can be had from off the coast of Umatac.⁸ Empty cans and cards were used as pots, pans, and cups; bamboos were used for carrying water. "In pre-war Guam," recalled one Chamorro of barrio Mogfog, "nothing was thrown away. Even old tires were saved to make sandals with."⁹

This is not a story of the haves and the have-nots. There was no shame in soiled hands and feet. There was a sense of silent pride in their capacity of weathering through the many storms and imperial incursions that hit their island—the "taotao tano" or the "people of this land," as Chamorros called themselves.¹⁰ Chamorro studies specialist Michael Bevacqua calls this traditional value of endurance, "minesngon."¹¹ Historian Vicente Diaz describes it

¹ "Clippering Through," *Guam Recorder*, October 1939.

² *Guam Recorder*, March 1939, ads.

³ Tweed 1946, Part 1 Chapter 2.

⁴ BJ Bordallo, in the War Claims of BJ Bordallo.

⁵ "Useful Guam Data," *Guam Recorder*, January 1939.

⁶ Territorial, Insular, and Foreign Statistics 1941, 18.

⁷ Benigno Manibusan Palomo 2015, 134.

⁸ The *Guam Recorder's* section "Island Affairs" was mostly devoted to produce and catches.

⁹ "Benigno Manibusan Palomo," in Guam War Survivors Memorial Foundation 2015, 134.

¹⁰ Rogers 1995, 24; Dames 2000, 136.

¹¹ Bevacqua 2015, 116-118.

allegorically as the stubborn carabao that refuses to disappear.¹² Rather, this is a story of Guam where different Pacific worlds had melded.

This chapter serves to set the stage for the scenes to unfold in the next two. It provides a background on the various worlds that overlapped in Guam. Covering years and centuries, and jumping between history and historiography, its purpose is to sketch for the readers the various worlds which our Japanese protagonists straddled.

Figure 6-1. At the Porch of the PanAm Hotel in Orote¹³

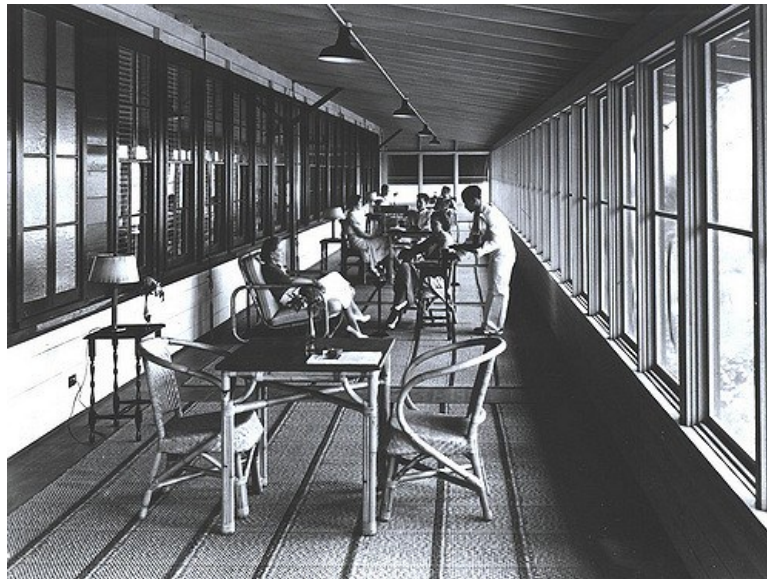


Figure 6-2. Merizo, in the Southern Part of Guam, 1930s¹⁴



¹² Diaz 1994, 32-37..

¹³ Courtesy of "Naval Era Gallery," *Guampedia*.

¹⁴ Courtesy of "Naval Era Gallery," *Guampedia*.

Figure 6-3. Map of Guam and Its Municipalities and City, 1940¹⁵



¹⁵ Territorial, Insular, and Foreign Statistics 1941.

2. The Worlds of Guam¹⁶

2.1. The Pacific Islands and the Chamorro

Guam, the island in the southern tip of the Marianas in the western part of Micronesia, was part of the Pacific Island world. Spanning the ocean, this world loosely covers a triangular region from present-day maritime East and Southeast Asia in the west, Rapa Nui in the southeast, and the Hawaiian Islands in the northeast.¹⁷ Linguistic and archaeological finds suggest that indigenous people were part of the great migration out of Taiwan which began in 4000 to 3000 BC, passing through Southeast Asia and reaching Marianas, as well as Palau and Caroline Islands.¹⁸ In about twelfth or fourteenth century, the Marianas was part of interconnected trading and tribute zones in western Pacific, a region of waters and islands connected by sailing wayfinders and their proas.¹⁹ A “civilization without a center,” they maintained ties with their islands-of-origin through trade and oral tradition, even as they traveled far out into the ocean.²⁰

2.1.1. Decolonization and the Indigenous Movement

For us to understand the Pacific Island world of Guam, it is necessary to briefly depart from history, the academic discipline which indigenous revisionist movements criticize as being terra-centric and colonial. As advanced by this movement, the history of the Pacific Islands does not actually tell the Islanders’ stories but rather of their colonizers who just happened to be in (or pass by) the Islands. They bewail the loss of their traditional culture due to centuries of historical injustices and the predominance of colonial histories. Criticizing the disciplines of history, economics, international relations, and development initiatives, scholar-activist Epeli Hau’ofa popularized the concept of “our sea of islands” to emphasize that their world was not limited to land (as people in the continents see theirs). Rather, it extends to the wide ocean (or at least as far as they would dare navigate) as well as to their stories:

The idea that the countries of Polynesia and Micronesia are too small, too poor, and too isolated to develop any meaningful degree of autonomy is an economic and geographic deterministic view of a very narrow kind... if we look at the myths, legends, and oral traditions, and the cosmologies of the peoples of Oceania, it becomes evident that they did not conceive their world in such microscopic proportions. Their universe comprised not only of land surfaces, but the surrounding ocean as far as they could traverse and exploit it, the underworld with its fire-controlling and earth-shaking denizens, and the

¹⁶ The idea of overlapping worlds is borrowed from Matt Matsuda (2012).

¹⁷ Bashford 2018, “The Pacific Ocean.”

¹⁸ Matt Matsuda 2012, 14; Cunningham 1998, 13.

¹⁹ Salesa 2014, 47.

²⁰ Matt Matsuda 2012, 9.

heavens above with their hierarchies of powerful gods and named stars and constellations that people could count on to guide their ways across the seas.²¹

Hau'ofa's indignation reverberates in Guam. "They treat our history as fable and fiction," historian Anne Hattori quotes the Chamorro hero Maga'lahi Hurao who led his people against Spain in the 17th century. "Haven't we the same right concerning which they teach us as incontestable truths?"²² Hattori made an interesting choice of Chamorro hero to quote. The veracity of Hurao's historical persona itself is being contested—a denial of Chamorro history which James Perez Viernes berates as the "hypocrisy and double standard of history and historiography."²³

Within the realm of the Pacific War, Chamorro studies and Pacific Island studies first approached the period through oral histories and collective biographies and then later through memory studies. Since the late 2000s, they have been writing not a narrative of the war, but rather of how the war is remembered.²⁴ Initially this was merely to give voice to the Chamorros who were gravely absent in military histories. Increasingly, it came to criticize the grand narrative of Liberation which had long bound the Chamorros in a debt of gratitude to their American liberators. Given the Chamorro's continued protests against military build-up and the persisting problems of land grabbing, criticisms against this liberation narrative has been gaining volume.²⁵ Recently, it came to extend to the image of a victimized and pitiful Chamorro in need of protection. This image, scholar-activist Michael Bevacqua argues, perpetuates the imperial rhetoric that "ensnares [the Chamorro] in a new field of dependency."²⁶

The current understanding of Pacific Islands and of the Chamorro are postcolonial, postmodern, and closely intertwined with decolonization, self-determination, and indigenous movements. In the remaining space, I will breeze through the colonial history from which the indigenous movement in Guam is trying to move away and then dabble on some of their efforts to do so.

In 1521, Ferdinand Magellan, the ambitious navigator in search of the famed Spice Islands, stumbled onto the Marianas before continuing on to the Visayas in present-day Philippines. After four decades, Miguel Lopez de Legazpi claimed the Philippines for Spain and, soon after, the Galleon Trade was established connecting Guam to Manila and Acapulco.²⁷ Aboard one of these galleons, the Jesuit Diego Luis Sanvitores stepped onto the Marianas with the mission to spread Christianity. In time, Sanvitores came into conflict with several Chamorro chiefs for baptizing their children without their consent and in 1672 was killed for such a

²¹ Hau'ofa 1994, 151-152.

²² Hattori 2011, ix.

²³ In his paper for the Marianas History Conference, Viernes criticizes historians who doubt the veracity of Hurao's speech and their implied rejection of Chamorros' capacity for oratory in mobilizing people. He points out historians' readiness to accept holy words supposedly uttered by Spanish missionaries (Marianas History Conference 2012, Guampedia).

²⁴ An example Camacho (2011) and Diaz (2001).

²⁵ Diaz 2001, 156.

²⁶ Bevacqua 2015, 115.

²⁷ Carano and Sanchez 1964, 51-52.

reason.²⁸ What followed were decades-long Spanish-Chamorro Wars, coupled by two super typhoons and one smallpox outbreak.²⁹ Thereafter, *reduccion*, a brutal resettlement project which forcibly concentrated Chamorros all over the Mariana Islands into just six villages in Guam, was enforced.³⁰

In 1898, with Spain's defeat in the Spanish-American War, Guam gained a new colonizer. Unlike the Philippines which was immediately granted a civil government, Guam remained under US naval rule. Unlike the Philippines which was given an Organic Act with a bill of rights, the inhabitants of Guam had neither civil nor land rights despite their leaders' initiatives. The only political participation they had was membership in the Guam Congress, a mere advisory body to the American Governor.³¹ Only in 1950, after the entire Guam Congress walked out in protest with offshore news agencies reporting the event, was an Organic Act finally given to Guam.³²

Thereafter, vestiges of imperialism are still evident. One is the militarization of the island. To win the Pacific War, the American forces transformed Guam into a grand military base, paving forests and occupying beaches since 1944. The entire village of Sumay in the southern coast of Apra Harbor is, as of this writing, part of the base; its old residents are allowed entry only during special commemorative occasions.³³ Another is the political limbo in which Guam sits afloat. As an unincorporated territory, Guam is part of the United States but not of the union of states. Its inhabitants, although US citizens, may not vote on anything concerning the federal government. It does not have a constitution which—written by its leaders and approved by its people—is a sign of sovereignty. Yet, despite all these vestiges of imperialism, Guam is not a recognized colony. What Guam is, what it is *viz a viz the US*, and what its future looks like are still very much in the limbo.

2.1.2. Self-Determination and the Indigenous Movement

In line with decolonization movement, Guam's leaders have been pushing for self-determination and, since the 1970s, these advocacies extended beyond political and into the cultural and academic. Along with indigenous movements in the international arena, a surge of projects aimed at reclaiming the Chamorro culture exploded in the 1980s. Influenced by the Festival of the Pacific Arts (FesPac), in which Pacific Island countries convened to showcase their culture, Chamorro dance and costume have been established and then popularized. Chamorro language is being promoted. At present, the capital Agaña is renamed Hagatna, following the Chamorro language. The names of the academic terms of the University of Guam were changed to Chamorro: *Fanuchanan* (August to December), *Tinalo'* (December to January),

²⁸ Persch 1998, 68-76.

²⁹ Goetzfridt 2011, 4.

³⁰ Goetzfridt 2011, 67-68 and 560.

³¹ Rogers 1995, 138.

³² Rogers 1995, 219-223.

³³ Viernes Perez (2008) wrote his MA thesis on the issue.

Fañomnåkan (January to May), and Finakpo' (May to August). As of this writing, the commonly accepted spelling "Chamorro" is being replaced by "CHamoru," which has been noted to be "a visible, practical assertion of Chamorro identity."³⁴

Like Pacific Island studies elsewhere, Chamorro studies specialists have culled Chamorro indigenous skills in boatmaking and wayfinding, knowledge of the flora and fauna, language, music, and dances. They emphasize the centrality of Chamorro ties to the land and the sea.³⁵ They expound on the meaning of Chamorro values and highlight its importance in Chamorro society. They explain that in the Chamorro world, keeping harmony with others in the community was paramount because how one related to another, as well as one's relationship with others, was how one was defined.³⁶ Chamorro studies emphasizes the persistence in the belief in the taotaomo'na [the spirits of Chamorro ancestors] despite the strong Catholic and American influence. Hattori eloquently describes the syncreticity of their worldview. While perusing early 20th century documents in the US National Archives, she routinely suffered bruises, one of which was even shaped like a handprint. Where they came from:

I have never been able to answer. In attempting to figure them out, I have chosen to understand the bruises as telltale taotaomo'na signs: pinches from our ancestors to announce their presence, there in Pennsylvania Avenue, imbuing the U.S. National Archives with their spirits. I have employed this odd combination of archival documents and unexplained bruises to remind myself that our ancestors are still around, waiting for us to tell their stories, remember their struggles and joys, and pass on this knowledge to future generations.³⁷

Such is the Pacific Island/ Chamorro world that its present scholars are painting. It is one based on language, values, practices, knowledges, and intimacy with the land and the sea. Even as they take in new ideas and know-how, Chamorros continue to believe and live the stories of the old. They maintain intricately knitted ties with their families which extends well beyond their parents and siblings. All that said, defining what Chamorro is—as part of the entire self-determination movement—is still a work in progress.

2.2. The Transpacific US Empire

Besides the Pacific Islands world, Guam also lay in the transpacific empire inherited by the US from Spain after it defeated the latter in the Spanish-American War of 1898. In the Treaty of Paris, Spain ceded the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico to the US; the rest of Micronesia, including Guam's sister islands in the Marianas, were sold to Germany. With this, Guam once again became part of a transpacific network linking Asia and America. In the 1920s,

³⁴ Gina E. Taitano, "Chamorro vs. Chamoru," Guampedia.

³⁵ Rogers 1995, 24; Dames 2000, 13.

³⁶ Dames 2000, 134.

³⁷ Hattori 2011, x. Italics of taotaomo'na as non-English term is removed.

vessels mostly by the US Navy made their way from Yokohama, Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Manila in Asia; Guam, Wake, Midway, and Honolulu in the Pacific Islands; and San Diego and San Francisco in the US.³⁸

In the 1930s, Pan American Airways (PanAm) incorporated Guam into its route and then proceeded to increase its trips. From just the China Clipper in 1935, a Philippine Clipper started calling at Guam's Apra Harbor in 1936. By late 1937, Hawaii Clipper and Hong Kong Clipper appeared in the shipping and flight announcements of the monthly magazine, *Guam Recorder*. In an ad in February 1938 issue of *Guam Recorder*, PanAm boasts that travel from Manila to Guam was cut from two weeks to just twelve hours. By March 1939, the Boeing Clipper was the newest and most fashionable of the line. By April 1941, delivery to and from the US took only three days, thanks to PanAm's Air Express, which was "especially well-suited to carrying perishables, films and periodicals."³⁹ All the while, the transpacific shipments continued. Not only were there more trips to and from Guam, travel became faster.

The Boeing Clippers chauffeured country leaders such as Vice President Sergio Osmeña of the Philippine Commonwealth;⁴⁰ high-ranking statesmen and ambassadors such as Japanese ambassador to the US Kichisaburō Nomura, special envoy Saburō Kurusu,⁴¹ and US Secretary of War Gorge Dern;⁴² company executives such as that of Dutch Shell Oil⁴³ and of Stanford Vacuum of New York;⁴⁴ and internationally renowned personalities such as the journalist Pauline Pfeifer and her husband, Ernest Hemingway.⁴⁵ Of course, these passengers were well-taken care of. During the day, they lounged on-board, and dined and wine in the spacious cabin.⁴⁶ At every stop, a well-furnished PanAm hotel awaited them. At Guam's PanAm hotel, they can view the ocean while sitting on lazy rattan chairs at the porch as they sipped at refreshments. Here, the island's alta sociedad often came by to mingle with dignitaries from offshore. As *Guam Recorder's* "Clippering Through" reported, the passengers did not stay for just a night's layover. Hemingway, for example, "enjoyed a fishing trip here and then went on to Wake Island to lay over a plane or two."⁴⁷ Hilario Moncado of the National Filipino Association, who was always seen traveling with his golf club, was teased to "drive a ball so far that he can tee off at Midway and pick it up on Wake."⁴⁸

It must be said that while the readers of *Guam Recorder* got a glimpse of the posh lives aboard PanAm and mingled with its classy passengers at the PanAm hotel, the airfare must have been too high as even the island's crème de la crème still boarded US navy vessels. Dr. Ramon Manalisay Sablan, Guam's only Chamorro doctor, came by USS *Henderson* in June

³⁸ "Shipping Notes," *Guam Recorder*, April 1927-March 1929.

³⁹ *Guam Recorder*, April 1941, ads page.

⁴⁰ "Shipping Notes," *Guam Recorder*, July 1938.

⁴¹ Palomo 1984, 35.

⁴² "Shipping Notes," *Guam Recorder*, January 1936.

⁴³ "Clippering Through," *Guam Recorder*, January 1941.

⁴⁴ "Clippering Through," *Guam Recorder*, December 1940.

⁴⁵ "Clippering Through," *Guam Recorder*, July 1941.

⁴⁶ Mansell 2012, Chapter 1.

⁴⁷ "Clippering Through," *Guam Recorder*, July 1941.

⁴⁸ "Clippering Through," *Guam Recorder*, July 1941.

1940. A month before that, Nawo Sawada, one of the island's largest wholesaler, joined USS *Gold Star's* recreational trip.

Though not as grand as the PanAm, the locals' transpacific reaches must not be underestimated. After their wedding in 1939, Carlos SN Takano and Julia Sanchez (the son of one of Guam's largest retail stores and the daughter of the school superintendent) went to Manila, Japan, and China for a shopping tour.⁴⁹ The wealthy young widow Riye Dejima claimed to have purchased her jewelry and narra (wooden) vanity set in Manila, a rug and a mattress in the US, a silk tapestry and a jade pin in Hong Kong, plus other linens during her frequent trips to China and Japan.⁵⁰ The mini-chapel in the living room of Pedro Martinez—the businessman whose ads in *Guam Recorder* paled only in comparison to PanAm, Jose Torres, Atkins and Knoll, and the Butlers—had holy images from the Spanish Bishop Olano or otherwise purchased directly in Spain. Running a carpentry business, Pedro imported American oak for his butcher's table and Philippine narra for his dining table and chairs.⁵¹ The houses of Guam's alta sociedad showcased the far-reaches of their transpacific world, be it by shopping tours or mail orders or purchasing from American companies and local wholesalers.

2.3. Where the Worlds Overlapped

This transpacific imperial world, though centered in Agana and the vicinities of Apra Harbor, extended across the island through the Chamorros' involvement in the military and through public education.

Since 1901, islanders had been serving in the US Naval Government. The Insular Force,⁵² as they were called, were mostly tasked as watchmen in points around the coast. Some served as mess boys. Part of the US Navy, the Insular Force were paid for their service and gained access to the commissary.⁵³ Guam's police force was called Insular Patrol, staffed by US Marines which held barracks at Orote Peninsula. Aiding the Insular Patrol were the native police, whom it trained and then stationed in various municipalities of the island. Besides the

⁴⁹ "War Claims of Carlos Takano," testimony of Carlos Takano.

⁵⁰ "War Claims of Riye Dejima," testimony of Riye Dejima.

⁵¹ "War Claims of Pedro Martinez," testimony of Pedro Martinez.

⁵² Different sources provide different years of the Insular Force's establishment. Writing for the May 1941 issue of the *Guam Recorder*, L.A. Fariss, CY, US Navy maintains, "On April 5, 1901 an Executive Order [by US President McKinley] established the Insular Force of the Regular Navy. Shortly after this order was published, a small force of seven to nine men was enlisted in Guam." McKinley's Executive Order however authorized the enlistment of only Filipinos, most likely in the context of the Philippine-American War (See "Enlistments of Five Hundred"). Meanwhile, Vivian Dames (2000, 178), citing Robert Rogers (1995, 136), set the year of the Insular Force's establishment in 1914 in the context of World War I. Rogers did not cite his source and none of Guam Governor William Maxwell's executive orders from 1914 to 1916 made mention of the Insular Force (<https://www.guampedia.com/william-j-maxwell-executive-general-order-nos-180-194/>). What Maxwell's executive orders do mention is the Insular Patrol, which according to Carano and Sanchez (1964, 216)—who also did not cite their source—was established about late 1914 or early 1915. Considering the primacy of official documents in pinning down official dates of establishment, I follow L.A. Fariss and assume McKinley's 1901 order was taken up by the naval governor of Guam.

⁵³ Rogers 1995, 136.

native police, boys twelve to sixteen years of age, too, were given one-hour weekly training by the Insular Patrol since 1917, although this weekly training seems to have been eventually stopped.⁵⁴

In 1917, the Guam Militia was established, requiring all male islanders aged 16 to 23 to attend military drills. The Guam Militia fined youths who skipped a drill 50 cents and so one can assume that these drills were well-attended. The Guam Militia became voluntary in 1937 but it was not without enticing privileges such as exemption from the tax poll⁵⁵ and potential membership in the Guam Militia Club. Moreover, by this time the Guam Militia had made a name for itself with its annual carnival. Although the Militia was frankly deemed but a mere “ceremonial marching unit” which was not expected to help defend the island, it nevertheless “served as a training and recruiting ground for the [Insular Force].”⁵⁶ In April 1941, as the Pacific War approached, the Insular Guards was organized. An infantry unit under the navy, its main purpose was to defend the island from invaders.

Another space where the US imperial and the Pacific Island worlds overlapped was public education. As seen in Figure 6-4, schools were dispersed across the island and every municipality had at least one. By the 1940 census, a staggering 72.8% of the population ten years and older could speak in English.⁵⁷ Moreover, “teachers occupied an exalted position and were worthy of the highest deference.” In his memoir, Ben Blaz recalled his youth in prewar Guam, “Just seeing one [teacher] in any normal setting outside the classroom, could send students scurrying in a near panic as to how to act...”⁵⁸ Not only were public schools present in every municipality, its teachers were held in high regard.

The section “Department of Education Notes” of the *Guam Recorder* painted one large tightly knit community. Besides the usual updates on the new, the returning and the promoted, congratulations were offered to teachers who were newlywed and those who just gave birth. Also published were the names and accomplishments of the presidents of Parent-Teacher Associations (PTA) as well as of the Junior Patrols. Likewise acknowledged were the winners and runners-up of its various student contests. At times, the names of the entire graduating class were listed. The class valedictorians were made even more special as their speeches were transcribed.

⁵⁴ Carano and Sanchez 1964, 228. In the *Guam Recorder*, it was replaced by a “Junior Patrol” by the late 1940, but what this Junior Patrol was, I am not certain.

⁵⁵ *Guam Recorder*, December 1939, 393-394.

⁵⁶ Rottman and Gerrard 2004, 18-19.

⁵⁷ Territorial, Insular, and Foreign Statistics 1941, 10.

⁵⁸ Blaz 2008, 79.

Figure 6-4. Schools and the Number of Pupils and Teachers in Guam, SY 1940-1941⁵⁹

Agana

School	Grades Taught	No. of Pupils	No. of teachers
Althouse	4th	128	5
Congressional	2nd, 3rd, 4th	113	4
Dorn Hall	Pre-primer, primer	282	9
Leary (AM)	2nd, 3rd	355	8
Leary (PM)	5th, 6th	244	8
Padre Palomo (AM)	Pre-primer – 3rd	357	12
Padre Palomo (PM)	4th	180	5
Post Office (AM)	1st, 2nd	266	8
Post Office (PM)	5th	306	8
Smith	Pre-primer, primer, 1st	133	5
Washington High	7th – 12th	447	13
Total in Agana		2811	85

Outlying districts

School	Grades Taught	No. of Pupils	No. of teachers
Bishop Olaiz, Agat	Pre-primer – 6th	235	9
Salisbury, Sinajana	Pre-primer – 5th	124	4
Cook, Merizo	Pre-primer – 6th	174	6
Dryer, Piti	Pre-primer – 6th	270	9
Gilmer, Talofofo	Pre-primer – 6th	128	4
Jalaguag, Barrigada	Pre-primer – 6th	105	4
Finaguayoc, Machanao	Pre-primer – 6th	38	2
Magellan, Umatac	Pre-primer – 6th	111	4
Maxwell, Sumay	Pre-primer – 6th	342	10
Sanvitores, Dededo	Pre-primer – 6th	141	5
Potts, Inarajan	Pre-primer – 6th	218	8
Price, Mangilao	Pre-primer – 6th	65	3
G.R. Salisbury, Yigo	Pre-primer – 6th	53	3
Shapley, Asan	Pre-primer – 6th	123	4
Sewell, Yona	Pre-primer – 6th	143	5
Yumon, Dededo	Pre-primer – 6th	39	2
Wettengel, Barrigada	Pre-primer – 6th	80	4
Total for outlying schools	Pre-primer – 6th	2,389	86

⁵⁹ “Department of Education Notes,” *Guam Recorder*, July 1940.

Simon A. Sanchez, the superintendent of schools (the highest ranking educator on the island),⁶⁰ was frequently mentioned in the *Guam Recorder* not only for the civic committees he headed but also for reasons concerning his family. In an open letter, for example, he and his wife Antonia thanked Commander H.S. Harling, Commanding Officer of the US Naval Hospital for the “splendid services rendered Mrs. Sanchez while a patient in Susana Hospital...”⁶¹ At its top-most level, public education hob-knobbed with the top officials in the US Naval Government.

Toward the 1940s, mentions of US diplomatic tensions with Japan, of hostilities in China and in Europe, and of activities of the navy became less and less visible in the *Guam Recorder*. In their stead, the magazine turned more and more toward the 16th century and Guam’s flora and fauna—an uncanny silence that can be interpreted as a sign of censorship. Only in the section of the Department of Education can news and opinions concerning the war be gleaned. One of these mentions was by no less a student in her valedictory speech.⁶² Indeed, public education wielded a certain degree of influence over the islanders—a position which the US Naval Government seemed to recognize.

2.4. The Japanese Empire’s Nan’yō

Unlike others on Guam, the Japanese locals belonged to another world, that of the nan’yō [south seas], the area to the south of Japan where the Japanese empire was to expand. With Japan’s opening, 42 Japanese left Yokohama for Guam in 1868. (See Chapter 1 for the story.) In 1876, Tokyo resumed administration of Ogasawara Islands and by the 1880s more migrants came and a bird-trapping business in the Pacific had begun.⁶³ In 1914, Japan, as an Allied nation, occupied German Micronesia. After the First World War, the League of Nations mandated the development of these islands to Japan, a mandate which Japan took to heart. In 1921, the Nan’yō Kōhatsu was born in Palau.⁶⁴ In 1922, the Nan’yō-chō [South Seas Bureau], a government civilian agency replacing the Japanese naval rule, was established to administer a region which came to be called Nan’yō Guntō [South Sea Islands].⁶⁵ Japanese officials, professionals, and laborers poured into the islands in large quantities. By 1938, Saipan, one of Guam’s neighboring island, was demographically dominated by Japanese and “except for the central mountain core, most of the island was now laid out to [Japanese] sugarcane.”⁶⁶

⁶⁰ According to “Military Government on Guam (1945),” the head of the Department of Education was an American chaplain. I have yet to see other primary sources to verify this. It was possible that while the chaplain indeed headed the office, the superintendent of schools was the more socially active.

⁶¹ Simon A. Sanchez, *Guam Recorder*, February 1941.

⁶² See the transcript of Elizabeth D.L. Flores’ valedictory address Class 1941 in the “Departmental Notes” of *Guam Recorder*, May 1941.

⁶³ Hiraoka 2012, 3-4.

⁶⁴ Okada 1988, 80.

⁶⁵ The South Sea Islands are also called the Japanese Mandates in English. I follow translations that Wakako Higuchi used in *The Japanese Administration of Guam, 1941-1945* (2013).

⁶⁶ Peattie 1988, 161.

Overlapping with the transpacific shipping and communication lines of the US empire were those of the Japanese nan'yō. Through this network traveled people, raw materials and manufactured goods, money, and know-how between the islands and Japan. It was in such context that a number of Japanese firms opened and closed in the Marianas, trading Japanese merchandizes for copra. One of those that survived until the end of the Pacific War was the J.K. Shimizu Company. According to historian Wakako Higuchi, Jose Kazuji Shimizu of Ibaraki was in Ogasawara Islands when he was encouraged by relatives, who were advocates of ideas of southward advance, to move further south. In 1894, Shimizu relocated in Saipan, started cultivating coconuts, took on the Christian name “Jose,” and married into a Chamorro family.⁶⁷ In 1900, Jose Shimizu moved to Guam and established his own company. With his second wife, he acquired lands in Guam on which he maintained forests of coconuts for copra export. By 1911, the Shimizu Company had two schooners to which he soon added a third, the motor-powered *Mariana Maru*.⁶⁸

Unlike its neighbors in the Marianas and Micronesia, Guam (though it was within the region of the nan'yō) was not under the jurisdiction of the Nan'yō Guntō. Quite the contrary, as a US territory, Guam was well guarded from Japanese incursions. In 1912, Executive Order 1613 of US President Taft ordered the closure of ports near US military bases to foreign commercial vessels except those with special permits from the US Navy. Included in this order was Apra Harbor in Guam. To guard Guam's coasts, the USS *Penguin* was tasked to patrol its waters and the Insular Force was stationed to key lookout points in its circumference.⁶⁹

A special permit was given to but one Japanese vessel: *Mariana Maru* which sailed between Guam, Saipan, and Yokohama. Carrying mostly cargo, the schooner had a room for only one or two passengers. But, apparently the *Mariana Maru* carried more—or at least one news item reported that it tried to do so. “The vessel sailed gaily out of port with her deck crowded with happy excursionists,”⁷⁰ reported the *Guam Recorder* in 1927. The schooner, the report went on, encountered a great squall on the way. Its passengers, drenched and seasick, begged the captain to turn back, even agreeing to forgo any refund for their boat fare. Noticeably, this trip was scooped not so much because it exceeded its capacity but because it was forced to turn back due to bad weather. It seemed that the *Mariana Maru* had, at other times, transported more than the one-to-two passenger capacity of its cabin.

Links to the Japanese-occupied Marianas were not severed until the late 1930s. Guam officials and writers for the *Guam Recorder* constantly looked toward Saipan, comparing their economy with it with admiration and envy.⁷¹ Both islands shared agricultural know-how and maintained cordial relations. In 1938, a proposal from Tokyo for a Japanese Airways that

⁶⁷ In 1908, Nan'yō Bōeki Hiki merged to form the Nan'yō Bōeki Kabushiki Gaisha [South Seas Trade Development Company] and then moved to the British Gilbert Islands. See Higuchi 1998, 154-55.

⁶⁸ Higuchi 1998, 154-55.

⁶⁹ These include not only Piti, Orote, but also Letegyan [Ritidian] in the northern most tip of the island. There were also lookout points in Talofofo and in Inarajan. See Owings, 212 and 280.

⁷⁰ “Sea Sick Passengers,” *Guam Recorder*, May 1927.

⁷¹ For example, “Sugar Industry,” *Guam Recorder*, March 1928.

would connect Japan with the Caroline Islands via Saipan and Guam was even put forward.⁷² Of course, nothing came of the matter. With the growing tension between the Japanese and American governments later that decade, control over Guam-Saipan exchanges became more stringent. As one Japanese observer (based in Japan) commented, Guam had been closed to trade and other vessels in 1935.⁷³ Certainly, around 1938, *Mariana Maru*'s appearance in the magazine's announcement of shipments became rare. Wealthy Japanese merchants who used to board *Mariana Maru* to travel to Japan came to patronize the long-sailing USS *Gold Star*. *Mariana Maru*'s special permit was not extended and in 1939 she sailed her last.⁷⁴ Thus, by the late 1930s, when Guam was already intricately knitted within the transpacific world of the US empire, its ties to Japan were thinning.

3. Living in the Overlapping Worlds

3.1. In the Overlap of the Imperial and the Island

Japanese locals of Guam lay within the overlap of the imperial and the Pacific Island world. They were at once both Japanese and Chamorro. Prewar, such duality was possible without the contradiction.

The Japanese of Guam were few in number and most of them were born of Japanese-Chamorro families and then raised on the island. Prewar, residents were classified by race and color, not by nationality and citizenship. According to the Governor's Annual Report of 1941, there were 40 racially Japanese and 214 mixed Chamorro and Japanese parentage.⁷⁵ Likewise, the 1940 census counted 326 Japanese (179 males and 147 females) in a population of 22,290.⁷⁶ A staggering 88% of them were born in Guam.⁷⁷ As there were no Japanese schools, many went to schools with other Chamorro children. The census records 95 of the 205 Japanese children of schooling age (five to 24 years old) were enrolled in local public, private, vocational, and parochial schools.⁷⁸ As such, 86.5 % of those who were ten years and older could speak English.⁷⁹ To play with other Chamorro kids, and then later court and marry their Chamorro lifelong friends, they presumably knew the Chamorro language.⁸⁰

⁷² "Japanese Airline Suggested," *Guam Recorder*, November 1938, 31.

⁷³ Miyasaka 1942, 58.

⁷⁴ Higuchi 1998, 159.

⁷⁵ Higuchi 2013, Chapter 3.

⁷⁶ The official documents such as the Governor's report and the census used "race/color" as identifier. That "citizenship" or "nationality" was not used as category is understandable given that the Chamorros themselves did not have citizenship or nationality.

⁷⁷ Territorial, Insular, and Foreign Statistics 1941, 3.

⁷⁸ Territorial, Insular, and Foreign Statistics 1941, 9.

⁷⁹ Territorial, Insular, and Foreign Statistics 1941, 10.

⁸⁰ In prewar Guam, Chamorro was the primary language of communication outside published prints. Dolores Jones, whose mother prevented her from learning other languages besides English, recalled that she could not play with other children because she did not know Chamorro. She also could not receive holy communion because she could not say her prayers in Chamorro. See "Dolores Jones" 1981, 304.

That the Japanese locals, especially their mixed children, were part of the islander society was evident. Scattered in the pages of *Guam Recorder's* lists and greetings for life events were names with Chamorro first names and Japanese surnames. In July 1941, Teacher Josefina Yamanaka was married to Marianao Blas and a certain Juan S. Onedera was married to Mercedes B. Aquiningoc; another Francisco SN Ichihara married Vicenta C. Mafnas of Yona that October.⁸¹ Teacher Josefina Tanaka gave birth to a son; Vicenta S. Okada, also to a son; and Josefa Ooka of Piti, to a daughter.⁸² Local politician Joaquin Shimizu and his wife gave a birthday party to their son, Tony.

They were also socially active. Antonio A. Shimizu and Tomas C. Ooka were PTA presidents of Sewell school in Yoña and of Ch. Salisbury in Sinajaña, respectively. Joaquin Shimizu was elected Dededo's representative to the Guam Congress and later became the Farmers' Representative in the municipality.⁸³ Noteworthy, none of these mentions pertained to them as Japanese. They were so much a part of the community that historian Vicente Diaz claimed that names such as Yamaguchi, Tanaka, Shinohara, Okada, Yamanaka are Chamorro mistaken as Japanese.⁸⁴

Their children were also recognized, alongside all the other children on the island. Joaquin Shimizu's son, Joseph was not only president of the Junior Social Club in Dededo, he also honorable mention in a declamation contest.⁸⁵ In island-wide spelling contests, Maria C. Shimizu of Piti and Maria C. Yamashita of Dryer School one first place for the fifth and the sixth grades, respectively.⁸⁶ Edmund Okada and Felix F. Sakai's basketball team, Riverside, was Junior League Champions in 1940.⁸⁷ "Young Ishizaki [of Umatac] caught three large turtles during the weekend."⁸⁸ Not only was Jose SN Takano class valedictorian, he was also awarded a medal for heroically saving a drowning boy's life!⁸⁹

That they were part of the islander society was uncontestable, however they were also very much part of the Japanese world. The very existence of the Japanese Society of Guam is one argument. That the wealthier of them, notably the Takano boys, studied in Japan is another. The 1940 census certainly tagged them as racially Japanese. Officially, persons of mixed parentage were classified by the race of their father,⁹⁰ thus mixed families with a Japanese father and a Chamorro mother had Japanese children. For example, all of the children of spouses Jose G. Okiyama (born in Japan) and Jacoba C. Okiyama (Chamorro) were Japanese. Likewise, Japanese settler Jose Yokoi and Chamorro Maria R. Yokoi had Japanese children

⁸¹ "Department of Education Notes" and "Vital Statistics," *Guam Recorder*, July 1941; "Vital Statistics," *Guam Recorder*, October 1941.

⁸² "Vital Statistics," *Guam Recorder*, October 1940; August 1941; and September 1941.

⁸³ "Results of the 1937 General Elections," *Guam Recorder*, April 1937; "News of Island Affairs," *Guam Recorder*, August 1941.

⁸⁴ Diaz 1994, 50-51.

⁸⁵ "News of Island Affairs," *Guam Recorder*, October 1938; "Department of Education Notes," *Guam Recorder*, May 1939.

⁸⁶ "Department of Education Notes," *Guam Recorder*, May 1939; and May 1940.

⁸⁷ "Local Sports," *Guam Recorder*, April 1940.

⁸⁸ "News of Island Affairs," *Guam Recorder*, September 1938, 15.

⁸⁹ "Department of Education Notes," *Guam Recorder*, July 1941.

⁹⁰ Territorial, Insular, and Foreign Statistics 1941, 2.

and grandchildren. Even children born in Guam *by parents born in Guam* could still be racially Japanese. For instance, Francisco A. Shimizu, the child of Ambrosio T. Shimizu who was the son of the famous Jose K. Shimizu to a Chamorro in Guam, was still officially Japanese.

This way of classifying individuals had fascinating implications to the predominantly Catholic Guam where women conventionally took their husbands family names. The aforementioned Jacoba C. Okiyama and Maria R. Yokoi, despite their Japanese surnames, were not classified as Japanese. Presumably, they were not the only ones; all Chamorro wives of those with Japanese surnames took these surnames for their own without ceasing to be Chamorros. Moreover, Japanese women who married into Chamorro families took their husbands' surnames without ceasing to be Japanese. Thus, Beatrice Cruz, Maria H. Sablan, and Carmen K. Paulino remained to be officially Japanese despite their Chamorro names.⁹¹

Figure 6-5. Sample of Enumeration Sheet used in the Guam Census 1940⁹²

Form No. G-100 DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE—BUREAU OF THE CENSUS SIXTEENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES: 1940

Municipality Agaña Enumeration District No. 1-1 Sheet No. 1A

Name of Place Agaña (City, P.S.) POPULATION—GUAM 2 Enumerated by me on April 1, 1940 Enumerator James E. Pineda

YOUR REPORT IS REQUIRED BY ACT OF CONGRESS. This Act also makes it unlawful for the Bureau to disclose any facts, including names or identity, from your census reports. Only sworn census employees will see your statements. Data collected will be used solely for preparing statistical information concerning the Nation's population, resources, and business activities. Your Census Reports cannot be used for purposes of taxation, legislation, or investigation.

Line No.	NAME	RELATION	SEX	AGE	COLOR	PERSONAL DESCRIPTION		EDUCATION		PLACE OF BIRTH		OCCUPATION	
						Married status	Married status	State	Country	Trade, profession, or service	Industry, or occupation		
1	Dominguez, Juan W.	Head	M	20	2	30	M	14	14	Guam	98	308	1
2	Quintana, Juan C.	Head	M	35	1	35	M	7	7	Guam	Machineist	308	2
3	Quintana, Juan C.	Wife	F	32	1	32	M	3	3	Guam	House		3
4	Quintana, Juan C.	Son	M	12	1	12	S	5	5	Guam	None		4
5	Quintana, Juan C.	Son	M	10	1	10	S	4	4	Guam	None		5
6	Quintana, Juan C.	Son	M	8	1	8	S	2	2	Guam	None		6
7	Quintana, Juan C.	Daughter	F	6	1	6	S	0	0	Guam			7
8	Quintana, Juan C.	Daughter	F	4	1	4	S	0	0	Guam			8
9	Quintana, Juan C.	Head	M	29	1	29	M	7	7	Guam	Cook	720	9
10	Quintana, Juan C.	Wife	F	27	1	27	M	8	8	Guam	None		10
11	Quintana, Juan C.	Daughter	F	3	1	3	S	0	0	Guam			11
12	Quintana, Juan C.	Son	M	1	1	1	S	0	0	Guam			12
13	Quintana, Juan C.	Head	M	56	1	56	M	6	6	Guam	33 Carpenter	308	13
14	Quintana, Juan C.	Wife	F	48	1	48	M	6	6	Guam	None		14
15	Quintana, Juan C.	Son	M	25	1	25	M	14	14	Guam	Teacher	734	15
16	Quintana, Juan C.	Daughter	F	23	1	23	M	11	11	Guam	Suburban	298	16
17	Quintana, Juan C.	Son	M	19	1	19	M	9	9	Guam	Gardener	904	17
18	Quintana, Juan C.	Daughter	F	6	1	6	S	0	0	Guam			18
19	Quintana, Juan C.	Head	M	39	1	39	M	2	2	Guam	Carpenter	308	19
20	Quintana, Juan C.	Wife	F	38	1	38	M	1	1	Guam	None		20
21	Quintana, Juan C.	Daughter	F	12	1	12	M	5	5	Guam	None		21
22	Quintana, Juan C.	Son	M	60	1	60	M	1	1	Guam	Farmer	000	22
23	Quintana, Juan C.	Daughter	F	68	1	68	M	3	3	Guam	None		23
24	Quintana, Juan C.	Son	M	27	1	27	M	5	5	Guam	Employer	286	24
25	Quintana, Juan C.	Son	M	22	1	22	M	3	3	Guam	Cook	520	25

SYMBOLS TO BE USED IN COLUMNS INDICATED: Col. 1. COLOR OR RACE: Ch. Chinese, I. Indian, J. Japanese, K. Korean, L. Latin American, O. Other races, spell out.

Col. 2. AGE AT LAST BIRTHDAY: Date of birth: April 1940, May 1940, June 1940, July 1940, August 1940, September 1940, October 1940, November 1940, December 1940, January 1941, February 1941, March 1941.

Col. 3. MARITAL STATUS: Single, Married, Widowed, Divorced.

⁹¹ Examples are from the unindexed, loose manuscripts in National Archives, *Official 1940 Census Website*. Anderson (1998, 37) explains that anonymity is one of the conventions of census. The US Bureau of the Census guards manuscripts such as this for 72 years. Why we have manuscripts for Guam but not for Davao might be explained (here, I speculate) by the difference in offices that conducted them. Guam's was conducted by the US Bureau of the Census which exists today. The Philippine 1939 census was conducted by the defunct Commission of the Census. The Philippine 1948 census is still, as of this writing, on its 72nd year.

⁹² National Archives, *Official 1940 Census Website*.

Before we consider the census as ghastly arbitrary and without bearings on the lives of those in Guam, it will serve to remember that the often cited number “326” Japanese is based on it. Besides the census, the *Guam Recorder*, quoting a news item from *Osaka Shimbun* and *Tokyo Nichi Nichi*, gave “some 400” as the estimate of children born of mixed Japanese-native marriages.⁹³ In 1937, the Japanese Society of Guam put their membership at “nearly two hundred” and invited other Japanese on the island to join the fold.⁹⁴ Although no reference to their Japanese background were made whenever they were mentioned individually, collectively they were part of the “some 400,” “326” and “nearly two hundred” Japanese of Guam. While they were part of the Chamorro society, they were counted as Japanese. As I argue, they were simultaneously Japanese and Chamorro; they lay in the overlap of the Japanese nan’yō and the Chamorro worlds.

3.2. Between the US and the Japanese Empires

Figure 6-6. Photo of Japanese Society of Guam, 1937⁹⁵



Many of them were also in between the US and the Japanese empires. In 1937, a photo captioned “Banzai!” showed a group of happy picnickers, grinning at the camera, some with their arms raised in a banzai, covered almost half a page in the *Guam Recorder*. Behind them were the flags of Japan and of the US, crossing each other in an unmistakable sign of camaraderie. Below the photo was a brief about the Japanese Society of Guam. Established in 1928,⁹⁶ its members comprised of 43 Japanese citizens in Guam, “who with their families, number nearly two hundred.” It ends with an avowal of the Society’s dedication to Guam. “The

⁹³ “Anti-Nippon Drive in Guam due to Geneva,” *Guam Recorder*, May 1933.

⁹⁴ “Banzai!” *Guam Recorder*, May 1937, 31.

⁹⁵ “Banzai!” *Guam Recorder*, May 1937, 31.

⁹⁶ In his presentation during the Marianas History Conference in 2019 at the University of Guam, Frank Shimizu (grandson of Jose K. Shimizu) attested that there was a Japanese Association of Guam back in 1910. I have not seen evidence for this in the published primary sources kept at the MARC. Given that the only local periodical in the 1910s, the *Guam News Letter*, was but four to eight-pages long (much of which were devoted to ads and naval promulgations), it is possible that this association existed but was not seen in published materials.

Japanese Society is always ready to help with any project for civic betterment and is thus an important factor in the life of the community.”⁹⁷ Since its organization, the Society along with its prominent members Takekuma Shinohara and Jose K. Shimizu had been seeking to ensure the bonds between Guam’s Japanese locals and the rest of the population (or at least the elite circle to which they belonged) were held secure.

In 1929, a year after its establishment, “The Japanese Society... were hosts at a most elaborate and enjoyable Buffet Supper and Dance in honor of [the] Governor, of Mrs. Bradley, and their charming daughters.” With guests numbering more than two hundred, the Society showcased Japanese customary practices (as they called it) to their fellow elites in Guam. The Society’s members held “gaily colored Japanese lantern attached to a cane” as they escorted the newly appointed governor and his family from the Government House to the venue of the party. Governor Bradley (who will go down Guam’s history as the governor who fought for islander civil rights during the US Naval Rule) reciprocated. During the party, he shared that he had visited Japan and enjoyed his trips in the country. “He expressed,” the *Guam Recorder* reported, “a desire that all in Guam would get together and work for a better understanding not only among the different nationalities, but among the whole inhabitants for the improvement and betterment of the population of the Island.”⁹⁸

This “better understanding” and harmony was tested in May 1933 when an intriguingly nameless article in the *Guam Recorder* reported that leading newspapers in Japan published an item that accused Guam of being anti-Japanese. It quoted *Osaka Mainichi* and *Tokyo Nichi Nichi*, “Anti-Japanese agitation is strong in Guam according to a Japanese merchant who has lived in the Island for 24 years, and who returned to Tokyo recently.” This un-named Japanese merchant supposedly told the Japanese newspapers, “The agitators sent a cable to Washington some time ago, declaring that the majority of the people of Guam want the Japanese expelled, as they are the source of racial trouble between themselves and the natives.” Moreover, the *Guam Recorder* went on, “some 400 children born of mixed Japanese-native marriages are participating in the movement against their parents.” The *Guam Recorder* ends its report with a comment:

If there is, or has been, any serious agitation as alluded to in the foregoing, it certainly has not been by a majority or any considerable number of the residents of the island.... it is unfair to accuse a majority of the people... for what a few ninnies semi-educated or otherwise may be responsible for.⁹⁹

The message was clear: Guam was not racist and it did not appreciate being portrayed so.

In the next issue of the *Guam Recorder*, the front page exploded with names. “Sawada denies statement published in Nippon Newspapers,” “Mr. K. Sawada makes sworn statement

⁹⁷ “Banzai!” *Guam Recorder*, May 1937, 31.

⁹⁸ Bradley, *Guam Recorder*, August 1929, 91.

⁹⁹ “Anti-Nippon Drive in Guam due to Geneva,” *Guam Recorder*, May 1933, 20.

before notary public,” and “Japanese residents deny agitation.”¹⁰⁰ According to these three articles, an “indignation meeting” was convened by leading Chamorros with invited Japanese residents and members of the Japanese Society. In this meeting, Kaneki Sawada, having been identified as the Japanese merchant alluded to in the preceding issue, “positively denied having made the statement... and he assured the committee that he had communicated with the management of the papers responsible for the article and had requested that it be retracted at his expense.” Sawada then published a notarized sworn statement declaring that “he was not responsible for the article.” Takekuma Shinohara, as president of the Japanese Society, made a statement in the *Japan Advertiser of Tokyo* denying all previous allegations that the Japanese of Guam were being discriminated. Furthermore, “The Japanese Society of Guam wishes all the world to know the treatment accorded them in Guam is above criticism.”¹⁰¹ Thereafter, nothing more was printed on the matter.

Instead of an anti-Japanese Guam, the Rooster Club regularly held its meetings and parades at Shinohara’s Gas Kitchen. When the US Secretary of War graced the island, Shinohara and Jose K. Shimizu were among the “distinguished citizens” that welcomed him.¹⁰² During the program held before the Secretary departed, Sawada was part of the Receiving Committee while Shinohara was of the Floor Committee. When in 1938 a new governor arrived, the Society held another dinner party for his and his family’s honor. As before, the guests numbered “several hundred” and included “members of the Naval Government and their wives and prominent citizens and residents of Guam.”¹⁰³

Besides dazzling parties, opulent dinners, and fashionable dance balls, the Society and its leading members also made name through donations to civic projects. Along with Guam Teachers’ Association, it was part of the Susana Hospital Drive, headed by superintendent of schools Simon A. Sanchez.¹⁰⁴ When the Junior Red Cross in the mainland US ceased providing Christmas packages to school children, Shinohara and Jose K. Shimizu (along with many other Japanese locals) were included in the roster of “local merchants and public spirited citizens” who aided the Guam Teachers’ Association in providing the school children their Christmas gifts.¹⁰⁵ The wealthy Japanese businessmen (and later, women) of Guam etched their names in the imperial world centered around the US Naval Government in Agana City and Apra Harbor.

As tensions between the US and Japan intensified, relations between them became conflicted. In 1939, the Rooster Club noticeably no longer held their meetings at Shinohara’s Gas Kitchen.¹⁰⁶ After November of that year, Shinohara’s Gas Kitchen no longer placed its well-known sukiyaki ads in the *Guam Recorder*. As later found by journalist-trained Tony Palomo, Shinohara was under surveillance for the most part of 1941, his communications to

¹⁰⁰ The three articles are in *Guam Recorder*, June 1933.

¹⁰¹ “Japanese residents deny agitation,” *Guam Recorder*, June 1933.

¹⁰² “The Visit of the Secretary of War,” *Guam Recorder*, January 1936.

¹⁰³ “Cruiser Officers Honored,” *Guam Recorder*, April 1938.

¹⁰⁴ “Susana Hospital Drive,” *Guam Recorder*, November 1940, 314.

¹⁰⁵ “Department of Education Notes,” *Guam Recorder*, January 1941, 420.

¹⁰⁶ Starting February 1939.

and from Japan closely monitored.¹⁰⁷ As Rear Admiral Donald Giles later put down, “Perhaps it was a lurking sixth sense, but many of us suspected him of having close connections with mainland Japan (the source of much of the merchandise that he sold in his store).”¹⁰⁸ With such suspicions, Giles and his set started refusing Shinohara’s invitations. In the final months of 1941, they noted that the Japanese merchants’ business trips to “their homeland” seem to have become more frequent. On the one hand, Giles credited that those suspicions might have been due only to wartime paranoia; on the other hand, he mused that the US Naval Government might “have an undetected fifth column in our midst.”¹⁰⁹

The Japanese locals however knew no more about the war than Giles and the US Naval Government. Of course they had heard about the outbreak of the war in Europe in 1939. As will be expounded in the next chapter, they knew about the war from the same sources as others in Agana City and Apra Harbor. Although the Japanese locals of Guam had long identified themselves with Japan and Japanese culture, the suspicions that they served as military spies or vanguards for the Japanese invasion were unfounded.

4. Summary and Discussion

Very little is written about the Japanese of Guam. Foremost, Wakako Higuchi details them as part of the Japanese *nan’yō*. She narrates their history within the context of the Japanese economic expansion into Micronesia, especially the Marianas, focusing primarily on the different companies that rose, merged, and fell as well as the inter-island linkages they forged with Japan. Going into the war period, she notes that the Japanese of Guam were “denied intelligence gathering opportunities,” that they “had no concrete political ideology,” and that their loyalty to Japan was “obscure at best.”¹¹⁰

In writing “A History of Pre-war Japanese Residents of Guam” within the context of the Japanese empire, Higuchi shows their (limited) relation and affinity to Japan as well as their (non-)mobilization for war preparations, similar to what Hayase did for “the Japanese Residents of Dabao-kuo.” Going into the war period, she notes a resulting “rift” between Chamorros and Japanese, citing economic rivalry as the cause. Higuchi continues, “Later, in the face of postwar ethnic tensions, some of these issei residents departed for the U.S. mainland” and “Four Japanese nisei changed their Japanese family name to that of their Chamorro matriarch.”¹¹¹

Yet, this finding contradicts the earlier assertion of her fellow Guam historian, Vicente Diaz, that Japanese-sounding names are actually Chamorro mistaken as Japanese. Were there some who were ostracized and then some who were not? And more importantly, if so, why? Comparing with Davao, the fact that they changed their Japanese names into Chamorro “later” (and not sooner) also leads to more questions. In Davao, Japanese locals came under fire as

¹⁰⁷ Palomo 1984, 35.

¹⁰⁸ Giles 1994, 48 parenthetical statement in the original.

¹⁰⁹ Giles 1994, 26.

¹¹⁰ Higuchi 1998, 166-167.

¹¹¹ Higuchi 1998, 174. Italics in Japanese terms removed.

soon as they went down the mountains and entered the Filipino line of sight. Yet, in Guam, a certain time lag can be observed. Why? As will be shown in the Chapter 8, three of those with Japanese names even applied for the War Claims in 1945. Higuchi (again like Hayase) certainly could not write the history of an entire complex group of people within one chapter. While she did not generalize the locals into the trope of us-versus-enemy, she did leave a lot of questions unanswered. It is those questions which this dissertation seeks to address.

As an introductory chapter to the story of the Japanese of Guam, this chapter gives a description of prewar Guam as an island where worlds had melded: (1) the Pacific Islander/Chamorro world that is still being reclaimed/reconstructed by indigenous scholar-activists as they clamor for decolonization of both their Islands and their Islands' history and culture, (2) the transpacific imperial world which the US inherited from Spain and then strengthened through maritime vessels and the Pan American Airways, and (3) the Japanese *nan'yō*, the area to the south of Japan which the empire was supposed to expand initially through settlers and capital.

Guam's Japanese locals straddled in the overlap of these worlds. They were in between the US and the Japanese empires and sought the friendly relations between both. Also, they were simultaneously Islander and Japanese, having intermarried with Chamorros and become part of their community. In this chapter, I demonstrated that the Japanese locals were not one or the other. Neither did they shift from one to the other. In a Pacific locality where worlds had long melded, such plurality need not be conflicting. Arguing and describing this plurality is imperative because, in the Pacific War in the succeeding two chapters, this plurality (of which loyalty to Japan was but one) will be "sorely tested."¹¹²

¹¹² Higuchi 1998, 167.

Chapter 7. Navigating the Divisive War

1. Introduction

The island was astir with news of war. Excited neighbors went from house to house, taking it to themselves to disseminate the news from the city and the harbor: Sumay had been bombed and Agana City was in such a state of commotion. War had begun. Like her neighbors Rosario Mafnas, nine months pregnant, was collecting her seven children when her husband arrived in a jitney owned and driven their friend Dong Sayama. Together, the three loaded supplies, children, and mother ready for evacuation. From a short distance a neighbor, Rosario's aunt, called if she might hitch along. Rosario's mother answered for everyone, yes, and then aunt, cousin, and nephew climbed aboard. Along the way, the group picked up more of Rosario's relatives that, by the time Dong Sayama dropped them at their refuge, 22 children and adults crammed in his jitney.¹

This tale of how Dong Sayama helped the Mafnas family evacuate to their ranch at the outbreak of the war was told by Rosario in 1980 for an oral history project commissioned by the war museum in Guam. Interestingly, in no part of her narrative did Rosario refer to Dong Sayama as Japanese or that Jesus Sayama, the patriarch of the Sayama family (and most likely Dong's father),² was incarcerated in Agana City prison along with other Japanese locals suspected of espionage for the Japanese Imperial Forces. Perhaps, like public elementary school principal Luis Palomo Untalan,³ Rosario did not know, or would even disagree with Jesus Sayama when he later claimed, that the eldest Sayama boy later joined the Imperial Forces as it charged toward Saipan where intense battle between Japan and the US were reaching its bitter end.⁴ The "Sayama boys"⁵ were islanders. They could not possibly join the Japanese military which ravaged their island for two years, at least not by their own free will.

Very little is known about the prewar Japanese in Guam. The little that we know of them is partial, at times even contradicting. The story of the war in Guam (in English) follows two general narratives: Stories are either on the US military recapture of Guam or on the experiences of the islanders. The first are accounts of veterans, details of the warfare, or both. The second paints the calamity born by islanders wretched by war that was not of their doing, narrating their suffering and forbearance. Recently, Chamorro studies specialist Michael Bevacqua (2015) elaborates on islanders' agency in the fight for their island, as a response to the victimized and passive image of the Chamorro in war histories.

¹ Summarized from "Rosario M. Mafnas" 1980, 374-375.

² Based on the 1940 census, there was no other Sayama family except that of Jesus Sayama. Jesus Sayama only four sons who were still under his household. Pedro was 19, Jesus was 18, Juan was 14, and Antonio was 8. Dong was probably a nickname, most likely of Pedro

³ "War Claims of Carlos Takano," testimony of Luis Palomo Untalan. More than an acquaintance, Untalan was the school principal where Carlos Takano's wife taught.

⁴ Hiroshi Shinohara 1963, 63.

⁵ "War Claims of Carlos San Nicolas Takano," testimony of Luis Palomo Untalan.

Quite the exception, Wakako Higuchi invested her scholarly energies on the Japanese in Guam. Observing that works on Guam in English scarcely tap source materials in Japanese due to Guam scholars' lack of Japanese proficiency, Higuchi (2013) outlines the changing structures and policies of the Japanese navy in Guam during the war. Earlier in her career, Higuchi contributed a chapter to the anthology *Guam History: Perspective* (1998). Focusing on Guam's prewar Japanese residents, the chapter offers a section on their wartime experiences in which she observes that during the occupation "Guam's Japanese would be sorely tested in their loyalty, a loyalty that was obscure at best."⁶ This chapter and the one that follows it builds on Higuchi's findings, hoping to address at least some of the many questions she left unanswered.

Examining the war by stages (eve, outbreak, invasion, and occupation), this chapter shows how the Japanese locals navigated the divisive war that was tearing apart their overlapping worlds. It begins on the eve of the war, when the Japanese of Guam still lay in the overlap of the three worlds. After the Japanese invasion, they mediated between the ruling Japanese military and the Chamorros. They bridged two disconnected peoples, a role which they did not play before the war. However, this mediating position was tenuous. They had to prove their patriotism to Japan or otherwise fall into the bottom tier of Japan's racial hierarchy, joining the Chamorros there. Yet, proving themselves to Japan required alienating themselves from Chamorros. Although individual choices differed, what was evident is that the Japanese of Guam could no longer be both Japanese and Chamorro.

2. News of War Comes to Guam (1940-1941)

News about the war in Europe, the hostilities in China, and the tensions between the US and Japan reach Guam through the communication and transportation lines established by the US and then was spread by Chamorro island network. The Japanese of Guam, as part of these overlapping worlds, received and shared information in the same way.

2.1. The Naval Government's Preparations

The cable and the radio stations in Sumay received news and communications from other Allied territories. Two more discreet radio stations in Libugon in the outskirts of Agaña served to capture and decipher messages from Japan. To prepare for a potential face-off with Japan, Captain J.T. Alexander of the US Navy requested for an increase in Guam Naval Station's budget for (among others) the native Insular Force in the latter half of 1940. Citing the efficiency of the enlisted Chamorros as well as those employed as civilians in Pan American Airways and in the Commercial Pacific Cable Company, Alexander wanted to boost the number of the Insular Force by a hundred 100.⁷ This request was apparently granted. By May 1941, islanders were being recruited into the Insular Force to increase its number from 110 to

⁶ Higuchi 1998, 167.

⁷ "Memorandum on Governor-Commandant's Guam Letter of July 5, 1940," August 30, 1940.

230.⁸ Also, just a month before that, the Insular Guards composed of enlisted islanders was formed. Unlike the Insular Force who served as aids to the Navy, the Insular Guards was an organized infantry unit trained in rifle marksmanship.

However, as one of those inducted later admitted, “At that time, I was confused and, even to this day, I am not too sure of the reason why [we] were taken into the Insular Guard.” Perhaps, as this recruit explained, the training was woefully inadequate. “I was inducted into the navy in April of 1941.... but before our training was completed, the order came that we had to learn the manuals of arms and basic rifle marksmanship.”⁹ Another, a gunner’s mate working at Piti Naval Yard likewise described, “my gun was only used for saluting... There were no bullets, there was only powder.”¹⁰ Guam had no aircraft. Naval crafts consisted only of the ever-sailing USS *Gold Star*, the USS *Penguin* (a patrol boat), USS *R.L. Barnes* (an oiler), and two harbor patrol boats.¹¹

When the hopelessness of Guam’s defenses compared to the militarily fortified Japan-occupied Micronesia became apparent, evacuation of American civilians ensued. Evacuation of civilians was completed on October 17, 1941. Except for one wife of an official, all families of navy personnel were shipped out of the island, Governor McMillin reported.¹²

Informing the general public seemed not in the to-do list of the Naval Government. Save for a few blackouts in 1940 to 1941 (which were barely reported, if at all, in the *Guam Recorder*), there did not seem to be any effort to prepare civilians or draft measures for them in case of emergencies. The monthly magazine *Guam Recorder*, which in the 1920s to the early 1930s engaged in political discourses and reported news concerning the international arena, became increasingly about Guam’s flora and fauna as well as Spanish colonial histories of past centuries. The only other print medium, the daily *Guam Eagle* had a readership limited to the naval personnel.¹³ With neither a public radio broadcasting station nor newspaper, local residents’ only direct access to news of the war were the “movie newsreels, shown at the two Johnston-owned theaters... and these were weeks old.”¹⁴

2.2. Chamorros’ Ways of Knowing

Yet, the islanders seemed to know about the impending war. Quite perplexed at how they did despite the naval government not feeding them news, Rear Admiral Donald Giles began suspecting that the islanders had their own means of knowing:

⁸ “The Insular Force Guard,” *Guam Recorder*, May 1941.

⁹ “Pedro G. Cruz” 1981, 211-212.

¹⁰ “Perpetuo C. Lujan” 1981, 332.

¹¹ Givens, “Introduction to the Fiftieth Anniversary Edition.”

¹² McMillin 1945, 1.

¹³ Blaz 2008, 8.

¹⁴ Blaz 2008, 8.

During the latter part of 1941, I began to sense a growing uneasiness among our servants and among the local people I encountered. At first their questions were almost oblique, but as the end of the year approached, their concerns became more persistent. Bill Lineberry and I frequently interrupted discussions among our household staff about the Japanese who were on Saipan and Rota. We all knew that the Chamorro has a very effective grapevine, and I wondered sometimes if this network included islands other than our own. Could it be that they had a warning system more effective than ours? I dismissed these thoughts as paranoia.¹⁵

Giles might be forgiven for his paranoia; the Chamorros *did* at times have ways of knowing unfathomable to their naval officials. “To some Guamanian elders,” Chamorro local historians Pedro C. Sanchez describes the eve of the war, “the eerie combination of unusual stillness, the deep red color in the sky, and the strange stirring of animals was not a good omen.”¹⁶ Whether it was another typhoon, epidemic, tidal wave, or earthquake, even their elders did not know. And because they did not know, they resigned to a Higher Being. “Si Yuus ha tumungo!” or, only God knows.¹⁷

For most of the Chamorro, it seems their source of information was the same ones as those of Giles. Chamorros were employed in the Naval Government and worked within their environs. They served as native police, as mess boys and watchmen in the Insular Force, as clerks in the Commercial Pacific Cable Company, as staff in the PanAm hotel, as servants in navy officials’ homes, as laundrywomen, as nurses in the Naval Hospital, and so forth and so forth. Some of them also had naval officials married into their families. “When Juan (Buko) Castro, a Saipanese police officer visited Guam in 1940,” wrote Tony Palomo, “Sgambelluri learned from him that the Japanese had constructed huge underground fuel tanks in Saipan, and Nippon warships were making frequent visits to the Northern Mariana Islands.”¹⁸ Given that, just a year before, *Mariana Maru* ceased operations connecting Chamorro families in US-occupied Guam and in Japan-occupied Saipan, this bit of news must have borne grim images of war along with it. Adolf Sgambelluri was then chief of the native police. It does not seem likely that he kept this information from his superiors in the Insular Patrol.

Contrary to McMillin’s report that all families of American naval personnel had been evacuated out of Guam, at least one Chamorro-American family chose to stay behind. Irene Perez Ploke’s family was warned by the Naval Government to leave the island, she shared decades later, “but her mother had refused. She had wanted to remain with Irene’s grandparents, because they were old.”¹⁹ Chamorros who were affiliated to the Naval Government were just as informed (or uninformed) of the war as most others in Giles’ naval imperial world. They heard and saw things. They pieced together bits and pieces so much so that when “electrical

¹⁵ Giles 1994, 27.

¹⁶ Sanchez 1979, 8.

¹⁷ Sanchez 1979, 9.

¹⁸ Palomo 1984, 137. Parentheses in the original.

¹⁹ Guam Humanities Council 2005, 102.

short circuit and an involuntary blackout [occurred], some people thought Guam was about to be invaded.”²⁰

2.3. Japanese Merchants as Part of Two Worlds

Just as Giles entertained ideas of the Chamorros having their own indigenous networks and knowledges detached from the naval government, the naval government also suspected the Japanese locals of being privy to information from Japan. As Giles later wrote:

During the final months of 1941, the diplomatic situation in the Pacific became more and more tenuous.... We were becoming increasingly concerned about the Japanese population on Guam. They were farmers and businessmen who had been living as respected citizens for many years and seemed to present no threat. However, some of the Japanese businessmen made frequent trips to their homeland to obtain items for sale in their stores and to negotiate agreements for the same of our rice and products in Japan. It could have been a product of war paranoia, but these trips seemed to be occurring more frequently. Did we have an undetected fifth column in our midst?²¹

As in his impressions about the islanders, Giles and the navy officials were again not quite on the mark. Except for the captain of *Mariana Maru* who would later accompany the Japanese invading forces in December 1941,²² the Japanese locals of Guam knew about the war from the same sources of information as others in Agana City and Apra Harbor.

The importers and wholesalers in Agana and Apra Harbor, several of whom were Japanese settlers and their children, were particularly sensitive to the unstable regional situation. The schedule of shipments had become erratic and the supply of gasoline had gone down. “I remember that stocks of all merchants on Guam around December 8, 1941 were unusually low as the American supply ship was overdue,” testified Trinidad Torres Calvo, a wholesalers on the island, in the 1940s War Claims interrogations.²³ War seemed so imminent that it became a practice among importers of Guam to have large cash in hand. In case the war finally broke out and the Bank of Guam ceased operations, they could at least pay for their shipments.²⁴

Carlos Takano, son of the well-established Japanese settler Vicente Takano but who was himself new in the business, made more orders when his first two shipments did not arrive

²⁰ Palomo 1984, 35.

²¹ Giles 1994, 25-26.

²² Bōeichō Bōei Kenshūjo Senshishitsu 1967, 36; cf Higuchi 1998, 166 and Higuchi 2013, “Ogawa Kan’ichi” in Appendix III. This captain, Kakuhei Okano, was not listed in the 1940 census. It is likely he was not a local of Guam, though he was said to know the Chamorro language well. He might have been a local of Saipan, where his employer Jose K. Shimizu first began his business.

²³ “War Claims of Carlos Takano,” testimony of Trinidad Torres Calvo.

²⁴ For example, see the testimonies of Riye Dejima, of Tomas Santos Tanaka, and of BJ Bordallo, in the “War Claims of Riye Dejima.”

on time. Then, unexpectedly and all at once, his three orders arrived. Since importers usually paid upon receipt of their stocks, Carlos was loaded with too many merchandize but too little cash.²⁵ The freezing of Japanese assets in the US mainland was also known to the merchants of Guam. As preemptive measure, Japanese settler Jesus Sayama asked his son-in-law, Vicente Roberto Palomo to withdraw large amounts from his account in the Bank of Guam.²⁶ The Japanese merchants in Agana City and Apra Harbor, just like other importers and wholesalers of Guam, made it their business to know world events that could possibly hamper their trade. Whatever knowledge they had of the war came from this practice.

Information about war did not stay among themselves. “I got information that the Japanese were sure to capture the island of Guam from a friend whose name is Ichang Shimizu,” recalled Jose Barcinas, whose family resided in Merizo far down south. “I used to sell copra to Mr. Shimizu in Agana. Every time I went to Agana to sell copra, they told me that the Japanese were sure to capture Guam.”²⁷ Distressed at the prospect of war, Jose shared the tale to some in his village. The Merizo’s commissioner²⁸ (who was Jose’s uncle) and the public school principal convened a meeting with the villagers to discuss how they can prepare. Later, the commissioner and the principal advised Jose to halt preparations “because the Governor of Guam... did not want the people to worry about the Japanese attack.”²⁹ Nevertheless, they proceeded to make shelters in the jungles of Merizo. It was to these shelters that they ran upon the bombing on December 8, 1941.

3. Another Imperial Shift (December 8-10, 1941)

3.1. Context: Outbreak of the War

According to his report, Governor McMillin learned about the attack on Pearl Harbor at 5:45 am. The first bombs dropped on Guam hit key establishments and installations that linked the Naval Station to the outside world: the radio station in Libugon, the Marine Reservation close to the cable and radio stations in Sumay, Pan American Airways building, and the USS *Penguin* which was then on patrol.³⁰ By 7:30 am, telephone lines were cut. Communication from the military installations in Orote Peninsula to the Government House in Agana had to be done by sending messengers.³¹ Concerning the civilians, the superintendent of schools was called in. “Schools were suspended and church gatherings prohibited,” reported McMillin.³² The first was unnecessary because young and old were preparing for the annual festival in honor of the island’s patroness, Santa Maria de Camalen. Children and their teachers had no plans of going to school. The second went unheeded and the mass at the Cathedral

²⁵ “War Claims of Carlos Takano,” testimony of Jose Salas Perez.

²⁶ “War Claims of Joaquina Baza Sayama,” testimony of Vicente Roberto Palomo.

²⁷ “Jose Barcinas” 1981, 53.

²⁸ The highest municipal official.

²⁹ “Jose Barcinas” 1981, 53.

³⁰ Giles 1994, 29; and McMillin 1945, 1-2.

³¹ Giles 1994, 29.

³² McMillin, George, U.S. Navy to the Secretary of the Navy, September 11, 1945.

(which was only a stone throw away from McMillin's Government House) commenced at eight o'clock.³³

As it was, the Insular Force, the Insular Guards, and other military and military-affiliated locals disseminated the information to the populace. Juan D. Perez, a supervisor at the Commercial Pacific Cable Company in the cable station proceeded to the nearby town of Sumay and "advised the people he met to move out of their homes and seek shelter in the woods beyond the village."³⁴ Likewise, Perpetuo C. Lujan, who was then working at Piti Navy Yard, learned about the bombing of Hawaii from his shipmates. After calling his wife and a taxi for her, Lujan reported to work. While dispatched in Agana, he passed by his siblings' houses to relay the morning's events and then escorted his sisters to where they could hitch a ride to Barrigada. While walking back to Agana, he chanced on his wife (the taxi did not arrive) and helped her find a ride as well. By the time Lujan was finally nearing the Piti Navy Yard, the sun had risen and the air raids on Sumay had begun.³⁵

As can be expected with information dissemination by word-of-mouth, the spread of news was uneven. While Lujan watched Sumay go up in flames (the PanAm oil drum was hit),³⁶ Bishop Olano in Agana described:

It was a beautiful morning. People, especially the younger men and women, thronged the door of the Cathedral to attend the Solemn High Mass... The altar of white Ipil-wood was practically smothered by bouquets of tropical flowers and ribbons while garlands entwined its fluted, gilded columns.³⁷

Olano, however, noted "the restlessness and whispering" among the devotees. Finally, when "the hysteria seemed so marked," the Bishop asked an old lady why she was crying. "'Gerra, Gerra, Señor Obispo,'" was her answer."³⁸ Bishop Olano could not finish the mass. As the people filed out of the cathedral doors, survivors from "Piti and Sumay had reached Agana. They brought with them terrifying and vastly exaggerated stories... [which] spread fast among the frightened people."³⁹ The exodus out of the city began.

3.2. The Japanese Locals: Interned as Spies or Escaped with Islanders

Riye Dejima, a devout Japanese Catholic and friend of Bishop Olano, was not at mass. By order of McMillin, she and the other Japanese locals were arrested by the Insular Patrol and the native police and then were detained in the jail not too far from the cathedral. They were

³³ Olano 1949, 1.

³⁴ Sanchez 1979, 14.

³⁵ Summarized from "Pedro C. Lujan" 1981, 330-334.

³⁶ "Alberto Babauta Acfalle" 1981, 1.

³⁷ Olano 1949, 1.

³⁸ Olano 1949, 2.

³⁹ Sanchez 1979, 16.

suspected of espionage or at least the potential of aiding the imminent Japanese invasion. Indeed, early that morning, Shinohara was seen going around Japanese houses in the affluent San Antonio district of Agana, with a Japanese flag in his hand. The Insular Patrol, the Insular Guards, and the native police finally caught up with Shinohara at the house of Nawo Sawada. Both were taken to the jail. Not everyone detained were Japanese citizens. Also jailed, Luis SN Takano, eldest son of Japanese settler Vicente Takano and Dolores San Nicolas, had been “judicially declared a [US national] in 1938.”⁴⁰ His Japanese wife, Naoe, who was detained with him, recalled in an interview years later that there were about fifteen jailed Japanese nationals;⁴¹ the Japanese official history records 35.⁴²

“This [detaining the Japanese residents] was a difficult and heart-wrenching thing to do,” Giles wrote years later. “These people had been respected citizens in the island for many years. Under the circumstances however we were forced to suspect their loyalty.”⁴³ Regardless of their expressed feelings toward detaining the Japanese residents, it seems that among the navy officers and officials—even Giles—there was a general suspicion that the Japanese planes were able to accurately target the top-secret Libugon radio station because Japanese nationals leaked information to the Imperial Forces. The cutting of telephone lines, too, were blamed on the Japanese nationals. In his memoir, Giles offered that it was possible that infiltrators from Saipan could have snuck into the island beforehand. However, he admitted that these infiltrators would have to be harbored by locals and that those locals could be no other than the Japanese residents.⁴⁴

Shinohara, until his death long after the war, denied any knowledge of Japan’s war plans—denied it even to his Japanese compatriots.⁴⁵ It seems that he spoke truth. When the Japanese military finally captured Agana on December 10, 1941, they did not seem to know that Japanese nationals were on the island. It took a while for the Japanese locals to be called

⁴⁰ Palomo 1984, 11. In the original, Palomo writes “Guam citizen,” however inhabitants of Guam were not accorded citizenship, as explained in Chapter 6. In the 1930s, Governor Bradley recommended that a bill of rights and [US] citizenship for the inhabitants of Guam be passed in Washington DC. Although the initiative was popular among Chamorro leaders in Guam, it was not approved in the federal level. Wakako Higuchi also commented that despite Tony Palomo’s assertion about Japanese residents’ petition for Guam citizenship, the matter was not confirmed by Naoe Takano during their interview in 1997 (1998, 166). Based on the testimony of Carlos San Nicolas Takano, Luis’ brother, for his war claims application, he was a “U.S. national.” Cf Aguilar 2010. Philippine citizens were considered as US nationals because the Philippines was a territory of the United States, was part of the US empire, and its people pledged allegiance to the US.

⁴¹ Higuchi 2013, Appendix III.

⁴² *Senshi Sōsho* 1967, 40. *Senshi Sōsho* copies verbatim primary sources and puts annotations on information which its editors deemed inaccurate. Interestingly, the primary sources in *Senshi Sōsho* (probably the Imperial HQ Navy Department 大本営海軍部) recorded 20 Japanese detainees, a number closer to Naoe’s estimate.

⁴³ Giles 1994, 29.

⁴⁴ Giles 1994, 29 and 38-39; Mansell 2012, “Japan Attacks.”

⁴⁵ See for example, Samueru Shinohara 1963, 70. Yūkichi Yamano, the first Japanese official to head the Minseibu in Guam, accorded the success of cutting the telephone lines to the Chamorros from Saipan who sailed into Ritidian Point in the northernmost beach of Guam (Yamano 1943, 34). All other accounts record that the Chamorro from Saipan via Rota arrived at daybreak of December 9—a full day after the lines were cut (McMillin 1945, 2; Olano 1949, 7; Giles 1994, 36). Although Yamano published his account in 1943, way ahead of other accounts, the earliest of which was McMillin’s report written and submitted in 1945, he was not on the island during the event. Yamano arrived in Guam only when the Minseibu was established early 1942.

to serve as translators between the US and the Japanese forces. When they were, it was by the suggestion of McMillin, not by the Japanese invaders.

Noteworthy, the number of Japanese internees (though it varies per source material) did not exceed 35. Yet, prewar census and other counts put their population between 326 to 400. Given that Chamorro-Japanese Luis SN Takano was also detained, we cannot assume that the 35 consisted only of Japanese settlers. What became of the hundred others?

Rose Yamanaka and four of the six Matsumiya youths of the island joined the group of Vicente “Ben” Limtiaco. An Insular Guard, Ben first brought his family away from the Harbor and the City to the northern municipality of Yigo. Having seen his family to safety, Ben returned to the city and joined Rose Yamanaka and Matsumiya’s group who were boarded in his brother’s jitney. When they reached Apurguan in the northern outskirts of Agana City, “a blistering blast of gunfire struck” their party. Of the seventeen evacuees, thirteen, including Rose Yamanaka and the Matsumiyas, died.⁴⁶ Perhaps they were one of those unfortunate ones whom Bishop Olano described as he drove from his refuge back to Agana immediately after the invasion of the Japanese military two days later. “I was surprised to see piles of cadavers on both sides of the street. They were hapless victims of Japanese atrocities.... Some of the victims were sons of Japanese old-timers.”⁴⁷

Here emerges the problem with conventional historical analysis, especially apparent in war histories. Because history is based on documents, many are absent. Those who did not write must either commit or fall victim to horrendous crimes to be recorded and made part of history. Rose Yamanaka and the Matsumiya youths were examples of the latter. The detained Japanese in Agana, suspected of betraying Guam, were accused of the former. Still, taken together, their number could not have exceeded 50. So, again, we ask: What of the other hundreds Japanese locals?

Here we can employ what precolonial Philippine historian William Henry Scott called peering through the “cracks of the parchment curtain.” An approach to historical analysis, one tactic of it is interpreting silences in historical documents. Like Rose Yamanaka and the Matsumiyas, other Japanese locals who were not interned *could have* escaped with other Chamorros—and survived. Oral histories corroborate with this interpretation. Case in point: the escape of the Mafnas family with the help of their friend Dong Sayama at the start of this chapter. Recall that the narrator, Rosario Mafnas, made no reference whatsoever of Dong’s Japanese background, an omission not so uncommon in prewar Guam. It seems that many Japanese locals blended into their islander world as Japan’s war with the US began. Whether survivors or casualties, most Japanese locals experienced the outbreak of the war with the Chamorros. Here, they were—unlike the Japanese detained in Agana prison—Chamorros.

⁴⁶ Palomo 1984, 23; Sanchez 1979, 23; Olano 1949, 142. At least seven Matsumiyas were recorded in the 1940 census. One was 59 years old, three were in their 20s, two were in their teens, and one was eleven years old.

⁴⁷ Olano 1949, 12-13. Olano’s description of a desolate Agana littered by dead bodies corroborates with that by a Japanese civil servant from Formosa, Saipan, and Palau who visited Guam shortly after the invasion. See Higuchi 1987, 121.

3.3. Interpreters of the New Imperial Masters

On December 10, 1941, before sunrise, the Japanese imperial landing forces docked at Duncas beach and were guided through its shores by the captain of the defunct *Mariana Maru*. Neither American nor native soldier defended the beaches.⁴⁸ The Japanese army met Guam's valiant defenders (the Insular Guards, the US navy, and the US marines) only when they got to Agana and Sumay.⁴⁹ At six o'clock, after 22 casualties,⁵⁰ McMillin sent out Giles to meet with the Japanese troops. Later, Giles emerged into the plaza accompanied by a Japanese officer. After several attempts at communication through charades, McMillin indicated that there were Japanese nationals in the Agana city prison and Takekuma Shinohara, Nawo Sawada, and Jose K. Shimizu were called in.⁵¹

In his report, McMillin simply wrote that Shinohara served as interpreter. Shinohara, on the other hand, was more elaborate in his memoir. According to him, McMillin sought his advice, as a friend and as president of the Japanese Society of Guam. McMillin had been told by the Japanese commander Hayashi to surrender unconditionally, promising that if he did, he and his subordinates will be treated in accordance to international law. Doubting the invaders, McMillin asked Shinohara if he could trust Hayashi. In his account, Shinohara attested that he replied with all resolution, "We Japanese are true to our word. The Commander does not lie. Please trust him."⁵² After a skirmish over details, McMillin heeded Shinohara's words and signed the letter of surrendered that assured "the civil rights of the population of Guam will be respected and that the military forces surrendered to you will be accorded all the rights stipulated by International Law and the laws of humanity."⁵³

McMillin further reported that Nawo Sawada, the widow of the prewar wholesaler Kaneki Sawada, was emotional and in tears. Years later, Naoe Takano who was interned with her shared that these tears were out of happiness. As Naoe explained to historian Wakako Higuchi, Nawo broke out in a haiku which undoubtedly was incomprehensible to non-Japanese in Guam: "'Kachi ikusa aa kachi ikusa toki ya kachi ikusa.' (A successful war / Oh, it is victory time / It was a triumphant battle)."⁵⁴ They were glad to see the Rising Sun come to Guam. As can be gleaned from Shinohara's response, they believed in imperial Japan.

This did not mean that they saw the US as the enemy. Shinohara, having mediated between the commanders Hayashi and McMillin, watched them face each other with a military song's opening lines, "Ryojun Kaijō Yakunarite" sung in the background. On the one hand, Shinohara was fiercely loyal to Japan. On the other, he had dreamed of setting foot in the US

⁴⁸ *Senshi Sōsho* 1963, 34 and 36.

⁴⁹ For islanders' accounts of Guam's defense, see Rogers 1995, 165-167; Sanchez 1979, 28-29; and "Pedro G. Cruz" 1981, 233-236.

⁵⁰ McMillin reports a casualty of American military 13 names; American civilian 1; Guam military 4; Guam civilians 3 (1945, enclosed 2). *Senshi Sōsho* records only one casualty in the Japanese side. That said, it also grossly overestimates the American casualties as 50 (*Senshi Sōsho* 1963, 39-40).

⁵¹ McMillin 1945, 4-5.

⁵² Samuel Shinohara 1967, 71; and Kosuge 1977, 96.

⁵³ McMillin 1945, enclosed 1.

⁵⁴ Higuchi 2013, Takano Naoe (1916--), translation by Dr. Higuchi.

since his childhood. Before the war, he had been friends with US naval officers and young recruits at the Naval Station. As a Japanese national who had lived in the US territory of Guam for 36 years, Shinohara watched the Rising Sun fluttered overhead and tears welled up with feelings which he could describe only as “complex.”⁵⁵ These Japanese merchants had long straddled in the overlap of the US and the Japanese empires. Now that these empires were clashing, they were caught in between. It was indeed a complicated position.⁵⁶

The first order by the victorious Japanese Army concerning civilians was to go to key town centers to get a “pass,” a piece of cloth on which were written Japanese characters the Chamorros did not understand but which they had to carry around wherever they went. For this task, the army relied on the Japanese locals, particularly on the settlers.

Jose Baza, a youth who was fetching water for the wounded Ton Jesus Talan, was taken prisoner by Japanese troops and brought to Plaza de España. There, he chanced upon Nawo Sawada as she emerged from the Palace.⁵⁷ An acquaintance who once invited him into her home, Nawo took a pass and gave it to Jose. “The Japanese lady told me to take the cloth and to stay at the ranch, just stay there and not leave,” he later recalled.⁵⁸ Similarly, Francisco Kelly Acfalle had been hiding with his family and several others for about four to five days when a messenger, Francisco Ishizaki of Umatac came by and told them to get a pass. Likewise, Francisco Chargulaf, a youth from Piti staying with his godparents in Agana, was told by Ton Tito K. Asanoma to get a pass. Tito Asanoma, Francisco Ishizaki, and Nawo Sawada were all born in Japan and were known to the Chamorros whom they advised to get a pass. Noticeably, Francisco addressed Asanoma as “Ton Tito;”⁵⁹ *Ton* is a title Chamorros reserve for their elders.

As for the Bishop Olano, “Shinohara told me to advise Your Grace to pay your respect to the Commandant of the Japanese forces,” the sacristan told Olano, having finally found him seeking refuge in a ranch.⁶⁰ Upon reaching Agana, Olano describes, “A table had been placed in front of the palace of the Governor. Japanese soldiers were scattered all over the plaza. The Chamorros were lined on one side.”⁶¹ Riye Dejima, the perpetually well-dressed Japanese lady and owner of one of the most well-advertised retail stores in Agana, ran to the bishop. Kneeling, she kissed his ring, as was customary among devout Catholics in the presence of high-ranking priests such as bishops, cardinals, and popes. “I blessed her in front of that crowd,” wrote Olano in his memoir. To the predominantly Catholic islanders, Olano’s blessing must have vindicated Riye from the brutal invasion. To the Japanese army, Riye’s display must have shown Olano’s esteemed position on the island.

⁵⁵ Shinohara 1963, 71.

⁵⁶ “Precarious” is how this position is described by scholars examining contemporary Chinese migrants and their descendants who call parts of Asia in conflict with China as their home. See Wang and Goh (2017).

⁵⁷ As many Chamorros called the Government House. It is a direct translation of the building’s name during the Spanish period, “Agaña Palacio” or simply, “el Palacio.”

⁵⁸ “Jose Baza” 1981, 84.

⁵⁹ “Francisco Chargulaf” 1981, 146.

⁶⁰ Olano 1949, 12.

⁶¹ Olano 1949, 13.

As mediators, the Japanese locals not only translated languages, they also identified Chamorros who were to be spared. On their way to Yoña to procure their passes, Vicente Obing of Inarajan was suspected of being an American or an American sympathizer because of the khaki hat he wore. A certain Sudo (possibly Ichi Sudō who owned a large two-storey house in the municipality)⁶² vouched to the Japanese soldiers that Obing was not an American. The Japanese soldiers let Obing free.⁶³ Likewise, Insular Guard Vicente A. Limtiaco, whose company of evacuees encountered a group of Japanese soldiers at the height of the invasion, was already stabbed with a bayonet and was bleeding inside their jitney. Limtiaco recalled:

Then the following morning, Japanese Army trucks were passing with Felix Akai. When they saw the jitney with the dead people they stopped and a Japanese soldier got down with his gun again. He pointed to me, all ready to kill me, but Felix Akai stopped the Japanese. When he saw what was about to happen, he said, “Do not kill him; he is my friend.” And after that I was put on the Japanese truck and was taken over to the Plaza de España.⁶⁴

In the immediate aftermath of the invasion, the Japanese of Guam played the important role of mediators between the Japanese military and the Chamorros. They translated, guided, interpreted, and identified whom the Japanese military should not deem as enemies.

4. Under the Japanese Military Rule (December 10, 1941 – July 1944)

4.1. Context: Colonization and a Divided Guam

Guam was to be integrated into the Japanese empire. Like its sister islands in the Marianas which Imperial Japan had colonized since the 1920s, Guam saw the arrival of Japanese civil servants, professionals, and laborers. Unlike Davao whose prewar governments were recognized and reopened under Japanese Military Administration’s supervision, local offices for civil administration were put in place. On December 21, 1941, a Minseisho [Civil Administration Station] was established staffed by twenty officials from former Nan’yō-chō. Plus, Chamorro interpreters and police assistants from the neighboring islands of Saipan and Rota were brought in. In January 1942, the Minseisho—temporary as it was—was replaced by the Minseibu [Civil Administration Department], for which more officials were transferred to Guam.⁶⁵ In the same month, Japanese schools opened. In September, teachers arrived.⁶⁶ By the

⁶² 須藤一, see *Sanbō Honbu* 1944, 43.

⁶³ “Jesus Crisostomo” 1981, 176.

⁶⁴ “Vicente A. Limtiaco” 1981, 314. Transcript was slightly edited by the author, removing unnecessary “the” and punctuation marks.

⁶⁵ Higuchi 2013, Chapter 3. Minseibu was a civilian body within the Navy. Its chiefs had to be a naval officer. However, from January to June 1942, Yukichi Yamano a civilian official of the Nan’yō-chō acted as chief on behalf of Commander Hiroshi Hayashi of the 54th Naval Guard Unit under the Fifth Base Force.

⁶⁶ *Sanbō Honbu* 1944, 38.

time it was dissolved in March 1944, Minseibu employed 79 Japanese policemen, teachers, and lower-ranking officers from outside the island.⁶⁷

To supervise the procurement, production, and manufacture of supplies for the empire, the Nan'yō Kōhatsu's Guam office was organized. Around fourteen to fifteen employees of the Nan'yō Kōhatsu Saipan Branch were sent to Guam on January 7, 1942. Later, more employees and their families were moved to the island.⁶⁸ Their task was the collection and distribution of produce, management of shipments, rice production, cassava and vegetable farming, manganese mining, and public works. "When Japan invaded Guam, it was before Christmas which was why the US forces and the locals had lots of food," recalled one official who arrived in January 1942. "That was a lot of help."⁶⁹ Some of these supplies were paid for; others were exchanged with promissory notes which were never encashed. Supplies of the US Navy and Marines, both private and official, were spoils of war and shoes, blankets, trousers, cars, bacon, and so forth were taken without payment.⁷⁰

Whatever the island could not supply or supplied insufficiently, workers and professionals were brought in. At least one doctor and an army of nurses were transferred to Guam by the Nan'yō Kōhatsu. Because Guam did not have any fishing industry before the war, fishing families from Japan, Okinawa, Saipan, and Rota were also shipped in.⁷¹ Two priests were supplied because Bishop Olano (a Spaniard) was shipped to Japan along with the other American prisoners-of-war while the remaining two Chamorro priests, Jesus Baza Dueñas and Oscar Calvo, were reluctant to cooperate with the Japanese authorities. Brothels from Palau opened branches in Agana, Sumay, and Piti and were staffed by women imported from Okinawa and Korea, usually via Saipan or Palau. As one Nan'yō Kōhatsu official recalled, these brothels were consistently understaffed. One woman had to serve too many soldiers and thus the turnover rate was high. Worse (for Nan'yō Kōhatsu), the recruited women from offshore, many of them young, doubled back once en route to Guam.⁷²

Besides the numerous new faces pouring in, other aspects of the island were also Japanized. Japanese names were given to cities, municipalities, rivers, and mountains.⁷³ For Yūkichi Yamano, the first acting chief of the Minseibu, Japan had three goals in Guam, first of which was to instill "Japanese spirit" in the islanders. Thus, national schools teaching Japanese language and culture were opened. Concerned with the Japanese formation of young islanders, Yamano organized associations for young boys and girls (danjo seinendan) and assigned them the important task of aiding the Minseibu.⁷⁴ By December, six months after Yamano was replaced by Commander Teiichi Homura, the seinendan came to resemble the prewar Guam

⁶⁷ Higuchi 2013, Chapter 3.

⁶⁸ Okada 1988, 77.

⁶⁹ Okada 1988, 83.

⁷⁰ "Documentary Evidence," in "Records of Class-B and -C (re USA trials) Guam Trials."

⁷¹ Sanbō Honbu 1944, 60; and "POW Interrogation Reports with Summary and Memorandum (July – November 1944)." I

⁷² Okada 1988, 84; and "POW Interrogation Reports with Summary and Memorandum (July – November 1944)."

⁷³ Sanbō Honbu 1944, "Omiya-jima Chōson-ku Chizu."

⁷⁴ Yamano 1943, 40.

Militia in which young men were convened for military drills.⁷⁵ Japanese flags were to be displayed at home especially during special occasions; bows must be rendered properly; and Japanese language was to be used at home so that children could learn it more quickly.⁷⁶ Whether Japanese or Chamorro, people in Guam were referred to as “hōjin” [national] by an army report in 1944.⁷⁷

Like the previous regime, this new imperial society was racially tiered; unlike prewar however, segregation was expressed in, say, the schooling system. Those of pure Japanese descent, that is the children of the Japanese professionals who had just arrived on the island, went to the Omiyatō national school. Chamorro children, on the other hand, went to a separate national school. Moreover, Chamorros were expected to bow the military—a practice reserved only for the tabernacle. As one village head jotted down during one of their meetings, “We render the bow to those who are in the service because we appreciate the fact that they are fighting for us. We must show our gratitude and bow to the Navy Meinsebu and other Japanese.”⁷⁸

Of course, Chamorros bowed for no such reason. They bowed out of fear of being battered if they did not.⁷⁹ Neither did they sympathize with the idea that Americanism must be replaced by the Yamato spirit.⁸⁰ With their own families employed in the US navy, they did not appreciate Homura’s regular pronouncements of Japan’s victories over the US.⁸¹ Predominantly Catholic, many locals considered it sacrilege that their church offices were occupied by the Minseibu and the cathedral was used as auditorium of propaganda speeches. Local historian Pedro Sanchez (son of the prewar Superintendent of Schools) writes, “The older folks, especially, were very resentful and unusually vocal about ‘using the House of God for Japanese lies and propaganda!’”⁸² By the end of 1943, at least one chapel was being used as “parking space” (probably stables for the military horses imported into the island.)⁸³ Adding fuel to the fire, Chamorros were made to catch flies.⁸⁴ “I found it all so insulting,” Ben Blaz eloquently and spitefully wrote years later.⁸⁵ Not only did Chamorros not want to be included in Japan’s segregated society, they particularly detested being seen as racially inferior.

⁷⁵ “Notes taken at Commissioners’ Meetings” 1967, 293; and “Carlos K. Martinez” 1981, 408.

⁷⁶ “Notes taken at Commissioners’ Meetings” 1967, 281-295.

⁷⁷ Sanbō Honbu 1944, 38 and 53. Higuchi (2013, Chapter 5) makes a similar argument, noting that all schools in Guam, whether for Japanese or for Chamorro, were called “national schools.”

⁷⁸ “Notes taken at Commissioners’ Meetings” 1967, 292.

⁷⁹ Postwar accounts and oral histories are seeped with anecdotes of being punished because of improperly executed bows. To give a sense of the diversity of the sources where these accounts can be found, see: Garrido, *Navy News*, Dec. 14, 1947; Sanchez 1979, 44-45; and Palomo 1984, 109.

⁸⁰ Yamano 1943, 40; Sanbō Honbu 1944, 37.

⁸¹ Sanbō Honbu 1944, 37; Sanchez 1979, 66. In Sanchez’s history, islanders called Homura “Governor” following the official title of the head of preceding US Naval Regime. Wakako Higuchi (2013) who accessed Japanese Naval documents termed him chief of Minseibu.

⁸² Sanchez 1979, 63.

⁸³ Sanbō Honbu 1944, 39-45. See Appendix 4 for the list of buildings used and to be commandeered.

⁸⁴ “Notes taken at Commissioners’ Meetings” 1967, 288-289, 291, and 293.

⁸⁵ Blaz 2008, 69.

Finally, as subjects in the lowest rung of Japan's racial hierarchy, Chamorros were given rations last. When supply ran low, no ration was distributed to them at all.⁸⁶ Considering that the supplies were mostly their produce commandeered through the village and the district heads, this in itself would have been galling. But by the end of 1943, Guam became part of Japan's Absolute Defense Perimeter and Japanese soldiers from East Asia poured into the island. To feed the military which ballooned into nearly 20,000 in March 1944, the Kaikontai [Crop Cultivation Corps] was formed, and under it everyone was to labor in farms. To put this number into perspective, Guam's prewar population was only a little more than 22,000. Chamorros toiled in the Kaikontai fields from sunrise to sundown, walked home for hours, toiled in their own fields for their own meals, and then do the same the following morning. While the Japanese residents, for example the Women's Patriotic Association, might have seen these as contribution to Japan's war effort, the Chamorros saw it as forced labor.

Under the Japanese military occupation, Guam saw waves of Japanese officials, professionals, laborers, and later many more battle-hardened soldiers. Into this imperial society, everyone in the island was to be included. It was, however, a racially hierarchical society, one where the Japanese officials and professionals were on top and the Chamorros (much to their indignation) were at the bottom. With this influx of new people and racial segregation, a divide was etched onto Guam. In between and bridging the gap were the Guam's Japanese locals.

4.2. Living in Between the Racial Tiers

Lodged in the gap between the newly arrived Japanese and the Chamorros were the Japanese locals. Imbued with Japanese blood, they of course were not deemed as islanders. Yet, having been born on the island, neither were they deemed pure Japanese. Again, racial segregation was lived. Guam's Japanese children, for example, went to a third school. They studied in the same campus as the pure Japanese children and were supposed to have "limited mingling"⁸⁷ with the islander children for fear that these will impede their progress as Japanese. Like the youth organization for the Chamorros, an association of second-generation Japanese [dainisei-kai] was organized.⁸⁸

Living in between can have its uses. As mentioned, Japanese locals served as interpreters during the early days of the occupation. Minseibu chief Yamano also conferred with Shinohara and other influential Japanese locals concerning policies to be put in place, as Shinohara proudly recalled years later.⁸⁹ It was not only the newly arrived Japanese navy that sought their aid but also their fellow locals. Just as Shinohara, Sawada, and Shimizu were volunteered as translators by the surrendering American naval officials, Japanese settler Tito K. Asanuma of Inarajan was volunteered by his townsfolk. When the Japanese military reached the crowded town of Inarajan, they asked who was in charged. The prewar commissioner

⁸⁶ Sanbō Honbu 1944, 53.

⁸⁷ Higuchi 2013, Chapter 6.

⁸⁸ Island Commander to Lieutenant Colonel Teller Ammons, Army of the United States, Judge Advocate Military Commission of Guam, July 20, 1945; and Higuchi 2013, Chapter 4.

⁸⁹ Samueru Shinohara 1963, 71.

(somewhat like a town mayor) stepped forward but because he could not speak Japanese, “Ton Tito” served as translator.⁹⁰

Living in the middle tier, however, was a tenuous position. To their teachers’ dismay, the Japanese local children could not learn the Japanese language, except for the daughter of Nawo Sawada, the president of the Women’s Patriotic Association, who translated for everyone in her class.⁹¹ In his account of his time in Guam, published soon after he left the island, Yamano mentioned that he conferred with influential islanders and the village heads every Sunday, but he did not specifically mention Shinohara.⁹² Perhaps Yamano forgot, but the fact that he did—or that the Japanese of Guam were entirely absent in his account—shows what little importance they had for the Minseibu. Even their position as translators was gradually receding. It was not that those of them who knew the language (i.e., the Japanese settlers and their sons who studied in Japan) were no longer tapped as translators, but that more and more people were tasked with the job. Chamorros from nearby Saipan had been arriving in since the early days of the occupation. By 1944, the intensive language school in Guam had at least one batch graduated and was training 41 more Chamorro students.⁹³

In Japanese-occupied Guam, commerce halted and distribution of supplies was done through licensed wholesalers. In 1942, only six stores in Agaña were licensed.⁹⁴ By 1943, there were 31, ten of which were in Agaña.⁹⁵ Of the 31, six were Japanese merchants. Japanese merchants such as Takano, Sayama, and Dejima, along with other Chamorro merchants such as Bordallo and Martinez, conducted their businesses under military instructions. They took their supplies from Nan’yō Kōhatsu. Then, Chamorros, bearing coupons distributed by the village and district chiefs, claimed goods from their stores. The merchants then had to account the coupons and exchange these for cash at the Minseibu.⁹⁶ Only goods that the military did not need were disbursed to the islanders.

Some of the village and district chiefs were Japanese locals such as Tomas Ooka, a young Japanese-Chamorro born in Guam.⁹⁷ Under Japanese occupation, Chamorros were mobilized through their village head (or “soncho”) or district heads (“kucho”). From the notebook of one village head during their meetings, we can glean that the village and the districts heads were in charge of collecting produce and supplies from the islanders, of disseminating orders such as putting flags in front of houses, and so forth.⁹⁸ Given that this resembled their system under the US Naval Government—that is, heads were tasked to mobilize those within their jurisdiction without actual power to influence policy—Chamorros often called the heads by their prewar names, “municipal commissioners.”

⁹⁰ “Jesus Crisostomo” 1981, 175-176.

⁹¹ Higuchi 2013, Appendix III.

⁹² Yamano 1943, 40.

⁹³ Sanbō Honbu 1944, 38.

⁹⁴ “Notes taken at Commissioners’ Meetings” 1967, 282.

⁹⁵ Sanbō Honbu 1944, 66.

⁹⁶ Jesus Sayama, in the War Claims of Joaquina Baza Sayama; Sanbō Honbu 1944, 66; and “Notes taken at Commissioners’ Meetings” 1967, 282, 285, 291.

⁹⁷ “Celistina Borja Ninete and Segundo M. Ninete” 1981, 554. The background of Tomas Ooka is based on the “1940 Census,” manuscripts, see Appendix 3 for the list.

⁹⁸ “Notes taken at Commissioners’ Meetings” 1967, 281-295.

Working closely with the new imperial masters strained local relations. Slightings were counted. Tomas Ooka, for example, was painted poorly by one local whom he severely punished for slaughtering a cow without a permit.⁹⁹ But because many of the village and the district heads had been part of the Chamorros' tightly knit community, they did not become the othered, objectified enemies. They could not be, given that they were one's uncle or father-in-law or someone who, since prewar, had been addressed as "Ton."¹⁰⁰ The village and the district heads, the licensed distributors, and the Japanese interpreters—including in which were the Japanese locals—served as a bridge between two disjointed worlds. As those two worlds floated apart, they had to extend and stretch, and the binds that tied them to each were tested.

Collaboration with the Japanese military in itself was not taken as treacherous, even when the task was that of a henchman. To open the vault in the Navy's Records and Accounts Office, Chamorro-Japanese Antonio Torres Shimizu and Japanese settler Diego Yamanaka were tasked to chauffeur employee Galo L. Salas from his ranch in Barrigada to the house of the old Jose K. Shimizu in Agana. There, Galo met the old Shimizu and together they waited for Shinohara. Shinohara arrived, conferred with Shimizu, spoke with the Japanese soldiers, and then turned to Galo. "I am the boss now," Shinohara supposedly told Galo, "and if I order you to do it, you do it."¹⁰¹ By the end of the affair, Shinohara opened the navy's vault and Japanese soldiers took the insides.

This story was narrated by Galo during Shinohara's war crimes investigation in 1945. Not once did Galo paint Diego Yamanaka, Antonio T. Shimizu, and the old Jose K. Shimizu poorly. (As will be discussed in the next chapter, Shinohara was the only Japanese local who was decisively deemed as enemy during the occupation and in the immediate postwar.) Certainly, there did not seem to be any general animosity against those who worked for the Japanese military. Any anger was toward an individual person for a particular offense. Slightings were counted and relations were strained, but there was not yet a lumping of individuals into the generalized labels of "the Chamorros" and "the Japanese."

At times, connections with Japanese locals who had access to military officials was even helpful. Pedro "Pedang" Cruz was an Insular Guard and had fought the Japanese invasion army on the 10th of December. While detained with other prisoners-of-war in Agana, Pedang was visited by Nawo Sawada, with whom he was acquainted since before the war. She told him that the military needed a driver to Sumay and got him out of prison. Pedang did not like working for the Japanese military and soon requested to return to prison. While there, he was again visited by Nawo and invited him to work in the electric shop of Juan Okada, a Japanese settler whose son was Pedang's compadre [friend]. As Pedang stepped out of the jail, he saw

⁹⁹ "Celistina Borja Ninete and Segundo M. Ninete" 1981, 554. This has been observed elsewhere, for example, Pedro Sanchez comments, "Since there was no way to resign from the position, they endured so much in the way of mild ribbing, ridicule and verbal abuses from their own people who took out their anger and frustrations on these helpless leaders" (1979, 71).

¹⁰⁰ For example see, "Carlos K. Martinez" 1981, 407; and "Juan Naputi" 1981, 528.

¹⁰¹ Island Commander to Lieutenant Colonel Teller Ammons, Army of the United States, Judge Advocate Military Commission of Guam, May 12, 1945.

his compadre, Juan Shintaro Okada, waiting for him. “Suddenly I thought of the rifle I had at home,” Pedang narrated decades later:

I explained my feeling to my compadre; I was worried about the .22 caliber rifle and worried that my family could get in trouble with the Japanese once they found the weapon inside my house. They could use the same rifle to wipe out my family. My compadre was understanding and went to approach Mrs. Sowada (sic) for her permission. We left and went to my home to fetch the rifle. When I came home, everything was in order, nothing was molested. I was glad about this. I found the rifle exactly where I’d placed it, and I turned it in to the headquarters.¹⁰²

Although he was employed by the US navy and fought the Japanese invasion, Pedang was offered a good working position. Unlike the other prisoners-of-war laboring at the abject manganese mines, Pedang worked safely within the circle of his compadre’s father. Owning an American gun called for severe punishment, but Pedang was saved from maltreatment. Central to Pedang’s narrative was his intimate friendship with Juan Shintaro Okada and their acquaintance with Nawo Sawada.

Living in between two worlds was a privileged position in that it can serve as bridge connecting both. Peoples in between can translate, interpret, vouch, and intercede. But it was an unstable position at best. As the divide between the worlds widened, the ties binding them to each were strained. As will be seen in the next section and then in the next chapter, the bind to one world was soon to break. For some Japanese locals, maintaining ties to both worlds was important. Unlike the Chamorros interpreters, distributors, and village heads, some of these Japanese locals held affinity both to the island and to Japan. They had been living in the overlap of the Japanese and the Chamorro worlds since prewar. In the divisive war, however, they were bound to choose one and give up the other.

4.3. The Cost of Choosing a Side

Nawo Sawada had maintained close ties with the Japanese military.¹⁰³ Early on, she opened two recreational houses for the soldiers.¹⁰⁴ When more Japanese professionals and civil servants poured in, she welcomed their families and helped them get acquainted with the Japanese community in Guam. “As Japanese are the people in control, they should use maids,” Yoriko Koshimuta, the wife of a Nan’yō Kōhatsu officer, recalled Sawada advising her. “You should not do housework in front of them.” Together with their young daughter, Yoriko accompanied her husband to Guam. Here, Nawo especially received her and taught her

¹⁰² “Pedro G. Cruz” 1981, 228.

¹⁰³ The 1940 Census (see Appendix 3) and Higuchi (e.g., 2013, 82, 220, and 224) spell her name as “Nao.” I base my spelling on a photo of her passbook of her postal savings account. See Nakajima, Hiroshi (1941-1945).

¹⁰⁴ Giles 1994, 56; Higuchi 2013, Appendix III.

daughter how to play the piano. As president of the Women's Patriotic Society, Nawo hosted other women besides Yoriko. "At Sawada's house, we mended soldiers' clothes," Yoriko went on. "When war dead were sent by dilapidated ships from the south, the society held memorial services." Japanese families who came during the war did not have village and district heads and so when the women were ordered to help out in weeding the airfield, they were dispatched by Nawo.¹⁰⁵

Present-day Guam histories are apparently at a loss how to place Nawo—as can be seen in the scattered instances where she was mentioned. In the local histories by Tony Palomo (1984) and by Robert Rogers (1995) both of which seemed to rely heavily on oral interviews for the war period, Nawo was portrayed as a Japanese patriot. Prewar, she called on the Japanese ambassador and special envoy as their clipper stopped over at Guam's PanAm hotel. At the outbreak, the patriotic Shinohara was found in her house. During the Japanese occupation, she was seen frequently conferring with top Japanese officials.¹⁰⁶ In the earlier collective biography organized by Katherine Owings in 1980-1981, a similar distance can be noted. Nawo was remembered wearing a military uniform and was at the beck and call of the Japanese soldiers, ordering people around.¹⁰⁷ Yet, as we have already seen, many accounts in the same collective biography recalled and acknowledged being helped by her.

Nawo was a staunch supporter of imperial Japan up to her death as she tailed the Japanese military to their *gyokusai* [honorable death]. Yet, she had been part of the Chamorro community since prewar and she had sought to remain part of it during the Japanese occupation. Given the Chamorro involvement in the US military against Japan and the divide between the Japanese military and the Chamorros, Nawo's was a balancing act which historians of Guam are still having difficulty defining.

Not all Japanese locals stayed on top of the balancing ball. From prewar, Shinohara had been devoting much energies and finances into ensuring good relations with others in his set. During the US Naval Rule, he had given out parties in honor of high officials and donated to civic projects such as the Susana Hospital and Christmas presents for schoolchildren. Now that the Japanese military had replaced the US naval government, Shinohara did the same albeit for the new imperial master. The elites of Agana and Apra, despite the changing actors, were his circle and he seemed bent on keeping harmony with them. Perhaps seeing the flagging brothel industry by Nan'yō Kōhatsu, Shinohara opened his own using local women.

Since the advent of the US naval rule in the early 20th century, several Chamorro women had worked as sexual laborers primarily for the soldier and officials in the US Naval Station. So-called "Monday Ladies" because they were given US navy medical checkups every Monday, their industry was known to the Chamorro society.¹⁰⁸ Shinohara approached these women, hired them, and took them to various large houses (and a bar in Piti) which served as

¹⁰⁵ Higuchi 2013, Appendix III.

¹⁰⁶ Rogers 1995, 157, 164, and 192; Palomo 1984, 10-11, 34, 57, 132.

¹⁰⁷ "Marie Efe" 1981, 264.

¹⁰⁸ Rogers 1995, 134.

brothels. Many of these women scorned the job. Before the Japanese occupation, they were free to reject a client, but under Shinohara's management, they were prevented from leaving the brothel and were required to serve whomever called on them.¹⁰⁹

Even women not in the business were coerced into sexual slavery if they struck the fancy of a high-ranking officer. As one of the victims' sister, herself a prewar Monday Lady, testified during Shinohara's war crimes investigation after the war:

shortly after I came to Mrs. Kerner's house, the Aide to the Governor asked me if she would come to the house to be a housegirl like myself. I said, no, that she was not like me and that she had a lot of work to do on the ranch. I was surprised a week later when Alfonsina, my mother and Shinohara and the Aide came to the house.... That night the Aide to the Governor came to the house and stayed with my sister. Shinohara and the Aide to the Governor took my sister into a room and pointed it out as "her room." During the evening, my sister was crying. She did not want to sleep with a Jap because she was engaged to a native boy in the mess branch of the American Navy.¹¹⁰

Noteworthy, "Shinohara did not appear compelled in any way to procure girls for the Japanese," testified one of the women. "He appeared to be doing [it] merely as a favor."¹¹¹ Some officials did not seem to know that the women were forbidden to leave the brothel or that many of them despised the job. At least two women complained about this to their client, who were oblivious that the girls were held against their will. They were allowed to leave the brothel.¹¹² In his memoir written postwar, Shinohara did not deny that he procured female Chamorros for Japanese officials; he claimed he did so as president of the Japanese Society of Guam.¹¹³

In July 1944, when the battle in Saipan turned worse and worse for the Japanese, Japanese civilians who had not been previously evacuated,¹¹⁴ followed the Japanese military to its last stand in the northern part of the island. Old first-generation settlers such as Jose K. Shimizu and the wives Riye Dejima, Nawo Sawada, and Naoe Takano went with the military. Also with the military were the Japanese-Chamorro families Onederas, the Shimizus, the Ichiharas, the Fujikawas and the Matsumiyas.¹¹⁵ "[They] evacuated with us because they

¹⁰⁹ "Documentary Evidence." [nd].

¹¹⁰ "Documentary Evidence." [nd]. Omitted in the quotation above because it diverges from our main point but which I believe is also important and hope colleagues in Chamorro studies would pursue: "My mother asked me to explain to the Aide to the Governor... that he should marry Alfonsina and later on when he is to leave he could divorce her and that would make it alright..." Alfonsina's mother acceded to her daughter's sexual relation with Aide to the Governor so long as they married. Cross-referencing with the complaint raised by one woman against the brothels (See Palomo 1984, 87), it seems that for these conservative Chamorro women, the Japanese atrocity was not forcing girls into sexual slavery but of it being out of wedlock and thus immoral.

¹¹¹ "Documentary Evidence." [nd].

¹¹² "Documentary Evidence." [nd].

¹¹³ Kosuge 1977, 97.

¹¹⁴ A commercial vessel had already evacuated about 40 to 50 civilians. However, US submarine operations had begun and about 150 Japanese civilians were left on the island. See *Senshi Sōsho* 1967, 534.

¹¹⁵ Palomo 1984, 189.

viewed themselves as Japanese,” recounted Nan’yō Kōhatsu official Shōnosuke Okada, “and they did not want to be imprisoned with the islanders when the US landed.”¹¹⁶ When the Japanese defense of Guam proved hopeless, the Japanese military expected everyone to die bravely for Japan. They called it “gyokusai,” literally “crushed jewels” to mean “honorable death.” Grenades were distributed. Our sources do not allow us to dive into the Japanese locals’ motivation for accompanying the military.¹¹⁷ We can assume that, just as the Japanese locals were emmeshed with the Chamorros at the start of the war, they were now embroiled with the Japanese military in its impending gyokusai.

5. Summary and Discussion

Like others on the island, the Japanese locals knew about the impending war between US and Japan from the same transpacific network maintained by the US empire. Having woven cordial ties with those in the US Naval Government and being simultaneously both Japanese and Islander, they did not perceive Guam and its inhabitants as potential enemies. Nor did they consider that they will be viewed as such. There were no preparations for the danger of having peoples of belligerent countries in close proximity. The Japanese locals were part of the local community, a community where the transpacific, the nan’yō, and the Chamorro worlds had melded.

When war between US and Japan broke out, the lot of them evacuated to the ranches with other islanders. Indeed, they seem to have evacuated *as* islanders. Meanwhile, about 35 Japanese merchants—those closest to the US Naval Government and to Japan—were detained *as Japanese* suspected of espionage. This was the first instance when the Japanese locals must be either-or. At the outbreak, they cannot be both Chamorro and Japanese.

During the Japanese occupation, Guam saw an in-pouring of new Japanese and the island was divided into racially hierarchical tiers wherein the Japanese military and professionals were at the top and the Chamorros were at the bottom. The Japanese locals, because of their being “Japanese,” became a bridge between these two. Although the position of in-between could be an asset, it nevertheless stretched the Japanese locals and kept them in a constant balancing act to keep themselves within both worlds. Unlike prewar when they lived in the overlap of worlds, during the war they had to be one or the other. Socializing with the racially lower Chamorros made them failures as Japanese; and proving their patriotism to Japan meant alienating themselves from their Chamorro community. When the Japanese military prepared for its last stand, Japanese civilians accompanied them. The racial divide was physicalized and Japanese locals now had to choose a side.

¹¹⁶ Okada 1988, 87.

¹¹⁷ At least one islander thought that the Japanese residents were invited by the military to a hideout. See “Maria Efe” 1981, 264.

This chapter fills a lacuna both in the study of overseas Japanese and in Guam history. In Guam, the history of the Pacific War has become one of the sites of decolonization and Chamorro self-determination movement. Historians and Chamorro studies experts alike respond to the US Liberation grand narrative in view of the continuing neocolonial present of the island. In this local history, the Japanese of Guam are absent. Meanwhile, Japanese history has been ignoring Guam, save for that it was a battlefield for US and Japanese forces and that it was a tourist destination to view battle ruins. In a rare piece, Wakako Higuchi comments, “Unlike their Chamorro counterparts, Guam’s Japanese would be sorely tested in their loyalty, a loyalty that was obscure at best.”¹¹⁸ As this chapter shows, what was tested was not only the Japanese locals’ loyalty to Japan but also their belonging to the island. Prewar, they were part of overlapping worlds. When the war broke out, those worlds started floating further and further apart, compelling them to stretch and balance, or lose their grip on one.

¹¹⁸ Higuchi 1998, 167.

Chapter 8. The Creation of an Enemy

1. Introduction

Three years of inclusively racist Japanization—which not only offended the sensibilities of many islanders but also plunged the island into a disastrous famine—climaxed into the forced march (see Chapter 7). The racial tiers into which the Japanese occupation divided the island was physicalized: Those deemed Japanese were to accompany the military to their last stand in the north, while everyone else was to march to east. While Japanese locals and their Chamorro families were embroiled in the US anti-Japanese air raids, most islanders continued to suffer forced labor and Japanese military atrocities.

Despite differences in their experiences of the final days of the war and despite the widespread Chamorro anger over Japanese atrocities, there was no homogenized and racialized image of a Japanese enemy. Anger was individualized. Locals who collaborated with the Japanese military were reprimanded, rebuked, and even arrested, but as persons and not as dehumanized “enemy.” This changed postwar, with the deluge of Japanese stragglers, cadavers, and prisoners-of-war (POWs) in and around the island. With the racist news articles that highlighted Japanese atrocities and attributed these to Japanese national/racial character, an image of the enemy slowly emerged.

Throughout the war and the immediate postwar, prewar local bonds remained strong and ably protected those within its network. With the creation of the Japanese enemy however, protecting Japanese locals meant embracing them into the “us” and distinguishing them from “the Japanese enemy.” Such a separation was unnecessary in prewar Guam, a locality where worlds had melded. Indeed, this stereotype was opposed by the locals in the initial days of the US’s return. However, as Guam’s war history increasingly centered on the US liberation of the Chamorros, the existence of the Japanese enemy among local Chamorro families and communities receded into an un-tackled contradiction.

2. Context: The Turmoil of July 1944

As the battles in Saipan approached its catastrophic end, islanders were ordered to leave their houses and move to the southeastern part of Guam, to a place called Manenggon.¹ The US forces were to arrive soon. Old and young, pregnant and otherwise, carried whatever supplies they can and walked for days. They did not walk as one horde. Some were left behind only to follow at a later date; others were herded onto a different route, ending up still at Manenggon. There were also those who went with the mass of Japanese civilians and military

¹ Who gave the command, when, and why Manenggon is unknown. The closest we have is the internal measures by the Marianas District Group dated July 4, 1944. It instructed (among others) that all islanders gathered at one place under the supervision of the Military Police and the Kaikontai.” See Higuchi 2013, Chapter 3.

to the north as manual laborers. Meanwhile, there were those who did not reach Manenggon at all.

For us to see their long trek, let us follow one of the islanders: Rosario Mafnas, the pregnant lady whose family Dong Sayama helped escape at the outbreak of the war in 1941 (See Chapter 7). By 1944, Rosario and her family were living in Mapas in the eastern coast of Guam. Her husband served as fisherman for the military and she, along with other women, collected coconuts, extracted oil from these, and submitted it to the Japanese military station in Tai. The baby whom Rosario bore in 1941 had died. In Mapas, she recounted sadly, there were no doctors.

One July afternoon, they were gathered in the lot of Tan Joaquina Daso. In their group were Rosario (who was again pregnant), her sister (also pregnant), Rosario's husband, and their children. From Mapas, they were made to march to Pado, then to Conga, then to Chalan Pago, then finally early the next morning they reached Maimai. By that time, Rosario's sister had begun her labor pains. So instead of stopping to rest at Maimai, Rosario—large and pregnant as she was—set out toward the house of two midwives which she used to pass from her house in Mapas on the way to Tai. Once there, Rosario told the midwives of the family's predicament and both returned to Maimai with her. And thus, a child was born en route to Manenggon. In Manenggon, Rosario gave birth.² Around late July, when rumors abounded that the Japanese were massacring the islanders, the men were ordered to dig a large hole. People knew that cannons were stationed nearby; this new task was understandably interpreted as a death knell. Those cannons would be swung at them and then fired—they feared. Thankfully, recalled Rosario, American bombers came and the Japanese scrambled and the refugees were saved.³

There were those even less fortunate. Those from the south, especially those from Merizo and Inarajan, did not reach Manenggon. Alberto Babauta Acfalle, one of the many men burdened to carry ammunition and supplies, was at the military's trail as they marched north, from Merizo toward Ordot. En route, at the bridge of Talofoto, they stopped. The bridge had previously been laden with explosives to prevent people from crossing. While their convoy thought of how to bring the ammunitions to the other side of the river without setting off the explosives on the bridge, a group of evacuees from Inarajan unknowingly footed a step. "It was a pitiful sight when they went flying into the air because of the bomb explosion," Alberto pictured. "Even the carabao was thrown up into the air and pieces of its body were scattered."⁴

Having reached Ordot and done their task, Alberto and the other men escaped and returned to Merizo. Once there, they found that most of the residents were transferred north to Atate (in Inarajan's southern outskirts). Those that remained told that the Japanese were trying to kill everyone in Merizo. Pushed to the brink, Alberto and the others began killing the Japanese guards. Only one rebel had a gun, another had a sword, the rest had their hands.

² Summarized from Rosario M. Mafnas 1981, 386-388.

³ Summarized from Rosario M. Mafnas 1981, 390-391.

⁴ "Alberto Babauta Acfalle" 1981, 4.

Meanwhile in Atate, another uprising had broken out. The day before the Merizo residents were made to march to Atate, a Chamorro came by the ranch where Ana Acfalle and other influential Chamorro families had been staying. This Chamorro said that they should seek shelter in a nearby cave because the Americans had begun bombing the island. Ana's husband along with other men went to the cave as ordered, while she and her children stayed in the ranch. The following morning, just before they were made to leave for Atate, Ana was told that those in the cave were massacred. Her husband was dead.⁵ When they reached Atate, everyone was quite convinced that the Japanese were going to exterminate them all. And so, as in Merizo, a group of men attacked their Japanese guards, stole their arms, and then ambushed some more. By the time the US Marines landed (July 21, 1944), forced labor and forced march, and downright atrocities had radicalized many of the islanders.

That statement must be nuanced. Although the insurrection targeted all Japanese be they military or mere gunzoku [civilian employee of the military],⁶ it seems like they recognized their fellow locals working for the Japanese. Francisco Chargulaf, for example, had been working for the Japanese as a map reader in Libugon. By July 1944, he was already in Japanese uniform. When the Americans landed, Francisco escaped to Merizo to search for his family. There, he came upon one of the rebels who had taken the area from their Japanese guards. Seeing the rebel with a gun, Francisco tried to run. "If you run away, I'll kill you," Francisco recalled the rebel warned him. Then the rebel continued, "Your father and your brothers and sisters are up there. Fix yourself and you go up there." Francisco did. When he met his family, he was still in Japanese uniform. They cried as he was held captive as a Japanese collaborator. Thankfully, one of the rebel leaders vouched for him, saying that he was a Japanese hater and that he "received lots of slaps and beatings from the Japanese."⁷ Francisco was released and given a Springfield (a gun) to help fight the Japanese.

Despite the widespread anger for Japanese atrocities, locals still saw fellow locals who worked for the regime as part of their community. They admonished them, but as persons dealing with another person. Also, in appealing on their behalf to the returning Americans, they were described as Japanese haters and victims of Japanese brutality, just like everyone else.

3. A Deluge of Soldiers (Late 1944-1946)

3.1. The Dead, the Dying, and the To-be-killed

On July 17, US forces began their pre-landing bombardment of the island; on July 21, US marines charged into the shores; and on August 10, the island was declared secured.⁸

⁵ Summarized from "Ana Acfalle" 1981, 13-14.

⁶ For example, Utoko Ijichi's husband. See Higuchi 2013, Appendix III.

⁷ "Francisco Chargulaf" 1981, 152-153.

⁸ Rottman and Gerrard 2004, 17.

Enemy presence however remained. What followed was a long, arduous, routinary mop-up operation. Patrols were sent out, capturing or killing Japanese stragglers and collecting the documents they left behind. To gauge the current situation and location of remaining enemies, documents were translated and the POWs (as captured and surrendered enemies were generally called) were interrogated. Reports were drafted and collated and from these, new orders for engaging the enemy were issued. “[T]he enemy has dispersed into small disorganized groups and individuals throughout the northern half of the island,” reported one section chief on October 18, 1944.⁹ “Scattered enemy personnel are still at large on the Northern end of GUAM. Patrols operating in the area have made continual contact with small groups and individuals,” reported another five days later.¹⁰ On October 24, yet another report enclosed a map pinpointing where the Japanese were caught or killed. “In March the following year, another map pinpointed the number of killed and captured enemies (See Figure 8-1). Total enemy killed and captured from 21 July to 21 October,” the report summarized, “17,267.”¹¹

The Japanese found were mostly “emancipated and starving,” They subsisted on “stolen US ration, stolen livestock, and native fruits, especially the latter.”¹² By February the following year, “the available supply of native fruits has been mostly entirely consumed.”¹³ Given the enemy’s wretched state, the reports did not see the possibility of their reorganization. Nevertheless, the threat was there. The Japanese was deemed as a fanatical lot that would die fighting. Earlier, the personnel who was assigned to accompany a wounded POW to treatment was found mutilated, apparently by grenade.¹⁴ Although the Japanese they found were generally too hungry to move, indications of aggressiveness were also due to extreme hunger. Plus, there was that constant fear that the enemy could cross their line and hamper their development through sabotage. In April, patrols discovered them “maintaining relatively large caches of our food, clothing and ammunition...”¹⁵ Thus, it was imperative that “Relentless patrolling must be counted on to eliminate those Japs determined to resist to the end.”¹⁶

Alvin Josephy, a journalist-turned-marine sergeant who was with the US Marines’ months-long mop-up operation, provides us with a vivid account of his experience. Reading through Josephy’s memoir written and published immediately after he got his notes from the field in 1946, one senses that the task was becoming mundane. Day in and day out, they patrolled the jungles in the north. They find a straggler. Either they took it in or, if it fought back, they killed it.¹⁷ Killing had become so routinary that Japanese lives amounted to mere numbers. That the job had become routinary did not mean it ceased its dangers. In February 1945 “six months after the island was called secured, five unarmed American sailors and a

⁹ E.N. Murray, Chief of Section, 3d Marine Division. October 18, 1944.

¹⁰ Report of the HQ, 3d Bn, 9th Mar, 3d Mar Div, FMF. October 23, 1944.

¹¹ Col. H. N. Stent, USMC. March 6, 1945.

¹² Capt. B.A. Hyde, HQ 21st Marines. October 24, 1944.

¹³ Col. H. N. Stent, USMC. March 6, 1945.

¹⁴ Files on the case of a wounded POW shot by order of Lt. Col. Claire Shisler.

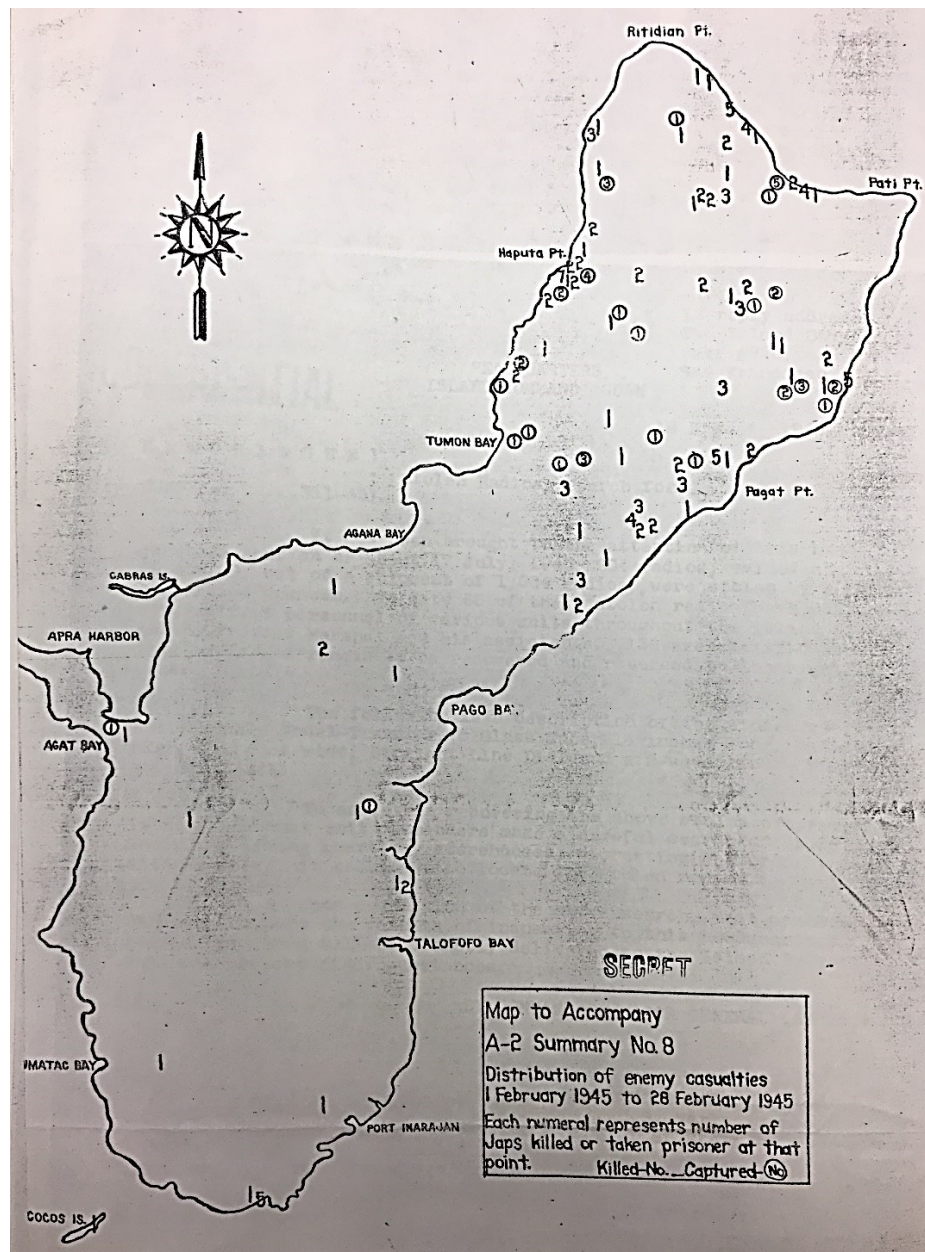
¹⁵ Report of the HQ, 3d Bn, 9th Mar, 3d Mar Div, FMF. April 15, 1945.

¹⁶ “A-2 Summary of Enemy Operations in Period 1 February 1945 to 28 February 1945,” 6 March 1945.

¹⁷ More exciting for Josephy was the “giant modern American base [which] was to go up practically overnight behind our backs,” and which Josephy could not see because he was “too busy fighting in the boondocks” (1946, 93).

Chamorro, looking for bananas in the jungle, were ambushed and massacred by a band of Jap stragglers.”¹⁸ The numbers in the map pertained not to human lives but instead to enemies and the extent of danger they posed.

Figure 8-1. Map of Killed and Captured during Mop-up Operations, February 1945¹⁹



Josephy’s candid narrative helps us see beyond the reports of the regiment commanders and section chiefs. First, the islanders were part of the operations. They accompanied the Marine patrols as guides since they “knew the terrain thoroughly, some of them having farms there.”²⁰ As such, Chamorros were exposed to the same dangers as the Marines. Given the

¹⁸ Josephy 1946, 142.

¹⁹ Col. H. N. Stent, USMC. March 6, 1945.

²⁰ Josephy 1946, 94.

unpredictability of the stragglers, the islanders in general were allowed to carry (in some instances even given²¹) firearms to protect themselves. And, they used it. “Once, near one of our camps, a sixteen year-old boy... came on three sickly Japs in an abandoned hut near his farm,” wrote Josephy. “He fired five shots with his carbine, riddling one of the Japs through the chest. The other two enemy ran away.”²² Islanders too were exposed to the dead or dying Japanese soldiers that lurked in the jungles, pillaging their supplies, stealing their cows, and posing danger to their safety.²³

Second, many of the Japanese that the Marines found were not as fanatic as they had expected. Initially, the Marines simply captured and killed. When one Japanese captain had surrendered, they began changing tactics, enticing more to surrender.²⁴ “It amounted to a new relationship between ourselves and our enemies—an incongruous relationship that bewildered a lot of our men.”²⁵ Moreover, many Japanese were civilians. Early on, a report by the 21st Marine Regiment headquarters had already noted that “of the 32 [captured POWs], only 4 may be classified as strictly military.”²⁶ However, that most of the Japanese women were not “geisha girls,” but rather “were respectable wives and members of families of Jap civilians who were caught on Guam by our landing” was unexpected to Josephy. That “some of them carried babies” was unplanned for and beleaguered those who managed the POW camps.²⁷

Third and apparently the most puzzling, “Occasionally all the Guamanians would agree that some particular Jap was a good Jap; he had liked the Guamanian people and had tried to help them.” Of course, there were instances of livid islanders. Given the catastrophe that befell on their island, they were understandably so. On the eve of their recapture of Guam, a band of them massacred the Japanese in Atate massacred. It was a local resistance that was known to Josephy and the American forces.²⁸ Then, while they were driving down Agana, Josephy recalled, “a group of Guamanian people saw the two Japs beside us and flocked angrily around our car. A toothless old woman picked up a stick and waved it at our window.” Yet, despite this fury, there were too many instances of Chamorros defending one Japanese acquaintance or another:

Dr. Sablan, for instance, had a sympathetic word for the Kohatsu (sic) doctor, who he said had been kind to the Chamorros. Father Calvo told us about the Japanese Catholic priests. And men and women whom we liberated in various parts of the island seemed to want us to know that there had been some humane Japs on Guam who had tried to ease the people’s lot.²⁹

²¹ For example, see “Alberto Babauta Acfalle” 1981, 9-10; and “Francisco Chargulaf” 1981, 153.

²² Josephy 1946, 105.

²³ Cf, Omi 2009, 55-56, 59, and 63-64.

²⁴ Cf Okada 1988, 79, a Japanese priest helped in convincing the stragglers to surrender.

²⁵ Josephy 1946, 113.

²⁶ Brackets added. Capt. B.A. Hyde, HQ 21st Marines. October 24, 1944.

²⁷ Josephy 1946, 141-142.

²⁸ Josephy 1946, 78; cf Higuchi 2013, “Koshimuta Yoriko” in Appendix III.

²⁹ Josephy 1946, 90.

At the recapture of Guam, islanders did not hold a homogenous image of a Japanese enemy, a concept that thoroughly perplexed the arriving US military.

3.2. The Prisoners-of-War

Intermixed with the POWs who were not “strictly military” were Guam’s surviving prewar Japanese residents. “When the US military arrived,” shared Takekuma Shinohara to a Japanese researcher in the 1960s, “I was living in eastern side of Talofofo. They came and detained me and those who came from Saipan; we were moved to Agat. They built a camp and after a week, they moved us in Agana.”³⁰ The prewar wholesaler, Riye Dejima, and her daughter Ritsuko, were also taken into the POW camps after they were found in Yigo. With them was the Japanese wife of Luis Takano, Naoe who came to the island in 1938.³¹ Japanese-Chamorros were also encamped. Besides Carlos SN Takano,³² Agueda Onedera, Maria Okiyama, Josephina Shimizu, Felicita Sudo, and Manuel Yoshida would later claim that they were “imprisoned” or held “prisoner of war” because they were of Japanese descent.³³ Agueda, in particular, was pregnant. Maria was only around two or three years old.

“While in the POW camps... those who have relatives in Guam were visited by the locals.” Shōnosuke Okada, a Japanese employee of the Nan’yō Kōhatsu recalled, “The locals were very friendly to them.” He continued that Takano and Shimizu were soon released.³⁴ Riye Dejima, noted for her assistance in keeping the lone US navy straggler alive during the Japanese occupation, was also immediately let go. Chamorro leaders apparently vouched for her patriotism to the US.³⁵ The others were given the “oral order to leave for Saipan.”³⁶ Naoe Takano, as a Japanese national, was of course given the order. As Naoe recalled, her husband was not given the order but he joined her. Their daughters remained in Guam.³⁷ According to journalist and local historian Tony Palomo, besides Naoe and her husband, Mateo and Jesus Ooka, Ichang and Antonio Shimizu, Ben Isezaki, Ben Yamanaka, and several members of the

³⁰ Kosuge 1977, 96.

³¹ Palomo 1984, 228; and Higuchi 2013, Appendix III.

³² Carlos San Nicolas Takano in War Claims of Carlos San Nicolas Takano.

³³ “Guam War Reparations Commission Records, 1979-1990.”

³⁴ Okada 1988, 90-91. In the 1980s War Reparations application, Luis SN Takano applied for his father, Vicente Takano who supposedly died in the American stockade. In his 1948 sworn testimony in the War Claims, Carlos SN Takano attested that his father died of natural causes in January 1944, which is prior to the US stockade. Most likely, the Takano referred to by Okada is Luis or Carlos (or both). As for “Shimizu,” Okada could have meant Jesus, one of the sons of Jose K. Shimizu. J.K. Shimizu died in the American pre-landing shelling. (cf, “Guam War Reparations Commission Records, 1979-1990”) and his other son, Antonio, was remembered to have joined the other Japanese shipped to Saipan (cf Palomo 1984, 232). Okada also noted that this Shimizu had a son who went to Keio University, the same university as Okada did.

³⁵ Palomo 1984, 228.

³⁶ Higuchi 2013, Appendix III.

³⁷ Higuchi 2013, Appendix III.

Ichihara family were all sent to Saipan.³⁸ Takekuma Shinohara, who was also encamped in Saipan recalled that there were about 300 people.³⁹

It seems that Guam's prewar Japanese did not stay long in Saipan. "My acquaintance, a chief judge," related Naoe, "found that we were not at the camp and obtained permission from the military for our return, so we were allowed to come back home in less than two years."⁴⁰ It would not be farfetched to assume that Guam's Ookas, Shimizus, Isezakis, Yamanakas, and Ichiharas had the same connections intervening on their behalf. The Japanese of Guam had not lost their island connections in the two-and-a-half-year Japanese occupation. Most likely, it was through these connections that they returned home.

They were, however, demographically insignificant. While they and their families networked their way back to the island, Guam had become a hub of POWs in western Pacific. By February 1945, the number of POWs killed and captured had risen to 18,063. To put this number into perspective, it must be recalled that the prewar population of Guam was only about 22,000. A communique dated June 18, 1946 reported that 3,440 POWs comprising of Japanese navy and army from Guam, Rota, and Yap were left in Guam. Just three days prior 1,600 POWs arrived from Truk.⁴¹ A months later, another report counted 989 Japanese left in Guam, including those from Okinawa, Iwo Jima and so forth. On July 9, another repatriation ship left Guam bound for Saipan, Tinian, Okinawa, and finally Kagoshima. Again, to make sense of these numbers, one must recall that Agaña's prewar population was only about 10,000. The sight of 3,000 POWs trafficked in and out Apra Harbor must have been a crowd. To summarize, after their island was littered with corpses of Japanese soldiers and their life and livestock plagued by Japanese stragglers, their harbor and waters were now packed with Japanese POWs.

Since the start of 1944, the island has been besieged by an in-pouring of Japanese soldiers—first healthy ones from East Asia in need of their food supply and who would later force them to march across the island without decent food, water, shelter, or rest. After the Battle for Guam, what met them were dead Japanese soldiers from the American military bombardment and famished Japanese stragglers threatening their livestock and lives. By 1946, they saw even more Japanese prisoners-of-war being ferried in and then out of their island. Swept away in these waves and waves of soldiers were the island's Japanese. Having strong connections with the people of Guam, who in turn had strong connections with American authorities at work on the island, many (if not all) of these Japanese islanders were able to return home.

³⁸ Palomo 1984, 232.

³⁹ Kosuge 1977, 96.

⁴⁰ Higuchi 2013, Appendix III.

⁴¹ *Gaichi Jōhō (Beigun Sesshū Chiiki) Firipin, Guam, Saipan*—Shōwa 21-6-8 – Shōwa 21-12-1, 1382.

4. War Crimes and Its Racialization (1945-1948)

4.1. Guam's War Crimes Tribunal: A Background

As the islanders dealt with Japanese stragglers and as prisoners-of-war flowed in and out of the Guam, the War Crimes Commission began its work. Unlike the more known war crimes tribunal in Tokyo, the one in Guam was handled by the US Navy Island Command and thus was national—not international. As early as May 1945 (when battles still raged in Davao), a report on the charges against one accused, complete with testimonies of witnesses, had been drafted.⁴² Two months later, another report for additional charges was sent in.⁴³

These investigations and trials were not limited to war crimes committed in Guam; cases included those as far as Kwajalein. A reported dated July 16, 1946 listed the names of prisoners and witnesses involved in the trials, categorized per case. The cases were: Chichi Jima Case, Wake Island (First and Second) Cases, Marshellese (sic) Native Case, Truk Case, French-Swiss Priest Case, Milli Case, Kwajalein Case, Jaluit Case, and the Guam Case. In total, there were 311 defendants, witnesses, and convicted. Of these, 25 were convicted defendants in the Guam Case. These 25 were divided into 2: There were 20 confined in the civil jail in Agana, while there were 5 kept in the stockade. Noticeably, the names were a mesh of Chamorro and Japanese names. Takekuma Shinohara, Guam's prewar Japanese migrant and one of its wealthiest businessman, was kept in the stockade.⁴⁴

Generally defendants, witnesses, and convicts were kept in a stockade under the supervision of the Marines in June 1, 1946 and closed on May 5, 1949. Guarded by an officer and 65 others, the in-mates followed a strict schedule, were made to labor, and given food rations. There were 13 executions—six on June 19, 1947, another four on September 24 of the same year; one on January 18, 1949; and two on March 18 two months later.⁴⁵

Donald Shuster, who had studied the war crimes trials in Guam, notes that the Commission tried to be as fair as possible. It was well-aware that it was likely to be accused of employing “victor's justice.”⁴⁶ At least from the pages and pages of detailed guidelines for and reports on the executions safekept in the Manuscripts Collections at MARC, it seemed likely that they did. At the very least, those to be executed were allowed to see a priest, to say or write their final words, and to smoke a cigar. From the log of activities, present-day historians can see that some executions were delayed because of particular requests of convicts, for example, to see American officers to explain and set things straight with them or to write letters to family members in Japan. No one, except select military officials, were allowed a glimpse of the execution.⁴⁷

⁴² Island Commander to Lieutenant Colonel Teller Ammons, May 12, 1945.

⁴³ Island Commander to Lieutenant Colonel Teller Ammons, July 20, 1945.

⁴⁴ Richard Rothschild to the Provost Marshall, “Third Endorsement: War Criminal Stockade,” July 1946.

⁴⁵ J.T. Selden, “Historical Narrative of Special War Crimes Duties...,” March 17, 1949.

⁴⁶ Shuster 2018.

⁴⁷ “Instructions for the Conduct of Accused and Convicted War Criminals, January 16, 1948.

None of our Guam locals were hanged. The lone Guam Chamorro, Miguel A. Cruz was released on July 8, 1946. The Japanese local Takekuma Shinohara was initially supposed to be hanged but his sentence was commuted to 15 years of imprisonment with hard labor.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the war crimes trials on Guam as well as their media coverage (as this dissertation argues) had a profound effect on the islanders' image of the Japanese.

4.2. The Japanese in the News: Racist Rhetoric

The war crimes trials, not only of Guam but also those of Tokyo and of Shanghai, were reported in the *Navy News*. Surviving copies of the broadsheets at the Micronesian Area Research Center show that initial coverage was mostly on the trials themselves. "War Crimes Commission imposes death for five Jap Officers," it reported on July 3, 1946 and then on the 24th, "Jap colonel, four subordinates given long term sentences." On August 8 and 9, it reported that in the Shanghai tribunal, the "former editor of [a] Chinese weekly tells of Japanese cruelty" and that in the Tokyo tribunal, a "witness charged Jap guards with prison savagery."

On August 24, *Navy News* reported that the war crimes trials on Guam was opened to the public. What followed were three issues of in-depth accounts of the heinous crimes. "Jap navy lieutenant says he was forced into cannibalism," it reported on the 26th and finally on the 31st, "Jap medical corpsman gives vivid description of dissection." By the start of September, the hoopla over people eating people had die down and news returned to the regular "War Trials to convene this morning," "Two more defendants in war crimes trials testify in their own behalf," and "War Crimes defense asked adjournment."⁴⁹ In 1946, news on the war crimes trials were (save for some spikes) on the war crimes trials—their witnesses, their defendants, their lawyers, and their summaries.

From mid-1947, a marked change is noticeable, beginning with the news of the first batch of executions. The June 20 issue was headlined with "6 Japs hanged: Pay first death penalties on Guam." As mentioned, executions by the War Crimes Commission on the island was kept to a few military officials. Readers of the broadsheet however were treated to executions in other places: "Thousands gather for Jap execution" in Shanghai, it reported on the 30th.

In August, the series "History of War Crimes Trials" began. Written by George W. Wilbur, it ran on most Sundays of *Navy News* (in 1947) and then of the *Guam News* (in 1948). The series reviewed the trials of the preceding year. Its focus however was not on the trials or the sentences but on the crimes. "Japanese practice cannibalism here,"⁵⁰ headed the seventh installment. The 11th and the 12th in the series extended to the war crimes of the Chamorro

⁴⁸ Nicholas Brown, Acting Secretary of the Navy to the Commander Marianas Area, "Military Commission Case of Samuel T. Shinohara," August 24, 1948.

⁴⁹ In the *Navy News*, September 13, 1946; September 17, 1946; and September 19, 1946, respectively.

⁵⁰ "History of War Crimes Trials," *Navy News*, October 12, 1947.

interpreters sent to Guam from the neighboring islands of Saipan and Rota.⁵¹ The “History of the War Crimes Trials” continued in this tone, reviewing the tortures in Chichi Jima (15th), pondering over the Japanese suicide attacks (19th), observing that Japanese authorities lacked civilized means of boosting morale (20th), and surveying the Japanese killing of priests (21st).⁵²

Two things in the series are worth noting: First, it synthesized the war crimes, finding patterns in the different atrocities of the Japanese. The article on the Japanese killing of priests, for example, began by raising the case of the martyred Chamorro Father Duenas to evidence that the Japanese targeted religion and then expanded the observation to the cases of Marshalls and the French-Swiss.⁵³ Second, the series sought to provide explanations for the actions of the Japanese and others under their tutelage, concluding that there was no rational explanation whatsoever. As the 12th installment mused, “It is hard to understand what provoked this long string of Saipanese and in this case, Rotanese civilians into dealing out such severe and callous punishment to peoples of their own race origins.”⁵⁴ The Japanese suicide were deemed “irrational” and “barbaric.” The Japanese way of ruling was neither “normal” nor “civilized.” As the editor’s note for the 11th installment expressed, the actions of Japanese militarists were predominated by “sadistic tendencies,” overshadowing “more tangible motives for their crimes.”⁵⁵ The note continued by crediting these tendencies to Japanese custom:

It appears that the custom of the Japanese on this Island as well as other people who came under the rule of the Japanese was to subjugate them into slavery by fear and force and to break their will to resist by sheer ruthlessness.... [I]t also appears that the enemy militarists endowed even the most lowly interpreter with the power to inflict serious punishment against the native Chamorrans (sic) and to judge their guilt or innocence. This clearly brings out a major fault of the Nipponese whoever (sic) they ruled...⁵⁶

The “History of the War Crimes Trials” (later renamed “War Crimes Series”) was not published in isolation. It ran alongside other articles exploring Japanese atrocities. In January 1948, for example, *Guam News* reported that the secret records in which the Japanese ambassador to Berlin concurred with Hitler about sinking all ships and killing all personnel of the enemy was introduced in the trials.⁵⁷ A few days later, it added that two were found guilty for murdering unarmed American prisoners-of-war.⁵⁸

While Japanese ruthlessness was emphasized, so was the victimization and the loyalty of the “Guamanians” and of their gratitude to their American liberators. In May 1945, the

⁵¹ “History of War Crimes Trials,” *Navy News*, November 9, 1947; and November 16, 1947.

⁵² “History of War Crimes Trials,” *Navy News*, December 7, 1947; *Guam News*, January 11, 1948; January 18, 1948; and January 28, 1948.

⁵³ “War Crimes Series: Japanese Kill Two Priest (sic),” *Guam News*, January 28, 1948.

⁵⁴ “History of War Crimes Trials,” *Navy News*, November 16, 1947.

⁵⁵ “History of War Crimes Trials,” *Navy News*, November 9, 1947.

⁵⁶ “History of War Crimes Trials,” *Navy News*, November 9, 1947.

⁵⁷ “Secret Record Introduced at Trials,” *Guam News*, January 23, 1948:

⁵⁸ “Two Found Guilty in War Trials,” *Guam News*, January 28, 1948.

magazine *Colliers* argued that the Guamanians were loyal Americans who suffered under Japanese brutality.⁵⁹ In 1947, *Navy News* published an astoundingly erroneous article “Guam Produced No Quislings,” which claimed that no one on the island betrayed the US.⁶⁰ Further, just as the news of Japanese atrocities were continuously revisited, pitiful plight of the natives were also remembered. “Back in 1945,” *Guam News* reported in 1948:

shortly after the American reoccupation of Guam, a popular stateside magazine featured a picture of a shabby dressed little twelve year old girl surrounded by four toddling infants all kneeling amid war’s devastating ruins... this little girl had safely carried her four brothers and sisters... after her mother had been brutally decapitated.⁶¹

Needless to say, these articles, written mostly by *Navy News* and *Guam News* correspondents did not mention Guam’s prewar Japanese residents. “The Japanese on this Island” apparently pertained only to Japanese military, in particular those who came since the outbreak of the war. One piece that did mention Guam’s prewar Japanese is a revelation. Part of a series of essays by “students of an English composition class,” it narrated the writer’s life during the “Japanese rule” and very much echoed the tune of Guamanian victimization and Japanese brutality:

I had in mind that the Japanese were harmless, since practically all of the pure-blooded Japanese I had seen on our Island were very small and very kindly. They all looked pale and sickly and I figured it out that they are all alike. But I was totally mistaken for indeed, they are the most merciless and most cold-hearted people ever to come to this peaceful Island.⁶²

A well-written composition, it paints the islanders’ suffering under the invaders by providing vivid anecdotes of their experiences with the Japanese soldiers. Interestingly, there was none to illustrate how the “small and kindly” Japanese transformed into “merciless and almost cold-hearted.” Moreover, it does not say whether these “pure-blood Japanese” pertained to the prewar residents or the wartime Japanese soldiers. They were one and all “the Japanese.”

Her composition class was held during the summer term of 1947 and the essay was published that December. A year and a half after the barrage of rhetoric about Japanese brutality (and three years of dealing with Japanese stragglers and POWs), the language of total war came to be spoken by a youth of Guam.

A little more than a decade later, in the early 1960s, a Japanese researcher came to the island and interviewed members of the Nihonjin-kai [Japanese Association]. As Ritsuko Dejima (daughter of Riye) shared, most of them had been asked or mistaken for Japanese

⁵⁹ Reynolds, May 19, 1945.

⁶⁰ In *Navy News*, December 7, 1947.

⁶¹ “Little Mother of Guam,” *Guam News*, February 1, 1948..

⁶² “War Life during Japanese Revealed by Student,” *Navy News*, December 14, 1947.

soldiers.⁶³ It would seem that two decades after the war, “the Japanese” had finally been homogenized into an image of the enemy—a brutal, barbaric, defeated soldier. Of the 74 locals interviewed for an oral history project in 1980-1981, the only one with a Japanese-sounding surname did not refer to himself as Japanese. Instead, his account was replete with stories of suffering under the brutal Japanese regime. All his mentions of “the Japanese” belied the image of a ruthless military invader, following the grand narrative of the American liberator-Chamorro victim-Japanese enemy.⁶⁴

4.3. Not the Enemy: Japanese Locals in the Immediate Postwar

In March 1945, Bishop Miguel Olano returned to Guam after a long sojourn from Kobe where he was sent in January 1942 along with other American POWs, then to India, then to Australia, then Manila. He published his account in Manila in 1949. The chapter on the bishop’s return (after bewailing what befell Agaña and the people he knew) related the stories shared to him by the islanders. The stories, which he deemed “Stranger than Fiction,” comprised of seventeen cases of Japanese atrocities, the last and the longest of which was the torture and murder of the Father Jesus Baza Duenas.

Noteworthy, two of the seventeen atrocities recorded by Olano mention Japanese islanders as victims of Japanese atrocities without referring to their Japanese background. The massacre of Limtiaco’s group during the Japanese invasion in 1941 was told to him by Ana Yamanaka Kaihiro (sic). Among the names of those remembered were Rosa Barcinas Yanamaka and Josefina Matsumiya.⁶⁵ Another relayed to the bishop that ten girls were brought to a Japanese house “for immoral purposes” but were able to escape “when American planes swooped down over the place.”⁶⁶ One of the girls, Dolores Ichida,⁶⁷ was singled out and tortured “because she was more outspoken than the others.” Along with her brother, she was tied to a stake from four in the morning; slapped and lashed, and the passersby were instructed not to give her food or water.⁶⁸

Appended in the bishop’s account were correspondences he had written shortly after his return to Guam and bulleted notes he seemed to have jotted down while on the journey. In the notes, Bishop Olano listed that on October 7 was a “wedding ceremony and nuptial Mass of Francisco Perez (Gonga) and Rosita Suzuki.”⁶⁹ Again, no reference was made to Rosita

⁶³ Hiroshi Shinohara 1963, 21. Oddly, Ritsuko does not appear in the enumerators’ sheets of Guam’s 1940 census. Granted that the collection might be incomplete, her name should have been listed below the name of her mother, Riye. Her mother did consistently refer to her in the War Claims.

⁶⁴ “Jesus Martinez Yoshida” 1981, 665-670.

⁶⁵ Olano 1949, 142. In the original, Olano wrote Matsumiga. I changed the spelling because Olano kept misspelling Japanese names and cross-referencing with other sources on the massacre (See Chapter 7).

⁶⁶ Olano 1949, 140.

⁶⁷ I have yet to find another source material that mentions “Ichida.” Given that Bishop Olano consistently misspelled Limtiaco as “Lintiaco” and Yamanaka as “Tamanaka,” it is likely that Ichida stood for another Japanese surname in Guam.

⁶⁸ Olano 1949, 140.

⁶⁹ Olano 1949, 158, parenthesis in the original.

Suzuki's Japanese background. This points to two things about the immediate postwar Guam: First, despite the creation of a homogenized image of the Japanese enemy, Guam's Japanese locals continued to use and to be called by their Japanese surnames. Second, these Japanese names—to the islanders—were not Japanese at all.

Unless they were directly confronted about it. Simultaneous with the War Crimes Trials was the War Claims, a program that sought to provide relief (in dollars) to victims of war-related damages. As early as June 1945, war claims applications had been filed.⁷⁰ Most important for this dissertation are three war claims applications: those by Riye Dejima, Carlos SN Takano, and Joaquina Baza Sayama.

In all three cases, the Japanese background and affiliation of the applicants were known to the interrogators and were revealed at the onset of interviews. Riye Dejima was a Japanese citizen who came to Guam in 1930 to follow her husband who then died in 1937.⁷¹ Joaquina Baza Sayama, born in Guam, was married to Jesus Sehachi Sayama. Born in Japan, he moved to the island in 1905.⁷² Carlos SN Takano, though he did not specify that his father Vicente Kosako Takano was a Japanese migrant, did mention that he went to Japan in 1927 and studied there for about a year, returned to Guam, and then to Japan again to study from 1934 to 1938. After his wedding in 1939, he and his bride took a trip to Japan, China, and Manila, of which they stayed longest in Japan.⁷³

All claimants, as well as their witnesses, were asked the standard question of whether the claimant had "at any time voluntarily aided an enemy of the United States or any National of any country at war with the United States, or any ally of such enemy country." Those who knew the claimant prewar, of course, said no or at least "not to my knowledge."⁷⁴ Interestingly, Jesus Sayama who was interrogated as witness to his wife's war claim and the only interrogated Japanese witness in all the war claim records was asked whether *he*—not of his wife—voluntarily aided the enemy.⁷⁵ Despite Jesus's and his wife's participation in the war effort during the Japanese Occupation whether willingly or not, he replied "no."

Some of the witnesses went further to attest the claimants' innocence. When asked whether the Joaquina Sayama aided the enemy, Maria Taisague Cabrera, her neighbor in Agana replied, "No, nor did any member of her family. Her husband was badly beaten in 1943 by one of the Japanese authorities for defending his daughter's honor."⁷⁶ Similarly, Tomas Ramirez Santos, who had known Carlos Takano "since boyhood" testified:

⁷⁰ "War Claims of Carlos San Nicolas Takano," testimony of Carlos San Nicolas Takano

⁷¹ "War Claims of Riye Dejima," testimony of Riye Dejima

⁷² "War Claims of Joaquina Baza Sayama," testimony of Joaquina Baza Sayama.

⁷³ "War Claims of Carlos San Nicolas Takano," testimony of Carlos San Nicolas Takano.

⁷⁴ Not all of the witnesses were acquainted with the claimant before and during the war. For example, the War Claims translator who came to Guam after its recapture by the US and the representative from the Land and Claims Commission. The interrogations focused on verifying the war damages being claimed. The question on assisting the enemy is but one question at the beginning of the interview.

⁷⁵ "War Claims of Joaquina Baza Sayama," testimony of Jesus Chedahe (sic) Sayama.

⁷⁶ "War Claims of Joaquina Baza Sayama," testimony of Maria Taisague Cabrera.

this boy played the game like fox. He was married to a Guamanian, the daughter of the superintendent of school system here, and he tried to pretend to the Japanese authorities that he was in sympathy with their policies to protect his family under it all... Sometimes it appeared as though he was in favor of the Japanese but if you watched him you found that he was merely putting up a front to be able to help the Guamanian.... I consider him a person willing to help the Guamanian people at any time. During the war years he was obliging and in many instances that I know of he gave help to the natives here.⁷⁷

His testimony echoes that of Luis Palomo Untalan, the school principal where Carlos' wife taught. Principal Untalan offered. "This boy, Carlos, was all right. He was not pro-Japanese at all. He was always very nice to all the Guamanian people..."⁷⁸ In both testimonies, Carlos was tied more to his wife—a teacher and daughter of the superintendent of schools—than to his Japanese family.

Principal Untalan offered another tidbit of concern to us.

It was during the war that the father [of Carlos] sent the brother to join the Japanese Army in Japan. Mr. Sayama tried to send the Sayama boys at the same time but Mrs. Sayama would not stand for it and then, before the Sayama boys ever got away from Guam the bombing came.⁷⁹

In the 1960s, however, Jesus Sayama shared to a Japanese researcher (who published the findings in the Japanese language in Japan) that his eldest son died in the Battle for Saipan.⁸⁰ Considering the apparent devotion of the Sayama family's friends to them, it makes one wonder how they would have reacted had they known that the eldest Sayama boy died as a Japanese soldier—especially since, by 1949, "the Japanese" had been homogenized as a brutal, barbaric, ruthless, incomprehensible enemy, Othered, and not human.

⁷⁷ "War Claims of Carlos San Nicolas Takano," testimony of Tomas Ramirez Santos.

⁷⁸ "War Claims of Carlos San Nicolas Takano," testimony of Luis Palomo Untalan.

⁷⁹ "War Claims of Carlos San Nicolas Takano," testimony of Luis Palomo Untalan.

⁸⁰ Hiroshi Shinohara 1963, 63.

Figure 8-2. Rosario Baza Sayama, Daughter of Jesus and Joaquina, was Crowned Queen of the Guam Militia Carnival, April 1941⁸¹



5. Belonging and Un-belonging: The Case of Takekuma Shinohara

Guam, the island where worlds had melded, was divided during the Japanese Occupation following the racial tiers of imperial Japan, with the Japanese military and professionals on the one hand and the Chamorros on the other. In the middle and connected to both were Guam's Japanese locals. In the postwar racial discourses, the Japanese locals were embraced by the Chamorro families as part of the victimized Islanders, distinguishing them from the newly created image of the Japanese enemy, hence creating the contradiction of having a Japanese background but not being "the Japanese." As found by Higuchi and as revealed by Ritsuko Dejima, the label "the Japanese" still followed Japanese locals, like a teeth stain which anytime could be pointed out and be the butt of jokes or rebuke. Nevertheless, Japanese locals remained a part of the Chamorro community. They were teased, ridiculed, and discriminated, but their ties with Chamorro family and friends ensured that they did not fall off the vines. The extreme case of Takekuma Shinohara is presented in this section. Unlike most Japanese locals, Shinohara was decisively deemed enemy during and immediately after the war. Of the Japanese locals, he was last to come home, barred from the island by Chamorro protests. Yet, in 1962, with the aid of his family, Shinohara returned to Guam.

5.1. Belonging to Both Worlds

In the shores of Kagoshima, a youth named Takekuma Shinohara looked out into the sea. As he would recall decades later, Takekuma had been yearning for America since learning about Japanese adventurers in the Pacific in elementary school. By the time he was of age, the US had just gained Guam and the Philippine Islands from Spain and was fighting against the Filipino revolutionaries and so quite a number of their ships stopped at the port of Kagoshima for replenishments. Takekuma, like many of his peers, was hired as a "boy" for these US naval vessels. He heard that men from Okinawa, Hiroshima, Kagoshima, and Wakayama served as

⁸¹ "Queen of the Guam Militia Carnival and Her Retinue," *Guam Recorder*, April 1941.

“boys” on board so that they could hitch a ride across the ocean free of charge—and with meals to boot. In 1905, when Japan was awash with its dizzying victories against Russia and with indignation for the unfair treatment it was receiving from other imperial powers, Takekuma, at the age of 19, boarded the ship and sailed west. Thinking that once in Guam it was easier to sail to the US mainland, Takekuma got off on the island.⁸²

Life in Guam was heaven compared to his town in Kagoshima and Takekuma’s enterprising mind began envisioning potential ventures. Perhaps he could stay on the island and start a business. Besides, in the US mainland, there were anti-Japanese sentiments and anti-alien policies. Indeed, the mainland seemed to be ruled by ochlocracy.⁸³ After a few years of living on the island, he decided to stay for good. To start that business, Takekuma saved up for initial capital, befriended the locals, and got himself acquainted with the who’s who. With the help of someone from his hometown in Kagoshima, he began importing merchandizes from Japan and supplying Guam and the central Pacific.⁸⁴

He became a member of the Rotary Club of Guam and of the Guam Chamber of Commerce. By the time Shinohara—as he was now known—opened his restaurant in Agaña City, his trade reached as far as San Francisco. Living, dining, and doing business with the alta sociedad, Shinohara came to marry one of its daughters, Carmen Torres, and as the 1920s rolled on had two children with her. Also in the 1920s, Japan began developing Micronesia, having been mandated by the League of Nations to do so. To Shinohara, having labored far from his country for almost a decade, seeing its flag fly so close to Guam made his homeland closer.

Figure 8-3. The Rotary Club of Guam, 1939. Shinohara in the front row, middle⁸⁵



⁸² Summarized from Samueru Shinohara 1963, 64-66.

⁸³ Samueru Shinohara 1963, 66.

⁸⁴ Samueru Shinohara 1963, 66 and 68.

⁸⁵ “Members of the Rotary Club of Guam. From left to right: Rev. J.F. Sablan, T. Shinohara, P. Artero; middle row, J.K. Shimizu, C.C. Butler, Dr. Carlos P. Romulo, J.M. Flores, B.J. Bordallo, F.W. Fall, V.P. Herrero; back row, S.A. Sanchez, A.T. Perez, J.M. Torres, H.W. Elliott, Dr. H.E. Robins, K.R. Miller, A. McDermid, A.A. Jorgensen, P. Martinez, Judge J.M. Camacho.” “New Rotary Club Organized in Guam,” *Guam Recorder*, November 1939.

Now part of the upper class, Shinohara sought to maintain good relations with others on the island (that is, with the elite in which he belonged). Dinner parties were held in his restaurant. When the US Secretary of War visited Guam in 1936, Shinohara was one of the sixteen “distinguished citizens” who welcomed him in Piti.⁸⁶ Besides top officials, the youths of the Rooster’s Club became endeared to Shinohara. Fondly calling him “Mr. O’hara,”⁸⁷ they met at the cockpit in his Gas Kitchen, which in the 1930s had become “the leading night club of Agana.”⁸⁸ Finally, Shinohara showed his goodwill through financial support of civic projects. Together with Shimizu and other well-known Japanese of Guam, he was listed as one of “our local merchants and public-spirited citizens” who donated to the Guam Teacher’s Associations’ Christmas program for children.⁸⁹

Shinohara did all these as a Japanese. He led the Japanese Society of Guam which in 1929 hosted a dinner for the newly appointed Governor Willis Bradley. “A most spectacular feature of the occasion,” reported the *Guam Recorder*, “was the escorting of the Governor and his family... by the members of the Society, which with a gaily colored Japanese lantern attached to a cane. This, it is said, is in accordance with a custom practiced in Japan when Royalty is to be entertained.”⁹⁰ In 1937, a picture of the Society in a picnic with the US and the Japanese flag in the background described the Society as “always ready to help with any project for civic betterment and is thus an important factor in the life of the community.”⁹¹ (See Chapter 7 for the story and the photo).

5.2. Reconciling Histories

This balancing act became more precarious when war tensions between the US and Japan intensified. As Rear Admiral Giles would later recall:

Mr. Shinohara... had always been especially friendly to the officers, and frequently hosted colorful Japanese tea parties and sukiyaki suppers to which we were invited. Perhaps it was a lurking sixth sense, but many of us suspected him of having close connections with mainland Japan (the source of much of the merchandise that he sold in his store). We made a practice of politely refusing his frequent invitations.⁹²

From here on, our source materials contradict each other. As revealed in the war crimes investigation, islanders say that in January 1942 Shinohara slapped Governor McMillin after he and his men surrendered, were stripped of their clothes, and paraded naked as prisoners-of-

⁸⁶ “The Visit of the Secretary of War,” *Guam Recorder*, January 1936, 269.

⁸⁷ “The Roosters Crow Again,” *Guam Recorder*, February 1936.

⁸⁸ “The Roosters Crow Again,” *Guam Recorder*, May 1935, 47.

⁸⁹ “Department of Education Notes,” *Guam Recorder*, January 1941, 420.

⁹⁰ Bradley, *Guam Recorder*, August 1929.

⁹¹ “Banzai!” *Guam Recorder*, May 1937, 31.

⁹² Giles 1994, 48. Parenthetical statement in the original.

war. In a testimony posthumously published in 1977, Shinohara refuted this, saying that McMillin was his friend. Furthermore, according to Shinohara, McMillin himself denied the incident. If McMillin did, his denial did not reach the War Crimes Commission for, after trying Shinohara from July to August 1945, it judged him guilty of the assault. McMillin's report to the Secretary of the US Navy (dated September 1945, only a month after the ruling), was silent on the matter. Oddly enough, Bishop Olano and Rear Admiral Giles, two other prisoners-of-war with McMillin who wrote profusely about Japanese atrocities during the invasion, did not include the beating in their accounts.⁹³

Whether Shinohara indeed beat McMillin remains a question—just one of the multitude of instances in the past that is lost to us living in the present. As historical analysis reminds us, the past is not history, rather history is our discourse with the records of the past. In the remaining space, I venture to discourse with these records to glean what we *can* know from them.

Besides the assault on Governor McMillin, Shinohara was charged with treason for helping the Japanese military in fortifying the island and in organizing youth groups for such purpose. He was also charged of theft, in particular, of taking the electric generator of Mrs. Butler and several vehicles for his family's purpose. He was also charged with taking and misleading girls into prostitution. Later, additional charges of treason, assault, and desecrating the American flag were submitted. Aside from these, "Less reliable informants have stated [before the war] that he was an out-and out Japanese spy, and that they had been approached by him in this role."⁹⁴

In August 1945, he was acquitted of theft and of desecrating the flag. There was lack of evidence that he stole for his own use and though the flag was indeed desecrated publicly it was not Shinohara who did so. On the charge of taking women for prostitution, he was found guilty (See Chapter 7). Lastly, he was found guilty of two charges of treason, for which he was sentenced to hang. In 1948, the Judge Advocate General recommended to overrule the two sentences concerning treason. It argued that Shinohara was a Japanese citizen, not American, and thus aiding the Japanese military could not be deemed as betrayal of country. Shinohara's sentence was commuted to fifteen years of imprisonment with hard labor and he was transferred to Sugamo Prison in Tokyo.

In an essay he gave to Teruo Kosuge, a friend he met while in Sugamo, Shinohara gave his side of the story. Most revealing, much of the work was done by lawyer friends of his son who was then serving in the US Navy. They appealed his case, sought out McMillin, even tapped informants within the Judge Advocate General to know how his case was faring in Washington. Shinohara was released in 1952. Thereafter, letter after letter, he pleaded to the American embassy in Tokyo that he may be allowed return to his family in Guam. When at

⁹³ Olano was with the American POWs only from January 7. See Olano 1949, 24-29. Giles was interned with McMillin in the Naval Hospital (while others were in the Cathedral and in the Insular Guards barracks). Giles 1994, 41-52.

⁹⁴ "Stenographic Record," [nd] in "Records of Class-B and -C (re USA trials) Guam Trials."

last in 1957, he was given permission to go to Guam, protests on the island against his return prevented him from doing so.⁹⁵ It was not until 1962 before Shinohara returned home.⁹⁶ By the time Kosuge published his essay in 1977, Shinohara had long been gone.⁹⁷ In the article he published in Japan in 1963, Shinohara recounted his life in between the US and Japan. He lamented the fall of the Japanese empire which, unlike the other empires, was doomed to a century of apologizing for the wars it waged in the Asia-Pacific. He ends with Guam. To him it bears the face of his wife and his son. As a Japanese who had lived in American-occupied Guam for 60 years, he wished to be one with Guam's soil and for it to welcome him.

In the immediate postwar Shinohara had become identified with the enemy—a lumping of various wrongs not all of which were his. Our objective here is not to justify the crimes for which he was convicted, but rather to demonstrate how people in between two worlds (who were devoted to *both* worlds) had, in the rupture wrought by the total war, clung onto one and thus fell out of grace with another. Yet, even as they came to embody the enemy, the strength of prewar bonds transcended the newly created societal borders and ensured that they come home.

6. Summary and Discussion

Climaxing the three years of Japanese military occupation, the turmoil of July 1944 radicalized many of the locals, thus becoming a wellspring of islander history of victimization and, recently, of armed resistance against a foreign invader. Despite what the locals had suffered and their rage against those who had abused them, there did not seem to be any generalized and homogenized image of an enemy. The locals were angry, yes; however their wrath was toward particular individuals.

This changed in the immediate postwar. Since the start of 1944, the island had been drowned in a deluge of Japanese soldiers. By August, most of these soldiers would be dead or turned prisoners-of-war or stragglers posing danger to the islanders' lives and property. The islanders were part of the mop-up operation, guiding the US marines as they scoured the jungles and shooting stragglers that came near their homes. By February 1945, the number of dead and captured Japanese was barely 4,000 short of the total island's prewar population. Besides these, prisoners-of-war from other islands in Micronesia as well as Ogasawara were taken to Guam, or more specifically, at the Apra Harbor-Agana vicinity. At one point, they numbered almost a third of Agana's prewar populace.

Meanwhile, racialized rhetoric especially in newspapers and magazines painted an image of a Japanese enemy. Following the language of total war, this rhetoric homogenized the complex and diverse people of Japanese backgrounds into the brutal, sadistic, savage,

⁹⁵ Higuchi 1998, 174; Kosuge 1977, 97.

⁹⁶ Higuchi 1998, 174.

⁹⁷ Kosuge 1977, 96.

ruthless Japanese military. By 1948, a local student spoke in the language of total war. In the 1960s, a member of the Japanese association in Guam claimed that most of them had been mistaken for a soldier. The massive number of Japanese soldiers and the total war's racial rhetoric created *the* Japanese enemy.

As the overlapping worlds of Guam slowly floated away, the Japanese locals, having long lived in the overlap, now had to choose one. In the long list of victims, they were one with other islanders. To pluck those who were washed away with the torrents of POW traffic out of POW camps, prewar local bonds stepped in and intervened. To ensure their safety while the Japanese enemy was being created, friends and neighbors vouched that they were "with us," not with the enemy. It was a distinction unnecessary before the war and which locals resisted when the US marines first came to the island in 1944 bringing with their racial prejudices. Even in the extreme case of Takekuma Shinohara, the lone Japanese local of Guam convicted of war crimes, family and friends of family went as far as Washington DC and Tokyo on his behalf. Although it took more than a decade longer than the other Japanese locals of Guam and although the stigma did not leave Shinohara, he was at least able to return home.

At present, the history of the Pacific War in Guam follows two themes reflecting two movements in the scholarship. Military histories cull archival documents and sketch out the clash between the US and Japan. These provide much needed data on the movements of troops, analyze imperial policies, and give blow by blow account of events. Criticizing military histories as colonial and utterly silent on the tragedies that befell the islanders, oral history projects interviewed numerous residents and collected stories. Initially, it was only to give voice to the islanders. Increasingly, following the growing indigenous and decolonization movements in the region, it came to critique the prevailing image of American liberators saving the pitiful and helpless Chamorro.

In this ruptured history, Guam's Japanese is lost. Given Guam's hybridity, the presence of the Japanese enemy (the unexamined third dimension in the US liberator-Chamorro victim grand narrative) within one's own community and/or family remains to be an ever-present yet undiscussed contradiction. This dissertation focuses on the Japanese locals to provide an alternative perspective to the dichotomized histories of Guam. Situating the Pacific War within the larger colonial experience of the 20th century, it shows how, in an island where worlds had melded and plurality was possible, a racial social border was drawn.

In the creation of Guam's polarized war history, Japanese locals were embraced by their Chamorro families and friends as part of "us," separating them from "the Japanese enemy." This created the contradiction of being Japanese but being not "the Japanese." Although the stigma of being Japanese continued to follow them for decades, the strength of their local bonds (even in the extreme case of Takekuma Shinohara) ensured that they remained part of the Guam community, absent in its history though they might be. In a history that is structured into the tropes of "the American Liberator," "the pitiful yet faithful Chamorro," and "the brutal Japanese enemy," Guam's Japanese locals and their families had long lived with the undercurrent of having the enemy within them. In writing this thesis, I hope to help make sense

of this contradiction, help end local conflicts, and, in the current self-determination movements in the Marianas, make space for them to articulate their own stories.

Part 4. Conclusion

Chapter 9. The Shifting Belongings of Japanese Locals

1. Introduction

This dissertation compares the Japanese locals of Davao and of Guam to examine the shifting belongings of people, particularly in a time of various imperial alternations. To begin weaving seemingly unconnected experiences, let us start with a few contrasting vignettes:

In his article “Simply Chamorro,” Vicente Diaz paints a resilient, coherent, albeit hybrid Chamorro society. He asserts that family names which are often deemed as Spanish, Mexican, Filipino, Chinese, or Japanese are actually Chamorros. Of particular interest to us are the Chamorro-mistaken-as-Japanese surnames: Yamaguchi, Tanaka, Okada, Yamanaka, and Shinohara.¹ In her contribution for the textbook *Guam History: Perspectives* published four years later, Wakako Higuchi (1998) treats these surnames as Japanese (except Yamaguchi which she does not mention). In the Issei Memorial erected by the Guam Nikkei Association in 2014-2015 in Yigo, all five surnames are included.² So we ask, are these names and the individuals who bore them Japanese or Chamorros?

In the Philippines, the prevailing narrative is that the Japanese in Davao had a coherent, economically dominant migrant community which joined Japan’s war effort during the Pacific War thus alienating themselves from the Filipinos. Postwar, they were repatriated to Japan and those left behind had to hide their Japanese identity in fear of the Filipinos. The Japanese repatriates returned to Davao in the late 1960s to memorialize their prewar “Dabao-kuo” and reconnect with lost friends and families. A few decades later, those left behind finally reclaimed their Japanese identity and came out from hiding. In the 1990s, many returned to Japan, though as Shun Ohno (2015) observes, rather than seeking Japanese roots, they seemed more like labor migrants. Meanwhile back in Davao, local historian Macario Tiu ends his biographic account of a Filipino-Japanese mestizo with a lament. “Those born in Japan hardly pay them any attention any more. Some no longer remember nor care about their Davao roots.”³

Pushing the point further, Ohno and I interviewed the same person and saw different aspects of her. According to Ohno, she spoke in fluent Japanese and have claimed to have consistently seen herself as a Japanese.⁴ To me, she presented herself as a Filipino-Japanese mestizo who serves as a bridge between two peoples torn apart by war. Did she lie to one of us? Or did one of us understood her wrongly?

Reading these varied histories of the same people, it seems that there is a battle for identity: Do they belong to Japan or do they belong to Davao/Guam? Can their roots be found in Japan or can it be found in Davao/Guam? To begin addressing these contestations, the dissertation is premised on the argument previously made in Philippine postcolonial studies: that Filipino-ness and mestizo-ness are unsettled and shifting.⁵ Nation-ness⁶ shift not only from

¹ Diaz 1994, 51.

² “Tribute to Guam’s 1900 Issei Patriarchs” in South Pacific Memorial Peace Park, Yigo, Guam, visited by author in October 25, 2018.

³ Tiu 2005, 153.

⁴ Ohno 2015, 149.

⁵ Hau 2014, 5.

⁶ I borrow the term from Benedict Anderson (c1996) who distinguished it from nationality.

(1) being Japanese to (2) being not Japanese to (3) reclaiming Japanese-ness, but is negotiated along with other belongings such as Filipino-ness, Chamorro-ness, and mestizo-ness.

Foundational in understanding the postcolonial histories of the Philippines and of Guam is that both experienced successive imperial incursions and that this experience shapes and fuels the historiographies of both places. Because part of the imperial project was naming and narrativizing the conquered places and people, historians of the Philippines and of Guam are skeptical of archival documents and are wary of colonial histories. They demand a reconfiguration of the historical discipline that has painted them using imperial stencils. Deeming colonial histories as stories of empires who happened to be on the islands and not of the islands themselves, they seek to write histories that can tell their own stories, the stories of the Filipinos and of the Chamorros.

The questions “Who is Filipino?” and “Who is Chamorro?” have been on top of the list of concerns. This dissertation follows the thought of Caroline S. Hau (2014). Studying the Chinese in the Philippines, Hau argues that the construction and reconstruction of nation-ness shifted within the context of post-independence Philippines and of Cold War and post-Cold War Asia-Pacific (i.e., 1946 onwards). For Hau, “Filipino-ness,” “Chinese-ness,” and “mestizo-ness,” are shifting and unsettled. Not only are boundaries blurred and not only does a nation-ness transform over time, it does so alongside other identities.

Using the concepts of hybrid space and narrativized places, this dissertation conceptualizes *belonging*, vital in this study as it varies greatly from the static categories in censuses.⁷ So long as a person holds affinity to a place and is included in the imagined community that narrativizes that place into being, we can say that that person belongs. In this definition, two things are important: First, places are works-in-progress. A person can belong to a place, un-belong to it, then reinsert herself to it afterward.⁸ Second, places overlap. That a person belongs to more than one place is not a contradiction, unless those two places clash. That a space has two clashing grand narratives is a contradiction, for in such a condition, to which place do those living in that space belong?

Focusing on the Japanese of Davao and of Guam during the turbulent alternations between the US and the Japanese empires in the 1940s, this dissertation argues that the classification of people into mutually exclusive boxes—which at times conflicted and clashed—is itself a legacy of colonialism. It was initiated and facilitated by the US and the Japanese empires, but it gained social force and was embedded into history through the locals’ participation in the imperial project and their acquiescence to imperial ideologies. To dissect that thesis, this chapter lifts commonalities and differences from the preceding six and answers the central question posed in Chapter 1.

⁷ Anderson (1998, Chapter 1) describes the census as a means for a bound seriality of collective subjectivities, i.e., total populations, in which fractions are impermissible and individuals are anonymous.

⁸ Salesa 2014, 44-49; Massey 2008, 130.

2. The Japanese of Davao and of Guam

2.1. Prewar: In the Overlap of the US and the Japanese Empires

The end of the 19th century saw the expansion of the US and the Japanese empires. When the US defeated Spain in 1898, it inherited the Philippine Islands (including Davao), Guam, and Puerto Rico. In the same year, it occupied Wake Atoll, annexed the Hawaiian Islands, and gained possession of American Samoa. With Alaska, the US now possessed territories around the Pacific. Meanwhile, Japanese advocacies to move south, collectively called *nanshin-ron*, propelled not only territorial acquisition (specifically Taiwan, Ogasawara Islands, and Nan'yō Guntō) but also Japanese laborers, merchants, agriculturalists, professionals, brides, and families to venture overseas as far as the Americas. These mobile Japanese formed, to borrow Iijima's term (2018), a "diasporic network" that transcended imperial borders. One of Guam's wealthiest Japanese merchants, for instance, first ventured to the Ogasawara Islands, then to the Nan'yō Guntō, before finally moving to the US-occupied Guam.⁹ While there, he employed fellow Japanese from Ibaraki and maintained a schooner travelling between Guam, Saipan, and Yokohama.¹⁰

Davao and Guam were within these overlapping US empire and Japanese diasporic network. Being US territories, inhabitants of Davao and Guam were counted and classified by race. As the Philippine Commission of the Census admitted, "Most of the difficulties concerning the citizenship classification arose in connection with the classification of those whose father and mother belong to different *races*."¹¹ Rather arbitrarily, it classified as Philippine citizens the Filipino-Japanese "whose fathers are citizens of the Philippines," unless "upon reaching the age of majority, [they] elect Philippine citizenship." For the offspring out of wedlock, "Enumerators were instructed to report the citizenship of children where parents were living together consensually, the same citizenship as that reported for the mother."¹² In Davao, the census counted 487 Philippine citizens of mixed Filipino-Japanese parentage and 267 Japanese citizens of the same. To complicate further, indigenous peoples, though Philippine citizens in theory and collectively, were deemed to belong to a lower civilization. Whether they were Philippine citizens with the same civil rights as other Philippine citizens, whether they were part of the Filipino nation, was a point of contention (Chapter 3).

In Guam, where inhabitants were not accorded citizenship, "a person whose parents were of different nonwhite races other than Negro is classified as of the race of the father..."¹³ Thus, those of Japanese-Chamorro parentage, so long as their fathers were Japanese, were classified as racially Japanese—regardless of their place of birth, their Japanese proficiency, or whatever they and their families thought of themselves. Furthermore, because women of Guam conventionally took the surnames of their husbands, a Beatrice Cruz and Maria H. Sablan remained to be racially Japanese because of their fathers. Meanwhile Jacoba C. Okiyama and Maria R. Yokoi remained to be racially Chamorro despite their racially Japanese husbands and their racially Japanese children (Chapter 6). Classification of peoples into clearly defined racial

⁹ Higuchi 1998, 154-155.

¹⁰ Higuchi 1998, 162. As for the route of *Mariana Maru*, see the "Shipping Notes" of the *Guam Recorder*, for example in March 1929, April 1930, July 1935, September 1935, and February 1936.

¹¹ Commission of the Census 1941, 393. Italics not in the original.

¹² Commission of the Census 1941, 393. To the Commission's defense, it followed the 1935 Constitution.

¹³ Territorial, Insular, and Foreign Statistics 1941, 2.

categories was complicated and confusing, but it was a necessary part of the imperial project of civilizing the newly acquired territories.

Also, both US territories were militarized. In the Philippines, the Philippine Scouts under the US Army and the Insular Constabulary under the civil governor were initially organized to quell rebellions. In Guam, Chamorros employed by the US Navy were collectively called Insular Force. The police force, the Insular Patrol, assigned Chamorro policemen to stations across the island. Later, the Reserve Officers' Training Corps and the Guam Militia trained youths in Davao and in Guam, respectively. As the war approached, the US Army Forces in the Far East established a training center in Davao and trained Filipinos en masse. Meanwhile, in Guam, an infantry unit under the US Navy called the Insular Force Guard was organized (Chapter 1).

Davao and Guam differed in one important aspect: While parallel and conflicting nationalist movements existed in Davao, Guam saw none. With rapid Filipinization, especially since the mid-1910s, political control over Davao was transferred from the US Army to Filipinos, particularly the Manila-based Nacionalista Party. Meanwhile, its economic development was led by Japanese agricultural companies, propelling the so-called Davao Land Problem. Although the issue did not divide Davao between pro-Filipino and pro-Japanese factions, it fueled Philippine anticolonial nationalist rhetoric, which in turn ignited a Japanese nationalist countermovement against what they deemed as Filipino discrimination against them (Chapters 1 and 3).

In contrast, Guam saw no feisty national movement. While Japanese merchants were one of the wealthiest, there was no fear of a Japanese economic takeover. The Japanese Society of Guam was socially active, its members serving as cultural ambassadors of Japan. Yet, in the local magazine *Guam Recorder*, Japanese surnames abounded without reference to their Japanese background. They were so much a part of the Chamorro community that present-day Guam historian Vicente Diaz asserts that they were Chamorros, not Japanese. I argue that they were simultaneously Chamorro and Japanese, and that in prewar Guam, such duality was not at all odd. That a person cannot be simultaneously Chamorro and Japanese unless problematized is a product of the imperial shuffling in the 1940s (Chapters 1 and 6).

2.2. At the Imperial Transition: The Racial Anomaly Revealed

Japanese locals of Davao and of Guam knew of the increasing tension and hostilities in Asia and the Pacific, and they prepared accordingly. In Guam, traders made it a practice to have large cash in hand, so that in case war broke out and the Bank of Guam ceased operations, they would at least have money to pay for their shipments. Noteworthy, these shipments were mostly by non-Japanese vessels as only the *Mariana Maru* was given permission to call at Apra Harbor. Information did not stay at the port. Jose Barcinas, a Chamorro residing in the southern tip of the island, recalled that merchant Ichang Shimizu, warned him that Japan was sure to capture Guam. Forewarned, Jose and his fellow villagers set up evacuation sites in a nearby forest where they evacuated on December 8 (Chapter 7).

At the outbreak of the war, about 35 Japanese locals were detained under suspicion of espionage. Their detention was “difficult and heart-wrenching thing to do”¹⁴ for some of the naval officers tasked to defend the island. Moreover, prewar census counted 326 racially Japanese on Guam, leading us to deduce that nearly 300 evacuated with their Chamorro family and friends. Indeed, Bishop Miguel Olano records that among the casualties in one massacre by invading Japanese troops were a certain Rosa Barcinas Yanamaka and Josefina Matsumiya (Chapter 7). The fear of becoming enemy aliens or of having people of two opposing nations did not exist in Guam; instead, most Japanese locals evacuated with the rest of the islanders at the outbreak of the war.

In contrast, the Japanese of Davao were wary of the potential of being caught in enemy territory. In the eve of the war, Japanese families evacuated out of Davao. The Davao Japanese Association (DJA), at times in collaboration with Philippine local public officials, instituted preventive measures such as assigning and supplying evacuation sites. At the outbreak of the war, Japanese locals gathered to their assigned evacuation sites, while others were interned as enemy aliens. Those of Filipino-Japanese parentage were deemed Filipinos, regardless of their citizenship in the census. Under the suspicion that they will aid the impending Japanese invasion, Japanese locals in the evacuation sites were later concentrated into a few camps in major towns. Philippine barrio officials and constabulary station commanders, who had been collaborating with Japanese association district chapters, opposed this order in the desperate stretch to keep the evacuees within their protection. By the invasion twelve days later, however, most Japanese locals had been concentrated in abject concentration camps where one rape case and a total of 57 civilian casualties were reported (Chapter 4).

Soon after the Japanese military invasion, the detained Japanese locals of Davao and of Guam were released by the invading forces. In the establishment of the new regime, the Japanese locals served as intermediaries—translators, messengers, and guides. Hayase notes that because the Japanese local were positioned low in the Japanese racial hierarchy, their potential as intermediaries were not fully utilized by the invading military.¹⁵ Be that as it may, their intervention was important for the locality. Many lives were saved because Japanese locals vouched for their family, friends, and friends of friends. In Guam, a survivor of one of the massacres during the invasion narrated that when the Japanese troops returned to the site the following day, a Japanese local who went with them as interpreter vouched for him. Bleeding, he was taken to Agana City and was spared (Chapter 7). Likewise, the Davao Chapter of the DJA appealed to the Japanese military for discreteness in dealing with Filipinos, citing the Japanese code of Universal Brotherhood (Chapter 4).

In Davao where the outbreak of the war triggered civilian hostilities and the disastrous concentration of thousands of Japanese in abysmal makeshift camps, the same mediating role was also used to extract vengeance from Filipinos. The Mintal District Chapter, which reported a rape case and a shooting of women and children by Filipino guards, declared full cooperation with Japan’s total war. Likewise, Japanese locals who were tasked to issue Good Citizen

¹⁴ Giles 1994, 29.

¹⁵ Hayase 2014, 175-176.

Certificates as well as members of the neighborhood watch were infamous among Filipinos for brutalities and disappearances well beyond the executions by the Japanese military. As one of them explained, his brutality was but retaliation to Filipino atrocities against them before the invasion (Chapter 4).

In comparing the outbreak of the war in Davao and in Guam, most apparent is the civilian hostilities in the first and the lack of it in the second. Before the war, people in both localities were aware of the increasing tension between the US and Japan. In both, locals participated in the US military and in their local police force. In both, locals prepared for the impending war. Yet, on December 8, a mass internment and harassment of Japanese locals occurred in Davao, while only about 35 were detained in Guam. At the Japanese invasion of Davao, Japanese internees jumped into the crossfire and then used their position to extract vengeance from Filipinos in the transition period immediately after. No such domino of violence can be observed in Guam; here accounts of Japanese locals' mediation were limited to interpreting and vouching for the Chamorros. Given the dominance of the national frame in war histories, the reality that one can be at war with Japan without deeming the Japanese locals as enemy can only be demonstrated through such a comparison. Just because the US and Japan went to war against each other does not mean that their people on the ground did so as well.

If not the declaration of war, what then caused the civilian violence? The most obvious explanation would be the presence of the parallel Filipino nation-state-building and Japanese national-imperial expansion in Davao; and none of it in Guam. Examining the violence, Filipino incarceration of the Japanese was due to Filipino suspicion against their Japanese neighbors aiding the Japanese invasion of the Philippines. Japanese hostilities against Filipinos at the outbreak was due more to vendetta than fighting for Japan. Although suspicion against the enemy (i.e., vulgar racism) and the desire to protect the nation (i.e., nationalism) were indeed related and confounded in nationalist discourses, they were not the same. The difference can be further highlighted through counterexamples. Cross-national collaborations were at play even among those bore the torch of their nations. Since prewar, Philippine local public officials, even those in Nacionalista party, had been collaborating with Japanese plantation companies and the DJA. Collaboration continued after the outbreak of the war and after the invasion. A Filipino station commander was bent to "give hell to the Japanese" but at the same time sought to keep the Japanese in his locality within the jurisdiction of barrio officials with whom they were in good graces.¹⁶

Key here is the lumping of individuals into a homogenous, racial/national stereotype. Racial classifications did not accurately depict mixed localities: Such elementary distinction was known and accepted before the war, during peace time. However, in an "all-out race war," a Filipino local was lumped with "the Filipino" and a Japanese local was lumped with "the Japanese." Thus, a Filipino defending the Philippines against "the Japanese" now faced the conundrum of how to treat his Japanese neighbor. A Japanese seeking revenge against a group of Filipino volunteer guards, spiraled into lumping the rest into "the Filipino." A Filipino-

¹⁶ Dakudao 1994, 72; Furushō 1993, 289.

Japanese in between had to fit into one (Chapter 4). Similarly in Guam, the American naval officials detained the Japanese merchants with whom they had been socializing, however they did so (if we are to believe Rear Admiral Giles) with a heavy heart (Chapter 7). In hybrid localities such as Davao and Guam, where the face of a friend, family, or one's own reflected the face of "the enemy," the anomaly in total war stereotypes can be clearly illustrated. As will be seen in the next sections, this anomalous racial divide gained social force during Japanese Occupation and then embedded in war histories after Japan's defeat.

2.3. Under Japanese Occupation: The Racial Divide Actualized

In Davao, Japan's mobilization of Japanese locals (among whom were Japanese-Filipinos) included fighting against Filipino guerrillas which not only continued to exist parallel to the Japanese occupation of major towns but also increased in support and territorial coverage. At the start of the occupation, the neighborhood watch was organized under the DJA to fight the remaining anti-Japanese elements and then guard the villages against their return. Later, it was transferred to the military and served as village police. In addition, various volunteer labor troops were sent out to construct and repair roads, bridges, airfields, and other military facilities. Because many of these facilities lay in areas with thin Japanese military support, these so-called volunteers also served as guards against potential sabotage. While their selfless sacrifice for the empire was valorized in mouthpieces such as *Davao Shimbun*, the neighborhood watch and the labor volunteers became front-liners in Japan's fight against Filipino anti-Japanese resistance (Chapter 5).

By the end of the war, male Japanese locals had been conscripted and thus, besides battling against guerrillas, many were party to Japanese war crimes against non-combatant Filipinos. In the "Closed Reports" of the Japanese war crimes in 1945, Filipino witnesses mostly identified them as civilians in uniforms accompanying Japanese suspects. In at least one case, the instigator of the crime was a Japanese local (Chapter 5). A land tenant of his Filipino victims, he was reported to have said after the invasion, "This is no longer your land inasmuch as we have won the war." His disagreements with his victims were exacerbated by their refusal to aid the Japanese neighborhood associations which he headed.¹⁷ The inclusion of Davao's Japanese into Japan's armed forces provided them a position of power which some abused; at the same time, it enflamed Filipinos' prewar prejudice against the specter of the "Japanese enemy." Though with shifted borders, Davao was polarized following prewar racial-national categories.

Just as before the war, there were those who fell in between these racial categories. Japanese settler Minoru Hirano, who was conscripted and underwent military training in 1944, was aware that many of his fellow recruits were of Filipino-Japanese parentage. He sympathized with at least one who "was mostly brought up by his Filipina mother and was

¹⁷ "Japanese War Crimes Trials," Bundle 15 Report 154.

more of a Filipino than a Japanese.”¹⁸ Moreover, Hirano’s narrative of their battles in 1945 showed a sense of camaraderie with his platoon and squadron, praying that they survive another crossfire. At the same time, he worried over Filipinos who had resided in the battle-ravaged towns and villages they passed (Chapter 5). Filipino-Japanese in Japan’s war effort were not always bounded by the need to prove their loyalty to Japan. Their service to the country did not always lead to “violent nationalism.”¹⁹

Crossing the racial fence extended beyond the awareness of Davao’s mixedness and sympathy for those who fell in between. Though scattered and sporadic, mentions of Japanese locals sharing and receiving information that allowed those from the other side to survive appear in records and in oral histories. In the “Closed Reports” on the Filipino massacres by the Japanese, at least two Japanese locals were reported to have shared information which allowed the Filipino survivors to escape (Chapter 5). Who these Japanese locals were and why they shared such information in spite of its obvious risk to their own safety, Filipino witnesses did not elaborate. Nevertheless, the fact that they existed and that they were recognized by Filipinos even in the height of anti-Japanese sentiments in the immediate postwar show that the total war was not as totalizing.

A clearer scene can be gleaned from the memoir of Hiroyuki Mizuguchi, a student in Davao Central High School prewar. In around mid-1943, Hiroyuki was warned by his Filipino friends that his work as interpreter of the Kempeitai would soon endanger him among Filipinos. “We are your best friends and brothers, but this isn’t simple,” Hiroyuki later wrote one of them saying.²⁰ These friends of his were ROTC cadets and, most likely, were part of the underground Filipinos in Davao City aiding the guerrillas. After recruiting his replacement, Hiroyuki moved to Manila where he was mostly unknown. Just as his friends anticipated, his replacement, Celso Saiso (sic) was consistently implicated in the postwar investigations on the war crimes committed by the Filipinos’ much-detested Kempeitai (Chapter 5). In Davao, there were Filipino anti-Japanese guerrillas who helped prewar Japanese friends working in the Japanese military. Precisely because total war, nationalism, and racism were confounded in war propaganda that these Japanese locals and their Filipino friends became conflicted. It is this confliction which nationally framed war histories run in danger of perpetuating.

Although no contending armed forces existed in Guam as it did in Davao, prewar racial divides were still actualized. Like the preceding imperial master, Japan categorized the populace into racial tiers. At the top were the Japanese military and other professionals, newcomers from offshore. At the bottom were the islanders. And, in between were Guam’s Japanese. Historian Wakako Higuchi has shown (2013) how these racial categories were evident in, for example, the educational system: The “pure” Japanese went to one school, while the islanders went to another. The Japanese locals went to yet a third school, which was not quite at par with the “pure” ones yet were allowed “limited mingling” with the racially lower Chamorros. Needless to say, racial categories did not accurately depict the populace. Chamorro

¹⁸ Hirano 2000, 19.

¹⁹ Sensui 2018, 61.

²⁰ Mizuguchi 2010, 55.

leaders did not seem at all to occupy the bottom tier and were consulted even by top Minseibu officials. The newly arrived fishing families from Kyushu and Okinawa, mostly via Saipan, could not have been at the same level as the newly arrived Nan'yō Kōhatsu employees. And what of the Chamorros interpreters from Saipan and Rota and the comfort women from Palau and Korea (Chapter 7)?

Regardless of the ambiguity of the structure, Japanese locals obviously occupied the middle tier. They served as intermediators between the Japanese military on the one upper hand and the Chamorros on the lower hand. Without the need to defend the Japanese military occupation of Guam, the Japanese of Guam could hardly prove themselves as part of the superior Japanese race. Japanese local children could not even learn the Japanese language, save for the daughter of the president of the Women's Patriotic Association who translated for everyone in her class. Japanese settlers' proficiency in the Japanese language allowed them to serve as translators, but this position too became increasingly shared with many others: the Chamorros shipped in from Saipan and Rota and then later, the local Chamorros who were trained in intensive Japanese language schools. Placed in the middle tier, the Japanese of Guam slid to the bottom of Japan's racial hierarchy, joining the Chamorros there (Chapter 7).

What is evident is that, unlike prewar when they lay in the overlap of two worlds, during the Japanese Occupation they were in-between—a bridge connecting two disconnected peoples. Most notable was Nawo Sawada, the president of the Women's Patriotic Association and, as described in Tony Palomo's *An Island in Agony*, “probably the most powerful Japanese civilian during the occupation period. She was not only independently wealthy... but she also was among the few members of the Japanese governor's inner council.”²¹ Sawada was remembered to be patriotic to Japan and, when warned by a Chamorro that she will be in trouble when the Americans returned, to have replied, “When the Americans return... all they would find would be flies.”²² Yet, in collective biographies, at least two Chamorros remembered being helped by her. One was an Insular Guard who had fought against the Japanese invading army and was held prisoner of war. Through Sawada's intervention (as well as the Okada family), he found employment much better than those of other POWs who labored in the manganese mines. It was also through Sawada that he was able to surrender a rifle without punishment (Chapter 7).

Unfortunately, we do not have records of Sawada's own writing; she disappeared after an air raid while trailing the military to its *gyokusai* [honorable death]. However, from the snippets that we have of her, it is clear that Chamorro war history has not quite decided how to position her. She was a well-known supporter of Japan's war and thus could not be painted as part of “us.” Yet, she was part of the Chamorro community prewar and helped several Chamorros during the occupation, thus she could not possibly be the “enemy.” As for Japanese history of the war in Guam, she, like most Japanese locals of the island, is mostly absent.

Among the Japanese locals, only one fitted the image of Guam's enemy. The president of the Japanese Society of Guam, Takekuma Shinohara, strove to serve the Japanese navy and

²¹ Palomo 1984, 132.

²² Palomo 1984, 132.

the Minseibu. Before the war, he had endeared himself to young US navy officers in the Rooster Club who called him, Mr. O'hara. He was active in social events: from holding sukiyaki parties, to welcoming the US Secretary of War, to donating to civic projects. He was friends with the last prewar Governor, was a member of the Guam Rotary Club, and was married to a Chamorro from a respectable family. But, from the Japanese invasion to the end of the war, Shinohara was visible in parades celebrating Japanese victory over US forces. He was central in the Japanese youth organization for Japan's war effort and in the commandeering of supplies from the US Naval Government and their POW employees. He also maintained makeshift brothels housing Chamorro women—prostitutes and otherwise—against their will. In these women's testimonies in the War Crimes Trials, Shinohara did not seem coerced by the Japanese military. Some naval officers did not even know that the women were held captive and, after being told so, allowed the women to leave the comfort station. In the war memoir he published (in Japanese, in Japan), Shinohara did not deny maintaining the comfort stations, saying that he did it as president of the Japanese association in Guam. Postwar, he was convicted of war crimes and was sent to Sugamo Prison. After his release, a protest rally to bar his return to the island was held by Chamorros. In proving his patriotism to Japan, Shinohara damned himself among the Chamorros (Chapters 7 and 8).

Despite the vast difference in the Japanese wartime experiences in Davao and Guam, one overarching commonality is the actualization of the racial divide. Mutually exclusive categories had existed since prewar, but only for state-builders and their instruments such as the census. Socially, people could marry, be born from, interact, be employed, trade, go to school, play, and grow up with people from different races. In Davao, there had been rumors of Japanese spies readying to invade the Philippines however, this enemy was but a specter.

This changed because of the Pacific War. In both, the prewar anomalous racial stratification became a force real enough to compel those who straddled in between into a single group. In Davao, an anti-Japanese Filipino resistance and Japanese locals' involvement in defending the Japanese occupation pitted two groups of locals against each other. In Guam, Japanese locals were positioned between the racial tiers of "the Japanese" and "the natives." Serving as mediators highlighted the disconnectedness of their new wartime worlds, a disjunct which had not existed in the overlapping worlds of prewar Guam. In both localities, the Japanese of mixed parentage were classified as Japanese, doing away with the prewar's complicated (and patriarchal) specifications. The fluidity allowed during peacetime was not feasible during a total war. One had to belong to one and give up the other.

Solidified though the racial border had become, there were still those who crossed it, though not without danger and complications. Hiroyuki's friends and the Japanese who forewarned Filipinos of impending massacres did so with great discreteness. Minoru, Hiroyuki, and Hiroyuki's friends were apparently conflicted about being at war with those they had considered part of their communities. Nawo Sawada, who had maintained her privileged position through her Japanese patriotism yet still aided Chamorros, is given contradictory depictions in Chamorro war histories. Because the racial divide were actualized, crossing it or staying in between the total war poles became more difficult, but nevertheless done.

2.4. At Japan's Defeat: The Racial Enemy Crystalized

In both Davao and Guam, Japanese locals marched with their military to its last stand and fell victims to US air raids. At Japan's defeat, they were entered into camps and/or stockades, then shipped out of their localities. Beyond this, experiences much diverged.

In Davao, the Japanese locals came down the mountains to an incredibly wrathful Filipino population. Months before, Filipino hatred against the Japanese enemy was intensified by the killing spree done by Japanese military (which, as mentioned, included Japanese locals) in the first quarter of 1945. In their oral histories, Japanese locals recalled frightful Filipino mobs shouting for their deaths and throwing stones at them. Once repatriated, Japanese locals could not return to Davao until after decades. Filipino-Japanese and their Filipino mothers who remained hid in fear of retribution for atrocities they themselves did not commit. After Japanese locals were shipped out, new Filipino settlers poured in, bringing with them different prewar and wartime experiences. Davao's postwar history scarcely mentions them. What little is mentioned speaks of their prewar economic dominance akin to colonialism and their involvement in the Japanese military. Meanwhile in Japan, a Davao history was published by Yoshizo Furukawa (1956) and in 1964, a repatriates association called Dabao wo Aisuru-kai was formed. The polarization of Davao, rooted in prewar racial prejudices, intensified because of the total war. The alternation of empires in the 1940s resulted to present-day two Davao histories: In the Filipino Davao, the Japanese are mostly absent; the rare times they are mentioned depicts a sinister colonizer. In the Japanese Davao, Davao is Dabao-kuo and the Japanese mestizos are Japanese (Chapter 5).

Outside these histories cross-national ties persisted. Highland communities—armed and self-sustaining—served as a refuge for Japanese locals during their march to the mountains and to the remaining Filipino-Japanese children after the repatriation. *Firipin Jōhō*, a Japanese monthly called them savages [banzoku] (Chapters 3 and 4). Philippine jurisprudence, though recognizing that some of them were well-educated, deemed them of inadequate intellectual capacity in dealing with “designing individuals” bent on grabbing their lands (Chapter 3). In the oral histories of the Japanese local saved by them, these highland communities sought to defend themselves from both Filipino anti-Japanese guerrillas and the Japanese invading their mountain. They were neither pro-Japanese nor pro-Filipinos. They deemed both contending forces as enemies (Chapter 5). They were a third pole in the polarized Davao. That there existed a third pole to the nationally divided Davao and that it harbored people from both nations-at-war evidences that Davao's polarization was based not on national solidarity but on the prewar racial divide.

In stark contrast, the Japanese of Guam were able to return home much earlier through their networks on the island. Naoe Takano, the Japanese wife of a Chamorro-Japanese, later shared that she returned home in less than two years thanks to a local judge with whom she was acquainted and with whom she left her daughters when she was given the order to leave for Saipan. In his memoir, Takekuma Shinohara revealed that in the course of his long trial and its appeals, his son (who later joined the US Navy) and his son's friends went as far as mainland US to seek favorable testimonies and gain information about how the case was fairing at the Judge Advocate General (Chapter 8). The Pacific War did not physically separate Japanese locals from Guam or create two separate histories of the same locality as it did in Davao.

Still, the Pacific War effected profound changes in the locality. Between the arrival of the US forces in July 21 and October 21 of 1944, there were 17,267 “enemies killed and captured.”²³ To kill and capture these, Chamorros accompanied the US marines in mop-up operations and were given guns to protect themselves and their communities from Japanese stragglers. By February 1945, this number rose to 18,063. *Senshi Sōsho*, considered as the official Japanese history, counts a total of 19,135 war dead. Besides these, Guam became a hub of POWs from as far as Wake and Truk in the east and southeast and Chichi-jima in the north. A communique dated June 18, 1946 reported that 1,600 POWs arrived from Truk; three days later 3,440 POWs were counted. To put this number into perspective, prewar population was only 22,290; Guam’s capital, Agana City only had 10,004. Thus, besides the overwhelming number of the dead, dying, and to-be-killed Japanese enemies, Guam’s harbor and waters were flocked with Japanese POWs (Chapter 8).

Meanwhile, racist news coverage of the war crimes trials, not only in Guam but also those in Shanghai and in Tokyo, filled the newspapers. At times articles reported the trials themselves; other times, it gave vivid descriptions of the crimes. The two-year series “History of War Crimes Trials” in particular sought to explain the war crimes, concluding that they were senseless and that they can be explained only by the brutal character of the Japanese race. In December 1947, a Chamorro student echoed this rhetoric. She wrote, “I had in mind that the Japanese were harmless.... But I was totally mistaken for indeed, they are the most merciless and most cold-hearted people ever to come to this peaceful Island.”²⁴ By 1963, a Japanese local shared to a researcher from Japan that most members of the Japanese association there experienced being mistaken for a Japanese soldier. In an oral histories project in 1980-1981, the only informant with a Japanese surname spoke of the suffering he endured under “the Japanese,” making no reference whatsoever about his Japanese background. A racialized image of the Japanese enemy was created, lumping all Japanese regardless of origin and participation in the Pacific War (Chapter 8).

Amidst this newly created racial enemy, the Japanese of Guam did not hide as those in Davao did. At least three war claims applicants had Japanese surnames and their Japanese backgrounds were established at the start of the interrogation: Carlos SN Takano was the son of a Japanese settler and a Chamorro; Joaquina Baza Sayama was a Chamorro married to a Japanese settler; and Riye Dejima was a Japanese widow of a Japanese settler. All three and their witnesses were asked the standard question whether or not the claimant (plus Joaquina’s husband who testified as a witness) “at any time voluntarily aided an enemy of the United States...” Of course, the claimants answered no (Chapter 8).

Most important here is how the witnesses responded. Besides saying no or “not to my knowledge,” some went further to attest the claimants’ innocence. Joaquina’s neighbor, Maria Taisague Cabrera, replied, “No, nor did any member of her family. Her husband was badly beaten in 1943 by one of the Japanese authorities for defending his daughter’s honor.”²⁵ Similarly, Tomas Ramirez Santos, who had known Carlos Takano “since boyhood” testified, “Sometimes it appeared as though he was in favor of the Japanese but if you watched him you found that he was merely putting up a front to be able to help the Guamanian.”²⁶ In the creation

²³ Col. H. N. Stent, USMC. March 6, 1945.

²⁴ “War Life during Japanese Revealed by Student,” *Navy News*, December 14, 1947.

²⁵ Maria Taisague Cabrera, War Claims of Joaquina Baza Sayama.

²⁶ “War Claims of Carlos San Nicolas Takano,” testimony of Tomas Ramirez Santos.

of Guam's enemy, Japanese locals, their families, and their friends aligned them with the Chamorros, distinguishing them from "the Japanese." They participated in the racist discourse engulfing Guam and, in the process, created the contradiction of having a Japanese background while not being "the Japanese." Although no separate histories were written, Guam's war history was polarized into us-versus-enemy. It was a history which required everyone, even those who had lived in the overlap of worlds prewar and bridged the worlds as these floated apart during the war, to choose a side.

For both Davao and Guam, the last period of the war was the most divisive. It involved massive killings, movements of large number of people, and an effort to interpret the turmoil. In Davao, the killings were by contending armed forces as well as atrocities by the locals in the military with a position of power. In Guam, locals joined the mop-up operations to hunt down remaining Japanese enemy stragglers. After Japan's defeat, the Japanese in both were shipped out of the localities. Those from Davao were unable to return and were then replaced by new Filipino settlers. Those from Guam returned home and though the island was flooded with Japanese POWs these were but transients; the composition of the island largely remained the same. Two separate histories were written on Davao: one by the repatriates talking about their tragedies as Japanese in the Philippines and another by Filipinos in which the prewar Japanese were minute and demonized. Meanwhile Guam developed a single grand narrative, but one that is polarized into us-versus-enemy. In short, despite the differences in their wartime experiences, both localities emerged from the Pacific War with a divided history where in-betweenness was not possible.

In this most divisive, most chaotic stage of the war, apparent is the limitation of nation and nationalism as conceptual tool. Even as the Chamorros joined the total war discourses that created "the Japanese [enemy]," there was no Chamorro nation or Guam nation that existed. In Davao, where Filipinos and Japanese had been invested in fighting for their own nations, a third pole emerged. Rooted in Davao's prewar racial divide between the Filipino and the Japanese settlers on the one hand and the indigenous peoples on the other, it became a refuge for both Filipinos and Japanese.

Rather than nation, the divide in both can be better be explained by race. Although nation and race were married in some localities and some stages of the war, race allows a regional understanding the period of imperial alternations. Moreover, while race during peace time involved a stratification of society based on levels of civilization as perceived by whichever empire was in power, in times of chaos the stratification was leveled and race became merely a lumping of complex people into stereotypes. This affirms Dower's observation that "favored idioms denoting superiority and inferiority transcended race and represented formulaic expressions of Self and Other."²⁷

In highlighting race instead of nation as the driver for the divide, this dissertation does not mean to say that the Filipinos and the Japanese who fought for Mother Nation and the Chamorros who joined the mop-up operations were actually racists hypocritically calling themselves nationalists. Quite the opposite. This dissertation shows that one can fight for Mother Nation or defend the Self without subscribing to the racialized image of the hated enemy. War propaganda, had confounded these two and left those who lived in hybrid localities conflicted. In spaces such as Davao and Guam, where people of opposing forces had long co-

²⁷ Dower 1986, Chapter 1.

existed, the image of the racial enemy was pitted against the face of a friend, a family member, or one's own. Here, participants of the Pacific War had to contend with concepts of nation/self and enemy. By showing how the abstract concept of race was actualized and then embedded into war histories which divided localities, I wish to address and explain the conflicted belongings of people in between polarized histories.

This social categorization based on level of civilization was arbitrarily decided. As Dower notes, the racial descriptions which the US and Japan volleyed at each other, "reveal more about themselves than about the enemy they are portraying."²⁸ Those categorized were, in Jessica Jordan's words, "too beautiful for (and they represent more than) the names multiple colonizing regimes have given [them]." Yet, this racial stratification became the language by which people described themselves and discoursed with those outside of their race. During the war, it was the basis for social organization which dictated the lives of people. In the Philippines, whether one was expected to support the anti-Japanese guerrillas or the Japanese neighborhood watch was based on race. In Guam in 1943, whether one received rations was based on race. Postwar, whether one was part of "us" or of "the enemy" was based on race.

Within war histories, labels such as "Japanese," "Filipino," and "Chamorro" are taken at face-value as if they are inherent but, as this dissertation shows, the very basis of those labels were arbitrary and, when put under scrutiny, can be contested. That being said, although these labels were initially foreign to Davao and Guam, they were lived by the locals and were made part of the social fabric and historical narrative by the locals.

3. Summary: Comparing the Japanese of Davao and of Guam

To summarize, we return to the central question: How did Japanese belongings shift during the successive imperial transitions in the 1940s? The question "how" can mean the process or the means. This final section deals with both, beginning with the former.

Before the war, Japanese locals living in the hybrid spaces of Davao and of Guam were racially classified either as Japanese or not Japanese. In Davao, the Japanese were deemed as a threat in Filipino anti-colonial nationalist rhetoric. In the context of a land problem, Japanese, partnering with Filipinos were deemed by Bagobos as land grabbers. At the same time, there were Japanese whom Filipino considered as families and part of the community. In Guam, prominent Japanese portrayed Japanese culture in fine light trying to ensure harmony between Japan and Guam. Meanwhile, Japanese names scattered in Guam sources without reference to their Japanese background. While both were classified as one or the other in a hybrid space, the Japanese in Davao were considered as a threat but not in Guam.

At the outbreak of the war, the Japanese of both localities were declared enemy aliens and were interned. In Davao, all except mestizos were detained. Most were concentrated in makeshift concentration camps and at the Japanese invasion joined in the battle against Filipinos. Meanwhile, Japanese in a few camps remained within the safety of their Filipino friends. During the establishment of Japanese military rule, they vouched for their friends who protected them, while those who suffered used their new positions for vengeance. In Guam,

²⁸ Dower 1986, Chapter 2.

about 35 who were linked to Japan prewar were detained under suspicion of espionage. The rest escaped with their Chamorro families and friends. At the invasion and the establishment of Japanese military rule, they served as interpreters, vouching for their Chamorro families and friends. While Japanese locals in both maintained ties with Japan prewar and while both were declared enemy aliens at the outbreak, violence erupted in Davao but not in Guam.

During the Japanese occupation, the Japanese of both localities participated in Japan's war effort. In Davao, they joined the force which fought against anti-Japanese Filipinos. Yet even then, there were those who shared and were given information which allowed Filipinos on the other side to survive. Following the prewar racial divide, Bagobos saw the warring Filipinos and Japanese in the lowlands as enemies, and safeguarded Japanese (and Filipinos) within their kindred. In Guam, Japanese locals served as intermediaries. They bridged disconnected worlds that incessantly floated apart, a role which they need not play prewar when their Japanese, US, and Chamorro worlds overlapped. While Japanese in both Davao and Guam participated in Japan's war effort, only in Davao did they face fellow locals in battle.

At Japan's defeat, the Japanese locals of both were shipped out. Japanese in Davao could not return for decades and thus ceased to be part of the community, especially of the new one that emerged with the influx of Filipinos. Yet, they continued to narrativize Davao while in Japan, hence crafting a history different from Filipinos'. In the Japanese Davao, the Japanese locals (even mestizos) are Japanese and prewar Davao is "Dabao-kuo." In the Filipino Davao, the Japanese are minute or demonized. Meanwhile, there are individuals who hold memories of the 1940s different from both histories. In contrast, the Japanese of Guam returned and were embraced by their Chamorro families in the postwar creation of the Japanese enemy. Without ceasing to be Japanese, they became part of a community that deemed "the Japanese" as "the enemy," leading to the contradiction of being Japanese but not being "the Japanese." Despite differences in the Japanese experiences, the histories of both localities came to be polarized; outside these polarized histories, there were Japanese locals and their families who continued to live in between conflicting poles or live with poles conflicting within them.

By what means did their belongings shift? It was done by the empires and by the locals. The empires classified them as either Japanese or not Japanese, declared them as enemy aliens at the outbreak of the war, turned them into compatriots at the Japanese invasion and occupation, and then tear them from their localities at Japan's defeat. These forces, external in origin, gained force through the locals. The actualization of the racialist labels was by the locals. The polarization of society and of their histories were also by the locals.

Granted that empire histories have written about Davao and Guam, it is still the locals' responsibility to write their own narratives. As Keith Camacho (2011) urges, the islanders must take the task of liberating themselves from colonial histories and the social divides it has caused. By tracing how the contradictions within their places emerged, I hope this dissertation was able to contribute to this liberation.

Chapter 10. Moving Forward:

Advancing Local Perspectives in Japanese Migration History

1. A View from the Ground

In his *Judgment without Trial*, Tetsuden Kashima describes the haphazard internment of the Japanese in the US territory of Alaska which frazzled both the interning authorities and the families of the interned. In one account, when an Eskimo mother asked under which government office her mixed race children fell, the camp director replied (after days of making her wait outside the camp) that “the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the U.S. Army had equal authority because the children were half Eskimo and half Japanese.”¹ In another account, three boys with Japanese surnames (two of whom were Eskimo-Japanese and one was an adopted Eskimo half-son) were taken in, while three “full-blooded Japanese Alaskans who had taken Indian names” were let go.² Here, the chaotic decision-making process leading to the imprisonment of persons of Japanese ancestry is vividly demonstrated.

Two points are evident in Kashima’s work: First, the entire book covers the US west coast, Hawaii, Alaska, and countries in Latin America. Central throughout the book was US’s influence over its territories and its neighbors concerning the imprisonment of their persons of Japanese ancestry. Yet, it completely leaves out the US territories of the Philippines and Guam. This might be credited to Kashima’s location and his access to source materials. Empire historians rarely discuss the treatment of the Japanese in the Philippines during the war. As of this writing, only two have discussed the Japanese of Guam.³ In the section “New Developments and Future Outlook” of Eiichiro Azuma’s (2016a) review of research trends concerning Japanese internment, Guam was not even mentioned as if no Japanese had lived and been detained there. Given that Guam had only a little more than 300 Japanese and only about 35 of them were detained, it is not surprising that regional studies has overlooked them.

The second point is one of perspective, and approach. Kashima looks at policy and its implementation. He sketches for us an umbrella image of the types of internment camps and the offices that supervised these. He argues that “decision to imprison persons of Japanese ancestry during the war was made before the attack on Pearl Harbor... [and was] a product of rational deliberation.”⁴ Following the logic of the archival materials he examined, Kashima considers the internment process as rational. But, as his vignettes on Alaska show, the decision-making process might have been rational and might have predated the war, but the definitions on which that process was based were racial and arbitrary. For those who were imprisoned, for their families who either entered prison with them or from whom they were torn apart, and for

¹ Kashima 2011, 92.

² Kashima 2011, 92.

³ Higuchi (1998) provides a subsection to the wartime experiences of “the prewar Japanese of Guam;” In 1963, Hiroshi Shinohara interviewed members of the Japanese association and published their voices.

⁴ Kashima 2011, 5.

the interning authorities who did not view them as enemy aliens, the decision was not at all rational. It was “institutionalized racism” at work.⁵

My dissertation privileges the concerns and experiences of those who were imprisoned and their families and friends, some of whom were tasked to imprison or to face them in battle. The concerns of this dissertation are issues on the ground. Moreover, it focuses on the places which Kashima and other empire historians mostly overlooked: Davao and Guam. Lastly, it takes the lens of postcolonial histories in Davao (in the Philippines) and Guam (in the Marianas). On this last point, historians of Japanese migration to the Philippines have written narratives of the Japanese in Davao but their concerns are those of Japan. This dissertation builds on their works but does not regurgitate it. Rather, as a local history, it meets them halfway and converses with them on equal grounds, bringing to the table alternative perspectives from places that have been struggling to liberate their histories from successive imperial incursions.

2. Discoursing with Japanese Studies

One of the sessions in AAS 2020 Conference, which was canceled because of the COVID-19 pandemic, migrated their roundtable online, thereby expanding their audience and the reach of their discussion.⁶ The “virtual roundtable” takes off from the 2019 panel “Death of Japanese Studies.” Given the “issues facing Japan-related scholars and educators,” presenters grappled with questions such as “How can we approach the present transformations in more inclusive and diverse ways that address the rise of a new kind of Japanese (and Asian) Studies...?” The presenters mixed their own experiences as well as their scholarly take on the research trend and gave recommendations ranging from pedagogical, theoretical, to practical. Mark Pendelton cites Tessa Morris-Suzuki’s earlier idea of reformulating area studies “away from nationally-bounded areas” to one that focuses “on flows (those movements that link people) and vortices (swirling whirlpools of social and cultural interaction).”⁷ Laura Miller suggests, among others, collaboration with other faculties, disciplines, and universities.

As someone who is not from Japanese studies but was suddenly catapulted into responding to histories of Japanese diaspora, I find the presentations fascinating. I began my research interested on the impact of the Pacific War in Davao and in Guam. My focus on the Japanese is only due to their uniquely shifting positions in the locality. In the course of the research, I targeted conferences and publications on the Philippines and the Marianas, presenting the experiences of Japanese locals during the Pacific War to better understand Philippine and Marianas social histories. Throughout the research, I kept Japanese (migration) studies close because I need it to understand the people I study. By focusing on Japanese individuals who, to borrow Caroline Hau’s words, “are held to stand outside the bounds of

⁵ Azuma 2016a.

⁶ “Virtual Roundtable: The “Rebirth” of Japanese Studies,” *Paula R. Curtis*.

⁷ “Virtual Roundtable: The “Rebirth” of Japanese Studies,” *Paula R. Curtis*. Parenthesis in the original.

imagined Filipino community,”⁸ I am able to understand better the Philippines and the Marianas. To me, Japanese studies has not lost its relevance. It gives me the tools with which I can further my own field.

I am not the only one. Jessica Jordan, whose dissertation on the Commonwealth of the Northern Marian Islands (CNMI) opened my Conceptual Framework in Chapter 1, also writes for her home islands. Because the CNMI was part of the Japanese empire and still has many “indigenous families with Japanese ancestry,”⁹ Japanese history also informs much of her dissertation. The Chair and Co-chair of her panel for a PhD in History (Stefan Tanaka and Takashi Fujitani, respectively) are experts in Japanese studies. I met Jordan in the Marianas History Conference in Guam (2019). Then, in the International Conference on Japanese Studies (2020) held in Davao, I met three other like-minded academics. Researching about their own localities in Mindanao, they happen to latch on the “overseas Japanese” as it presents a crack in the Philippine national grand narrative. I doubt any of us would claim that we are from Japanese studies or even Japanese migration history; we dabble into the field only because we tackle its people.

We come from outside Japanese studies and we put on the table a different perspective. As Jordan writes:

Although I am writing this dissertation from within a modern Japanese history program, this is not a straightforward “Japanese” history. I am establishing my own field... to push conversations about history out of the dominant paradigm of knowledge production.¹⁰

Heeding her, I respond to historians of Japan. The islands have their own concerns and contestations. Narrativizing them without due attention to these leads to a Japan-oriented scholarship. Just as Jordan and I sought out Japanese studies, scholars in Japanese studies can also further their understanding of the islands and its people by considering the ever-changing, heavily politicized, and socially salient historiographies in the Philippines and in the Marianas. Returning to the virtual roundtable, particularly to Laura Miller’s suggestion, perhaps this is one way to collaborate with other disciplines and bring forth the rebirth of Japanese studies.

To give a concrete example, this dissertation has put the spotlight on long-ignored Guam. Japanese studies, especially those studying diaspora and settler colonialism, might want to inquire why the Japanese Consulate General in Manila was counting the Japanese residents in Guam (Chapter 1). This information, though empirically interesting, is not entirely novel for Philippine and Marianas history. The messy crisscrossing and shifting of jurisdictions is a given on islands where empires had waxed and waned. Guam had been part of the Manila Galleon Trade and then fell under the jurisdiction of Spanish colonial Manila. Until 1914, Davao was *not* under Manila and barely had direct connections to it. For centuries then, Guam was closer

⁸ Hau 2004, 8.

⁹ Jordan 2015, 31.

¹⁰ Jordan 2015, 7. Omitted above is her methodology (ethnography and oral history), which differs from mine.

to Manila than was Davao, though presently Davao is part of the Philippines while Guam is part of the US on the other side of the ocean. That is not entirely new for us studying Philippine history *longue durée*. But, although the information that the Japanese Consulate General in Manila had jurisdiction over the Japanese of Guam is inconsequential to Philippine and Marianas history, it might have profound implications on the study of the Japanese empire especially since (as Chapter 7 shows) the administration of Guam from January 1942 until Japan's defeat was by former Nan'yō-chō officials from Saipan, not Manila. Potentials such as this are surfaced only when historians of Japan, the Philippines, and the Marianas converse.

In the course of the research, I came to realize that, besides our perspectives, the data that researchers receive in the field also differ, at times beyond our control. Case in point: In Chapter 3, I presented that while Ohno (2015) and I interviewed the same person, we received vastly different responses. Likewise, Hayase (2020, forthcoming) notes that the Filipino wives he met in Okinawa in the 1980s did not respond to his survey questions. Also, when he constructed a genealogy of Japanese-Bagobos, the family trees of Japanese married to Filipino “slaves” [dorei kaikyū shushin] suddenly stopped. Hayase explains that Japanese marriage to Filipinos was deemed unfavorable, especially if the wife was not of the elite class or if the husband was Okinawan. This suggests an unwillingness to talk about Filipino-Japanese intermarriages especially among the Japanese who married Filipino non-elites.

In my interviews, I did not encounter such unwillingness to share information about hybrid unions, regardless of social status. Indeed, it was shared to me without me asking. One informant's cousin was married to a Japanese. Another was the darling of her aunt's Japanese lover. Another was courted by Japanese youths in the neighborhood. (Her niece brought up the topic and my informant laughingly replied that she did not want one [as a lover]. Though they were nice and proper.) Leafing through Heidi Gloria's (1984a) collective biography of Bagobos (though her questions were edited out), one gets the sense that the information was also freely shared to her even when the focus on her research was quite different.

As Taku Suzuki reminds, the social identity of the researcher is important.¹¹ Hayase and Ohno are Japanese, whereas Gloria and I are Filipinos. Moreover, they are men, whereas Gloria and I are women. Perhaps that was why people in the field candidly shared tidbits about Japanese lovers, would-be lovers, and long-lost husbands. Had I been older, had I followed a different religion, or had I not come from a notoriously affluent school, they might have shared something else. My point is: Informants are not source materials from which to extract data. They are human beings who share stories because and based on our relationship with them. (And that is why research ethics is important.) Considering the complexity of what we seek to understand and the variety of data we gather on the ground, it is imperative that scholars from

¹¹ Suzuki 2010, 14. Likewise, Vivian Dames took pains to explain how her belonging to Guam allowed her into the lives of her informants; yet as a Filipino she was also deemed not worthy of telling the Chamorro story (2000, xxi-xxii). Had I pursued the topic of Filipino-Japanese intermarriages, perhaps my research would walk the path similar to Vina Lanzona. As a Filipina graduate student, Lanzona interviewed women in the Huk Rebellion about their personal and sexual lives, as well as their political experiences (2009, 17). Although Lanzona sought to bring out the voices of the Huk women, the narrative she weaves was not of “the women,” but of gender relations between men and women and its impact on the rebellion.

different (to borrow Suzuki's term) "races" converse.

Pushing further outside the Philippines and the Marianas, David Hanlon's *Making Micronesia* (2014) also intersects with Japanese studies. Micronesia (officially, the Federated States of Micronesia or FSM), like Jordan's CNMI, was under the Japanese empire. Former FSM president Tosiwo Nakayama, whose biography Hanlon writes, is of Japanese ancestry. As a Micronesian national history, the book does not highlight Nakayama's Japanese-ness, however I wonder if works such as Hanlon's, Jordan's, and mine can augment the study on Japanese people living in the Pacific, a field currently concentrated on the US and Hawaii. Moreover, since Azuma (2019) has blurred the line between US-based Japanese studies and Japanese American studies, perhaps we are moving toward a more interconnected study of human mobility in and across the Pacific. As Hanlon maintains, "The study of [Nakayama's] life also invites a reconsideration of migration, transnational crossings, and the actual size of island worlds."¹²

3. Toward an Interconnected Pacific

A new trend connecting Japan to other parts of the Pacific is emerging. Elsewhere, I expound on how the planned move of American military troops from Okinawa to Guam have triggered a series of solidarity movements between Okinawans and Chamorros (2018). Beyond social activism, an increasing convergence of scholarly interests as well as collaborations and translations between Japanese and English can also be noted. In 2015 and 2016, a group of scholars trained in the US and in Japan whose works have decisively changed Pacific history convened to discuss Pacific empires and transnational migration. Through such dialogue, they came to recognize and problematize the "continental bias" of the discourse thus far.¹³ Insisting that the Pacific should be viewed from the Pacific (not from the continents that rim it), one of the participants pointed out that even the term "Pacific empires" is a misnomer. Echoing the mantra of postcolonial indigenous revisionist scholars of Guam and the Pacific Islands, he argues that Asian and North American empires simply operate in the Pacific.¹⁴

It is to this emerging regionally interconnected dialogue to which my dissertation seeks to contribute. As a local history of the Japanese experience of the Pacific War in US territories, it highlights issues concerning social-historical inclusion and exclusion, issues that continue to hover over self-determination movements and the writing of postcolonial histories. Self-determination, or the right of all races to sovereignty, had been espoused since the interwar years.¹⁵ With the height of the indigenous movement in the 1970s, the call became louder as proponents found solidarity among indigenous peoples across the globe.¹⁶

¹² Hanlon 2014, 2.

¹³ Uchida 2016, 28.

¹⁴ Chang 2016, 24.

¹⁵ Hatsue Shinohara 2015, 71-72.

¹⁶ For global linkages of Guam's OPI-R, see Nagashima 2015, especially Chapter 5.

Self-determination movements (whether indigenous, national, or somewhere in between) have been plagued with issues of definition which translates to issues of inclusion and exclusion. Who is a Chamorro? Who are the *taotao tano* [the people of this land] to which the Chamorros identify? In the immediate postwar, the people of the island were called Guamanians. This aligned them with the similar-sounding “Americans” and distinguished them from the “Saipanese” and the “Rotanese,” identified in racial discourses as being just as ruthless as their imperial masters, “the Japanese.” In the indigenous movement of the 1970s, the term “Chamorro” gained preeminence over “Guamanian.” While this fostered re-unification with Chamorros from Saipan and other Mariana islands, it separated Chamorros from non-Chamorros on Guam. As the indigenous movement dovetailed with the decolonization movement, the Chamorros were required to legally define themselves and to prove themselves indigenous,¹⁷ further highlighting the line between the Chamorros and the other non-native people of Guam. Toeing the line, the Guam Nikkei Association calls its next generation as “Japanese-Chamorro-Guamanians”¹⁸

Unlike the Chamorros, the need to define the Self was not imposed on the Philippines as a pre-requisite to the granting of independence. Still, the question “who is Filipino?” racked the country in the decades following the independence. The failure of Philippine intellectuals and state-builders to adequately answer this question is evident in the 1970s separatist movement by the Moro National Liberation Front (MLNF) in Mindanao. To address its demands, the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) was established in 1989. In the course of the negotiations, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) broke away to continue the uprising. In 2014, the MILF signed a peace agreement and, within the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (BARMM),¹⁹ continues the peace and development process. It is a decades-long struggle toward Bangsamoro (literally, Moro nation) self-determination.

As in any self-determination movements, this leads to an array questions concerning inclusion and exclusion. Foremost, what becomes of the non-Muslim/non-Moro population of the region, a diverse people conventionally lumped into the general term “lumad?”

But who is a lumad? For Arnold Alamon, Lumad (note the capitalized first letter) is a political position in response to their minoritization.²⁰ This definition leads to many questions on inclusion. What becomes of the lumad who prefers to collaborate with the State under the Indigenous Peoples’ Rights Act (IPRA) and the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP)? Given that “lumad” is a Visayan term, what becomes of those who prefer to be called by their own groups (e.g. Bagobo) instead of the all-encompassing “lumad?” If the Lumad is a political position, then even those from outside Mindanao can be a Lumad so long as they identify with the Lumad position. In this definition, a Visayan, even a Japanese, can be a Lumad.

¹⁷ Monnig 2007.

¹⁸ Accessed January 24, 2020, guamnikkeiassociation.blogspot.com.

¹⁹ Note the change in the preposition. Whether this is purposive or not, I hope Mindanao scholars can answer.

²⁰ Alamon 2017, 11.

In putting fore these questions, I do not mean to simply confuse. As David Chang points out, “linguistic matters speak to the heart of how we proceed as scholars.”²¹ Behind seemingly neutral labels such as “Filipino,” “Chamorro,” “Islander,” “Japanese,” and “indigenous” are discussions—often tensed and charged—concerning social and historical inclusion and exclusion. In Pacific War histories, these labels translate to the dehumanized and homogenized stereotypes of “us” and “enemy.” Through this dissertation, I hope that awareness of local discourses concerning inclusion and exclusion will inform empire historians of Japan, as they continue to expand our understanding of Japan, its people, and the Pacific. In a hybrid locality, the question whether one is Japanese or not is but one of the numerous questions of belongings a person faces. For some, it might not even be the most immediate. Disregarding this plurality runs the risk of having a Japan-centered scholarship.

Historians of Japan are not the only ones in such danger. Questions of inclusion and exclusion are questions which proponents of self-determination movements and nation-state-building across the Pacific have to contend. Defining the Self necessitates identifying what it is not. What I insist here is not for non-definition, but for an examination of the basis of those definitions and of the extent to which they limit or force inclusion and broaden exclusion. In this dissertation, for example, I show that the themes framing narratives of Japanese experiences of the 1940s are based on prewar racial classifications, actualized during the total war, and crystalized and perpetuated in postwar narratives, thereby silencing mixedness and creating contradictions among people in between polarized histories. Through this conclusion, I invite nation-builders and self-determination leaders to reassess their image of the enemy and the contradictions that that image creates within their societies.

Besides its obviously small geographic scope, my study is limited to social and historical inclusion and exclusion particularly rooted in the successive imperial transitions in the 1940s. There are other aspects of life. Although my sources include the census, legislations, and court rulings, my study cannot give recommendations on policy-making and implementation. As a history on the Japanese locals during imperial shifts of the 1940s, I cannot—am unable to—delve into these matters. To be blunt, my discussion on the war claims ends with 1948, yet the issue persists today. I leave unanswered the question of how exactly present-day Japanese locals and their families can negotiate in the war claims that deem “the Japanese” as the enemy. I cannot begin to fathom how Chamorro leaders can deal with Japanese locals (and other non-Chamorros) of Guam. Will they be ethnic minorities, or friendly foreigners, or can they be included in the “Self” that Chamorros are defining? As Dames (2000) reminds, social inclusion cannot be divorced from civil rights. A herculean task needs the attention and energies of those invested on the Pacific.

Toward this, I suggest two things: First, there is value in local histories, extremely limited their scopes might be. Delving into the local and partnering with academics who do can reassess commonly held notions—the very premises on which regional discussions are based. Second, there is a need for greater collaboration among scholars from different parts of the

²¹ Chang 2016, 24.

Pacific. To quote Jordan Sand, “Despite the trend toward geographically broader histories, we all enter the discipline from particular national-regional starting points, and no one masters the entire literature of other regional fields.”²² Likewise, local historians have to go out of their own little scopes and engage this regional discourse. Not only are their ideas valuable, knowledge of the regional discourses can illuminate the regional extent of the issues they face. In brief, I advance local perspectives and approaches in creating an interconnected Pacific.

²² Sand 2016, 1.

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Following historical analysis, this bibliography is divided into two parts: (1) primary and alternative sources and (2) secondary sources, and then after which (3) a list of bibliographies, catalogs, and other research tools is added. Note that many of the primary sources were published long after they were written, at times in a form of a collection (e.g. Dabao-kai 1993), other times as a standalone (e.g. Hartendorp 1967). Likewise, some titles of personal accounts have “diary” in their titles, though they are technically memoirs or family histories. Titles and years of publications cannot be the basis of the type of the source materials. Please see Chapter 2, “Notes on Sources” for the background of the primary and alternative sources.

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Chronology

Note: Text in italics occurred outside Davao and Guam

Year	Month-day	Davao and the Philippines	Guam and the Marianas
1941	Dec 8	Sasa Airfield and vicinity were bombed by Japan	Sumay and Agana in Guam were bombed by Japan
1941	Dec 10	Col. Roger Hillsman arrived in Davao from Malaybalay, Bukidnon	Naval Guard Unit Commander Hiroshi Hayashi and the South Seas Detachment landed and invaded Guam
1941	Dec 15	Massacre at the Bangkerohan Cockpit	
1941	Dec 20	Japanese troops bombed Santa Ana Wharf and landed separately in Davao. Crossfire, including civilians, at the Davao Elementary and the Davao High School. Osaka Bazaar Massacre, Bangkerohan Massacre, and shooting at the Mintal Elementary School. Japanese troops occupied the City Central. Started releasing or transferring Japanese internees	Fifth Base Force on Saipan (JP) assigned 269 members of the 54th Naval Guard Unit to Guam.
1941	Dec 21		The Guam Minseisho (civil administrative station) was organized.
1941	Dec 24	<i>General Douglas MacArthur (US) fled Manila to Bataan and ordered Col. W. F. Sharp to move the base of Visayas-Mindanao Force to Mindanao</i>	
1941	Dec (last days)	War crimes by Japanese locals and military	
1942	Jan 2	<i>The Philippine capital of Manila surrendered.</i>	
1942	Jan 7		First team of Nan'yō Kōhatsu arrived from Saipan
1942	Jan 10		Japanese Army and American POWs left Guam.
1942	Jan 23	<i>Philippine Executive Commission, the national government under Japan, was established in Manila</i>	
1942	January		Japanese teachers arrived and began language training in 15 schools in Guam
1942	Feb 1	Davao city and provincial governments inaugurated under the Japanese Military Administration	

1942	Feb 4	Consul Mori submitted reports of the Davao Japanese Association presidents to the JMA. Armed confrontation of the neighborhood watch with Filipino resisters had begun	
1942	March 16	<i>MacArthur (US) left Bataan for Australia</i>	
1942	March 26	<i>General Jonathan Wainwright (US) was designated to command USFIP</i>	
1942	April 9	<i>Bataan surrendered. Start of the Death March</i>	
1942	May 7	<i>Wainwright surrendered Corregidor</i>	
1942	May 10	<i>Sharp surrendered Visayas-Mindanao Force. Shift to guerrilla warfare</i>	Fr. Calvo's memorial service for the war dead
1942	August	Mindanao Nihonjin-kai established	
1943	September	<i>Revised military induction law canceled draft referrals for Japanese in Japan and those in overseas</i>	
1943	October	<i>Philippine Republic was inaugurated with Jose P. Laurel as president</i>	
1943	October	Work became compulsory for all Japanese males 16 yo and older	Start of airfield construction at Orote
1943	December	Davao consulate was promoted to consulate general, with the head of the defuncted Internal Department of the Military Administration at its helm	
1944	February		US bombed Orote air strip. Airfields in Guam (Sumay and Tomioka) were destroyed
1944	March	Tortures by Kempeitai concerning the movements of Filipino guerrillas, particularly General Roxas (extends to April)	Guam Minseibu dissolved. Ten thousand Japanese soldiers from Manchuria arrived in Guam
1944	May	Health examination for military conscription began	Kaikontai arrived (Crop Cultivation Department)
1944	June		South Seas Kempeitai arrived in Guam
1944	Jun 11-13		<i>Preparatory naval and air bombardment of Saipan, Tinian, and Guam. Air attacks on Rota and Pagan</i>
1944	Jun 15		<i>US landed on Saipan</i>
1944	July		Chamorros in Guam ordered to escape to the east. Japanese War Crimes against Chamorros. Japanese locals moved north and prepared for gyokusai
1944	Jul 16		<i>Fall of Saipan announced</i>
1944	Jul 17		US troops started naval bombardments

1944	Jul 21		US land on Guam
1944	Jul 25-26		Japanese desperate counterattacks (so-called Banzai attack at Orote)
1944	Aug	Consul was president of Mindanao-kai	
1944	Aug 10	Murder of POWs due to suspected US landing	Guam declared secured. Mop-up operations continued
1944	Aug 29	US bombed Davao	
1944	Oct 20	<i>US invade Leyte</i>	
1945	Jan 9	<i>US landed on Northern Luzon</i>	
1945	Feb 24		First Guam-based B-29 raid on Japan
1945	March 6		Mop-up operations still ongoing
1945	April	US forces occupied Cotabato. All Japanese ordered to evacuate to Tamugan	
1945	May	Battle of Ising. Japanese War Crimes against Filipinos	War crime investigations began
1945	October	War crimes investigation on the way	
1945	Aug 6, 9, 16	<i>Atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Emperor Hirohito surrendered</i>	
1946	Jun 1		Stockade under the marines began
1946	Jun 15		1,600 from Truk arrived
1946	Jun 18		Report: 3,440 left in Guam
1946	Jul 1		Report: 989 POW. All but 2 civilians released
1946	Jul 9		Report: repatriation boat left for Kagoshima, via etc.
1947	Jul 5		Executions of war criminals
1947	Sep 24		Executions of war criminals
1948		First postwar Philippine census	
1949	May 5		Stockade closed. Last 2 detainees were transferred to the city jail

Appendix

1. Summary of “Closed Reports” concerning Davao

The Closed Reports is one of two collections of “The Japanese War Crimes Trials” in the National Archives of the Philippines. It is organized and indexed by province and I accessed only those under Davao.

Outbreak

Date	Location	Crime	Bundle, Report
1. 1941 December 28	Ilang,	Tatishi. Murder of 4 Filipino Civilians, and looting	Bundle 17, Report 163
2. 1941 December 28	Calinan	Atrocities	Bundle 22, Report 235
3. 1941 December 28	Davao City	Torture and Killing of Emilio Rafols	Bundle 24, Report 261
4. 1941 December 29	Mintal	Murder of Filipino	Bundle 22, Report 236

Occupation

Date	Location	Crime	Bundle, Report
5. 1942 July	Magugpo	Execution of 1 American and 8 identified Filipino Citizens	Bundle 18, Report 186
6. 1942 October 25	Digos, Santa Cruz	Murder of 5 Filipinos	Bundle 22, Report 229
7. 1942 Nov. 2	Manay, Davao	Murder of 4 Filipino Civilians	Bundle 23, Report 246
8. 1944 March to April	Davao City	Saiso Sakuma Torture of Civilians by Kempei tai members	Bundle 18, Report 184

Final Months

Date	Location	Crime	Bundle, Report
9. 1944 Aug. 10	Mintal and neighboring area	Execution of Filipino and American prisoners	Bundle 23, Report 239
10. 1945 March	Davao	Mistreatment of Hitolio Fidelis	Bundle 19, Report 198
11. 1945 April 29	Nanyo (sic)	Disappearance and possible murder of Bernardo Siso	Bundle 36, Report 357
12. 1945 May	Davao City	Chinese Murders	Bundle 26, Report 280
13. 1945 May 2-5	Bacaca, Davao City by the Japanese	Murder and Rape	Bundle 15, Report 150
14. 1945 May 3	Bacaca, Davao	Murder and Disappearance of Civilians	Bundle 15, Report 152
15. 1945 May 3	Near Tigato	Murders	Bundle 23, Report 244
16. 1945 May 4	Wangan, Riverside, Calinan	Murder of 16 civilians and attempted murder of another	Bundle 24, Report 264
17. 1945 May 5	Biao, Calinan	Naito. Attempted murder and murder of Filipino Civilian	Bundle 15, Report 154
18. 1945 May 5	Mulig, Davao City	Massacre	Bundle 25, Report 271
19. 1945 May 5	Catalunan Grande	Murder of Chinese and Bagobo, and Arson	Bundle 27, Report 289

20. 1945 May 10-19	Bunawan	Murders	Bundle 23, Report 240
21. 1945 May 9	Mahayag Tibungko, Davao City	Kagajiro, etc. the Massacre of Filipino civilians by the Japanese	Bundle 11, Report 124
22. 1945 May 14	near Tugbok, Davao City	Murder of Approximately 89 Filipino Citizens	Bundle 17, Report 166
23. 1945 May 14, 1945 June 15	Ilang-ilang and Bunawan, Davao	Murder	Bundle 15, Report 153
24. 1945 May 15	Davao City/ Calinan	Murder of 10 Chinese	Bundle 22, Report 225
25. 1945 May 17	Biao, Davao Province	Murder of Approximately 30 Filipino Civilians	Bundle 21, Report 222
26. 1945 May 18	near Manuel Plantation, Tagakpan, (Gianga)	Murder of 3 Filipinos	Bundle 20, Report 208
27. 1945 May 18	Tungkalan	Murder of 5 Chinese civilians	Bundle 23, Report 242
28. 1945 May 19	Gatungan, Davao	Murder of 2 Filipinos and attempted murder of another	Bundle 23, Report 243
29. 1945 May 21	Catalunan Grande	Murder of 9 civilians	Bundle 22, Report 226
30. 1945 May 23	Matina, Pang, Davao	Murder, attempted Murder and ill-treatment of Filipino Civilians	Bundle 36, Report 356
31. 1945 May 30, 1945 June 3	Manuel Plantation, Gianga	Murder of 6 Filipino Civilians	Bundle 17, Report 172
32. 1945 May 30	Lapoy Plantation	Murders	Bundle 21, Report 221

Additional:

33. Bundle 2, Report. M-7
ABC Garrisoned Personnel Davao MP Unit drafted on September 4, 1945
34. Bundle 20, Report 210 (Missing) see Bundle 37
Transportation of Prisoners of war under improper conditions from Davao penal Colony to Manila June 6 to 26, 1944
35. (?) Bundle 10, Report 115 (See Bundle 37)
Hemma/ Ohta the Execution of Nine Male Chinese Civilians in the Chinese Cemetery by Members of the Japanese Armed Forces on April 15, 1942
36. (?) Bundle 13, Report 133 (See Bundle 37)
The Unlawful Use of the Japanese Hospital Ship *Tachibana Maru* as a Troop Transport Military Supply Ship
(?) #36 with xerox-ed copy filed in the Library Report no. 360
Cannibalism in Mindanao
37. Bundle 22 Report 228 – Murder in Daliaon.

Source: “Japanese War Crimes Trials—Closed Reports.” National Archives of the Philippines.

2. Percentage of Filipino families' land ownership in the Philippines, 1948

“Filipino families” here are the families whose head are Philippine citizens. The original provides the count for all citizenships. I lifted only those classified under Philippines. Note that this based on the aggregate count for the Philippines.

Area in sqm	Residential land	Commercial land	Area in hectare	Agri land	Non-agri land	Fishpond
No land	76.71%	98.87%	No land	60.89%	96.29%	99.67%
Under 100	2.70%	0.10%	Under 1	2.58%	0.27%	0.22%
100-199	1.24%	0.00%	1-1.9	5.58%	0.55%	0.02%
200-299	1.61%	0.00%	2-2.9	5.39%	0.47%	0.01%
300-499	13.73%	0.15%	3-4.9	6.31%	0.69%	0.05%
500-699	0.86%	0.15%	5-6.9	4.95%	0.47%	0.01%
700-899	0.42%	0.02%	7-8.9	2.75%	0.29%	0.00%
900-1,199	0.29%	0.06%	9-11.9	3.09%	0.24%	0.00%
1,200-1,499	0.12%	0.01%	12-14.9	3.08%	0.17%	0.01%
1,500-1,999	0.08%	0.01%	15-19.9	1.79%	0.17%	0.01%
2,000-2,499	0.48%	0.05%	20-24.9	2.14%	0.12%	0.00%
2,500-2,999	0.16%	0.03%	25-29.9	0.36%	0.03%	0.00%
3,000-3,999	0.13%	0.00%	30-39.9	0.34%	0.01%	0.00%
4,000-4,999	0.07%	0.01%	40-49.9	0.22%	0.01%	0.00%
5,000-6,999	0.70%	0.09%	50-69.9	0.21%	0.02%	0.00%
7,000-9,999	0.07%	0.01%	70-99.9	0.13%	0.01%	0.00%
10,000-14,999	0.49%	0.07%	100-149.9	0.07%	0.01%	0.00%
15,000-19,999	0.01%	0.00%	150-199.9	0.03%	0.00%	0.00%
20,000-29,999	0.05%	0.06%	200-299.9	0.03%	0.00%	0.00%
30,000-39,999	0.02%	0.06%	300-399.9	0.02%	0.00%	0.00%
40,000 and over	0.05%	0.10%	400 and over	0.03%	0.01%	0.00%
Total	100.00%	100.00%	Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Source: Computed from Bureau of the Census and Statistics, 1953, 2260-2261, 2274-2275, 2288-2289, 2302-2303, and 2316-2317.

3. Sample of Guam residents classified as racially Japanese in the 1940 Census

In the handwritten manuscript of the 1940 census, names are listed by household. Heads of households are marked with “head” and the relation of other members to this head is specified. (For example, “son,” “daughter,” “grandson,” “wife,” “sister,” and “servant.”). Each name is tagged either as CHA, JAP, CHIN, or FIL. And, the place of birth is supplied. The list below includes only those classified as JAP. The alternating shades below are to denote the different households. Note that there are some households that have only one Japanese. There are also many households with Japanese residents but have non-Japanese head. All are classified as racially Japanese unless otherwise indicated.

The names below are but a sample in that they do not sum up to the count in the census report. That said, a closer look at them reveals not only arbitrary classification inherent in censuses but also mistakes in classifications, omission, and strange tallying. It is possible that this manuscript is not the final draft and that quality control did another count. The manuscript also shows scribbles in the margins and corrections.

Total names below: 259

Japanese population in the census report: 326

Agaña City

Name	Relation	Age	Birth
1. Okiyama, Jose G.	Head. Wife: Jacoba C. Okiyama (CHA)	56	Japan
2. Okiyama, Maria C.	Daughter of Jose G. Okiyama	25	Guam
3. Okiyama, Carmen C	Daughter of Jose G. Okiyama	23	Guam
4. Okiyama, Jose C.	Son of Jose G. Okiyama	19	Guam
5. Okiyama, Macrina C.	Daughter of Jose G. Okiyama	6	Guam
6. Sakikabara, Frank P	Stepson of Fernando A. Lorenzo (CHA)	18	Guam
7. Sakikabara, June P	Stepdaughter of Fernando A. Lorenzo (CHA)	15	Guam
8. Sakikabara, Carmen P	Stepdaughter of Fernando A. Lorenzo (CHA)	13	Guam
9. Sakikabara, Milan P.	Stepdaughter of Fernando A. Lorenzo (CHA)	11	Guam
10. Sakikabara, Benjamin P.	Stepson of Fernando A. Lorenzo (CHA)	5	Guam
11. Okada, Carlos S	Nephew of Francisco M. Santos (CHA)	22	Guam
12. Santos, Asuncion H.	Wife of Tomas Santos (CHA)	32	Guam
13. Haniu, Atanacio B.	Head. Wife: Concepcion C. Haniu (CHA)	30	Guam
14. Haniu, Francisco T.	Son of Atanacio B. Haniu	11	Guam
15. Haniu, Fidel T.	Son of Atanacio B. Haniu	7	Guam
16. Haniu, Cecilia T.	Daughter of Atanacio B. Haniu	4	Guam
17. Haniu, Brigida T.	Daughter of Atanacio B. Haniu	3	Guam
18. Haniu, Benita T.	Daughter of Atanacio B. Haniu	1	Guam
19. Okada, Jose S.	Son of (nd)	45	Japan
20. Okada, Vicenta S.	Daughter of (nd)	36	Guam
21. Okada, Edward S.	Grandson of (nd)	22	Guam
22. Okada, Jesus S.	Grandson of (nd)	20	Guam
23. Okada, Edmond S.	Grandson of (nd)	18	Guam
24. Okada, Oscar S.	Grandson of (nd)	17	Guam
25. Okada, Gregorio S.	Grandson of (nd)	16	Guam
26. Okada, Francisco S.	Grandson of (nd)	14	Guam
27. Okada, Jose S.	Grandson of (nd)	9	Guam
28. Okada, Henry s.	Grandson of (nd)	8	Guam
29. Okada, Ricardo S	Grandson of (nd)	6	Guam
30. Okada, Oliva S.	Granddaughter of (nd)	3	Guam
31. Okada, Maria S.	Granddaughter of (nd)	2	Guam
32. Okada, Flora S.	Granddaughter of (nd)	3	Guam
33. Shimizu, Ambrosio T.	Head. Wife: Rufina SN Shimizu (CHA)	29	Guam

34.	Shimizu, Francisco A.	Son of Ambrosio T. Shimizu	5	Guam
35.	Takano, Luis SN	Son of Dolores SN Takano (CHA)	24	Guam
36.	Takano, Nowae (sic) T.	Daughter-in-law of Dolores SN Takano (CHA)	21	Japan
37.	Takano, Jose SN	Son of Dolores SN Takano (CHA)	16	Guam
38.	Takano, Dolores T	Granddaughter of Dolores SN Takano (CHA)	1	Guam
39.	Takano, Carlos SN	Head. Wife: Julia S. Takano (CHA)	23	Guam
40.	Isezaki, Maria P.	Head	21	Guam
41.	Isezaki, Carmen P	Sister of Maria P. Isezaki	19	Guam
42.	Isezaki, Concepcion P.	Sister of Maria P. Isezaki	15	Guam
43.	Isezaki, Juan P.	Sister of Maria P. Isezaki	14	Guam
44.	Isezaki, William P.	Sister of Maria P. Isezaki	13	Guam
45.	Isezaki, Anna P.	Sister of Maria P. Isezaki	11	Guam
46.	Asano, Isabel C.	Daughter of Maria C. Asano (CHA)	20	Guam
47.	Asano, Rita C.	Daughter of Maria C. Asano (CHA)	19	Guam
48.	Asano, Vicente C.	Son of Maria C. Asano (CHA)	17	Guam
49.	Asano, Ignacio C.	Son of Maria C. Asano (CHA)	14	Guam
50.	Asano, Jose C.	Son of Maria C. Asano (CHA)	12	Guam
51.	Okiyama, Jesus C.	Lodger of Juan SN Babauta (CHA)	26	Guam
52.	Okiyama, Maria C.	Lodger of Juan SN Babauta (CHA)	12	Guam
53.	Yokoi, Jose	Head. Wife: Maria R. Yokoi (CHA)	54	Japan
54.	Yokoi, Gertrude R.	Daughter of Jose Yokoi	25	Guam
55.	Yokoi, Juan R.	Son of Jose Yokoi	20	Guam
56.	Yokoi, Jose R.	Son of Jose Yokoi	18	Guam
57.	Yokoi, Francisco Q.	Son of Jose Yokoi	15	Guam
58.	Yokoi, Mary M.	Granddaughter of Jose Yokoi	2	Guam
59.	Yokoi, Ann	Granddaughter of Jose Yokoi	5	Guam
60.	Yokoi, Agueda Q.	Daughter of Jose Yokoi	12	Guam
61.	Tanny(?), Manuel C.	Cousin of Manuel C. Sablan (CHA)	35	Guam
62.	Hara, Jesus C.	Son of Romana C. Hara (CHA)	20	Guam
63.	Sablan, Maria H.	Wife of Jesus S(?) Sablan (CHA)	24	Guam
64.	Sayama, Jesus	Head		Guam
65.	Sayama, Joaquina B. (sic)	Wife of Jesus Sayama*		Guam
66.	Sayama, Maria B.	Daughter of Jesus Sayama	48	Japan
67.	Sayama, Rosario B.	Daughter of Jesus Sayama	47	Guam
68.	Sayama, Pedro B.	Son of Jesus Sayama	19	Guam
69.	Sayama, Jesus B.	Son of Jesus Sayama	18	Guam
70.	Sayama, Ursula B.	Daughter of Jesus Sayama	16	Guam
71.	Sayama, Juan B.	Son of Jesus Sayama	14	Guam
72.	Sayama, Rosa B.	Daughter of Jesus Sayama	13	Guam
73.	Sayama, Antonio B.	Son of Jesus Sayama	8	Guam
74.	Miazaki (sic), Rosario SN	Granddaughter of (nd)	5	Guam
75.	Fujikawa, Antonio(?) M	Head. Wife: Maria SN Fujikawa (CHA)	53	Japan
76.	Fujikawa, Ana SN	Daughter of Antonio(?) Fujikawa	17	Guam
77.	Fujikawa, Dolores SN	Daughter of Antonio(?) Fujikawa	16	Guam
78.	Fujikawa, Antonio SN	Son of Antonio(?) Fujikawa	14	Guam
79.	Fujikawa, Marcela SN	Daughter of Antonio(?) Fujikawa	12	Guam
80.	Fujikawa, Ramon SN	Son of Antonio(?) Fujikawa	10	Guam
81.	Fujikawa, Maria SN	Daughter of Antonio(?) Fujikawa	6	Guam
82.	Fujikawa, Agueda SN	Daughter of Antonio(?) Fujikawa	2	Guam
83.	Aranquez(?), Carmen S.	Wife of Jesus T. Araquez(?) (CHA)	34	Guam
84.	Shimizu, Jose K.	Head. Wife: none listed	66	Japan
85.	Shimizu, Jesus T.	Son of Jose K. Shimizu	33	Guam
86.	Dejima, Riye	Head	36	Japan
87.	Suzuki, Jose	Head. Wife: Josefa S. Suzuki (CHA)	64	Japan
88.	Suzuki, Brigida S.	Daughter of Jose Suzuki	12	Guam
89.	Suzuki, Henry S.	Son of Jose Suzuki	10	Guam
90.	Suzuki, Juan S.	Son of Jose Suzuki	8	Guam
91.	Suzuki, Jose S.	Son of Jose Suzuki	5	Guam
92.	Inouye, Joaquin S.	Head. Wife: Joaquina M. Inouye (CHA)	29	Guam
93.	Inouye, Teresita M.	Daughter of Joaquin S. Inouye	1	Guam

94.	Inouye, Maria M.	Daughter of Joaquin S. Inouye	?/12	Guam
95.	Yamaguchi, Manuel A(?)	Head. Wife: Dolores S. Yamaguchi (CHA)	28	Guam
96.	Shinohara, Takekuma	Head. Wife; Carmen T(?). Shinohara	53	Japan
97.	Shinohara, Cceclia	Daughter of Takekuma Shinohara	16	Guam
98.	Shinohara, Gil	Son of Takekuma Shinohara	11	Guam
99.	Ito, Glayo (?)	Head	59	Japan
100.	Ito, Vicente S.	Son of Ito	18	Guam
101.	Iwatsu, Juana S	Foster daughter of Maria R. Mesa (CHA)	23	Guam
102.	Iwatsu, T(?) S.	Foster son of Maria R. Mesa (CHA)	20	Guam
103.	Iwatsu, Sivera(?) S.	Foster daughter of Maria R. Mesa (CHA)	15	Guam
104.	Iwatsu, Concepcion S.	Foster daughter of Maria R. Mesa (CHA)	1	Guam
105.	Sakai, Vicente A.	Head. Wife: Francisca M(?) Sakai (CHA)	60	Guam
106.	Tajima(?), Jose M.	Head. Wife: Gertrude L.G. Tajima (?) (CHA)	25	Guam
107.	Tajima(?), Teresita L.G.	Daughter of Jose M. Tajima(?)	9/12	Guam
108.	Sakakibara, June M.	(?) of Jose C. Torres (CHA)	15	Guam
109.	Iwatsu, Jose A(?)	Head. Wife: Maria SN Iwatsu (CHA)	53	Japan
110.	Iwatsu, Francisco SN	Son of Jose A(?) Iwatsu	2	Guam
111.	Iwatsu, David SN	Son of Jose A(?) Iwatsu	1	Guam
112.	Tanaka, Asuncion S(?)	Daughter of Rosa S(?) Tanaka (CHA)	22	Guam
113.	Tanaka, Jesus S(?)	Son of Rosa S(?) Tanaka (CHA)	20	Guam
114.	Tanaka, Carmen F(?)	Daughter of Rosa S(?) Tanaka (CHA). Married to FIL	29(?)	Guam
115.	Cruz, Beatrice F(?)	Wife of Vicente C. Cruz (CHA)	29	Guam
116.	Diaz, Maria F(?)	Wife of Joaquin G(?) Diaz (CHA)	32	Guam
117.	Farfan(?), Omalia Y.	Wife of Jose C. Farfan(?) (CHA)	21	Guam
118.	Yamasaki, Antonio T(?)	Head. Wife: Maria T. Yamasaki (CHA)	19	Guam
119.	Guerrero, Ana O	Wife of _____	24	Guam
120.	Yamanaka, Josephina M.	Head.	24	Guam
121.	Yamanaka, Juan M.	Brother of Josephina M. Yamanaka	22	Guam
122.	Yamanaka, Maria M.	Sister of Josephina M. Yamanaka	20	Guam
123.	Yamanaka, Rosa M.	Sister of Josephina M. Yamanaka	19	Guam
124.	Yamanaka, Francisco M.	Brother of Josephina M. Yamanaka	10	Guam
125.	Ochai, Alfred B.	Prisoner	20	Guam
126.	Haniu, Jesus B.	Son of Maria B. Haniu (CHA)	33	Guam
127.	Haniu, Jose B.	Son of Maria B. Haniu (CHA)	26	Guam
128.	Haniu, Juan B.	Son of Maria B. Haniu (CHA)	23	Guam
129.	Haniu, Serafina B.	Daughter of Maria B. Haniu (CHA)	21	Guam
130.	Haniu, Fidela B.	Daughter of Maria B. Haniu (CHA)	17	Guam
131.	Sakai, Juan U.	Head. Wife: Rita F. Sakai (CHA)	53	Japan
132.	Sakai, Ana F.	Daughter of Juan U. Sakai	21	Guam
133.	Sakai, Matilde F.	Daughter of Juan U. Sakai	20	Guam
134.	Sakai, Tomas F.	Son of Juan U. Sakai	16	Guam
135.	Sakai, Felix F.	Son of Juan U. Sakai	14	Guam
136.	Samani(?), Magdalena	Foster daughter of Maria M. Ada (CHA)	12	Saipan
137.	Tanaka, Tomas S.	Son-in-law of Felix M. Camacho (CHA)	24	Guam
138.	Suzuki, David LG(?)	Son of Concepcion LG Suzuki (CHA)	1	Guam
139.	Ochai, Jose B.	Head. (no wife listed)	56	Japan
140.	Ochai, Gonzalo B.	Son of Jose B. Ochai	28	Guam
141.	Ochai, Herman B.	Son of Jose B. Ochai	26	Guam
142.	Ochai, Jose B.	Son of Jose B. Ochai	25	Guam
143.	Ochai, Maria B.	Daughter of Jose B. Ochai	22	Guam
144.	Ochai, Alfred B.	Son of Jose B. Ochai	21	Guam
145.	Ochai, Artemio B.	Son of Jose B. Ochai	20	Guam
146.	Ochai, Concepcion B.	Daughter of Jose B. Ochai	15	Guam
147.	Ochai, Francisco B.	Son of Jose B. Ochai	14	Guam
148.	Ochai, Juan B.	Son of Jose B. Ochai	11	Guam
149.	Ochai, Alfonsina B.	Daughter of Jose B. Ochai	8	Guam
150.	Sawada, Nao	Head	44	Japan
151.	Sawada, Haruko	Daughter of Nao Sawada	11	Guam
152.	Ozone, Fudesaburo (?)	Head. (others in the household are not Japanese)	50	Japan
153.	Suzuki, Rosita C.	Grandniece(?) of (?) A. Leon Guerrero (CHA)	16	Guam

154.	Martinez, Alfonsina Y.	Wife of Antonio P. Martinez (CHA)	24	Guam
155.	Ada, Pilar H.	Wife of Manuel Ada (CHA)	35	Guam
156.	Guerrero, Remedios T.	Wife of Juan T. Guerrero (CHA)	22	Guam
157.	Shimizu, Antonio SN	Foster son of Manuel B. Perez (CHA)	1	Guam
158.	Quitaguia, Josefina Y.	Wife of Jesus P. Quitaguia(?) (CHA)	25	Guam
159.	Shimizu, Jose L(?)	Head. Wife: Josephina SN Shimizu (CHA)	40	Saipan
160.	Shimizu, Joseph SN	Son of Jose Shimizu	14	Guam
161.	Shimizu, Mary SN	Daughter of Jose Shimizu	13	Japan
162.	Shimizu, Matilde SN	Daughter of Jose Shimizu	12	China
163.	Shimizu, Henry SN	Son of Jose Shimizu	8	Guam
164.	Shimizu, Antonio SN	Son of Jose Shimizu	6	Guam
165.	Shimizu, Tomas SN	Son of Jose Shimizu	3	Guam
166.	Okada, Juan S.	Head. Wife: Maria U. Okada (CHA)	24	Guam
167.	Okada, Juan U.	Son of Juan S. Okada	5/12	Guam
168.	Ichihara, Jose K.	Head. Wife: Dolores SN. Ichihara (CHA)	54	Japan
169.	Ichihara, Jose SN	Son of Jose K. Ichihara	18	Guam
170.	Ichihara, Francisco SN	Son of Jose K. Ichihara	13	Guam
171.	Ichihara, Maria SN	Daughter of Jose K. Ichihara	19	Guam
172.	Ichihara, Ana SN	Daughter of Jose K. Ichihara	17	Guam
173.	Ichihara, Jesus SN	Son of Jose K. Ichihara	14	Guam
174.	Ichihara, Juan SN	Son of Jose K. Ichihara	11	Guam
175.	Ichihara, Joaquin SN	Son of Jose K. Ichihara	15	Guam
176.	Ichihara, Rosa T	Daughter-in-law of Jose K. Ichihara	16	Guam
177.	Ichihara, Rosalina T.	Granddaughter of Jose K. Ichihara	6/12	Guam

*City Population in the census report: 176. *Sayama, Joaquina Baza is Chamorro erroneously classified as JAP, thus the difference in the tally herein and the official count in the census report.*

Agat

Name	Relation	Age	Birth
1. Okiyama, Francisco K.	Head. Wife: Ana LG Okiyama (CHA)	60	Japan
2. Okiyama, Francis(?) LG	Son of Francisco K. Okiyama	2	Guam
3. Okiyama, Baltazar LG	Son of Francisco K. Okiyama	4/12	Guam
4. Yoshida, Jose (?) M.	Step son of Felix C. San Nicolas (CHA)	7	Guam

Municipal population in the census report: 4

Asan

Name	Relation	Age	Birth
1. Yamaguchi, Juan	Head. Wife: Ana A. Yamaguchi (CHA)	57	Japan
2. Yamaguchi, Visitacion A.	Daughter of Juan Yamaguchi	23	Guam
3. Yamaguchi, Juan A.	Son of Juan Yamaguchi	18	Guam
4. Yamaguchi, Trinidad A.	Daughter of Juan Yamaguchi	17	Guam
5. Yamaguchi, Isabel A.	Daughter of Juan Yamaguchi	14	Guam
6. Yamaguchi, Rosalia A.	Daughter of Juan Yamaguchi	12	Guam
7. Yamaguchi, Dorothy A.	Granddaughter of Juan Yamaguchi	6	Guam
8. Teimiya(?), Juan A.	Son of Antonia A. Teimiya(?) (CHA)	27	Guam
9. Teimiya(?), Guifina(?) A.	Daughter of Antonia A. Teimiya(?) (CHA)	18	Guam
10. Morita, Joaquin A.	Son of Antonia A. Teimiya(?) (CHA)	33	Guam
11. Morita, Jose A.	Son of Antonia A. Teimiya(?) (CHA)	32	Guam

Municipal population in the census report: 11

Barrigada

Name	Relation	Age	Birth
1. Yamasaki, Ignacio B.	Head (no wife listed)	57	Guam (sic)
2. Yamasaki, Ignacio T.	Son of Ignacio B. Yamasaki	20	Guam

Municipal population in the census report: 2

Dededo

Name	Relation	Age	Birth
1. Shimizu, Joseph S.	Grandson of Ignacio Santos A. (CHA)	14	Guam
2. Shimizu, Joaquin S.	Head. Wife: Ana S. Shimizu	34	Guam
3. Shimizu, Concepcion S.	Daughter of Joseph S. Shimizu	12	Guam
4. Shimizu, Jesusa S.	Daughter of Joseph S. Shimizu	11	Guam
5. Shimizu, Anita S.	Daughter of Joseph S. Shimizu	10	Guam
6. Shimizu, June S.	Daughter of Joseph S. Shimizu	9	Guam
7. Shimizu, Barbara S.	Daughter of Joseph S. Shimizu	8	Guam
8. Barbasa(?), Anthony S.	Son of Joseph S. Shimizu	6	Guam
9. Shimizu, Carmela(?) S.	Daughter of Joseph S. Shimizu	4	Guam
10. Shimizu, Virginia M.	Daughter of Joseph S. Shimizu	2	Guam
11. Shimizu, Jack	Son of Joseph S. Shimizu	0?/12	Guam

Municipal population in the census report: 11

Inarajan

Name	Relation	Age	Birth
1. Sanchez, Margarita K.	wife of Vicente Q. Sanchez (CHA)	24	Guam
2. Asanoma, Francisco C.	Son-in-law of Casiano(?) A. Mantanoma(?) (CHA)	26	Guam
3. Asanoma, Maria C.	Granddaughter of Casiano(?) A. Mantanoma(?) (CHA)	2	Guam
4. Asanoma, Jose M.	Grandson of Casiano(?) A. Mantanoma(?) (CHA)	1/12	Guam
5. Paulino, Carmen K.	Wife of Ramon T. Paulino (CHA)	27	Guam
6. Kumiyama (sic), Juan M.	Head. Wife: Angelina SN Kumiyama (CHA)	29	Guam
7. Kumiyama (sic), Carlos SN	Son of Juam M. Kumiyama (sic)	8	Guam
8. Kumiyama (sic), Bernabe SN	Son of Juam M. Kumiyama (sic)	7	Guam
9. Kumiyama (sic), Martha SN	Daughter of Juam M. Kumiyama (sic)	5	Guam
10. Kumiyama (sic), Anisia SN	Daughter of Juam M. Kumiyama (sic)	3	Guam
11. Asanoma, Tito K.	Head. Wife: Sabina C. Asanoma	66	Guam (sic)
12. Asanoma, Jose C.	Son of Tito K. Asanoma	20	Guam
13. Asanoma, Ana C.	Ddaughter of Tito K. Asanoma	15	Guam
14. Tayama, Jose	Head	61	Japan
15. Yoshida, Jose T(?)	Head. Wife: Dolores M. Yoshida (CHA)	60	Japan
16. Yoshida, Jesus M.	Son of Jose T(?) Yoshida	20	Guam
17. Yoshida, Manuel M.	Son of Jose T(?) Yoshida	15	Guam
18. Yoshida, Jose M.	Son of Jose T(?) Yoshida	13	Guam
19. Yoshida, Isabel M.	Daughter of Jose T(?) Yoshida	9	Guam
20. Yoshida, Rosa M.	Daughter of Jose T(?) Yoshida	7	Guam

Municipal population in the census report: 21

Merizo

Name	Relation	Age	Birth
1. Quidagua(?), Concepcion Y.	Wife of Pedro C. Quidagua(?) (CHA)	27	Guam

Municipal population in the census report: 1

Piti

Name	Relation	Age	Birth
1. Cruz, Concepcion Y.	Daughter-in-law of Juan C. Cruz. (CHA)	21	Guam
2. O'Brien, Maria I.	Head. (no husband listed)	25	Guam
3. O'Brien, Patricia M.	Daughter of Maria I. O'brien	5	Guam
4. O'Brien, Joseph S.	Son of Maria I. O'brien	2	Guam
5. O'Brien, Henry F.	Son of Maria I. O'brien	10/12	Guam
6. Inouye, Benedicta S.	Sister of Maria O'Brien Daughter of Ana S. Inouye (CHA)	21	Guam
7. Maekawa, Aurelia C.	Cousin-in-law of (nd)	32	Guam
8. Matsumiya, Rafael S.	Head. Has grandson Roque Matsumiya (CHA)	59	Japan

9.	Matsumiya, Jesus M.	Son Rafael S. Matsumiya	24	Guam
10.	Matsumiya, Josefina M.	Daughter Rafael S. Matsumiya	23	Guam
11.	Matsumiya, Jose M.	Son Rafael S. Matsumiya	22	Guam
12.	Matsumiya, Tomas M.	Son Rafael S. Matsumiya	18	Guam
13.	Matsumiya, Antonio M.	Son Rafael S. Matsumiya	14	Guam
14.	Okazaki, Joaquin M.	stepson of (nd)	18	Guam
15.	Tacaño, Guadalupe Y.	wife of Juan M. Tacaño(?) (CHA)	29	Guam
16.	Okazaki, Rita(?) M.	servant of Jesus S. Rios (CHA)	20	Guam
17.	Yamashita, Raymundo H.	Head. Wife: Felicita C. Yamashita (CHA)	60	Japan
18.	Yamashita, Luis C.	Son of Raymundo H. Yamashita	22	Guam
19.	Yamashita, Jesus C.	Son of Raymundo H. Yamashita	20	Guam
20.	Yamashita, Jose C.	Son of Raymundo H. Yamashita	19	Guam
21.	Yamashita, Maria C.	Daughter of Raymundo H. Yamashita	13	Guam
22.	Yamashita, Concepcion C.	Daughter of Raymundo H. Yamashita	11	Guam
23.	Yamashita, Antonio C.	Son of Raymundo H. Yamashita	9	Guam
24.	Yamashita, Julia C.	Daughter of Raymundo H. Yamashita	7	Guam
25.	Yamashita, Juan C.	Son of Raymundo H. Yamashita	5	Guam
26.	Yamashita, Oliva C.	Daughter of Raymundo H. Yamashita	4	Guam
27.	Yamashita, Agueda C.	Daughter of Raymundo H. Yamashita	2	Guam
28.	Yamanaka, Camilo U.	Head	49	Japan
29.	Yamanaka, Ana B.	Daughter of Camilo U. Yamanaka	18	Guam
30.	Yamanaka, Jose B.	Son of Camilo U. Yamanaka	17	Guam
31.	Yamanaka, Rosa B.	Daughter of Camilo U. Yamanaka	13	Guam
32.	Yamanaka, Magdalena B.	Daughter of Camilo U. Yamanaka	12	Guam
33.	Yamanaka, Jesus B.	Son of Camilo U. Yamanaka	11	Guam
34.	Yamanaka, Lourdes B.	Daughter of Camilo U. Yamanaka	9	Guam
35.	Yamanaka, Dorothea B.	Daughter of Camilo U. Yamanaka	7	Guam
36.	Quichocho(?), Carmen Y.	Wife of Prudencio Q(?) Quichocho(?) (CHA)	22	Guam

Municipal population in the census report: 37

Sinajana

Name	Relation	Age	Birth
1. Ooka, Tomas C.	Head. Wife: Josefa B. Ooka	26	Guam
2. Ooka, Doris J.	Daughter of Tomas C. Ooka	4	Guam
3. Ooka, Tomas C.	Son of Tomas C. Ooka	3	Guam
4. Ooka, Antonio B.	Son of Tomas C. Ooka	2	Guam
5. Ooka, Jose B.	Son of Tomas C. Ooka	5/12	Guam
6. Imaizumi, Jose I(?)	Head. Wife: Maria D. Imaizumi	59	Japan
7. Imaizumi, Francisco D.	Son of Jose Imaizumi	23	Guam
8. Imaizumi, Jose D.	Son of Jose Imaizumi	18	Guam
9. Imaizumi, Pedro D.	Son of Jose Imaizumi	15	Guam
10. Imaizumi, Felix F.	Son of Jose Imaizumi	9	Guam
11. Yamazaki, Ursula T(?)	Head (no husband listed but 2 sons are CHA)	21	Guam
12. Losanges(?), Maria T.	Wife of Antonio D. Losanges(?) (Chinese)	21	Guam
13. Yamazaki, Ignacio T.	Brother-in-law of Antonio D. Losanges(?) (Chin)	20	Guam
14. Gutierrez(?), Florence S.	Wife of Jose T. Gutierrez(?)	20	Japan (sic)
15. Miazaki(sic), Francisco I.	Head. Wife: Rita SN Miyazaki	64	Japan
16. Miazaki(sic), Pedro SN	Son of Francisco Miyazaki	14	Guam
17. Miazaki(sic), Maria SN	Daughter of Francisco Miyazaki	13	Guam
18. Miazaki(sic), Francisco SN	Son of Francisco Miyazaki	7	Guam
19. Miazaki(sic), Rita SN	Daughter of Francisco Miyazaki	4	Guam

Municipal population in the census report: 25

Sumay

Name	Relation	Age	Birth
1. Matsumiya, Joaquin	(? Code 6) of Gil M. Santos (CHA)	11	Guam

2.	Dolores, Won Pat	Sister-in-law of Antonio B. Won Pat (Chinese)	19	Guam
3.	Sablan, Maria H.	Sister-in-law of Vicente P. Sablan (CHA)	23	Guam
4.	Won Pat, Dolores I.	Wife of Francisco Won Pat (Chinese)	18	Guam
5.	Ishizaki, Francisco(?) H	Head	57	Japan
6.	Ishizaki, Agueda P.	Daughter of Francisco Ishizaki	22	Guam
7.	Ishizaki, Joaquin P.	Son of Francisco Ishizaki	21	Guam
8.	Ishizaki, Maria P.	Daughter of Francisco Ishizaki	19	Guam
9.	Ishizaki, Victoria P.	Daughter of Francisco Ishizaki	16	Guam
10.	Ishizaki, Vicente P.	Son of Francisco Ishizaki	13	Guam

Municipal population in the census report: 11

Talofof

Name	Relation	Age	Birth
1. Yamanaka, Diego K.	Head. No wife listed	53	Japan
2. Yamanaka, Jesus M.	Son of Diego K. Yamanaka	16	Guam

Municipal population in the census report: 2

Umatac

Name	Relation	Age	Birth
1. Isezaki, Jose Y.	Head. Wife: Rosa M. Isezaki (FIL)	57	Japan
2. Isezaki, Rita M.	Daughter of Jose Y. Isezaki	22	Guam
3. Isezaki, Francisco M.	Son of Jose Y. Isezaki	20	Guam
4. Isezaki, Josefina M.	Daughter of Jose Y. Isezaki	18	Guam
5. Isezaki, Joaquina M.	Daughter of Jose Y. Isezaki	16	Guam

Municipal population in the census report: 5

Yigo

Name	Relation	Age	Birth
1. Ishizaki, Vicente Y.	Head. Wife: Marcelina P. Ishizaki	61	Japan
2. Ishizaki, Jose P.	Son of Vicente Y. Ishizaki	22	Guam

Municipal population in the census report: 2

Yona

Name	Relation	Age	Birth
1. Sudo, Jose B.	Head. Wife: Maria Q. Sudo (CHA)	23	Guam
2. Limtiaco, Maria I.	Niece of Jose B. Sudo	-	Guam
3. Sudo, Gregorio S.	Head. Wife: Ana B. Sudo (CHA)	59	Japan
4. Sudo, Dolores B.	Daughter of Gregorio S. Sudo	22	Guam
5. Sudo, Maria B.	Daughter of Gregorio S. Sudo	20	Guam
6. Sudo, Rosa B.	Daughter of Gregorio S. Sudo	18	Guam
7. Sudo, Margarita B.	Daughter of Gregorio S. Sudo	16	Guam
8. Sudo, Carmen B.	Daughter of Gregorio S. Sudo	14	Guam
9. Sudo, Felicita B.	Daughter of Gregorio S. Sudo	12	Guam
10. Sudo, Manuel B.	Son of Gregorio S. Sudo	8	Guam
11. Sudo, Dabro(?) B.	Son of Gregorio S. Sudo	7	Guam
12. Sudo, Sino(?) B.	Son of Gregorio S. Sudo	5	Guam
13. Sudo, Elizabeth B.	Daughter of Gregorio S. Sudo	3	Guam
14. Onedera, Juan G(?)	Head. Wife: Maria S. Onedera (CHA)	54	Japan
15. Onedera, Maria S.	Daughter of Juan G. Onedera	25	Guam
16. Onedera, Juan S.	Son of Juan G. Onedera	22	Guam
17. Onedera, Agueda S.	Daughter of Juan G. Onedera	19	Guam
18. Onedera, Jose O.	Grandson of Juan G. Onedera	9	Guam
19. Shimizu, Antonio A.	Head. Wife: Francisca(?) G(?) Shimizu (CHA)	37	Saipan

Municipal population in the census report: 18

Source: National Archives, *Official 1940 Census Website*.

4. Structures that must be obtained by the military, 1944

Notes on translation:

(1) Prewar place names were used instead of the Japanized names during Japanese occupation. For example, Agana is used instead of Akashi. Because the actual prewar name of an establishment cannot be ascertained, I translated directly. For example, the only school in Sumay listed by the *Guam Recorder* in July 1949 was “Maxwell” Primary School, but 須磨国民学校 is translated as Sumay National School.

(2) On the locals’ names in katakana, I follow common spellings found in other sources. Because the source material’s katakana is not standardized, this involved interpretation. Pedro Martinez from ペエドロマルテニス [pe-toromarutenisu] and José Flores from ホセイフロレス [hosei furoresu] were easy. But, José Salas Perez from ホセイサーラスペリス [hosei sa-rasuperisu], Juan M. Espera from ワンエム スペーラ [wan’em supe-ra] took speculation. Names for which I rather not venture a guess are in their original. I hope other scholars familiar with local pronunciations can help complete the puzzle.

<i>Agat</i>				
Name	Construction	Present use	Proposed use	Name of owner
1. [none written]	Concrete (1F)	Empty	Warehouse	ボルダ・ショウ
2. House	Wood (2F)	Residence	Barracks-warehouse	Francisco サゴラン
3. House	Wood (2F)	Residence	Barracks-warehouse	Carmen Cabredo
4. House	Wood (2F)	Nan’yō Kōhatsu office	Barracks-warehouse	ボルダ・ショウ
5. House	Concrete (2F)	Parking	Barracks-warehouse	Enemy property
6. House	Wood (2F)	Japanese nationals’ residence	Barracks-warehouse	San Francisco ロラチ ヤロ
7. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	[none]
8. House	Wood (2F)	Empty	Warehouse	Enemy property
9. Agat National School	Wood (1F)	School building	Barracks	Minseibu
10. Church	Concrete (1F)	Church	Barracks-warehouse	Agat municipality
11. House	Concrete (1F)	Empty	Barracks	Enemy property
12. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	Agat アントニヲカ ブジト
13. House	Wood (2F)	Nan’yō Kōhatsu office	Barracks-warehouse	アキンチャゴ
14. House	Wood (2F)	Residence	Barracks-warehouse	Antonio デルガード
15. House	Wood (2F)	Residence	Barracks-warehouse	Agat ワンバリナガ ブジル

16. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	シ、ワオ Sablan
17. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	Pedro Perez ネット ト
18. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	Joaquin チアコ

Asan

Name	Construction	Present use	Proposed use	Name of owner
1. Asan Municipality Elementary National School Buildings	Wood (1F)	School buildings	Barracks	Enemy property
2. Church	Reinforced concrete (1F)	church	Barracks	Enemy property

Barrigada

Name	Construction	Present use	Proposed use	Name of owner
1. National elementary school	Wood (1F)	School	Barracks	Public property
2. National elementary school	Wood (1F)	School	Barracks	Public property
3. Church	Wood (1F)	Church	Warehouse	Public property
4. Clergy residence	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	Public property
5. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	Juan M. Espera
6. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	Juan Duenas Torres
7. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	Jose Salas Perez

Barrigada (Mangilao)

Name	Construction	Present use	Proposed use	Name of owner
1. National elementary school	Wood (1F)	School	Barracks	Public property
2. House	Wood (2F)	Residence	Barracks	Francisco ペラフキ Pangelinan
3. House	Wood (2F)	Residence	Barracks	Juan Manuel

Dededo

Name	Construction	Present use	Proposed use	Name of owner
1. School	Wood (1F)	School	Barracks	Public property
2. Church	Reinforced concrete (1F)	Church	Barracks	Public property
3. Former school buildings	Wood (1F)	Used one night a week	Barracks	Public property
4. Dressing room	Wood (1F)	Used as dressing room	Barracks	Public property

Inarajan

Name	Construction	Present use	Proposed use	Name of owner
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1. [none]	Wood (1F)	School	Barracks	Public property
2. Church	Reinforced concrete (1F)	Church	Barracks	Public property
3. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	Jesus Duenas
4. House	Wood-stone (2F)	Residence	Barracks-warehouse	Mariano Leon Guerrero
5. House	Wood-stone (2F)	Nan'yō Kōhatsu office	Barracks	Jose Flores
6. House	Wood-stone (2F)	Nan'yō Kōhatsu lodging	Barracks	ルカシユル San Nicolas
7. House	Wood-stone (2F)	Residence	Barracks	Jose San Nicolas
8. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	アリステエン San Nicolas
9. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	Vicente Juan Flores
10. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	Lucario Boris
11. House	Wood-stone (2F)	Residence	Barracks	Francisco Duenas
12. House	Reinforced concrete (2F)	Residence	Barracks	エリメシュDiego
13. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	マネエルミンテル
14. House	Wood-stone (2F)	Residence	Barracks	Juan Francisco
15. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	マリアルエンヤス Flores
16. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	ビノルアフエスシリビール
17. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	ホセイボリノフルス
18. Inarajan Police Station	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	Police station
19. Church	Concrete (1F)	Parking	Warehouse	Public property
20. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	Jose メヌナブテ
21. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	ビイクススルス
22. House	Wood (1F)	Empty	Barracks	Maria Flores Lujan

Machanao

Name	Construction	Present use	Proposed use	Name of owner
1. National elementary school	Wood (1F)	School	Barracks	Public property

Merizo

Name	Construction	Present use	Proposed use	Name of owner
1. [none]	Wood (1F)	School	[none]	Minseibu
2. Church	Wood-concrete (1F)	Church	[none]	Minseibu

Piti

Name	Construction	Present use	Proposed use	Name of owner
1. Piti Municipality Elementary National School Buildings	Wood (1F)	School	Barracks	Enemy property

2. Piti Parking	Reinforced concrete (1F)	Parking lot	Barracks	Enemy property
3. Church	Reinforced concrete (1F)	Church	Barracks	Enemy property
4. Nan'yō Kōhatsu Piti Rice Disbursement Office	Wood (1F)	Rice Disbursement Office	Barracks	Nan'yō Kōhatsu
5. Nan'yō Kōhatsu Piti Supplies Warehouse	Reinforced concrete (1F)	Supplies Warehouse	Warehouse	Nan'yō Kōhatsu
6. Nan'yō Kōhatsu Piti Supplies Warehouse	Reinforced concrete (1F)	Supplies Warehouse	Warehouse	Nan'yō Kōhatsu
7. Pedro Martinez House	Reinforced concrete (2F)	Warehouse	Warehouse	Agana City's Pedro Martinez
8. Pedro Martinez Warehouse	Reinforced concrete (1F)	Warehouse	Warehouse	Agana City's Pedro Martinez
9. Pedro Martinez Warehouse	Wood (1F)	Warehouse	Warehouse	Agana City's Pedro Martinez

Sinajana

Name	Construction	Present use	Proposed use	Name of owner
1. National elementary school	Wood (1F)	School	Barracks	Public property
2. School water storage	Wood (1F)	Navy clubhouse	Barracks	Public property

Sumay

Name	Construction	Present use	Proposed use	Name of owner
1. Sumay National School No. 1	Wood (1F)	School building	Barracks	Minseibu
2. Sumay National School No. 2	Wood (1F)	Church	Warehouse	Sumay Municipality
3. Sumay National School No. 3	Wood-concrete (2F)	Residence	Barracks	ゼヲツユル Santos
4. House No. 4	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	Francisco イオサギ

Talofofa

Name	Construction	Present use	Proposed use	Name of owner
1. School	Wood (1F)	School	Barracks	Enemy property
2. Church	Wood (1F)	Church	Warehouse	Public

Umatac

Name	Construction	Present use	Proposed use	Name of owner
1. House	Wood (3F)	Islander's residence	[none]	[none]
2. House	Open (2F)			

3. Church	Reinforced concrete (1F)	Church	Warehouse	Enemy property
4. School building	Wood (1F)	School	Barracks	Enemy property

Yigo

Name	Construction	Present use	Proposed use	Name of owner
1. National elementary school	Wood (1F)	School	Barracks	Public property
2. Kōhatsu factory	Wood (1F)	Residence-factory	Barracks-warehouse	佐々木繁 [Sasaki Shigeru]
3. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	warehouse	Ignacio Flores
4. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	ホセバリヤスペーリス
5. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	Mataoka (not in kanji)
6. House	Concrete (1F)	Empty	Warehouse	Manuel トークス
7. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	Manuel トークス
8. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	Harry チャンス
9. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	Jose リヤス Perez
10. House	Wood (2F)	Residence	Barracks	Vicente ハフゼ
11. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	Jose Borja
12. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	Jesus Arte

Yona

Name	Construction	Present use	Proposed use	Name of owner
1. National elementary school	Wood (1F)	Church	Warehouse	Public property
2. National elementary school	Wood (1F)	School	Warehouse	Public property
3. School water storage	Reinforced concrete	Water storage	Warehouse	Public property
4. House	Wood (2F)	Residence	Barracks	Ramon Basa
5. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	Jose バラハアシヤ
6. House	Wood (2F)	Residence	Barracks	Mesa ビ夜やテ
7. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	Josefa Cruz
8. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	フレース Jose
9. House	Wood (2F)	Residence	Barracks	Jesus Mesa
10. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	レムシドン Cruz
11. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	Francisco エンヲク
12. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	Manuel Cruz
13. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Warehouse	Ramon Basa
14. House	Wood (2F)	Residence	Barracks	須藤一 [Sudō Ichi]
15. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	Jose キフナス
16. Church	Reinforced concrete	Church	Warehouse	Public property
17. Water storage	Reinforced concrete	Warehouse	Warehouse	Public property
18. House	Wood (2F)	Residence	Barracks	Jose G. エスクワキコ
19. House	Wood (1F)	Residence	Barracks	Mafnas Serafin

Source: Sanbō Honbu, 39-45.

5. Summary of Selected POW interrogations (non-combatants), Guam, 1944

Note: The original includes combatants and non-combatants alike. Here, I lifted only those on non-combatants. The material provides a summary of the interview of each POW concerning not only of their background but also of the description of where they were captured and their knowledge of other Japanese movements. The interviews were conducted within the context of the US recapture of Guam and mop-up operations of remaining Japanese enemies. Here, I lifted data pertaining only to their background. It shows the diversity of the Japanese wartime migrants onto the island.

Name, age	Assignment	Story
Minoru Kibune, 29	Laborer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Arrived in Guam April 1944 Captured with 2 civilians and 1 soldier
Bunkichi Kaneshiro, 45	Fisherman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Came to Guam 1943 "to fish for bonito." Surrendered due to hunger
Japanese woman, 26 2 children, ~5, 7	Nd	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Went to Rota in 1936. Came to Guam in Feb 1944. She had not seen her husband (stevedore) "after he went off into the jungle together with the soldiers" Saw 2 Korean children on a cliff Surrendered for food for her children
Masao Oshiro, 23	carpenter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Okinawan who came to Saipan 1944. Was transferred to Guam in May with 10 other carpenters "all of whom were killed by Naval Gunfire."
Muira, Masano 23	laborer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Discovered hiding in the bushes, surrendered "Came to Guam early this year... directly from Japan where he had been a farmer."
Kame Naka, 40	Jap woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Okinawan married to fisherman. Lived 4 years in Saipan. Came to Guam in Feb 1944 and lived near Piti Had been separated from husband 4 days ago. Surrendered willingly.
Shirokichi Nakami, 41	Fisherman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Okinawan arrived in Guam mid-1942 together with his wife. Has 2 kids in Okinawa. His wife surrendered 1 week ago, 3 fisher companions 3 days ago
Akira Yoshida, 18	Laborer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Came to Guam with parents in May. Lived in Sumay. "Both parents fled into the jungle in July and has not seen them since. Father was barber." He and 4 friends are SETSUEITAI
Kenichi Izumi, 21	Fisherman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "Came to Guam from Okinawa Jima in 1942. Lived in Piti..."
Seiko Nakashi, 19	Fisherman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "Went to Saipan from Okinawa Jima in 1942. Came to Guam 28 May, 1944." Agana.
Kajinki Tamashi, 20	Fisherman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Okinawan who went to Saipan in 1939. Came to Guam in May 1944, lived in Agana. Was in a group of 11, one of which was not captured because he was out searching for coconuts. They had been living out of the sea and adjoining jungle for a month. Had not seen Japanese troops
Nakana Tamashi, 51	Cook for fisherman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "Native of Okinawa Jima. Came to Guam from Saipan in January 1944. Lived in Agana."
Tsutoma Fukuda, 24	Stevedore	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> From Fukuoka, came to Guam in April 1944 unloading cargo from ships.
Jiro Hirashima, 31	Laborer (setsueitai)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> From Nagasaki, went to Saipan in March 1944 then to Guam in April. Lived in Ordot and worked at the construction of buildings. Captured in a native hut, starving.
Kikuji Imai, 28	Laborer (setsueitai)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Left Japan in Oct 1943, stopped at Saipan, arrived in Guam November. In Sumay.
Yoshiki Takahashi, 28	DOMEI News	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> From Tokyo. Came to Guam in May 1944, worked in Agana.

Tadakazu Kawakatsu, 29	Laborer (Setsueitai)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Found asleep in a hut. Said there were 4 others with him. Too weak to answer comprehensibly At Orote Airfield.
Maisaki Konichi, 24	Farmer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Came to Guam with his parents, farmed south of Agana. Is not in military due to bad eye sight. Mother died early 1944; had not seen father since Aug, believes he died.
Keiho Nishihara, 22	Laborer (setsueitai)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Korean (none on his personal background. But he gave lots of info on the Jp troops' movement)
Kamuka Matsukawa, 24	Truck driver (setsueitai)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Korean Surrendered, convinced by broadcast truck Gave info that corroborated with Nishihara's
Yoshako Kin, 25	Truck driver (setsueitai)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Korean Captured in the jungle
Takeo Nikaido, 31	Truck driver (setsueitai)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Captured while chopping coconuts. Did not resist.
Sajira Matsumoto, (no age)	Laborer (setsueitai)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Laborer at Orote
Kamezo Oshiro, 18	Fisherman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "Went to Saipan from Okinawa Jima in 1942. Came to Guam 28 May, 1944. Lived in Agana."
Kamado Oshiro, 35	Wife of fisherman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Also captured with her: Zene (12), Hatsue (8), Eiji (6), Mitsunori (3) "Native of Okinawa Jima. Came to Guam from Saipan in 1943" "husband, a fisherman, age 35, unarmed... was out looking for coconuts in vicinity... Reported willing to surrender."
Tenjun Iyo, 19	Prostitute	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Korean "Came to Guam from Palau in September 1943 with 6 other Korean girls and a Korean named Shimada who was the owner of house of prostitution in Palau and later in Agana... Understands very little Japanese."
Shirou Yoshida, 29	Laborer (setsueitai)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "came to Guam with the entire 218th setsueitai from Kure in November 1943... laborer at both the Sumay and Toto Airfields."

Source: "POW Interrogation Reports with Summary and Memorandum (July – November 1944)." MSS 510, Reel 32, Folder I, MARC, UOG, Mangilao, Guam.