

By Jessica Jordan, 15 October 2014

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1. Translator’s Preface

This self-published website and booklet hold a collection of personal memoirs about Japanese era life on Pagan Island in the Northern Mariana Islands (NMI).¹ The original website was published in Japanese and this website contains an English translation of excerpts of the original contents.

The original website is called, “Harukanaru Pagantô yo...” [Pagan Island in the Distance...] and was published in 2000 by Okamoto Mariko. Mariko is the daughter-in-law of Okamoto Eiko who moved to Pagan in the 1930s with her parents who worked there as schoolteachers during the time of the Japanese colonial administration of the region.

“Harukanaru” hosts a collection of memoirs written by Japanese civilians like her mother-in-law, along with memoirs by former military personnel. Mariko also published the collection as a soft cover 116-page booklet that same year.

Fukabori Eiko, as she was known when she was a child on Pagan, lived there prior to the Second World War and throughout the months of fighting. In the first few chapters, Mariko writes about Eiko’s memories including recollections of natural flora and fauna, attending the Pagan elementary school, wartime recipes using local ingredients, and interactions with Japanese and U.S. military. Mariko’s summaries of Eiko’s and other people’s memoirs comprise the first half of the collection. The second half includes stories written by others and edited by Mariko.

Historical Background

Pagan is part of a group of volcanic islands that extends southward in a crescent shape to connect the Mariana Islands down to the Western Carolines. Turning northward from Pagan, the archipelago connects to Iôtô (Iwo Jima), Ogasawara, and the main islands of Japan. Because of their proximity to Japan, starting in the late 19th century, the Northern Mariana Islands were stopping points for Japanese exploration, trade, and migration. As the northernmost archipelago in Japan's Mandate, the islands sat at the entrance to the formal South Seas territory from the perspective of boats coming from Japan.²

Japan controlled the area after seizing German Micronesia when German officials retreated in 1914 to fight the First World War. The islands were turned over to Japan by the League of Nations as a Class C Mandate in 1920. After Japan established an administrative presence on the islands, the industries of sugar cane, fishing, and phosphate dominated. Japan developed the islands with modern infrastructure such as sewer systems, hospitals, docks, a narrow-gauge railway, telephones, printing presses, and a variety of private shops and services. Under shifting names and regulations, Japan governed Micronesia from 1914-1944 and established an important network of trade, commerce, and physical infrastructure that would later be used by the Japanese military in preparation for war with the United States.

Sugar and fishing industries recruited mainly Okinawan laborers to settle the islands. As families put down roots, the birth rate increased rapidly. Together with growing immigration, the rising birth rate contributed to rapid population growth of Japanese residents in the 1930s. The census data that follows shows the rapid growth in Japanese residents in the "Saipan-shichô" [Saipan Branch Office], or the NMI, between 1935-37. Population growth on the island of Pagan warranted its inclusion as a separate island in the census starting in 1936.

Figure 1: “Saipan-shichô” (サイパン支庁, Saipan Branch Office) / Northern Mariana Island Populations 1935-37³

Note: *hōjin* (countrymen) included *naichijin* (mainland Japanese), *Chōsenjin* (People of “Chōsen” or the peninsula of Korea pre-partition), and *Taiwanjin* or Taiwanese. *Tōmin* (Islanders) included Chamorro and *Kanaka* (Carolinians) -*zoku* (tribes), while *gaikokujin* (Foreigners) represented everybody else. Pagan was included in the “Others” category until 1936.

Individual Populations by Ethnic Group and Island, 1935-37

Chamorro-zoku チャモロ族 (Chamorros)			
	1935	1936	1937
Saipan	2,237	2,339	2,180
Tinian	23	26	22
Rota	782	787	765
Pagan	—	111	120
Others	238	543	61
District Total	3,280	3,806	3,148

Kanaka-zoku カナカ族 (Carolinians)			
	1935	1936	1937
Saipan	857	883	796
Tinian	1	—	—
Rota	6	4	8
Pagan	—	42	48
Others	153	138	145
District Total	1,017	1067	997

naichijin 内地人 (mainlanders)			
	1935	1936	1937
Saipan	20,397	20,293	20,483
Tinian	13,919	15,280	14,865
Rota	4,899	4,729	6,762
Pagan	—	100	94
Others	112	—	17
Total	39,327	40,402	42,221

<i>Chôsenjin</i> 朝鮮人 (Koreans from <i>Chôsen</i> Korea Annexed by Japan)			
	1935	1936	1937
Saipan	251	278	211
Tinian	32	31	30
Rota	115	68	83
Pagan	—	—	—
Others	—	—	—
District Total	398	377	324

<i>Taiwanjin</i> 台灣人 (Taiwanese from Taiwan Annexed by Japan)			
	1935	1936	1937
Saipan	1	2	2
Tinian	—	—	—
Rota	2	—	—
Pagan	—	—	—
Others	—	—	1
District Total	3	2	3

<i>gaikokujin</i> 外国人 (foreigners)			
	1935	1936	1937
Saipan	16	14	13
Tinian	—	2	—
Rota	2	2	3
Pagan	—	—	—
Others	—	—	—
Total	18	18	16

In Japanese Mandated Micronesia, the colonial government recognized that among islanders or *tômin*, there resided two kinds of *zoku* (tribes) called Chamorro and *Kanaka*. These names have historical and contemporary meanings that are more complex than I have space to explain here, but in particular the term *Kanaka* and *tômin* can be offensive and should be used

with care. The glossary definition of *Kanaka* included at the end of the E-book provides more information.

In reference to the settler to islander ratio, the population figures above reveal that by 1937 Japanese settlers outnumbered Northern Mariana Islanders by ten to one (42,547 to 4,145). When looking at these figures, another noteworthy fact is that within the three largest ethnic categories—Chamorro-*zoku*, *Kanaka-zoku* and *naichijin*, there are differences between the subtotal of each island's population and the district total. This suggests that some people in these ethnic categories were living on islands outside of the main ones listed in these tables (these islands include, from North to South: Farallon de Pajaros, Maug Islands, Asuncion, Agrihan, Alamagan, Guguan, Sarigan, Anatahan, Farallon de Mendinilla, and Aguijan). Meanwhile, *Chôsenjin*, *Taiwanjin* and *gaikokujin* were not recorded as having lived anywhere other than the main islands.

By 1942, the population of Pagan had increased to 637 (200 Chamorros, 24 *Kanaka*, and 413 mainland Japanese). A 2009 U.S. military-commissioned survey of several Northern Mariana Islands included a paper on the Japanese era written by Dr. Wakako Higuchi. She reports that the Nan'yô Bôeki (NBK) corporation staff was deputized to carry out administrative affairs and that the colonial government's South Seas Bureau did not manage the island's administration until after the Japanese population exceeded 200 by 1936.⁴ Higuchi also writes that in the late 1930s, 600 more laborers arrived on the island but their data is not accounted for in government records. The island became more of a target of Japanese settlement as workers moved there to construct the Suisan bonito fishery plant and the airfield.⁵ The Japanese population of Pagan was 2000 in 1944, reflecting the arrival of military troops.⁶

In the late 1930s a town emerged after the surge in population. Like other islands in

Micronesia, Pagan was seen increasingly as a strategic stepping-stone for further expansion into more resource-rich parts of South East Asia. As one of the largest islands in the NMI, Pagan was made into an airport and communication hub. The facilities listed in Figure 2 were developed in the 1930s.

Figure 2: Japanese Town in Pagan⁷

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

Website Content

The website created by Mariko Okamoto has attracted submissions by a variety of people who remember living on the island of Pagan during the days of Japanese rule. On the original Japanese website, eighteen people contributed thirty-two stories based on memories of living on Pagan, including twenty-two stories from military veterans and ten stories from civilians.⁸ Some members of younger generations in Japan posted stories they heard from their elder relatives.

In addition to memories of living on the island during the colonial period and the war, the website features other content. It includes a section focusing on visits made to Pagan in recent years by various Japanese people. In the concluding section of the website called “Everyone’s Voices”, there are several posts on related themes. In this section, I chose to translate only certain contributions. However, I translated all of the content of the other sections of the website. The site also has numerous photographs and sketches, and some musical scores, song lyrics, and poetry.

The content of these memoirs paint a picture of what Japanese settler populations—both civilians and military—had to do in order to survive the resource constraints of wartime

conditions on the island. Stories of bombardment suggest what it must have been like to reside on an island situated directly beneath the air-route flown by U.S. B-29s on their way to conduct their fire bombing raids on the Japanese home islands and the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, departing as they did from the more southerly Tinian island in the NMI. The list of wartime recipes attests to the dire situation faced by residents after their food stores were bombed by the U.S. in June 1944: the primacy of food in these memoirs points to what were clearly conditions of severe malnutrition and starvation.

What's more, the struggle for food temporarily confounded the social hierarchy of the era. Many indigenous islanders today remember being called "*santô kokumin*" [third-class subjects] in the colonial days when they were seen as culturally and racially inferior to Japanese and Okinawan settler residents. There are conflicting interpretations of what this term means, and elsewhere in the Japan's empire the term seems to have referred to different groups of people.⁹ In Japanese colonial society, the indigenous population was educated in segregated schools and paid differentiated wages. But wartime conditions on Pagan came to challenge this social order. The dire conditions of war meant that the indigenous people who fished without vessels (which passing aircraft would have seen and targeted for bombing) could take in resources from the sea. Certain stories in this collection talk about how indigenous islanders would share their seafood with the hungry military troops. This suggests that during the war it was the indigenous population who had the most affluent lifestyle, to the extent that this adjective might be used to describe wartime life.

It is impossible to know, however, precisely who these islanders were: website contributors refer to them as Chamorro, *Kanaka*, and *tômin* [islanders], and all of these words refer to slightly different groups. It is safe to assume that people who were living on Pagan at the

time and who are referred to by any one of these terms were people of NMI Chamorro or Carolinian descent. But beyond this general assumption, it is difficult to know what people the Japanese story contributors had in mind when remembering “islanders” on Pagan.

During the 1970s-80s an increased interest in memories of the war became apparent in Japan as more and more Japanese self-published accounts of the days of empire and war emerged. Okamoto Mariko published her website in the year 2000, well after *jibunshi* or self-published books had grown into a popular genre. Many people wrote *jibunshi* about their memories of colonialism and war in order to bear witness to accounts that authors believed were not otherwise represented in Japanese mainstream sources or school textbooks.¹⁰

Memoirs and stories about former Japanese settlements in Japan's colonial Micronesia have most often been published by established groups of bereaved families or veterans. In this collection, Mariko referenced or paraphrased some of these previously published memoirs.¹¹ She expressed thanks to the All-Pagan Island War Comrades Association and the Pagan Island Repatriates Assembly for cooperating with her as she assembled the webpage. In this way, Mariko's editorial decisions appear to have been informed by input from various people who agreed to share their stories. Yet she expresses special thanks to two people in particular. Along with her mother-in-law Okamoto Eiko, veteran Hattori Hideo was the other person whom Mariko identified to me in an e-mail as having contributed significantly to the success of the website. It would not be an overstatement to say that these two individuals' perspectives are reflected in Mariko's editorial decisions about the project, but perhaps especially those of her mother-in-law whose stories inspired the project.

Mariko says she has permission from the original storytellers to relay these tales on her website, as well as permission to distribute the stories via self-printed books. She has never sold

the books, and she and her mother-in-law wish to distribute the stories for free. Had the original website not been openly accessible and free of charge, I might never have encountered it in the first place. My intention in translating this collection has been to make it available for free on the Internet toward contributing to public knowledge about history. In 2014, contributing to public knowledge about Pagan Island is timely. According to the 2009 report cited in this Preface, the U.S. military has plans to transform one or more of Pagan's black-sand beaches into training grounds for amphibious invasions. This website joins a growing number of online resources about Pagan Island that have emerged alongside concerns about these plans to once again turn the island into a military base.

Mariko's primary goal in creating the collection was to share it with as wide an audience as possible. Specifically, she wanted to educate her peers: "As for my generation who do not know about the war and who do not even know that there was a war, it is my hope that they will keep a little bit of the stories from Pagan Island in their hearts."¹² The site might have come together in ways that reflect the ideas and concerns of a woman of Japan's postwar generation, but Mariko writes that she originally began the project after Eiko asked her to record her memories of living on the island.

The free, online accessibility of Mariko's publication has allowed various people to read the stories. This enabled access from an array of former settlers including military and civilians. Because the website holds a wide variety of perspectives, it could be thought of as a starting point for getting to know different Japanese individuals and groups with an interest in Pagan and the Northern Mariana Islands. At the same time, while Mariko was accepting new story submissions by e-mail, she allowed people without any affiliation with this history to post messages in what became an online bulletin-board style conversation.

This collection is easy to access when compared to other stories with a similar focus on memoirs of Japanese colonialism in Micronesia. Other such Japanese language memories have often been published as printed texts and held in archives that are not easily searchable online. Other Northern Mariana Island public holdings of such Japanese memoirs include mainly a number of volumes held at the CNMI Museum in Garapan, Saipan.¹³ Okamoto listed several other free memoir websites on her "Links" page. For the average, non-specialist reader, the memories of Pagan on Okamoto's website in all likelihood have a larger circulation than many other memoirs written by former residents of Japan's colonies in Micronesia.¹⁴ In addition, its content is probably more diverse than other memoirs written by groups of former settlers because it is a free website that gathered contributions from a variety of visitors after its initial publication.

Many published volumes of Japanese memoirs are available in archives and libraries in Okinawa, the place in Japan where memoirs of Japan's colonial era and war in Micronesia are perhaps most widely circulated today. Most people who moved to the Northern Mariana Islands during this imperial period came from Okinawa Prefecture, and most of these people were repatriated by the U.S. after the war to Okinawa. Because of this, much of the postwar Japanese effort to remember the Japanese colonial era and war in the NMI has happened in Okinawa or among people who identify as Okinawans. However, the Okamoto family is not originally from Okinawa and today they reside in Yokohama. Eiko maintains friendships with other former residents of Pagan who are today living in Okinawa.

It is not easy to visit the island of Pagan today, a fact that has been remarked on by many visitors to the website. Although postwar travel to Pagan has not been entirely absent, the near-total lack of commercial travel options for tourists to the island may place greater potential

importance on Okamoto's website as a shared space for memory activity about this island. This virtual collection has functioned as a certain kind of receptacle for assembling and re-producing memories. As a dynamic body of writing, the website changed as individual contributors read its content and shared their own stories. Much like the memorials that dot the landscape in the heavily-populated and highly accessible Saipan and Tinian islands, in the case of Pagan this website itself for a while served as a public location for meditating on the past of an island where other kinds of physical memorials have been few and the ability to visit the island intermittent. In the future if U.S. militarization of the island proceeds as proposed, there is little reason to believe that access would improve for the average visitor. In this scenario, this website (or others like it) could grow in importance as active spaces of collective speculation and remembering Pagan as an island that is inhabited in memory and history.

In my capacity as a student of history, I have provided a glossary and endnotes to enhance the usability of this translation of memoirs as a source for knowledge of the past of Pagan Island. Endnotes helped me to manage factual inaccuracies that appeared in stories. Despite some small errors, I think contributors tried to tell the truth. Posting a memory on a website like this represents a kind of demonstration of an identity that might have relatively few other avenues for expression in Japanese postwar life. When it was obvious that something about a story was incorrect, I created a note to explain the discrepancy. But in general, the vivid depictions of colonial life and hand-to-mouth wartime survival can be regarded as highly reliable snapshots of everyday life on Pagan during the final years of Japanese military rule and war. I view this collection along with other similar memoirs as valuable sources of knowledge about the intimate relationships that characterized everyday life during this period that are impossible to find in government records.

Ultimately, questioning the memoirs' relative truths or falsehoods is not perhaps what is most important to consider when reading them. Consider what memories bring to conversations about history, and how they might productively challenge preconceived ideas. Memories are based on personal experiences and provide connections between the otherwise abstract names and dates presented in history books. Memories can supplement, challenge, and fill-in the gaps in other printed sources. Memories like these reveal the very real human costs of colonialism and war for the populations who experienced the greatest direct consequences of these events.

WWII stories in English are hugely popular today. These war stories are most often about American veterans' accounts of combat and valor, and they often cite military archival sources attesting to the sequence and content of battles. These kinds of stories have been described as having the effect of mobilizing Mariana Island and Micronesian youth toward military service.¹⁵ At one point in time, the multi-ethnic residents of Japan's colonial towns were all subjects of the Japanese empire, but this fact of history tends to be downplayed in histories that focus on the U.S. "liberation" of the NMI. The ambivalent and diverse prewar and wartime experiences of former Japanese colonial subjects remain underrepresented in English-language war histories and memoirs. The Second World War has become a popular historical topic, but it is still uncommon in English to encounter texts that provide insight into how *The Good War* affected and still affects non-American populations who survived this battle.

Japan lost the war and talking publically about war memories has arguably been harder for Japanese than for Americans, for whom victory provided both territorial gains and clearer answers to the most central questions about why they fought the war. The Japanese-language stories translated into English and published on this website not only provide a window into a bygone historical era, they also reveal something about Japanese postwar memory practices that

have been identified as fragmented and partisan.¹⁶ These stories draw attention to the fact that there is relatively little information in English about how the lasting consequences of this war in the NMI remain enduringly real for survivors of various ethnic or national backgrounds.

Project Background

I translated the content of this entire website from Japanese to English as the result of two grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities that were administered by the CNMI government's Historic Preservation Office, or HPO. I did the translation in two installments in 2008 and 2011. The first installment covered most of the contents of nine different sub-pages of the website and came to sixty-nine pages. The second installment included seventy-three pages of text and one map. This second phase consisted largely of the memoirs posted in the "Pagan Anthology" section along with other stories that were not translated in the first installment.

I wrote and presented an essay assessing the historical and contemporary relevance of this online collection at the First Marianas History Conference held in Garapan, Saipan in June 2012.¹⁷ This research paper provides an overview of the Japanese colonial and wartime presence on the island. In this Preface's section called, "Historical Background," I reworked portions of this conference paper.

Notes on Translation

Okamoto asked me to delete certain text from the original publication, and I have honored her requests. The chapters have been arranged in the same order in which they appear on the website.

As for stylistic concerns, from time to time certain authors wrote very long sentences joining four or five dependent clauses into a run-on sentence. I came to wonder whether the long sentences were intentionally crafted in the original compositions as a means of expressing the hurriedness of a sequence of events or a string of memories. In order to produce this effect in English, I used shorter sentences to convey the sense of urgency and movement of the original. I found myself breaking up these long clauses into independent sentences to keep the story moving along at a fast pace. I justified such changes whenever I felt them to be productive of a paragraph that seemed closer to the feeling of the original than a mirror-image grammatical arrangement. Therefore while I translated run-on sentences using run-on constructions part of the time, often I shortened sentences in the interest of conveying the overall tone of the original compositions.

Despite variations in verb tenses across memoirs, this translation largely uses present tense verbs whenever possible because this holds readers' attention better than using past tense for all verbs. Specifically, I use present tense when people describe their habits (such as when talking about recipe step-by-step instructions), or when depicting plants or animals. However, at times I use past tense to offset the sentences that could signify to readers the fact that a memory was subjective and based on a specific human experience. For example, under the section "Sensô to shima" [War and the Island] Okamoto summarizes the various foods eaten by Japanese residents during wartime. She wrote the following under this page's subsection called, "Pig Pumpkins." I inserted my notes in brackets to explain what I mean.

These are enormous pumpkins, and each one feeds thirty people. [This sentence is in present tense because she is describing a plant]. They disappeared quickly. [This is past tense because I wanted to suggest that people had actually lived with these pumpkins on this island, and this memory was the basis for the claim] ("Pagan Island in the Distance" E-book, page 31).

In addition, in the Japanese text Okamoto refers to authors using the “-san” suffix, but when possible in the translation I use Mr. or Mrs./Ms. to refer to people next to the title of their composition. I use “-san” in certain instances when apparent gender is unclear; I choose to affix “-san” to present these names rather than leave them without a title.

There are three possible meanings of the word “pagan.” Pagan can refer the term the Miriam Webster dictionary reports was first used in the fourteenth century to indicate a person holding polytheistic religious beliefs. Pagan is also the name of ruins in Myanmar (Burma) on the Irrawaddy River southeast of Mandalay, which was the capital of a Buddhist dynasty from the 11th to the 13th centuries. Searching on the Internet for the name Pagan in Japanese calls up memoirs written by armed forces personnel who spent time in Burma during the Second World War. Rendering the name Pagan (the Mariana Island) as the compound noun Pagan Island is more specific and clearly differentiates this place from the location in Myanmar.

However, in translation I removed many instances of the word *tô* [island] when it was expressed as “Pagantô” [lit. Pagan Island]. At first glance I thought there was little need to put “island” in the nomenclature as in “Pagan Island.” Yet sometimes referring to Pagan’s geographic form in its expression as a proper noun could be helpful to mitigate misunderstandings. I decided to always include the word “island” when translating “Pagantô” in story titles. With some exceptions, I usually chose not to write “Pagan” as the compound word “Pagan Island” which is the way it is always expressed in Japanese in this collection. Excessive use of “island” in English looked redundant, and struck my ear as a way of speaking that is unfamiliar with the regional terrain. In sum, while I made this edit for the sake of readability, the Japanese text always presents the name Pagan as “Pagantô” [Pagan Island].

The listed ages of contributors are specific to the dates of contribution, and they were translated whenever they appeared in the original. The date when Mariko posted a story to the website is listed at the end of a story. Not all stories have a contribution date—much of the text in this website was written by Mariko and unless noted otherwise, any text lacking a contributed date was written by Mariko.

Text written [in square brackets] indicates words inserted by the translator for clarity. (Parentheses) are used when they appear in the original text. Onomatopoeic words are italicized, along with text that represents indirect quotations. Japanese names of authors who contributed stories appear in this Preface and in the E-book in the same order as they do in Japanese with no comma separating them: last name first name. Sometimes the reading of the Kanji [Japanese characters] in an individual contributor's name was unclear, and in these cases the most likely reading was decided upon in e-mail exchanges between Mariko, translation editor Horiguchi Noriyasu, and myself.

Endnotes were selected to explain vocabulary or events when it was deemed necessary to help readers understand the historical or contemporary contexts of stories. All endnotes were inserted by the translator, and Mr. Horiguchi provided close to half of the researched details that appear in these notes. In addition, a glossary of terms appears at the end of this preface. I used the *Chicago Manual of Style* to format the translation. For questions pertaining to Romanization of Japanese words, I used the Library of Congress' published guidelines.¹⁸ The bibliography includes various titles related to the themes of anthropology, colonialism, Japanese and U.S. history, and war in the Pacific Islands with specific focus on the Northern Mariana Islands and Pagan Island in particular. Regarding some titles listed in the bibliography, there are cases when I was not able to actually read the listed source myself, so some page numbers are missing from

journal articles. In these instances, I included notes about the library where readers can find these sources so that they may be researched further. Finally, there are many new websites and blogs that deal with the U.S. military's planned buildup of Pagan. These have not been included in this bibliography because these sources are very recent and they continue to grow in number. The titles in this bibliography that refer to research and publications focused on Pagan Island mainly include pre-Internet age publications that exist as hard copies in libraries or other facilities, or they refer to titles that were originally hard-copies that have been published as electronic books or electronic publications.

2. Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Okamoto Mariko for collaborating with me toward the publication of this translation. My sincere thanks also goes to Ônuma Kenji in Saipan for editing the first translation in 2008, to Ann Jordan for proofreading various drafts, and to Brooke Nevitt for reading the final draft. Horiguchi Noriyasu worked as translation editor of the final draft and he made many helpful suggestions for revisions, not just about translation matters but also regarding details of history and everyday life during the Japanese era in the Northern Mariana Islands. I cannot express enough how grateful I am to Mr. Horiguchi, himself a local Northern Mariana Island resident for decades, for revealing many weaknesses in my understanding of the Japanese language—especially phrases specific to imperial-era Japanese culture and worldviews. Thanks also to biologist Paul Radley for identifying the most probable scientific names of the flora and fauna mentioned in the memoirs. In addition, Mertie Kani and staff members working at the CNMI Historic Preservation Office in Saipan were very supportive. I would not have been able to devote time to this translation had it not been for two grants from the Historic Preservation Office that emerged after consultations with then staff archaeologist Ronald Rogers. I also received support of the University of California Pacific Rim Research Program grant for this translation. This grant also funded supplementary research that allowed me to write the glossary, footnotes, bibliography and the aforementioned conference paper about the historical and contemporary relevance of this collection. The Northern Marianas Humanities Council provided funding to design and publish this website, and Council Executive Director Scott Russell's support and feedback has been instrumental throughout this process. I was lucky to receive encouragement and critical feedback of many people whom I could not recognize here. I have tried to present these stories accurately. All remaining errors are my own.

3. Notes

¹ Pagan Island is located at the western edge of the Pacific Ocean in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. It lies near the center of the north-south archipelago of ten islands in the Commonwealth's Northern Islands Mayoral district. The island is comprised of two land masses, with a one-mile-wide neck connecting the two parts. The north lobe is about two-and-a-half miles wide and the island is eight miles long. It has at least one active volcano Mt. Pagan at the north part of the island that ascends to 570 meters, and another volcano in the south part of the island with a land area comprising about eighteen-and-a-half square miles. Along with other volcanoes in the CNMI Northern Islands, this volcano has erupted several times in recorded history. There are two lakes on the island, both containing brackish water and two springs have been reported but they are unable to form larger streams because of the sandy and porous soil. There are somewhat well developed reefs around much of the island, with black-sand beaches especially on the leeward side. The island today is largely undeveloped and partially inhabited.

² By the 1930s, Northern islands in the Northern Mariana Islands had become familiar as points of entry into Micronesia when travelling by boat from Japan. In a 1927 report by the government, the northernmost Northern Mariana Island of Uracas (volcanically active in the Japanese days) took ten hours to reach from the Ogasawara islands that are 100 miles to the north. The island of Uracas is better known as Farallon de Pajaros. This report said that the boat crew termed the island of Uracas "Nanyô Guntô Fuji" because its steep cone shape looked like Mt. Fuji. This same report stated that Pagan Island appeared as an irregular shape, and that smoke billowed from the northern volcano while steam rose from the south volcano. Nanyô-chô, *Inin tôchi chiiki Nanyô Guntô chôsa shiryô*. Tokyo-shi, 1927: 486-7.

³ Source: *Nan'yôchô kôhô* [South Seas Bureau Bulletin], years 1935-37. At the time, census data was published in these reports every April 1st and October 1st. The figures cited here reflect data published on October 1st of these years. The volumes and page numbers cited to produce these tables are as follows: for 1935 data, see volume 15 page numbers: 212-213; for 1936 data, see volume 16 page numbers: 44-45; for 1937 data, see volume 17 page numbers: 138-39. *Nan'yôchô Kôhô* [South Seas Bureau Bulletin]. Parao Shotô Korôrutô: Nan'yôchô, Shôwa 10-nen-Shôwa 12-nen [Palau Archipelago Koror Island: South Seas Bureau, 1935-37]. Reprint Tôkyô: Yumani Shobô, 2012.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 69.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 68.

⁶ Higuchi "5. Japanese Era" in Athens "Archaeological Surveys," 65.

⁷ These developments were reported by Higuchi (2009).

⁸ These numbers represent my educated guess about the individual contributors who were military veterans and those who were civilians.

⁹ An informal Yahoo Japan query about the meaning of these "ittô, nittô, santô" categories contains a reply posted in March 2010 by a user named "soucco_777san" that suggests what is probably a more common contemporary Japanese understanding of these terms. This user writes that first-class subjects were Japanese, second-class subjects included Chôsenjin (peninsular Koreans), Ryûkyuans (Okinawans), and Ainu people (indigenous to Hokkaido), whereas third-class subjects included Taiwanese. This view completely excludes mention of Japan's colony in Micronesia, where the presence of a distinct cluster of different groups lent to a different localized version of these imperial understandings of ethnic difference. The way in which different ethnic groups may have been written about and talked about across different local sites

in Japan's empire has not been comprehensively researched to date, and the meaning of these terms in the context of the Northern Mariana Islands at the time remains an open question. Question posed by "kumialpha-san" on March 25, 2010 on the webpage, "Yahoo Japan-Top Adviser-Culture and Study, Science-History-Japanese History Random Question." Assessed July 18, 2014. http://detail.chiebukuro.yahoo.co.jp/qa/question_detail/q1438501984.

¹⁰ For more on group activities related to postwar Okinawan memories of Japanese colonial and wartime Micronesia, see Ohara Tomoko, "Sengo Okinawa shakai to Nanyô Guntô hikiagesha—hikiagesha dantai katsudô ni chûi" [Repatriated People from Micronesia in the Postwar Okinawa Society] *Imin Kenkyû* Dai 6 gô 2010.

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

¹² Okamoto, "Harukanaru Pagantô," 6.

¹³ A list of these memoirs was compiled by Jessica Jordan, "Annotated Bibliography of Japanese Titles in the CNMI," Unpublished paper (Saipan CNMI: Northern Mariana Islands Council for the Humanities, 2010).

¹⁴ As of 4 September 2013, the website had been viewed 461,329 times. It is listed as a resource under the definition for "Pagan Island" in the Japanese Encyclopedia, *Japan Knowledge*.

¹⁵ For a critical assessment of liberation stories in the Marianas, see Vincente Diaz, "Deliberating "Liberation Day": Identity, History, Memory and War in Guam," in Takashi Fujitani, et.al. editors, *Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(s)*, p155-180. Durham: Duke University Press, 2001. For a critical assessment of dominant Chamorro identities based in commemorative public practices centered around liberation narrative modes of knowing Marianas pasts, see Keith Camacho, *Cultures of Commemoration: The Politics of War, Memory, and History in the Mariana Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011).

¹⁶ Franziska Seraphim's monograph argues that the political terrain of Japanese war memory today should be understood as one characterized by amnesia and conservative politics that is productive of a situation wherein discussions of Japan's empire and war remain a "fragmented memory built around self-interests." Franziska Seraphim, *War Memory and Social Politics in Japan, 1945-2005* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006): 316.

¹⁷ This essay entitled, "Surviving War in Pagan," was published in November 2012 at www.Guampedia.com on pages 77-109 of the "Late Colonial History" e-book (pages 85-117 in the e-reader software display). The "Late Colonial History" e-book is accessible from the conference page: (<http://marianashistory.guampedia.com/2012-conference/>).

¹⁸ U.S. Library of Congress webpage on Japanese Romanization rules: <http://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpsd/romanization/japanese.pdf>.

4. Glossary

This list represents words that appear more than once in the translated text.

Military Command

battalion (*daitai* 大隊) A military unit consisting of two or more companies.

company (*chûtai* 中隊) this is a military unit that normally consisted of 3 to 4 platoons; three to four companies made up a battalion.

infantry (*hohei* 歩兵) Soldiers marching or fighting on foot.

platoon (*shôtai* 小隊) An army unit consisting of thirty to eighty soldiers, with three to four platoons organized into a company.

regiment (*rentai* 連隊) In the Imperial Japanese Army brigades, a Regiment consisted of two or three battalions. They would be broken into units such as infantry and heavy artillery, and two to four regiments made up a brigade.

unit (*butai* 部隊) also (*tai* 隊) This is a general term for a gathering of forces under a command.

Other Proper Nouns/ Terms

Battleship Island (Gunkanjima 軍艦島) These black rocks rise out of Pagan's west coast to about thirty feet high before flattening out at the top. The rocks are at the end of an isthmus separating Pagan's Bandara (Shomushon) Bay from Apaan Bay.

Chamorro (チャモロ) Peoples indigenous to the Mariana Islands (Guam and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands). The Japanese colonial authorities recognized two *zoku* (族) or tribes in their *Nanyô Guntô* [South Sea Islands] territory: Chamorro and *Kanaka*. For a short explanation of 1930s Japanese scientific and cultural productions about these terms, see the definition of the term *Kanaka* in this glossary.

Fifteen-Year War (Jûgonen Sensô 十五年戦争) This term refers to the span of time from 1931 to 1945, or Japan's Greater East Asia War in Asia and the Pacific. As opposed to other terms for wars going on at this time (Pacific War; WWII), the Fifteen Year War encapsulates Japan's conflict in China beginning in 1931 through the defeat of Japan at the conclusion to the Second World War in 1945.

gyokusai (honorable defeat 玉砕) This term literally translates to, "shattered jade" and it describes dying in an upstanding way while maintaining one's honor and loyalty. This term came from the phrase, 一億玉砕 [*ichioku gyokusai*], which means "the total suicidal death of one hundred million..." that was, "propagated all over Japanese territories toward the end of the Fifteen-Year war... the final moment of total suicidal death as an imagined aesthetic experience of ultimate communion" (Naoki Sakai, "Return to the West/ Return to the East: Watsuji Testuro's Anthropology and Discussions of Authenticity," p.189). The Japanese main islands at the time housed about seventy million people, and the term "one-hundred million" included subjects of Japan's colonies. The term was adopted by Japanese military leaders after defeat in the Battle at Attu in May 1943 when their troops had been annihilated. The phrase served the

purpose of suggesting that while there were no survivors, all men died honorably. As a concept, *gyokusai* served as an ethos of war near the end of the war that might have inspired troops who were still alive to put everything they had into the fighting to come. It signifies a fight-to-the-death strategy that valued death by combat or suicide above surrender or survival.

tômin (islander 島民) A term used both formally and informally by various groups during the days of Japan's empire in Micronesia to refer to indigenous or "native" peoples of Micronesia. According to some NMI indigenous people who remember living in the Japanese towns in the 1930s, the word had derogatory nuances.

Kamikaze Special Attack Corps (Tokkôtai 特攻隊) Translated variously as "suicide squad," or "special attack corps," the Tokubetsu Kōgekитай (特別攻撃隊), Tokkôtai (特攻隊), or just Tokkō (特攻) was the designation for the units of Imperial Japanese Navy pilots who trained for one-way offensive missions also known as the "Kamikaze" attacks.

[These men were] specially trained pilots who attacked allied ships in suicide dives toward the end of World War II. Named for the kamikaze, or "divine wind," that had repelled the Mongol invasions of Japan in the 13th century, they were used when it became apparent that conventional means could not prevent the Allied fleet from retaking the Philippines. The first Kamikaze attack took place on 25 October 1944, when five navy Zero Fighters, each carrying a 250-kilogram (550 lb) bomb, plunged into U.S. warships and transports off the coast of Leyte. Encouraged by the results, Vice Admiral Ōnishi Takijirō (1891-1945) of the First Air Fleet hastily recruited new suicide forces. Army air force units soon followed suit. Until Japan's surrender in August 1945, and especially in the Battle of Okinawa, the Japanese employed more than 2,000 planes for suicide attacks. According to U.S. figures, 34 ships were sunk and 288 damaged by these suicide squads. [Abridged from "tokkotai" English definition at the *Japan Knowledge* webpage].

Kanaka (カナカ) is a loanword in Japanese from the English "Kanaka," which referred to a Hawai'ian of Polynesian descent. In Australia and New Zealand, the term referred to a South Sea Islanders particularly those who were brought to Australia as laborers in the 19th and early 20th centuries. *Japan Knowledge* encyclopedia defines the term *Kanaka* in Japanese as having first referred to people of Polynesian descent living in Hawai'i, later by the 1920s coming to refer to people from Micronesia. This was one of two central designations for groups of people recognized as being from Japan's colonial *Inintōchi* [Mandate] in Micronesia. The term *Kanaka* was thought to refer to people of Micronesia hailing from islands south of the Marianas, but populations referred to as *Kanaka* people had been living in the Northern Mariana Islands at least beginning during the centuries of Spanish control of the Marianas (16th c. -1899), if not earlier.

Physical Anthropologist Hasebe Kotondo (1882-1969) wrote about this term in his government-sponsored 1932 *Kako no Waga Nanyō* [*The Past of Our South Seas*]. The book opens by providing an outline to each of the island groups in Japan's Micronesian territory, and then focuses on understanding histories of different groups' settlements in various islands.

In his "Chapter 2: Kanaka and Chamorro" Hasebe pronounces the *tômin* [islanders] of the *Nan'yōchō* [South Seas Bureau] as defined by the administration (*gyōsei* 行政) to be divided into *Kanaka* and Chamorro. He viewed the term *Kanaka* to be derogatory (page 43). He details a

history of the distribution of these people on the different islands. According to the government’s 1925 survey, he writes, populations by island group of people from both *zoku* 族 [tribes] were as follows (excerpted from pages 41-42)

	Chamorro	<i>Kanaka</i>
Mariana Islands	2,578	915
Yap Island	151	4,504
Palau Island	221	5,295
SW Caroline Islands	1	206
Tokobei Island	0	225
--Helen Reef		9
W Caroline Islands		
--NW Islands	0	4,199
--Truk Islands	2	9,834
--SE Islands	0	3,637
Middle Caroline Islands	0	5,471
E Caroline Islands	0	1,487
Marshall islands	0	9,538
Nugôru Islands [Nikumaroro?]	0	184
Guritecchi [Greenwich?] Islands	0	341
Total	2,953	45,845

The greatest number of Chamorro people were living in the Mariana Islands, while significant numbers of Chamorros had migrated for work in Yap and Palau. *Kanaka* people represented everybody else, with the largest populations in Chuuk [then known as Truk]. Hasebe specified that Chamorro is another name for people of the Marianas, and points out that the Chamorro people in Yap and Palau are immigrant residents. He indicates that these Chamorro people live around Colonia in Yap and in Palau’s “*hokutan-bu*” [northernmost section]. He goes on to say that in the Mariana Islands, *Kanaka* are also immigrants to the area from about one hundred years ago and mostly come from the western Caroline Islands.

Greg Dvorak wrote about Japanese imperial understandings of the term *Kanaka* in his dissertation on histories and memories of Japan in the Marshall Islands, “Seeds From Afar, Flowers from The Reef: Re-memembering the Coral and Concrete of Kwajalein Atoll.” In the excerpt below, Dvorak describes an era film that was also called, “*Kako no Waga Nanyô*” [The Past of Our South Seas] which depicted differences between *Kanaka* and Chamorro peoples:

According to “*Waga Nan’yô*,” a silent educational film produced mainly by the Japanese Navy in 1936, Kanakas were described as “being playfully carefree but of lower cultural level than Chamorros,” while Chamorros were “advanced and of a docile nature with an industrious manner, possessing even pianos and other instruments in some of their wealthier homes” (“*Waga Nan’yô*” 1936). Chamorro, a term taken completely out of context from the Mariana Islands, where it refers to the indigenous population there, was taken by Japanese to mean “of mixed race” or “of lighter skin.” Chamorros were thought

to be more intelligent, sophisticated, and advanced, and they were often admired for their beauty (Dvorak, 2007: 120).

Hasebe's study and this film are both 1930s-era cultural expressions that portray the Japanese Mandate in Micronesia as "Our [Japan's] South Seas."

Nowadays in the Northern Mariana Islands the term "Carolinian" in English approximates the older term *Kanaka*. Although both words have many possible meanings, both also refer to people from locations in the Caroline Islands south of Mariana Islands who settled the NMI during the Spanish period and who, along with Chamorros, are today legally and commonly considered to be indigenous to the Northern Mariana Islands. However, according to, "Section 4: Persons of Northern Marianas Descent" of Article XII of the CNMI Covenant:

A person shall be considered a full-blooded Northern Marianas Chamorro or Northern Marianas Carolinian if that person was born or domiciled in the Northern Mariana Islands by 1950 and was a citizen of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands before the termination of the Trusteeship with respect to the Commonwealth. (Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands Law Revision Commission, "Commonwealth Constitution: Article XII. Restrictions on the Alienation of Land," Accessed September 4, 2014 (<http://cnmilaw.org/articlexii.html>)).

In the NMI, the word Carolinian people use to refer to themselves is *Refaluwasch*. Today, a word similar to *Kanaka* remains in use nearby in New Caledonia where indigenous islanders call themselves "Kanaks."

Katsuo (Bonito 鰹) Skipjack tuna, *bonito* (Chamorro), *Katsuowonus pelamis*

mountain gun/artillery or pack gun (*sanpô* 山砲) Mountain guns are weapons made for use in instances when normal wheeled transport of ammunition is not possible. They are capable of being broken down and packed on horses, people, or machinery to be transported.

Gake-yama (the cliffs, 崖山) Literally, "cliff mountain," this is an escarpment that rises up from the plain south of Mt. Pagan and breaks the island into a north and south portion with differing elevations. The formation is the sheer cliff about fifty to eighty feet high that was part of an old volcano caldera. The escarpment drops off into the ocean to the west, and along the west coastline these cliffs separate Shomushon bay in the north from the area known in Japanese as Perirû [Parialu] and nowadays as Apansanmena Bay in the south. The appearance of the rocks at Gunkanjima [Battleship Island] makes this isthmus look like a continuation of the Gake-yama caldera rim.

Oyako Iwa (Mother-and-Child Rock, 親子岩) A rock formation rising approximately fifty meters from the sea and adjacent to the southwest coast of Pagan, in the area known as "Perirû" [Parialu].

War Comrades Association/s (Sen'yû Kai 戦友会) This is a general term that refers to groups of veterans of the Japanese Imperial Armed Forces units, including Army and Navy, who focus on maintaining friendships and commemorative or memory-related activities about Japan's Fifteen-Year War in the Asia-Pacific region or Japan's Greater East Asia War. A link to the All-Japan War Comrades Association homepage is here: [<http://www.senyu-ren.jp/>].

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