“THE JAPANESE AND U.S. FOUGHT THE WAR, WE ENDED UP PAYING THE PRICE”: THE INDIGENOUS EXPERIENCE ON SAIPAN DURING WORLD WAR II

By

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During World War II in the Pacific, the Battle for Saipan became one of the pivotal successes of the United States (U.S). military to turn the tide of war against the Japanese Empire. Unfortunately, this success came at a cost to the residents of the islands. While the Japanese civilian experience has been studied, the indigenous civilians, largely uninvolved in the battle itself, remain overlooked. This thesis will explore the untold stories of the Chamorro and Carolinian civilians particularly through their survival during the battle and their experiences in the U.S. military internment camps. It further explores changes in their livelihood regarding their strong maritime culture and connection with the sea. By collecting civilian oral histories and conducting a Phase I archaeological survey of the camps, this research will serve to fill the academic gap regarding the Battle for Saipan, one of the largest battles in the Pacific to include civilians. It will also contribute to the fields of maritime, community, indigenous, and conflict archaeology.

“THE JAPANESE AND U.S. FOUGHT THE WAR, WE ENDED UP PAYING THE PRICE”: THE INDIGENOUS EXPERIENCE ON SAIPAN DURING WORLD WAR II

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Stephanie Soder

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABPP American Battlefield Protection Program

BECQ Bureau of Environmental and Coastal Quality

CNMI Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands

GIS Geographic Information Systems

NKK Nan'yō Kōhatsu Kabushiki Kaisha

NPS National Park Service

NRHP National Register of Historic Places

NTTU Naval Technical Training Unit

PoW Prisoner of War

RG Record Group

StG Stichting de Greb

TTPI Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands

U.S. United States

WWII World War II

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose of Research

For many nations across the globe, World War II (WWII) and its impacts resonate deeply; it was a time of tragedy and sacrifice, but also brought people together to strive for peace. In the Pacific theatre, the United States (U.S). military fought against Japanese forces on the small island of Saipan, decimating the landscape and changing the lives of many. This thesis will investigate the untold story of the indigenous civilian experience before, during, and shortly after the Battle for Saipan in WWII. The term "indigenous," while incredibly complex, can be simplified to refer to "'Indigenous' peoples who have been dispossessed in colonial contexts" (Johnson 2010:208); within this thesis, this refers to the Chamorro and Carolinian civilian population. The battle took a devastating toll on the indigenous civilians on Saipan, who overall did not play a part in the fighting between the U.S. and Japanese.

Despite being a small island, the U.S. military placed great importance on acquiring Saipan in order to reach the Japanese homeland. On 11 June 1944, the U.S. began performing air raids; four days later, their forces stormed the beaches, beginning an invasion that would last for three long weeks. During those three weeks, Saipan civilians experienced fiery jungles, flying bullets, and even death. To avoid conflict, many of the civilians hid in caves around the island. By 9 July 1944, the Japanese military had been suppressed and U.S. forces declared the island secured.

The battle would be only the beginning of the nightmare for the civilians of Saipan. Many Japanese civilians committed suicide out of honor or fear that if captured by the U.S. military, they would be tortured and killed. Estimates of the Chamorro and Carolinian death toll of the

battle range from over 300 to nearly 1000, with one source having compiled 933 total indigenous deaths (Cabrera 2014:24). This number, while small in comparison to the almost 55,000 overall casualties of the battle, consists of approximately one-quarter of the indigenous population on Saipan. The U.S. military placed civilians into internment camps called Camp Susupe and Chalan Kanoa after the battle, separating the non-indigenous and indigenous groups within this area.

FIGURE 1. Island of Saipan and location of internment camps (Map provided by BECQ 2018)

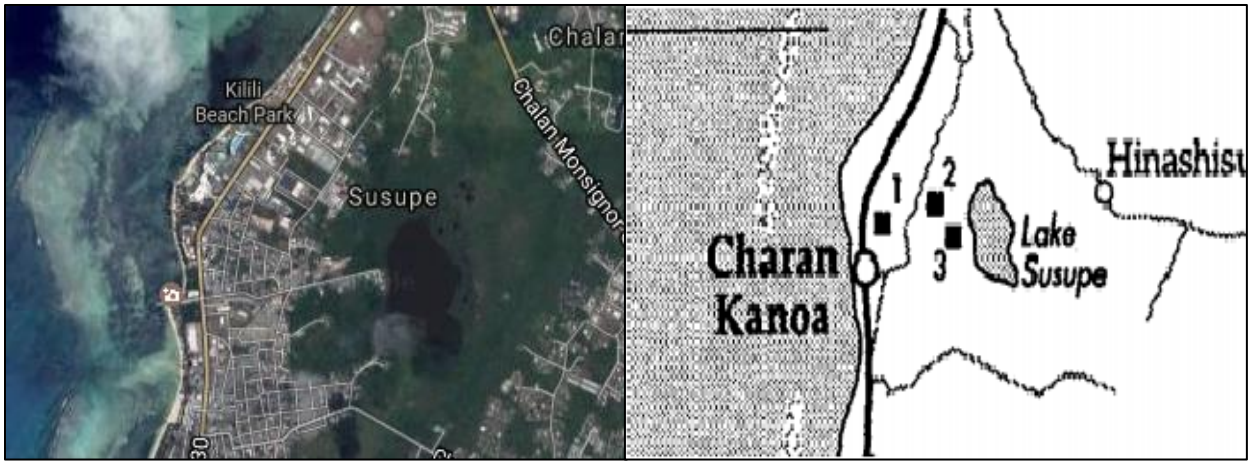

FIGURE 2. Modern map of Saipan in comparison to a map showing the locations of the Chamorro camp (1), Korean camp (2) and Japanese camp (3) (Photos from Google maps and Meller 1999)

Much of the literature prepared regarding the Battle for Saipan mostly focuses on the Japanese and U.S. experience of war. This research, therefore, aims to provide an overarching narrative of the battle; the indigenous population largely withdrew from fighting yet continued to experience the impacts of the battle for many years to come.

The primary objective of this thesis is to examine the experiences of the Chamorro and Carolinian peoples of Saipan during and shortly after the battle from 1944 to 1946. To investigate the indigenous experience, collection of oral histories occurred, mostly from indigenous elders who had survived through internment or had stories passed down to them. Further work consisted of archaeologically exploring the indigenous camp Chalan Kanoa within a conflict archaeology framework utilizing community and indigenous archaeology approaches.

Specific questions to be addressed include:

1. What was the indigenous experience before, during and shortly after the Battle for Saipan?

2. How were indigenous civilians treated by the U.S. military personnel during and after the battle particularly regarding their placement into the camps and involvement with rebuilding the island?

3. What is the archaeological signature of the internment camps? How did Camp Susupe and Camp Chalan Kanoa differ, if at all? And how were these camps different or like other U.S. WWII internment camps?

4. Maritime activities are deemed especially important in Pacific Island indigenous culture. How were these activities affected by the battle and what lasting effects has this had on their culture?

The primary objective of this thesis, while a broad scope to consider, is purposefully phrased as such. To fully understand the Battle for Saipan from the perspective of the indigenous civilians, the most important aspect to consider is the significant issues that the indigenous population wish to address. While this thesis aims to discuss life within the camps, all interviewees have had the ability to discuss other topics. This ensured that their thoughts, ideas, and memories are recorded before the opportunity to do so ends.

The second and third questions specifically discuss the indigenous experiences with the military and movement to and around camps. Research has indicated that the military, especially the Navy Seabee battalions, went above and beyond what was necessary to form bonds with the indigenous peoples; this information has the potential to be biased, however, as it comes from positive military reports and memoirs (Huie 1944; Huie 1945; Morison 1981). Further questioning this generalization, accounts from other events of the war in the Pacific prove that race played a large factor in negative attitudes and violent behavior towards Japanese and other

"Oriental" peoples by the U.S. military (Dower 1993; Camacho 2011). These two conflicting views present a complicated relationship. Further research into this idea, in conjunction with oral histories of indigenous civilians, can help bridge the gap in information and ensure the views of more than one group of people during wartime are expressed.

These questions also focus on the site of the camps themselves (Figure 1, Figure 2). Due to urbanization and flooding, the area where the camps were located is ephemeral. A map created using military documentation shows camp boundaries, which helped determine areas of study and potential future survey areas. This information resulted in the completion of a Phase I archaeological study to assess the archaeological signature of the camps. Collection of oral histories were completed onsite when possible, as this can result in more detailed recollections and potentially identify locations of interest to the archaeological survey (Fowler 2015). Throughout the duration of this project, consultation between civilians and researchers occurred, as well as encouragement to share their opinions regarding any further archaeological study. Overall, this connected the research to the broader study of conflict and internment archaeology while incorporating community archaeology tenets.

The fourth question has been developed as an in-depth look into the maritime culture of the Chamorro and Carolinian peoples on Saipan. Due to the strict nature of internment camps, maritime activities, such as fishing and boating, were likely limited or completely restricted. Research conducted helped to determine the extent of the restriction on maritime activities, and how these limitations may have affected the Chamorro and Carolinians even after being lifted.

1.2 Justification

In the past few years, archaeological and historical interest has grown regarding the Battle for Saipan (Russell and Fleming 1991; Camacho 2011; Cabrera 2014; McKinnon and

Carrell 2014; Mushynsky 2017). The Saipan government and civilians have encouraged the creation of a World War II Heritage Trail to promote visitors to explore sunken wrecks considered important during the battle (McKinnon and Carrell 2014). Further archaeological investigations have been undertaken to exhume and identify the remains of Japanese Imperial soldiers; this and other large-scale archaeological projects have since set a precedent for the treatment of sites in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI) (Russell and Fleming 1991:13).

Despite interest shown by indigenous civilians in recounting their experiences, limited academic work has been completed to investigate their viewpoint during the battle. The U.S. government considers civilians killed during the Battle for Saipan "collateral damage" and have not been given their due attention (Cabrera 2014). Firm numbers of both Japanese and U.S. military casualties have been calculated, but for many people living on the island, pieces are still missing regarding family members and friends. In order to portray a complete narrative of the Battle for Saipan, their stories remain a necessary addition.

Not only does this thesis add to the history of the battle, but it also encourages the use of oral histories within archaeology. A pivotal part in the methodology for this project is active participation of community members. Theoretically speaking, this is termed *community archaeology*, and will be used in concurrence with methods used in *indigenous archaeology*. Indigenous archaeology aims to complete archaeological practices for, with, and by indigenous people in conjunction with being responsive to their culture, histories, needs, and perspectives (Silliman 2008:2). On many levels, it is about breaking with Western colonial values within the field of archaeology and expanding to new cultures and views that reflect those of the indigenous communities involved (Watkins and Nicholas 2014:141). The stigma against oral histories lies

largely in Western archaeology, and as the Chamorro and Carolinian peoples are story-telling cultures, it would only strengthen a study of Pacific culture to integrate oral histories into the research.

1.3 Historical Background

Foreign powers have ruled over Saipan since the middle of the 16th century when the Spanish claimed the Mariana Islands. Upon investigation of the island, the Spanish encountered the indigenous culture now known as the Chamorro peoples (Spoehr 2000:2). Spanish colonization in the middle of the 17th century led to the conversion of most Chamorro peoples to Catholicism, the introduction of the Spanish language and dress, and the eventual hybridization of the population (Spoehr 2000:24). Core values, practices, and their native tongue, however, endured through this cultural impact (Russell 1998:344). During the Spanish occupation, the indigenous presence dwindled not only in Saipan, but also on other islands in the Marianas chain, and was not reestablished until the early 19th century (Hezel 1988:138). Prior research has indicated that the Carolinian peoples, from the Caroline Islands, came to settle in Saipan during this Spanish period; however, newly developing research suggests that there may have been prior contact between the Carolinian and Chamorro cultures (Fritz 2001:9; McKinnon et.al 2014: Footnotes; Russell 2017:7-8).

After several hundred years, Germany purchased the Mariana Islands north of Guam in 1899 after the end of the Spanish-American War (Fritz 2001:10). This turn-over in administration brought many changes to the Chamorro and Carolinian peoples' lifestyles. The German administration instituted schools, judicial systems, a police force, a public health system, and different agricultural and land practices; however, Chamorro family values and religion remained intact throughout this time (Spoehr 2000:22).

In 1914, the Japanese took control over German-held Micronesia, including Saipan, but did not officially gain control until the Treaty of Versailles ended World War I (Spoehr 2000:51). Residents of Saipan report that the years under Japanese mandate were generally passive until war with the U.S. erupted; however, as more information is revealed through time, this generalization does not fit the experiences of all civilians (Petty 2002:22; Castro 2014). Japanese officer behavior turned violent towards the indigenous population, forcibly closing churches and schools, strictly rationing food, and increasingly becoming paranoid and suspicious (Petty 2002). The U.S. soon turned their gaze towards Saipan, Tinian, and Guam, engaging in *Operation Forager* (McKinnon and Carrell 2015:20).

When the U.S. military began shelling the island in the middle of June 1944, Saipan Japanese officers informed all civilians that Americans would torture, kill, or rape them. They also threatened to kill any civilian who attempted to reach the U.S. military (Petty 2002:26). Most of the indigenous civilians, remaining largely uninvolved in the battle, found sanctuary in caves scattered across the entire island. These caves provided shelter from bombing and bullets while also keeping civilians away from Japanese and U.S. soldiers. Most of these caves were located far from water and food; after three weeks of limited resources, most civilians willingly turned themselves over to the U.S. military (Petty 2002:20). As the civilians surrendered to U.S. forces, they provided injured civilians medical care and food and water from the USDA to all civilians (MARC 1981).

The 2nd and 4th Marine divisions and the 27th Army Infantry division initially moved all civilians to beach stockades; conditions on the beach were hot, without shade, and unsanitary (Hughes 2008:79). The U.S. military soon became confronted with the problem of relocating the

injured, weary, and hungry civilians. According to after-action documents from the Army Garrison Forces, Civil Affairs Section G-5,

> In planning, it was assumed that despite Naval and Air bombardment, plus Infantry and Field Artillery attack, a sufficient number of the original civilian structures would remain to provide a basis for rehabilitation. This assumption proved to be completely erroneous and was partially responsible for the inability of the Civil Affairs section to cope with the civilian problem which actually arose on Saipan (Schmidt 1944:18).

The U.S. military moved all civilians to the area of Susupe village that they called Camp Susupe, and then later separated into two separate areas; the village of Chalan Kanoa became an off-shoot camp specifically for the Chamorro and Carolinian civilians. According to reports by the U.S. Navy (1946:231), Seabee carpenters under the 87th Construction Battalion built large, wooden shelters for the civilians, but until completed, thousands of displaced civilians lived in make-shift shelters and tents made from canvas and metal tin roofing. Under the direction of the Navy Seabees and Army engineers, all "ethnic groups," including Japanese internees, helped to build single story barracks out of salvaged material (Meller 1999:36; Salaberria 1994:37). They would spend almost two years in these camps until cleared to move around the island (Spoehr 2000:62).

Admiral Spruance did not consider the island secure until mid-August with all Japanese forces and civilians captured; in reality it took several years to control Japanese resistance on the island. Official U.S. military records show that, excluding prisoners of war, a total of 14,560 civilians were interned by 5 August 1944, consisting 2,315 Chamorro civilians and 814 Carolinian civilians (Morison 1981:338-339).

The U.S. military campaign in the Pacific during WWII was riddled with logistical problems throughout its entirety, and this would not change after Saipan was considered secure. This was the first time that the U.S. military worked with civilians alongside enemy combatants, thus, many orders and mandates centered around attempting to keep racial tensions between military members and islanders to a minimum (Richard 1957:165; Camacho 2011:69). The plans developed regarding the citizens in the camp were far from perfect, but most interviews with indigenous peoples provide insight into the positive aspects of their involvement. Much of the literature regarding the battle and subsequent internment consists of individual interviews conducted with indigenous peoples and U.S. soldiers, and formerly published U.S. military documents regarding the relocation of all civilians and life inside the Camp Susupe (MARC 1981a; MARC 1981b; Schmidt 1944). Unfortunately, there is a large gap of information regarding the differences in Camp Susupe and Chalan Kanoa.

1.4 Methodology

It was decided early on that this project would be conducted using a multi-disciplinary approach. The first phase of this research consisted of archival research. Research conducted at both physical and digital archives provided military photographs, war diaries, and civil affairs reports. Examinations of previously collected oral histories from civilians on Saipan also occurred. This provided a baseline of information for what had already been researched and what still lacked examination.

The second method considered the collection of new oral histories from civilians that had survived through the battle. The research procedures were approved by East Carolina University IRB standards prior to conducting interviews (Appendix A). Researchers selected potential interviews by reaching out to the public and requesting volunteers by placing

newspaper advertisements, social media announcements, and radio show interviews. From the first volunteer, the snowball method of research continued to recruit possible interviewees. As this topic could be considered sensitive, volunteers were asked to pass along information to potential recruits to minimize "cold calling." By employing a Local Heritage Consultant to contact potential interviewees and to assist in field work, more interviewees came forward, resulting in 32 participants. This particular method relates back to tenets of community and indigenous archaeologies.

Researchers conducted interviews using a direct questionnaire, with most of the questions written as open structured to allow the interviewee a certain level of freedom within the topics (Appendix E). All interviews were recorded upon consent from the interviewee, and the subsequent oral history write-up was reviewed and approved by each participant.

Lastly, researchers completed a Phase I archaeological survey on the site of the internment camps. There had been no prior work completed at this site specifically related to the internment of civilians; therefore, the intent of this survey was to identify the boundaries of Camp Susupe and Chalan Kanoa by completing a non-invasive survey of the pre-war Japanese houses that the civilians were placed into during internment. A walk-through of the Chalan Kanoa district took place, completing structural surveys and neighborhood interviews during the assessment. The survey resulted in a GIS map that shows the original Camp Susupe boundary, a map of the approximate area of Chalan Kanoa determined by oral histories, and a map of the buildings associated with the Chalan Kanoa extension. These maps also help determine the extent of less developed area remaining within the boundaries that could offer evidence of the camps in future research.

In order to complete this project, the Northern Marianas Humanities Council provided a grant supporting the research (Appendix B). The collection of oral histories resulted in a digital book that will be available for free, as well as a GIS Story Map that includes the oral histories and historical and modern geographic representations of places of interest. These products aim to bring the indigenous narrative back into focus.

1.5 Limitations

Early intentions of this thesis focused on springboarding interest in archaeologically investigating the indigenous experience of the Battle for Saipan. Unfortunately, much of the area that the internment camps were based on is now developed. This resulted in limited archaeological investigation into Chalan Kanoa. Flooding of the Susupe-Chalan Kanoa area may have caused material remains to become damaged or washed out, leaving the archaeological scope of this thesis obstructed. While the range of this thesis is fairly daunting, data from first-hand accounts, documentation, and historical review provided most of the information.

Gathering first-hand accounts also proved to be difficult, as the number of living residents has diminished through time. Oral traditions that have been handed down through the generations were also explored, and interviews already conducted were re-examined in the hopes that gaps caused by the lack of living community members could be filled. This, of course, can lead to distorted views and memories; however, corroboration was attempted by using all available resources, including military documents, photographs, and comparing to other interviews. It must also be acknowledged that participants that did contribute may only have described positive experiences out of cultural courtesy, believing that negative stories should not be shared out of respect. It is equally plausible that participants that would have discussed

negative experiences completely withheld from contributing out of civility, causing a skewed portrayal of the indigenous experience towards more positive exchanges.

When beginning research for this thesis, it was determined that the U.S. Navy Seabee Museum and Heritage Center in Port Hueneme, California held all Seabee documents regarding WWII. An archivist at the museum relayed that the archives are closed to researchers due to declassification issues and would not be opening for another year or two. Unfortunately, this greatly diminishes the amount of archival data in relation to the work the Seabees performed on Saipan. While the WWII period usually falls outside the range of declassification, research at other archives may have been withheld that were not apparent at the time. Regardless, oral histories and previously recorded interviews still hold valuable opinions about relationships with the indigenous peoples.

Finally, the author's own inherent bias must be acknowledged. The author does not identify with either of the two indigenous groups that this thesis examines. As such, it is possible that cultural differences led to a biased outlook. This bias is acknowledged, and every effort has been made to ensure that this research has been conducted as objectively as possible.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Saipan has been the focus of extensive work addressing the island's role in WWII. Multiple organizations, including Ships of Explorations and Discovery, Flinders University, East Carolina University, the U.S. National Park Service (NPS), American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP), and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI) Historic Preservation Office, have used a conflict archaeology approach to study broad social changes during and after the U.S. invasion. Results include the creation of a WWII Heritage Trail that highlights the underwater and terrestrial sites of the Battle for Saipan and several war memorials around the island (McKinnon and Carrell 2015:3-6). While this work has certainly contributed to the field of conflict archaeology and the historic and economic welfare of the CNMI, there is still more to be completed. According to the Northern Mariana Islands Tourism Master Plan 2012-2016 (Marianas Visitor Authority 2012:70), "the World War II era has brought certain fame for Saipan and Tinian, and there are significant sites that visitors can experience. However, there remains a gap in both exposure and understanding of the ancient indigenous culture and traditions."

Within the field of archaeology, there are many different specializations and areas of focus that need to be studied. Conflict archaeology, sometimes referred to as battlefield archaeology, considers all aspects of a conflict in order to study broader social changes. When studying a war-torn landscape such as post-war Saipan, the seemingly obvious route would be to investigate using conflict archaeology framework.

For this reason, this thesis advocates for a cross-over of conflict archaeology with community and indigenous archaeology methodologies. This literature review discusses conflict

archaeology, as well as analyzes important case studies of overlapping research where community, indigenous, and internment archaeologies coincide within a conflict archaeology framework.

2.2 History of Conflict and Battlefield Archaeology

In theory and construct, the area of conflict archaeology is considered relatively new. The roots of the approach can be found in the 18th and 19th centuries with the work of William Hutton at Bosworth fields and Edward Fitzgerald and Thomas Carlyle at Nasby. These rudimentary studies focused on remains of the dead and analysis of the battlefield, common areas of interest even in modern practice (Pollard and Banks 2010:415; Scott and McFeaters 2011:105). While interest in conflict spans centuries, many of the developments towards theoretical approaches have occurred in the last two decades (Carman 2013:1).

Since these earlier developments in the field, studies have expanded all over the world in the areas of conflict. Because of the focus of studies on battlefields and fortifications, the field originally developed as "battlefield archaeology." However, the 2006 Fields of Conflict Conference considered the term "battlefield archaeology" as too confining; instead, the term "conflict archaeology" appropriately encompasses the study of all aspects of violence. This now includes studies in combat, tactics, internment, civil unrest, and maritime aspects, to name only a few (Carman 2013:10-12).

The 20th century saw the emergence of modern conflict archaeology in both the U.S. and Europe. Portuguese studies at the Aljubarotta medieval site in the 1950s and Scottish investigations at Marston Moor in the 1970s sparked interest in creating a subfield specifically for battle sites (Pollard and Banks 2010:414; Scott and McFeaters 2011:106). Archaeological investigations in 1958, and again in the 1980s, at the Battle of Little Big Horn in the U.S. proved

to be significant to the field, solidifying conflict archaeology as a legitimate area of study. Prior battlefield research primarily addressed visible physical remains that could be studied such as fortifications and human remains. At Little Big Horn, the inclusion of systematic investigation (field surface searches, metal detectors, and mapping) and modern firearm identification theories provided a broad methodology that could be used by other archaeologists in studies of conflict (Scott and McFeaters 2001:108-109). Furthermore, these studies proved that even if no visible trace of the battlefield remained on the surface, more could be revealed by looking deeper.

Conflict archaeology specifically interested in modern warfare of the 20th century resurfaced when a project to expand the A19 roadway in Belgium uncovered mass graves from the First World War. Sudden backlash from the community to protect the sites led to the abandonment of the A19 project. The public interest and ensuing archaeological projects to interpret the sites further expanded the development of the conflict archaeology field (Carman 2013:17; Sutherland and Horst 2004:14).

Over the years, the study of conflict archaeology has been separated into three different areas of study that loosely align with time periods. The first period considers the conflict of prehistoric warfare; this mostly focuses on shifts in social and cultural change, as warfare precedes power shifts in many cases (Carman 2013:38-40). The second period, more often associated with actual "battlefield" archaeology, encompasses many studies of the battlefield and fortifications. The methodology used when studying this area is overtly processual, as it involves looking for patterns within the archaeological records to make deductions (Carman 2013:46; Schofield 2005:39). Modern conflict, considered the third period of study, is the focal point of this thesis. Prisoner of war camps (PoW), concentration camps, defense structures, battlefields, and other sites from modern wars have become the focus of heritage protection agencies,

including the English Heritage, ABPP, and private and government organizations (Carman 2013: 92-94). Internment archaeology will form a large basis of this project, acting as an extension of conflict archaeology.

2.3 Internment Archaeology as an Extension of Conflict Archaeology

Internment of a group of people persists throughout history, especially during or after a conflict. Moshenska and Myers (2011:4) consider internment to be "all forms of unjust imprisonment: those that are not the result of a fair and equitable legal process;" this definition can encompass PoW camps, civilian camps, prison colonies, or refugee camps. Internment during WWII often comes in many forms, including dislocation, separation, alienation, and incarceration, and while not necessarily part of the initial conflict, does keep internees away from battle (Mytum 2018:612). A common factor of 20th century internment is the construction of a camp, usually rapidly built, comprised of short-term living quarters, and surrounded by natural or physical boundaries (Moshenska and Myers 2011:3). Internment restricts the movement of whomever the group in power wants to control and is justified in their eyes by fears of espionage, subversion, and protection of citizens. In the case of civilian internees and refugees, these justifications often hide behind the guise of the provision of safety, food, and shelter. Internment camps of the 20th century often held law-abiding citizens who are affiliated with a specific group based on xenophobic fears of the group in power (Mytum and Carr 2013:3).

Studies of concentration, internment, and holding camps have been completed extensively in the last few decades, resulting in an array of materiality, anthropological, and historical studies (Banks 2011; Kobialka et al. 2017; Moshenska and Myers 2011; Mytum and Carr 2013). Because of the focus on social impacts and material remains, modern conflict archaeology, especially that of the First and Second World Wars, developed from a more

anthropological and archaeological approach rather than an historic one (Kobialka et al. 2017: 137). The archaeology of internment is no different; with the shortage of documents from both World Wars, either from purposeful destruction or misplacement through time, oral histories and archaeological recording have proven their importance in these studies.

Comparative studies between internment camps demonstrate how internment and imprisonment can differ between location, purpose, and even ethnicity of captive and custodian (Banks 2011; Yap 2012; Rothenhäusler and Adler 2013). Research conducted in Southeast Asia regarding the Japanese-held captives of WWII offer insight into how two different internment experiences can occur within the same geographic area, much like the case of Saipan. Yap (2012) compares several different PoW camps in British Asia, with a special focus on Lintang Camp in Borneo, to determine differences in experiences between groups within camps. Research indicated that, in general, PoW camps usually had a higher death rate than civilian camps, most likely because civilians were not subjected to hard labor or violent, physical abuse. However, within the PoW camps, officers and higher-ranking military members received better treatment, food, and payment than lower ranking officers. In Lintang Camp, where PoWs and civilians lived separately from one another in the same compound, these patterns still existed; lower ranking combatants experienced more violence, women and children fared better, and high-ranking officials were treated the best (Yap 2012: 318-332). Memoirs of camp prisoners form a cornerstone of the research, providing individual narratives to compare to the generalizations of camps in British Asia.

Additional research into comparative studies of camp types also occurs in the European theater of WWII. Banks (2011) compares PoW camp Deaconsbank and Macoul Newfoundland Overseas Forestry Unit camp in the United Kingdom. Both held young, male foreign nationals

who were involved in war labor, with similar camp construction patterns. The main differences between the two camps lie in their purpose and additional luxuries. While Deaconsbank held captured enemy soldiers, the purpose of Macoul was to be a home away from home. Interestingly, Macoul had very little creature comforts for its residents, yet Deaconsbank did, such as a movie theatre, hairdressers, and artists workshop (Banks 2011:123). This is likely since the PoWs needed to remain inside at all times, and the Macoul residents would leave camp to work during the day. Despite the appearance of better accommodations, Deaconsbank was still designed to control the population within. Everything about the camp, from the architecture to the additional comforts, was planned as a means to suppress any problems that arose in a timely manner (Banks 2011:125).

While the previously discussed internment studies focus on WWII, this thesis hopes to compare the internment camps of Saipan to other U.S. military camps, whether they be holding, internment, or PoW camps. The most well-known U.S. camps from WWII include the Japanese-American civilian camps in the western states and Hawai'i, many of which have been archaeologically examined (Connor, Field, and Roberts 1999; Shew and Kamp-Whittaker 2003; Burton 2017; Fujita 2018).

This research aims to determine to what extent the internment camps on Saipan still exist, an area highly impacted by modern development. Connor, Field, and Roberts (1999) in conjunction with the NPS conducted surveys into Fort Carson, a PoW camp in Colorado. Their objectives, similar to this thesis, focused on determining what archaeological evidence remained on the site and if it could add to the informatieon already gathered by historical documents and eyewitness testimony. The Fort Carson project used mapping, metal detecting, surface surveys, and excavations to collect their archaeological data. Their findings established that the site would

not be fit for designation on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), and what little evidence remained would not add more to the historic record. The Fort Carson project serves as a clear example of what methodologies can be used to ascertain archaeological data and to what extent that data can add to or diminish the historical record (Connor, Field, and Roberts 1999).

With the internment of civilians often comes the restrictions of certain activities and movement into or out of the camp. This thesis, hoping to track the effect that internment caused on the maritime activities of the Chamorro and Carolinian cultures, can take guidance from other internment studies regarding activities inside of camp. In their studies of Amache Camp at the Granada Relocation Center, Shew and Kamp-Whittaker (2013) assessed oral testimony, archival research, and archaeological surveys to determine how internment affected family values and community structure. Oral histories, an asset of many 20th century conflict studies, were a valuable resource to the Amache project and will be discussed later in this chapter. The authors determined that despite the potential for serious ramifications that internment could impose upon family and community structures, Japanese-American internees continued to uphold their values through this hardship (Shew and Kamp-Whittaker 2013:316). The work completed at Amache has continued through the years, even incorporating community involvement in research and fieldwork, as discussed in the next section.

2.4 Community Involvement in Conflict Archaeology

Tenets of community archaeology often overlap with conflict studies, involving community collaboration in the research, field work, and preservation of sites (see *Methods*). The Amache project continues to work with community members to ensure that the historic record reflects multiple perspectives. A former internee, Fujita (2018) was born in the Granada Relocation Center in 1943; he returned as a volunteer in 2014 with his nephew to assist with

field work during an archaeological field school. Fujita (2018:2) describes his parents' anger and disappointment regarding their treatment and attributes these feelings as to why they never discussed their time of internment. He and his nephew both wanted to learn more about their family history within the camp, and the coordinator of the program, Dr. Bonnie Clark, valued their contributions as an asset to the research and the learning experience for field school students (Fujita 2018:5). He continues to describe his experience volunteering as "invaluable," as it helped him gain an understanding of archaeological methods and the internment experiences at Amache. Fujita (2018:8) ends on a positive note, stating:

> Community involvement of former internees not only helps us personally heal from the psychological wounds of incarceration, but our stories may be a source of ideas and historical details that can advance and diversify the archaeological research. Our old photographs, letters, artifacts, oral histories, and financial backing can contribute significantly.

Manzanar National Historic Site, another Japanese-American civilian relocation center located in the western U.S., provides further support regarding community involvement within archaeological studies. Even before its designation by Congress as a national historic site in 1992, the Manzanar Relocation Center gained support of volunteers and descendent communities. The Manzanar Committee, comprised entirely of volunteers, began petitions for preservation of the center and pushed to raise public awareness about Japanese-American incarceration (Burton 2017:161-62).

After successful archaeological surveys resulting in data from Native American, pre-WWII, and internment sites, the NPS moved forward with archaeological studies at the other nine relocation centers around the U.S. Continuing work allows internees and their descendants

the ability to offer valuable feedback, both praise and criticism, which in turn is taken into account by staff at Manzanar to guide future studies, research directives, and stewardship of the center. Former internees also continue to participate in archaeological surveys, collection of oral histories and photographs, and even reconstruct aspects of the camp to further the public's understanding of the internment environment. Descendants of administrative staff also lobbied for their stories to be included at the site, one of which has written a book about growing up in Manzanar, helps guide tours, and assists with archaeological excavations (Burton 2017:164-67).

Not only did the NPS involve descendent communities in the conservation at Manzanar, but they also incorporated the local community as well. After initial backlash against bringing attention to the Japanese-American internment, the local community became involved once researchers included other historical sites in the surveys. Community members conducted metal-detection surveys, mapped the site, and helped conduct shovel test pits on the late 19th century Shepherd Ranch. The initial public archaeology project inspired a few of the volunteers, who had originally declined to work on other sites, to become involved in the Japanese-American sites (Burton 2017:168). Because of the incredible amount of work demonstrated by all volunteers at this site, Burton (2018:170) acknowledges that "archaeology may give new perspectives to our volunteers and the public, but the volunteers and public also give new perspectives, and direction, to the archaeology."

The Amache and Manzanar projects show the importance of community involvement in internment studies and how it can be mutually beneficial to all parties involved. While the authors understand the challenges faced by allowing volunteers and the un-trained public to complete archaeological projects, they also acknowledge that much of the work conducted at

these areas could only have been done because of public interest (Burton 2017:169-70; Fujita 2018:8).

Community involvement has become popular in the European theaters of WWII as well. One of the most notable instances in which a community partnership has benefited conflict archaeology occurred in the Netherlands. Work completed at Grebbeberg Mount, considered the bloodiest WWII battle site in the Netherlands, was largely supported by the volunteer group Stichting de Greb (StG).

StG garnered public interest in the project and began heritage management and site tours before archaeological interest even took place. Once CRM work began on the site and archaeological potential became known, StG worked closely with archaeologists and helped fund excavation of pill boxes on the site. The multi-disciplinary cooperation of this project allowed for data collection of the site with public support and funds, leading to eventual academic analysis (Wijnen et al.. 2016:31-33). The Grebbeberg Mount research projects have led to the development of modern conflict archaeology in the Netherlands; the site may not have gained much attention if not for the work completed by StG and public interest.

Public attention and desires to manage a local site commonly affect conflict archaeology projects. Oftentimes, sites significant to the community become the most successful projects undertaken. Rothenhäusler and Adler (2013) embraced the community involvement of two civilian internment camps in Germany and their connections to the British Channel Islands to study their memory and heritage management.

In response to the internment of German citizens in Persia during WWII, the German military deported civilians of Guernsey and Jersey in the Channel Islands to internment camps. Many of the island residents ended up in Biberach and Bad Wurzach, two camps located in the

same region of rural Germany. The comparable arrangements of the camps led archaeologists to complete case studies regarding the relationships between internees and residents of the villages. Because of the central location of the camp in a "Schloss," or castle, in Wurzach, the residents of the village formed relationships with those interned, trading goods through the barbed wire fence and sitting down to drink together. At Biberach, the camp was located further outside of the town, but relationships still occurred through work outside of the camps or supervised walks through the village (Rothenhäusler and Adler 2013:207-211).

The relationships cultivated at Biberach and Bad Wurzach extended beyond the internment of the British civilians. What started with personal visits back to Wurzach from Jersey quickly moved towards management of the derelict graves of internees and adding their names to the war memorial. Through the years, former internees have continued to visit the villages and participated in student exchange trips, school presentations, and wreath laying ceremonies. The towns even began "twinning" arrangements to keep their cultural and historic ties relevant (Rothenhäusler and Adler 2013:214-217). These projects would never have been possible if it had not been for the interest in both British and German communities to sustain the bonds developed in a time of conflict.

These case studies show the importance of having the support of the communities involved, whether they be communities of proximity or lineage to the site. The extent of the communities' involvement relies not only on the archaeologist, but also the communities themselves. If impacted communities do not offer support for the research, then the relevance of the project is lost.

2.5 Indigenous Communities, Oral Histories, and Conflict Studies

When a conflict involves groups of indigenous peoples, it becomes crucial that those groups become involved within the archaeologies of their own heritage. Indigenous archaeology is a fast-growing subfield, and while the methodology is still evolving, many of the practices involved in community archaeology can be absorbed by those who seek an inclusive methodology for indigenous research. Within conflict archaeology, it has become even more important to include the narrative of the indigenous peoples. Research often focuses on the military or colonial narratives, when "in actuality, no single overarching narrative of 'the war' can represent it objectively or in its totality" (Falgout et al. 2008:37).

This thesis explores the contribution that indigenous voices can make in the examination of the Battle for Saipan, specifically the Chamorro and Carolinians. The following case studies show the importance of incorporating indigenous communities in the archaeological process, as well as emphasize the role that oral histories play in furthering the research as it relates to conflict studies (Scott 2003; Falgout et al. 2008).

Scott (2003) provides examples of how archaeological evidence can complement or contradict the oral traditions of the ancestors of those involved, and how to address each issue. On his work at the Battle of the Big Hole, Montana, the oral traditions passed down by the Nez Perce American Indian tribe conflicted with the after-action reports written by the United States military. However, the archaeological evidence found at the site, mainly rifle cartridges, supported the Nez Perce oral histories and demonstrated bias within the written formal record (Scott 2003:55-59).

On the other hand, Scott's work at the Sand Creek Massacre site in Colorado shows the archaeological data and historic documentation contradicting the oral histories of American

Indian tribes in the surrounding area. While the Northern Arapaho tribe concedes that their testimonies may have been incorrect, the other tribes do not agree with the NPS interpretation and holds their ancestral tradition in higher precedence than archaeological evidence (Scott 2003:59-64).

These two juxtaposing cases demonstrate the importance of oral traditions, as well as inevitable sources of conflict when oral histories and written or material records do not align. It is important to consider oral traditions when investigating an event, but a stronger case can be made when the scientific evidence and historic research is consistent with the oral histories. Scott (2003:64) warns that not everybody will be open to a more scientific deduction of events, but that archaeologists should remain sensitive to the views of those communities involved.

In transitioning to the Pacific theater in WWII, Falgout et al. (2008) discuss the meaning of war to the Micronesian indigenous civilians. Current research heavily focuses on the Japanese and U.S. views of the war, while the Micronesian Islander experiences remain overlooked. From their different point of view, the war had a higher impact on their lives than that of the Japanese or U.S., yet they did not instigate it. Instead, the global political and economic impacts of the war pale in comparison to the impacts on their personal lives (Falgout et al. 2008:43). As such, most memories revolve around surviving through the battle and the suffering they experienced during it. They pass these memories onto the next generation through song and storytelling, a common practice that has been a part of the Micronesian culture since before colonization. Falgout et al. (2008) promote the investigation of these stories and songs as a way of truly understanding the indigenous experience of war, and to see it through their eyes.

Further work in the Pacific by Murray (2006) illustrates not only the importance of incorporating oral histories into war narratives, but also having the support and cooperation of

the community elders. In addressing the U.S., Japanese, and Islander's perspective of WWII in Palau, Murray states that community elders overwhelmingly approved of the collection of their stories from the war; at a time when the island was experiencing urbanization and modernization, the elders had become concerned that community youth population would not be as invested in their cultural heritage (Murray 2006:42). He continues to stress the importance of learning about the Islander's experiences the way that they pass down their history: "in memory, not on paper, and the most detailed form of transmission is through oral discussion" (Murray 2006:18). He combines these oral histories with the Japanese and U.S. historical accounts, creating a multi-perspective overview of WWII on Palau.

Aggregating oral histories within conflict studies continues to be an important asset to the archaeological field. Collecting oral histories, however, means that the archaeologist must have the support of the community, whether it be an indigenous or non-indigenous group. It also means that archaeologists must remain respectful to the groups they are working with, and, as stated by Shew and Kamp-Whittaker (2013:316):

> Oral histories are more than just a way to confirm theories about the past developed from material objects and documents. They are emotional and personal components of research that help remind us that the archaeologists' theories and results are actually stories of the people that lived them.

The studies described in this section were chosen to outline the importance of oral history collections from different indigenous groups around the world. Scott (2003) acknowledges both the positive and negative aspects of incorporating oral histories into archaeology, while still stating that archaeologists must remain sensitive to the different viewpoints and cultural beliefs. Both Falgout et al (2008) and Murray (2006) promote the inclusion of oral histories when

examining Pacific Islander experiences of war, as it is their primary method of passing on their history. Overall, these cases provide guidance for working with the Chamorro and Carolinian populations on Saipan in way that will ensure that their concerns are addressed.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This thesis, in an effort to bridge the gap between academics and community members, endeavors to combine an archaeological survey with oral histories in order to highlight the indigenous civilian experience of Saipan. This chapter outlines the research, oral history collection, and survey methodologies implemented and the principles of community and indigenous archaeologies embraced in the duration of this project.

This project was made possible by support from the Northern Marianas Humanities Council, a nonprofit, private corporation funded in part by the National Endowment for the Humanities (GPH18-00274). Conditions of the grant included that a humanities discipline be researched, and that public participation occur when possible. Under the grant, this project collected oral histories from war survivors and their families, resulting in a GIS Story Map relating to the indigenous experience, the creation of a free digital book.

3.2 Archival and Historical Research Methodology

To gain an understanding of the complexities of indigenous life on Saipan, the first stage of this thesis considered historical and archival research. The broad scope of this thesis required historical research ranging from the earliest indigenous history of the Northern Mariana Islands through the modern era. The wide-ranging topics to be considered included maritime history within the indigenous context of the Northern Mariana Islands; colonial administrations on Saipan; WWII in the Pacific; the Battle for Saipan; community archaeology; battlefield and conflict archaeology studies.

After collecting a broad narrative of regional and Pacific theatre history and different archaeology methodologies, research parameters narrowed to specific topics. These topics included previous research conducted into both Japanese and indigenous civilian internment camps of Saipan; civilian internment camps of WWII; U.S. foreign policy regarding civilian affairs; race and social impacts in the Pacific Islands; Carolinian contacts with the Northern Mariana Islands; memory and material culture studies of internment sites.

As part of the research phase, visits were made to the National Archives and Records Administration (Archives II) in College Park, Maryland. Contact with the Archives II professional archivists referred attention to four different record groups (RG) to peruse: RG 127, RG 313, RG 38, and RG 389. RG 38: Records of the Chief of Naval Operations contained the Saipan Phase I War Diaries Report, which proved to be the most useful of the record groups. War diaries hold daily operational entries that pertain to military orders and movement after the battle.

Archives II also houses the Cartographic Unit. Inquiries made at the College Park location identified one canister of aerial photographs of the Chalan Kanoa area of Saipan between 1944-1945 in RG 373. Can no. ON027538 held exposures 33 & 34 and 50 &51; these film negatives were 1:30,000 scale and required the use of a light table at the archives to view. These negatives, while in fairly good condition, were not produced at a scale that allowed for detailed comparison of the Chalan Kanoa and Susupe area and their surroundings.

Archival research, though mostly taking place in physical archives, also considered digital archives. Digital archives allowed for consideration of primary sources from all over the world without having to travel to the archives themselves. Four digital archives were utilized during the archival research stage: National Archives Catalog, Fold3, the Seabee Museum

Archives, and Northern Marianas Humanities Council. The National Archives Catalog (2018) assisted in pre-visit identification of possible record groups, as well as provided uploaded content such as videography and photography.

Fold3 (2018), an online archive sponsored by Ancestry.com, allows access to billions of military documents, including photographs, reports, and registration papers. By restricting search parameters to 1944-1946 and entering keywords such as “Saipan” in combination with “civilian,” “Chamorro,” “Carolinian,” and “camp,” results significantly narrowed. The search provided documents from Archives II that had not been previously found, as well as identified RG 342: Records of U.S. Air Force Commands, Activities, and Organizations as another potential source. RG 342 provided several photographs from the Saipan campaign, including snapshots of internees before and after movement into the camps.

Despite denial of access to the Seabee Museum Archives in Port Hueneme, California, individual Seabee battalion cruise books were consulted. The U.S. Navy Seabee Museum provides digitized copies of WWII cruise books online, supported by the Naval History and Heritage Command (2017). Previous historic research identified the individual battalions involved on Saipan, and cruise books detailed if they had assisted with construction of the civilian internment camp. Cruise books identified the 87th Naval Construction Battalion as one of the main carpentry units to work on the camp (United States Navy).

Digital archives sponsored by the Northern Mariana Humanities Council (2018) also proved to be a helpful tool. Thousands of documents, photographs, videos, and oral histories have been uploaded on the Humanities Council resources webpage. Documents range in time from the German colonial administration to the early 1990s. Not all documents are available online, however they are available for use at the Humanities Council office and Northern

Mariana Archives. Digitized documents were considered during initial research, and the Northern Mariana Archives were consulted upon arrival for fieldwork in Saipan.

3.3 Data Collection

In the early stages of thesis development, it was decided to utilize a community archaeological framework and incorporate aspects of indigenous archaeology. The reasoning behind this decision is threefold. First, this research focuses on two indigenous peoples, identified as Chamorro and Carolinian, and partially concentrates on their traditional maritime customs as they have continued through WWII. Secondly, this research strongly advocates the use of oral histories and interviews, a tenet considered important to both community and indigenous methodologies. Lastly, community members have already taken great strides in recording their memories of the Battle for Saipan and encourage academic studies in their culture and histories; using methods from both indigenous and community archaeologies enables them to continue to be active in the telling and recording of their history.

Community archaeology, known as such because of the inclusion of communities in the archaeological process, embraces the notion that archaeological success can be better achieved when collaborating with a wider range of peoples (Tully 2007:158). This process allows for the local community to be given control in the project, and to cultivate a relationship with the archaeologist in order to collaborate effectively (Marshall 2002:211; Moser et al. 2002:229). Two different community types, or stakeholders, with valid claims to a site's heritage have been identified as central to an archaeological study; both groups are identified using information about the site in question. The first community type includes the people who live locally on or near an archaeological site. The second community group consists of descendants of those who

lived on or near an archaeological site, or those who choose to embrace their ancestral ties to a site. These two groups often overlap (Marshall 2002:216).

For a research project to embrace a community archaeological framework, some archaeologists argue that there are seven points that should be followed (Marshall 2002; Moser et al. 2002). They concede that this does not reflect a rigid methodology, but that research should consider adopting as many of these ideas as possible.

The first step ensures that there is communication and collaboration at every level of the research project, not just to gain approval with the results and final product. This gives stakeholders in the community a certain level of control and confirms that research truly is for the community. This aspect can coincide with the second point, which involves employment and training of community members to assist with the project. Not only does this stimulate the local economy, but also helps pass along skills that can ensure the heritage management and protection of the site after the archeological research concludes (Moser et al. 2002:229-234).

Another important step to consider, and one that has been previously discussed, is the collection of oral histories and interviews with community members. This component reflects the importance of involvement of the community by keeping pathways of communication open. It also ensures that their cultural views and interpretations are recorded (Moser et al. 2002:236-237).

Presenting the research findings to the public in a way that they find relevant remains an important aspect of community archaeology as well. Discussions should be held with community members to determine what they consider to be productive ways of divulging information. This could include public presentations, heritage center exhibits, or plain-language reports that cater to the community. A fourth aspect of the community archaeology framework that coincides with

public presentations is the creation of educational resources; this affects the younger members of the community and can involve site visits, school presentations, and literature specifically intended for children (Moser et al. 2002:234-239).

Accessibility is also important for distribution to the public, and Moser et al. (2002:240-242) promote the creation of a video and photograph database of all steps of the archaeological process. Not only does this ensure that community members who cannot physically be on site see the process, but it also creates a log of work completed. Finally, any merchandising related to tourism of the site should be a collaborative effort between the project and community members.

As empowering as it can seem to give communities an active role in archaeological processes, community archaeology is not without its problems. Setbacks can include archaeologists unwilling to relinquish control over certain aspects of the project, or that community involvement will overpower the archaeologists' goals. Sometimes, singling out just one community can disregard those that believe they are also stakeholders (Chirikure and Pwiti 2008). Proper management of a project must be thought through to ensure that the integration of communities coincides smoothly with the goals of the research.

This project involved members of the community by recording their oral histories, assisting with a non-disturbance archaeological survey, and employing the use of a local heritage consultant. The local heritage consultant, Fred Camacho, assisted with finding potential interview participants, as well as acted as a guide to the area and consultant for indigenous matters. The following sections break the data collection phase into two categories: oral history collection and the archaeological survey, both of which follow the major tenets of community archaeology as previously discussed.

3.4 Oral Testimony Collection Methodology

The period of modern conflict, especially regarding WWII and later, provides archaeologists with a valuable tool that most do not have the privilege of using: oral histories. While this period is not necessarily unique in the sense that there are oral histories regarding the conflict, researchers of the modern period have the ability to contact survivors and ask directed questions about their experience. Oral testimonies are seen not only as an asset to community archaeology, but also as a tenet of indigenous archaeology, both of which have increasingly been used in conjunction with conflict archaeological studies.

Despite the value of oral testimony to the modern conflict archaeologist, it has taken years to establish the oral history as a valid method for reconstructing past events. This resistance runs parallel within the criminology field as an increasing amount of studies show that eyewitness testimony fades through time and are less likely to be viewed as reliable (Innocence Project Report 2016). Critics of oral testimony claim that it is subject to the interviewee's prejudices and could be skewed in order to meet their personal agenda. These same problems, however, can occur when reading archival reports, especially after-action reports of the military; yet these reports are often considered more valuable and free from bias.

Many indigenous cultures, including the Chamorro and Carolinian cultures, rely on oral traditions to pass down their ancestral history to the next generation. However, Western archaeological methods largely ignore oral traditions and indigenous voices, perceiving the collections of oral histories as non-scientific. Mason (2000) outlines an argument against the use of oral traditions in archaeology, urging archaeologists to weigh quantifiable data more heavily against word of mouth. He values archaeology as a science and makes several arguments against the use of oral histories, many of which center around the lack of evidence regarding interviews.

In his conclusion, Mason (2000:262) warns against archaeologists "cherry-picking" from their collection of oral histories to back up their research, which is a viable concern. However, his main arguments regarding oral histories are tone-deaf towards indigenous voices and largely ignores the overall purpose of including oral histories within archaeology (Mason 2000). It is not about archaeology proving or disproving oral traditions, or vice-versa, but rather about allowing for indigenous voices to be given equal merit as other sources of information.

Mason's viewpoints, and those like him, outline bias within the field and demonstrates the need to expand to incorporate indigenous voices. Archaeologists automatically assume the role of "expert" when researching their topic, when they must start to consider themselves interpreters. Indigenous archaeology, which utilizes the oral traditions of cultures, has developed as a means of placing indigenous groups in the role of expert in order to "decolonize" the discipline (Atalay 2006:288-290). Indigenous archaeology aims to complete archaeological practices for, with, and by indigenous people in conjunction with being responsive to their culture, histories, needs, and perspectives (Silliman 2008:2). On many levels, it is about breaking with Western colonial values within the field of archaeology and expanding to new cultures and views (Watkins and Nicholas 2014:141).

When completing historical and archival work for this research, examination of previously recorded oral histories took place. Petty's *Saipan: Oral Histories of the Pacific War* (2002) and Micronesian Area Research Center's *The War Years on Saipan: Transcripts from Interviews with Residents Vol.1 and Vol. 2* (1981a, 1981b) were identified as important references of previous ethnographic work conducted. Memoirs published by community members also proved helpful, especially Marie S.C. Castro's *Without A Penny In My Pocket* (2014) and Tuten-Puckett's (ed) *We Drank Our Tears: Memories of the Battles for Saipan and*

Tinian as Told By Our Elders (2004). These provided a baseline of information as to what was already transcribed and what could be utilized to understand the battle from the community member's perspective.

The interviewing process began by seeking out potential interviewees through the Humanities Council and the local heritage consultant. Contributors from the first round of interviews identified more potential volunteers. Two newspaper advertisements requested participants to share their stories, photographs, or any material objects that had survived through the war. Finally, the author was interviewed by a local radio station for their weekly installment, "Humanities Half-Hour," sponsored by the Humanities Council. The interview focused on the objectives of the thesis and grant project and included a request for participants to contact the author to share stories, photographs, and objects from the war.

Gathering participants through the Humanities Council and local heritage consultant proved to be the most effective method. Surprisingly, only one interview came to fruition due to the radio show, and the participant happened to be the mother of the show host. Every other interview came from the local heritage consultant making contact with participants, either by phone, house call, or through a friend or family member. By having a member of the community assist with gathering participants, a level of trust was established before the interview even began. Potential participants were not pressured to contribute, and several did decline to speak with us, citing reasons of not wanting to dredge up the past.

Researchers informed project participants of the intent and methods of the project, as well as project objectives and the expected deliverables before interviews commenced. The participants completed and signed a consent form prior to interviewing (Appendix C and Appendix D). The consent form includes a section in which the participant can include any

exemptions that they wish the author to abide by; for example, interview exemptions from the deliverables (Hunt 2016:15-16; Appendix C).

Interviewing required the use of a notepad and pen for the researchers to take notes while conducting interviews. A digital voice recorder recorded the interview, unless the interviewee requested to remain anonymous or not to be recorded. This ensured that the interview was documented verbatim and could be transcribed at a later time. Researchers brought a camera to every interview to take photographs of the participant, as well as copy any photographs the participant brought to share. The local heritage consultant and a fieldwork assistant accompanied the author for most interviews; by request, the local heritage consultant would leave the interview if the participant desired confidentiality in any matter.

Interview questions were developed prior to the interview (Appendix E). These questions were designed to guide the conversation so that the main objectives of this project were discussed. However, the interview was meant to be loosely structured to allow the participant a certain level of freedom to discuss what they felt was important. This reverts back to the very core of indigenous and community archaeologies: that the research reflects the interests of those within the community.

During the planning phase of fieldwork, researchers decided to conduct interviews on the site of the camps. Previous research, including research conducted on Saipan with the indigenous peoples, have shown that interviews conducted on the archaeological site are more detailed and help recall more memories (Friesen 2002; Mushynsky 2011). However, once beginning interviews, it became clear that unless participants still lived on the site of Chalan Kanoa, it would be difficult to have them meet on site due to age, ability, or comfort level. Therefore, arrangements were made to complete the interviews at the participant's home, the Humanities

Council office, or a neutral meeting place such as a restaurant. Having the participant feel comfortable and at ease increases the chance of a productive interview (Hunt 2016:13-14).

3.5 Survey Methodology

The Camp Susupe and Chalan Kanoa areas experienced a surge in development in the aftermath of WWII. The industrialization of the area has led to the division of the land, making identification of owners for permitting purposes difficult. The area was also identified as a major flood plain; according to a 1979 environmental impact study, Lake Susupe and the surrounding swampland experienced decades of flooding due to runoff (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1979:3-7). For these reasons, it was concluded that the site of Camp Susupe is likely ephemeral and would be the subject of a non-disturbance survey.

To determine the extent of the Camp Susupe area, historical research and maps were consulted. According to the Saipan War Diaries, the U.S. military decided that the Internment Camp No. 1 (Camp Susupe) would be located at "Target Areas A, B, C, F, G, H, K, L, and M" (CINCPAC 1944:1). Operational Plan maps obtained from Fold3 (2018) and the digital National Archives (2018) show the entire island of Saipan separated into sections labeled with numbers, and these sections further divided by an arbitrary 1,000-yard grid labeled with letters. The Target Area specified by the Civil Affairs report did not list a section number; using other historic sources that point to the western side of Lake Susupe, however, has led the author to conclude that Section 148 is likely the site of interest (Schmidt 1944:19; Meller 1999:xv). Section 142, located just south of Section 148, is a secondary option, though unlikely.

These maps, in conjunction with the U.S. military documents, provided data to create a GIS map of the area. First attempts of georeferencing the maps using the latitude and longitude coordinates on the Operational Plan map has led to the conclusion that the coordinates are

incorrect; this is highly likely, considering the maps were created prior to the battle by using oblique aerial photography during Japanese occupation without ground control points. Further attempts to georeference the map were completed by using several points that remained from before and after the battle into modern-day Saipan, such as Chalan Kanoa Road and the Sugar Dock. This ensured that the entire map was aligned and correctly overlaid onto the modern basemap of Saipan. For the purposes of the archaeological survey, the boundaries of the Target Areas were drawn over top of both maps, showing where the first phase of Internment Camp No. 1 (Camp Susupe) would have been in relation to modern day Saipan. This information was used to determine where a site visit would take place (Figure 3).

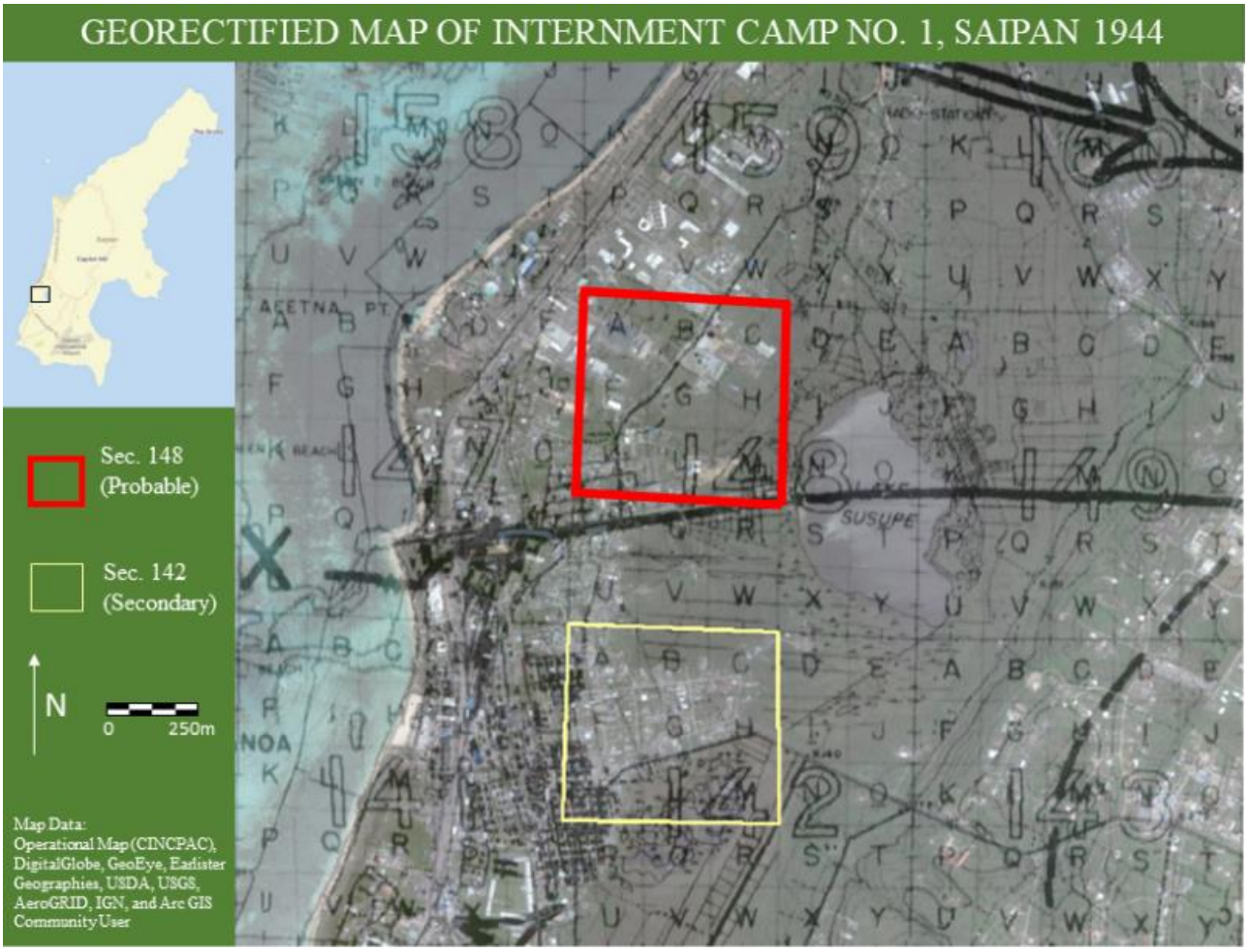

FIGURE 3. Location of Internment Camp No. 1 (Camp Susupe) (Map by author, 2018)

As part of a Phase I archaeological survey, a site visit took place. During this site visit, it was determined that the boundaries of the internment camp discussed in the military reports did not include the October 1944 expansion into the village of Chalan Kanoa. Further research and discussions with the local heritage consultant and other community members established that the ephemeral boundaries of the camp would extend an extra .5 kilometers east and one kilometer south, essentially doubling the area of interest. The best course of action, therefore, would be to embrace an urban archaeology approach to survey the Chalan Kanoa area.

Urban archaeology, also known as backyard archaeology, has become a popular way for studying highly urbanized areas and investigating the history of a neighborhood. Archaeologists use methods of urban archaeology to not only study the complete history of a space, but also, as is the case with this thesis, to study a specific historic event. Cities, much like earth, have "stratigraphy" due to a build-up of cultural remains over a long period of time (Bandarin and Van Oers 2014: 72-73); by identifying the layers of stratigraphy, archaeologists can identify changes through time based on the material culture left behind.

This approach to locating remains of lost, ancient, or buried towns has become increasingly popular in the United States, especially along the East Coast. The Lost Towns Project of Anne Arundel County identifies town boundaries and locates "lost" towns in Maryland. Their research, beginning in the late-1980s, began by searching for several lost towns including Providence, Londontown, and Herrington; it has since expanded to include sites associated with Native American history, the tobacco industry, cemeteries, and taverns (Lost Towns Project, Inc., 2018). In their search for Herrington, archaeologists placed 600 shovel test pits on private property with the consent of homeowners in order to help determine boundaries of the lost town. Combining the evidence found within these archaeological surveys with

biographical research regarding the landowners in the area, the project was able to gain a better understanding of what life was like in town, including political affiliations, religion, and economic trends of the residents.

Other studies outside of the United States, including Brown's (2010) neighborhood survey into his own home and neighborhood, show how archaeology within one's own backyard can tell the history of the neighborhood. Brown's study into the Arncliffe neighborhood suggested that material culture hidden or lost within the backyard, inside or under the house, or even during restorations can provide evidence of the historic past, including the residents (Brown 2010, 2012). The trend in surveying for what was buried in backyards around an urban landscape helped outline the methods used in the non-disturbance survey for this thesis project; instead of excavating, the emphasis was placed on what had already been found by homeowners in the survey area.

The main objective of the non-disturbance survey was to determine if any further information could be gathered by completing an excavation at a later time. After deciding that the major focus should be on the pre-war NKK housing in the Chalan Kanoa area that had been reutilized during the internment camp expansion of October 1944, researchers conducted a neighborhood survey. Prior research and other interviews showed that many of the houses still stand today, and that a handful of families remained in the houses that they were placed into after the 1944 expansion. Using a map of the area from a previous survey and another local informant, Genevieve Cabrera, researchers identified several of these houses during the original site visit and revisited them during the neighborhood survey.

The objectives of the neighborhood survey included speaking with current homeowners about their property and photographing and surveying abandoned properties still intact.

Questions for homeowners included the extent of their knowledge regarding the area and its history as part of the internment camps, if any other buildings on their property or adjacent properties were known to be part of the camp, and if they had uncovered any material remains while gardening, construction, or otherwise digging in their backyard (Appendix G). These questions were designed to determine the amount of material remains that could be found in the backyard areas of the homeowners while still keeping it a non-disturbance survey. The last question to homeowners was whether they or someone they knew might have stories regarding the period in order to potentially gather more participants for the oral history collection.

Photography was used in conjunction with the neighborhood survey; even with the best description, interpretations between readers will inevitably be different, making photography an important step in the process (Drewett 2007). Photographs of the houses, both inhabited and abandoned, any archaeological data, and fieldwork provide context for the survey and written descriptions.

Compiling data from background research, the non-disturbance neighborhood survey, and photography, the findings of this survey were written using the Department of the Interior's Standards for Identification: Reconnaissance Survey and Evaluation and are included in this thesis (Secretary of the Interior 2018).

3.6 Presentations, E-book, and GIS StoryMap

Disseminating the information gathered in the duration of this survey in a way that is easily accessible to interested parties remained important. As previously discussed, part of the methodology of community archaeology consists of presenting the information in a relevant manner. By following tenets of community archaeology methodology set out by Moser et al.

(2002:232-239), not only is the information accessible, but also free to the public, educational in format, and available in plain language.

To incorporate this aspect of community archaeology, a presentation was given by the author after the fieldwork was completed in Saipan. The author discussed an historical overview of the battle for Saipan and the camps, as well as details of the thesis and grant project. Objectives and methods of oral history collection and the neighborhood survey were explained in order to help participants understand why these choices were made, followed by some of the data collected thus far. Finally, an extensive question and answer session concluded the presentation, and participants shared their own stories regarding this time period.

Ensuring that the community was continuously informed of the research, an e-book was created after completion of data collection. The author chose Canva to design the e-book. Canva is a free online design software that allows for a digital copy of the book to be shared as many times as necessary. Photographs from the battle highlight the oral histories and archival research completed by researchers. Using a free software to create the e-book allowed for the e-book to be provided for free to anyone wishing to download it. Furthermore, providing the e-book free of charge allows for the information to be widely circulated to anybody with access to a computer from anywhere in the world, including Saipan and the U.S. where the majority of the audience resides, and for it to be available for educational use.

The e-book primarily consists of the oral histories that were collected during the fieldwork in Saipan, with U.S. military documents providing a secondary perspective. All oral histories were transcribed as told, written in plain language, and reviewed and approved by participants. Photographs and maps are interspersed throughout The e-book also features an introduction to incorporate historical context, what the project entailed, and an overview of the

archaeological survey. The e-book has gone through a final approval office with those at the Humanities Council.

In an effort to make the data from this project available to as many people as possible, especially in an educational capacity, another deliverable has been created. A GIS Story Map was developed and is available online through the software company Esri. A Story Map allows users to explore an interactive map with attached narratives, photographs, videos, and submaps.

After compiling the chosen oral histories and photographs, they were displayed using the Esri Story Map Journal Builder. Story Map Journal Builder is an online platform that is accessible without additional software or necessary downloads. It is user-friendly and free. After creating a home layout, including a title and description, the user can add sections to add more details. Each section allows the user to add a "main stage" map which will display on the majority of the screen, and a panel with additional written descriptions and media such as videos and photographs.

One of the key aspects of this project was to remain accessible to as many people as possible. Story Map Journal allows for an option for the creator to provide an alternative text for images. The alternative text, used by assistive technologies such as screen reader software for the visually impaired, describes the image, thereby staying accessible to those with disabilities. Furthermore, by utilizing free creation platforms, the Story Map Journal is accessible for free to anyone with access to the internet.

3.7 Limitations

Despite the author's best efforts to effectively investigate the Battle for Saipan and the subsequent occupation, the limitations of this research must be considered. One of the factors that most highly impacted the archival research was differentiation in terminology used by the

U.S. military. In investigating the differences between Camp Susupe and Chalan Kanoa, the author noted that the U.S. military and the indigenous peoples often used the two terms interchangeably. While this thesis approaches the problem by accepting that Camp Susupe was the first phase of internment where everyone was located, and Chalan Kanoa was the October 1944 expansion intended only for the indigenous population, many documents, previous oral testimonies, and research do not denote the two areas as such. It is possible that documents within the archives have been unintentionally overlooked because of the lack of differentiation or mislabeling.

Similarly, the U.S. military used several different terms regarding the indigenous civilians, sometimes misspelled or without differentiation. In their reports, "natives" is commonly used when referring to both Chamorro and Carolinians; "Kanaka" is used when referring to Carolinians, but also to any Pacific Islander. Both "natives" and "Kanaka" have been avoided within this research, as it is considered derogatory language. However, because of this lack of differentiation and broad use, U.S. military documents may have been missed.

Further archival complications arose when the U.S. Navy Seabee Museum closed its doors to researchers. While the author has attempted to include the Seabee narrative into the historical overview, many of the sources are categorized as secondary. Both members of the military and indigenous civilians attribute the Seabees in the reconstruction of the island after the battle, and possibly even in the construction of the internment camps. The closing of the Seabee archives to researchers and subsequent lack of data has inevitably impacted this research.

It could be surmised that participants of the oral history collection may have withheld information from the author, a non-indigenous U.S. civilian. It takes a long time to establish comfort and trust between researcher and participant, and while every effort was made to create a

safe space for interviewees and the goals were explicitly communicated, it is possible that participants withheld or modified certain stories or experiences.

Participants who agreed to share their stories, while encouraged to discuss negative views, mostly spoke of positive exchanges between the U.S. and Saipan. Cultural courtesy may have led participants to believe that they should only speak of positive interactions, and therefore, it is possible that negative impacts to the island were not discussed out of civility. Furthermore, it is also likely that prospective participants did not wish to contribute because they only had negative outlooks and discussing these would be considered culturally improper. While every effort has been made to include multiple views, this thesis is limited by who agreed or refused to participate.

Finally, the author's own bias must be acknowledged. While the ultimate goal of this research was to explore the indigenous experience by employing both community and indigenous archaeology practices, the author's experiences and choices during the investigation must be taken into account.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE INDIGENOUS EXPERIENCE THROUGH ORAL HISTORY

4.1 Introduction

While evidence of human habitation on the island of Saipan spans thousands of years, historical documentation only covers the last few hundred. Most of the recorded history since the 17th century has been documented by colonial powers, even when it focuses on the indigenous populations of the island. This research, though focusing on the Battle for Saipan and post-war life, also relies on hundreds of years of history prior to the 20th century. In this chapter, pre-colonial history is examined in order to gain an understanding of the Chamorro relationship with the sea and the Carolinian's arrival to the Mariana Island chain. The German administration is briefly examined in order to determine the status of the indigenous populations before the changeover to Japanese mandate. Oral histories collected in the duration of this study, combined with military documentation and historical accounts, offer an overarching examination of the Japanese administration, Battle for Saipan, subsequent internment, and post-war life.

4.2 Pre-Colonial

Much of what is known about the pre-colonial history of the Mariana Islands, and more specifically Saipan, has been inferred from prehistoric island archaeology and documents from the first Spanish visitors. The impact of post-colonial agricultural practices and modern warfare on the island has significantly damaged archaeology sites, leading to a deficiency of pre-colonial information that is slowly being filled by the work of historians and archaeologists.

Current historic research suggests a wave of migration by Austronesian settlers between 1500-1130 B.C. to the Mariana Islands. Radiocarbon testing, linguistic studies, material remains, and isotope analysis has led this date range to be contested several times; however, most

archaeologists do agree that the Mariana Islands have some of the oldest settlement sites in the western Pacific (Carson and Kurashina 2012: Petchey et al 2017) It is noted by several archaeologists that this journey was likely made by seaworthy canoe from Southeast Asia, however, there is still debate as to exactly where the sailors originated (Russell 2009:62-63; Hung et al 2011; Winter et al 2012; Carson 2018). Archaeological evidence supports this link to Asia, in which pottery sherds and shell artifacts compare to those of other regions. Pottery sherds discovered in the Mariana Islands are similar in style to those found in Sulawesi (Indonesia) and the Philippines. The shell artifacts found in sites in the Marianas, while absent in the Philippines, are abundant in Taiwan on other Austronesian sites, supporting a multiple homeland scenario (Hung et al 2011; Carson and Kurashina 2012). Linguistic studies support this conclusion as well, determining that the ancient Chamorro people had likely originated in the Philippines because of shared Malayo-Polynesian linguistic traits that spread from Taiwan into the northern Philippines (Bellwood 2017:188,192). However, others point to the difficult sailing conditions traveling eastward towards the Marianas. Wind patterns, current, and stormy weather conditions would not facilitate an easy migration from the Philippines or Taiwan. Instead, they propose a migration from Island Southeast Asia (Winter et al 2012).

Even before settlement, the peoples' link to the sea is clear. Traveling 2,000 kilometers by seaworthy canoe provides indications that the Austronesian settlers were not only great sailors, but also great navigators. These early sailors likely possessed weather prediction skills and navigation skills that allowed them to steer accurately over long ranges of water (Russell 2009:65).

The close relationship with the sea continues to be evident through their choice of settlement. Settlement likely first occurred in the large southern islands in the Marianas,

including Saipan. These islands provided more diverse habitats, better freshwater sources, and received more rainfall than the northern islands of the chain (Carson 2018:150). Archaeological sites near the shoreline, rock outcroppings, and beaches suggest that the settlers depended upon the sea for subsistence (Russell 2009:69; Hung et al 2011:920).

Although the early peoples eventually cultivated root and tree crops such as breadfruit, coconut palms, yam, and taro, the primary source of protein for the early Chamorro consisted of a variety of sea life. Fish, shellfish, and marine animals formed the basis of their diet and still supplied essential nutrition even after introduction of domesticated animals and plant foods (Carson 2018:224). Consumption of parrotfish, manahak, tuna, and marlin is evident in the archaeological record, as well as noted in testimonies of the first Spanish colonizers (Russell 1998). According to Spanish testimonies, the Chamorro in the Mariana Islands were the most skilled fishermen that they had interacted with and used a variety of tactics to catch both reef and pelagic species (Allen and Amesbury 2012:17).

While fishing was a task mainly performed by men, shellfish collection in the reefs fell primarily to women and children. Strombidae, or true conch, and *Anadara* shells have been archaeologically located in several refuse areas in the Mariana Islands, eluding to them as sustenance (Carson 2018:153). A variety of shellfish were used not only for subsistence, but also for tool-making. Fish hooks and adze blades made from coral, rock, and shell have been found in the archaeological record (Russell 1998:70, 2009:187-188; Carson 2018:160).

Access to the sea also allowed for interconnectivity to other islands as the Chamorro peoples explored farther. Archaeological evidence and material remains suggests that inter-island exchanges in trade and a tribute system occurred within Micronesia around A.D. 1000 (Carson 2018:237-238). The close proximity of the Mariana Islands to the Caroline Islands meant that

interaction between the two peoples likely occurred before European contact. Examples in the archaeological record show similar artistic designs between the two island chains, leading academics to believe contact and trade occurred early (Allen and Amesbury 2012:9). Island interconnectivity also led to development of different canoes and sea-going vessels (Russell 2009:69). Although examples of early canoes have not survived in the archaeological record, it is surmised that a larger outrigger vessel, called *sakman*, was used for ocean travel instead of the popular dugout canoe (Russell 1998:201).

The relationship between the ancient Chamorro people and the sea continues to be evident in the spiritual aspects of life before Western contact. Canoe sailing and fishing skills were passed down through the generations, culminating in advanced abilities by the time they became teenagers (Driver 1996). Along with these skills, the Chamorro observed certain rites regarding the sea. In order to ensure a productive catch, the ancient Chamorro performed rituals to their ancestors, or *manganiti*, whom they believed controlled their success. Afterwards, the best fish were offered to the skulls of the *manganiti* in appreciation and reverence (Russell 1998:179-180). This spiritual relationship, though altered, continues to this day, having survived through time into modern Chamorro culture (McKinnon et al 2014).

4.3 Spanish Contact and Colonialism

While the indigenous peoples of the Mariana Islands did have contact with other islands, the first recorded European contact came in the 16th century. In March 1521, Ferdinand Magellan and his crew aboard *Trinidad* and two other vessels sailed into Guam. The first contact was far from peaceful and fraught with cultural misunderstandings. According to the accounts from the Spanish, the Chamorro peoples came onboard the ship and started to remove items of value. As per custom in the Pacific Islands, new arrivals to the islands would offer goods to their

hosts and allow them to take items that they desired. Believing this to be an act of thievery instead of tradition, Magellan's crew fired crossbows at the Chamorro, who left with only a small rowboat in tow. The next morning, the Spanish made their way onto the island and torched the first village they came upon in retaliation, killing eight Chamorro men. Magellan left the island three days after landfall and would name the three islands he came across *Islas de Ladrones*, or Islands of Thieves (Hezel 1983:2; Rogers 1995:7-9).

Despite locating the islands, it would take another 150 years for formal Spanish colonization to begin in the Mariana chain. In 1668, a group of Jesuit priests intending to spread Christianity arrived in Guam. While the initial contact was hospitable between the two groups, the Chamorro people soon realized their way of life was threatened. In their efforts to spread Christianity, the Jesuits attempted to purge the ancient traditions and practices from the Chamorro culture. This inevitably led to violent confrontations between the two groups, lasting several years (Russell 2009:82-83).

The northern islands in the Mariana chain fell to colonialism after the arrival of Spanish military officer Jose Quiroga. The Chamorro peoples on Saipan, however, continued to regard the Spanish as hostile, and held them off for several years. In 1695, after initial resistance, the Chamorro peoples struck an agreement with Quiroga, in which the Spanish would not seek retribution for past conflicts as long as the Chamorro embraced the Jesuit teachings (Russell 2009:84).

The Spanish administration in the Mariana Islands, while favorable for Spain, critically reduced the Chamorro population. After achieving their form of a successful resolution, the Spanish forced hundreds of Tinian and Gani Island citizens into a mission camp on Saipan. By 1710, an official census tallied the Chamorro population at 4,000; prior to the Spanish

administration, there was an estimated 40,000 indigenous peoples (Russell 1998:320). In 1730, the Chamorro were once again forced to relocate; this time, they were moved to Guam, leaving Saipan nearly uninhabited. Between violent skirmishes, disease epidemics, and forced removal, Rota became the largest traditional Chamorro settlement to remain intact (Hezel 1995:6; Russell 2009:84).

The rapid decline of the Chamorro population, while devastating, began to curtail towards the end of the 18th century. The Chamorro population on Guam increased slowly, while intermarriage between Chamorro and Spaniards, Filipinos, and other islanders helped maintain the population as well (Russell 1998:322). It was at this time that the Carolinian peoples came to the Mariana Islands in larger settlements, who had previously ceased contact after learning of Spanish atrocities towards the Chamorro (D'Arcy 2006:157).

The Carolinian peoples' relationship with the Spanish administration was quite different than that of the Chamorro population. After two failed attempts at establishing missions in the Caroline Islands in the 1730s, the Spanish ceased contact with the Carolinians. Four decades passed before the Carolinian's attempted to revitalize their relationship with both the Mariana Islands and the Spanish. Under Vice Governor Luis de Torres in Guam, trade routes reformed between the two peoples, allowing Carolinians access to iron, tobacco, and other Western goods (D'Arcy 2006:156-157).

Trade between the two island chains proved to be beneficial to Spain not only in the goods they received, but the services provided by the Carolinians. Trade goods included shell and indigenous-made rope, cloth, and *proas* (D'Arcy 2006:158). The most valuable benefit to the Spanish, however, was access to the Carolinian canoes and their knowledge of the sea. Due to the decline of the Chamorro *sakman*, which was a direct result of colonization, and Spanish

ignorance of island navigation, the Carolinians became invaluable to the flourishing inter-island trade (D'Arcy 2006:158-159; Russell 2009:86).

While on these trade missions, the Carolinians often travelled to the northern islands of Rota and Tinian to move vegetables, pork, and beef to Guam. In the completion of these duties for the Spanish, the Carolinians passed by the uninhabited, fertile island of Saipan. After several devastating typhoons impacted the lower Caroline Islands and the loss of almost 900 Carolinians trying to escape the storms, the Spanish granted permission to resettle Saipan. In 1818, in exchange for Carolinian acceptance of Christianity, islanders from Elato and Satawal began to arrive in Saipan (Spoehr 2000:39; D'Arcy 2006:160).

Despite the stipulations of resettlement on Saipan, the Carolinians rejected Christianity and kept strong ties to their original customs and traditions, referring to themselves as *Falawasch*. The Spanish did not retain a presence on Saipan until 1835, even after which they did not have strong control over the Carolinians (D'Arcy 2006:161). By 1851, 267 Carolinians lived on Saipan and had established the settlement of Arabwal, now known as Garapan Village. The following decade, more Carolinians had made their way to Saipan to work on plantations, resulting in a population of 424 Carolinians in 1865 (Spoehr 2000:40; D'Arcy 2006:162).

The 1860s brought about the return of the Chamorro to Saipan. In 1865, the Chamorro population totaled nine people; by 1869, the population had jumped to 128. Despite a long relationship between the Chamorro and Carolinian peoples, the two groups remained separate within their community on Saipan (D'Arcy 2006:162-163). While the Carolinians kept strong ties to their home and traditions, the Chamorro had embraced Christianity under the Spanish administration. This led to Garapan splitting into three separate *barrios*, or neighborhoods, in 1886, with the Chamorro residing in the northern sector, and the Carolinians residing in the two

southern sectors (Spoehr 2000:42). Separation between the two groups would eventually begin to dissolve after a second Carolinian settlement was established, forming the village of Tanapag. These settlers came from Tinian, had converted to Catholicism, and began intermarrying with the Chamorro (D'Arcy 2006:164). By the end of the 19th century, indigenous peoples had built up a growing population on Saipan once more.

4.4 Entering the 20th Century

As the 19th century came to a close, the Mariana Islands would enter a new phase of colonial rule. The outcome of the Spanish-American War led to the collapse of the Spanish administration; the U.S. acquired Guam, and Germany purchased the islands northward including Saipan (Spoehr 2000:43). Much of what is known regarding the German period in the Mariana Islands comes from the written account of Georg Fritz, who was the District Officer of the German Mariana Islands between 1899 and 1907.

Under the German administration, the indigenous population continued to rise steadily. The birth rate on Saipan increased, while the death rate decreased due to vaccinations and better access to medical aid. The greatest impact to the population, however, came from the wave of Chamorro and Carolinian migrants from Guam, and later, refugees from the Caroline Islands after several typhoons devastated the islands (Spoehr 2000:47).

The German administration, while focusing on subsistence agriculture of copra and other food plants, acknowledged that the indigenous peoples' diets still relied heavily on the sea. Fritz noted that the Chamorros on Saipan did not fish outside of the reef, but still used smaller canoes called *galaide*. Unfortunately, the indigenous population had lost many of their ancestral traditions after centuries under colonial rule, though there is a lively revitalization in traditional boatbuilding and navigation on the island today. The Carolinians, however, occasionally took

their sea-worthy outrigger canoes to other islands to hunt turtle (Fritz 2001; Allen and Amesbury 2012:25-27).

Despite such a short regime, the German administration formed a police force that eventually fell under Chamorro and Carolinian control, a school system, and trade and education exchange programs for the indigenous peoples. Furthermore, the German officials enforced their political and administrative mandates through a local subordinate official in charge of each village. These implementations likely focused on giving small amounts of power back to the indigenous due to the lack of Germans on the island; it has been noted that "at no time during the German regime was there more than a handful of German nationals on Saipan" (Spoehr 2000:44-50).

The short-lived German administration concluded in October 1914 with the Japanese administration unofficially taking control over Micronesia; the Treaty of Versailles at the end of World War I authorized this change in administration in 1920. Under a Class C mandate, Japan formally acquired all German Pacific assets north of the equator, including Saipan (Camacho 2011:30). The League of Nations, though outwardly condemning colonialism, created these mandates to ensure that the previously held territories could advance within the modern world while the interests of the mandate powers remained protected; in effect, the League of Nations shared the spoils under the guise of reformation and defense. Though mandates were intended to differ from colonies, there remained enough free-will for individual powers to develop a mandate as they saw fit, including for strategic and economic advantage. The power granted to Japan by the Class C mandate led to such a problem (Duus 1996:55-56).

In 1922, the Japanese armed forces left the area in the care of a civil administration called the South Seas Government (Spoehr 2000:51). At this time, an influx of Japanese civilians

and other imperial subjects came to Saipan. Encouraging emigration to Saipan would serve two purposes for the Japanese administration. Japanese expansion into Micronesia and East Asia came from the declaration of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, in which the idea of uniting groups of people that were culturally, geographically, racially, and economically similar under one "sphere" would be a step towards world peace and repulsion of Western ideals. This idea, a throwback to 19th century Pan-Asianism ideology, came to fruition in the late 1930s and directed the Japanese advancement into Southeast Asia. It also required that a population of Japanese subjects move to territories already secured in the Pacific. This enabled them to expand to more South Pacific territories, which in turn would uphold the principles of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (Duus 1996:58-59; Booth 2007; Townsend 2011).

Another reason for the emigration push stemmed from the Japanese view of the indigenous people, stating that "native labour available was insufficient since the native population was very limited and scattered in small numbers over distant islands, and the native's ability to work in modern industrial enterprises was very poor," which, in their opinion, had ultimately led to a stunted German industry (Yanaihara 1940:58). While most of the indigenous civilians interviewed admit to a somewhat tumultuous relationship with the Japanese, their opinions of these emigrants were much more favorable. According to Chailang Palacios (2018; pers. comm)., "the Okinawans were the best friends of the Chamorro and Carolinians, they were workers for the Japanese. The Japanese were first-class, and they looked down on us." Within several years of Japanese proprietorship, the indigenous population had been dwarfed by the Japanese and Okinawan populations (Spoehr 2000:52-53).

With the introduction of the South Seas Government came the Nan'yō Kōhatsu Kabushiki Kaisha (NKK). The NKK focused on the production of sugar cane, causing another

change in lifestyle for the Chamorro and Carolinians. Not only did the Japanese administration affect the agricultural industry, but also the Japanese commercial fishing industry that flourished in the Pacific. Under the Japanese mandate and enforcement of the 1916 Regulations for Fishing Industry in the South Sea Islands, fishermen of all races were required to obtain permission from authorities if they wished to contribute to the commercial fishing industry. However, locally recognized fishermen were allowed to continue their work without approval (Amesbury et al. 1989:37). Reports compiled by the Japanese administration do not include the race of the fisherman, however, other sources conclude that commercial fishing comprised entirely of Okinawans, and the indigenous only fished for subsistence (Yanaihara 1940:68; Spoehr 2000:52).

The first decade under Japanese mandate has been described as relatively diplomatic by both indigenous and foreign parties, however, oral histories show that the indigenous civilians on the island had disparate relationships with the Japanese. Several interviewees acknowledge that the Japanese helped modernize the island, introducing practical farming techniques and concrete housing and infrastructure to limit flooding (Chailang Palacios, Anonymous, Luis Cabrera, pers. comm. 2018). Luis Cabrera (2018, pers. comm.) remembers:

> The Japanese were very kind to the local people. They occupied all of the local property and the local people were making money left and right. The Japanese had invested in the island. Tapioca manufacturing, sugar cane manufacturing, cotton planting, tuna canning, you name it.

The development of Saipan and the influx of Japanese civilians to the island led to the rise of Garapan, eventually becoming known as the “Tokyo of the South” (Trefalt 2018:254). The indigenous civilians recall friendly relationships with fellow Japanese farmers and civilians.

However, Japanese authorities and wealthy citizens were strict and often resorted to physical punishment. Marie Castro (pers. comm. 2018) notes that:

> I remember during school at the raising of the flag, you had to stand immobile just like the military. And a mosquito was on this young man's nose during the raising of the flag. He tried to remove it and the teacher caught him doing that. They punished him by making him stand under the flagpole the whole day. No restroom, no lunch, nothing. But that was the kind of treatment that we have during the Japanese time.

Though the teachers in school were strict and the indigenous civilians received a limited education, many civilians remember the school system to be more than adequate. The schools provided students with supplies and food for free (Anonymous A, Chailang Palacios, Thomasa Naraja 2018, pers. comm.).

In fulfillment of the requirements of the League of Nations mandate, the Japanese continued to establish laws, allowed the practice of many religions, and restricted the use of alcohol and firearms (Camacho 2011:31-33). Intermarriage between Japanese and indigenous occurred at the consent of the Japanese government, the road system started by the German administration expanded, and indigenous land was leased to the commercial industry and government in exchange for payment. Politically, the Japanese appointed prominent indigenous men to act as district leaders to enforce their laws and decisions (Spoehr 2001:55).

Even though these changes were presented as ways to modernize the indigenous peoples, many had undertones of control. The indigenous were still considered second-class citizens on their own islands (Camacho 2011:31-33). Some academics even argue that they were considered third-class citizens to the Japanese, as all Micronesian civilians fell outside the cultural and geographic limits of Asia, and thus, could not be imperial subjects like Okinawans and Koreans

(Peattie 1988:112; Spoehr 2001:55). These hierarchies of race are also apparent when looking at Japanese memoirs of the Battle for Saipan, in which there is very little mention of indigenous civilians. Though the small population number may also contribute to this lack of portrayal, it reflects the notion that the indigenous were deemed the lowest of statuses and therefore unworthy of mentioning (Trefalt 2018:255). Overall, these changes created a level of dependence, ensuring that Micronesia remained under Japanese control and prolonging the League of Nations mandate (Peattie 1988).

4.5 World War II and the Battle for Saipan

Whether this period was seen as peaceful or not, the situation on Saipan for the indigenous took a downward spiral in the late 1930s. As tension grew between the Japanese empire and Western powers, the treatment of indigenous civilians on Saipan began to worsen. This reflected the treatment of indigenous populations elsewhere in the Japanese empire, with many subjected to harsh conditions, forced labor, and economic strain to support the influx of military personnel (Booth 2007:148-151).

With the onset of WWII, a staggering number of Japanese soldiers arrived on Saipan. Soldiers based on the island did not care for the indigenous, with many of their interactions becoming violent. Any belief that did not align with Japanese nationalist views fell under suspicion to the South Seas Government (Peattie 1988:85). The Japanese instated a curfew for the indigenous so that they could not be out after dark or risk being shot (Stanley Torres 2018, pers. comm.). Many remember being in a constant state of fear and avoiding contact with the Japanese to evade confrontation. Having limited space on the island, the Japanese military ordered the removal of indigenous civilians from their homes in town, forcing them to move out to their farms (Camacho 2011:53). They also began to gather up the indigenous for hard labor, in

most instances without pay. The Japanese even pulled children from school to work on repairing the airstrips (Luis Cabrera 2018, pers. comm.). By the time the war came to Saipan, the indigenous felt that the Japanese would try to win the war at whatever cost.

Despite their fear, or even perhaps because of it, there are accounts of indigenous civilians cooperating with the Japanese military. The Japanese recruited Saipan civilians to be interpreters and spies on Guam, especially among the Chamorro populations (Chailang Palacios 2018, pers. comm.). Many of these stories cite pressure by the Japanese authorities to make indigenous civilians work for little or no pay, even resorting to violence against family members (Camacho 2008:214-216). Some accounts, however, recall favorable Japanese sentiment among the indigenous civilians. Differing views even occurred within the same families and would eventually cause tension for some during the battle and internment (Estanislov Villagomez and Asuncion Demapan 2018, pers. comm.).

The U.S. military's main interest in Saipan during Operation Forager stems from its strategic location in the Pacific, as well as its economic importance to Japan. Saipan, located approximately 1,500 miles southeast of Japan and 3,200 miles west from Hawaii, was targeted specifically by the U.S. military as a mid-way point to refuel planes on their way to Japan. Airstrips had already been built on Saipan, Tinian, Rota, Pagan, and Guam by the Japanese, and the U.S. planned to utilize these once they held the Mariana Islands. Securing the island would also strike a blow to the Japanese economy, as they had developed Saipan into a large sugarcane producer and stimulated the commercial fishing industry (Goldberg 2007:29-32; Carrell 2009:41-43).

For many of the civilians, the battle itself came as a surprise. With the influx of Japanese soldiers on the island, civilians understood that something was going on and that Japan was at

war. However, the enemy remained unknown. Thomasa Camacho Naraja (2018, pers. comm). recalls a Japanese soldier trying to explain the situation to her family, but the concept of "war" was foreign to the indigenous. Japanese soldiers did not explicitly tell the indigenous that the U.S. military was making their way towards Saipan. In some instances, however, friendly Japanese, Okinawan, and Korean civilians warned the indigenous civilians about the impending invasion. In those cases, families prepared caves and other shelters with food and fresh water, while others buried their valuables (Marie Castro and Meling Chargualaf 2018, pers. comm.). Even when U.S. naval ships came into view, many did not understand the danger they were in. Luis Cabrera recounts:

> I remember watching the American ships coming towards Saipan. Because we were on the high area, we could see all of the ships surrounding the area. The battleship, destroyer, the minesweeper, all of them. I wasn't really scared because I didn't understand what was going on. Then when they suddenly started to bomb the area, that's when my family got scared. My mother, father, brothers, sisters, auntie, grandmother and grandfather- my whole family, we all ran to the cave near where we lived.

Similarly, Julia Norita remembers:

> We didn't know the war was coming; we only knew it was a problem when the air raid sirens were on and the Japanese were announcing to seek shelter and to hide. That's when we knew there were going to be problems. Once the sirens went off, my father gathered up the family and we took off towards a cave up the hill. And that's when the bombardment started.

Other sources note that the Japanese military spread stories of torture, rape, and execution by the hands of the U.S. military. By the time the U.S. Marines and Army began the invasion on Saipan, the indigenous civilians feared both the Japanese and U.S. (Spoehr 2001:58; Petty 2002; Camacho 2011:53). The disparity between the oral histories may stem from the differences in age between participants and those that gave testimonial directly after the war.

On 15 June 1944 (D-Day), U.S. naval forces converged on Saipan under the direction of Admiral Raymond A. Spruance; however, bombardment of the island began three days prior to this official landing date. Despite the near constant shelling, very few Japanese fortifications were hit, with much of the damage occurring in the villages of Garapan and Chalan Kanoa (Goldberg 2007:52-54). U.S. military eyewitnesses later claimed that "Garapan in Saipan and Agana in Guam are the two most completely destroyed towns I have ever seen" (Ciardi 1988:30) (Figure 4).

FIGURE 4. Garapan after U.S. bombardment (Courtesy of the 27th Army Division, 1944)

Many of those interviewed recall running for cover in one of the many caves that dot the island; those that did not make it to shelter were caught in the firestorm as U.S. naval forces began the invasion. Prior to the battle, caves and the surrounding jungle areas were seen as highly spiritual places, as many were places of ancestral burial. To this day, many indigenous will not go into caves, and if someone does, they refrain from entering any house for a 15 to 30-minute period. This ensures time to acclimate to the home environment and any spirits that attached to the person as they exited the caves or jungles have time to leave (Genevieve Cabrera and Fred Camacho 2018, pers. comm.). For the indigenous to move into these caves despite their fear of disturbing the spirits demonstrates that there was really no other option for safety.

Civilians resorted to taking shelter in empty water cisterns when getting to caves remained unachievable. Cisterns were large enough to hold more than one family, and although impractical for long-term shelter, civilians claimed that they remained untouched and safe from bombardment (David Camacho and Marie Castro 2018, pers. comm.). Cisterns that still exist today have been reutilized into typhoon shelters due to their durability (Figure 5).

FIGURE 5. Water cistern in Chalan Kanoa converted into a typhoon shelter (Photo by author, 2018)

The caves may have offered the civilians on the island some protection from bombardment, but they were still susceptible to bullet ricochets, flame throwers, and Japanese soldiers. It was not uncommon for civilians to be removed from their caves by Japanese soldiers, especially when they had been filled with provisions. Japanese soldiers also removed civilians from caves so that they could commit suicide within them (Larry Cabrera 2018, pers. comm.). One woman, who wished to remain anonymous, spoke about her family's encounter with a Japanese soldier:

> As we were heading to a new cave, a Japanese soldier came upon us. He grabbed my father, who was also Japanese, and pulled out his sword. He ordered my father to behead the entire family. My father told him no, that he was Catholic, and told the soldier that he was the enemy. He then shoved the Japanese soldier out of the cave, and somehow, a bomb went off and killed him instantly.

The indigenous civilians overwhelmingly discuss their time in the caves as fearful and devastating. Those that had been able to provision a cave for their families ran out of supplies too quickly or had not anticipated the number of people that would take shelter there. Between bombardment and the use of flamethrowers, the flora and fauna of the island quickly became scarce, leaving civilians hungry and thirsty. Many civilians remember having to go to extreme lengths to survive; Stanley Torres (2018; pers. comm). recounts:

> My dad would sneak out during the nighttime to get sticks of sugarcane. My mother told me that when I was in the cave, I was crying because of thirst. So my dad would chew the sugarcane and put his mouth to my mouth and transfer that sugarcane juice to me. That's

> how they kept me quiet because the Japanese were patrolling the area and if they hear a baby crying, they would come in and yell or they would kill the baby. My parents were afraid of them.

Many times, the only food source to be found was sugarcane or coconut that had not been burned. Water came from both freshwater sources and, when desperate enough, the ocean. Civilians only felt safe enough to leave their shelter at night because they were afraid of being shot at by U.S. and Japanese forces. Many civilians interviewed endured these conditions for weeks on end, while the battle waged on outside their cave.

For many of the civilians, death loomed overhead. Of the 32 participants, 14 had one or more family members perish or severely injured during battle. A total of 933 civilians have been estimated to have died, whether from bombardment, firefights, exposure to the elements, high-stress, or lack of food and water (Cabrera 2014:24). Estanislao Fujihara (2018, pers. comm). remembers as his father was hit by crossfire while carrying his two sisters through the jungle; all three perished. Unfortunately, stories like these are very common for the indigenous civilians on Saipan.

The Battle for Saipan would be the first engagement in which the U.S. military had to deal with an indigenous population alongside Japanese civilians and soldiers. Anticipating this problem, the U.S. military's first attempt at contact with the civilian population was through the distribution of propaganda leaflets. The Northern Troops and Landing Force produced 20,000 copies of fourteen different leaflets, resulting in 280,000 total leaflets that targeted Japanese military members, Japanese and Korean civilians, and indigenous civilians (G-2 Report 1944:115).

The propaganda texts designed specifically for the indigenous civilians were written in Japanese Katakana and English. In Japanese, the leaflets stated that U.S. military personnel did not wish to harm or kill civilians, and promised food, clothing, and tobacco to those that made their way to American lines, surrendered, and did not assist any Japanese military along the way. Attached to the pamphlet was a "Life-Saving Guarantee" to be submitted to the first U.S. soldier with which they made contact. English instructions for the soldiers were also printed on the leaflet to reiterate that treatment of the civilians should conform to the Geneva Convention (G-2 Report 1944:115). U.S. records from Chamorro interrogations show that the propaganda leaflets were well-received, and many were ready to follow the instructions on the leaflets to surrender; however, others note that many civilians and soldiers had not even seen the propaganda leaflets (G-2 Report 1944:122; Fourth Marine Division 1944:6).

As the U.S military made their way across the island, civilian contact became inevitable. For both groups, making contact was an extremely stressful ordeal. The U.S. military employed few translators to speak with civilians and Japanese soldiers and set up loudspeakers to continuously promise the same offer of protection as the leaflets to those within earshot (Hughes 2008:81). Records and oral testimonies suggest that many of the indigenous civilians did not make their way to the U.S. front, but instead waited in caves until discovered by soldiers.

Due to the shortage of translators, personnel resorted to gesturing to communicate. This made it difficult if they could not see the civilians inside the caves (Luis Cabrera and Marie Castro, pers. comm. 2018). Military personnel that spoke Spanish, which is similar to Chamorro, had better success initiating surrender from the civilians (Thomasa Camacho Naraja, pers. comm. 2018). When U.S. personnel resorted to speaking Japanese, the civilians in the caves did not want to come out because they were not sure if they could trust the soldiers (Gonzalo

Pangelinan and Lino Olopai, pers. comm. 2018). In some instances, the indigenous would place crosses outside of the cave to let the U.S. soldiers know that they were Catholic, and therefore, not Japanese. Because the fearful civilians remained hidden in the caves, the two groups could not see each other, making soldiers reluctant to enter in case there were Japanese hostiles.

When verbal and visual communication failed, the soldiers turned to indiscriminate violence, usually in the form of grenades or flame throwers (Petty 2002; Hughes 2008:81). As an eleven-year old during the invasion, Vicky Vaughan, of Chamorro and Japanese descent, recounted hiding in a foxhole with her family members and being burned by the flame throwers while shielding her relatives (Petty 2002:20).

The race of the U.S. soldiers also contributed to lack of trust from the indigenous civilians. For some of the civilians, this was the first time that they had seen white or black people (Benigno Sablan, Rafael Ilo Rangamar, pers. comm. 2018). Lino Olopai (2018, pers. comm). remembers:

> The U.S. military found us in the cave. The soldier was looking at us through a hole, and my aunty looked out through the hole at him, and she leaned back and whispered, "They're eyes are like cat eyes!" They had blue or green eyes, like a cat. That was the first contact we had.

After initial contact was made, the U.S. military removed the civilians from the caves. Stockades under the control of the 2nd and 4th Marine Divisions, as well as one under the 27th Army Division, temporarily contained the civilians as the battle raged across the island (Richard 1957:435) (Figure 6).

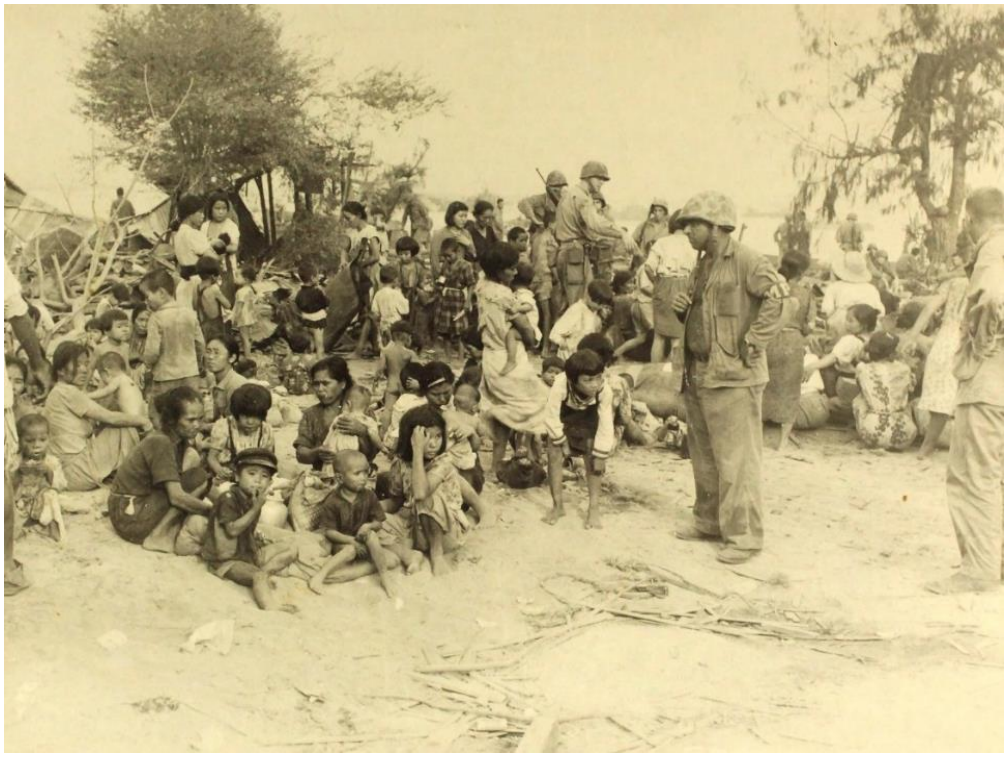

FIGURE 6. Civilians under watch by the U.S. military (Courtesy of the 27th Army Division, National Archives, 1944)

The individual divisions then placed civilians into stockades along the beach. Connie Togawa (2018, pers. comm). recalls:

> They were very kind. We were accompanied by the soldiers down to the beach. My auntie was really complaining of the pain so my father dug a hole in the sand and buried my auntie and sister up to my auntie's neck to cover the wound of her left shoulder to prevent pain and bleeding. He used the sand to cool down the pain. Eventually, her and my sister were put on a U.S. ship where they treated the wounded.

Sometimes, the U.S. soldiers would interview the civilians while they were being transported to stockades if communication was possible (Marie Castro 2018, pers. comm.). Other times, they

remained quiet and on high alert, with several civilians remembering that they were caught in the middle of a firefight between the U.S. and Japanese soldiers. Most of the time, however, the U.S. moved civilians to stockades using large military trucks. This was the first time many of the civilians had ever ridden in a truck, as the only cars on Saipan belonged to wealthy Japanese. They were often separated from Japanese prisoners of war, but sometimes shared the truck with dead U.S. soldiers (Figure 7).

Being under the watchful gaze of the U.S. Marines and Army personnel provided comfort to some indigenous civilians, but others were still wary of their new custodians. Many had been friends with Japanese civilians before the war, and they did not know how everyone would be treated by the U.S. once the battle was over (Estanislov Villagomez and Thomasa Naraja 2018, pers. comm.). Asuncion Demapan (2018, pers. comm.) recalls:

> My brother was pro-Japanese, but my mother told him to embrace the Americans. My father had been in Guam when the Americans were there, so we felt that they would help us, and they did.

The beach stockades, while away from the battle itself, proved to be unsatisfactory for the civilians. It was far from freshwater, offered very little protection from the heat and sun, and it proved to be an unsanitary place for medical treatment. In anticipation of the civilian problem on Saipan, the U.S. established a Civil Affairs unit in order to manage any difficulties occurring with the civilians on the islands, both indigenous and foreign. On 6 July 1944, the Civil Affairs unit took over the management of the stockades (CINCPAC 1944:1).

In pre-planning for Operation Forager, the Civil Affairs unit was charged with maintaining civilian order. These tasks included removal of indigenous civilians and their belongings from combat zones into safe areas; distribution of relief supplies, provision of

medical aid, and establishing sanitation in these safe areas; organizing civilian labor groups to assist with burial of the dead, supply and equipment distribution, and other duties as assigned; provide counter intelligence to the military; securing records and public documentation; seize all government and civilian property, enemy funds, and enemy supplies; and ensure that civilians are informed of their rights and duties under the military government (Richard 1957:432-433). Relief supplies and medical aid was to be given to internees "to meet minimum standards of occupied territory" and that any captured enemy goods, such as clothing, food, or supplies would be "conserved in order to facilitate re-establishment of law and order among the civilian population" (Erskine 1944:144).

Unfortunately, the Civil Affairs section was unprepared for the complications that came from the aerial and naval bombardment of the island. Initially, it was believed that most of the structures on the island would remain untouched during the invasion. These assumptions led to a lack of pre-battle planning, resulting in miscalculation of necessary resources. According to their own report:

> The performance of the Civil Affairs section at the target indicated serious weakness in training. This section was in no sense prepared to meet and solve the harsh physical problems of sanitation, shelter, food, clothing and medical aid. The staff was well informed on the intricacies of city government, but it was helpless in the face of arduous field conditions, where thousands of civilians, homeless, starving, naked, wounded and in most cases terror-stricken by the savage fighting taking place but a few hundred yards away, suddenly appeared and clamored for assistance (Schmidt 1944:18-20).

The Civil Affairs unit determined the stockades to be unsuitable due to their location on the beaches and their distance from resources such as water and food (CINCPAC 1944:1). The stockades were reportedly overcrowded and the "most primitive sort of temporary holding camps," constructed of old tarpaulins and salvaged material that proved "totally inadequate" (Schmidt 1944:19).

By 12 July 1944, records indicate that the military moved internees to a new permanent area along the western side of Lake Susupe, away from the combat zones and beaches. Army and Seabee carpenters constructed new housing made from tents and tarpaulins from the old stockades, and crafted sheds from salvaged timber, corrugated roofing, and palm fronds. Houses still standing in the camp area were also refurbished and used (CINCPAC 1944:1). All divisions were required to arrange for civilian transport to this location within twenty-four hours of contact (Northern Troops and Landing Force 1944:34). The U.S. Army eventually took control of the camp in August, though leadership passed from the Marines on 8 July 1944 to naval military government officers. Although the commanding officers of the camp reported to the U.S. Army, almost every other officer and enlisted personnel came from the U.S. Navy (Richard 1957:447).

This new camp was designated as Internment Camp No. 1 by the U.S. military, but to the civilians, it was known as Camp Susupe (Figure 8).

FIGURE 7. Civilians moving to Camp Susupe by truck being greeted by friends and family (Courtesy of the U.S. Navy, 2004)

FIGURE 8. Aerial view of Camp Susupe (Courtesy of National Archives WWII Collection, 1944)

4.6 Internment: Camp Susupe and Chalan Kanoa

While compiling oral histories, it became clear early on that Camp Susupe was a complex experience for the civilians that resided there. After surviving the battle without provisions and avoiding bombardment and gunfire, Camp Susupe meant safety and control. Marie Castro (2018; pers. comm). recollects

> We were protected with barbed wire around so that Japanese snipers would not be coming in. It was guarded. Camp Susupe was a safe haven for us. They gave us medicine, food, everything that the Americans could provide for us.

This sense of security was provided to the civilians by placing barbed wire fences around the entire area, restricting movement into and out of camp, and with soldiers guarding throughout the day and night. U.S. military documents admit that the barbed wire fences "were more of a symbol than an effective means of preventing entry or exit" and that military restrictions on civilian movement out of camp was enacted for their own "welfare, health, and safety as determined by the camp commander" (Richard 1957:470-471).

Furthermore, camp regulations included the prohibition of alcohol, weapons, and lights and singing after dark, and that attempts to go beyond or touch the boundary fence, or converse with anyone beyond the fence, including military, would be punished. Proclamation No. 2, administered to the civilians in camp by order of Admiral Nimitz, outlined every rule considered to be a war crime within camp confines. Infractions punishable by death include, but are not limited to, escape, assisting hostiles, inciting violence, communicating with the enemy, and murder. Crimes punishable by fine or imprisonment include displaying, publishing, or speaking of any loyalty to the Japanese empire or disrespect for the U.S. military, interfering with or impeding arrest, or otherwise willfully disobeying any proclamation or order given by the U.S.

military administration (Richard 1957:470-472, 669-673). In exchange for the feeling of safety, the civilians had to give up their freedom. These restrictions would be in place even after the war came to an end.

According to previously collected oral histories and those collected during this project, many civilians watched as family members or friends died during battle. For others, there was uncertainty as to their whereabouts because they had been split up during the battle. As all the civilians moved into Camp Susupe, some participants were able to reunite with loved ones (Larry Cabrera, Marie Castro, and David Camacho 2018, pers. comm).

As soon as the indigenous civilians entered the camp, they were registered and given an identification card with a serial number, thumbprint, photograph, and personal information on it (Richard 1957:463; Connie Togawa 2018, pers. comm.). By 15 July 1944, the Civil Affairs unit calculated a total of 13,289 interned civilians, including 2,258 Chamorro and 782 Carolinians. Less than two weeks later, the total jumped to 17,265 internees in Internment Camp No. 1, with 2,308 Chamorro and 815 Carolinians (Schmidt 1944:20; Richard 1957:443). Civil Affairs, although not prepared for the civilian situation that occurred after the battle, did begin to find supplies to offer to the civilians (Figure 9). C-rations and any salvaged food was given to the civilians, as well as freshwater and medical treatment (Figure 11). Religious services and education programs were offered by the priests and nuns residing in the camp (Schmidt 1944:20).

Because most of the island had been devastated by the battle, the civilians were issued communal military tents and tarpaulins to take shelter under (Figure 10). Carpenters from the 47th and 805th Army engineers slowly added semi-permanent structures to the camp, including 150 20’x40’ shelters built from salvaged material.

According to David Camacho (2018; pers. comm).:

> They were the huge canvas tents, and we shared it with maybe six or seven families. They gave us a blanket for cover, but it had to be shared between two people. And the food they gave us were all rations- can of cheese, different types of cookies and crackers.

Despite being given supplies, shelter, and a sense of hope, Camp Susupe was still a dismal place. With over 17,000 civilians in camp, it was extremely overcrowded (Schmidt 1944). The same issues that occurred in the beach stockades began to occur in camp: it became unsanitary, hot, and with no closed shelters, mosquitos became problematic (Chailang Palacios 2018, pers. comm.).

FIGURE 9. Indigenous civilians helping to move supplies into camp with a salvaged Japanese truck (Courtesy of the 27th Army Division, 1944)

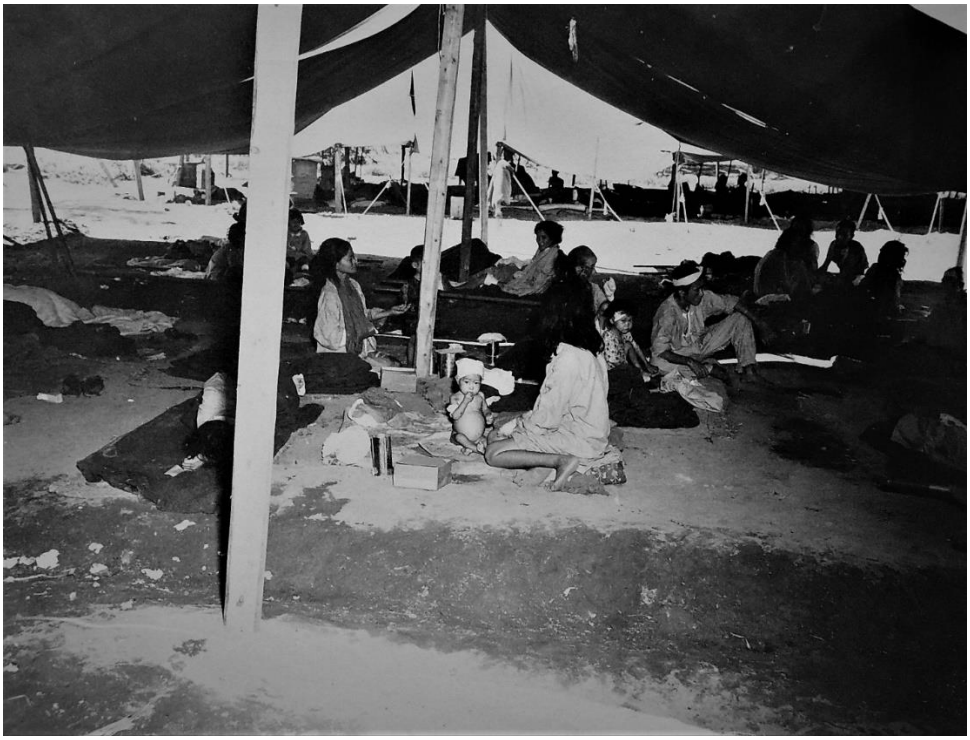

FIGURE 10. Indigenous families taking shelter under tarpaulins in Camp Susupe (Courtesy of the Steward Collection, 1944)

FIGURE 11. An injured boy receives medical treatment from an injury sustained during battle (Courtesy of the Steward Collection, 1944)

Racial tensions, often between Japanese and indigenous civilians, flared early on during movement into the camps. One civilian, wishing to remain anonymous, remembered fighting in Camp Susupe:

> If a Chamorro would see a Japanese that he recognized as someone that did them harm or was boastful, they would go over to the Japanese and hurt them. The Military Police would allow us to go up to them, they wouldn't stop it. The Japanese would bow down and ask for forgiveness.

Clashes between the two groups led to separation between all racial groups in Camp Susupe, and eventually to the Chalan Kanoa expansion. The only exception to this separation was for mixed families; most civilian men were permitted to stay with their families in order to help care for the children, regardless of race (CINCPAC 1944:1; Anonymous 2018, pers.comm.).

The Battle for Saipan was not the first time that the U.S. military had dealt with the Chamorro indigenous group. Guam, which fell to the Japanese early in the war, was at one time under U.S. mandate and had a strained, but mostly loyal connection with the Chamorro on the island. Saipan, however, was a different story; after decades under Japanese rule, fear fueled by propaganda, and the near destruction of their homes from U.S. shelling, the indigenous population once again found themselves under foreign mandate. The U.S. military administration's main focus turned to gaining the trust and loyalty of the civilians under their care. This often involved ordering soldiers to suppress any racial prejudices, both within their units and while working with civilians (Camacho 2011:69). Early reports express that Chamorro and Carolinian attitudes were "very much against the Japanese and favorable to the United States. They are willing and cooperative and as soon as it is safe for them to return to their former occupations they should be allowed to do so" (CINCPAC 1944:3). While indigenous oral

testimonies also provide generally favorable attitudes regarding the U.S. military and liberation, some believe the change in opinion was an act of self-preservation rather than actual loyalty (Petty 2002).

As a way of gaining the loyalty and trust of the civilians, the U.S. military administration allowed for each group within the internment camp to be administrated by one of their own civilians. The U.S. allowed Juan M. Ada to be the administrator for the indigenous peoples, as he had held this position before the war under Japanese mandate. He was replaced, however, when the U.S. permitted an election in which any male over eighteen could vote (Meller 1999:24; Russell 2017:53). By 15 September 1944, civilians received jobs and payment for their labor, both skilled and unskilled (Commander Forward Area Central Pacific 1944:5; Petty 2002).

To further combat the overcrowding issues and gain favor with the civilians, discussions began to expand the internment camp to accommodate civilians more comfortably. In October 1944, the military decided to extend the camp to include the village of Chalan Kanoa, which had previously been used by U.S. personnel. The final decision called for the separation of the old camp and the new extension by a thin piece of land, making Camp Susupe the foreign civilian camp and the new area, Camp Chalan Kanoa, strictly for the indigenous civilians (McKinnon and Carrell 2015:21; Russell 2017:48).

In November 1944, the first group of indigenous families moved into Chalan Kanoa village. The area was divided into four separate sections based on race. Located on the northeast side of Chalan Kanoa, District 1 housed mostly mixed families (Estainlsaw Fujihara 2018, pers. comm.). District 2, located on the northwest side, provided housing for Chamorro and northern islanders, with several families from Chuuk, Jaluit, and Yap. Chamorro families inhabited District 3 in the southeast area of Chalan Kanoa. District 4 was located next to the beach in the

southwestern corner of Chalan Kanoa. This section was mainly utilized by Carolinians (Felix Sasamoto 2018, pers. comm.). As such, the district was given the slang term "Lally Four" [spelled phonetically] by Carolinian youth; "Lally" in Carolinian is translated as "that's it," although the exact meaning of the name is unknown (Genevieve Cabrera 2019, elec. comm.). Although there was no strict segregation between groups in Chalan Kanoa, some civilians felt that this separation occurred to prevent any further tension in the new camp, with military records stating that the civilians arranged themselves into groups by family or association (Richard 1957:460; Felix Sasamoto 2018, pers. comm.).

The first group of civilians to live in Chalan Kanoa were placed into pre-war NKK concrete houses that survived the battle with little damage. Two or three families shared these houses by adding dividing walls; each family had one room for themselves. When possible, families lived with other relatives or friends. Once the concrete houses were full, the military began to build wooden duplex and triplex houses (Figure 12).

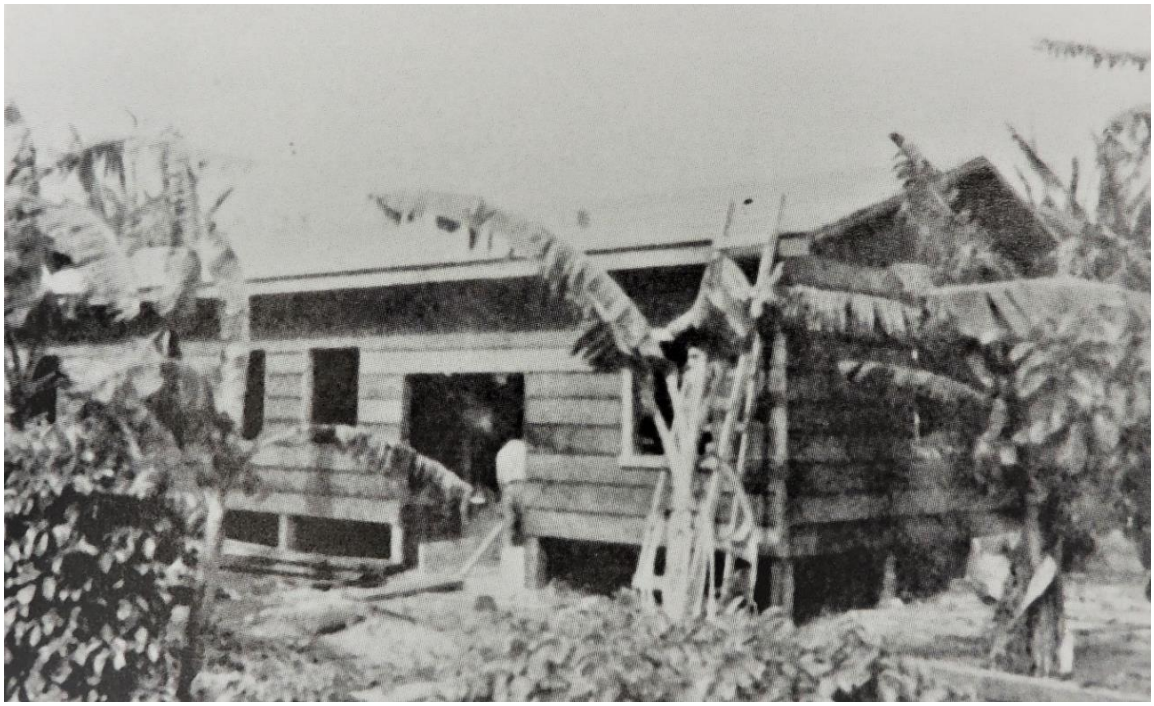

FIGURE 12. Wooden house built for indigenous civilians (Courtesy of the U.S. Navy, 2004)

As time passed, the food provided to the civilians became better in both quality and quantity. The U.S. military still provided ration boxes, though they were not the C-rations provided in Camp Susupe. Civilians recalled ration boxes including canned meat, rice, powdered milk, powdered eggs, and bread. On Thanksgiving, the military provided turkey to the civilians of Chalan Kanoa (Larry Cabrera 2018, pers. comm.). These ration boxes were supplemented by fresh vegetables and fruit from farms cultivated by the civilians (Figure 13). Larry Cabrera (2018, pers. comm). recalls:

> People were still locked in the camp, but somebody finally had the idea to turn the people loose so that we could fend for ourselves. They gathered up all the farmers and got them to start farming. I was too young to go to school, so I went to work with my father at the farm. We'd go out every day with other farmers and plant tapioca, sweet potatoes, okra, green onions, stuff like that. The produce from the farm helped with the food rationing and helped the people to have enough food.

FIGURE 13. Farmers splitting the sweet potato crop during internment (Courtesy of National Archives Saipan WWII Collection, 1944-1945)

Fishing also helped supplement the ration boxes, though it was mostly accomplished by Carolinians. With their strategic location next to the beach, many used spears and nets to catch salmon, unicorn fish, tuna, carp, guili (rudderfish) and gadao (grouper). Fishing gear had mostly been destroyed during the battle, so net making became a social activity to help pass the time (Juan Laffet and Felix Fitial 2018, pers. comm.). Fishermen would often share their catch with their immediate family and neighbors, but also used fish to barter for other supplies (Figure 14). The Carolinians mainly stayed inside the reef to fish, with records showing that Okinawans, escorted by a fishing officer under the Civil Affairs unit, went out in boats to fish (Mac Lean 1944:19-21; Rafael Rangamar and Larry Cabrera 2018, pers. comm.). Once the Okinawans were moved off the island after the end of the war, the boats that they had used were given to the Carolinians to use (Figure 15) (Rafael Ilo Rangamar and Lino Olopai 2018, pers. comm.).

FIGURE 14. Fish caught on the reef by the indigenous using nets (Courtesy of the U.S. Navy, 2004)

FIGURE 15. Okinawan fisherman out on the boats that eventurally would be given to the indigenous (Courtesy of the McMicken WWII Collection, 1945)

Internment severely impacted the civilian's relationship with the sea. In the Carolinian culture, healing and other rituals required the use of ingredients from the ocean, as well as parts of the land. The restrictions placed on the movement out of camp meant that ingredients could not be acquired (Lino Olopai 2018, pers. comm.). Although the civilians were still able to fish, they did not have the ability to go out into boats. Lack of materials and restrictions for leaving camp meant that boatbuilding, a common craft for the Carolinians, could not be completed. Woodcarving, however, remained prevalent, with popular subjects such as boats, fish, and turtles (Figure 16, Figure 17). These crafts were sold as part of the handicraft cooperative to military personnel, and when they did not sell, they were given as gifts to family and friends (Felix Fitial 2018, pers. comm.).

FIGURE 16. Handicrafts, like this boat at the CNMI Museum, were carved by indigenous civilians during internment (Photo by author, 2018)

FIGURE 17. Indigenous craftsman making boat models (Courtesy of the U.S. Navy, 2004)

The handicraft cooperative was just one of several ways that the indigenous civilians made money while in camp. The military employed several men and women from Chalan Kanoa to help around the island by assisting with truck driving, administrative assistance, laundry, cleaning, or as tradesmen. An indigenous police force was put into place as guards for both camps, except for the main gate and the gate next to the water distribution point. Not only did allowing civilians to act as their own guards and police officers instill faith and loyalty for the U.S., but it also kept civilians within the camp safe. Orders specifically forbade soldiers from entering the camps unless on official business (Richard 1957:165,468). The military and indigenous civilians forbade personal relationships between the two groups, though it occurred regardless of the rules. In a recollection of her time in Camp Susupe, Escolastica Tudela Cabrera recounted how a Spanish priest, identified as Father Jose Tardio, refused to marry a U.S. soldier to a Chamorro woman (Petty 2002:27). In another recollection, Norman Meller recounts how a fellow officer was arrested by the Chamorro police for violating the non-fraternization orders, even though his relationship with a Chamorro woman was approved by her family (Meller 1991:21).

Despite prohibition of access to the camp, members of the U.S. military and the indigenous civilians worked together outside of camp. The military employed the indigenous civilians, both men and women, for tasks outside camp such as construction projects, collection of supplies from around the island, and even administrative jobs on the base. Trust between the U.S. military, especially Seabees and Marines, and the indigenous civilians developed likely as a result of the work completed side-by-side. (Petty 2002). One example includes Expedition APPLE, an operation that required

indigenous participation and without which would likely not have had as much success as it did.

Expedition APPLE, which commenced in July 1945, focused on contacting the indigenous populations on other islands around Saipan and depended heavily on indigenous intelligence. The Northern Marianas Expeditionary Force, with the help of ten indigenous scouts, three indigenous interpreters, and one Japanese scout, contacted the islands of Agrihan, Asuncion, Alamagan, Anatahan, Maug, and Sarigan. Rafael Ilo Rangamar (2018, pers. comm), a Carolinian civilian, lived on the island of Asuncion with his family. When he was 10 years old, he recalls:

> The Navy arrived on our island in 1945. Ed Peters, another Carolinian, was dropped off at the south end of the island and came to us, telling us the Americans were coming. We all went to my grandmother's farm to await their arrival. Most of the Americans were black, they were very nice people and gave us C-rations and candy. The vessel that came on the island had the number 448 on the side. It left with the Japanese and Okinawans first, and went from Asuncion to Agrihan and Maug, and then came back to pick us up a week later. We stopped at Pagan but everyone was already dead or evacuated. By the time we got to Saipan, the Chamorro and Carolinians were out of Camp Susupe and into Chalan Kanoa.

The indigenous scouts impressed the Expeditionary Force so much that, in his operational report, Lieutenant R.C. Coburn praised the scouts for their courage and knowledge of the terrain. Furthermore, he requested the development of a scout company comprised of Chamorro and

Carolinian men under the direction of the 2nd Division Marines, to whom the “natives of Saipan have a strong attachment to” (Coburn 1945:11-12).

Trips to the northern islands continued long after the end of the war. Felix Sasamoto (2018, pers. comm). was approximately four years old when the Expeditionary Force came to the island of Sarigan. He remembers Elias Sablan and Gregorio Kilili acting as interpreters for the military and escorting everyone back to Saipan. Sasamoto’s father, who was Japanese, assisted on another mission to the northern islands in 1950 (Figure 18). He recounts:

> Commander Johnson knew my father well and requested that he come with them on a mission to Anatahan because he speaks Japanese. They went to pick up an Okinawan woman [Kazuko Higa] that was left on the island with thirteen Japanese men after her husband died. They fought over her, and by the time the Americans went back to the island, there were only two men left.

FIGURE 18. Felix Sasamoto's father (second from the left) with the rest of Commander Johnson's team after picking up Kazuko Higa in 1950 (Courtesy of Felix Sasamoto)

Working side by side allowed the indigenous civilians to build good relationships with the U.S. military. Overall, the interactions between the two groups are described as amicable. There were few instances in which the U.S. military was described as anything less than good-natured, however, one of these stories involved soldiers attempting to rape Chamorro women in the farm fields (Chailang Palacios 2018, pers. comm.). Interviewees that did acknowledge instances of bad behavior iterated that they believe it to be part of war and not indicative of most of the U.S. military (Felix Sasamoto, Chailang Palcios, and Asuncion Demapan 2018, pers. comm.).

Relationships between the military and indigenous children were much more consistently positive. Participants stated that they believed the soldiers to be especially attached to small children. Those who were children at the time recall yelling to the soldiers and calling them all "Joe" or "sindalu," meaning soldier in Chamorro. The military replied by sharing candy, apples, and other little gifts with the children, mostly from the other side of the fence (Rafael Ilo Rangamar, Chailang Palacios, Meling Chargualaf, Larry Cabrera 2018, pers. comm.).

Eighteen of the 21 participants who were children at the time recall that schooling began as soon as they moved out of Camp Susupe; only ten of these participants were of schooling age. The U.S. military forbade the indigenous from speaking Japanese, therefore schooling focused primarily on learning English. The Chalan Kanoa school also taught simple mathematics and created a singing choir. Unlike the modern system, the students' level of knowledge determined the class they started in, not their age.

Children who were too young to attend school kept busy in other ways. Many helped their parents by cleaning around the house, tending to the farms, or by collecting ration boxes from the dispensary (Felix Sasamoto, Felix Fitial, Chailang Palacios, Larry Cabrera 2018, pers.

comm.). Children played outside once chores were completed. Carolinian civilian Felix Fitial (2018, pers. comm). remembers:

> I was too young to go to school, so I helped my mom and dad and siblings around the house with cooking, washing, and cleaning. I also played a lot of games like dodgeball, mancala, and baseball. Sometimes the Americans would play in Chalan Kanoa and hit the ball over the fence, and we would catch it and hide it so that we could play with the baseball!

Others recall chasing the military trucks as they drove through the camp, playing in the ocean, and going to church. According to oral histories, the church was located where the Chalan Kanoa Post Office currently stands (Connie Togawa and Felix Fitial 2018, pers. comm.). As Catholics, the indigenous civilians went to church twice per day. The first service of the day was held at sunrise, around 5:30 a.m. The second service, called Rosary, commenced in the evening. Rosary was a time to remember those that had died during the war and to celebrate their life. One civilian's recalled that Palé Arnold, a priest originally from Wisconsin, gave pieces of chocolate out to everybody at the end of the Rosary service (Chailang Palacios 2018, pers. comm.).

According to many of the civilians, life in Chalan Kanoa was good. They were provided enough supplies to sustain comfortable lives and eventually, with the help of indigenous builders and military carpenters, many families began to have a house to themselves (Stanley Torres, Asuncion Demapan 2018, pers. comm.). Electricity was even set up in some of the houses (Julia Norita 2018, pers. comm.). By the time the Japanese surrendered on 2 September 1945, Chalan Kanoa felt more like a village than an internment camp (Marie Castro and Connie Togawa 2018, pers. comm.).

4.7 Post-Internment Life

After the Japanese empire officially surrendered on 2 September 1945, all civilians continued to stay in the camps without the liberty of leaving. The military administration cited many reasons for keeping the internment camps running, the most prevalent of which was the presence of Japanese militants still at large around the island. Captain Sakae Oba, after rallying hundreds of Japanese civilians and soldiers, continued to lead attacks against U.S. forces on the island of Saipan. The indigenous civilians, aware of the situation, called these holdouts "snipers" or "stragglers" because they continued to shoot at the civilians and military even after the battle ended (Luis Cabrera, Thomasa Camacho Naraja, Chailang Palacios, Lino Olopai 2018, pers. comm.). According to seven of the interviewees, the indigenous civilians believed this to be the main reason for staying in camp. Captain Oba and those that remained of his group did not surrender until 1 December 1945.

The surrender of Captain Oba still did not end the internment of indigenous civilians on Saipan. Complicating things further, repatriation plans for Japanese PoW's and foreign nationals became the priority of the U.S. government (Russell 2017:58-60). Though the orders to deport foreign nationals back to their home countries came on 15 September 1945, movement did not begin until January 1946; pushing the date back further, the Commander of the Mariana Islands requested that workers be allowed to stay until January 1947 (Richard 1957:27-32). Foreign nationals who had lived on the island their entire lives even fought to stay on Saipan beyond the repatriation dates, arguing that Saipan was their only home.

Repatriation and security issues were not the only hurdles barring the way of dissolution of the civilian camp. Discussions began early regarding how to manage the territory once held by the Japanese military; with the official surrender of Japan, this problem needed a resolution. Two

options included military rule and a trusteeship, in which civilians would have their own administration (Richard 1957:58-60).

The creation of the United Nations in October 1945 quickly led to the United Nations Charter, and the arrangement of an International Trusteeship System. Arguments continued, however, regarding which entity would gain control and to what extent control would be exerted. Some people, such as Lieutenant John Useem of the U.S. Naval Reserve, argued for limited involvement. Lt. Useem (1946), who had worked several years in the military administration of the Pacific, believed that the U.S. should assume partial responsibility over the administration of the Pacific, but argued against complete control by a military unit. In January 1946, Lt. Useem compiled a report offering his opinion that:

> The basis for a sound administration of Micronesia can be stated in three general propositions. The first is indirect rule. The natives are fully capable of running their own internal affairs. The second is economic rehabilitation. The costly, inadequate relief program should be replaced by one in which the islanders regain economic self-dependency. This would entail an initial outlay for provisions to rebuild homes, industries, farming, and fishing. It also means re-establishment of a balanced money-economy, and orienting economic institutions to local needs. The Micronesians probably will never be completely self-sufficient, but by granting early tangible aid specifically designed to rebuild an integrated socio-economic system, demoralization can be avoided, the natives will be able to contribute a greater share of their own upkeep, and the cost to America will be far less over the years. The final need is for acculturation. This process has been under way for over a century, is taking place under American control, and it cannot be stopped. The task is, therefore, one of easing the adjustment and insuring that

> the best gestures of western civilization are disseminated without disrupting local social organization.

The other side of the argument called for complete control over the Pacific islands by a military entity. One such argument stems from U.S. Lieutenant Commander T.O. Clark of the U.S. Naval Reserve (1946). In his April 1946 argument, he stated:

> To sum up briefly, my thesis is this. The price of the former Japanese mandated islands has been too high, and their value too great to ever relinquish. The United States Navy is the proper agency to colonize and administer these islands, utilizing almost entirely components already a part of the naval establishment. The concept attributed by Wallace to the Dutch, that native populations are in effect children and should be dealt with as such, should be the foundation of our policy in bringing the natives of these islands eventually to our own standard of living. When, as in the Philippines and the case of the Chamorros on Guam, natives show a high degree of receptivity, the civilizing process does not take long.

While these arguments continued, the civilians remained interned, unable to take part in the discussions regarding their future. The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands would not formally be approved by the United Nation's Security Council until 2 April 1947 and sanctioned by the U.S. until 18 July 1947. Eventually, the Trust Territory placed Saipan and thousands of other Pacific Islands in the care of the U.S. and protected them under Chapter XII: International Trusteeship system, in which the U.S. was legally obligated to:

> promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development

> towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each trusteeship agreement.

Until the formal agreement could be made, however, the military administration decided that Camp Susupe and Chalan Kanoa should be officially dissolved while deliberations progressed. On 4 July 1946, the military administration declared the indigenous civilians free to move around the island, though with some stipulation. To this day, civilians on Saipan celebrate the closure of Camp Susupe and Chalan Kanoa on every July 4, also known as Liberation Day (Luis Cabrera 2018, pers. comm.).

Despite the ability to leave Chalan Kanoa and go back to their previous land, many indigenous civilians chose to stay in the houses that they owned in the village after removal of the fences. Meling Chargualaf (2018, pers. comm.), who continues to live in the house that her family resided in during internment, recalls:

> After the war, the Cabrera family moved out to their compound in Chalan Piao, so my dad went to the Land Office and told them they moved out and they told us we could occupy the whole thing. We had a big ranch too, but we had to come up here for school, and we didn't have a car in those days, so my father just kept this house. We didn't have a car until probably five years after the war. I ended up staying here, breaking down the divided wall and making it one big house.

There are several factors that may have impacted a family's decision to stay or leave Chalan Kanoa. At this time, the process of going back to their land before the war became extremely

difficult for families, who were required to prove that they owned the land to the U.S. military administration. Prior to the battle, the indigenous civilians did not keep physical records of land ownership, and the battle destroyed much of the paper documents kept by the Japanese. The U.S. government decided that any land sold to the NKK or any other nationality prior to the war was now owned by the government, unless it could be proven that the indigenous were forced to sell the property. They also decided to give families revocable land permits to start tending to the land (Connie Togawa 2018, pers. comm.).

Another exception to the freedom granted to the indigenous civilians to go back to their land was caused by almost half of the island being overtaken by the U.S. government. The Naval Technical Training Unit (NTTU) was established on the northern side of the island and the local populations were forbidden from entering the area. The NTTU did, however, employ some civilians as front gate security guards, carpenters, and laborers that worked on projects outside the fenced area (Rafael Ilo Rangamar and Julia Norita 2018, pers. comm.). Chailang Palcios (2018, pers. comm). remembers:

> After we left Chalan Kanoa, we moved back up to our house in Marpi. We would stay there in the summer time and go back to Chalan Kanoa for school. Trucks would go past our house to go north where the NTTU was located, the backs full of soldiers. This was the time between World War II and the Korean War. We just prayed for no more war.

For many people, there was a very active fear that another war would begin during the Cold War era. Civilians on the island believe that the NTTU was a CIA base of operations, and to this day, information is still withheld regarding activity in the area (Fred Camacho 2018, pers. comm.). Eventually, the NTTU shut down and the civilians were truly free to move around the island at their leisure.

After foreign national repatriation occurred, the Carolinian fisherman took over the sampans used by the Okinawans for fishing. This allowed them to move farther out from the reef to catch bigger fish. As a result, the Saipan Fishing Company formed as a small commercial operation. The Saipan Fishing Company mainly produced *katsuobushi*, or dried and flaked tuna (Benigno Sablan 2018, pers. comm.). Lino Olopai (2018, pers. comm.), the son of one of the fishermen for the Saipan Fishing Company, remembers:

> After we were released from camp, there were six or seven fishing boats that were left on the island by the Okinawans. Several of the Carolinians became skipper of three or four boats that go out and catch tuna. So on Saturday, when there was no school, I'd jump on with them and watch them catch tuna.

Around 1950, the Saipan Fishing Company, nearing bankruptcy, came to an end and fishermen working for them continued to fish for their families (Allen and Amersbury 2012:34). It was also around this time that Western maritime practices began to overtake traditional ways; dynamite fishing and gillnets became popular to catch more fish in a smaller amount of time (Rafael Ilo Rangamar, Fred Camacho, and Lino Olopai 2018, pers. comm.). In this way, many of the Carolinian customs fell into near extinction, including rituals, boat building, navigating, and traditional fishing methods.

Though life was beginning to take shape for the indigenous once again, civilians on Saipan still feared that their lives would be upended by another war that they had no part in starting. As Benigno Sablan (2018, pers. comm). states: "The Japanese and U.S. fought the war, and we ended up paying the price for it."

4.8 Modern Day

Since WWII came to an end, many developments have been made in the relationship between the U.S and Saipan. The Northern Mariana Islands, including Saipan, became a commonwealth of the United States on 4 March 1976, allowing for self-governing status under the umbrella of the United States. The capitol of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI) is Capitol Hill in Saipan, which hosts 90% of the entire CNMI population. Under the Japanese mandate, the combined Chamorro and Carolinian civilians were one of the smallest populations on the island; together they now make up 28.5% of the entire CNMI population, surpassed only by Filipino. Chamorro is the official language of the CNMI and spoken by approximately 24.1% of the population (CIA 2017). The island has become an interesting hybrid of Chamorro and Carolinian culture influenced by Roman Catholicism from the early Spanish settlement and legislative cooperation and tourism boom from the U.S.

Despite these developments, the effects of WWII still scar the island. In the last few decades, archaeologists and historians have taken interest in all aspects of island life, including the Battle for Saipan. While heavily documented, academic research has largely focused on the experiences of the Japanese and U.S. militaries instead of the indigenous populations. Historians and archaeologists have slowly begun to change the tide in order to place the indigenous peoples back in the spotlight. This thesis hopes to continue this trend, resulting in a more well-rounded historical record of the Battle for Saipan.

CHAPTER FIVE: HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter outlined the long, complicated history of Saipan, beginning prior to Spanish colonization and ending with modern day life. In this chapter, specific themes such as continued colonization, relationships between indigenous peoples and different administrations, and internment will be evaluated. Finally, the importance and intricacy of working with oral histories is emphasized with a full analysis of the collection process and outcomes.

5.1 Themes of Historical Analysis

5.1.1 Continued Colonization and Indigenous Relationships

Saipan has experienced long-term colonization over the last several hundred years. Indigenous history is largely defined by how the Chamorro, and then the Carolinians, on the island changed to accommodate the will of their oppressors. After establishing in the Pacific, the Spanish impressed Catholicism onto the Chamorro, which led to the fall of ancestral worship. Restrictions by the Spanish caused the extinction of the *sakman* sailing vessels and cut the Chamorro off from other Pacific Islander cultures. Ultimately, Spanish colonization led to a complete overhaul on the Chamorro culture. Under German administration, while comparatively brief, again led to a change in lifestyle. Western ideals that came to the island focused on public health, government, and schooling that attempted to "modernize" the indigenous peoples.

The island once again experienced change when the Japanese empire took control from the German administration. Though the Japanese secured the island from German control through unauthorized means, the League of Nations endorsed the changeover at the end of World

War I. Similarly, the Japanese empire expanded their reach to Manchuria, Indo-China, and Southeast Asia under the principle of creating the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

Although the philosophies of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere would seem to reflect that all people within its range should protect and support one another, there still remained a hierarchy of power. The mainland Japanese considered themselves in the center of the sphere, with imperial subjects who fell within the geographic limits of Asia, such as the Okinawans and Koreans, as less significant. Indigenous groups, like the Chamorro and Carolinians, were deemed the lowest of statuses. The indigenous oral histories demonstrate this attitude, many of which cite complicated relationships with Japanese civilians. Commonly shared stories involve aggression and prejudice at the hands of prominent and wealthy Japanese civilians against the indigenous civilians.

Yet, many civilians also cite that the times under the Japanese administration were good; the Japanese invested in the agriculture, commercial ventures, and infrastructure on the island, which also brought money to the indigenous civilians. Some even remember making friends with Japanese farmers and workers, with one civilian recalling that she had made friends with a handful of Japanese civilians, who then came to the island to visit her long after the war was over (Thomasa Naraja 2018, pers. comm.). Many oral histories indicate violent behavior only began once the war started, mostly demonstrated by Japanese soldiers.

Similarly, the U.S. administration took control over Saipan through violent means. Though not directed at the indigenous civilians, the Battle for Saipan caused irreparable damage to their homes and killed almost one-quarter of the indigenous population. The U.S. military then placed the civilians, largely uninvolved with the battle, into internment camps while they decided the fate of the island. Again, the oral histories collected from indigenous civilians describe

complicated relationships and conditions. Most acknowledge that the U.S. military personnel treated the indigenous with kindness and did their best to take care of everyone in the camps with the resources that they could find. They also discuss few instances of bad behavior and mistreatment by the U.S. military, though they also believe it to be a part of war and not indicative of the U.S. military overall.

While the oral histories provide personal anecdotes of positive interactions, the military documents and opinions of those within the U.S. military administration provide another view when regarding treatment of the indigenous civilians. Orders came from high-ranking officers to suppress any racial prejudice against the indigenous so that trust could be built between the two groups. This alone may have resulted in why the indigenous have positive memories regarding their interactions with U.S. military personnel, though there are stories of servicemembers going above and beyond to create lasting relationships.

The positive oral histories also do not account for the U.S. military administration's decisions regarding the island, among other places, that now fell under their control. The attitude of the U.S. military administration is deeply apparent when looking at military documents and historical reviews. In the eyes of many within the U.S., Micronesia needed to be reformed and modernized. This paternalism likely stems from Orientalism, in which the people of Asia, and by extension Micronesia, are viewed different from Western peoples; they are considered irrational, depraved, and undeveloped. As such, a patronizing view developed that Western powers, as superior nations, must help these places become modern. In this way, the U.S. administration mirrored the Japanese hierarchy of power established on Saipan prior to the war; this time, Western powers, considered at the top of the hierarchy, sought control over the "simplistic" indigenous peoples of Asia, Africa, and North and South America. This way of thinking justified

the U.S. and other Western entities to establish their ideals while disguising their efforts as charitable (Said 1978; Little 2004:10; Varisco 2011).

Evidence of this ideology comes directly from the discussions regarding the future of Saipan. As stated in the previous chapter, one side of the argument explicitly wanted the U.S. Navy to take control of the island; they viewed the indigenous civilians as simplistic and in need of being brought up to the Western standard of living. Furthermore, the U.S. had invested too much blood and money into capturing Saipan, and therefore, should not relinquish their hold on the island (Clark 1946). The opposite side of the argument, while unintentionally patronizing, still regarded Micronesia in this manner. Lt. Useem (1946), though asserting that the Micronesians could govern themselves, still followed up with his argument that they need "indirect rule," financial assistance, and lastly, help with adjusting to inevitable Western acculturation.

At first glance, the U.S. and Japanese administrations seem to contrast, but upon further examination, the administrations share many qualities. First, neither entity took control of the island in peaceful circumstances. Both seizures took place during wartime efforts to be reutilized for their own gain, without the requested assistance by the indigenous civilians, while publicly advocating that indigenous civilians needed help freeing themselves from a foreign power. The difference here lies in their contradictory principles: Japan used Saipan as an outpost to expand their empire while separating the indigenous from Western influence, and the U.S. wanted the island as a foothold in the Pacific during the war and desired to project their Western ideals onto the islanders.

The relationships between the indigenous civilians and both Japanese and U.S. individuals are also similarly complicated. Many indigenous civilians shared stories of favorable

relationships in both the Japanese and U.S. administrations, going so far as to say that they considered many as friends. At the same time, many discussed violent interactions with the Japanese and, to some extent, U.S. military personnel; the lack of negative stories regarding the U.S. administration may be due to cultural courtesy and response to providing oral histories to a researcher from the U.S.

Taking the oral histories, military documentation, and historical background into consideration shows a very complicated narrative for the indigenous civilians. The archival and historical research indicates that the Japanese and U.S. administrations both had their own interests in mind while managing the island, but also did contribute in some way to Saipan's growth. Yet this seems to contradict with the oral histories, which discuss a much more positive interaction with both entities. Perhaps the individual agency of the Japanese civilians and U.S. servicemembers played a large part in the indigenous civilian's experiences and how they perceive the administrations.

Negative experiences by each group can be explained by separate factors. In the case of the Japanese, their social hierarchy clearly impacted the way in which they treated those considered low-status. However, as shown in the oral histories, social pressures did not always suppress the good-nature of Japanese civilians towards the indigenous peoples. The negative experiences described by the indigenous regarding U.S. military personnel largely came from their actions during the occupation of Saipan. Indigenous civilians attribute aggressive interactions to residual impacts of the war. Orders to suppress any racial prejudices towards the indigenous civilians may have contributed to the large number of positive interactions between the two groups, though does not account for all. Many stories discuss kindnesses exhibited by the

U.S. military personnel, especially towards indigenous children, that suggest that most did not follow those commands because they had to, but because they had kind intentions regardless.

The majority of the negative impacts to the island by the two administrations occurred behind the scenes without the knowledge of the indigenous. Many of the positive impacts, such as investing in the island, providing resources and services, and relationships between the individual people, occurred in sight of the indigenous. Although they do remember negative aspects of both administrations, the positive aspects and personal relationships seem to surpass their bad memories.

5.1.2 Internment

In this section, the oral histories and historical research will be combined with information from the literature review chapter to make an argument regarding whether Camp Susupe and Chalan Kanoa resemble internment camps of the 20th century. As stated in the initial literature review, internment is defined as "all unjust forms of imprisonment: those that are not the result of a fair and equitable legal process" (Moshenska and Myers 2011:3). This definition, while broad, must be phrased as such because in the 20th century, and especially World War II, internment came in many forms to serve multiple purposes. Internment camps can be used to suppress uprisings, prevent spying, separate different ethnic groups, host PoW laborers, and, most commonly, control the minds and bodies of those within camp boundaries (Moshenska and Myers 2011; Mytum 2018).

Moshenska and Myers (2011) further note that a key theme within the history of internment involves the construction of a camp; camps are "typically a newly built collection of more-or-less ephemeral structures designed for communal living, often bounded by a fence or other barrier with that perimeter patrolled by armed guards." Finally, addressing previous

research, they argue that “in the aftermaths of wars, violent conflicts and natural disasters, large populations of displaced persons are often housed in refugee camps—which have been shown to be a direct descendent of the internment camps of the Second World War” (Moshenska and Myers 2011:4).

According to these definitions and descriptions, Camp Susupe and Chalan Kanoa, though vastly different from one another, meet the criteria for an internment camp. Justification for this argument lies in the motives of the U.S. military, physical description of the camp, and opinions of both the U.S. military and indigenous civilians.

Both Camp Susupe and Chalan Kanoa provided indigenous civilians with shelter, food, water, and other necessary supplies because the island had been destroyed in the battle. Upon first impressions, the camps seem to share qualities with refugee camps. If providing these services to the indigenous civilians were the only purpose of keeping them in camp, it would be easy to mistake them as strictly refugee camps. However, as stated before, internment camps created a framework for later refugee camps. The purposes of internment vary throughout WWII, and by issuing Proclamation No. 2 and placing the indigenous under harsh restrictions, the U.S. military proved that they had other motives on Saipan. The U.S. military administration threatened civilians with death, detention, or financial restitution for violating rules that the military saw fit to enforce. These restrictions directly prohibited leaving camp, spying and sedition, and even benign acts such as singing after dark or cutting down a tree within camp. Even though the U.S. military provided necessary relief and safety for the civilians on Saipan, Camp Susupe and Chalan Kanoa were also designed to control movement, minds, and prevent collaboration with the Japanese that remained on the island, firmly qualifying them as internment camps.

The second argument relies on the presence of the "camp" itself and their descriptions. Camp Susupe, the first of the two camps, was hastily constructed to replace the beach stockades. Oral histories and military documents describe it as a "shantytown," with shelters constructed of salvaged wood, tin, and tarpaulins, in which hundreds of civilians shared space (Richards 1957). A fence surrounded the entire area with armed guards, both of which impeded civilians from leaving of their own volition. Chalan Kanoa, while not as hastily constructed, still consisted of shared concrete and wooden houses and a boundary fence. The presence of the fence in both camps, and the U.S. military claim of it as "more of a symbol" also tie into the argument regarding control; even as a mere symbol, the U.S. understood that the presence of the fence would deter the indigenous civilians from leaving and used it to control them.

Finally, the opinions of both the indigenous civilians and the U.S. military must be acknowledged. U.S. military documents consistently regard the civilians as "internees" and camp as "the internment camp" or "Internment Camp No. 1." While collecting oral histories, over half of the participants remember not being able to leave because of the restrictions on civilians. For example, Luis Cabrera (2018, pers. comm.) recalls that they "had no liberty" in camp. The U.S. military administration exerted control over the indigenous civilians on their own island, who had largely remained uninvolved in the battle. In the military's own words, they cited no resistance from the indigenous and that they "were very much against the Japanese and favorable to the United States" (CINCPAC 1944:3). By all accounts, the indigenous civilians had done nothing to warrant what could easily be argued as "unjust imprisonment," and therefore, internment.

5.1.3 Conclusions

The historical overview of the indigenous experience on Saipan, integrating oral histories, military documents, and prior historical analyses, show that almost all aspects are considered complicated. While it is important to note that the indigenous civilians remember positive interactions between individuals from the Japanese and U.S. administrations, it is equally important to acknowledge the negative overtones of control that these administrations wished to exert. Analyzing the oral histories and military documents together provides a better understanding of the complexity and often contradictory circumstances of the Battle for Saipan and its impacts on the indigenous civilians.

5.2 Oral History Analysis

5.2.1 The Role of Story-Telling

The previous historic summary was written using oral histories as the interview participants have remembered the war. As previously mentioned, both the Chamorro and Carolinians on Saipan employ story-telling to pass on their history. They do not record their history in writing, making the collection of oral histories pertinent to this study. Twenty-three of the 32 participants were alive during the battle and subsequent internment, but only about half remember what happened first-hand during the battle itself due to age. Older family members, such as siblings or parents, ensured that they passed on the memories.

For example, while discussing the events of the war with three separate individuals, all three recounted the same story. While attempting to move the family down towards the airport during battle, a ricocheting bullet hit their grandfather (and great-grandfather) across the bridge of his nose. The interviewer conducted all interviews separately, and in the case of one individual, their relation to the other participants remained unknown to the interviewer until after

they told the story (Juan Laffet, Estainslov Villagomez, Isabel Villagomez 2018, pers. comm.). Interestingly, when asked how these stories were passed down, the youngest of the group, who was not alive during the battle, claimed he heard several stories passed down by his grandfather and great-grandfather. His mother, who was also interviewed, remembers part of the battle but also recalls that her father told her to leave the room during story-telling. Despite these contradictory interactions with the same family member, the same story had been passed down to both participants.

A common argument against oral histories in archaeology remains that the information collected cannot be verified or that there is no quantifiable evidence. However, in the process of collecting these oral histories, potential participants felt hesitant to share passed-down stories specifically because they could not be verified. For the indigenous peoples on Saipan, a case can be made that they do not want to share stories that are false or embellished. The value of story-telling in their culture lies in passing down their history, not in exaggerating stories.

Further hesitancy within the field of archaeology to use oral histories stems from the fear that oral histories overshadow the archaeological evidence (Moshenska 2007:92). In this case, collecting oral histories and consulting local civilians provided details regarding location and extent of the site. Prior to discussions, the GIS maps created using U.S. military documents guided the Phase I archaeological survey. While these documents correctly outlined the boundary of Camp Susupe, it did not include the Chalan Kanoa extension. After consultation and research, the original survey area chosen, while still within boundaries of the camp, was a plot most likely used for farming. Collection of oral histories also helped clear up errors made by the U.S. military, as they incorrectly documented many of the names and places on both maps and reports.

Further discussions with community members addressed the NKK buildings still in use in Chalan Kanoa, a fact that was not revealed during the initial research stage. Due to this new information, researchers decided to conduct sruvey in the Chalan Kanoa area instead of the Camp Susupe area. Not only did this likely yield better results, but it also allowed for more time interacting with the community and determining levels of interest in excavation and preservation.

5.2.2 Patterns in Memory

From the beginning of this project, the main research goal aimed to include all aspects of the indigenous experience through the Battle for Saipan, with special consideration for the internment camps. It became apparent, however, that the indigenous civilians who were interviewed focused more on the battle than internment. In fact, the most detailed memories collected during this project consisted of their survival through bombardment and during the battle. Participants recalled memories from this time faster and with more conviction than when asked other questions. Indigenous civilians in Saipan like to provide context during story-telling, which may account for the heavily-detailed accounts regarding the Battle for Saipan in preparation for discussing the camps (Genevieve Cabrera 2018, elec. comm.). Often, these memories involved the deaths of loved ones, injuries sustained, and weeks spent hiding in caves with family members for safety. These traumatic events, instead of being repressed, seemed much more vivid in the minds of those interviewed.

On the contrary, when asked about being placed in Camp Susupe, memory recall took longer. Many times, interviewees could not answer the questions asked as they pertained to internment. This may be due to the fact that the indigenous civilians spent no more than four months inside Camp Susupe.

The only exception to this seemed to be when asked to recall a memory that was related to a sensory experience. For example, upon interviewing Stanley Torres, he began the interview by saying that he did not remember much about Camp Susupe. As the interview progressed, however, he recalled the soap provided by the military to clean their clothing and bathe. He recalls, "I still remember the smell, you know. I can smell it now. It's an old soap smell, like Dial. Surgical." He also remembered the smell of the green tarpaulins that they lived under because they were treated to be waterproof with a petrol-based solution (Stanley Torres 2018, pers. comm.). Other participants remembered the type of food that they ate in the camp, the mosquitos that plagued the camp, and cramped living arrangements, all of which relate to the senses. Overwhelmingly, participants described Camp Susupe as safe, but uncomfortable.

Memory recall became much easier once questioning moved to their time in Chalan Kanoa village, both during internment and after. Since many of the participants were children during this time, their memories mostly consisted of their daily routines, including school, activities, and their relationship with the U.S. military. It is likely that the participants recalled these memories with ease because they followed a predictable daily schedule. The indigenous civilians resided in Chalan Kanoa for at least a year and a half, which may be why many could differentiate between their time in Camp Susupe and Chalan Kanoa.

5.2.3 Group vs. Single Interviews

One of the more beneficial decisions in the oral history process was to visit the Aging Center on the island. After announcing the intent of the project, three individuals came forward, willing to be interviewed at the same time. This was the only true group interview conducted during the oral history collection process, which allowed for a comparison to single interviews.

In the beginning of the interview, interviewers posed a question to the group and each one would take their turn in answering. However, as the interview progressed, it evolved into a discussion rather than a question and answer session. The participants compared their experiences to one another or corroborated each other's stories if they had similar situations occur. Hearing other participants' stories helped recall a memory that may otherwise have been forgotten.

The drawback to this style of interviews can be found in the information disclosed. While one-on-one interviews allow for the participant to remain anonymous and still share sensitive issues, a group interview does not allow for such privacy. In an open discussion, a participant may choose to remain completely silent about a matter they may find too sensitive for a group. Unfortunately, there were individuals who did not want to be interviewed or would only do so if their testimonial remained anonymous due to concerns of judgement from the community. While the three participants in the group interview agreed to this style, it does not mean that they shared all of their experiences.

5.2.4 Problems

As with all research methods, some aspects of the oral history collection process could not discuss all of the experiences of the indigenous peoples. Memories can begin to distort or merge together, especially after a long period of time and when two experiences align closely. This was the case for many interviewees when asked to discuss their time within the camps. Their experiences in Camp Susupe largely differed from their time in Chalan Kanoa, thereby making it easier to distinguish the two as separate experiences. However, when asked about their time interned in Chalan Kanoa versus their time after 4 July 1946, they had trouble separating the two experiences. Because many civilians stayed in the houses in Chalan Kanoa even after

given permission to move freely around the island, many of the participants struggled to distinguish between the two times. Not only did they stay in the same place, but it also happened within a short period of time when they were at a young age.

This proved to be problematic when discussing experiences such as jobs, farming, fishing, and boating. Answers differed between many of the participants. Those that were older claimed that working, fishing, and farming occurred, to the point that internees could leave the camps to do so. Younger participants do not recall being able to leave for any reason. This may be due to the participants being too young to remember it properly or that they never asked their elders specifically about it. As stated by Isabel Villagomez (2018, per. comm.), "My father didn't feel that it was important to pass these stories down to me. I feel that it is, but it's hard to do when you have no memory of them."

Similarly, participants found the concept of time difficult to discuss. When asked "how long?" or "when was this?" often the participants could not answer affirmatively. This is not necessarily surprising, as perceptions of time can change between different experiences. Almost all participants and their families hid in caves at the time of the battle, afraid to come outside or otherwise leave the safety of the cave. Without watching the sun, or having access to timepieces or calendars, it would be difficult to track time. Furthermore, once they felt safe within the confines of Camp Susupe, they may not have felt the need to track time.

When asked how long they hid in the caves, a substantial number of participants responded with the answer "three weeks." While this may be the correct answer for many of them, it is also important to consider that this may be a "collective memory" answer. Collective memories occur when a group of people remember their shared past; it can change both through time and as more information is revealed (Roediger and DeSoto 2016). Because the battle lasted

approximately three weeks, and they did not track time while in the caves, this may be an automatic response if they are not sure how long they were taking shelter.

While this can hinder the process of recounting the experiences of the civilians, it does not necessarily have detrimental effects. These gaps in time can sometimes be filled by other sources, such as military documents. For example, two participants independently discussed hiding in caves with the priests and nuns of the island. One of participants gave a rough estimate as to how long they were in the caves, but neither knew when they were found by the U.S. military (Marie Castro 2018, pers. comm.; Julia Norita 2018, pers. comm.). In the field journal for the 145th Field Artillery Battalion (1944:82), a small note made in the summary of 9 July 1944 operations states: "2 Spanish Priests and 5 Nuns turned up today. Held captive since 1939." While this type of documentation may not yield results for every story with missing information, the addition of the military report with the oral history still shows how two different resources can piece together to help tell one overarching story.

One final problem faced while recording the oral histories involves the questions and how they were phrased. Oftentimes, a question would be phrased a specific way and would yield little to no answer. The question was then rephrased, either immediately after or further into the interview; this would then yield a different and often full answer. It became pertinent that interviewers rephrased or repeated questions for the participants, even if a straightforward answer was given. Interviewers often repeated back the participant's answers to them right away to ensure correct interpretation. While this tactic may have slowed down the interview or made the participant get off-track further into questioning, it ensured reciprocity between answers and clarifications if needed.

Sometimes, the same questions would yield different answers when phrased differently, asked in their native language, or at another time. It is important to understand, however, that this does not mean that one answer is false; memory is "the process of remembering: the calling up of images, stories, experiences and emotions from our past life, ordering them, placing them within a narrative or story and then telling them in a way that is shaped at least in part by our social and cultural context" (Abrams 2016:78-79). Often, one memory or story may remind them of another, and it is easier for the participant to follow their train of thought rather than follow the order of questioning from the interviewer. This does, however, allow for the participant to get side-tracked easier, something that occurred occasionally throughout the interview process. As respectfully as possible, interviewers turned the conversation back to the topic of the war.

As oral history collection progressed, all interviewers began to identify tactics that worked best with individual participants. Interviewing, in this case, was a dynamic process that involved interviewers allowing participants to direct their own narrative while keeping them on topic. Despite the minor problems encountered in the duration of collecting oral histories, the advantages of doing so far outweighed the shortcomings.

5.2.5 Conclusions

In order to discuss the indigenous experience on Saipan, the first real step involved going into the community to speak with them regarding their time during the war. Because the Chamorro and Carolinians do not often write their history down, it must be collected through oral histories. Indigenous archaeology is about breaking with Western views by making the community members the "experts" and the researcher as a conduit of the information (Atalay 2006:288-290). The previous history chapter aimed to highlight the indigenous experience using the oral histories while integrating the perspectives of the U.S. and Japanese militaries to create

an overarching narrative. This was purposefully done to place a spotlight on the indigenous perspective, which has been largely overlooked within academic texts.

The importance of oral histories, especially within indigenous narratives, cannot be stressed enough. Without oral history collection, this thesis would not have been able to incorporate the indigenous narrative into the history of the battle and internment properly. Military documents, while helpful in understanding battle operations and their own opinions of civilians, do not provide the indigenous perspective. Collecting oral histories also made it apparent as to what was important to the civilians and what they believed should be passed down. In fact, out of the 32 participants, only one deemed passing down their stories of war unnecessary; in their opinion, the community could not heal if they continued to memorialize the war (Benigno Sablan 2018, pers. comm.).

The indigenous perspective of the battle is equally important to the Japanese and U.S. perspectives, but has largely been overlooked within the academic community. By collecting these oral histories, a full account of the battle can now be reviewed.

CHAPTER SIX: ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY AND RESULTS

6.1 Site Description

The Chalan Kanoa survey area sits on the western side of Saipan, between Lake Susupe and Route 30 (Beach Road). The exact boundary lines of the camp remain unknown, as a formal map of Chalan Kanoa internment camp could not be located at the time of this survey. Therefore, the survey area reflects the descriptions from oral histories (Figure 19). The area spans from the edge of the Mount Carmel Cathedral cemetery property to Route 32 (.93 km) and from the beach to Texas Road (.52 km). Although some oral histories identified the Chalan Kanoa Post Office as the location of the main camp gate, other interviews debate that it expanded northward, almost to the Camp Susupe area; the total survey area reflects these oral histories as well. Urban development has led to good drainage in the area, however, at one point it was in the Susupe-Chalan Kanoa flood plain. The soil is course and sandy, with sparse vegetation. Few residential lots remain forested. Most of the area consists of housing, concrete padding, or coral paved roads (CNMI BECQ 2017).

The NRHP nomination for the Chalan Kanoa Historic District identified 60 significant structures in this area. All of the buildings are associated with the Japanese administration of Saipan and built in the 1920s and 1930s. Two of the buildings are wooden, while the rest are concrete structures (NRHP 1980). Typically, the Japanese structures can be identified based on architectural style, building materials, and external structures. Most have water cisterns located outside, and are constructed of concrete, not cinderblock, as is common in Saipan. They are typically rectangular with flooring raised above the ground (Genevieve Cabrera 2018, pers. comm.). Unfortunately, alterations have been made to many of the houses, sometimes making identification difficult.

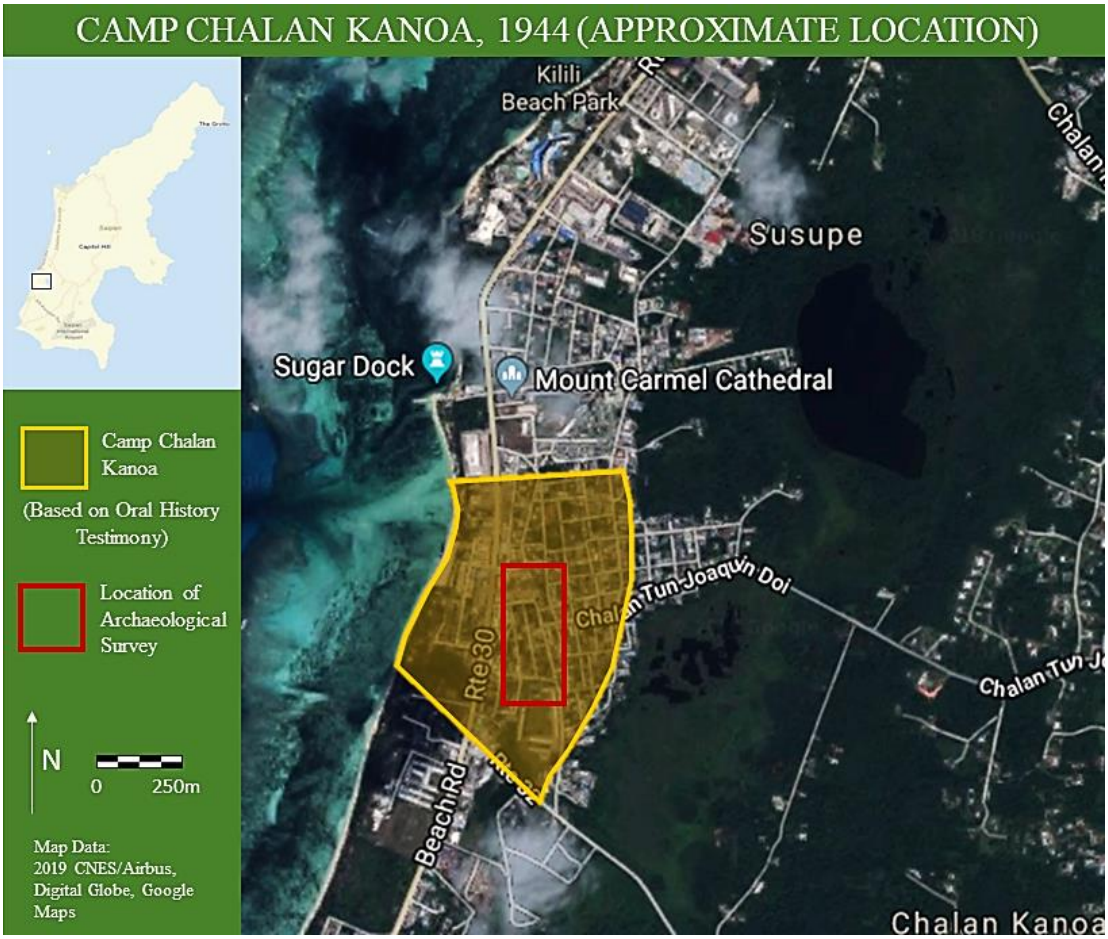

FIGURE 19. Approximate location of Camp Chalan Kanoa, 1944-1945 (Map by author, 2018)

6.2 Previous Archaeological Surveys

The Phase I survey endeavors to determine whether or not excavation would add to the historic record as it relates to the internment of civilians in WWII. This section details a comprehensive list of surveys and excavations completed in the vicinity of the Chalan Kanoa area. Many of these surveys have recovered material artifacts, some of which relate to WWII.

A 1980 cultural resource survey conducted in the Susupe-Chalan Kanoa flood survey area determined that there was pre-historic evidence found in the first one-meter of the surface. It also makes a note of 43 structures or groups of structures that are positively dated to the Japanese-era sugarcane industry. The survey addresses that these structures are important and

states “that there is little reason to suspect that any structures have escaped investigation” (Thomas and Price 1980:23). The survey did not, however, complete any test pits within the property boundaries of these structures; only a visual inspection was completed, leaving the possibility of missed material culture that could help add to the historic record (Thomas and Price 1980).

Several surveys have been conducted on the site of the William S. Reyes School (former Chalan Kanoa Elementary School) located within the Historic District. In February 1995, a contractor working at the school unearthed several glass vials from the area while building a water storage tank and pump house. According to the report, the vials were of varying shapes, sizes, and colors, and contained liquids or powdered substances. The principal reported that 32 vials had been recovered from students playing in the trench. Subsequent archaeological testing of the area by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Pacific Ocean Division did not result in any additional archaeological remains (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1997:3.2).

Testing of the bottle contents verified that several carried water with traces of other materials including chloroform, ethanol, and other organic compounds. One vial contained orange-brown powder which contained arsenic, sodium, and lesser amounts of other compounds. These tests were conducted after analyses of the bottles concluded that they were similar to those found in U.S. military chemical warfare agent test kits. According to eye-witness accounts, the area had once been the site of a storage building under U.S. military control; it was used to store medical and other military supplies. It was concluded that the bottles had been surplus U.S. military items that had been discarded, most likely at the time coinciding with the demolition of the storage building (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1997:3.2-3.6).

Subsequent archaeological testing occurred while conducting an environmental investigation to monitor possible contamination of the soil and water table. In July 1997, further surveys unearthed remains from prehistoric and historic periods in the area. While there were artifacts from pre-war Japanese times in the trench nearest to the 1995 site, there were also WWII and post-war materials including bottles, ceramics, metal objects, and pharmaceutical bottles. Prehistoric remains were identified in a northern trench (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1998:8.2-8.3).

Site remediation activities occurred between 27 March and 8 April 1999 following the recommendations of the 1997 report. Mechanical trenching commenced around the elementary school campus, as well as one hand-excavated trench, in order to follow-up on archaeological testing conducted in 1997. While most of the trenches did not yield many artifacts, the largest trench opened at the northwest end of the campus contained an assortment of artifacts from pre- and post-WWII and prehistoric times. Among the historic remains were several glass bottles, pipettes, stirring rods, tubes, game pieces, buttons, and U.S. and Japanese jars containing various materials (i.e. cold creams). Many of the bottle contents appeared to be of medicinal use, including penicillin, iodine disinfectant, procaine, and papaverine (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 2002:4.2-4.10).

Just north of the northern boundary of the Chalan Kanoa survey area, a resident of Susupe village unearthed human remains in their backyard in 1987. The Historic Preservation Office conducted surveys to determine extent of the site. U.S. coins and historic ceramics were located along with the unknown number of human burials. Surveyors determined that the burial of the remains likely occurred between 1944 and 1945, and that the area was the location of the civilian cemetery in Camp Susupe. Despite noting that residential construction threatened the

area, archaeologists reburied the remains. Unfortunately, the full report on the cemetery survey was likely destroyed in a fire at the Historic Preservation Office. Even though this survey was not completed in Chalan Kanoa, it does relate to the internment of civilians in WWII and demonstrates that material remains can still be found despite urban sprawl (Russell 1987).

6.3 Neighborhood Survey

Researchers conducted the neighborhood survey and the oral history collections simultaneously. The oral history collection results and analysis were discussed in the previous chapter, except for interviews that related directly to the Phase I survey. A total of 13 structures were surveyed during fieldwork (Figure 20). Interviews conducted with homeowners around the Chalan Kanoa Historic District also proved noteworthy and are included in this analysis.

All 13 structures were surveyed and critiqued in six different categories. The first category, "Disposition," refers to the use of the structure and was characterized as either empty or in-use. In-use structures refer to buildings that are either occupied and/or those that have been altered for a different function (i.e. storage).

The second category, "Structure Condition," refers to the state of the structure and is separated into three designations. "Poor" status was given to structures that were either over-grown with vegetation, filled with refuse, and/or altered beyond recognition. "Fair" status was designated to structures that were structurally sound; vegetation could be minimal, or the structure abandoned, as long as it did not affect the integrity of the structure. "Good" status was given to buildings that were still standing, complete with roofing, windows, and other features; renovations could have occurred, but overall, the entire property was clean and intact.

The third category, "Altered/Renovated," indicates if the structure was altered, renovated, or otherwise changed purposefully; normal wear and tear related alteration is not considered in

this section. The fourth category refers to the difficulty in which an excavation could take place on the property. “Easy” designation was given to properties considered clean, clear of vegetation, and had a known owner. “Moderate” designation was given to properties that were relatively clean and had little vegetation or would be easy to clear. Properties given a “Difficult” designation were overgrown and would not be able to be cleared, had paved-over areas, or had been altered to the point that subsurface soils lack context.

The last categories relied on whether or not interviews could be conducted with the homeowners or community members. “Community Support” refers to whether the homeowners or community had interest in the idea of an excavation; “yes” or “no” correlates to their support, and “N/A” was given to properties where interviews could not be conducted. “Material Culture Found” refers to if any material objects had been found by homeowners on their lots (Table 1).

	Disposition	Structure Condition	Altered/ Renovated	Ease of Excavation	Community Support	Material Culture Found
Teacher's House-West (1)	Empty	Good	No	Easy	N/A	No
Teacher's House-East (2)	Empty	Good	No	Easy	N/A	No
Abandoned House (3/5)	Empty	Fair	No	Difficult	Yes	No
Abandoned House (7)	Empty	Fair	No	Moderate	Yes	No
Meling Chargualaf House (8)	In-Use	Good	Yes	Easy	Yes	No
Abandoned House (9 & 10)	Empty	Poor	No	Difficult	N/A	No
Abandoned House (14)	Empty	Fair	No	Difficult	No	No
Abandoned House (15)	Empty	Poor	No	Difficult	No	Yes
Altered House-Animal Pen (17)	In-Use	Poor	Yes	Difficult	N/A	No
Administration House (23)	In-Use	Good	Yes	Easy	Yes	Yes
Abandoned Admin (24)	Empty	Poor	No	Difficult	N/A	No
Abandoned Admin (25)	Empty	Poor	Yes	Difficult	N/A	No

TABLE 1. NKK Building Assessments

FIGURE 20. Map of Chalan Kanoa Historic District with NRHP numbers (Map by author, 2018)

6.3.1 Building Assessments

Teacher's House (West) and Teacher's House (East) are vacant properties identified by the NRHP as "Old Japanese Official Residence for Teacher." On the NRHP map, Teacher's House (West) correlates to property No. 1 and Teacher's House (East) correlates to property No. 2. According to the neighbor, they were both residences for teachers during the Japanese administration, but little is known about who was placed into the houses during internment (Mariana Taitano, 2018 pers. comm.). The exteriors of both houses are clean, with minimal overgrowth only in the yard of Teacher's House (East), leading to the conclusion that whoever owns the properties takes care of them, but does not live in them. There is no indication that renovations or alterations have occurred (Figure 21, Figure 22). After the intial survey was completed, however, Super Typhoon Yutu hit Saipan in October 2018. It has been determined that Teacher's House (East) was completely destroyed and no longer stands on the site; the only part of the building that remains is the concrete pad (Todiño 2018).

FIGURE 21 Teacher's House (East) (Photo by author, 2018)

FIGURE 22. Teacher's House (West) (Photo by author, 2018)

Abandoned House (3/5) is a vacant property identified by the NRHP as “Old NKK Company House (Quadplex).” Due to the state of the property and no other visual indicators, it could not be positively identified on the NRHP map; it correlates to either property No. 3 or property No. 5. Interviews with neighbors could not identify the owner (Juan Ilo, 2018 pers. comm.). The building itself is clean with no alterations or vandalization, however, it is very overgrown. The floor is visible in very few places (Figure 23).

FIGURE 23. Abandoned House (3/5) (Photo by author, 2018)

Abandoned House (7) is a vacant property identified by the NRHP as "Old NKK Company House." This house correlates to property No. 7 on the NRHP map. Interviews with the neighbor identified the owner as the Kililiman family during and after internment. They abandoned the property and it is likely that the government has seized it (Meling Chargualaf, 2018 pers. comm.). There is community support for future excavations at this property and for preservation efforts for the entire historic district. The building itself is in fair condition, with minimal vandalization or overgrowth inside the house (Figure 24).

FIGURE 24. Abandoned House (7) (Photo by author, 2018)

Meling Chargualaf House is a currently occupied property across from Abandoned House (7). The NRHP map identifies this structure as property No. 8, “Old NKK Company House (Duplex).” Interviews with the owner proved invaluable; her family was placed into the house after WWII during internment, sharing it with the Cabrera family. They later moved out, but she moved back in 1991. It was renovated and remodeled in 1996 (Meling Chargualaf 2018, pers. comm.). The property is in pristine condition but has been heavily modified (Figure 25). The owner expressed interest in preservation and conservation efforts on the NKK houses, and the possibility of creating a true historic district in Chalan Kanoa.

FIGURE 25. Meling Chargualaf House (8) (Photo by author, 2018)

Abandoned House (9 & 10) are both identified as “Old NKK Company House (Duplex)” on the NRHP map and labeled as properties No. 9 & No. 10. The houses have not been renovated or altered, however, both houses and the lot between them has become a dumping area. Loitering does occur in the area. During the survey, a group of people on the property were quickly interviewed; they were not the owners, nor did they know who owned the property. Despite speaking with us and advising us to speak with the elders of the community, it was requested by the local heritage consultant that photos not be taken in order to avoid a confrontation (Appendix H: 9&10).

Abandoned House (14) is a vacant property with a small outer building, likely to be a bath house. It coincides with NRHP property No. 14, however, the NRHP description is missing. An unidentified neighbor states that he was maintaining the property for a significant amount of

time. He decided to stop maintaining it because community members were using it as a dumpsite because it was continuously cleaned out (Appendix H: 14). The property is significantly overgrown and once again littered with trash. This is the only building surveyed with an outer building (Figure 26, Figure 27).

FIGURE 26. Abandoned House (14) (Photo by author, 2018)

FIGURE 27. Abandoned House (14) bath house (Photo by author, 2018)

Abandoned House (15) is located next to Abandoned House (14). This vacant property coincides with NRHP property No. 15, though the description is also missing from the map. The neighbor directly behind the house claims that although the house is very close to hers, it is technically not on her property and does not know the owner. She also states that she has found whole glass bottles around that property, but threw them away (Marta Joseph 2018, pers. comm.). The interior of the building is completely overgrown, and the structure is in poor condition (Figure 28).

FIGURE 28. Abandoned House (15) (Photo by author, 2018)

Altered House/Animal Pen is a property across the street from Abandoned House (15). This property is identified on the NRHP map as property No. 17, "Old NKK Company House (Duplex)." The property has been converted into an animal pen for livestock and the structure itself is almost entirely broken down (Figure 29).

FIGURE 29. Altered House/Animal Pen (15) (Photo by author, 2018)

The Administration House is currently a property in-use. It is identified as NRHP property No. 23, “Old NKK Company House for Executive Director.” Upon interviewing the owner, she stated that it was owned by a titled educator during the Japanese administration. Her grandmother was the owner during and after internment, and it is now rented out to tenants (Figure 30). The owner also stated that when digging the foundation for her house directly behind the Administration House, they found a white ceramic bowl (Figure 32); her mother kept it and signed the back of it. The condition of the house is fair, but it has been altered. A cistern also dating from the Japanese administration still exists, but it has been converted into a typhoon shelter (Figure 31).

FIGURE 30. Administration House (23) (Photo by author, 2018)

FIGURE 31. Altered water cistern at Administration House (23) (Photo by author, 2018)

FIGURE 32. Ceramic dishware found at Administration House 23 (Photo by author, 2018)

Abandoned Administration House (24) is a vacant property next to the Administration House. The NRHP map identifies this as property No. 24, "Old NKK Company House for Executive Director (with reception room)." Much of this building is no longer intact, except for what is believed to be the "reception room." An upturned tree next to the house exhibited pieces of ceramic in the soil. The property is severely overgrown (Figure 33).

FIGURE 33. Abandoned Administration House (24) (Photo by author, 2018)

Abandoned Administration House (25) is next to Abandoned Administration House (24). This structure is identified as property No. 25 on the NRHP map, which describes it as an "Old NKK Company House for Executive Directory (with reception room)." The building now adjoins a house, but the owner could not be found. The structure looks to be used for storage and is likely the "reception room" (Figure 34).

FIGURE 34. Abandoned Administration House (25) (Photo by author, 2018)

Of the six interviews conducted with homeowners in the area, two of the interviewees had found material culture in their yard while digging. One of the homeowners lived directly behind an abandoned structure, but her house was not one of the historic NKK houses. She found

several glass bottles directly behind the NKK structure but did not keep them (Marta Joseph 2018, pers. comm.). The other homeowner lived in a house directly behind one of the NKK officer's houses; her family was originally placed into the officer's house after WWII and now rented it out to another family. She claimed that her mother found a ceramic dish in the ground when digging the foundation for the house in which she currently resides in the 1970s. She then signed the back of it and kept it (Maria 2018, pers. comm.).

The dishware has been determined to be modern dishware, likely from after the war. It resembles a modern flower arrangement bowl (Figure 32) (Julie Mushysnky and Jennifer McKinnon 2018, elec. comm.). Although neither the homeowner nor her mother recognized the bowl as their own, oral histories recount that as many as three families could be living in the same house during post-battle internment. This ceramic dish may have belonged to one of the other families residing in the house during or shortly after internment.

6.3.2 Item Burial

While collecting oral histories, item burial came up in discussions with two different civilians. One resident interviewed claims that her mother buried items before the battle began. According to her mother, she buried her jewelry at their ranch near Mount Tapochau before the start of the battle, hoping that when the battle was over she could retrieve the items. She believes that her mother was able to find the jewelry later after they were allowed to leave Chalan Kanoa (Meling Chargualaf 2018, pers. comm.).

Another account also discussed burial of important goods. One resident witnessed a conversation between her father and a Japanese man, who both decided to bury a bag of money at the farm she lived on. When her father went to retrieve the money after the war, he could not

find it due to the landscape having been devastated by bombardment and bulldozing (Marie Castro 2018, pers. comm.).

When collecting oral histories, several of the Chamorro and Carolinian civilians recall that they did not know that the war was coming to the island. If the individuals interviewed discussed their family burying valuables to ensure their safety, it could be surmised that other civilians in the area also buried their goods as well. The Japanese living in the NKK houses in Chalan Kanoa may have buried valuables or other goods that they wanted to keep safe with the intention of retrieving them once the battle was over. Because some of the structures remained standing and were reutilized, the ground may have remained untouched, opening up the possibility of pre-war material culture still being found in the yard.

6.3.3 Community Opinions and Impact

As part of the neighborhood survey, residents and neighbors of the structures discussed their feelings on excavation of the area, as well as conservation efforts. One resident who resides in the house that her family was placed into after leaving Camp Susupe voiced concerns that the local municipality was not doing enough to keep the properties cleaned up. According to her, she had been to the local government, including the mayor's office, in order to resolve the issue. During the interview, she stated that nothing had been done yet, and it had been two years since she first voiced her concerns (Meling Chargualaf 2018, pers. comm.).

Other residents had similar views regarding revitalization efforts of the Chalan Kanoa Historic District, many of whom also supported the idea of excavation in the area. Only one resident opposed the idea of cleaning up the abandoned buildings. He claims that prior revitalization efforts at one of the structures led to the abandoned building being completely

cleared of vegetation. Unfortunately, this led to loitering and dumping in the area, leaving the structure in worse condition than before (Appendix H).

Property destruction and alteration was observed while completing the survey. Loitering was witnessed in a section of three of the abandoned historic structures, as well as active littering. Many of the abandoned buildings had trash in them, as well as evidence of squatters. Another property had been turned into an animal pen for dogs and chickens. While a conservation plan will not be established as a part of this thesis, it is important to note any ramifications an excavation may have on the community. By clearing an abandoned structure for excavation, it could become the target of potentially destructive activities.

6.4 Conclusions

The interviews conducted on site, previous survey results, and the neighborhood survey results strongly indicate that material remains still exist beneath the Chalan Kanoa village. Despite flooding in the area, recent excavations show that material remains have not all been washed out and still remain intact. While the material remains found by homeowners in the neighborhood survey may not relate to WWII, it is possible that the bottles are associated with the time period of focus. The material culture recovered by the archaeological excavations at the William S. Reyes School and cemetery do correlate to this time period of focus. Furthermore, while interviewing residents, two claimed that their families had buried possessions of value at their ranches before the battle began. It is possible that the Japanese residents in Chalan Kanoa also buried items of significance before the battle began, hoping to return to them afterwards.

Based on the answers collected during the neighborhood survey, it has been determined that if excavations were to take place in the future, Abandoned House (7) would be the best option. Even though there was no material culture found on the surface of this site, it is the only

property not in-use with a “fair” structure condition assessment. The “moderate” designation for ease of excavation relates to the vegetation inside the abandoned building; however, it is minimal and can be easily removed. There is also significant community support for this project; Meling Chargualaf (2018, pers. comm). is the owner of House (8) and has been largely supportive of the Chalan Kanoa district receiving historic designation and supported the idea of an excavation at one of the NKK buildings. The building itself has not been altered at the time of conducting the survey. It is recommended that sampling around Abandoned House (7) be the next step in this process; metal-detection and shovel tests may prove to be valuable methods in determining the extent of artefactual evidence around the area.

Teacher’s House (East) could be another option for excavation. At the time of the survey, the grounds and house looked clean with no indication of alteration; however, Super Typhoon Yutu severely impacted the site, and the house no longer exists except for the concrete foundation. This presents an opportunity for excavation, especially if the landowner decides to rebuild on the lot. An owner is listed on the Land Parcel Database, but the system may not have been updated to reflect changes in status (BECQ 2018). While it is not a concrete house, interviews with neighbors indicate it being used during internment (Mario Taitano 2018, pers. comm.). Further research would be required prior to any excavation or survey.

This study focuses on the post-war internment of the indigenous civilians and their time living in the NKK buildings, and the results from this survey provide sufficient evidence to conclude that material culture would be located in the vicinity of the buildings. However, a broader study into the place itself could merit more results. A comparison study of pre-war and post-war civilian life based on the material culture found at the site of the NKK houses could be another avenue of study.

After considering the evidence collected in the Phase I survey, oral histories, and archival research, it could be argued that a similar urban archaeology approach could also work in the Camp Susupe area. Even after significant urbanization, the area has still yielded archaeological evidence of the camps and cemetery.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS

7 Introduction

The previous chapters of this thesis presented a historical narrative of the Battle for Saipan through military documents and prior historical research, a literature review comparing cases of conflict, internment, and indigenous studies, and the results and analysis of the archaeological survey and oral histories. This chapter endeavors to address the research questions posited in the beginning of this thesis, discuss the problems encountered in the duration of this study, and recommend future research based on the results of this study.

7.1 Research Questions

7.1.1 What was the indigenous experience before, during, and shortly after the Battle for Saipan?

The primary research goal of this thesis was to address the Chamorro and Carolinian experience throughout the Battle for Saipan and during internment. The indigenous people of Saipan pass their stories down to the next generation by way of storytelling, making it vital to embrace oral histories as a source of information of equal value to military documentation and historical research. Emphasis remained on the indigenous view by implementing tenants of indigenous and community archaeologies, including speaking with community members regarding their experiences, their opinions of archaeological survey, and presenting the preliminary results of the work.

By examining cases in which oral history collection successfully contributed to conflict studies, this study incorporated the indigenous and military interpretation of the battle into a wide-ranging narrative of war. The Japanese administration, battle, internment, and post-war and

liberation were all discussed with participants. Despite the focus on the internment camps within this thesis, these discussions identified the battle and the post-war era as the primary points of interest for the indigenous.

Collecting these oral histories, while important to this study, also ensured that the memories and opinions of the community were recorded before they can no longer be shared. Family members of the survivors shared that they would like to know about what their family member experienced, and almost all participants believed that it was important to pass the stories of battle down to the next generation.

7.1.2 How were the indigenous civilians treated by the U.S. military personnel during and after the battle particularly regarding their placement into the camps and involvement with rebuilding the island?

The U.S. military has a well-documented history of portraying Japanese and other "Oriental" peoples in a negative light during WWII (Useem 1945; Dower 1993; Camacho 2011). These racial biases permeated everyday U.S. civilians as well, resulting in placement of innocent Japanese-American citizens into internment camps for the duration of the war. Because of these circumstances, it was initially suspected that the indigenous islanders of Saipan would have been treated in the same manner. The entire sitation proved to be incredibly complex and, at times, contradictory.

Upon first reviewing previous and newly collected oral histories, civilians overwhelmingly described professional and ethical behavior by the U.S. military once contact was initiated. During the battle, participants described the soldiers sharing food and water with them, medically treating the wounded, and providing protection while moving away from the fighting. Once in the internment camps, the military still offered supplies and medical aid, and in the eyes of civilians, did the best they could with the resources they had. Furthermore,

participants remembered U.S. military treating the indigenous civilians with kindness, especially the children; soldiers shared candy and cigarettes when in the camp and on protection detail.

The individual soldiers may have acted with generosity towards the indigenous civilians due to personal moral standards, though, there may have been other reasons as well. Soldiers may have treated the indigenous civilians better than their Japanese counterparts due to the previous relationships with the Chamorro peoples on Guam. It may also have been due to administrative command; orders for soldiers to suppress racial prejudices came from higher authority to ensure that the hearts and minds of the indigenous were won (Camacho 2011). There were few instances in which behavior of the soldiers turned inappropriate or violent, and the participants that described these instances believed that the acts of one soldier should not define the group.

While overall treatment of civilians in the duration of the battle and while moving into camp seem positive in the opinion of the indigenous, it does not reflect the entire situation on Saipan. The experiences of the indigenous peoples did not recognize the administration's decisions regarding the future of the island. According to Lt. John Useem (1945:98):

> Sometimes [soldiers] were extremely generous in the provision of goods to the natives and at other times denied them essentials on the basis that it was needless coddling. Americans think of themselves as democratic yet regard the Micronesians as inferior. They speak of liberation and concomitantly impose rigorous control over native affairs. They insist that they are motivated only by an objective interest in getting the natives out of the way of the armed forces and simultaneously are extremely anxious that the natives like them. They declare that only voluntary workers are used, but, when individuals chose

> not to work, coercion is employed. They proclaim a desire to preserve the indigenous culture and are pleased when the natives emulate American ways.

Lt. Useem acknowledges that the treatment of civilians by the military was not always as simple as it seemed, and that in many ways, the actions of the military administration contrasted with indigenous traditions. Carolinian civilian Lino Olopai (2018, pers. comm.) echoes this sentiment:

> After camp, life really changed. You have all this civil government, but I don't think that we knew what we were getting ourselves into. Carolinians have our traditions, and we have our elders that we would look upon for advice, assistance, and we have a chiefly clan that regulates the activity of the community or the island itself. And then you bring in a new government where you elect officials, your president, your mayor, your governor. It's totally different than our way, because we don't elect.

The restrictions placed upon the indigenous civilians within camp, the continued internment after the war officially ended, and the decisions regarding how to handle Saipan show that the U.S. administration focused heavily on their own personal gains. The same attitudes that impacted xenophobic fears against Japanese and "Oriental" peoples affected the way in which the U.S. military administration approached Saipan; they saw the indigenous civilians as simple, incapable of ruling themselves, and in need of modernization. Individual agency of the U.S. military personnel may have led them to be kind and generous towards the population, but the ever-present goal of the military administration to win favor of the local populations and establish their Western values presents a complicated relationship.

7.1.3 What is the archaeological signature of the internment camps? How did Camp Susupe and Camp Chalan Kanoa differ, if at all? And how were these camps different or like other U.S. WWII internment camps?

The first question posed within this series relates to the archaeological evidence of the internment camps. The sites of Camp Susupe and Chalan Kanoa are both heavily developed. After the war, many civilians elected to stay in Chalan Kanoa, which in turn led to more industrialization of the area. Several of the concrete NKK houses reutilized after the war for the indigenous remain intact, though in varying conditions. Interviews with the local community and previously conducted archaeological surveys address the possibility that subsurface archaeological remains that date to WWII remain undisturbed. The known archaeological signature of both camps, therefore, consists of architectural remains, medicinal bottles, U.S. military surplus material, and a cemetery.

Oral histories conducted with civilians also indicate potential remains to be uncovered if further study occurs. Two indigenous civilians described how their family buried valuables to keep them safe during the battle (Marie Castro 2018, pers. comm.; Meling Chargualaf 2018, pers. comm.). It is plausible that the Japanese residents of Chalan Kanoa also buried items of value and could not retrieve them after the war. There is potential to find household items, personal items, and building materials from the wooden constructed houses if shovel tests or excavation is completed in the future.

The second part of this question relates to the comparison of the internment camps on Saipan to each other and to other U.S. internment camps during WWII. The evidence used to answer these questions comes from the oral history collection and academic studies conducted on WWII internment sites. During initial research stages of this thesis, there seemed to be no apparent difference between Camp Susupe and Chalan Kanoa; oral histories and the military documents used the terms interchangeably, with no real record of Chalan Kanoa as a “camp” in

historical overviews of the battle. After further in-depth research at the National Archives and newly conducted interviews, differentiation between the two camps became apparent.

It was determined that Camp Susupe, or Internment Camp No. 1, was the first location where civilians of all ethnicities resided. Accounts of the camp describe it as hastily constructed, with tarpaulins and tents as the only shelter, and while the U.S. provided food and medicine, it was of low quality and quantity. After weeks of surviving in the jungle through battle, however, most civilians expressed some relief to be safe under the watchful eyes of the military. Reunions between families and friends occurred as the military continued to encounter civilian holdouts and move them into Camp Susupe. Restrictions placed on the civilians forbade them from leaving camp due to safety concerns, but also had overtones of control.

Camp Susupe continued to fill with civilians as the U.S. Marines and Army moved across the island, and soon the camp became overcrowded. Tensions between the indigenous and the Japanese grew, leading the military to separate groups by race; mixed racial families could stay together in the indigenous section of camp. In October 1944, the military administration decided to expand the camp to combat overcrowding. In November 1944, the first indigenous civilians moved into the village of Chalan Kanoa, right next to, but not connected to, Camp Susupe.

At this time, Camp Susupe became the camp for foreign civilians such as Japanese, Korean, and Okinawan civilians, whereas only the indigenous populations lived in Chalan Kanoa. The living conditions drastically improved in Chalan Kanoa, as families shared refurbished concrete and constructed wooden houses. Under supervision, the indigenous civilians left camp to farm and fish in order to supplement the military rations provided. Civilians stayed in Chalan Kanoa until the end of the war and for several months afterward.

Camp Susupe and Chalan Kanoa, though significantly different, were both still internment camps. Moshenska and Myers (2011:3) broadly defines internment as "all unjust forms of imprisonment: those that are not the result of a fair and equitable legal process." They then address this further by presenting the many objectives of internment camps, ranging from prevention of subversion, creating work camps, ethnic cleansing, and control over minds and movement of bodies. Finally, addressing previous research, they argue that the framework for refugee camps came from WWII internment camps, and that the "camp" structure itself remains a key indicator of WWII internment (Moshenska and Myers 2011:4).

The U.S. military came to Saipan to secure the island from the Japanese, and to accomplish this, retained control over the indigenous populations as well. The indigenous did not request interference from the U.S., as many civilians interviewed claimed they had a decent relationship with the Japanese until the war broke out. Because of the mass destruction of the entire island, the U.S. military constructed camps to place civilians into. At first glance, Camp Susupe and Chalan Kanoa could be perceived as refugee camps; however, as stated before, refugee camps and internment camps are intertwined. Furthermore, both camps controlled movement of the civilians, prevented civilians from engaging with Japanese insurgents, and eventually, impressed the importance of Western values onto civilians.

Camp Susupe and Chalan Kanoa share similarities with other U.S. internment camps during WWII in that they are holding a group of people under the authority of the U.S. government. The Japanese-American, German-Americans, and Italian-American internment camps in the U.S. held innocent civilians behind physical barriers under armed guard without any form of legal processing, as did the camps on Saipan. Both types controlled the movement of

bodies and prevented civilians from spying. The U.S. government and military provided food, water, medical aid, and work for people residing in both types of camp as well.

The difference between the two types of U.S. camps lie in the circumstances in which they were created. Under Executive Order 9066, all persons deemed a threat to the U.S. during war were to be moved to relocation centers. This specifically targeted Japanese and Axis-nations immigrants and descendants, many of whom were law-abiding citizens (Roosevelt 1942). These internment camps formed to keep U.S. civilians safe from potential espionage activities because of racially-motivated fear.

Camp Susupe and Chalan Kanoa, while also erected to suppress sabotage and subversion, offered safety for the displaced people on Saipan. Even though civilians were not permitted to freely move around the island until several months after the end of the war, it was due to priority given to repatriation of foreign civilians and the U.S. government forming a trusteeship, not necessarily due to racial bias. The U.S. military constructed the camps out of racial prejudice but not out of true fear. They saw the indigenous civilians as simple and desperately needing modernization, which reflects their paternalistic feelings regarding "Oriental" peoples. However, they also cite that the indigenous civilians cooperated with them and seemed to accept the changeover in administration, which shows that they did not fear the indigenous as they did Japanese and Axis-nation immigrants in the U.S.

7.1.4 Maritime activities are deemed especially important in Pacific Island indigenous culture. How were these activities affected by the battle and what lasting effects has this had on their culture?

It was believed that the oral histories could divulge enough information to understand the restrictions placed regarding maritime activities and the post-war impact. Unfortunately, many of the civilians interviewed were children during the battle, and therefore, could not offer enough

information to fully outline the impacts on the maritime culture. Military documentation did, however, add to the information that was given during the interviews.

Control over maritime activities spans as far back as the Spanish colonial administration. This pattern of control remains apparent even into the 20th century and under the custody of the U.S. administration. The first maritime impact occurred when the Spanish took over the island, restricting the use of the *sakman* sailing vessel to the point of causing its extinction. This simultaneously cut off the Chamorro from other Pacific Islanders. The Carolinians held onto their maritime traditions through this time, likely as a result of the different relationship with the Spanish. Impacts to the Carolinian maritime traditions did not occur until the U.S. administration.

The first real impact on the maritime culture of the Carolinian civilians came during the battle; U.S. bombardment of the island led to the destruction of the fishing equipment owned and operated by the indigenous, including boats, spears, and nets. The second impact on maritime activities stems from internment itself. In Camp Susupe, civilian movement out of camp was strictly forbidden, and thus maritime activities came to a halt. Healing and spiritual practices, which require special ingredients from the sea, could not be completed (Lino Olopai 2018, pers. comm.).

Upon entering Chalan Kanoa, some oral history participants recall being able to go out onto the reef to fish. This was mostly completed by Carolinians, who also lived next to the ocean because of their maritime connections. Free time was spent making nets and fishing spears together as a community. The daily catch was brought to the community and split evenly, as was the custom since before the war.

Unfortunately, boating and boatbuilding traditions suffered heavily during these times. According to some oral histories, there were few indigenous involved in deep sea fishing. Military documentation points to the Okinawans being given this opportunity, led by a military officer, as this was their job during the Japanese administration. Because they could not leave to gather the supplies necessary for traditional boatbuilding practices, the indigenous were unable to carry on these customs (Benigno Sablan 218, pers. comm.). Instead, many craftsmen turned to building small boat models to sell to the military or to give to their friends and family.

Oral testimonies show that the Okinawan fisherman left the fishing vessels to the indigenous civilians after internment. With the introduction of Western ideals of capitalism and independence, commercial fishing ventures such as the Saipan Fishing Company started up after the war. The Saipan Fishing Company declared bankruptcy within a few years, shifting fishing practices towards smaller commercial ventures. Practices including the use of gillnets and dynamite fishing became popular around 1950. Traditional maritime practices and tools slowly became obsolete as fishing for money became priority over fishing to share with the community (Rafael Ilo Rangamar, Fred Camacho, and Lino Olopai 2018, pers. comm).

Overall, the battle, internment, and introduction of Western practices and ideals impacted the maritime traditions of the Carolinians. Though the impact has been detrimental to the younger, modern generations, there has been interest in relearning traditional Carolinian boatbuilding, sailing, and fishing in recent years. The Carolinian elders still retain connections to their family in the Caroline Islands to ensure that their traditions continue to be honored (Lino Olopai 2018, pers. comm).

The downfall of the Carolinian customs under the U.S. administration reflect the extinction of the Chamorro maritime traditions under the Spanish administration. Both entities

desired to control the indigenous populations and restricted their movement and their means of survival, both of which caused detrimental effects to their maritime traditions.

7.2 Discussion

7.2.1 Oral History Collection

While there has been previous work regarding the Battle for Saipan, this comprehensive academic study focuses on the indigenous experience spanning the Japanese era, battle, life in internment, and post-war impacts. When completing a study that focuses on a specific community or indigenous group, incorporating community archaeology methods becomes pertinent. This allows all stakeholders in the community to be involved with the research and to contribute in a way they see fit, while keeping them well-informed of decisions made regarding the study.

For the communities on Saipan, this meant collecting oral histories from indigenous civilians, interviewing homeowners during the archaeological survey, and providing a public presentation detailing the preliminary results. Without incorporating community contributions and opinions, this study would not have been able to properly showcase the indigenous experience on Saipan.

Although the study focused primarily on the oral history collection of survivors and immediate family, it also accounted for military documentation and historical research. Instances occurred in which the interview participants could not offer answers to the questions, largely due to their age at the time of the battle. Therefore, it is the opinion of this author that other sources, such as military documentation, can and should be used to fortify the indigenous oral histories.

7.2.2 Site Considerations

The Chalan Kanoa internment site, as noted in the survey, is a heavily urbanized area. Littering occurs frequently and buildings remain abandoned and unkept. Most recently, Super Typhoon Yutu severely impacted the area in October 2018. Of the 13 buildings surveyed, only three were in use; not all of these were abandoned, however, most did not show signs of upkeep. Several homeowners in the area showed interest in protecting and preserving the site.

Due to these variables, a reapplication of the National Register of Historic Places is recommended. The 1980 NRHP application for the Chalan Kanoa Historic District deemed the area eligible for listing but was never finalized (NRHP 1980). According to Scott Russell (2017:86):

> It is the author's opinion that, while Chalan Kanoa does not qualify as a historic district under National Register criteria, there are individual sites that are eligible. These would include one of the teacher residences, the NKK office building, the Nan'ko Jinja, and the dispensary/municipal administration building.

As of the time of this research, the only properties listed on the NRHP in Saipan include the Landing Beaches, Aslito-Isley Field, and Marpi Point (National Park Service 2018b). The interest shown by homeowners in the Chalan Kanoa area to maintain the historic integrity of the NKK houses strengthens the argument that individual sites should be reevaluated. Registering with NRHP protects historic structures while offering eligibility for tax provisions and qualifies the property for Federal preservation grants (National Park Service 2018a).

7.3 Recommendation for Future Research

After a preliminary site visit and referring with local heritage consultants, it was determined that the original area in Camp Susupe that was to be archaeologically surveyed was unsuitable. Focus then shifted to the Chalan Kanoa expansion and urban archaeology methodologies in order to better investigate the housing situation of the indigenous civilians after leaving Camp Susupe. The work completed during this survey has led to the belief that an excavation at one of the Chalan Kanoa NKK houses could provide more evidence regarding civilian life during internment. Preferably, excavations involving community members would continue to cultivate more oral histories and increase interest in preserving historic buildings.

The research stage of this survey determined that previous archaeological data had been uncovered that related to Camp Susupe. If further excavation at Chalan Kanoa proved to be successful, then there would be enough evidence to surmise that material culture survived through time that related specifically to Camp Susupe as well. Potential fieldwork could focus on the archaeological signature of Camp Susupe, and then a comparative study of the material remains of both camps could be completed.

Further research also showed that Tinian, the island across the channel from Saipan, hosted an internment camp. Known as Camp Churo, the U.S. military interned only non-military, non-indigenous people on Tinian. Further research could include a comparative study of all three camps, which could show the different experiences of all internees in the Mariana Islands during WWII under U.S. military supervision. A non-invasive survey of the Camp Churo location could also be incorporated as a means to determine the archaeological integrity of the site.

One final avenue for further research involves the post-internment life of the indigenous civilians. During oral history collection, civilians discussed the NTTU at length. Civilians

strongly believe the NTTU to be connected to the Central Intelligence Agency as a covert training facility for foreign nationals during the Korean War (Stanley Torres, Chailang Palacios, Fred Camacho 2018, pers. comm.). Because information on the activities of the NTTU are limited and indigenous civilians were restricted from entering the premises, community members are still interested to learn the purpose of the NTTU. A historical overview of the NTTU that incorporates military documentation and civilian oral histories could potentially uncover the activities of the U.S. during this time.

7.4 Conclusion

The objective of this thesis was to highlight the Chamorro and Carolinian civilian experience of WWII on Saipan, a side of the battle which is often overlooked. By embracing the indigenous tradition of story-telling and oral history collection, their side of the story can now be incorporated into a full account of before, during, and after the battle. Using this method also supports the idea of integrating oral histories into other conflict archaeologically studies. Adding another source of information to any study, especially one that breaks from Western practices, can only strengthen it. Military documentation and historical research provide supporting evidence where the oral histories may fall short. Furthermore, community involvement in a project such as this is pivotal to the success of the study. Without the interview participants, local heritage consultants, and interest of the Humanities Council, this thesis would not have been successful. Any future research also relies on continuing interest from the community, making a strong, positive relationship between researchers and community stakeholders essential. It is hoped that this thesis will continue to stimulate interest in further research regarding the traditions of the Chamorro and Carolinian peoples, the internment camps of the U.S., and the impact of WWII in the Pacific.

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APPENDIX A: IRB APPROVAL NOTIFICATION

EAST CAROLINA UNIVERSITY
University & Medical Center Institutional Review Board
4N-64 Brody Medical Sciences Building · Mail Stop 682
600 Moye Boulevard · Greenville, NC 27834
Office 252-744-2914 · Fax 252-744-2284 ·
www.ecu.edu/ORIC/irb

Notification of Initial Approval: Expedited

From: Social/Behavioral IRB
To: Stephanie Soder
CC: Jennifer Mckinnon
Date: 6/6/2018
Re: UMCIRB 18-001084
Exploring the Indigenous Experience of Saipan in World War II

I am pleased to inform you that your Expedited Application was approved. Approval of the study and any consent form(s) is for the period of 6/6/2018 to 6/5/2019. The research study is eligible for review under expedited category #6, 7. The Chairperson (or designee) deemed this study no more than minimal risk.

Changes to this approved research may not be initiated without UMCIRB review except when necessary to eliminate an apparent immediate hazard to the participant. All unanticipated problems involving risks to participants and others must be promptly reported to the UMCIRB. The investigator must submit a continuing review/closure application to the UMCIRB prior to the date of study expiration. The Investigator must adhere to all reporting requirements for this study.

Approved consent documents with the IRB approval date stamped on the document should be used to consent participants (consent documents with the IRB approval date stamp are found under the Documents tab in the study workspace).

The approval includes the following items:

Name	Description
Consent Letter	Consent Forms
Interview Release Form	Consent Forms
Interview Release Form.docx	Data Collection Sheet
Newspaper Ad	Recruitment Documents/Scripts
Sample Questions	Interview/Focus Group Scripts/Questions
Thesis Prospectus	Study Protocol or Grant Application

The Chairperson (or designee) does not have a potential for conflict of interest on this study.

APPENDIX B: NMI HUMANITIES COUNCIL GRANT AND FUNDING

Northern Marianas Humanities Council

Navigating the Human Experience

May 4, 2018

Serial: 4676
File: 6.2.106

Stephanie Soder and Jennifer McKinnon
Eller House
East Fifth Street
Greenville, North Carolina 27858

Dear Ms. Soder and Dr. McKinnon:

I am delighted to inform you that the Northern Marianas Humanities Council has approved for funding the project entitled "Exploring the Indigenous Experience in Saipan during World War II."

For your record, the grant number is GPH18-00274; the amount of the outright grant is $6,614; the project directors are Stephanie Soder and Jennifer McKinnon; and the grant period is 4 May to 31 December 2018.

The final financial report, narrative and evaluation are due on or before 31 March 2019.

You may indicate your acceptance of this grant by signing and returning the enclosed Certification and Compliance Agreement form. Please do not hesitate to contact me should you have any questions regarding this grant.

Sincerely,

Scott Russell
Executive Director

enclosure

P.O. Box 506437, Saipan, MP 96950 • Telephone (670) 235-4785 • Fax (670) 235-4786
Email: srussell@pticom.com • Website: www.northernmarianashumanities.org

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

Interview Release Form: Exploring the Indigenous Experience of Saipan in World War II

Name: _____

Address: _____

Phone Number: _____

Date of Birth: _____

Date of Interview: _____

Interviewer Name: _____

By signing the form below, I give permission for any audio recordings, video recordings, and/or photographs made during this project to be used by researchers and the public for educational purposes including publications, exhibitions, World Wide Web (Arc GIS Story Map), and presentations.

I agree to the uses of these materials described above, except for any restrictions, noted below:

_____

_____

_____

Name (print): _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Interviewer Name (print):_____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW INTRODUCTORY LETTER

Dear Participant,

I am a student at East Carolina University in the Department of History. I am asking you to take part in my research study entitled, *"Exploring the Indigenous Experience of Saipan in World War II."*

The purpose of this research is to collect oral histories of those within the indigenous community regarding Camp Susupe and life after the Battle for Saipan. By doing this research, I hope to learn about the experiences in the internment camp, the relationship between the U.S. military and those interned, and how the maritime culture of the indigenous communities was impacted by camp restrictions**.** Your participation is completely voluntary.

You are being invited to take part in this research because you have expressed interest in participating. The amount of time it will take you to complete this research is one or two 1-hour interview sessions.

If you agree to take part in this research, you will be asked questions that relate to your relationship to the internment camp, and what experiences and stories you feel are important to be added to the historic record.

This research is overseen by the University and Medical Center Institutional Review Board (UMCIRB) at ECU. Therefore, some of the UMCIRB members or the UMCIRB staff may need to review your research data. However, the information you provide will not be linked to you if you chose to remain anonymous. Therefore, your identity will be evident to those individuals who see this information. However, I will take precautions to ensure that anyone not authorized to see your identity will not be given that information.

If you have questions about your rights when taking part in this research, call the Office of Research Integrity & Compliance (ORIC) at 252-744-2914 (days, 8:00 am-5:00 pm Eastern Time). If you would like to report a complaint or concern about this research study, call the Director of ORIC, at 252-744-1971.

You do not have to take part in this research, and you can stop at any time. If you decide you are willing to take part in this study, check the agree box below and refer to the Interview Release Form attached to this letter.

☐ I agree to participate in this research.

Thank you for taking the time to participate in my research.
Sincerely,

Stephanie Soder, Principal Investigator

APPENDIX E: INTERVIEW TOPIC GUIDELINES

1. Personal Overview
    a. Name
    b. Age
    c. Relationship to the Battle for Saipan (First-Hand Account or Oral Tradition)
2. Overview of the Battle
    a. Events leading to taking shelter/surrender
    b. What was the interaction like between you and U.S. military personnel once contact was established?
3. Were you interned somewhere else before heading to the camps?
4. Were you interned at Camp Susupe or Chalan Kanoa, or both? How do you feel they differ?
    a. Construction of camps
    b. Treatment from U.S. military within both
5. Overview of Life in Camp (Emphasis on maritime activities)
    a. Were certain activities inhibited or banned? (Fishing, boating etc).
    b. Food? How was it provided, was fishing allowed?
    c. Any rules or restrictions?
6. Would you consider the camps to be refugee, holding, internment, or concentration camps?
7. Regarding the Battle for Saipan, what do you think is important that should be remembered/studied/recorded?

APPENDIX F: SUMMARY OF ORAL HISTORIES

1 Anonymous A

I was born on January 24, 1932. The time under the Japanese was good, especially the schooling. They provided school supplies and food for free. When the battle came to Saipan, my family hid inside a cave with a lot of other Chamorro and Carolinian families. We were there for about three weeks, long enough for some babies to be born inside the cave with us. At one point, my brother-in-law went out to get sugarcane and breadfruit to feed us, but the Japanese took it away. He went back out to get oranges and he saw the U.S. military all lined up, marching. He came back but encountered more Japanese, and the Americans shot and killed the Japanese. The U.S. military showed us Lucky Strike cigarettes so that we would come out of the cave and come with them. We got on the back of a navy truck, and we were all happy. Someone even played a guitar.

We were taken near where the school was and stayed there and would only leave to look for food. The U.S. military had to escort us in a truck. The soldiers were very good to us, they gave out food rations. They provided rice, bread, ham, and tin canned goods, and we could go out and pick vegetables- root crops like taro and yam. We lived under green tarps in camp until houses were built outside the perimeter. We only could gesture with the U.S. military because we didn't speak English, but eventually they set up schooling to teach English for us. There were still stragglers around the island, so we could not leave without escorts.

2 Anonymous B

I was 14 years old and a student when the battle for Saipan started. I was one of 10 children, but some of my siblings died before the war due to lack of medicine. Before the war, life was good, and the Japanese were fairly good to us. At the same time, however, we were working for the Japanese doing farm work, store work, clerks and whatnot. And we would be paid in Japanese money, but after receiving our payment, they would return back to the store to buy goods, and the Japanese merchant would tell us to leave because we were Chamorro or Carolinian. You could not use your money there even though it was Japanese money. The Chamorro and Carolinians would find a way around it though, some Japanese would purchase goods for us. The Okinawan people worked the sugarcane, tapioca, and papaya industry. The Koreans worked on ships.

When the war was oncoming, that's when the Japanese became very bad. There had been bombings in the Kagman area before the war, down around Aslito airfield. The battle started in the afternoon on a day in June, and the bombing was just continual after that. My family and I took cover at the caves on the Borja property as soon as the bombing started. We didn't have anything prepared, so we had to survive on things that were available like coconut, taro, and sweet potato. We were in the caves for 21 days. It was a small cave, but we had maybe 10, 15 people snuggled up in there.

The U.S. soldiers came and a Hawaiian-Japanese soldier with them spoke to us, and they told us to put up our hands up. They took us down to Susupe on the back of a military truck. I had a shrapnel injury at that point, so I had to be carried into the truck. I had been hit when I was climbing a breadfruit tree looking at all the explosions. When we got down to Camp Susupe, all of the canned Japanese goods that weren't damaged were brought into camp and given out by the Americans. Because of my injury, I was given medical attention. We were put into a shelter with many families that each had their own sections, with a roof made of plywood and canvas tarp on top. There were even windows and doors on some.

The Chamorros and Carolinians were put together into one group, and the Japanese, Okinawans, mixed, and Koreans were in another because of tension. There was a form of continual war where a Chamorro would see a Japanese that he recognized as someone that did them harm or was boastful, and they would go over to the Japanese and hurt them. The Military Police would allow us to go up to them, they wouldn't stop it. The Japanese would bow down and ask for forgiveness. And it wouldn't just happen in camp, when we were sent out to the farm in the Chalan Kiya area, it would happen.

We were not in the Camp Susupe for very long until we were moved into Chalan Kanoa. We were put into a house in District 1, next to Luis Camacho, Ignatio Camacho, Ellis Camacho. We played ball games in our spare time, and I worked on the sweet potato farm down near Chalan Kiya.

3 Anonymous C

I was 7 years old at the time and everything I know was passed down to me by my parents. My father was Japanese, and my mother was Chamorro. We lived in Garapan before the war, and I was getting ready for school when the bombing started. We made our way north towards Marpi to hide. We had not prepared a cave at all, and there were eight people total in the cave- my two parents and six children. Because my dad was Japanese, my brother had to go out to forage for food. We were so afraid for him. We moved between two caves when bombardment slowed down, and we ended up near San Juan near Kalabera Cave. As we were heading to a new cave, a Japanese soldier came upon us. He grabbed my father and pulled out his sword. He ordered my father to behead the entire family. My father told him no, that he was Catholic, and told the soldier that he was the enemy. He then shoved the Japanese soldier out of the cave, and somehow, a bomb went off and killed him instantly.

We were eventually found by the U.S. military and my mom, who was pregnant, was taken first. The rest of the family stayed behind for the time being. Another group of soldiers came to collect us later, and we were reunited with my mother at camp. My father was allowed to stay with us because he was married to a Chamorro. We were put into Camp Susupe, but not for very long. The Okinawans and Koreans had to stay a lot longer. We were put in Chalan Kanoa and were given food rations by the military. Rice, vegetables, biscuits, and pumpkin were all provided, and my mom made porridge to stretch the rations. The U.S. soldiers were very kind and somewhat attached to small children. I started to go to school and my dad worked for 20 cents an hour. For extra money, he would carve religious figurines, shoes and sandals, and chairs and other furniture. My mother worked for the military as a housekeeper for $1.50 per day. Back then, $1 could buy three canned goods at the store that they opened.

4 Anonymous D

I was born in 1936, and we were living in Garapan during Japanese times. The Japanese were very strict and my father did not like them. Once the battle started, we went to Lourdes cave and there were Japanese there too. I was so afraid, I was really scared. They were mean to us and forbid us to go outside. My mom expected us to die. The Japanese sealed the cave, during which one of my aunties died. I remember telling my father, "I will never forgive the Japanese." More members of my family died during World War II. They fired straight into our cave once, there are many who died there.

The Americans eventually found us. We couldn't understand them, but knew they were Americans. You can imagine- to laugh and to cry at the same time. My mom and dad yelled "We're Catholic!" and they stopped. When they heard the Chamorro, they said "Come, come!" and the captain blew a whistle and told them to put down the gun. They took us to a stockade inside the camp with all of the native families. They gave us some food and they put us close to the ocean. Then they moved us to Chalan Kanoa.

5 Anna Nakatsokasa

My parents didn't talk about the war with me. I was young at the time, and was raised by my aunty but never asked about it. I know this much- my grandparents were Chamorro and Carolinian, at a time when intermarriage was not common. My grandfather told us all to hide in the tall grass from the bombs and nobody was hit. We hid in a cave and when my brothers got hungry or thirsty, my dad would to get banana leaves.

There was a very active fear that there was something brewing, but we had no idea. In those days, there was no email, no radio, no communication whatsoever. Our farmland and house burned down during the battle, and my family ran for cover in the caves. There wasn't any trees standing after the U.S. started bombarding the island from the sea and from the air. My family stayed in the cave for nearly three or four years because there were still snipers on the island and the U.S. soldiers were going into the woods and burning caves to get them out. I was born in the cave in Achugao in 1946.

The U.S. military eventually found us. They were calling people from the cave, and according to my mom, they were black U.S. soldiers, and they weren't willing to go with black U.S. soldiers because they don't really know who they were. They were reluctant to get out of there until there was no food, no water and they had to get out and search for some. That's when the camp was in Susupe, and so they decided to go ahead, not with the black U.S. soldiers but the white and Hispanic ones.

Camp Susupe was miserable. The food they issued was foreign. They were actually looking for bananas, breadfruit, taro, but there was nothing. It was kind of strange for the local people to start eating bread, butter, peanut butter- they weren't used to that. We lived in a tent with a lot of other families and we had to sleep on the ground on canvas.

In Chalan Kanoa we had this long wooden house that we had to share with other families. By that time, I was two years old, so I remember living there. We all had to share because there was limited space, they corralled everyone into such small spaces. There were Japanese concrete buildings devastated by the bombs, but people built them back up later on. We still mostly ate rations. We didn't really know a lot of the people there, so we just kind of stayed to ourselves. I was young, so I didn't go to school yet. I helped my mother around the house and played outside and got all muddied up.

From Chalan Kanoa, we moved to just below Capitol Hill in another building that we stayed in for nearly two years. And it was again communal. There were other families that were living in there. And after a couple of years there, we then started to move back to our land. From there, we started raising chickens and pigs and cows and we started fishing. I remember when my dad asked my godfather to make me a goggles from the trees and take glass from the military's cars, and take the glass and use candles to seal it, and they will make me one and I go out and fish with my dad. The Saipan Fishing Company, which started right after the war, went out and caught tuna, and they dried it and sold it as katsuobushi.

Those were the miserable times, because at those times, there was hardly anything to do, we were strange to the culture in Chalan Kanoa, strange to this place that we last lived, and we were always looking for food, foraging for food. War is a terrible thing. You don't want to remind the next generation of what went wrong here because we didn't start the war. The Japanese and U.S. fought the war, we ended up paying the price for it. That's a lot of our people that were killed during the war.

7 Connie Togawa

I was very young when the war came to Saipan, about five years old. I remember some of it, and my father and mother told us stories as well. My father built a cave in Chalan Piao so that we would have somewhere to hide. My mother and father would bring water and food inside the cave. And it wasn't only us, there were two other families that joined us. While my auntie Carmen was carrying my sister on her back, she was wounded very badly. They were both hurt, but my auntie was the serious one. I also got wounded from burning embers while I was pointing up at the sky.

We were captured by the American military. I was left alone, the last one to be taken out of the cave, and I was crying, really crying. One of the soldiers noticed I was really crying and so he went back and brought me out. They were very kind. We were accompanied by the soldiers down to the beach. My auntie was really complaining of the pain so my father dug a hole in the sand and buried my auntie and sister up to my auntie's neck to cover the wound of her left shoulder to prevent pain and bleeding. He used the sand to cool down the pain. Eventually, her and my sister were put on a U.S. ship where they treated the wounded. They cast and braced her arm. One of the nurses came over to my father and my mom and advised them. "You better go and take your sister and daughter from the ship because the ship is leaving!" Luckily, we got them off in time.

We were then taken to Camp Susupe, where all of the Chamorro and Carolinians were registered. They were given an identification number, had a picture taken, and prepared a card with information. I don't remember much food, just that there were rations. I remember the Chamorro and Carolinians were given a revocable permit from the government to use any land to plant for their foods. There was no work in Camp Susupe, we weren't allowed to leave because we had to be kept safe.

We were eventually all moved to Chalan Kanoa, but we still couldn't leave because there's wire all around. Some of the old Japanese houses were still standing. There were two families in one house, they divided it in half. One portion was for us, and one was for the others. We went to church every day in the morning around 5:30am, and then again in the evening to attend the Rosary that the altar boys held around 8:00pm. My mother worked as a seamstress in the camp, I remember she made me a nice blue dress once. My father worked as a plumber for a while in camp as well. A lot of them went out and established their farms because at that time there really weren't much rations. Yes we do have rations, but not really much. After moving to Chalan Kanoa, we did feel better, we were okay. We had a good life.

8 David Camacho

In 1944, I was 8 years old. My mother died before the war, right after giving birth to my twin brothers. After she died, the twins were being taken care of by my aunties, so when the war came, it was just my father, my older brother, my kid brother, and me together. My father took us to a water cistern where we hid away from the fighting. It was good shelter. No water in it, otherwise we'd be swimming! We shared it with two other families, I think. During this time, when we left the cistern, we had to move when it was dark. We were afraid of being shot at, by both American and Japanese. I remember hearing a lot of popping bullets and bombs exploding.

Eventually, the U.S. military found us and put us in the back of one of those huge military trucks, like a dump truck. They treated us well, especially the children. I think because we are not Japanese and we are not soldiers. A Japanese man who had been captured was with us. He was crying because he had gone up to Banzai Cliff with his family to jump off. His family had all jumped, but before he could do it, he was captured. He didn't know if the U.S. military was friendly or not.

They took us to Camp Susupe in the back of the truck. When we got there, we were actually reunited with my twin brothers and aunties! That was a good time. Once we were in Camp Susupe, we were given a tent to live under. They were the huge canvas tents, and we shared it with maybe six or seven families. They gave us a blanket for cover, but it had to be shared between two people. And the food they gave us were all rations- can of cheese, different types of cookies and crackers. We had powdered milk and hot water. I remember lining up with my plate for food, and the Americans would give it to us.

We were in Susupe for so many months. After Susupe, we moved to Chalan Kanoa, District 2 I think. My father started farming again, raising livestock and planting up by the Capitol Hill area. But it was awhile before we were able to really leave Chalan Kanoa.

9 Michael Camacho (Son of David Camacho)

According to my dad, during the war, the Japanese were never hostile. It's only when the war was happening when they became hostile towards the people. They had curfew for the locals instead of going out, they have to be home at a certain time. He mostly shared about what his dad did for them and the struggles his dad went through for them. Imagine being single after losing your wife. But he never re-married and he just became the father-figure and mother of the kids.

I asked my dad about the war, because I was curious and I care about what he went through. He went through his mother dying, the war, then his brothers and dad passed away years later. It was overwhelming for me, but I never once saw him shed a tear. I'm amazed by him. My dad is my hero.

10 Estanislao Fujihara

I was born on July 21, 1939 and was 6 years old at the time of the war. I was the youngest child. My parents didn't discuss life before the war much. My mother was Rotanese and my father was Okinawan, and he was brought here around 1929 to farm. My stepmother did tell me that when the bombardment started, there had been no preparation and so we just hid in a cave or tunnel. My father was carrying two of my sisters to safety when he was hit by bullets, and all three died. They are buried in Chalan Kanoa. I don't have any memories from the cave or the camps. I went to the Chalan Kanoa school from 1st to 6th grade and then went to work farming, cleaning, and helping with carpentry. After the war, my mother remarried, and I moved back to Garapan to be raised by my Okinawan aunty. Our family sold off jewelry and filed a war claim due to my father and sisters deaths, and we used that money to rebuild a house on our former property.

I'm not sure why these stories were not passed down. I did enquire once with my stepmother, but nothing was ever shared. I wished I had learned more about my father, the life he lived, and the father and husband that he was.

11 Isabel Villagomez

I was eight years old at the time of the way, born in 1936. There were ten children, and my dad moved all of us into a cave when the battle began. Fire was not allowed at the cave under my father's orders, so we couldn't cook any food. We ate lots of coconut. I was the smallest of the children, and I stayed at the back of the cave. I remember wearing only a men's t-shirt during that time. When we were found by the Americans, we were taken to Camp Susupe on the back of a truck and placed into tents. Eventually, we were moved into Chalan Kanoa into an NKK house that survived bombardment. It was divided into two parts for different families.

My dad was fairly strict about letting us go outside to play and socialize. He was a farmer and fished with cast nets and raised crabs. My mom stayed at home to watch us. I went to the U.S. taught school until 6th grade. In regards to the war, I was told to move away during story-telling between adults. My dad didn't feel that it was important to pass down the stories, and while I feel like they should be passed down, it's hard to do when I don't have the memories.

12 Estanislov Villagomez (Son of Isabel Villagomez)

I was not alive during the battle, these stories were passed down to me by my father and grandfather. My father and grandfather weren't anti-Japanese because they made friends with them, but they did see torture and death. They were not told of the war by the Japanese until the bombardment started. My father saw the bombs coming from the planes. The family was heading down towards the airport when my grandfather was struck by a ricocheting bullet on the nose. They were intercepted by U.S. medics on their way to their farm, and I think they were sent to Chalan Kanoa.

It was Hell after the war. My family moved into a house near the Chalan Kanoa school. They farmed and fished. Back then, you catch as many fish as you can and then go shared with your neighbors and use them to barter. My family taught me how to fish and farm, taught me netmaking, and how to study the behavior of fish. Their fishing gear was destroyed during the battle, so they passed time making nets.

13 Felix Fitial

I learned from my family about Camp Susupe and the time during the war. I know that we took shelter in a cave once the battle started, and we were completely unprepared. My father said we shared the cave with five or six other families, all related to us. They only left the cave at nighttime to find food and water. Sugarcane mostly, and we all shared it amongst us. My parents told me that there was a bullet coming down towards the cave, almost hit one of the families. The U.S. military found us eventually and called for us to come out of the cave. They took us to Camp Susupe, I think by military truck. Everybody was put in that place- a lot of Chamorro, Carolinians, Chinese, and Japanese civilians.

They didn't allow anybody to leave the camp. You had to be there almost all day, had no liberty. The military gave us food. I remember eating chicken but it was different than we would cook it. I think it was fried or made into soup. We also had rice and potatoes, mostly military food. After a while, we were moved into Chalan Kanoa, into one of the old Japanese houses. We shared it with other families. My father was given a job as a delivery driver for the military. He drove a truck for I don't know how many years. I was too young to go to school, so I helped my mom and dad and siblings around the house- cooking, washing, cleaning. I also played a lot of games like dodgeball, mancala, and baseball. Sometimes the Americans would play in Chalan Kanoa and hit the ball over the fence, and we would catch it and hide it so that we could play with the baseball!

14 Felix Sasamoto

I was born in 1943 on the northern island of Sarigan. My father, who was Japanese, was stationed there just before the Battle for Saipan as an agriculturist; he had previously worked on Rota, Saipan, Sarigan, and Asuncion to develop the sugarcane and vegetable plants industry. Well before that, he came to Saipan and married my mother, who was Chamorro. When the war came, every morning, U.S. bombers would start dropping bombs three times a day- morning, afternoon, and late afternoon.

When I was about four years old, Elias Sablan and Gregorio Kilili came to the island with the American soldiers as interpreters. They brought us back to Saipan. The island was a mess- airplanes rotting in half, dead soldiers. The smell was so bad. By the time we got there, we were put straight into Chalan Kanoa. Because my family was half-Japanese, half-Chamorro, most of the family was still on Saipan, so we were reconnected. District 1 in Chalan Kanoa was mixed Chamorro/Okinawan and Japanese. District 2 was where we were placed with other northern islands, along with quite a few Chuukese and people from Jaluit and Yap. District 3 was southern Chamorro, and District 4 was for Carolinians. The Carolinians did most of the fishing with dragnets and spears, that's why they were placed along the ocean. The soldiers wanted to avoid clashing, so it was a smart move to segregate. There were some rough soldiers, of course, but you find that with every nation. They were kind, though.

My dad was hired by the Department of the Interior as an agriculturist because he could speak Chamorro, Carolinian, and Japanese. He also worked for the Nanyō Boeki Katsu (NBK), a pacific trading company. There were nine of us children, so my mom stayed home to care for us. I started school when I was five years old. I had a hard time because I couldn't speak Chamorro and we were not allowed to speak Japanese, so I was an outcast due to the language barrier. I had three or four close friends, and we would play before going to school.

In 1950, Commander Johnson knew my father well and requested that he come with them on a mission to Anatahan because he speaks Japanese. They went to pick up an Okinawan woman [Kazuko Higa] that was left on the island with thirteen Japanese men after her husband died. They fought over her, and by the time the Americans went back to the island, there were only two men left.

I've passed on some short stories and memories to my children about hardships of the time, and I believe that the younger generation should know about it. Kids should know their own histories.

15 Gonzalo Pangelinan

I was born in April 1947, so these stories are what I've heard over the years. My parents told us about the time of the war, but they also wanted us to know that we were very lucky that we don't experience what they experienced. It's life. You don't know what you were gonna get during the war, if you were going to come out alive. My oldest brother was born in October 1941, so he was almost three when the war started in 1944. My parents had to carry him, hiding from one cave to another, going up the mountain. It is a very sad story. Once the war started, my dad couldn't go out during the day because he might get shot or killed. They had no food, no water. He would go out into the jungle, cut a banana tree trunk, and bring it back to the cave so they could suck the water out. They were up in the caves for three months without food.

One day, my dad heard someone shouting "Come out." They were speaking Japanese to us. So they all came out with their hands up, and it was the Americans. They took us down to Camp Susupe after that. Camp Susupe was stocked with all the local people- Japanese, Korean, and Chinese too. Everything was destroyed, so there were no houses, no real food. They gave us rations from the military, and we lived in big military canvas tent. They built a barbed wire fence all around the camp.

We later moved to a Quonset hut in Chalan Kanoa. My dad worked as a carpenter and then later as an architect, he helped build the Mount Carmel Cathedral. My mother worked as a seamstress and baked cookies and bread. We had a very good relationship with the Americans. And now, I'm proud to be an American.

16 Jesus Pangelinan

I was born in 1942 on the island of Alamagan. My father was one of the men who constructed the Pagan airfield. It was continuously destroyed by an American plane, so they had to continue to repair it. At one point, my mother and father witnessed a B-29 airplane crash landing in the water. They used to dispose the leftover bombs in the Alamagan crater too. The Japanese were very mean to us; they told us that we would be exterminated. My father also fished for the military, he used boats and spears to catch the fish. It's sugarcoating saying "we fished for them"- it was a demand.

I remember looking out at the ocean and seeing the U.S. Navy warships. When the Americans came, about fifty of us from Alamagan, Pagan, and Anatahan were moved to Chalan Kanoa. We were placed in a wooden house with other families. Eventually, we got to repair three houses in District 4 and the families still live there. I remember having to take the cod fish oil and castor oil during school. They would stand in front of us to make sure you drank the whole thing. My dad worked for a navy repair shop during this time, and he sometimes fished for the family, but not again for the military.

18 Juan Laffet

I was born after the war in 1947, and my older brothers didn't speak much about it. My father was a farmer all his life, and he sold brown rice and Chinese cabbage to the Japanese. My brothers did tell me once that they were playing with a toy telephone and the Japanese took it and yelled at them because they thought they were communicating with the Americans. I know that my grandfather was hit by a stray bullet across the bridge of his nose during the battle. My sister died during the war as well.

After camp, my family moved to Finasissu and then later into Chalan Kanoa. My dad was a food supplier for the military in Guam, and my mom was a homemaker, watched the children, and took care of the household. We spent a lot of time on the ocean net fishing for subsistence. Later in the 1960's, my father bought a 1942 military jeep, we still have it and it runs! Our current property was an American military compound, we've found foxholes on the property.

19 Julia Norita

Many of the stories that I can share were passed down to me, but I do remember some of them. I was only seven when the war began. We didn't know the war was coming; we only knew it was a problem when the air raid sirens were on and the Japanese were announcing to seek shelter and to hide. That's when we knew there were going to be problems. Once the sirens went off, my father gathered up the family and we took off towards a cave up the hill. And that's when the bombardment started.

We moved to another cave when we could, but really we never left if we could help it. There were three of us kids with my mother and father, hiding in the caves. I felt sorry for my mom because she wanted to feed us, but there was no food to feed us with. We made our way up to Marpi and met up with the nuns and Father Tardio, and another priest. We would literally pray for peace. Finally, a big truck came up to us in the caves. We didn't know if it was the Americans or not. We were picked up and taken to a clearing, almost like a quarantine holding area. We were given food and water by a few of the white soldiers.

I don't remember much about Camp Susupe, except for the tents and the food. The tent houses were already up when my family got there, and the Americans were helping us. They were giving us the same food they were eating, it was soldier food. I don't remember how long we were there for, but I do remember moving into Chalan Kanoa after awhile.

We were moved into a wooden house with another Carolinian family. The house was separated into different divisions, so each family had one room. The house was located in District 4 with the other Carolinian families. There wasn't much to do at this time still, and we still received rations from the military. There was a lot of rice, powdered eggs, and powdered milk. Everything in powder form! We just tried to make do with what we were given.

20 Larry Cabrera

I was two and half years old when the bombardment started. We were living on our family farm, even before the Japanese asked or forced everyone in Garapan to leave. My mother told me I was a pretty active little boy and every time I heard the roar of the plane in the sky, I would go out and pinpoint where the planes were. When the bombing started, my family made our way to a large cave that is actually on my sister's property now. My mother was telling me there were eleven families in the cave. My father told me that at one point, a Japanese soldier kicked all of the Chamorro out of the cave so that he could kill himself. We left and made our way to a different cave at that point, there were a lot of caves up there.

My mother told me that my father had someone help him stock the cave with water and food, but when we were beginning to run out of salted meat, he decided to go back to the farm. He was still maintaining the farm while everybody was hidden in the cave. He decided to slaughter one of the pigs one night, and had some others help him prepare to skin it. You need to boil water to skin a pig, so they set up a fire to heat the water. While the fire was going and the water was boiling, there was a bomb. Somebody, I don't know whether it was American forces or Japanese, bombed the fire and the kettle blew up and the pig ran away! We didn't have pork that night. The guy who was helping my father ran away, and we never got to see him until after the war! I don't know how far he went, but he got lost.

My parents told me we were hiding in the caves for about eleven days. A dog ended up coming inside the cave and my oldest brother chased it out, but we didn't know that the dog was with the United States military. We were treated well by the Americans. We were taken down to Camp Susupe, because that's where everyone was taken to before Chalan Kanoa was open. The military was providing food to the civilians because there was no more warehouse, no store, no nothing. The military rationed food to families, and the amount of food was inadequate.

I don't know how long we were there, but I believe the camp was getting too large because the people were being found in caves or came out from hiding. The place was crowded. I don't know whose idea it was to segregate the Chamorros and locals from the ex-patriots, Japanese, Okinawans, and Koreans. But that's when we moved out to Chalan Kanoa.

I remember the house in Chalan Kanoa. There were three families and one room. My grandmother, my mother's younger sister and younger brother, and my mother and father. We were all related, but it was actually three families in the house. The military, with the help of the people, began building and building until every family had a single house.

People were still locked in the camp. But somebody finally had the idea to turn the people loose so that we could fend for ourselves. They gathered up all the farmers and got them to start farming. I was too young to go to school, so I went to work with my father at the farm. We'd go out every day with other farmers and plant tapioca, sweet potatoes, okra, green onions, stuff like that. The produce from the farm helped with the food rationing and helped the people to have enough food. When we worked, the military would bring us ration boxes for lunch. There'd be chewing gum and candy, and Lucky Strike cigarettes. They didn't give me the cigarettes, but they gave me the candy and chewing gum.

I also helped my mom around the house. I would go get the rations from the store. I remember Thanksgiving was a fun day at the ration store because everyone gets turkey. They divvied them among families, maybe half turkey for each family. Some had eggs inside still. They also had fishing, the Carolinians are avid fishermen. My uncle scrounged up the old Japanese fishing vessels and I think he got two of them operating. They had a lot of catch, especially tuna. But no fresh meat yet.

We were one of the first ones to leave the village after the camps. There was actually a typhoon and everyone who wanted to leave the area to hide away from it got in a truck to Aslito. There was Quonset huts there for the military, and they told us and about twenty other families to move in. We never went back to Chalan Kanoa after that. They eventually told us to leave so that the original land owners could have their property back, so we went to the farmhouse in San Vicente.

21 Lino Olopai

When the war came to Saipan, I was four years old. I was born on January 14, 1940. The times before the war, I don't remember, but my parents discussed it. The Japanese were the law and order, and they utilized local resources. They exported many things like tuna and yam. Their agriculture was such that they didn't interfere with the indigenous, we were pretty much left alone. With the preparation for the forthcoming of the Second World War, their attitude changed a little bit. They were still friendly with the native people, but just prior to the war coming, they became more strict, more demanding. I heard that they also utilized the local Chamorro and Carolinians to build the airport over at Aslito. Several of my uncles were part of that. The first plane came by that shook everyone up and they started telling everyone to prepare to move out of the village and go find shelter somewhere in the mountains or caves. Next thing I know, we're up in the mountains in the Gualo Rai area where our farm is, inside a small cave.

I remember the time during the cave. We were able to find water from rain and even sugarcane, and we ate raw papaya and banana. We could also get some water from a spring nearby, called Tipo Pale. I don't know how long we were in the cave for, but I remember it was kind of exciting for me as a kid to hear all of the strange noises- big bombs and explosions, bullet ricochets. Day and night! I'd stick my head out and I'd get scolded. The cave was behind a breadfruit tree, so we were well hidden, but you could still see the planes flying over in the air. Many years after the war, I was told those were spotter planes from the ships. They would go over and relay what's happening so that the ship could adjust to the target. They shot at us several times. I was sitting in a kind of ditched area and it came like a spray of bullets on the sand and dirt next to my head. Lucky for me it didn't hit me, otherwise I wouldn't be here.

When it got worse, we moved from the cave on the right side of the valley back into the ravine and kept moving back and forth. What I remember most is my mom carrying me on her back as we moved from one area to another. Thirst is the one that gets to me, and I cried day and night "Mom, I'm thirsty." Not so much hunger, but thirst. That's it. And whenever it rained we tried to catch whatever we can.

The U.S. military did find us eventually in the cave. The soldier was looking at us through a hole, and my aunty looked out through the hole at him, and she leaned back and whispered, "They're eyes are like cat eyes!" They had blue or green eyes, like a cat. That was the first contact we had. They were speaking Japanese, I think, because we were able to communicate. They led the women and children out first, then the men, and took us all to Camp Susupe. They moved us there by truck and there were several families with us. It was the first time I was ever on a vehicle. The main gate for camp is where the Post Office in Chalan Kanoa is now.

What I remember most from camp was that whenever the armed forces delivered water in that tank truck, us kids would run after those guys and they'd give us chocolate, candy, chewing gum. It was a big deal whenever we'd see them coming with the truck- we'd run and yell "Hey Joe!," and when they were done, they'd give us whatever they had. I'm sure it was hard on our parents during that time in camp, making sure we had food and water. But for me, you see all kind of people in the camp and you hear the truck coming, so it was a fun day for us kids. Our

relationship with the soldiers was pretty good, but probably different from those of the ordinary family or other people in Camp Susupe. It was the first time we saw white people.

We were given C-rations from the field kitchen. I'm not sure how long we were there for, but I think when things started slowing down and they started clearing out the snipers, they started letting some of our people out to go to the farms and finding food on the mountain. I don't remember if they were fishing, but I'm sure they were. So there was a combination of what kind of food we were having, partially from the field kitchen and what they brought in from the mountain and farm. We were put into long wooden houses with a tin roof and wooden floors. We spent our time playing marbles, tops, skip, going swimming, and playing baseball. We would use the inside of a tennis ball to play with, and we really only had one base right between the houses. For a bat, we used the end of a military cot, and we didn't have any gloves. I got hit in my left eye when my cousin swung the bat and tipped the ball once. I went to school for a little while until the elders took me out, and I learned from them. They taught me how to farm, how to fish, how to deal with family situations and village problems. After we were released from camp, there were six or seven fishing boats that were left on the island by the Okinawans. Several of the Carolinians became skipper of three or four boats that go out and catch tuna. So Saturday, when there was no school, I'd jump on with them and watch them catch tuna.

After camp, life really changed. You have all this civil government, but I don't think that we knew what we were getting ourselves into. Carolinians have our traditions, and we have our elders that we would look upon for advice, assistance, and we have a chiefly clan that regulates the activity of the community or the island itself. And then you bring in a new government where you elect officials, your president, your mayor, your governor. It's totally different than our way, because we don't elect. Today, you have the freedom to choose, freedom of choice. You stand on your own two feet, be independent, don't depend on your parents, your friends. It's the Western way of teaching, and it's totally different. All of these contribute to the impact of changes that really change the family structure or the island spirit of sharing and caring for each other. Passing down these experiences to the next generation, it's a give and take. It's a bad experience in just about any war, but it's something we need to learn. It's hard. I think any war is just not commendable.

My family lived in Tanapag before the war started. The Japanese were very kind to the local people. They occupied all of the local property and the local people were making money left and right. The Japanese had invested in the island. Tapioca manufacturing, sugar cane manufacturing, cotton planting, tuna canning, you name it. But when the war started, the Japanese got bad and bitter at the local people, probably because they were frustrated by the war. All of the school children, including me, we weren't learning anything in the Japanese school, we no longer go to class. The only thing that they keep us doing is working on the airfield strip. I was 13 years old when the war came to Saipan.

I remember watching the American ships coming towards Saipan. Because we were on the high area we could see all of the ships surrounding the area. The battleship, destroyer, the minesweeper, all of them. I wasn't really scared because I didn't understand what was going on. Then when it suddenly started to bomb the area, that's when my family got scared. My mother, father, brothers, sisters, auntie, grandmother and grandfather- my whole family, we all ran to the cave near where we lived. There was a spring nearby, so there's always fresh water coming in. My father and cousin would go get coconut, that's the only thing we had to eat. But we had plenty of water. I think we were there for probably three months.

The military was out, not too far from the cave. And they were yelling out "Come out! We're not going to hurt you!" and they would remove everyone from the area. I don't think they spoke any Japanese, I think they had to gesture to us to come out. They took us over to Susupe. They took everyone there, the local people, the Japanese people, and they put a fence around it. We were being protected from the stragglers. The Americans treated us really good, protected everyone- even the Japanese people. By that time, they had built so many Quonset huts, so we didn't go to the tent houses. They gave us food, a lot of canned food and rations.

We were finally let go on July 4th. Any place you wanted to go, land, property, anywhere, you can go. That's why we celebrate Liberation Day. After that, we all went to Chalan Piao to our property before the war. We had to reestablish our house and our farm, and my father grew watermelons the size of Jeeps. I went to William Reyes School and did English school for three years. I went to work for the motor pool eventually and moved to New Mexico with my wife. Those are my recollections of the war.

23 Marie Castro

I was born in 1933 on the island of Saipan. During the Japanese time, just before the war, we were living in the village in Garapan. Everybody was living in Garapan. At the time, we were in constant fear that anything might happen to us. When I was in the Japanese school, my friend next to me didn't understand the instruction and she turned to me and whispered to ask for information. The teacher caught her talking to me, she called the student up and she took the scissors and cut her eyelashes. That student couldn't open her eyes for weeks and the mother was furious about it, but that was one of the punishments. Another time, I remember during the raising of the flag, you have to stand immobile just like the military. And this young man, I think he was in the fifth grade, a mosquito was on his nose during the raising of the flag. He tried to remove it and the teacher caught him doing that. They punished him by making him stand under the flagpole the whole day. No restroom, no lunch, nothing. I remember seeing the sister of that boy that was punished, she cried. But that was the kind of treatment that we have during the Japanese. Around 1942, the Japanese military started infiltrating the island preparing for the war. We didn't know what was going on. We were ordered to leave our homes because the Japanese military wanted to occupy our houses. Luckily everybody had a farm, so we all went to the farm.

After we had moved to the farm, the Japanese ordered for all the men who were living in the northern part of the island to be transferred to the southern part to work and for those who were living in the south to be transferred to the north. The family was completely cut from the father because of this. And I remember my mother was so devastated with the feeling of having to be both roles, the mother and then the father. She didn't know anything about fishing or going and getting something for us to live. I think both of them really talked things over, but it was still so sad. My father, when he was leaving that morning, he kissed us goodbye and just left to catch the train to go to Aslito. There were five of us children at the time. My mother thought that my father didn't have enough things to eat over there, so she cooked sweet potatoes and fish and she told my older sister to take the train to go and give it to father. My sister and my brother arrived there, and you know, I always thought that my father was so strong, but when he saw the two of his kids, he was in tears because he couldn't believe they were there.

My father was constantly thinking about his family, so one evening he managed to leave the camp and see whether he could go all the way to Marpi, so that he can get something for us like meat, because we didn't have anything. He came at 2 o'clock in the morning and he called in and said "Time is very essential, I have to go down and get a cow and kill it for your provision." My uncle was living with us because we didn't have anybody, so he instructed him how to do the whole thing. So after he killed the cow and made sure that my uncle and mother could do it, he left and he arrived back at Aslito. Luckily, he was not missed in the camp.

My father did come back from the camp thankfully. Two days before the invasion was bombardment day and night, without stopping. And then on June 15 when the Americans finally invaded the island, we didn't know anything about what was going on. The neighbor, he was an Okinawan, he came down at 4 o'clock in the morning and he said "Pedro! Get up because the Americans are already invading the island in the south" and my father was surprised. We had to get somewhere safe, and the only thing was an empty tank near the house, so that's where we went. The planes were flying so low and they were bombing us. My father told me we were not safe there, so he remembered what the Japanese general said to him.

This Japanese general was serving under the Japanese, but I think he was an American. He didn't look Japanese, he was tall and had blue eyes and the way. At six o'clock in the evening, he would go down to the beach and he would just stroll back and forth. And it seemed like he was talking. So we don't know whether he was communicating. One day, when the invasion was imminent, he came down to the house and he asked for my father to talk to him. And he said "I am sure the Americans will win the war." My father spoke with him for about two hours and he told my father of a place in Marpi that was so safe that not even a bomb would touch us. My father, when we were in the tank, he suddenly remembered the place where the Japanese general indicated where we could be safe. So my father took us over there and we stayed until we were liberated and sure enough, not even a bomb touched the place. The same Japanese man came to our house one day with a bag of money and they buried it at our farm. Later after the war, my father went to find it but couldn't because the land was so devastated, destroyed, and burned that they had bulldozed the entire area.

We had to stay in the cave for 23 days. The only way the people could be safe was to go into a cave and hide there. While we were in the cave, one of the other families there, the Matsumoto family got a letter. I don't know where he got the letter, but the letter said that the Americans are killing the men, and the children and women are taken over to the ship. So when my father heard that, he said and spoke to my mother and said "Take the children with you, and I will go and look for my own safety" but my mother did not believe that letter. She said "Pedro, either we die or we live, we stay together."

During the battle, we suffered. Thirst, hunger, fear. Everything. On top of that, we were with the priests, Father Tardio and Brother Oroquieta, and the nuns. We left the cave and the priests took one cave and the sisters took the other. My father dug a little space under a boulder in the area where we could just get in for our safety. When we were living there, I remember we ran out of water, we were so dehydrated. My father went down to the ocean and got a bucket of sea water for us to drink, and he took a cup and offered to one of the nuns. When she sipped a little bit, she couldn't swallow. She just looked up, tears rolling down her cheek. I think she was remembering when Jesus was really thirsty. And then Father Tardio said "Tomorrow we will have rain" and sure enough, 9 o'clock, the rain came. We run out of the cave and we were trying to catch some of the water with our hands. Others took leaves to catch water so that they can drink. Oh, it was so sweet, the water.

We ran out of food and water on the same day. The next day, at 9 o'clock in the morning, I remember Juan Onjo came over to the cave of the nuns first. He said, "Sister, the Americans are here. We are saved!" So he told them to come out, and we are already safe under the American hands, so gradually the nuns crawled out of the cave. And then after that, everything was done quietly because the Americans feared that they might be soldiers, Japanese soldiers. After they evacuated the cave, another two Americans came over to our cave with their rifle and were bidding us to come out-no words, nothing, just signing and gesturing.

I was so scared, looking at those bright eyes and their guns. As I was leaving, I remembered the basket with our jewelry in the cave. I was going to go get it and the American soldiers said "No. Come." So I had to leave that and they took us up on the hill, walking. As we stayed up on the hill, the Americans were already interviewing the nuns and the priests. Sister Angelica knew Japanese and I think it was Guy Gabaldon who was interviewing the nuns in

Japanese. Another sister knew English, she was speaking in that. While we were up there on the hill, I looked up it just seemed like the door of heaven opened for us. We were so free just to get the breeze, it was so nice. And then all of a sudden, they ordered us to lay down on the ground, close our eyes and ears. For about five minutes, we didn't know what was going on. After the incident was done, they explained what happened. There were two Japanese trucks coming over to find the Americans. So from the top of the hill and from the ships, they just bombed the area and in five minutes everything was over. After that, they put us in the back of a truck with other Chamorro people and military police to guard us, and there was another truck full of Japanese. They led us from Marpi all the way to Camp Susupe. We saw so many blown up bodies on the way.

When we arrived in Camp Susupe, there were a lot of people. Everybody was excited when they saw the white uniform of the nuns. They said "Oh there are the nuns! They are safe!" Some of them were crying, others were praying, others were just so jubilant about the whole thing. It was really relief for the Chamorros to learn that the missionaries were safe. Here on Saipan, they were like our fathers and mothers.

We were all living in camp in the tent because there's nothing else to live in, just like the soldiers do. We were protected with barbed wire around so that Japanese snipers would not be coming in. It was guarded. Camp Susupe was a safe haven for us. They gave us medicine, food, everything that the Americans could provide for us. We had Spam, corned beef, powdered eggs, and other canned goods. Every evening, there was a big outdoor screen and we have to take our own chair to sit down and just watch movies. We never saw movies before, but I remember one little girl, when the picture came on with food she said "Give me something to eat." And I laughed, because the little girl thought she could get some food from screen. But she didn't know, we never saw a movie before then.

I cannot exactly remember how long that we were there, probably be three to six months. But in the meantime, when we were in the camp, some of the Seabees were building homes for us to move into. They built long buildings with several families in each one. They also fixed the Japanese houses that were not damaged too badly and we occupied those homes. We were put into one of those houses with three other families. But we appreciated those days because, you know when you have nothing, you at least get some help. We didn't complain. We appreciated very much what the Americans did for us in those days.

None of the people worked in the beginning, but the Americans cleared some places in the area. The truck would come in, take the men to go out and farm at least to occupy their day. I think that was uplifting for the men, instead of just being at the house doing nothing, because at least they have something to produce for their families. My mom stayed home. Some of the servicemen needed their clothes to be washed, so my mother and several others did that to make a little money. I remember one American soldier came with a big bag of potatoes. My mother didn't know what to do with them because we never ate potatoes. Then the next day he came with a big wheel of cheese. The smell was a little funny to us because we never had that kind of food. So my mother was thinking, "What do we do with this sack of potatoes and this big thing?" We don't know what it is! So we took the big wheel of cheese and the potatoes to the nuns and they were so glad! Luckily we didn't throw away the wheel of cheese because they were so happy to have it.

I went to school during this time. I remember Mr. Regis coming into class one day when I was in first grade, and he asked the teacher who should be promoted. He named a few of us, including me, and he placed me in the fourth grade with another girl. And then a week later, Mr. Regis came to ask who should be promoted again. He picked three including me, and I thought to myself from first grade to fourth and then one week I have to go to the fifth grade? I told the teacher "No I am not going, I am staying in the fourth grade. I need to learn the fourth grade stuff." It was not a good system.

It was such a short time, but at that time, it was like a relief for people. We just stayed together and visited with one another and all we thought were about the war. Every evening, we prayed the rosary for the Americans to win the war. So to me, it was like a psychological relief for everybody. All the time, you would just hear "Oh thank god we are safe. We are now in the hands of the Americans." They were very thankful about the change of nations.

24 Meling Chargualaf

My parents told me that they never had problems with the Japanese before the war. They were very nice. My family had a ranch up near Mount Tapochau and the Japanese were suddenly telling them to leave the place. My mother said she buried all of her jewelry in a sack underground, so that when the war was over, they could come back and recover it. I'm not sure if she ever recovered it, but I think she did. My brother remembers when the American ships came in, he was saying how exciting it was. They looked like little toys. But then everyone started running, and things got serious, because they were starting to bomb us.

So many people died, and there were dead people all around. My mom was telling me that the Americans started using a dozer to move them; they dig and they bury them because it started to stink. My mother was telling me that my brother died two months after she gave birth in 1944 because of the lack of nurses and the war. We still don't know where he is buried.

We called the Americans "Joe" when I was growing up, and they treated us fine. We ate a lot of Spam and eggs, and hash. My youngest brother was six or seven during the war. He loved rice so much. And during the war, my mother would have us pray and say our Hail Mary, and every time he would pray, he would say "I want rice." That's all he's praying for. He loved rice so much he would literally pray for it!

Finally, the Americans put us in this house. It was originally divided and we shared it with another family we were related to. There were so many kids in here though. My parents had seven kids, and the other Cabrera family had five, I think. So there were twelve kids in this house! After the war, the Cabrera family moved out to their compound in Chalan Piao, so my dad went to the Land Office and told them they moved out and they told us we could occupy the whole thing. We had a big ranch too, but we had to come up here for school, and we didn't have a car in those days, so my father just kept this house. We didn't have a car until probably five years after the war. I ended up staying here, breaking down the divided wall and making it one big house.

25 Rafael Ilo Rangamar

During World War II, I was living up on the northern island of Asuncion. I was born in Saipan, but my family took me up to that island to grow up. I was about ten years old when the war was going on, around 1945. There were lots of B-29's flying over our island on the way to Japan. On their way back, they would drop bombs on Uracas and Maug, just north of Asuncion. After the bombing, the Okinawans who were on the other islands fishing for tuna paddled over to Asuncion.

The Navy arrived on our island in 1945. Ed Peters, another Carolinian, was dropped off at the south end of the island and came to us, telling us the Americans were coming. We all went to my grandmother's farm to await their arrival. Most of the Americans were black, they were very nice people and gave us C-rations and candy. The vessel that came on the island had the number 448 on the side. It left with the Japanese and Okinawans first, and went to Asuncion, Agrihan, Maug, and then came back to pick us up a week later. We stopped at Pagan but everyone was already dead or evacuated. By the time we got to Saipan, the Chamorro and Carolinians were out of Susupe and into Chalan Kanoa. I heard Camp Susupe was horrible.

Our family was put into a four room wooden house. We didn't speak any American, just Japanese. But all of us children would go to the side of the road and yell at the Americans "Hey Joe! Candy." We knew how to ask for candy. I went to school while I was there and we played baseball and ran cross country. But I quit school when I was in the third grade to help my dad fish. We fished to sustain our family. We caught carp and gadao using nets and spears. The Okinawans fished for tuna too, in their old boats. After they were sent home, the Carolinians took over them. We eventually used gillnets, around 1950. The military still gave us food like canned tuna and corned beef or tinned meat. We stayed in Chalan Kanoa for a year and a half. Then we were free to go out of camp and back to the farm.

When I was older, I got a job as a security guard with the NTTU. Ben Sablan came to my house and offered it to me. Covered trucks would be full of soldiers, transporting them from Marpi to Kagman. And before they come, the security officer would tell us that we should just let them through, no check.

26 Rafaela Perry

Before the war, during Japanese times, my parents were doing alright. My dad worked for the sugar cane company, and my mom worked for a doctor and made sake. But if you do something wrong, the Japanese might smack you in the back of the head. They said working hours are working hours, and playing time is playing time- there's no foolishness of in between.

I was born on June 5, 1944, ten days before the invasion of Saipan. My family lived in Chalan Kiya, and when the war came, my dad took us all in a bull cart to a cave behind China Town, also known as Falipi. My mom always said it was like the Holy Family when Jesus was born with St. Joseph leading the bull cart. My great uncle told me that before we reached the big cave where we hid, they found a big boulder and they dug into it and camouflaged it. They put me under it with a few other family members. Then when the bombing stopped or slowed down they continued their journey to the cave. There were other families too, it was a very large cave. My hard-working dad would go out to look for food and something to drink, especially for me. He got young coconuts for me and my mom and relatives food to eat.

Later on, when the bombing stopped and we were still at the cave, an American marine found us. I'm not sure how they communicated, but they told me that he asked what my name was and my parents told him I don't have a name yet. He wanted me to be named after him, and they said this cannot be because it's a girl! So they named me Rafaela because his name was Raphael. They changed the spelling like the Spanish way. From there on, my family told me, he always came and visited me, bringing me milk from the military galley every time. He also wanted to hold and carry me, but my family was afraid that he might kidnap me. The family was also afraid that if they didn't allow him to carry me, then he might kill them. So with their eyes watching every move he made, they let him hold me.

My family told me about the war times, but not much about Camp Susupe. I vaguely remember Camp Susupe surrounded by barbed wire. In 1976 or so, my great uncle took me with a few of my relatives to the cave where we took shelter. Our children wanted to go see it, but with all the development and earth moving, we don't know if it's still there. I do want my kids and my grandchildren and other's down the line to know what I went through. And I would like to find Mr. Raphael's family and to share my story with them. I'm so thankful because I believe that from what he did, he saved me.

27 Rita Reyes

I was born in 1947 after the war, so everything I know, I learned from my parents. I asked my parents about the time during the war, and I think they tried to say the right things. During the Japanese times, my father drove a motorcycle, delivering rice rations to Chamorro families. My mom gave birth to a baby boy about a week before the invasion started. Once the Americans came, my family moved into a tunnel in Gualo Rai. We hadn't been able to prepare anything, and we had to move from one place to another. My baby brother died during the battle, and my brother, sister, and father were all struck by bullets. My sister died from her wounds.

When we were found by the U.S. military, they took my parents to the camp. They were eventually given a concrete house in Chalan Kanoa. Rations included corned beef, luncheon meat, and chicken. They gave everyone vaccinations too, I still have the scar from it. My dad began working as a truck driver for the military and my mom stayed a housewife. After the war, I went to the Chalan Kanoa school.

28 Rosa "Chailang" Palacios

The people that remember the war, they usually zip their lips. My parents never mentioned it. The only thing my mom shared with me was that she had more children than just the five of us kids. During the Japanese time, if you weren't Japanese, then you had to bring the doctor something, like chicken or banana product, and only then will they take care of you during delivery. So several of her children died because they have to basically beg the hospital to take care of them. That's what she shared with me. The one thing my father told us was that the Japanese trained them how to farm and how to build their cement houses. But he really wasn't pleased with the Japanese. The Okinawans were the best friends of the Chamorro and Carolinians, they were workers for the Japanese. The Japanese were first-class, and they looked down on us.

I learned about the war from my siblings. I was born in August 1941, so I was still very young and I don't really remember the war. My eldest sister really wanted to go to Japanese school but because she was Chamorro, they wouldn't allow it beyond third grade. The Mercedarian nuns taught her how to be a better homemaker and wife. Her husband was sent to Guam to spy for the Japanese. He was there for eight years because he was caught and imprisoned with other Chamorro and Carolinian spies. My brother told me that he had a good experience with the Japanese, or at least the Japanese farmers were friendly with the Chamorro and Carolinians. But he believed the government knew that the war was coming soon. The Japanese soldiers started getting very mean. He told me that one day, when he was bicycling with our sister Carmen, a soldier walking by just pushed him right into a ditch. He was really wondering what was going on.

My sister Carmen, she was seven years old at the time. She's the one that tells me all of the stories from World War II. She told me that the war came on a Saturday or Sunday. We were up at our relatives place, the Tudela family, for my uncle's wedding in Dandan. There was so much food on the table; delicious pigs, chicken, fish, rice, taro, breadfruit, banana. And they were getting ready to pray, because we are very religious, and all of a sudden, my sister said "Oh my god, it's raining like fire!" Everybody was so scared, they abandoned the food at the table and they all ran away.

We had a cave ready with banana leaf just in case there's war and was prepared for maybe twelve people. And they ended up with around thirty. When my sister started getting hungry, she thought "How in the world did I not grab some food from the table?" She told me that she can survive without food, but without water is terrible. She also told me that one of my mom's sisters started shouting in the cave, and everyone tried to calm her but suddenly, she died of fear. The heat, the darkness, and no food. Her baby died with her too. I had a younger brother that I didn't know about, he was maybe eight months old and still breastfeeding, and he suddenly had no food and he died right there. My sister's experience really was fear. Fear. Fear of the unknown, and the noise. You know, Saipan is so peaceful and suddenly there's bomb falling down like that. It's just the fear, and the noise of the bomb.

They never told me how we came to be in Camp Susupe, or anything much about it. The sad thing is that I think it was because they were all afraid. She did tell me she remembered so many mosquitos and the fence that was all around them. We eventually moved to Chalan Kanoa.

I do remember that I was so happy because we know the other families that live with us. There were three families together in that house and we were all related.

I remember that the military was located right behind our house, and I remember how they gave us food. In the time after the war, the Americans were very concerned. All of us kids were so skinny! So the Americans give us milk because we're so skinny. When it's time to get our milk, I took our family's bucket and took it to the line. When they called the Palacios, my family, they fill everything in the ration box and then fill the bucket with milk. I loved the rations! Cookies, cheese, candy. I was so happy. And my mother cooked our own food too, the chicken, banana, and all the vegetables they grow. But every morning, because the military was afraid we would die because we're so skinny, they gave us a spoon of cod liver oil. I hated it!

We went to church every day, twice a day. My mother would wake me up so early in the morning to go. And our house, it had a tin roof, so when it rained, it made beautiful music. I loved to sleep in more when it was like that, so I lied to my mother and told her my tummy was hurting. She would put coconut oil on her hand and rub it, she was so worried, and here I am lying about it! But yes, we go to mass every day at 5. We also went to Rosary in the evening, and I loved it because of the American priest, Pale Arnold. "Pale" means priest. He was from Wisconsin and he would have chocolate sent over for us. So after the Rosary, we all got in line and he gives us a bark of chocolate. Every day I go for the chocolate!

My father loved the Americans after the war. He said "Oh these Americano! Wonderful, they liberate us!" They were good to us. All the young kids would say "Hey Sindalu!," that means "soldier," whenever they would come around. And my sister and I would wait for the soldiers to come by and they'd give us whatever they had- apples, candy. We loved it! But I also heard that girls that were maybe sixteen or so, not yet married, would be out in the field and the American soldiers would run and try to rape them. They're lonely, they're here, not with their people. That's a story I heard. It's very sad that they experienced that. But that's part of war.

After we left Chalan Kanoa, we moved back up to our house in Ochugao. We would stay there in the summer time and go back to Chalan Kanoa for school. Trucks would go past our house to go north where the NTTU was located, the backs full of soldiers. This was the time between World War II and the Korean War. We just prayed for no more war.

29 Sister Asuncion "Chong" Demapan

I was fourteen years old when the war came to Saipan. I was the youngest child, and my family was half-Chinese. My father and mother had prepared a cave for our family beforehand with breadfruit, water, food that wouldn't spoil, and clothing. Around four o'clock in the afternoon, people began shouting and the sirens started up; my parents told us to follow them. We weren't really hiding from anyone, just hiding for shelter from the bombardment. We were inside the cave for a week, we weren't allowed out at all. At one point, the Japanese threw a grenade inside the cave and hit my father, but he wasn't killed.

Once we were found by the Americans, we were taken down to Camp Susupe. My brother was pro-Japanese, but my mother told him to embrace the Americans. My father had been in Guam when the Americans were there, so we felt that they would help us, and they did. They took care of us well; there was a clinic for medical care, and they provided us cookies and water. They put us in a tent at first, but then we eventually moved into a building that we shared with other families. My brother was a carpenter and helped rebuild the island, and I went to school in Chalan Kanoa. We stayed separate from the military for the most part, but we waved to them through the fence. We really admired the Americans for how helpful they were.

30 Stanley Torres

I was born in September 1941, so I was about two, two-and-a-half years old when the invasion started on Saipan. Before the war started here, we already knew that the Americans were coming. My parents, when they see a plane, they know its American. My father told me that during the invasion, the ocean was dark, everything was dark. Black, before the storm type of thing. The Japanese military gave us a curfew that nobody should be seen going around at nighttime or you get shot. Luckily the U.S. came because the Japanese were thinking to massacre all the local people here, like they had in Guam. During the battle, my grandfather and first cousin were struck by bullets, caught in the crosshairs while running for shelter. We found them lying face down in their blood.

We hid in a cave that my family used for storage with maybe two or three other families for about a month, we started hiding before the invasion started. My dad would sneak out during the nighttime to get sticks of sugarcane. My mother told me that when I was in the cave, I was crying because of thirst. So my dad would chew the sugarcane and put his mouth to my mouth and transfer that sugarcane juice to me. That's how they kept me quiet because the Japanese were patrolling the area and if they hear a baby crying, they would come in and yell or they would kill the baby. My parents were afraid of them.

After the war, we were all escorted down to the camp. There was barbed wire fences and a big gate with a guard. I remember sleeping under the green tarp tents, and they smelled like kerosene. The food in the camp was all military rations. Powdered eggs, boiled milk. Tastes like real milk. I still remember it. I think its first a powder fresh out of the factory, like extracted from real milk. And they gave us soap. I still remember the smell, you know. I can smell it now. It's an old soap smell, like Dial. Surgical. And the cheese they gave us looked exactly like the soap, wrapped up. They would take a piece and scrub their clothes. How come this is not building up suds? It's not building up suds. Somebody had to tell them they're supposed to be eating it, not washing their clothes.

Eventually they put up a camp for the Chamorro, a separate camp from the Japanese, Okinawans, and I think they mixed them up with the Korean. There was that wide gap of division between Susupe and Chalan Kanoa, We were placed into a mixed Japanese building that was repaired for habitation. My parents were moving to a half-concrete, half-wooden and tin roof house and we shared it with two or three families. They started building more houses for everyone. We were given a big warehouse, like 200 feet long and 100 feet wide. And we were told to just remove all the lumber you need and pile it up so that the military guys would drive their truck to help you deliver it to your place. My dad and his brothers would get together and help each other as fast as they can, so they can say who gets to be next, they rotate on, that's how fast they build those wooden houses. It's all wooden. And then we were all given white paint.

The military was good to the locals, we made friends with them. Alcohol was prohibited for locals, but the Navy men didn't care and shared with us. We learned to speak English talking with them. After the war, the NTTU was put on the island. It had four barbed wire fences, a real fence. And its gated so that people can guard, and nobody can get in without a pass. We know that there's something going on. Over here, I can hear when they shoot the artillery gun, the big canon, shooting the mountain. Big Americans. Seven feet tall. Big and husky. They see who's

walking around. If they found anybody there, local people going astray inside the area, they shot their gun in warning.

31 Soledad Cabrera

I was about five years old when the invasion came. All I remember is the fire and explosions because I was so scared. Because of my young age, I thought they were fireworks at first, but later learned what was really happening. My father carried me and my brother, stepping over dead bodies. My mother was pregnant with my sister at the time, she eventually gave birth to her at a naval hospital. We took shelter in a cave, but the Americans found us. Everyone was shouting and crying out of fear, but the Americans yelled "Come out, come out" and they were kind to us.

I remember Camp Susupe. We slept under a green tent on a cot. I remember the barbed wire fence all around- we felt like prisoners. We then moved into Chalan Kanoa and shared a house with two other families, it was near where the Post Office is today. We walked to school every day, and they made us take cod fish oil. When we weren't at school, we played lots of games and just showed off. My dad was a carpenter and my mom was a housewife.

32 Thomasa Camacho Naraja

I was born on December 29, 1928 and was fifteen years old when the battle started. My family lived in Garapan at the time, and took the train to our farm in San Roque. I went through Japanese school until 5th grade and we had a good relationship with the Japanese until the war started. The Japanese were given first priority for everything and eventually goods stopped coming to us. We had to rely on our own farms for living; we grew taro, yams, and tapioca.

The war wasn't a complete surprise to us because soldiers were on the island, but we didn't know who the war was with or how it was going. One Japanese soldier was trying to tell us about the war, but the concept of "war" was so foreign to us. The family compound was taken and occupied by the Japanese soldiers, so my mom and dad moved all thirteen of us children to a cave. We didn't have any water in the cave, and when my dad and sister went to the school nearby to get some, they were threatened by the Japanese. We survived by eating only coconut and sugarcane. During our time in the cave, my fourteen-year-old brother was killed from shrapnel to the heart.

After thirteen days, the U.S. soldiers found us. A Japanese sniper tried to shoot them, but the soldiers found them and killed them. They spoke Japanese to us, and a little Spanish. We rode on a big truck along with dead military soldiers; it was the first time we ever saw or were in a motor vehicle.

At Camp Susupe, I remember the barbed wire fence around us. We were placed into tents, given cots, and had a kitchen area. They gave us canned hash for food. I worked as a nurse with the 2nd Marine Division, helping soldiers that were hurt in the battle. My three-month-old sister died while in Camp Susupe.

I've shared my stories with my kids, and my grandson is very interested in learning about it. I did have Japanese friends that came back after the war to visit.

APPENDIX G: NEIGHBORHOOD SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Recorders: Date:

Address:

Name of Interview Subject:

Begin by Introducing Yourself, then follow with:

We are working on a project funded by the Northern Mariana Humanities Council in order to record oral histories regarding the WWII internment camps on Saipan. We were wondering if you can take 5-10 minutes to discuss the history of the area for a neighborhood survey as part of the project?

Brief Historical Overview:

For two years after the Battle for Saipan ended in July 1944, the indigenous communities on the island were held in two separate internment camps; Camp Susupe and Chalan Kanoa. Camp Susupe was where they were held while the U.S. military tried to organize all of the civilian and foreign populations on the island, and by October 1944, the Chamorro and Carolinian populations were moved to Chalan Kanoa, an expansion of Susupe that encompassed what remained of Chalan Kanoa village.

Questionnaire:

1. Were you aware that this house is located on the site of the World War II internment camps Camp Susupe and Chalan Kanoa? Yes ☐ No ☐

For the following questions, if they answered "yes" to any, please request we take photographs and ask if we could follow-up with them at a later time.

2. Is there any part of the property that you are aware of that is part of Camp Susupe or Chalan Kanoa, such as part of the building or foundation?
   Yes ☐ No ☐ (If Yes, list below)

3. Have you ever found any objects on your property while digging, gardening, or during construction? Objects can include bottles, wood, metal, bone, other
   Yes ☐ No ☐ (If yes, list objects below and if they threw away or kept the item)

4. Have you or anyone you know within the indigenous community been part of, or has knowledge of, the Battle for Saipan and subsequent internment?
   Yes ☐ No ☐

   If yes, would you be willing to pass along contact information and the Northern Marianas Humanities Council phone number to get in touch with us about sharing their stories?

   Thank them for their time, and reiterate getting back in touch with them if their house is part of the original structures of the camps and/or material culture was found in their yard.

APPENDIX H: NEIGHBORHOOD SURVEY FORMS

Date: 21 July 2018

Site Name: Teacher's House (West)

Current Condition: Privately Owned, Empty (Owner- Rosa Taisacan)

Interview: Yes (Neighbor)

Surveyors: Steph Soder, Fred Camacho, Maddie Roth

NRHP #: 1

Description (NRHP): "Old Japanese Official Residence for Teacher"

Renovated or Altered? No

Interview Narrative: Neighbor (Mariano Taitano) states that the wooden houses were once the residences of the teachers in Japanese times. Does not know who owns it.

Material Finds: None. Outside of house is clean, but somewhat overgrown in some places.

Photos:

Date: 21 July 2018

Site Name: Teacher's House (East)

Current Condition: Privately Owned, Clean (Owner- Cecilia Kileleman)

Interview: Yes (Neighbor)

Surveyors: Steph Soder, Fred Camacho, Maddie Roth

NRHP #: 2

Description (NRHP): "Old Japanese Official Residence for Teacher"

Renovated or Altered? No

Interview Narrative: Neighbor (Mariano Taitano) states that the wooden houses were once the residences of the teachers in Japanese times. Does not know who owns it.

Material Finds: None. Outside of house is clean, no overgrown vegetation.

Photos:

Date: 21 July 2018

Site Name: Abandoned House

Current Condition: Abandoned, Overgrown

Interview: Yes (Neighbor)

Surveyors: Steph Soder, Fred Camacho, Maddie Roth

NRHP #: 5 or 3

Description (NRHP): "Old NKK Company House (Quadplex)"

Renovated or Altered? No

Interview Narrative: Neighbor (Juan Ilo) states that he does not know who owns the building. Pointed out the wooden houses down the street as formerly owned NKK housing

Material Finds: None. Outside of house is clean, but very overgrown with thick vegetation in places. The floor is visible in some area.

Photos:

Date: 21 July 2018

Site Name: Abandoned House

Current Condition: Abandoned, Clean

Interview: Yes (Neighbor)

Surveyors: Steph Soder, Fred Camacho, Maddie Roth

NRHP #: 7

Description (NRHP): "Old NKK Company House"

Renovated or Altered? No

Interview Narrative: Neighbor (Meling Chargualaf) states that it is owned by the Keliliman family. They abandoned it, possibly taken over by government.
She would like to see the neighborhood and NKK house cleaned up to revitalize the historic district

Material Finds: None. Inside of house is clean, minimal trash and graffiti. Would be a good candidate for excavation within the house.

Photos:

Date: 21 July 2018

Site Name: Meling Chargualaf House

Current Condition: Excellent, In-Use

Interview: Yes

Surveyors: Steph Soder, Fred Camacho, Maddie Roth

NRHP #: 8

Description (NRHP): "Old NKK Company House (Duplex)"

Renovated or Altered? Yes

Interview Narrative: Homeowner was born and raised in the house.
Her family was placed into it after WWII.
They later left to move to their ranch, but she moved back in 1991.
Renovated and remodeled in 1996.
She would like to see the neighborhood and NKK house across the street cleaned up

Material Finds: None.

Photos:

Date: 25 July 2018

Surveyors: Steph Soder, Fred Camacho

Site Name: Abandoned House (9 & 10)

NRHP #: 9 & 10

Current Condition: Abandoned

Description (NRHP): "Old NKK Company House (Duplex)" -both

Interview: Yes

Renovated or Altered? No

Interview Narrative: Quick interview- people using the lot state that they don't know who owns the lot or houses, but that we should speak with the elders in the community.

Material Finds: N/A

All houses are abandoned, and lot is full of refuse. Loitering does occur in this area.

Photos: No photos taken. During the survey, there were several people loitering in this area. Despite talking with us and advising us to speak with the elders of the communities, it was requested by the consultant that I not take photos in order to avoid a confrontation.

Date: 27 July 2018

Surveyors: Steph Soder, Fred Camacho, Maddie Roth

Site Name: Abandoned House & Out Building (14)

NRHP #: 14

Current Condition: Abandoned

Description (NRHP): Missing

Interview: Yes (Neighbor)

Renovated or Altered? No

Interview Narrative: Neighbor (unidentified) states that he was maintaining the property for a long time, however, he decided to stop because dumping would occur when the property was cleaned out.
Property is severely overgrown now, and full of trash.

Material Finds: House too overgrown to look inside. Refuse consistent with modern toilet modifications in the bath house.

Photos:

Bath house

Date: 27 July 2018

Site Name: Abandoned House (15)

Current Condition: Abandoned

Interview: Yes

Surveyors: Steph Soder, Fred Camacho, Maddie Roth

NRHP #: 15

Description (NRHP): Missing Description

Renovated or Altered? No

Interview Narrative: Neighbor (unidentified) located directly behind the house states that she has found several glass bottles around the garden area but threw them away. She does not own/rent the building itself.
Property is severely overgrown now, and full of refuse.

Material Finds: House too overgrown to look inside.

Photos:

Date: 27 July 2018

Site Name: Altered House/Animal Pen

Current Condition: Altered Use

Interview: No

Surveyors: Steph Soder, Fred Camacho, Maddie Roth

NRHP #: 17

Description (NRHP): "Old NKK Company House (Duplex)"

Renovated or Altered? Yes

Interview Narrative: N/A

Material Finds: House converted to animal pen. No remains found.

Photos:

Date: 27 July 2018

Site Name: Administration House

Current Condition: Fair, In-Use

Interview: Yes

Surveyors: Steph Soder, Fred Camacho, Maddie Roth

NRHP #: 23

Description (NRHP): "Old NKK Company House for Executive Director"

Renovated or Altered? Yes

Interview Narrative: Owner (Maria) states that house was owned by titled educator during the Japanese times. Her grandmother was the original owner after Chalan Kanoa. The cistern was altered for use of typhoon shelter and storage (hole cut into side). The house is now rented out to tenants.

Material Finds: Owner states that while digging foundation for her house (situated behind the structure), they found a white ceramic bowl, possibly from Japanese period. Her mother kept it and signed the back (pictured)

Photos:

Date: 27 July 2018

Site Name: Abandoned Admin

Current Condition: Abandoned, Overgrown

Interview: No

Surveyors: Steph Soder, Fred Camacho, Maddie Roth

NRHP #: 24

Description (NRHP): "Old NKK Company House for Executive Director (with reception room)"

Renovated or Altered? No

Interview Narrative: N/A

Material Finds: Soil on/under upturned root was sandy with shell midden. Pieces of broken ceramics also found in soil.

Building part of administration house, possibly the "reception room"

Photos:

Date: 27 July 2018

Site Name: Abandoned Admin (25)

Current Condition: Possible In-Use, Part of House

Interview: No

Surveyors: Steph Soder, Fred Camacho, Maddie Roth

NRHP #: 25

Description (NRHP): "Old NKK Company House for Executive Director (with reception room)"

Renovated or Altered? Yes

Interview Narrative: N/A. Owner not home.

Material Finds: N/A

Building part of administration house, possibly the "reception room"

Photos: