

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK NOMINATION

NPS Form 10-934 (Rev. 03-2023)

OMB Control No. 1024-0276

Manenggon Concentration Camp

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

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1. NAME AND LOCATION OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Manenggon Concentration Camp

Other Name/Site Number: GHPI Site No. 66-09-1053; NRIS 16000362; Manengon (alternate spelling)

Street and Number (if applicable): N/A

City/Town: Yona Municipality

County: N/A

State: Guam

2. SIGNIFICANCE DATA

NHL Criterion: 1

NHL Criteria Exceptions: None

NHL Theme(s):

I, Peopling Places

6, Encounters, conflicts, and colonization

IV, Shaping the Political Landscape

3, Military institutions and activities

4, Political ideas, cultures, and theories

VIII, Changing Role of the United States in the World Community

1, International relations

3, Expansionism and imperialism

Period(s) of Significance: Mid-July 1944 - July 31, 1944

Significant Person(s) (only Criterion 2): N/A

Cultural Affiliation (only Criterion 6): N/A

Designer/Creator/Architect/Builder: N/A

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement. We are collecting this information under the authority of the Historic Sites Act of 1935 (16 U.S.C. 461-467) and 36 CFR part 65. Your response is required to obtain or retain a benefit. We will use the information you provide to evaluate properties nominated as National Historic Landmarks. We may not conduct or sponsor and you are not required to respond to a collection of information unless it displays a currently valid OMB control number. OMB has approved this collection of information and assigned Control No. 1024-0276.

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Historic Contexts:

Finding a Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study (2017)

World War II in the Pacific National Historic Landmark Theme Study (1984)

3. WITHHOLDING SENSITIVE INFORMATION

Does this nomination contain sensitive information that should be withheld under Section 304 of the National Historic Preservation Act?

☐ Yes

☒ No

4. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

1. Acreage of Property: 122.41 acres

2. Use either Latitude/Longitude Coordinates or the UTM system:

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates (enter coordinates to 6 decimal places):

Datum if other than WGS84:

Latitude:

Longitude:

OR

UTM References (NAD 83):

1. Zone:55N	Easting: 256,701.235	Northing: 1,482,875.615
2. Zone:55N	Easting: 257,514.701	Northing: 1,481,727.739
3. Zone:55N	Easting: 256,772.183	Northing: 1,482,355.478
4. Zone:55N	Easting: 256,413.626	Northing: 1,481,356.797

3. Verbal Boundary Description:

The boundaries of the NHL are as delineated on "Map 2: USGS topographic map showing boundary of the Manenggon Concentration Camp" included in the Photos/Maps/Figures pages of this nomination. The irregularly shaped site consists of a stretch of the floodplain of the Ylig River, a smaller stretch of the floodplain of the Manenggon River, and a portion of the hillside northeast of the confluence of the two rivers. The eastern end is located 0.7 miles from Highway 4 to the Salas Road crossing of the Ylig River and junction with Pedro

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Camacho Road; from this point it extends NW for 0.6 miles along both sides of the Ylig River, where it curves to the south along the river for 0.8 miles.

4. Boundary Justification:

The Manenggon Concentration Camp was not established with exact boundaries—or with an exact name—and there is no known contemporary ground survey map from either Japanese or US sources showing the camp's extent. The historic site location and boundary is established by extraction of the consistent descriptive components in three data sets compiled for this nomination form: US archival records from World War II, CHamoru survivor oral accounts, and Japanese archival documents.¹ US military records provide verbal locational descriptions (including ground observations made after the camp was abandoned), contemporary testimony obtained by the US military from Manenggon survivors and captured Japanese, and aerial reconnaissance data. Survivor oral history accounts appear in many post-war publications, and continue to be collected, some providing information about the camp location. Japanese records identify this location by reference to the Ylig River in both command documents and historical testimony. Although foraging occurred outside the camp area, and it is probable that some families were in dispersed locations, the nominated boundary represents the concentrated living area of the camp, which was along the floodplain of the Ylig river for about 1.5 miles and included a large area at the midpoint with the junction of the Manenggon River. The topographic contours represent the base of the slope and the edge of the floodplain as the boundary of occupational focus, with the addition of the junction of the Ylig and Manenggon rivers, where the documentary history indicates there was a cluster of families encamped on the slopes.

5. SIGNIFICANCE STATEMENT AND DISCUSSION

INTRODUCTION: SUMMARY STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

The Manenggon Concentration Camp is nationally significant under Criterion 1 for its association with the Japanese occupation of Guam during World War II and with the wartime experiences of Indigenous Pacific Islanders. Located along the Ylig River in the municipality of Yona, Guam, Manenggon is where the Japanese military forcibly held about half of the island's 21,000 Indigenous CHamoru inhabitants in the weeks before the July 1944 American recapture of the island. A US territory since 1898, Guam was one of four US possessions captured by the Japanese during World War II and second only to the Philippines in population numbers. The island was the only occupied US territory where the Japanese Navy established a civil administration with the objective of assimilating the native population into the Japanese empire and was the only Pacific territory where the Japanese are known to have forcibly relocated the Indigenous population into concentration camps.² Manenggon was by far the largest of the island's several camps and the one for which the most detailed record of the native experience exists. The period of significance encompasses the site's period of occupation as a concentration camp, beginning with the forced marches in mid-July 1944 and ending with the United States Marines' liberation of the camp on July 31, 1944.

The Manenggon Concentration Camp represents the final act of deprivation, indignity, subjugation, and brutality endured by the CHamoru people at the hands of the Japanese during their thirty-two-month occupation

¹ CHamoru is the officially recognized spelling of the name of the native people of Guam. Other spellings, commonly "Chamorro," are referenced in the historical literature.

² Wakako Higuchi, *The Japanese Administration of Guam, 1941-1944: A Study of Occupation and Integration Policies* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co., 2013), 9-10.

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of the island. For many survivors, the forced marches to Manenggon and the hardships encountered there were the defining experiences of World War II, representing “a culmination of horrors” amassed over the occupation.³ The site continues to hold symbolic meaning as a testament to the CHamorus’ courage, inner strength, sacrifices, and triumph over adversity. Ben Blaz, a Manenggon survivor who became a Brigadier General in the US Marine Corps, makes this comparison to provide a perspective that emphasizes the national and universal significance of the Manenggon Concentration Camp:

[W]e should not forget that war inflicted incredible suffering around the world.... I would not argue that what happened on Guam was anywhere near as savage as what occurred at Auschwitz, Nanking, or Dresden. In many ways it was what was happening elsewhere without notice. And that’s why its story has to be told.... If we remember Auschwitz, Nanking and Dresden, we may prevent their repetition, but that is only of small solace if, in the process, we forget Guam and the thousands of places like it.⁴

HISTORIC CONTEXT: COLONIZATION OF THE MARIANA ISLANDS, JAPANESE OCCUPATION OF GUAM DURING WORLD WAR II, AND CHAMORU SURVIVAL

The Marianas are part of the Pacific Island cultural region known as Micronesia. The region was subjected to much of the American-Japanese combat of in the Pacific Theater during World War II. The island of Guam played a critical part in that theater of war with drastic consequences for the native people of the island, the CHamoru, eventually leading to their forced confinement in the Manenggon Concentration Camp.

Guam and the other islands of the Marianas archipelago were first settled by the sea-faring ancestors of the CHamoru some 3,500 years ago. In 1521, the CHamoru became the first Pacific Islanders known to the western world when the Spanish expedition led by Ferdinand Magellan encountered the islands during its circumnavigation of the globe. As Spain developed its Pacific empire in the late 1500s, Guam was noted as the only watering station available for its galleon trade between Acapulco and Manila, and, as a consequence, the islands of the CHamoru were claimed by that nation in 1565. In 1668, Guam and the other Marianas were colonized by a Jesuit mission supported by the Spanish crown. Under Catholic Spanish rule for the next two centuries, Mariana Islands’ society was transformed, but CHamoru culture retained the core of its language and many traditional values and practices, notably a strong family structure.

As with Spanish colonization of Guam, the island’s location and geography proved to be critical factors in subsequent centuries of imperial competition in the Pacific. The United States took Guam as a territorial gain from the Spanish-American War of 1898 but did little to secure its defense. The Japanese took advantage, capturing the island in December 1941. The United States recaptured Guam in 1944 to serve as a base for the B-29 bomber assault on the Japanese mainland.⁵ Today, Guam continues to have strategic value in Pacific transportation and supply routes integral to communication, commerce, and military defense as the largest island in the western Pacific between Hawai‘i and the Philippines as well as between Japan and Papua New Guinea. Guam has the only protected deep-water harbor and terrain suitable for multiple major airfields in the region.

³ Ben Blaz, *Bisita Guam: Let Us Remember, Nihi Ta Hasso* (MARC Educational Series and Richard Flores Taitano Micronesian Area Research Center, 2008), 147.

⁴ Blaz, *Bisita Guam*, 77-78

⁵ Robert F. Rogers, *Destiny’s Landfall: A History of Guam* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1995); Kenneth Gofigan Kuper, *Kontra I Peligru, Na ‘fansafo’ Ham: The Production of Military (In)Security in Guåhan* (PhD diss., University of Hawai‘i at Manoa, 2019).

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CHamoru Political Status under US Imperialism, 1898-1941

The US war fleet that left Honolulu to support the American attack on the Spanish Philippines at the onset of the Spanish-American War had auxiliary orders to capture Guam's port. By June 22, 1898, with only an American warning shot being fired at the undefended Spanish island, Guam became a de facto colony of the United States. Alfred Thayer Mahan, US naval captain, historian, and authority on American naval strategy, had previously argued that to be a world power, the United States had to have a presence in the Pacific with a strong merchant marine protected by permanent naval bases and coaling stations, and that of these: "No situation in our possession equals Guam for protecting every security interest in the Pacific."⁶ With this perceived role, Guam—along with the Philippines and Puerto Rico—was formally ceded to the US with the signing of the Treaty of Peace in Paris on December 10, 1898, that concluded the short-lived war between the United States and Spain.

In a parallel international deal, Spain sold the remaining fourteen islands of the Marianas and most of the rest of Micronesia to Germany. Those islands were acquired by Japan after Germany's defeat in World War I. This established the geopolitical isolation of American Guam that also created the separation of the CHamoru into two nationalized populations for the first time in their 3,500-year history. The US failure to claim all the Marianas as spoils of the Spanish-American War was seen by later military strategists as a major blunder, as would be demonstrated in 1941 when Guam was easily captured by Japanese forces from strategic bases in the nearby islands.

On December 23, 1898, President William McKinley issued Executive Order 108-A, placing Guam under the command of the Department of the US Navy and designating the entire island as a United States Naval Station. The CHamoru became wards of the Navy, subject to the rules and orders of the island's naval chief executive officer who was both "Governor" (for non-military matters) and "Commandant" (for military matters).⁷ The CHamoru did not become US citizens under this order, but rather were placed in the liminal category of "American nationals" via the Insular Cases, a series of Supreme Court decisions between 1901 and 1922. These cases determined that the US Constitution was not fully or necessarily applicable to insular properties acquired during Pacific and Caribbean expansions, resulting in the creation of the semi-citizen American national class of political affiliation, as well as two new categories for territories.⁸ Territories considered for eventual statehood were identified as "incorporated," and those deemed not destined for statehood, including Guam, were defined as "unincorporated." CHamoru became subject to the control of the US Navy and the US Congress, but not subject to the provisions of the US Constitution.⁹ The CHamoru were well-aware of this second-class status and petitioned for US citizenship many times before the start of World War II.¹⁰

⁶ Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Interest of America in Sea Power, Present and Future* (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company, 1897), 286. Note that Mahan had "sat on the board of 1898 that recommended seizing Guam," per Edward S. Miller, *War Plan Orange: The U.S. Strategy to Defeat Japan* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1991), 70.

⁷ Historian Robert Rogers characterized that as Naval Station, Guam, the island "would be administered as if it were a ship...with the governor as captain, U.S. military personnel as crew, and the Chamorro as mess attendants." Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 126.

⁸ Rose Cuison Villazor, "American Nationals and Interstitial Citizenship," *Fordham Law Review*, 85, no. 4 (2017). The term "American national" was not codified by law until the Nationality Act of 1940.

⁹ As American nationals, the US Constitution did not apply to CHamorus did not fall under the oversight of the US Constitution, although per the Territorial Clause, the US Congress had the "power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States." See United States Congress, "Providing a Civil Government for Guam," Senate Report No. 2109 to accompany H.R. 7273, 81st Congress, 2nd Session, 1950, 13.

¹⁰ Tony Palomo, "Island in Agony: The War in Guam," 134. In G.M. White, ed., *Remembering the Pacific War*, Center for Pacific Island Studies, Occasional Paper 36 (Honolulu: School of Hawaiian, Asian, and Pacific Studies, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, 1991), 133-144.; Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 149-156.

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Although Guam was a US Naval Base and coaling station as well as the Pacific hub for Pan American Airways, CHamoru continued to comprise the majority population. The 1940 census recorded 20,177 CHamoru and only 2,113 others, among which were nearly 800 US mainland military personnel and their family members.¹¹ As during the Spanish colonial period, the island's west coast, with its major harbor and beaches, was the center of commerce, activity, and population. The west coast was also to be the primary landing area of the 1941 Japanese assault and 1944 American invasion.

In Japan's imperialist move to alleviate its significant demographic and economic challenges at the beginning of World War I in 1914, its Navy seized Germany's Pacific colonies, including all the islands of the Marianas except for Guam. At war's end, the League of Nations granted Japan a Class C mandate to govern former German Micronesian territories north of the equator.¹² In 1922, the Japanese government transferred administrative authority of the mandate to its Nan'yō Guntō or Southern Seas Islands Bureau. In 1933, Japan left the League and established full sovereignty over its Micronesian colonies.

Hence, from World War I until the beginning of World War II, the CHamoru of Guam were being acculturated into an American, English-speaking society, while native populations of the rest of Micronesia (including the Mariana Islands other than Guam) were being incorporated into Japanese culture as part of Japan's goal to create an empire as extension of its homeland.

Early in the twentieth century the American and Japanese governments began to anticipate a Pacific war, with Guam always central to this potential conflict.¹³ US military planners frequently debated the question of whether Guam should be defended and if so, how it could be defended. The argument for a defensive posture was based on its strategic geographic position—akin to a US Gibraltar in the Pacific. The planners who opposed this argued that Guam's small size made fortifications impractical, that isolation from other American forces left it without support, and that Japanese control over the rest of the Mariana Islands rendered it vulnerable to easy assault. At the same time, this was the era of US isolationism and although Guam had been a US Naval Station for four decades, it was only in March 1941 that Congress authorized funds for significant naval and harbor improvements. Ultimately, however, Congress devoted little to the island's defense.

In June 1941, with war imminent, the naval governor of Guam, Captain George McMillin, requested permission from the Secretary of the Navy to evacuate US mainland-based military dependents from the island. In early October these dependents departed Guam by ship for the purported safety of Hawai'i.¹⁴ Approximately 510 non-CHamoru servicemen, civilian contractors, priests, and nurses, as well as some 21,000 CHamorus remained.¹⁵ All of these Americans found themselves on a US naval base with a woefully undermanned

¹¹ LeVerne Beales, *16th Census of the United States, 1940: Guam, Population Agriculture* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1941).

¹² The League of Nations mandate system was set up for managing post-World War I contested territories. Class C mandates were former German possessions that "owing to the sparseness of their populations, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centers of civilization... can best be administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions thereof." Mark R. Peattie, *Nan'yō: The Rise and Fall of the Japanese in Micronesia, 1885-1945*, Pacific Islands Monograph Series No. 4, Center for Pacific Island Studies (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1988), 55.

¹³ The long, complicated history of the position of Guam in pre-World War II US defense planning in the Pacific (War Plan Orange) is treated in detail in Miller, *War Plan Orange*. See also Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*.

¹⁴ This dependent group specifically excluded the children of the servicemen and CHamoru women, see Daniel L. Owen, *The Abandonment and the Inevitable: The Final Three Months Before the Japanese Invasion of Guam in World War II* (master's thesis, Micronesian Studies, University of Guam, 2002), 3, 43, 54, 57.

¹⁵ The reason for the evacuation of military families was never expressed publicly and there was never any official announcement made to civilian CHamoru. Further, there is no information in any known sources concerning the many decades of war planning that the US military ever took the presence of the CHamoru into account in plans for defense or evacuation of Guam. See Don A. Farrell, *The Pictorial History of Guam: The Sacrifice, 1919-1943* (Tinian: Micronesian Publications, 1991); Miller, *War Plan Orange*; Brian

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defensive force and nearly nonexistent arsenal.¹⁶ On the island were about 300 combat troops, 120 of whom were members of the Insular Force Guard, composed of CHamoru men recruited by the Navy eight months prior. This diminutive unit had an arsenal of some 150 World War I-vintage rifles and pistols, four small ineffective naval vessels, and artillery comprised of two salute cannons.

It was soon to be that the native CHamoru, American nationals on an isolated and defenseless American outpost in the western Pacific, would be under the control of the Japanese empire. They would find themselves on a battlefield of an international war.

Japanese Invasion and Occupation of Guam, 1941-1944

On December 8, 1941, Guam time (December 7, Hawai'i time), a few hours after the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Japanese military launched an aerial attack against US naval vessels and facilities in Guam's coastal towns of Hagåtña, Piti, Orote, and Sumay, coordinated with assaults on the US-held Philippines and Wake Island. The Japanese bombardment began on the most holy and festive of CHamoru Catholic holidays, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, when CHamorus celebrate the patroness of the island, Santa Marian Kamalen. Many CHamoru families were in a solemn mass being administered by Bishop Miguel Olano in the Hagåtña Cathedral. Mid-way through the mass, Bishop Olano advised the congregation to evacuate the city and gave them all his blessing. The bombing continued and Bishop Olano later wrote that "we could imagine what horrible fate awaited us in the morning from the horrifying noises that filled the night."¹⁷ Hagåtña and other villages caught in the aerial bombardment and strafing were quickly deserted as their occupants fled from further assault.

On December 10, two days after the initial aerial bombardment, about 5,000 Japanese Imperial Army troops landed at Hagåtña. An eyewitness recalled the Japanese "killing at random without consideration of the women, the children or the old people."¹⁸ Japanese forces easily overwhelmed the small US defense unit. The only significant effort of resistance was in central Hagåtña's Plaza de España, where a few Marines, Navy, and about one hundred CHamoru Insular Guardsmen stood their ground against the invading army before finally having to surrender.¹⁹

After this brief and hopeless resistance, Naval Governor McMillin officially surrendered US Naval Base Guam to the Japanese. Six US servicemen escaped into the jungle, while some 500 US soldiers and non-combatants were shipped to Japan's Zentsuji prisoner-of-war camp. The 21,000 CHamorus remaining on the island became subjects of the Empire of Japan. Guam became the first American territory captured in World War II and the only current US territory where a substantial population of American civilians endured foreign occupation for most of the war.²⁰ Japanese attempts to assimilate the CHamoru would prove a failure, and the reality for the

McAllister Linn, *Guardians of Empire: The U.S. Army and the Pacific, 1902-1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); and Owen, *The Abandonment and the Inevitable*. Historians have also rarely considered the CHamoru in this context. In the fifteen-volume history of US naval operations in the Pacific, historian and naval officer Samuel Eliot Morison noted only that "all American women and children were evacuated" in the pre-invasion action by Governor-Captain McMillin. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Rising Sun in the Pacific 1931-April 1942, Volume III: History of United States Naval Operations in World War II* (Edison, NJ: Castle Books, 1951), 184.

¹⁶ Morison, *The Rising Sun in the Pacific*, 184; Farrell, *The Pictorial History of Guam*, 60; Colt D. Denfeld, *Hold the Marianas: The Japanese Defense of the Mariana Islands* (New York: White Mane Publishing Company, 1997).

¹⁷ Miguel Angel de Olano Urtega, *Diary of a Bishop (Since the Invasion of Guam-World War II)* (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Press, 1949), 7-8.

¹⁸ Pascual Artero y Saz, *El Maestro Artero: An Autobiography*, unpublished manuscript (1948), translated from the Spanish by students under the direction of Sister Felicia Plaza, Micronesian Area Research Center, Mangilao, Guam, 56.

¹⁹ Palomo, "Island in Agony," 134.

²⁰ See discussion below concerning the native peoples of the captured Philippines and Aleutian Islands.

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CHamorus was to suffer brutality, family separation, hunger, rape, forced labor, loss of property, continuous insults and indignities, and frequent torture and execution for perceived pro-American activities.

Despite the fear of Japanese authorities, extreme deprivations, and an uncertain future, CHamorus adeptly survived. They remained loyal to the US and expected the Americans to return. As stated by a CHamoru survivor of the Japanese occupation: “What kept the spark of hope in our hearts stirring even after the Church of God, our one consolation was closed? Our prayers; our cry to Heaven for endurance. Days passed into weeks and weeks into months and still we hoped.... Even with the cruel treatment of the Japanese we never gave up hope.”²¹

Japanese Treatment of the CHamoru During the Occupation

The Pacific War was an extremely difficult time for all of Micronesia’s native peoples, a time of uncertainty, deprivation, and death. The intensity and specifics of the experience varied from island to island depending on access to subsistence resources and whether the island endured harsh battle, intensive bombing, or military avoidance.²² Guam differed from the rest of Micronesia in that it was taken by conquest at the beginning of the war with its people subsequently under wartime foreign occupation. In the American recapture of Guam in 1944, the CHamoru were non-combatants imperiled by a bloody ground battle following the heaviest pre-invasion bombardment in the Pacific theater.²³

The Japanese occupation politically reunited Guam with the other Mariana Islands under the authority of the Japanese empire. As such, the Japanese faced the question of management of the native CHamoru civilian population. The CHamoru served as a critical labor force for wartime agricultural production, with their incorporation into the Japanese nation as subservient members a long-term vision.²⁴

For the CHamoru, the thirty-two-month Japanese occupation was an increasingly intense period of privation, distress, and starvation that culminated in the forced marches and interment at the Manenggon Concentration Camp, a period that became a vivid memory of the wartime experience.²⁵ Nearly every CHamoru family has personal narratives about the horrors experienced and survival methods used during the Japanese occupation

²¹ Maria Catalina Palomo Perez, US Congressional Testimony delivered on May 25, 1948, written January 14, 1945.

²² L. Poyer, S. Falgout, and L.M. Carucci, *The Typhoon of War: Micronesian Experiences of the Pacific War* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2000); Bruce Petty, *Saipan: Oral Histories of the Pacific War* (Jefferson, NJ: McFarland and Co., 2002).

²³ Philip A. Crowl, *Campaign in the Marianas, United States Army in World War II: The War in the Pacific* (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, 1960), 321.

²⁴ Higuchi, *The Japanese Administration on Guam*, 105-116; 137-147.

²⁵ These memories comprise critical information about the CHamoru wartime and Manenggon Concentration Camp experience as the US military, as far as is known, did not create detailed reporting about the camp following the American invasion. CHamoru oral histories of the Japanese occupation and Manenggon are documented in three volumes published by the Guam War Survivors Memorial Foundation, see Kathleen Owings, *The War Years on Guam: Narratives of the Chamorro Experience*, Miscellaneous Publication No. 5 (Mangilao, Guam: Micronesian Area Research Center, 1981) and Rlene Santos Steffy, “Oral Histories: Manenggon March and Concentration Camp: Survivor Accounts,” in D. Tuggle and J. Liston, eds., *Manenggon Concentration Camp National Register of Historic Places Nomination Project: Project Completion Report*, prepared for the Guam Preservation Trust, Hagatña, Guam (Honolulu: Archaeological Research Institute, Inc., 2016). First-hand accounts are also found in: Artero, *El Maestro Artero*; Olano, *Diary of a Bishop*; Pedro C. Sanchez, *Uncle Sam, Please Come Back to Guam* (Tunumung, Guam: Sanchez Publication Series, Pacific Island Publishing Co., 1979); Pedro C. Sanchez, *Guam 1941-1945: Wartime Occupation and Liberation* (Guam: Sanchez Publishing House, 1984); Tony Palomo, *An Island in Agony* (privately printed, 1984); Tony Palomo, “Time of Sorrow and Pain,” War in the Pacific National Historical Park, 2004, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/npswapa/extContent/wapa/palomo/sorrow-and-pain.htm; Joaquin Flores Sablan, *My Mental Odyssey: Memoirs of the First Guamanian Protestant Minister* (Poplar Bluff, MO: Stinson Press, 1990); and Blaz, *Birista Guam*, among others, and in newspaper and journal articles and dissertations written by CHamorus.

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and World War II. These memories of suffering and resilience are part of Guam's collective memory and identity, and many of these experiences are referenced or quoted below.

Japan ranked all inhabitants of its Southern Seas islands hierarchically in a system in which the Japanese were first-class citizens, other Asians second class, and Micronesians third-class people (referred to as *santō kokumin*), the lowest rung in the Imperial social order. Although all Micronesians were *santō kokumin*, the Japanese viewed the CHamoru of Guam as distinct because they had learned English, not Japanese, and been subject to the American system for some four decades.²⁶ Further, unlike their occupation of the other islands of the Marianas, the Japanese presence on Guam was by means of conquest in their war of expansion, and the CHamoru had been members of the enemy nation. As such, the Japanese military did not trust the CHamoru, viewing them as allied with and tainted by America.

Japanese Commander-in-Chief Major General Tomitato Horii's proclamation of December 10, 1941, threatened severe punishment for disloyalty: "[You are]...under the regulations of our Japanese authorities and [may] enjoy your daily life as we guarantee your lives and [will] never distress nor plunder your property...[But those] who conduct any defiance and who act spy [sic] against our enterprise, shall be court-martialed and the Army shall take strict care to execute said criminals by shooting."²⁷ The latter was almost immediately impressed upon island inhabitants when in early 1942 they were forced to witness the execution by firing squad of two CHamorus for alleged theft and communication with an American captive.

The Japanese effort to establish swift total control of the CHamoru was expressed by a survivor who wrote that immediately after the invasion, on December 11, 1941:

An order came [from the Japanese military] that the residents of Guam must abandon their hiding places and proceed to Agana to obtain badges—the accursed thing was to signify that the wearer was a Japanese citizen and that he no longer belonged under the American flag.... Those found without the thing were liable to be tortured to death. And this did not mean to be killed with the shot of a gun but to be killed with the tortures of slaps and kicks and having the face covered with a heavy wet towel. That was their means of punishments, and they administered it with great readiness.²⁸

As described by historians Paul Carano and Pedro C. Sanchez, the Japanese set curfew "from sunset to sunrise, and complete blackouts were ordered. Agana was virtually a Japanese army camp." Furthermore, they "ordered all American currency turned into Japanese currency, at the ridiculously low rate of four and five to one."²⁹ A significant problem for the Japanese was that during the centuries of Spanish rule, the CHamorus had become devout Catholics who would not easily succumb to replacement of their religious beliefs with political ideology or the Japanese Emperor. The Japanese ordered the Christian cross removed from public view. Mass was increasingly restricted, and the cathedral and churches began to be used for military purposes.³⁰

The first months of occupation were under the command of the Japanese Army, which had been responsible for the island's capture and early management of the CHamoru. Subsequently, wartime command of the island was

²⁶ The 1940 US census indicated that more than 70 percent of CHamorus spoke English in addition to their native language. See Beales, *16th Census of the United States*.

²⁷ Palomo, *Island in Agony*, 31.

²⁸ Louisa B. Garrido, "War Life during Japanese Rule Revealed by Student," *Navy News*, December 14, 1947, 3:348, Guam Edition, 3.

²⁹ Paul Carano and Pedro C. Sanchez, *A Complete History of Guam* (Rutland: Charles E. Tuttle, 1964), 276-277.

³⁰ Artero, *El Maestro Artero*, 11.

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turned over to the Japanese Navy, which had a civil affairs unit (Minseibu) in charge of CHamoru acculturation, including instruction in Japanese language and customs. “The main goal of Japanization,” historian Keith Camacho writes, “was eradicating forty years of American symbols, values, and ultimately, loyalty among the Chamorros.”³¹ Civil affairs also maintained oversight of CHamoru labor in development of Japanese agricultural fields, including rice cultivation.³²

During the previous quarter century of Japanese administration of the other Mariana islands (and the rest of Micronesia), the assimilation process had been reasonably successful, but the wartime conditions of the Guam occupation doomed the Japanese Navy-initiated assimilation and acculturation program to failure. As described by a CHamoru who lived under the occupation, the Japanese treatment of CHamorus “changed an uncooperative population into a hostile one.”³³ Another CHamoru, a Protestant minister on Guam during the war, wrote in his memoirs that the harsh “militant observance of courtesy and respect” was alien to CHamoru culture.³⁴ Japanese military cultural practices (such as slapping and compulsory bowing) “ignited a fire of hatred toward the Japanese people.”³⁵ Failure to meet Japanese rules and demands or committing minor discourtesies “would surely result in many dreadful slapping [sic] on the face or wicked kicking on the back or sides” and often in more brutal physical reprimands.³⁶ Another account testified: “There was a time when I was slapped by a Japanese soldier, and I, in turn, was ordered to slap the Chamorro worker next to me, and he, in turn, slapped the next man down the line.”³⁷

Life and Labor under Japanese Rule

Most CHamoru fled Hagåtña during the Japanese invasion, generally taking refuge on their inland farms and ranch lands. Eventually about a quarter of the city’s residents returned, at least for a while, but life was generally harsh: businesses were taken over; occupation troops lived in many homes; personal items such as clothing were stolen and all valuables and goods, such as cars, radios, guns, cameras, and the like, confiscated; many young women were forced into prostitution as “comfort women;” and food and subsistence supplies diminished. On the farms and ranches, conditions also became difficult as food supplies and cattle were taken and animal feed confiscated to provide for Japanese horses.³⁸

³¹ Keith Camacho, *Cultures of Commemoration: The Politics of War, Memory and History in the Mariana Islands*, Pacific Island Monograph Series 25 (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2011), 44.

³² A detailed history of the Japanese administration of Guam is found in Wakako Higuchi, “The Japanization Policy for the Chamorros of Guam, 1941-1944,” *The Journal of Pacific History* 36, no. 1 (2001): 19-35; and Higuchi, *The Japanese Administration of Guam*, 2013.

³³ Blaz, *Bisita Guam*, 67.

³⁴ Sablan, *My Mental Odyssey*, 168.

³⁵ Juan P. Sablan, “Account written by Juan P. Sablan,” in “Reports by Natives of Conditions of Guam Under Japanese Rule,” Obtained by [Allison], Memoir for Officer-in-Charge, JICPOA, 9 September, 1944, RG #313, Records of Naval Operating Forces, Trust Territory of the Pacific Is., Office of the Deputy High Commissioner, Flag Files “Red 340,” General Administrative Files, ca. 1944-1951, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA).

³⁶ Garrido, “War Life During Japanese Rule.” This brief summary should not obscure the fact that there were positive interactions between the Japanese and the CHamoru, even amidst the overall occupation: see Palomo, “Time of Sorrow and Pain;” Unpingco in Mark-Alexander Peiper, “Guam Survivor Recalls WWII Forced March,” Pacific Islands Report, Pacific Islands Development Program/East-West Center, *Pacific Daily News*, June 22, 2004; Blaz, *Bisita Guam*, 205; Camacho, *Cultures of Commemoration*, 50; Joaquin “Jack” Lujan, Interview in “Families Under Seige,” Guam Humanities Council, film documentary, 2013.

³⁷ Joaquin V.E. Manibusan in Palomo, “Time of Sorrow and Pain.”

³⁸ Summarized from personal testimonies, including: Artero, *El Maestro Artero*, 60; Jose T. Acfalle in Owings, *The War Years on Guam*; Palomo, *An Island in Agony*, 75-76; and Rosa Flores Leon Guerrero in Ralph Stoney Bates, Sr. (USMC Retired, Major), *An American Shame: The Abandonment of an Entire American Population* (self-published via CreatSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2016).

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Food shortage became an increasingly serious problem. Rationing was instituted, and over time the population became malnourished, a problem exacerbated by hard labor expended growing food for Japanese consumption, resulting in neglect of family farm production.³⁹

In the early years of the war, Guam and the rest of the Mariana islands primarily served the Japanese military as rear-area logistic and supply bases to support other Pacific garrisons and battlefields. Isolated from the major conflict area, a substantial effort to fortify Guam was deemed unnecessary. However, this changed as the tide of war turned against the Japanese and an American invasion of Guam became probable. Monthly quotas of agricultural products and organized forced labor to bolster the ever-diminishing food supply and serve the Japanese became increasingly onerous.⁴⁰ At the same time, military defense construction became a priority for the Japanese, with many CHamoru conscripted for the effort: “The number of jobs we Chamorro men were called to work on varied and could take place all over the island. These included planting rice, mining for manganese, and digging caves or bunkers.”⁴¹

CHamoru Resistance to Occupation and Loyalty to the United States

Race-based mistreatment of the CHamoru had occurred during the previous American administration. CHamoru were denied citizenship and required to live under martial law, subject to the whims of a succession of naval governors. However, despite their second-class status before the war, CHamoru had a daily life with a relatively limited military presence in sharp contrast to the conditions under Japanese rule. As a result, the CHamorus on Guam remained loyal to the US throughout the occupation, anxiously awaiting the American return.

Despite adversity, the unarmed CHamoru resisted occupation in a non-aggressive manner as much as possible. Most prohibited radios had been confiscated, but some remained hidden and enabled access to broadcasts from the Fairmont Hotel in San Francisco. News about “American progress” in the war passed by word of mouth or elaborate subterfuge.⁴²

I always knew the Americans would come back. For some unspoken reason I knew that. And when I was living in Agana with my auntie, during the first part of the war, men would assemble in the dark night with a radio and they were listening to the news throughout the world. My uncle, Mr. Pedro Ada who lived next door [was out] in the middle of the night listening to the radio. [Being] as secretive as they were, I caught them. “What are they doing?” I asked. And my uncle would say, “Don’t you say a word.” They were listening to radios. Oh, the Americans in Germany were winning!⁴³

Another example of CHamoru resistance against their Japanese captors was their assistance to the six American servicemen who had escaped to the jungle, where they were hidden and fed by the CHamoru. The Japanese became obsessed with finding them and brutally tortured many CHamoru to obtain information on their whereabouts. Eventually five of the Americans were captured and killed, but the sixth, Navy Radioman George

³⁹ Artero, *El Maestro Artero*, 22, 62; Carano and Sanchez, *A Complete History of Guam*, 276–277; Herbert J. Johnston, “A Barrel of Soap,” *Pacific Profile: A Magazine Devoted to Guam and the Pacific* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965).

⁴⁰ Sablan, “Account written by Juan P. Sablan,” NARA.

⁴¹ Blaz, *Bisita Guam*, 78–81.

⁴² Johnston, “A Barrel of Soap.”

⁴³ Unidentified in Melissa Marie Guerrero Taitano, *Archives and Collective Memory: A Case Study of Guam and the Internment of Chamorros in Mañenggon during World War II* (PhD diss., Information Studies, University of California, Los Angeles, 2007).

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R. Tweed, managed to survive through constant CHamoru help until he was rescued by an American ship a few days before the US land assault on Guam.⁴⁴

Through this long period of stress and hardship, even though collaboration would have been advantageous to many CHamoru, they remained loyal to the United States, endured great difficulties, and retained hope and expectation of the American return. They kept up their spirits by making jokes about Japanese culture, spreading positive news about the war, and creating a well-known resistance song: “Please Uncle Sam, Come Back to Guam.”⁴⁵ that the song “may be old and may be silly,” one journalist later commented, “but [it]...sings loud of the Chamorro faith in those times, of the hope that kept people’s spirits high in a time of despair.”⁴⁶ According to Guam historian Pedro C. Sanchez, “Pretty soon, everyone was singing it everywhere, day and night” despite Japanese authorities ordering “the police, the teachers and other Japanese officials to punish anyone, man, woman or child, caught singing or whistling the song.”⁴⁷ One of the many different verses of the song, said to be composed by Pedro Taitingfong Rosario (Tun Pete Siboyas), reads:

Uncle Sam, I’m sad and lonely
Uncle Sam, come back to me
Uncle Sam, I love you only
Oh, please come back and set me free...

The Japanese feared that due to their failure to assimilate and acculturate the CHamoru on Guam, their military forces would have no indigenous support during combat, but rather a high probability of resistance and espionage in aid of US forces if they returned to re-capture the island. Hence, the CHamoru were in a precarious position in mid-1944 as the American invasion loomed.

Impending American Invasion and Deteriorating Living Conditions

By late 1943 and early 1944, with American forces steadily advancing westward across the Pacific, Japan’s hold on its vast Pacific perimeter became untenable. Accordingly, Imperial General Headquarters pulled back from their wider Micronesia holdings to focus remaining defensive assets on the Absolute National Defense Sphere, the limit of the area needed to keep Allied forces out of range of the Japanese home islands. The defense sphere’s eastern boundary, extending from the Kuriles, through the Marianas, to the central coast of New Guinea, became critical to the Japanese war effort as a front-line position.

By 1943, US military planners began to focus on invasion of Guam and the Northern Mariana Islands because of their strategic location and suitable topography. Taking the Marianas would provide the primary springboard for air assaults on mainland Japan because they were ideal for construction of the airfields necessary for new B-29 long-range bombers. At the same time, re-capturing the American naval base of Guam would raise national

⁴⁴ Tweed’s survival was due to “the courageous and surreptitious assistance of dozens of Guamanians [CHamoru], including Antonio Artero and his family who fed and kept him in hiding for eighteen months,” per Palomo, “Island in Agony,” 136.

⁴⁵ Perez, US Congressional Testimony; Taitano, *Archives and Collective Memory*.

⁴⁶ Joseph Santo Tomas, “Song of hope, song of faith,” January 10, 1942, in Tony Palomo and Paul J. Borja, eds., *Liberation-Guam Remembers: A Golden Salute for the 50th Anniversary for the Liberation of Guam* (Maite, Guam: Graphic Center, Inc., 1987), accessed at https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/npswapa/extContent/Lib/liberation8.htm. In 1947, Decca records issued a single titled *My Dearest Uncle Sam*, sung by the Andrews Sisters, that was loosely based on *Please Uncle Sam, Come Back to Guam*. Palé Eric Forbes, *A Twist on Uncle Sam*, Palé Eric Blog, May 9, 2018. . <http://paleric.blogspot.com/2018/05/a-twist-on-uncle-sam.html>.

⁴⁷ Sanchez, *Uncle Sam, Please Come Back to Guam*, 159.

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morale.⁴⁸ The official military objectives made no mention of rescuing Americans from a protracted enemy occupation.

When the Japanese military recognized the vulnerability of the Marianas, the Imperial Army was deployed back to Guam to replace the naval command. During the first few months of 1944, with the arrival of the army and construction workers from Okinawa and Korea, the island's military population increased to 18,500, nearly equaling the civilian CHamoru population. Crops were insufficient to support the burgeoning military forces and local population. This was compounded by the US submarine blockade of the waters around the Marianas archipelago, preventing entry of Japanese supply ships. Labor demands on the CHamoru increased, and deprivation, hunger, and disease became commonplace.⁴⁹

On February 23, 1944, American bombers attacked the Orote airstrip. Although this brought hopeful anticipation to the CHamoru, in fact it ushered in the worst period of the occupation. The Japanese initiated increased defensive efforts with CHamorus forced to work night and day digging hundreds of underground air raid shelters, building barricades, hauling munitions, unloading ships, and constructing the Orote and Tiyan airfields.⁵⁰ With many CHamoru having lost their homes after the 1941 Japanese invasion, this massive mobilization to build defenses and produce food began a further stage of dislocation of the CHamoru population and separation of family units. As two survivors remembered:

In 1944, they started the air strip which is NAS [Naval Air Station] now. They took every man, women, and even children. I was one of them, including my father and two brothers and a sister. We worked seven days a week from sun rise to sun set. There were guards all over the place and if you slowed down, they would hit you with a stick which they always carried around.⁵¹

[During the early American bombing] we... all worried about my seventeen and fourteen year old brothers that were taken to work at the air base in Barrigada. My younger three brothers and three sisters that were laboring themselves in the field nearby the village of Inarajan, about two and a half miles away from my ranch.⁵²

As the Japanese realized they were losing the war, they drastically heightened their harsh treatment towards CHamorus. Rape became more common, and even more women were forced to endure sexual violence as "comfort women."⁵³ There were numerous cases of torture and execution of CHamoru accused of welcoming the American invasion and preparing to assist and support it (such as by signaling planes).⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Jeter Isely and Philip Crowl, *The U.S. Marines and Amphibious War: Its Theory and Its Practice in the Pacific* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), 310-312; Henry Bernard Nalty Shaw and Edwin Turnbladth, *Central Pacific Drive: History of Marine Corps Operations in World War II*, Vol. III (Washington, DC: Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, 1966), 43; Miller, *War Plan Orange*, 343-344; Owen, *The Abandonment and the Inevitable*.

⁴⁹ Carano and Sanchez, *A Complete History of Guam*, 287; Luis P. Untalan, "The Long Trek to Manenggon," *Pacific Profile* 3, no. 6 (1965): 20-21.

⁵⁰ Sablan, "Account written by Juan P. Sablan," NARA; Carano and Sanchez, *A Complete History of Guam*, 290.

⁵¹ Jose Benavente in Herbert H. Lee, ed., *Micronesian Archive* (unpublished manuscript, 1968), 318, on file at the Micronesian Area Research Center, Mangilao, Guam.

⁵² Ida (Duenas) Diego, "Complete History of My Life During the Japanese Administration by Ida Diego" (unpublished manuscript, n.d.), 59, #RG 24 (War Crimes): Records of the Bureau of Naval Personnel, Casualty Branch, Records Relating to Japanese War Crimes Involving POWs, NARA. This typed document is undated, but other documents and references to her testimony indicate that it was written on or around August 19, 1944.

⁵³ Peter R. Onedera, *Ai Hagâ-hu* (Oh! My Daughter), Play performed at University of Guam Theater, 1996.

⁵⁴ Miguel Ángel de Olano Urteaga, *Diary of a Bishop (Since the Invasion of Guam—World War II)* (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Press, 1949), 136-137, 141.

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The first American naval shells to hit Guam were fired from a small task group on June 16, 1944. The invasion of Guam, code-named Operation Stevedore, was planned for June 18, but for strategic reasons related to the invasion of Saipan, central military headquarters of the Japanese Marianas, it was moved to July 21. Aerial and naval bombardment of Guam was stepped up on July 4, and on July 8 fiery attack escalated to persist for thirteen consecutive days, the longest and heaviest single naval bombardment program of the War in the Pacific.⁵⁵ The inevitable byproduct was the total destruction of Hagåtña and nearby towns, including the great majority of CHamoru homes.⁵⁶

On June 24 with the fall of Saipan and destruction of the Japanese carrier fleet, the Japanese high command in Tokyo ended communication with the Marianas. With continuing US aerial attacks on the island, a submarine blockade, loss of air support, most island aircraft destroyed, and now no communication with Tokyo, it was clear to the Japanese Guam command that they had no chance of repelling a US assault, and hence, as dictated by their military ethos, that they were to fight a battle of attrition to the bitter end.

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As the Japanese Imperial Army prepared for final battle, they faced the question of what to do with over 21,000 CHamoru non-combatants who spoke little Japanese, were poorly assimilated into the Japanese social system, and who in fact were largely American loyalists. For the Japanese, the CHamoru represented a large civilian population with no significant role in combat, except for forced labor, and a source of possible obstruction, espionage, and guerilla support for the attacking enemy forces.

Colonel Okabe Eichi, Chief of Staff of the 29th Division Headquarters issued an order on July 4, 1944, titled “Direction Concerning Use and Handling of Islanders,” which laid the groundwork for what was to be done with the CHamorus. Four major aspects of the July 4 order stand out: 1) In general, islanders were to “be gathered and be vigilantly watched,” indicating preparation for relocation-internment and concern for insurrection and potential support for the invading US forces; 2) CHamoru labor was to continue to be used as much as possible (e.g., labor crews attached to military construction units would stay in work camps); 3) Islanders from three major villages in the central populated area were to be gathered near “Sawahara” (Mangilao), while islanders in specified southern villages were to be left where they were; and 4) “Emergency disposition” of the CHamoru would be determined later.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Crowl, *Campaign in the Marianas*, 321.

⁵⁶ Artero, *El Maestro Artero*, 110; Sablan, *My Mental Odyssey*, 155.

⁵⁷ Copies of Order No. 244 were found by US troops and a translation distributed. Lt. Col. See Y.F. Yancy, “Results of the interrogation of Dolores Leon Guerrero Francisco” (August 19, 1944), Office of the ACofS, G-2, V Amphib Corps, Enclosure (B) Statements and photographic exhibits concerning Japanese atrocities committed on the natives of Guam during the Japanese rule; “Statement of Dolores Leon Guerrero Francisco,” Enclosure to report of 22 August 1944, “Alleged Atrocities” G-2, V Amphib Corps, #RG 24 (War Crimes): Records of the Bureau of Naval Personnel, Casualty Branch, Records Relating to Japanese War Crimes Involving POWS, NARA. Many modern histories contain erroneous information about this order, derived from confusion about its date versus dates of its implementation, and from the English mis-translation distributed by the US military during or shortly after the battle of Guam. For clarification and a revised translation, romanized as “Tomin shiyo shori ni kansuru tsucho,” trans. Higuchi, “Japanese Research,” 146; David H. Tuggle, “Historical Overview to the ‘Manenggon Concentration Camp,’” in Tuggle and Liston, eds., *Manenggon Concentration Camp*, 5-56.

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Speculation continues to this day as to the full intention of the Japanese Imperial Army to relocate the CHamoru into concentration camps.⁵⁸ Historian Melissa Marie Guerrero Taitano summarized:

Many believe that eventually the island population was to be exterminated, and often refer to the march to Manenggon as the death march. Others believe that the Chamorros were moved to concentration camps because the Japanese feared that the island residents loyal to America would aid American military forces. And there are others that believe that the intention of the Japanese was to protect the local population from the imminent attack of American military forces by moving them into the dense jungle where their location would be hidden.⁵⁹

As related in many CHamoru oral histories, the vast majority had no understanding why they were being forcibly marched across the island and ultimately held in concentration camps. Their confusion is not surprising given the chaotic and frightening wartime environment, the large numbers of people involved, and language barriers. Regardless as to ultimate motives, Dr. Pedro Cruz Sanchez, a Manenggon survivor who became second President of the Territorial College of Guam (now University of Guam) between 1970-1974 and in 1986 was elected a Senator in the Guam Legislature, acknowledged that despite the difficulties and deaths that did occur, internment at Manenggon “saved a lot people from being killed in the massive air raids and intensive naval bombardment and in the cross fire between American troops and Japanese defenders.”⁶⁰

Implementation of the July 4 order resulted in a complex series of evacuations, forced marches, and temporary camps with at least half of the island population ending up at what came to be called the Manenggon Concentration Camp, with many others held in smaller camps.⁶¹ The July 4 order did not explicitly mention the isolated valley of Manenggon. What is stated is that people from specified villages were to be gathered at the central island location of Mangilao with no reference to additional relocation to other camps after their arrival there. Regardless, from Mangilao and other concentration points, forced marches continued to centralize as much of the population as possible. Concentrating some 10,000 CHamorus at Manenggon appears to have been a last-minute decision made in an uncertain and chaotic situation by lower-ranking officers as island command focused on the impending invasion. Joaquin Flores Sablan, the only Protestant minister on Guam during the Japanese occupation, writes about arriving at the concentration camp after being held at a place named Maimai:

As we were cutting coconut leaves, an American observation plane spotted us and in no time the American battleships started shelling in our direction. The Japanese officials then ordered the people to begin reloading their carts and be prepared for another march by dusk. This time the Dededo, Agana, and the Barrigada people joined us in the march to the last concentration camp [Manenggon]. We traveled all night to Pago and behind Yona along a dirt road to the Ylig River. We were very thankful for we had at least running water, unlike the previous camp, where we had only a water buffalo pond.⁶²

Forced Marches

Within a week of the July 4 order, CHamorus were taken with little or no warning from their homes, ranches, jungle hideouts, and some labor camps, to be forcibly marched to unknown locations. On Guam, the

⁵⁸ The people of Guam and US military records referred to Manenggon and related aggregations of CHamoru as concentration camps.

⁵⁹ Taitano, *Archives and Collective Memory*, 181.

⁶⁰ Pedro C. Sanchez, *Guahan Guam: The History of Our Island* (Hagåtña: Sanchez Publishing House, 1988), 241.

⁶¹ Regarding the complexity of the original aggregation and temporary camps of the many separate marches, see Tuggle, “Historical Overview.”

⁶² Sablan, *My Mental Odyssey*, 155–157.

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Manenggon Concentration Camp is never spoken of today without reference to these horrific forced marches to the camp and more joyful marches out to the safety of the American lines. Luis Untalan, principal of the Talofoto School, remembers:

Word was sent out to everyone to meet at Price School [in Mangilao] in the evening of a certain day. So we all packed whatever we could in the way of clothes and food. Livestock and pigs and chickens were left behind. Dogs could follow us. Our family had a bull-cart so all the necessary family belongings and the essential food we could get hold of we packed into the cart. They did not tell us why we had to gather at the school. They just said bring whatever you can.⁶³

There were many uncertainties and unanswered questions as the CHamoru “did not know the reason for the move or how long they would be away.”⁶⁴ Vicenta Borja Rosario, aged seventeen at the time, describes the trauma of these mass departures.

The Japanese were going all over the place and chasing everyone from their homes. All the people—carry what you can carry—the rest they left behind. They left it all behind. Everyone was walking. Everyone. Everyone. It’s very scary. It was night time, it was dark. The people were all crying. Everyone was, it was like you didn’t know where to go.⁶⁵

Once rounded up, the CHamorus were forcibly marched, herded like animals, under escort of Japanese soldiers. Ricardo J. Bordallo, aged sixteen in 1944 and later Governor of Guam, remembers his own experience:

...the Japanese routed the encampment and the march to Manenggon began. Thousands of people arose slowly from their makeshift camps and prepared to move out. Precious belongings—pathetic bundles of every size and description—were carefully lashed onto bullocks or shouldered by their owners. Fear filled the faces of every man, woman and child. At a barked command, a column of soldiers with fixed bayonets began the march...The seething chaos of humans and animals compressed and uncoiled slowly, like a huge snake. Flanked by armed soldiers, the great human snake inched forward.⁶⁶

The long walk lasted all night and into the next day with “exhausted men, women, and children, the sick who were hardly able to carry themselves, and invalids on stretchers borne on the shoulders of tired men.”⁶⁷ The hard tropical rains throughout the night transformed the already rugged one-lane trails into muddy quagmires so slippery that marchers relied on one other to keep the animals pulling the carts mobile and from sliding down the steep hills to overturn.⁶⁸ The rain-soaked refugees remember how cold they were as they trod on sharp rocks and thorns and tripped over roots after being forced to go barefoot when their shoes broke or were lost along the sodden trail.⁶⁹ The only way to quench the constant thirst was to lie down next to the rainwater-filled hoof prints and lick the dirty water.⁷⁰

⁶³ Untalan, “The Long Trek to Manenggon.”

⁶⁴ Sanchez, *Uncle Sam, Please Come Back to Guam*, 138.

⁶⁵ Vicenta Borja Rosario in Steffy, “Oral Histories: Manenggon March and Concentration Camp,” 66.

⁶⁶ Ricardo J. Bordallo and C. Sablan Gault, “The Journey to Manenggon,” in *Liberation—Guam Remembers: A Golden Salute for the 50th Anniversary for the Liberation of Guam* (extracted from Governor Bordallo's autobiographical manuscript entitled “Uncle Sam's Mistress,” 1987).

⁶⁷ Carano and Sanchez, *A Complete History of Guam*, 291.

⁶⁸ Santos, “The Long Trek to Manenggon,” Sablan, *My Mental Odyssey*, 155–157.

⁶⁹ Unidentified Manenggon survivor, quoted in Taitano, *Archives and Collective Memory*, 127.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 149.

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The march also exposed the CHamorus to a prolonged and constant US aerial and naval bombardment and strafing. American tracer bullets, flares, and incoming bombs lit up the pitch-black night. Although the thick jungle bordering the narrow paths concealed the movements of the long lines of refugees, the unremitting, deafening explosions, and the fear of being struck by ordinance was terrifying.⁷¹

Worst of all was the brutality of the Japanese guards, armed with bayonets and guns, who relentlessly berated and beat those could not keep up or who left the path to seek shelter from the rain, for food or water, or to rest. As described by Carano and Sanchez, “Now and then the spine-tingling sound of club against flesh and the painful cries of men and women resounded through the line of march as the Japanese guards punished those who fell behind.”⁷² Rosa Flores Leon Guerrero, who was pregnant with her second child and carrying her infant when she walked to Manenggon, recalls: “Everyone was weeping, while at the same time trying to encourage each other. ‘Do not fall out,’ it was repeated, ‘the Japs will kill you.’”⁷³ Friends and family members carried and dragged those who were too exhausted to go on.

Already in poor health from months of hard labor and a near starvation diet, people died on the forced marches to Manenggon. However, no final figures were ever established of CHamoru deaths en route to or at the concentration camp. One death was that of Hannah Torres, protecting her baby daughter, Geraldine Chance Torres Gutierrez, who was told of the tragedy by her aunt:

[T]his soldier, Japanese soldier, came up to my mother and to all the women for them to move faster...he just was shooin them to move faster and then I don’t know why, I don’t know, because my mother looked American or if she stood and looked at the aircraft too long, I don’t know why, she invoked the ire of this one Japanese soldier and he then started out by just using his sword to try to get them to move faster and then he started beating on my mother...my mother was holding me to her chest and bending over to make sure that I was not hit by the sword and I remember my Mama Tita telling me that Japanese soldier was just beating nonstop and he was just venting and just with all his might just beating on my mother and she said that my mother never cried out. She just kept trying to get up every time she fell down and she needed to do this on her own because nobody dare try to help her up because they would for sure be themselves the subject of more beatings...I remember my dad telling us that when he was there with my mother he kept telling my mother, “You’re going to feel better, just hang in there, the Americans are coming.” And he said that somebody earlier that day had given him one Camel cigarette and he showed it to my mother saying, “See they’re here, they’re coming.” So she was—she didn’t even have a coffin when she died. She was wrapped in blankets and a *guafak* with bamboo and she was buried there by a coconut tree by the river.⁷⁴

Finally, as recounted in Carano and Sanchez, “at about 6 in the morning we arrived at the Ilig [Ylig] River. We marched along the trail far into the valley about two miles...And there at Menengon [sic], we were told to build our own camp.”⁷⁵ Over the course of the next few days, other exhausted devastated groups coming off long marches would join those already at the Manenggon Concentration Camp.

⁷¹ Perez, US Congressional Testimony; Sablan, *My Mental Odyssey*, 155–157.

⁷² Carano and Sanchez, *A Complete History of Guam*, 291.

⁷³ Rosa Flores Leon Guerrero in Bates, *An American Shame*.

⁷⁴ Geraldine Chance Torres Gutierrez in Steffy, “Oral Histories: Manenggon March and Concentration Camp,” 72.

⁷⁵ Untalan, “The Long Trek to Manenggon.”

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Life at Manenggon

Like the forced relocation itself, there are no archival records documenting the Manenggon Concentration Camp except oral histories of the lived experience, with the exception of some brief US military written observations of the camp after its abandonment.

The Manenggon Concentration Camp is situated in a narrow, roughly two-square-mile valley formed by the floodplain of the Ylig River and its tributary, the Manenggon, on Guam's southeast coast. The two rivers, both actually streams, meet about a mile inland from the coastline. By mid-July, the number of people packed into the floodplain is estimated to have been at least ten thousand, nearly half of Guam's CHamoru population.⁷⁶ Most of the other remaining CHamorus were held in other concentration camps containing far smaller populations. Some were still held in labor camps, while others hid in caves or the jungle.

The Japanese never prepared the largely barren floodplain at Manenggon with the supplies, housing, or medical and sanitation facilities needed to maintain hundreds, much less thousands, of refugees. Shelter was essential in the pouring rain and torrents of mud; crude huts were hurriedly constructed with posts of *tangantangan* (*Leucaena leucocephala*) and bamboo, roofs and walls of woven coconut leaves, and whatever tarps or blankets had been carried into the valley.⁷⁷ Most huts had no floor, with many people lying on mats of banana leaves or the damp earth, suffering from illness such as lumbago and rheumatism.⁷⁸

The meager food supplies hauled into Manenggon were soon depleted and the only food available was what could be scrounged from the river, any nearby abandoned farmsteads, and the surrounding jungle vegetation, most of which were long since stripped of edibles. What nutrition the camp's inhabitants could find primarily consisted of small shrimp and fish from the streams, remains of corn crops, and rotten papaya, banana, unripe *lemmai* (breadfruit), coconuts, *artis* (*atis*, *Annona squamosa*, sweetsop or custard apple), and root plants.⁷⁹

Children foraged the jungle for food but, with so many thousands inhabiting the same area, the coconut and famine foods of roots and nuts were soon exhausted. As Reverend Father Brigido Arroyo described, "for many, those final days became a struggle for food."⁸⁰ Sixteen-year-old Tomasa Cruz Salas was one of those who "kept looking for food. There was nothing to eat. They picked breadfruit flowers, cut it up and cooked it for the kids. No food. One more week if the Americans didn't come they'd die. Many people would have died."⁸¹

Even what scarce food was available generally had to be eaten raw because when an American plane flew overhead, all fires had to be extinguished. The Japanese policy against building fires was implemented because the smoke would have alerted American military forces of the camp's location.⁸² Without fire, food could not be cooked nor stream water sanitized by boiling. The Ylig and Manenggon streams were the only sources of water

⁷⁶ One of first estimates of the number of people at Manenggon was ten to fifteen thousand, made by US civil affairs officer Kraus, see Charles M. Kraus, Captain, USMCR, "Personal Observations on Civil Affairs Activities in the Guam Operation and Comments and Recommendations Concerning Civil Affairs Organization and Operation in the Marine Corps," (1944), RG #313, Records of Naval Operating Forces, Trust Territory of the Pacific Is., Office of the Deputy High Commissioner, Flag Files "Red 340," General Administrative Files, ca. 1944–1951, NARA. Other estimates have suggested eight to nine thousand (see Palomo, *An Island in Agony*, 190), but no figures are supported by specific evidence or source. No count was taken when the camp was occupied, but a rough estimate can be made by deducting figures for numbers of people in other areas.

⁷⁷ Untalan, "The Long Trek to Manenggon;" Reverend Father Brigido Arroyo, quoted in Victoriano Leon Guerrero, "Families marched to camp; faith stayed strong," *Pacific Daily News*, July 18, 2000.

⁷⁸ Untalan, "The Long Trek to Manenggon;" Unidentified, War Claim Record 2003, in Taitano, *Archives and Collective Memory*, 128; Rosa Flores Leon Guerrero, quoted in Bates, *An American Shame*.

⁷⁹ Santos, "The Long Trek to Manenggon;" Untalan, "The Long Trek to Manenggon."

⁸⁰ Reverend Father Brigido Arroyo, quoted in Guerrero, "Families marched to camp."

⁸¹ Tomasa Cruz Salas, quoted in Steffy, "Oral Histories: Manenggon March and Concentration Camp," 77.

⁸² Dolores Leon Guerrero Francisco, in Yancy, "Results of the interrogation of Dolores Leon Guerrero Francisco," NARA.

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for bathing, cooking, and drinking. With thousands of people using them, the water soon “turned into a cesspool” and became unsanitary.⁸³ Many at Manenggon and the other camps developed dysentery and suffered diarrhea, vomiting, and other illnesses as a result of unsanitary conditions.

Some people lit cooking fires despite the Japanese prohibition. Dolores White Santos, aged twenty-four when held at Manenggon, tells of how this infuriated the Japanese:

[T]he Japanese saw the smoke. The Kumicho was told to get all the women over to the clump of bamboo trees for a meeting. One person was to come to represent each family...All of a sudden my aunt came running back. She was very angry. She said that some people had built fires...The other lady came back and collapsed on the floor of the hut. The women at the meeting had been beaten up by the Japanese with pieces of wood.⁸⁴

Mistreatment by the Japanese was often witnessed by the entire family and those in nearby huts. The humiliation compounded physical wounds already suffered.⁸⁵ Dolores Leon Guerrero Francisco, who later gave testimony concerning Japanese war crimes on Guam, recalls seeing CHamorus at Manenggon “going to have a meeting and they were to receive orders from the Japanese. When all the people came out and lined up instead of giving them any orders they took a bamboo stick and struck many of the natives. There were about 100 that were beaten that were there, and no questions asked.”⁸⁶

The majority of Manenggon’s population was women, children, and the elderly. Many men were still in labor camps, others were taken from the camp at night or for several days at a time to carry Japanese food supplies and ammunition or build defenses, while some CHamoru men hid in the dense jungle and caves to avoid being sent into combat.⁸⁷

Those held in the crowded squalor of the Manenggon camp waited in fear of the unknown terrifying days ahead: might they be massacred by the Japanese soldiers, inadvertently slaughtered in the American bombardment, or abandoned and left to starve to death? Twelve years old when confined at Manenggon, Guadalupe Perez Manglona remembers: “There is nothing really. It’s fear. It’s cold. It’s hungry. You cuddle up like when you go to sleep that you will never wake up and probably it’s better that we don’t wake up and see, every day is fear. Every day the Japanese would come and check us and somebody will be beaten up.”⁸⁸

A principal belief that spread like wildfire through Manenggon and the rest of Guam’s concentration camps was that they were congregated so the Japanese could easily slaughter them all. The fear of death loomed over those at Manenggon because they had heard of massacres of CHamoru men, women, and children in Hagåtña, Fena, Tinta, Faha, and Chagui’an, as well as the recent beheading of the beloved Father Jesus Baza Duenas, one of three CHamoru clergymen on Guam and an outspoken defender of his faith, along with three other CHamorus after days of interrogation and torture. Machine guns in the surrounding ridgelines and the large trenches the

⁸³ Bordallo and Gault, “The Journey to Manenggon”; Reverend Father Brigido Arroyo, quoted in Guerrero, “Families marched to camp.”

⁸⁴ Santos.

⁸⁵ Unidentified, quoted in Lee; Reverend Father Brigido Arroyo, quoted in Guerrero, “Families marched to camp.”

⁸⁶ Francisco, in Yancy, “Results of the interrogation of Dolores Leon Guerrero Francisco,” NARA.

⁸⁷ Untalan, “The Long Trek to Manenggon”; Ronn Ronck, “The Days of Manenggon and the Trail to Freedom; When Guam, GIs Met,” *Pacific Daily News*, July 21, 1973; Unidentified, War Claim Record 2003, in Taitano, *Archives and Collective Memory*, 128.

⁸⁸ Guadalupe Perez Manglona, quoted in Steffy, “Oral Histories: Manenggon March and Concentration Camp,” 74.

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Japanese soldiers demanded the CHamoru excavate (thought to be for a communal grave) were considered a sure sign that the Japanese were planning genocide.⁸⁹

Nine-year-old Josefina Torres Nededog recalled constant prayers, with everyone saying the rosary.⁹⁰ The Japanese threat of killing the entire camp was so paralyzing to the Manenggon detainees that even when the camp was practically unguarded, they were afraid to attempt escape.⁹¹

Evacuation of Manenggon

On July 21, 1944, two years, seven months, and eleven days after Captain McMillin surrendered Guam to the Japanese, US forces landed on the island's southwest beaches, with the 3rd Marine Division coming ashore at Asan and the Army's 77th Infantry Division and 1st Provisional Brigade landing in Agat. After several days of coastal fighting, the Japanese inland line collapsed and the exhausted, disorganized, and desperate Japanese troops retreated onto Guam's northern plateau without hope of support, supplies, or reinforcements. The US military formed two battle fronts and pushed northward to complete island capture, with General Roy S. Geiger announcing the end of organized resistance on Guam on August 10.

The archival records and oral histories are unclear as to how the liberation of Manenggon came about.⁹² There are conflicting statements and uncertainties about when Japanese guards abandoned the camp, as well as when and how CHamorus had contact with the Americans and how American military were involved in the liberation. Oral histories clearly indicate that the US military was involved in this event, and while some CHamoru may have left the Manenggon camp after Japanese guards left, most did not do so until there was contact with the Americans. Those at Manenggon knew that the Americans were attacking the island, but they had no knowledge of the status of the battle.

As Japanese soldier stragglers remained hidden throughout the island until well after it was secured, it is not clear when the Manenggon guards abandoned their posts. In parts of the sprawling Manenggon camp ten-year-old Bert Unpingco recalled "one day, many of the Japanese soldiers suddenly vanished."⁹³ In possibly another section of the camp, the educator Dr. Sanchez remembered that an American patrol "caught Japanese guards by surprise and shot them as they attempted to run."⁹⁴

On July 29, a US Army patrol (Baker Company) of the Army's 77th Infantry Division encountered a small group of CHamoru at the mouth of the Ylig River in the Manenggon valley outside the concentration camp. They may have come upon some of the adventurous and brave youth who would sneak out of camp to ascertain what was going on and to gather food. Agueda Iglesias Johnston, principal of George Washington High School, tells of the youth returning to camp to "tell us the Americans had landed but we had heard that so often in the past two years that we didn't believe it. We finally were convinced when some of the boys came back to camp with Lucky Strikes and Chesterfield cigarettes. We knew then that it was true."⁹⁵

⁸⁹ Cynthia Torres, quoted in Palomo; Josefina Torres Nededog, quoted in Steffy, "Oral Histories: Manenggon March and Concentration Camp."

⁹⁰ Steffy, "Oral Histories: Manenggon March and Concentration Camp," 75.

⁹¹ Ronck, "The Days of Manenggon."

⁹² Uncertainty in historical accounts about this point is because Manenggon is confused with other camps.

⁹³ Peiper, "Guam Survivor Recalls WWII Forced March."

⁹⁴ Sanchez, *Uncle Sam, Please Come Back to Guam*, 149.

⁹⁵ Larry McManus, "When the Japs Held Guam," *Yank Magazine*, September 22, 1944.

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With knowledge that Americans were near, the possibility of surviving and being rescued became a reality. Starved, ill, and many on the verge of death, the CHamorus welcomed the arrival of the US Marines as a godsend and were overwhelmed with joy. Sixteen-year-old Ricardo J. Bordallo described the rescue:

“Hurry! The Americans are here!” We ran down the hillside and into the frenzy in camp. People were laughing and crying, hugging and kissing, shouting and jumping, dancing and singing. I worked my way into the densest part of the crowd and found Dad. Together, we elbowed our way toward nine dumbfounded American soldiers. The Americans had not expected such a reception or so large a crowd. One of the soldiers was shouting and holding his rifle above the surging mob. “Follow” was all anyone heard. The word spread quickly: follow the Americans. Within a few minutes, hundreds of people fell into line and followed obediently behind the dazed Americans.⁹⁶

Except a very few sick and aged who could not be carried, and relatives who remained behind to care for them, the Manenggon survivors followed the Marines to their camp on Mt. Tenjo. From there, they walked to Piti where waiting trucks carried them to Agat and nearby civilian refugee camps where, under the care of the US Marine Civil Affairs Operations, they were housed in tents and given food and medical attention. Maria Catalina Palomo Perez, a survivor of the Japanese occupation of Guam, provided testimony to the US Congress of the heartfelt elation felt by the CHamoru in being liberated from the Japanese: “Freed at last! Delivered from a future of slavery. All the heartaches and sufferings are gone; only memories, bitter and sweet, are left behind.... What a difference our march to freedom from our march to the concentration camp. The steps were lively, the air was filled with laughter.”⁹⁷

In no other official records of the 77th is there reference to a concentration camp or a large group of CHamorus at Manenggon or on the Ylig River or of liberating such a group.⁹⁸ On August 1, 1944, as the Battle of Guam continued, Civil Affairs officer Captain Charles Kraus visited the abandoned Manenggon camp and made the first US estimate of the number of people who had been there as numbering ten to fifteen thousand. He noted many huts remaining, most without any flooring.⁹⁹ Kraus was forced to establish an expedient refugee camp on site for about two thousand CHamoru fleeing the Talofofu Concentration Camp south of Manenggon. To make the US refugee camp, named Camp Yona, livable, it was necessary to dig numerous drainage ditches.¹⁰⁰

End of Two and Half Years of War

After the death of approximately 1,880 American forces, roughly 18,000 Japanese soldiers, and 1,170 CHamorus as well as the physical and psychological casualties of thirty-two months of international warfare on Guam, the island once again became a US military forward base with the objective of providing support for the final phase of the War in the Pacific. The CHamoru of Guam were again American nationals under US Navy administration.

Post-invasion medical reports from US military doctors described CHamoru refugees (with those held at Manenggon not specifically identified) as suffering from starvation and afflicted with diseases such as

⁹⁶ Bordallo and Gault, “The Journey to Manenggon.”

⁹⁷ Perez, US Congressional Testimony.

⁹⁸ There is record that another patrol of the 77th was involved in the August 2 liberation of the people who had been at Asinan, see *Ours to Hold High* (77th Infantry Division Assn., 1947), 84. It is possible that some secondary accounts could have confused or conflated the two liberations, failing to identify Manenggon, but this does not explain the absence of primary military archival data about the Manenggon liberation.

⁹⁹ Kraus, “Personal Observations on Civil Affairs Activities,” 30-31.

¹⁰⁰ No evidence of these drainage ditches remains.

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tuberculosis and yaws (treponematoses), compounded by malnutrition, exhaustion, and extreme wet living conditions. Medical records from a 1944 US III Amphibious Corps Guam Operation report that infants and young children

suffered especially severely at this time.... By the time our troops landed on the island, many infants had reached a pitiful state of malnutrition and presented the picture of extreme marasmus. Some babies thus died of slow starvation, and others are likely to be permanently stunted. The vast majority of infants showed obvious malnutrition, with signs of protein and vitamin deficiency. Many were so weak they could not turn their heads. This infant malnutrition may well prove to be the most serious adverse effect of the Japanese occupation on the civilian populace of Guam.¹⁰¹

The battle-scarred island was quickly transformed into a massive military supply depot and communications and transportation hub with a huge naval base, army and navy airfields, munitions magazines, and all related support. Thousands of US military personnel as well as civilian laborers (most from the Philippines) poured onto the island. US forces, assisted by CHamoru in the Local Security Patrol Force and later the Guam police patrol, undertook considerable reconnaissance efforts to capture the thousands of Japanese soldiers refusing to surrender and remaining hidden within Guam's jungles.¹⁰² The Japanese Empire formally surrendered to US forces on September 2, 1945, on the deck of the battleship *USS Missouri* (BB-63).

Place as Ethnic Narrative: Manenggon as a CHamoru Place of Survival, Culmination, and Recognition

The thirty-two months encompassing the Japanese invasion and occupation and the Battle of Guam caused staggering emotional and psychological trauma to the CHamoru of Guam. The experience continues to have an indelible impact in the island's political, economic, and social life. Vicente Tomás Garrido ("Ben") Blaz, a Manenggon survivor who became a Brigadier General in the US Marine Corps as well as Guam Delegate to the US House of Representatives (1993-2003), viewed wartime events on Guam "as the benchmark, the road junction, and the springboard for what we do for many years to come."¹⁰³ Blaz continued, saying that beyond the ongoing tangible developments lies the deeply human experience of those who survived the Japanese occupation and bore witness to:

the manifestation and magnificence of the Chamorro spirit....We learned: to be tolerant when conditions were intolerable; to be generous when there was so little to give; to be patient when our deepest desire was to end our bondage; to be ourselves, preserving our language and culture while the enemy was trying to impose his on us....We clearly saw and keenly appreciated the basic choices of life, between freedom and bondage; justice and oppression; hope and despair; surviving and perishing.¹⁰⁴

In many narratives, the experience of World War II on Guam, and particularly the Manenggon Concentration Camp, is subservient to a larger dialogue concerning the US military liberation of Guam and resultant gratitude

¹⁰¹ III Phib Corps Guam Operation, "Medical Intelligence Report of Guam Operation" (Special Action Report), Appendix B (1944), RG #127 (Marines/Geographic Area Files), Records of the United States Marine Corps; Records relating to the United States Marine Corps Operations in World War II, Guam, on file with NARA. See also Southern Landing Force (Task Group 56.2) in the Field and W. J. Scheyer, "III Phib Corps Report on Guam Operation Personnel" (August 1944), on file with Ike Skelton Combined Arms Research Library, Fort Leavenworth, KS. See related suite of III Phib Corps Guam Operation reports held in this collection.

¹⁰² Small skirmishes and confrontations occurred throughout Guam long after it was declared secure, with Japanese holdouts tracked down through September 1945 and the last straggler discovered in 1972. See Dominica Tolentino, "WWII: Sgt. Shoichi Yokoi, Last Straggler on Guam," Guampedia, <https://www.guampedia.com/wwii-sgt-shoichi-yokoi-last-straggler-on-guam/>.

¹⁰³ Blaz, "Chamorros yearn for freedom."

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

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and loyalty through patriotism to the liberators.¹⁰⁵ While true, this also largely omits the long-term perspective of the survivors and neglects three profound themes: the strength and resilience that CHamorus displayed amid wartime suffering and deprivation; the maintenance of CHamoru cultural identity; and the contested political relationships resulting from the US military victory in 1944.

Gratitude extended to the American soldiers for their return to Guam remains an integral component of the Manenggon story, but it is not the primary theme. As Manenggon survivor, educator, historian, and statesman Dr. Pedro Sanchez explained:

It was easy—and true, of course—to say that loyalty to America kept the Guamanians strong during the occupation. But the truth went deeper than that. Indeed, that sense of loyalty reflected the inner strength of the people—strength based upon deep religious faith and cultural tradition. It was the kind of ancient strength which helped the Chamorros survive the ages.¹⁰⁶

This integral role of CHamorus in their own destiny was eloquently stated by Dr. Robert A. Underwood, Guam Delegate to the US House of Representatives and President of the University of Guam (2008-2018), at the 1994 unveiling of the Asan Bay Overlook Memorial Wall of Names in the War in the Pacific National Historical Park.¹⁰⁷

This park, this wall, stands as a great testimony to the courage, heroism and sacrifices of two groups of people who came together in the name of freedom some 50 years ago—one was in uniform and the other was in rags; one used weapons of war and the other used tools for survival; one came in from the sea and the other came down from the hills; one left their families behind and the other tried to keep their families with them; and one liberated the island from without while the other liberated island from within.¹⁰⁸

Within this context, the forced marches to and confinement in the Manenggon Concentration Camp are the culminating episodes of wartime dislocation, deprivation, subjugation, and brutality endured by the CHamorus during the Japanese occupation of their home. For some, these ultimate acts defined fear, cruelty, and uncertainty. Rosa Flores Leon Guerrero, who was seven months pregnant and had a ten-month-old infant when she made the long march to Manenggon, states: “I had been sheltered from most of the horrors of the war, but now I would become part of those horrors. I had heard of the tortures, executions, and rapes. But I had yet to actually see any.”¹⁰⁹

Despite lasting only a few weeks, the long march and confinement in Manenggon represents the pinnacle of the CHamoru wartime experience.¹¹⁰ While many CHamoru have given testimony about the significance of

¹⁰⁵ Vicente M. Diaz, “Deliberating Liberation Day: Identity, History, Memory and War on Guam,” in T. Fujitani, G. White, Yoneyama, eds., *Perilous Memories: The Asia Pacific Wars*, 155-180 (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001); Taitano, *Archives and Collective Memory*; Camacho, *Cultures of Commemoration*; Kuper, *Kontra I Peligru*.

¹⁰⁶ Sanchez, *Uncle Sam, Please Come Back to Guam*, 160.

¹⁰⁷ The Memorial Wall of Names contains the names of 1,880 US servicemen who died in the 1941 defense of Guam and in the retaking of the island from Japan in 1944, along with the names of the 1,170 people of Guam who died and the 14,721 who suffered the atrocities of war. The list of names is not inclusive of all roughly 22,000 CHamoru on island during the invasion, occupation, and liberation of Guam, but of those collected in 1995 and 2008.

¹⁰⁸ Robert A. Underwood, National Park Memorial Wall Dedication, July 19, 1994, Guam, reproduced in *World War II Memorial to the People of Guam: Meaning and Purpose*, available at https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/npswapa/extContent/wapa/memorial_wall/meaning.htm.

¹⁰⁹ Bates, *An American Shame*.

¹¹⁰ Carano and Sanchez, *A Complete History of Guam*, 292.

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Manenggon, the words of one survivor may be used as an eloquent example expressing this common feeling. Brigadier General Ben Blaz stated: “For me, Manenggon has become a symbol. It means more than the valley that held one of the concentration camps....It was far more than our forced march to the camps and the privations we suffered in them....It represents a culmination of horrors that built over the expanse of the occupation.”¹¹¹

To CHamoru, surviving the marches and concentration camps is “one of the most important events of our contemporary history that defines what it means to be Chamorro.”¹¹² It is the common thread running through the memories of Guam’s survivors. Manenggon represents unrelenting fear and uncertainty as the island was bombed and strafed in the final months of the occupation, the forced marches in the rain and dark, and the lifting of the heavy burden when prayers were answered and American forces returned.

In part, the number of people (about half of the CHamoru population) detained at Manenggon produces an intergenerational bond and common memory from which to make sense of, filter, and come to terms with the thirty-two months of forced labor, family separation, hunger, and brutality. Amidst it all, survivors most commonly describe the marches to and detainment at Manenggon as their worst experiences of the war.

Within CHamoru narratives, in the dark period of Japanese occupation, they were the agent of their own survival. This period encompasses narratives of negotiations for survival, of the strength of the human spirit and faith in God, of the struggle for freedom, and the importance of family and benevolence of the larger community. To the CHamoru, the Manenggon Concentration Camp has long been a place reaffirming a sense of community and shared past, and in a sense, provides a source of strength and inspiration. To Dr. Underwood, the heroic experiences of the CHamoru during the Japanese occupation are one:

in which they can all take pride. They were placed in a predicament not of their own making, but they met the challenge. They survived the ordeal, and became stronger for it. Within the confines of that pride as a people, there is no mention of the war as a struggle between two great powers trying to exert their dominance over the Pacific and its people.¹¹³

In recent decades, as survivors and their offspring began to share their painful experiences, the Manenggon Concentration Camp assumes its central place in the CHamoru commemoration of their experiences as proud survivors who endured the tyranny of Japanese occupation to triumph over hardship. Since 2004, with the opening of the Manenggon Memorial Peace Park, an annual commemorative ceremony is held at the site of the Manenggon Concentration Camp.¹¹⁴ The gathering seeks to remember, reaffirm, celebrate, and honor the historic sacrifices and resilience of those CHamorus who endured and survived the Japanese occupation, forced marches, and internment.

In the words of Guam Senators Benjamin J.F. Cruz and Tina Rose Muña Barnes, “Though much of the trail toward Manenggon thrives today with the footsteps of generations birthed by grateful survivors, the Manenggon valley remains for us a solemn reminder of a world at war and the power of the human spirit.”¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ Blaz, *Bisita Guam*, 147.

¹¹² Taitano, *Archives and Collective Memory*, 3.

¹¹³ Robert A. Underwood, “Red, Whitewash and Blue: Painting over the Chamorro Experience,” *Islander, Pacific Sunday News*, July 17, 1977, 7.

¹¹⁴ Although on a far smaller scale, annual visits and ceremonies are also held at the Fena, Tinta, Faha, and Chagui’an atrocity sites.

¹¹⁵ Benjamin J.F. Cruz and Tina Rose Muña Barnes, Letter from the Manenggon Foundation to Jolie Liston, RE: Support of the Manenggon Memorial Site's Nomination to the US National Registry of Historic Places, dated October 5, 2015.

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COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

As a comparative overview in the evaluation of the national significance of Manenggon, the following discusses other historic properties associated with: 1) Japanese attack and occupation of inhabited US territories during World War II; 2) Japanese wartime treatment of native peoples elsewhere in Micronesia who, unlike the Chamoru of Guam, had been under Japan's control since World War I; and 3) Japanese wartime atrocities on Guam.

JAPANESE-OCCUPIED AMERICAN TERRITORIES IN THE PACIFIC WAR

The historic importance of the Chamoru of Guam is emphasized in this NHL nomination, consistent with a focus on Pacific Islanders as integral to the American story as expressed in the 2018 *Finding a Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study*.¹¹⁶ Chamorus are one of the many peoples representing the multi-cultural heritage of the United States. This emphasis is warranted given the fact that many Americans in the continental US overlook the fact that Guam has been US soil since 1899 and that the Chamoru are an ethnic group of the American nation. As 2017 saw international concern over the North Korean missile program and plans to test near Guam, many mainland US news agencies ran stories explaining where Guam is and that its residents are American.¹¹⁷

During World War II, Japanese forces occupied four locations on American soil (excluding other locations were attacked, but not occupied): Guam, the Aleutian Islands off the coast of Alaska, Wake Island, and the Philippines. Among these, native inhabitants who were American resided on Guam, the Aleutians, and the Philippines. Each locale was distinct, and the uniqueness of Guam is discussed below.

WAKE ISLAND NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK¹¹⁸

Of the four places noted above, Wake Island or Wake Atoll is the only one that did not have, and never had, an Indigenous population. This extremely isolated coral atoll with minimal resources for human subsistence was claimed by the US in 1898, with formal possession established in 1899. Like Guam and Midway Atoll, Wake was placed under control of the US Navy for its strategic position in the Pacific, and military installation was eventually initiated. Coinciding with the attack on Pearl Harbor (December 8, 1941, on Wake, due to the time difference), the Japanese executed air strikes against the island's as yet unfinished US airfield and submarine base.

The heroic defense by the ill-equipped US Marines lasted until Commander Winfield S. Cunningham, Officer in Charge, Naval Activities, Wake Island, was forced to surrender on December 23, 1941. The majority of military personnel and civilian construction workers were taken to Japanese prison camps on January 12, 1942, while ninety-eight civilians were retained for labor. One of these men was executed for theft, and on December 7, 1943, the other ninety-seven were executed under orders of the Japanese commander, Captain Shigematsu Sakaibara. The record is unclear as to why the men were murdered, but the post-war testimony of Sakaibara

¹¹⁶ Franklin Odo, ed., *Finding a Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study* (Washington, DC: National Historic Landmarks Program, National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 2017).

¹¹⁷ Neil Weare and Rodney Cruz, "Guam, America's Forgotten Front Line." *New York Times*, August 14, 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/14/opinion/guam-north-korea-american-ally-.html>.

¹¹⁸ Summarized from Samuel Elliot Morison, *The Rising Sun in the Pacific: 1931-April 1942. Volume III. History of United States Naval Operations in World War II* (Edison, NJ: Castle Books, 1951), 222-254; Timothy Maga, "'Away from Tokyo:' the Pacific Islands War Crimes Trials, 1945-1949," *The Journal of Pacific History* 36, no. 1 (2001): 37-50; Bill Sloan, *Given up for Dead: America's Historic Stand at Wake Island* (New York: Bantam Books, 2003); and Bonita Gilbert, *Building for War: The Epic Saga of the Civilian Contractors and Marines of Wake Island in World War II* (Havertown, PA: Casemate Publishers, 2012). See also Erwin N. Thompson, *Wake Island National Historic Landmark Nomination Form* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 1984).

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suggests at least in part it was because they were no longer needed for labor and acted as a drain on the island's limited food supply.

The US did not attempt to retake Wake, which became isolated from Japanese support and militarily inconsequential to the US wartime strategy. Captain Sakaibara surrendered to a US contingent on September 4, 1945. Subsequently Sakaibara was charged with war crimes, tried by the US Navy War Crime Tribunal on Guam, and convicted and hanged for the massacre of the ninety-seven American civilians. Forty-five of the civilian laborers executed on Wake Island were native CHamoru from Guam.¹¹⁹ Wake Island National Historic Landmark was designated on September 16, 1985, and includes the atoll comprising Peale, Wilkes, and Wake islands for the period of significance 1941 to 1945.

ALEUTIAN ISLANDS WORLD WAR II NATIONAL HISTORIC AREA¹²⁰

Named after its native Aleut peoples, the Aleutian chain of fourteen large volcanic islands and fifty-five smaller islands stretches some 1,100 miles westward from the Alaska Peninsula to the island of Attu. The islands are part of the American Alaskan purchase from Russia in 1867 and were designated an incorporated, organized US territory in 1912. Alaska became a US state in 1959. Per the Organic Act of Alaska (August 24, 1912), US citizenship was granted to white and white-mixed males. The First Alaska Territorial Legislature in turn granted non-native women the right to vote as its first act, signed into law by the Governor of Alaska Territory on March 21, 1913. Although the Alaska Territorial Legislature extended Alaska citizenship to Alaska Native people in 1915, US citizenship did not universally extend to native peoples until passage of the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924.

Although the Aleutian Island chain was not attacked concurrently with Hawai'i or Guam, US military commanders had long considered the possibility that Japan might strategically target the Aleutians in order to stage an invasion of the Alaskan peninsula and US mainland. With the December 7-8, 1941, attacks, this possibility seemed plausible, but the US military ultimately elected not to defend the western end of the island chain. US civilian and military officials debated whether the Aleuts should be evacuated but took no action until May and early June 1942 when an incomplete and unsuccessful effort was made to evacuate Attu, vulnerable as the westernmost occupied island. On June 6-7, Japanese forces attacked and captured the islands of Attu and nearby Kiska. On Attu, forty Aleuts and a non-Aleut couple in a small village were taken prisoner.¹²¹ No Aleuts were present on Kiska, but eleven US sailors at the weather station were taken as POWs.

Oral histories reveal that the Aleuts of Attu village were briefly confined to their homes before being allowed to resume basic subsistence activities, in part to provide fish to the Japanese as they constructed their garrison. Four months later, in September 1942, the Japanese military shifted its Attu forces to Kiska. The Japanese burned residents' homes and removed the Aleuts to Otaru, Japan, on the northern island of Hokkaido. At Otaru, the Aleut were forced to labor at a clay pit. Over time, with poor food and limited medical attention, the

¹¹⁹ Maga, "“Away from Tokyo;”" Timothy Maga, *Judgement at Tokyo: The Japanese War Crimes Trials* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 105; Gilbert, *Building for War*.

¹²⁰ Summarized from Ryan Howard Madden, *An Enforced Odyssey: The Relocation and Internment of Aleuts During World War II* (PhD diss., University of New Hampshire, 1993); Claus M. Naske and Harman E. Slotnick, *Alaska: A History of the 49th State* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 124; Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC), *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians*, with new foreword by Tetsuden Kashima (The Civil Liberties Public Education Fund and University of Washington Press, 1993; originally published by US Government Printing Office, 1982 and 1983 [two volumes]); and Galen Ruge Perras, *Stepping Stones to Nowhere: The Aleutian Islands, Alaska, and American Military Strategy, 1867-1945* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2003), 82.

¹²¹ References differ about the number of individuals at Kiska and Attu. The primary source for the information cited is CWRIC, *Personal Justice Denied*.

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prisoners suffered from tuberculosis and increasing malnutrition and starvation; ultimately, approximately half died from disease and deteriorated living conditions. About twenty survivors were repatriated in September 1945, but not allowed to resettle Attu for reasons never made clear.¹²²

The Japanese occupations of Guam and Attu both saw the Japanese military confront what to do with captured native populations.¹²³ The specific geopolitical situations of each island, however, predicated a dramatic difference in Japanese course of action and subsequent management of residents. Guam was attacked in order to incorporate the island and its people into the Micronesian possessions of the Empire—a final piece to complete an eastern defensive line of island extending from the Bonins to Palau.¹²⁴ Attu and Kiska, meanwhile, served not only as the farthest extent of the Japanese attempted expansion into the northern Pacific, but as a defensive manoeuvre designed to keep the US from developing a base for attack on Japan. On Guam, the initial Japanese plan to acculturate the native CHamoru as third-class citizens of the larger imperialist Greater East Asian Co-Prosperty Sphere echoed the early war circumstance wherein the Japanese military entertained little possibility that they would ever have to defend the island or its inhabitants against American attack. As the Japanese position in the war collapsed, the CHamoru were increasingly seen as a brute work force and perceived threat in the upcoming defense of Guam. By last-minute actions the Japanese forced the CHamoru into concentration camps well removed from the developing defensive lines.

From the outset, Attu was targeted for development as a Japanese military base. As the Aleuts were few in number, they were easily removed to their Japanese prison.¹²⁵ The Japanese returned to Attu in October 1942 to continue garrison construction. On May 11, 1943, US and Canadian forces attacked and captured Attu after two weeks of intense fighting.¹²⁶ The now uninhabited Attu Battlefield and US Army and Navy Airfields on Attu National Historic Landmark was designated on February 4, 1985.¹²⁷ The Japanese Occupation Site Kiska Island National Historic Landmark was designated the same day. There, the Japanese remained from June 1942 to July 1943, their stealth desertion proving an embarrassment to the huge invading American force a short time later. Created in 1996, the Aleutian Islands World War II National Historic Area, managed by the National Park Service, promotes education and interpretation of this history broadly.

¹²² CWRIC, *Personal Justice Denied*, 366; John Haile Chloe, *Attu: The Forgotten Battle* (Washington DC: National Park Service, Government Printing Office, 2017), 127.

¹²³ For the Aleuts in the remainder of Aleutian Island chain, another significant comparison were the over 800 Aleuts evacuated from the islands by the Americans immediately after the attacks on Kiska and Attu. This population was sent to mainland Alaska and placed in refugee camps under conditions that eventually came to be recognized as equivalent to the Japanese American Confinement Sites on the mainland US. This equivalence is expressed in the CWRIC report, *Personal Justice Denied*, in which Part I discusses “Nisei and Issei” and Part II “The Aleuts.” Also see Madden, *An Enforced Odyssey*.

¹²⁴ Miller, *War Plan Orange*, Map 17, 1. The first island defensive line ran through Wake and the Marshall Islands.

¹²⁵ Another factor regarding treatment of native peoples was the great difference in population size: some twenty thousand CHamoru on the 210-square-mile island of Guam as compared to forty-two Aleuts on the 344 square-mile Attu.

¹²⁶ Morison, *The Rising Sun in the Pacific*, 87; Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 169.; Erwin N. Thompson, *Attu Battlefield and U.S. Army and Navy Airfields on Attu* National Historic Landmark Nomination Form (Washington, DC: National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 1984)

¹²⁷ “Alaska Coast Guard says goodbye to its last LORAN station,”

<https://web.archive.org/web/20170625091725/http://archive.kucb.org/news/article/alaska-coast-guard-says-goodbye-to-its-last-loran-station/>. See also Erwin N. Thompson, *Japanese Occupation Site, Kiska Island* National Historic Landmark Nomination Form (Washington, DC: National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 1984).

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THE PHILIPPINES¹²⁸

The Philippine islands comprised a US commonwealth when attacked and occupied by the Japanese in the December 1941 widespread assault on US, British, and Dutch colonial possessions in the Pacific.¹²⁹ Comparison of the treatment of native peoples of the Philippines and Guam must consider size and identity of those populations, political status, and history of relationships with the United States. Guam is a 210-square-mile island with a single Indigenous population, the CHamoru, numbering about 22,000 in 1941. The Philippine Islands are an expansive archipelago of more than 7,500 islands with a land area of some 116,000 square miles, stretching over nearly 1,000 miles north to south. There are about 150 native languages, dialects, and cultural groups, with a population of more than sixteen million people in 1941.¹³⁰

Although the Philippines and Guam were both formally acquired by the US via the 1898 Treaty of Paris, by 1941 their political relationships with the US differed significantly. Guam was established as US Naval Station Guam and remained so in 1941, with native CHamoru subject to the authority of the base commander. By 1941, the Philippine Islands had become a formal US commonwealth with elements of self-governance and scheduled for independence in 1946.¹³¹ When the CHamoru of Guam came under US control, they sought citizenship and some degree of self-governance, frequently petitioning for the same unsuccessfully but without violence. The Philippines actively sought independence and continuation of the revolutionary First Philippine Republic, established in 1899 in protest against Spanish rule. Denial of that independence resulted in the Philippine-American War, which formally ended in 1902, but with continuing rebellion against the US for a long period afterwards. Subsequently, as US Congress ignored CHamoru pleas for citizenship, it passed a number of bills giving the Philippines increasing freedom, including the 1916 Jones Act and culminating in the 1934 Tydings-McDuffie Act establishing the Commonwealth of the Philippines, initiating the transition to national independence. By contrast to the CHamoru on Guam, the native population of the Philippines had rebelled against American rule and would do so against the Japanese as well.

In the Philippines, the Japanese army (rather than its navy as on Guam) was responsible for the management of the native population. The army's concern was military control, not acculturation, which the Japanese recognized as an impossible task given the vastness of the region.¹³² Control was exercised in cooperation with a Filipino Executive Commission, replaced in September 1943 by a so-called "independent Philippine Republic."¹³³ As in other occupied regions, a great many native people were used as labor, with men brutalized and many women forced into brothels. At the same time, the size of the country and population and its cultural diversity were such that the Japanese were never able to establish effective control over the whole archipelago. Filipino rebellion and guerrilla warfare against the Japanese was continuous. By mid-1944, as the Americans prepared an assault to re-take the Philippines, only one quarter of the forty-eight provinces were under effective

¹²⁸ Summarized from Theodore Friend, *Between Two Empires: The Ordeal of the Philippines* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965); Ronald E. Dolan, *Philippines: A Country Study* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office for the Library of Congress, 1991); C.D. McFarland, "Subgrouping and Number of Philippine Languages," *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* 25 (1994): 1-2; M. Paul Lewis and Gary F. Simons, eds., *Ethnologue: Languages of the World* 18th ed. (SIL International, 2015); and James M. Scott, *Rampage: MacArthur, Yamashita, and the Battle of Manila* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2018).

¹²⁹ Because of their political emergence from commonwealth to sovereign nation, the Philippines are sometimes inappropriately excluded from the category of "American possession" in discussions of the Japanese attacks. Kathleen M. Nadeau, *The History of the Philippines*, *The Greenwood History of Modern Nations* (Santa Barbara: Greenwood Press, 2008), 20.

¹³⁰ Numbers vary according to classification systems.

¹³¹ Villazor, "American Nationals and Interstitial Citizenship," 1716.

¹³² P.N. Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), 160; Daniel B. Schirmer and Stephen Roskamm Shalom, *The Philippines Reader: A History of Colonialism, Neocolonialism, Dictatorship, and Resistance* (Boston: South End Press, 1987), 70-75.

¹³³ "Philippines History: World War II," Britannica Online, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Philippines/The-period-of-U-S-influence>.

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Japanese control.¹³⁴ During their occupation, Japanese leadership were responsible for war crimes, including the Manila Massacre of an estimated 100,000 persons in February 1945, and maintained prisons for Filipino insurgents.

Wartime Treatment of Other Micronesian Indigenous Populations

Critical to the comparison of wartime treatment of Indigenous inhabitants in the rest of the Marianas and Micronesia is understanding that the US territory of Guam was the only island in Micronesia not held by the Japanese after 1914. In the first four decades of the twentieth century the CHamoru of Guam were exposed to English and American society as American nationals, while other Micronesian islanders experienced Japanese culture. A part of the planned Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, Indigenous inhabitants of Micronesia were considered third-class citizens, subservient to and displaced by thousands of Japanese administrators (first-class citizens) and Okinawan and Korean conscripted laborers (second-class citizens) emigrating to establish an economy based on agricultural plantations, fishing, and mining. Nonetheless, after nearly two generations of Japanese rule, Micronesians largely assimilated. In fact, Saipanese CHamoru were brought to Guam as policemen and interpreters as part of the Japanese effort to control the Guamanian CHamoru.¹³⁵

In the last year of World War II in the Pacific, when the Japanese Imperial Army recognized imminent defeat and invasion was at hand, Japanese organizational efficiency and social control collapsed and an atmosphere of fear, panic, and chaos reigned.¹³⁶ During this terrifying period, native islanders suffered gruesome atrocities perpetrated by Japanese military forces, including rape, torture, and random executions.¹³⁷ On Chuuk, some seventy native women, already forced into prostitution by their captors, were mercilessly gunned down.¹³⁸ On Nauru, thirty-nine persons affected by Hansen's disease were herded aboard a naval ship, ostensibly bound for safety on Pohnpei, but intentionally shelled, with those attempting to escape the doomed vessel shot to death.¹³⁹ The significant difference between these atrocities and those on Guam is that they were relatively isolated incidents that occurred as Japanese soldiers became increasingly brutal to "third-class" citizens competing for increasingly scarce resources in the final chaotic months.

There had been little success in the short-term Japanese effort to acculturate the CHamoru of Guam and thus, as war conditions deteriorated, they were "treated with suspicion."¹⁴⁰ At least 1,170 CHamoru died on Guam during the thirty-two months of the Japanese occupation and American recapture of the island, with thousands more suffering debilitating physical and psychological harm. Some of the numbered dead were casualties of war

¹³⁴ Larry S. Schmidt, *American Involvement in the Filipino Resistance Movement on Mindanao During the Japanese Occupation, 1942–1945* (master's thesis, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 1982), 76; Ronald E. Dolan, *Philippines: A Country Study* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office for the Library of Congress, 1991), 48.

¹³⁵ Higuchi, *The Japanese Administration of Guam*, 66–67, 79; Petty, *Saipan: Oral Histories of the Pacific War*; Diego, "Complete History of My Life During the Japanese Administration," NARA.

¹³⁶ S. Ineaga, *The Pacific War 1931–1945: A Critical Perspective on Japan's Role in World War II by a Leading Japanese Scholar* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978); John W. Dower, *War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986).

¹³⁷ Mamara and Kaiuea, "Awakening: The Gods at War in the Atolls," in S.S. Talu, ed., *Kiribati: Aspects of History* (Tarawa, Kiribati: Ministry of Training, Education, and Culture, Tarawa, 1979), 86–97.
1979; White and Lindstrom, ed., *The Pacific Theater*; Poyer et al., *The Typhoon of War*; S. Falgout, L. Poyer, and L.M. Carucci, *Memories of War: Micronesians in the Pacific War* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007).

¹³⁸ G. Hicks, *The Comfort Women: Japan's Brutal Regime of Enforced Prostitution in the Second World War* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1995).

¹³⁹ Y. Tanaka, "Japanese Atrocities on Nauru during the Pacific War: The Murder of Australians, the Massacre of Lepers and the Ethnocide of Nauruans," *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 45, no. 2, (November 8, 2010).

¹⁴⁰ Camacho, *Cultures of Commemoration*.

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or those who died of old age, while the fate of others was a direct result of beatings, torture, and other injustices inflicted by Japanese soldiers.

With the establishment of a military strategy island-hopping across the Pacific, American forces bypassed Micronesian islands such as Pohnpei, Chuuk, Babeldaob, Palau, Rota, the Mariana Islands, and Yap. Although neutralized by intense, often continuous air bombardment, there was no land invasion of the bypassed islands. The suffering of Indigenous inhabitants and abandoned Japanese forces on these islands was on a different scale from those subjected to land battles, such as Guam. Cut off from supplies and support from the Japanese Empire and ignored by American forces locked in battle elsewhere, Micronesians and Japanese were increasingly concerned with mere survival. They became increasingly vulnerable to the ravages of malnutrition and disease as the months turned into a year or more.

Other than those on Guam, there are no known Japanese concentration camps for Indigenous inhabitants in Micronesia. Pockets of local populations were relocated with some frequency during the long forty years of Japanese administration of Micronesia, but they retained their freedom. Relocations occurred long before the war started in response to inhabitants being in the way of Japanese development. On Rota in 1933, Songsong village's CHamoru residents were relocated to Tatachog so that the growing Japanese population could remain in the commercial center. Islanders were also relocated to prepare military defenses. In 1939, most of the CHamoru and Carolinian population of Tinian was forcibly removed to Rota to make way for construction of Ushi Airfield. During the military development of Ngerkebesang in about 1935, Palauans were forced to sell their land and move to other areas of the island. Also on Palau, in the summer of 1944 Japanese forces began relocating most of Peleliu and Angaur's native inhabitants to northern Babeldaob to leave the small islands free for military build-up.

When the US military began aerial and naval bombardment of Japanese-held islands other than Guam, Indigenous islanders as well as the civilian Asian population were left to fend for themselves. Civilians on Babeldaob, Palau, sought shelter from air raids by moving out of coastal villages into concentrated areas of simple huts camouflaged by the jungle, natural caves, or pits and trenches dug into hillsides. On June 12, 1944, when the US military began bombarding Saipan, the Indigenous population sought shelter in caves and water cisterns. Only on Guam, however, was the native population forcibly marched to concentration camps and their movements restricted.

Other Concentration Camps and Atrocity Sites on Guam

In mid-June 1944, the US military launched its ground assault against Saipan, destroyed the Japanese carrier fleet in the Battle of the Philippine Sea, established a submarine blockade of Guam, and initiated pre-invasion bombing of that island. The Japanese military on Guam found itself in a deteriorating and chaotic situation with two major consequences for the CHamoru. The first was the disorganized, forced mass relocation to Manenggon and several smaller camps and temporary settlements. The second was a series of desperate actions against the CHamoru by the Japanese that can only be characterized as atrocities, some committed by military order, some by rogue troops.

OTHER CONCENTRATION CAMPS ON GUAM

The chaotic period of CHamoru mass relocation is poorly documented. The Japanese established several transitory camps as they moved people from one location to the next. Camps occupied at the time of the American assault were hastily abandoned by remaining Japanese guards. The CHamoru left the camps with the Japanese retreat to seek safety behind American lines and in rough refuges. None of these concentration or transitory camps were described by the US during or after the Battle of Guam. No detailed historical studies have been conducted except for a report prepared as background for the National Register nomination of the

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Manenggon Concentration Camp.¹⁴¹ Information largely comes from a few US military references during the Battle of Guam (primarily from accounts of escaped CHamoru), some Japanese accounts, formal civilian interviews conducted by US Marine Civil Affairs as refugee camps were being established, and oral histories collected to the present.¹⁴²

A number of places have been identified as locations of concentration camps for the CHamoru, but several of these were temporary while decisions were being made about final settlement locales or were simply stopovers along more distant routes. Note that all camps, including Manenggon, came to be identified only by local place names—none of the camps were given an official designation by the Japanese.¹⁴³ Three of the temporary camps were at Yigo, Mangilao-Tai, and Maimai. At Yigo, local people were first collected, constrained, and treated as possible “spies” suspected of signaling US airplanes from an adjacent hill. The Yigo camp lasted only a few days as people were moved in the push following implementation of the July 4, 1944, Japanese order. Most eventually arrived at Manenggon. Mangilao-Tai was the main “civilian assembly area” specified in the order; groups from a number of different locations arrived there a day or two before most were moved on to Manenggon. Tai served as a local headquarters for the Kaikontai (an inexperienced Japanese unit put in charge of CHamoru management late in the war). Oral histories indicate that a small number of CHamoru upper-class families were the only ones retained there. Maimai was a camp for CHamoru from Hagåtña and the central coast area. Oral histories indicate that this may have been intended as a longer-term settlement (despite lack of water), but nearby American bombing resulted in movement of the people after only one or two days, with most being marched to Manenggon.

At the time of the US land assault, there were five primary rough-shelter concentration camps: Manenggon in the rural Manenggon Valley at the Ylig–Manenggon rivers; Asinan, northwest of the village of Yo`ña; As Lucas-Mata near Talofoto; Umafit (also called Malojloj), near the small town of Inarajan; and Atate, inland of Merizo village.

At Manenggon, multiple sources indicate a mass concentration of some 10,000 people in an area stretching about a mile along the Ylig River and its confluence with the Manenggon River. The population of Asinan was about 2,000, as estimated by the US 77th Sustainment Brigade, which encountered the CHamoru on the road as they abandoned the location. The double camp of As Lucas-Mata at Talofoto is mentioned in oral histories, but the only detail is from US military who at the mouth of the Ylig River, north of Talofoto, met a family of CHamoru heading toward American lines after leaving the camps. The number held at As Lucas-Mata is estimated to be about 2,500, with many sent to these camps south of Manenggon because Manenggon had become too large. The As Lucas-Mata group was placed in a temporary US Civil Affairs refugee camp at Manenggon using huts left by CHamoru incarcerated there. The camps at Inarajan and Merizo were primarily for a small number of local villagers.

In sum, Manenggon was by far the largest of Guam’s camps in population and size, the primary relocation site of those forcibly assembled at Mangilao-Tai as mandated by the July 4 Japanese order. More is known about the occupation of Manenggon than any of other camp because of the large number of people incarcerated there who left accounts.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ Tuggle and Liston, *Manenggon Concentration Camp*.

¹⁴² Summarized from Sablan, “Account written by Juan P. Sablan,” NARA; Carano and Sanchez, *A Complete History of Guam*, 290-229; Sanchez, *Guam 1941-1945*, 87-88; Farrell, *The Pictorial History of Guam: The Liberation-1944* (Tinian: Micronesian Publications, 1984), 25; and archival documents reproduced in Tuggle and Liston, *Manenggon Concentration Camp*.

¹⁴³ US Marine Civil Affairs assigned formal names to American refugee camps, with that at Manenggon designated Camp Yona.

¹⁴⁴ Tuggle and Liston, *Manenggon Concentration Camp*; Steffy, “Oral Histories: Manenggon March and Concentration Camp.”

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ATROCITY SITES ON GUAM¹⁴⁵

Although there were deaths at Manenggon, there are no corroborated accounts or archival evidence that this was a massacre site. However, it is clear from early accounts given to the US military by those held at the camp that the fear of massacre was foremost in their minds. Before the Japanese invasion of Guam, the CHamoru learned of atrocities during the Second Sino-Japanese War and knew of atrocities committed on occupied Guam and at the time of the Battle of Guam.

Japanese forces brutalized the CHamorus out of fear that intelligence reports were being sent to the US, over refusal to divulge the whereabouts of fugitive US Navy Radioman George Tweed, and with suspicion of other purported acts of espionage. In a major case intended as a public warning, on July 12, 1944, Father Jesus Baza Duenas, one of three CHamoru clergymen on Guam and an outspoken defender of his faith, was executed by beheading at a Kaikontai farm-headquarters at Tai after days of interrogation and torture. Three other CHamoru were executed at the same time.¹⁴⁶ There were other brutal acts of violence, some apparently without provocation, both amidst the breakdown of military discipline and under orders.

Around July 22, Japanese troops committed a multi-phase massacre at Fena. They forced a group of local men and boys into a cave and exploded grenades. The soldiers also raped girls and women before using grenades or shooting those trying to escape.¹⁴⁷ In the capital of Hagåtña, in a least one mass murder, Japanese forces bayoneted eleven CHamorus to death. The sites of two massacres near Merizo are listed in the National Register of Historic Places. The Tinta Massacre Site, listed at the state level of significance, marks the location of the dugout cave where on July 15, 1944, six days before the island's liberation, sixteen of thirty individuals herded for massacre died (NRIS 91001720). Thirty more individuals were gathered the following day, none of whom survived, at the Faha Massacre Site, listed at the national level of significance in 1991 (NRIS 91001091). The largest recorded single act of violence was at the Chagui'an Massacre Site, listed in the National Register at multiple levels of significance, where forty-five CHamoru men and boys were decapitated and/or shot after completing the forced labor of carrying food and ammunition to Japanese forces in the north (NRIS 16000129).¹⁴⁸ Although the actual date of the massacre is unknown, it occurred during the occupation of Manenggon camp from whence some of the victims had been conscripted for labor.¹⁴⁹ The victims' bodies were found by US military on August 8.

No known information specifically indicates that the Japanese military planned to massacre the people held at Manenggon; it likely would have been impossible, given the Imperial Japanese Army concentration in the north with few on-site guards remaining. But this larger picture was beyond the view of those incarcerated at Manenggon, and the threat of massacre remained a constant fear for them.

¹⁴⁵ Summarized from Jolie Liston, Cacilie E. Craft, and Kelly Marsh, *Documentation of Chagui'an Massacre Site for the National Register of Historic Places*, prepared for Guam Preservation Trust (Kailua, HI: Garcia and Associates, 2015).

¹⁴⁶ Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 178; Higuchi, *The Japanese Administration of Guam*, 58, 285.

¹⁴⁷ Blaz, *Bisita Guam*, 151.

¹⁴⁸ A.M. Josephy, *The Long and the Short and the Tall: The Story of a Marine Combat Unit in the Pacific* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946), 91; Blaz, *Bisita Guam*, 83.

¹⁴⁹ Liston et al., *Documentation of Chagui'an Massacre Site*.

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6. PROPERTY DESCRIPTION AND STATEMENT OF INTEGRITY

Ownership of Property

Private: X
Public-Local:
Public-State: X
Public-Federal:

Category of Property

Building(s):
District:
Site: X
Structure:
Object:

Number of Resources within Boundary of Property:

Contributing

Buildings:
Sites: 1
Structures:
Objects:
Total: 1

Noncontributing

Buildings:
Sites: 1
Structures: 2
Objects:
Total: 3

PROVIDE PRESENT AND PAST PHYSICAL DESCRIPTIONS OF PROPERTY

(Please see specific guidance for type of resource[s] being nominated)

The Manenggon Concentration Camp site is located in the narrow floodplain of the Ylig River drainage, in the Municipality of Yona, on the southeast side of the island of Guam. It is situated in the lowlands about a kilometer inland from the coastline. The camp was not contained within a defined boundary but spread along available relatively level land on both sides of the river for approximately 2.8 km (1.7 miles), a total settlement area of about 42 hectares (104 acres).

The Manenggon Valley is centered on a stretch of the Ylig River—one of three major rivers in southern Guam—at the confluence with the tributary Manenggon River. The confluence was the area of highest density of the concentration camp occupied beginning mid-July 1944, but large numbers of people were spread along both riverbanks and primarily the Ylig. People and families were generally clustered in groups from the same village or village district. The specific locations of different groups, Japanese guard units, or the trenches dug for potential mass graves within the larger site were never identified by those who inhabited the camp and remain unknown.

The Manenggon Valley in a narrow section of the Ylig drainage ranges from about 164' to 590' wide and floods frequently. For the length of the site, the floodplain (Quaternary alluvium) gently inclines from 13' to 30' mean above sea level. The bluffs forming the valley are detrital limestone-clay and rise from 131' to 197' above the valley floor. Modern vegetation is categorized as scrub forest, a mosaic of patches of forest composed of coconut groves, bamboo clumps, and tangantangan (*Leucaena leucocephala*), along with some cleared farmland and pasture. This is essentially the same vegetation that would have been present during the period of significance. Changes to the environment include slightly more pastureland associated with modern infrastructure. Dense vegetation limits views across the site, although the forested, low ridgelines on the outer edge of the rivers and outside the site nevertheless reveal the change in topography.

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Three noncontributing resources are located within the site boundaries. A narrow paved road (noncontributing structure), originating at the mouth of the Ylig River, runs through the site's eastern section, extended by a gravel track through a portion of the western section. The paved road generally follows a dirt track evident in a war-era map, but investigation to date is too limited to determine how close the correspondence is. The remains of a post-war pumping station (noncontributing site) are also present at the confluence of the Manenggon and Ylig rivers on the north edge of the road. The pumping station has been removed, leaving only concrete foundations as a noncontributing site. In 2004 a Manenggon Concentration Camp memorial (noncontributing structure) was installed in the approximate center of the site at the Manenggon Memorial Peace Park, on property leased by the Manenggon Memorial Foundation. The memorial consists of a small installation containing a statue surrounded by benches and a plaque erected on a concrete support fronting a manicured lawn. The valley has a low settlement density with several rural houses situated on the contour above the floodplain. There are no houses or other residential buildings and structures within the NHL boundary. The remaining land is undeveloped and overgrown with jungle vegetation much as it was during the Japanese occupation era.

Chronology of the Historic Place

As indicated by archaeological research in adjacent inland areas, the floodplain of the Ylig River-Manenggon Valley was an area undoubtedly used for CHamoru farming and settlement from early CHamoru settlement (ca. 3,500 years ago) through Spanish occupation (1668-1899) into the American period (1899-1941).¹⁵⁰

A 1913-1914 US Army Corps of Engineers map, revised in 1942-1944, shows a dirt track road extending from the coast through the valley and some scattered houses, indicating ongoing use for farming or ranching at least until the beginning of World War II.¹⁵¹ This was an area that had a very small rural population with scattered farms. Early in the war, four US servicemen who escaped Japanese capture used a ranch in the area as a temporary hiding place.

Japanese military authorities apparently selected this area for the Manenggon Concentration Camp because of its relative isolation from the impending US land assault on the opposing southwest coast and from the planned Japanese defensive stand in the north. The constrained valley topography, level floodplain, water source of the Ylig River, and coconut palm forest provided minimal resources for a large temporary settlement. However, at the same time, rainy season flooding created extremely muddy and unsanitary living conditions, a situation worsened by a surrounding jungle already largely stripped of natural food resources. The site was occupied by thousands of CHamoru for at least two weeks, an ephemeral settlement that involved little more than quickly constructed crude huts for shelter and simple hearths for cooking.¹⁵²

After the abandonment of the Manenggon camp around July 31, 1944, a portion of the site was almost immediately used by the US military as a CHamoru refugee camp known as Camp Yona or Yona Refugee Camp, with a majority of occupants coming from other liberated camps to the south. The setting of the Manenggon Concentration Camp site was described by an American officer organizing the refugee camp:

The river, according to natives, usually over-flowed to cover the whole area at least once during

¹⁵⁰ Rosalind L. Hunter-Anderson, ed., *Archaeology in Manenggon Hills, Yona, Guam*, Vol. IV, prepared for MDI Guam Corporation (Mangilao, Guam: Micronesian Archaeological Research Services, 1994); M.J. Tomonari-Tuggle, Timothy Rieth, H.D. Tuggle, M. Bell, and D. Knecht, *A Synthesis of Archaeological Inventory and Evaluation Efforts on the Island of Guam*, Vol. 1, prepared for Department of the Navy, Naval Facilities Engineering Command Pacific, Joint Base Pearl Harbor-Hickam, Hawai'i (Honolulu: International Archaeology, LLC, 2018). Subsurface archaeological investigations have not been conducted in the Manenggon Valley.

¹⁵¹ US Army Corps of Engineers, Office Department Engineer, Philippine Department, "Instrumental Survey [of Guam] in 1913 and 1914," Sheet 3 of 4; "Special Air and Gunnery Target Map," Sheet 9 of 11, Talofof Bay; USAFICPA 1942, rev. 1944.

¹⁵² No known historic photographs exist due to the rapid nature of the forced mass relocation.

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the rainy season.... The area was heavily wooded except for small spaces near the river... and was surrounded by cliffs or higher ground. The area is a mile and a quarter off a hard-surfaced road [the coastal road]. This mile and a quarter consisted of a muddy trail, passable to bull carts at first [during the Camp Yona occupation] but which eventually became so bad as to make it necessary to portage all supplies. The site had been originally used by the enemy as one of its several civilian camps in the area... approximately 200 huts were standing [from the earlier camp], most of these without any floor covering.¹⁵³

Camp Yona was occupied from August to November 1944, when the people were moved to other camps or resettlement villages with better living conditions.

In subsequent years, the area returned to farming and a pumping station was constructed at the confluence of the Manenggon and Ylig rivers. Salas Road, a narrow paved road apparently placed on the dirt track evident in the ca.1942-1944 map, originates at the mouth of the Ylig and runs through the site's eastern section. Sparse settlement includes about seven homesteads defined by small houses, gardens, and driveways largely hidden in the thick foliage off the gravel road extending to the west .

The ephemeral surface features of the Manenggon Concentration Camp disappeared long ago. With the CHamoru retrieving those who died in the camp for appropriate burial, and with the limited occupation and natural materials used in the concentration camp, it is unlikely any evidence of the camp remains subsurface.

The Manenggon Concentration Camp site was listed in the Guam Register of Historic Places in 1974 and in the National Register of Historic Places in June 2016 at the local, state, and national levels of significance (NRIS 16000362).

Assessment of Integrity

With integrity assessed, in part, based on the community's relationship to the place, the Manenggon Concentration Camp site retains a high degree of integrity, with the property able to convey its historic significance especially in the categories of location, setting, feeling, and association. During the period of significance of mid-July to July 31, 1944, the fundamental character of the site was its physical environment—an isolated, undeveloped, jungle floodplain on either side of the Ylig River. The Ylig and Manenggon river confluence was the central environmental feature critical to the people's survival in the World War II concentration camp. The hundreds of rapidly erected shelters constructed of tangantangan, coconut fronds, and bamboo that sheltered the CHamoru detainees were so crudely constructed as to be almost part of the natural environment.

Today, some of the Ylig-Manenggon Valley land has returned to subsistence farming with about seven homesteads tucked into the dense foliage. The remainder of the valley is largely overgrown in jungle vegetation as it was during the period of significance. The narrow paved and graveled road winding through the valley now providing access from the main coastal road to the few inhabitants of Manenggon appears to follow the route of the dirt trail shown on the 1942-44 map, a cart track that accessed the Manenggon Concentration Camp area and Camp Yona.¹⁵⁴ The road alignment thus illustrates integrity of the location, from which the limited paving does not detract.

The Ylig-Manenggon Valley has not been altered since its period of national significance. The setting remains isolated, undeveloped, and remote. The current physical environment is one of a quiet valley where the Ylig

¹⁵³ Kraus, "Personal Observations on Civil Affairs Activities, 30-31.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

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River still flows, where there are stands of coconut palms, bananas, and bamboo, and where the shadows of unaltered valley ridges move across the floodplain—the whole preserving intact the setting, feeling, and association for which the site is nationally significant. The hundreds of rapidly and crudely constructed shelters disintegrated long ago, leaving no physical remains of the historic built environment; however, the site remains largely undeveloped and retains landscape features from the period of significance including the river, unaltered topography, and vegetation that people used to survive. As such, the site overall retains an extremely high level of historic integrity, with integrity of design and materials being less applicable.

The dense vegetation, the flowing Ylig River, and the looming valley bluffs provide a sense of place (feeling, setting, and association) that represents integrity of a historic site that CHamoru testimony, past and present, identifies as one of the most significant locales of their unique shared hardship and suffering during the wartime Japanese occupation of Guam. As historian Antonio “Tony” Manibusan Palomo wrote: “Within less than a year... Manenggon reverted to its pristine and lush character, but despite, this retransformation, Manenggon remains a haunting memory to those who lived through this dark period half a century ago.”¹⁵⁵

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¹⁵⁵ Palomo, “Time of Sorrow and Pain.”

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

☒ Previously listed in the National Register (fill in 1 through 6 below)

☐ Not previously listed in the National Register (fill in **only** 4, 5, and 6 below)

1. NR #: 16000362

2. Date of listing: June 14, 2016

3. Level of significance: local, state/territory, and national

4. Applicable National Register Criteria: A ☒ B ☐ C ☐ D ☐

5. Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): A ☐ B ☐ C ☐ D ☐ E ☐ F ☐ G ☐

6. Areas of Significance: Ethnic Heritage, Social History, and Military

☐ Previously Determined Eligible for the National Register:

Date of determination:

☐ Designated a National Historic Landmark:

Date of designation:

☐ Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey:

HABS No.

☐ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record:

HAER No.

☐ Recorded by Historic American Landscapes Survey:

HALS No.

Location of additional data:

State Historic Preservation Office: X

Other State Agency:

Federal Agency:

Local Government:

University: X (Micronesia Area Research Center, University of Guam)

Other (Specify Repository): Guam Preservation Trust

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Map Log

Map 1: USGS topographic map showing location of the Manenggon Concentration Camp.

Map 2: USGS topographic map showing boundary of the Manenggon Concentration Camp.

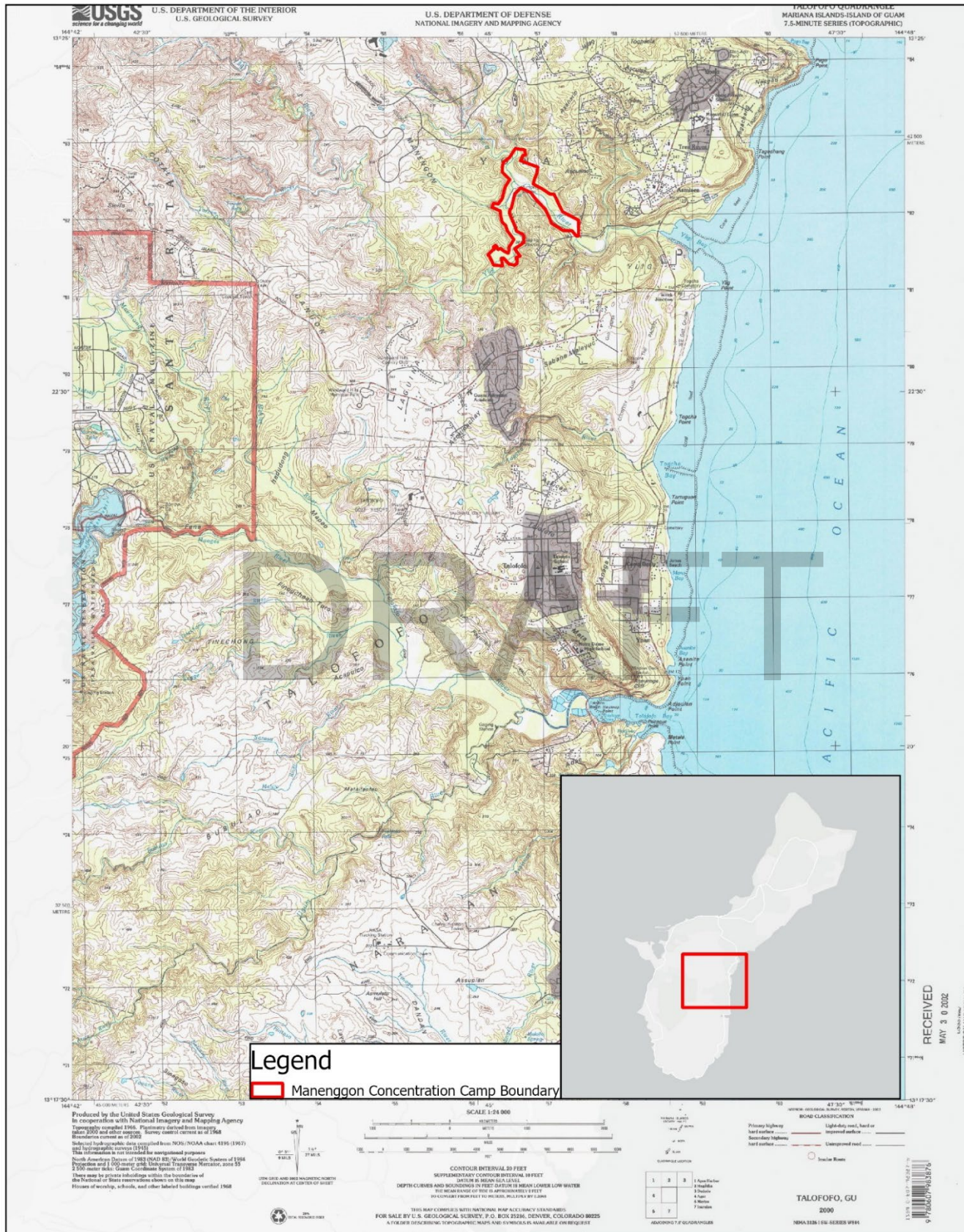
DRAFT

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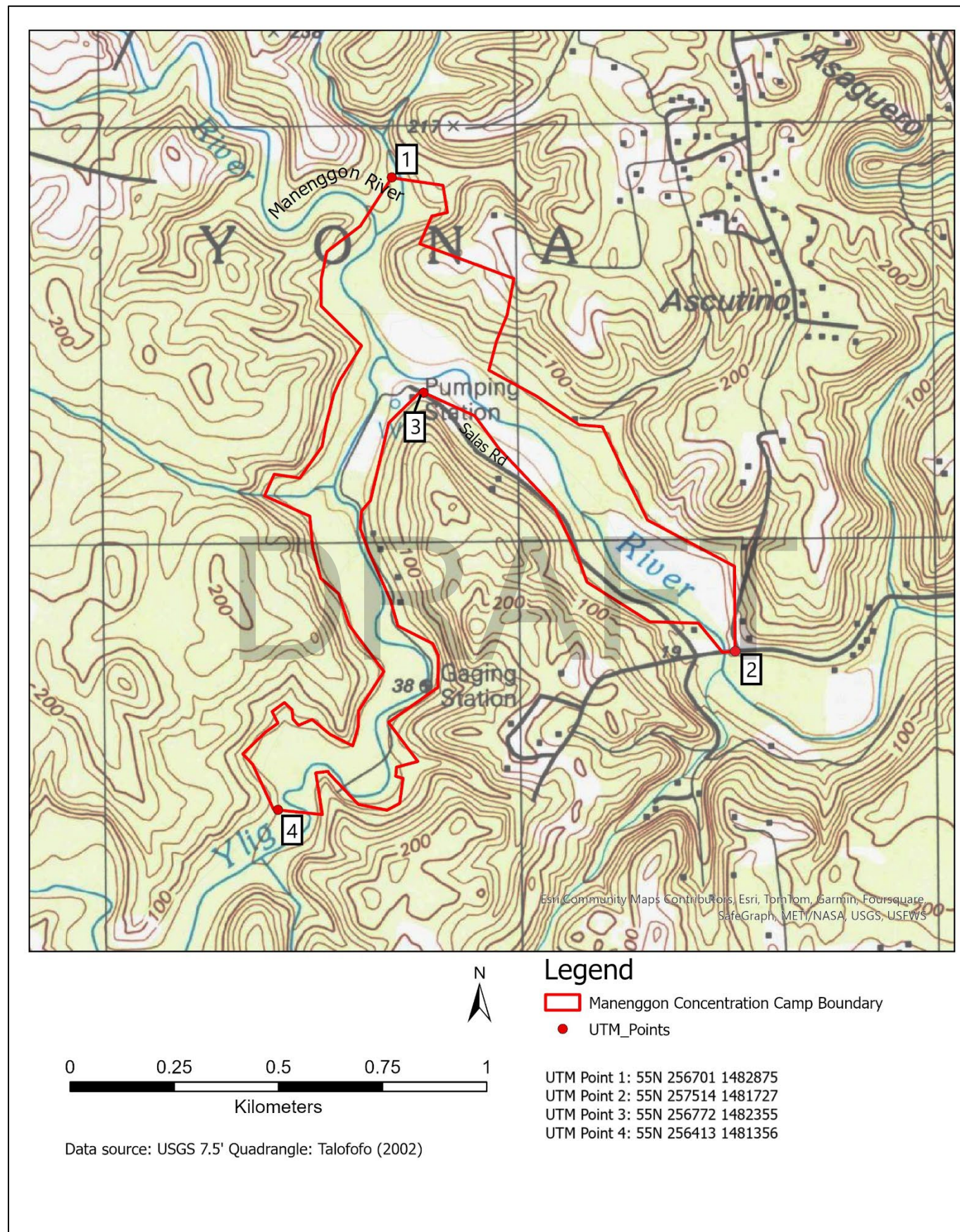
Map 1: USGS topographic map showing location of the Manenggon Concentration Camp. Source: USGS Talofoto Quadrangle, Mariana Islands, Island of Guam, 7.5-Minute Series (Topographic), 2000.

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**Map 2:** USGS topographic map showing boundary of the Manenggon Concentration Camp.

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Photo Log

Name of Property: Manenggon Concentration Camp
City or Vicinity: Municipality of Yona
County: N/A **Location:** Guam
Photographer: H.D. Tuggle and Joe Quinata, or as otherwise indicated in caption
Dates Photographed: July 31, 2014; June 6, 2015; August 8, 2018; September 20, 2019

TIFs on file with the National Park Service

Photo 1: Site of the Manenggon Concentration Camp, Landscape, and Manenggon Memorial, centrally located on site at the bend of the Ylig River and confluence of the Manenggon River. Camera facing north, July 31, 2014.

Photo 2: Site of the Manenggon Concentration Camp, Ylig River bend at the confluence of the Manenggon River. Camera facing southeast, September 20, 2019.

Photo 3: Site of the Manenggon Concentration Camp landscape, central and eastern portion of site at the bend of the Ylig River and confluence of the Manenggon River, detailing floodplain and road through site. Camera facing southeast, June 6, 2015.

Photo 4: Site of the Manenggon Concentration Camp, western portion of the site, floodplain on east side of the Ylig River. Camera facing east, June 6, 2015.

Photo 5: Site of the Manenggon Concentration Camp, western portion of the site, farming in floodplain on east side of the Ylig River. Camera facing east, June 6, 2015.

Photo 6: Site of the Manenggon Concentration Camp, edge of the clearing near the confluence of the Manenggon and Ylig rivers. This was the highest density living area in the camp. Camera facing northeast, August 8, 2018. Photo credit: Christopher E. Johnson.

Photo 7: Site of the Manenggon Concentration Camp, view upstream of the Ylig River from the Highway 4 bridge crossing at the eastern edge of the site. Camera facing north, August 8, 2018. Photo credit: Christopher E. Johnson.

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Photo 1: Site of the Manenggon Concentration Camp, Landscape, and Manenggon Memorial, centrally located on site at the bend of the Ylig River and confluence of the Manenggon River. Camera facing north, July 31, 2014.

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Photo 2: Site of the Manenggon Concentration Camp, Ylig River bend at the confluence of the Manenggon River. Camera facing southeast, September 20, 2019.

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Photo 3: Site of the Manenggon Concentration Camp landscape, central and eastern portion of site at the bend of the Ylig River and confluence of the Manenggon River, detailing floodplain and road through site. Camera facing southeast, June 6, 2015.

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Photo 4: Site of the Manenggon Concentration Camp, western portion of the site, floodplain on east side of the Ylig River. Camera facing east, June 6, 2015.

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Photo 5: Site of the Manenggon Concentration Camp, western portion of the site, farming in floodplain on east side of the Ylig River. Camera facing east, June 6, 2015.

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Photo 6: Site of the Manenggon Concentration Camp, edge of the clearing near the confluence of the Manenggon and Ylig rivers. This was the highest density living area in the camp. Camera facing northeast, August 8, 2018. Photo credit: Christopher E. Johnson.

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Photo 7: Site of the Manenggon Concentration Camp, view upstream of the Ylig River from the Highway 4 bridge crossing at the eastern edge of the site. Camera facing north, August 8, 2018. Photo credit: Christopher E. Johnson.