

Saipan Town on Angaur Island, Palau: Contact among Micronesian Mine Workers under the Japanese Administration

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Abstract

Angaur Island, situated at the southern end of the Palau Islands, had been mined for phosphate since the beginning of the 20th century, first by the German and later by the Japanese administration. During the latter time, many Japanese employees and workers migrated to the island to work for the mining company. Palauans and other foreign workers such as Chinese, Chamorro from the Mariana Islands, Yapese and its outer islanders, and people from Chuuk came to work in Angaur. These miners of different ethnic origins lived in different residential sections and were clearly differentiated by the administration. Despite such physical segregation, these laborers actively interacted with each other after work and created a hybrid culture. There was Chamorro's residence called "Saipan Town" in Angaur, but it did not turn into a ghetto. Rather, Angaur became a contact zone, where various ethnic groups interacted and colonial categories no longer dictated their social lives.

Key words: *Angaur, Saipan, phosphate mining, mine workers, contact zone*

1. Introduction

Angaur is an island situated at the southern end of the Palau Islands group, western part of the Caroline Islands in Micronesia. The US military landed on Angaur during the Pacific War, resulting in the Japanese soldiers' fighting for the last man or "death for honor". Angaur is now part of the Republic of Palau, which became independent in 1994 after the successive colonial rules by Germany, Japan and the USA. The *figure 1* is a picture of "Saipan Town" from an old photo album, entitled *Memorial Photo Album of Angaur Phosphate Mining Factories* (Miyaji no date). This picture was taken at the beginning of the Japanese administration in Micronesia. Even though there is no indication of the date of shooting and publication of this photo album, the shooting date is estimated to be between 1914 and 1922, since other pictures show phosphate factories that were under the control of the Japanese Navy, which had occupied Micronesia during the World War I.

While this picture was taken on Angaur Island, the caption of this picture says that this is a scene of "Saipan Town." Saipan is an island in the Mariana Islands group, which is situated in the northwest part of Micronesia and far away from



Figure 1 : "Saipan Town" (サイパン人部落) on Angaur Island (Miyaji no date).

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Angaur, Palau (*figure 2*). It is now part of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. Saipan is well known as a severe battle field during the Pacific War, where a large number of Japanese civilians as well as soldiers were killed. In the post war era, it became a famous resort island attracting many Japanese tourists. The indigenous people are called Chamorro. As I elaborate further later, the caption of the *figure 1* saying “Saipan Town” indicates that there was a population of Chamorro from Saipan living in Angaur during the Japanese administration era. Subsequently, Japanese named this district “Saipan Town” to indicate the presence of Chamorro.

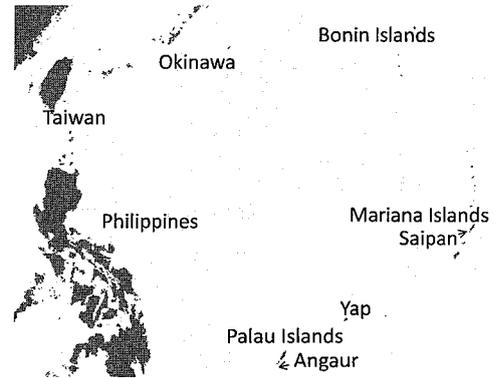


Figure 2 : Location of the Palau Islands.

Germans and Japanese had been mining Angaur for phosphate since the beginning of the 20th century. It was this colonial industry which brought to this small island a large number of mine workers of different ethnic origins, including Chamorros, Japanese, Chinese, Palauans from other villages, people from Yap and its outer islands, Chuuk Islanders, and Mortlock Islanders. By the time the South Sea Government (*Nan'yō-chō* [南洋庁]) was established in 1922, there lived 28 Chamorros in Angaur (Yanaihara 1935: 112-113). Generally, these miners of different ethnic origins lived in different residences and were clearly differentiated by the administration. Yet, they interacted with each other after work and created a hybrid culture. As I explain in detail below, Saipanese and Angaurese, together with other mine workers, closely interacted with each other. The Chamorro's residence called “Saipan Town” in Angaur did not turn into a ghetto, which was what the administrators expected.

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the process of phosphate mining in Angaur by the Japanese administration, the shift in composition of mine workers throughout Japanese time, and the contact among mine workers of different ethnic origins. Through these investigations, I will suggest that Angaur became a contact zone, in which various ethnic groups interacted and the colonial categories did not matter in their social interaction. In the following, a brief sketch of Angaur and its history of phosphate mining will be presented. Then, population statistics on mine workers in Angaur during Japanese time will be analyzed. Furthermore, I will refer to ethnographic evidence to show the way mine workers of different ethnic origins interacted with each other. This forces us to rethink the colonial categories the administration created. In conclusion, characteristics of the hybrid culture in Micronesia will be discussed. In short, I argue there is a need for paying close attention to the hybridity born out of Micronesians' contacts under the colonial situation, which were often overlooked.

2. Brief Sketch of Angaur Island

Angaur Island is situated at the southern end of the Palau Islands group. It is a makatea island of raised corals separated from the Palau Barrier Reef. The total land surface is no more than eight square kilometers. According to the 2005 census, 320 local residents were living on the island (POPS 2005). In spite of its small physical and population sizes, Angaur Island is one of the 16 independent states of the Republic of Palau, with its own state government and local legislature.

In the pre-colonial era, traditional Palauan villages were divided into two sides. Angaur belonged to the federation headed by Koror village, which was competing with the other federation headed by Melekeok village (*figure 3*). Palauan villages from both sides associated with each other through marriage, warfare and youth group activities (e.g. Krämer 2002; Aoyagi 2002; Parmentier 1987)². The indigenous language is Palauan spoken throughout the Palau Islands, but people of Angaur and Peleliu use slightly different vocabulary including some borrowed words from the Japanese language (Joseph 1990)³.

A prominent historical fact of this island is the intense battles during the Pacific War. Since Angaur was recognized for its strategic importance, Japan militarized the island in the tense situation plunging into the Pacific War. On September 17, 1944, the 81st Infantry Division of the US Army landed on the northeast and southeast coasts. In these battles, 1,150 Japanese soldiers and 260 American soldiers died (WHONIDS 1968: 223). Around 200 indigenous people were trapped and had been compelled to stay in a cave on the northwest coast until the US military discovered them. In the postwar era, Angaur became a place for memorial services for Angaurese, Americans and Japanese⁴. Especially, Japanese veterans and former immigrants have built numerous war memorials and enthusiastically returned to Angaur for memorial services to this date.

Another important historical fact I would like to focus on here is that Angaur had been so heavily mined for phosphate that it suffered from destruction of its natural and social environment. Because of the continuous mining by colonial administrations, Angaurese entirely lost their memory about the location of the traditional house lots that were once paved with stones. According to the record by a German ethnographer Augustine Krämer, there were four ranked villages in Angaur at the beginning of the 20th century (Krämer 2002). These were Ngerebelau, Rois, Ngebechanged and Ngeremachas, all of which were situated in the middle toward the northern part of the island (*figure 4*). The composition of these villages completely changed due to phosphate mining. Especially people living in

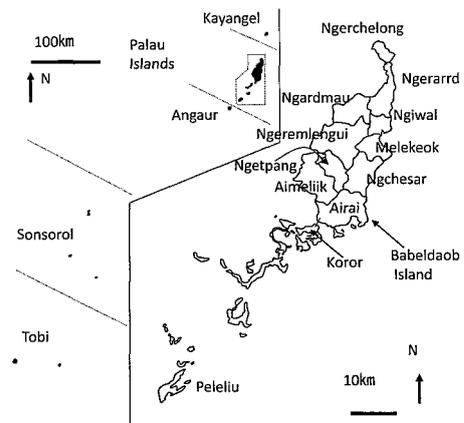


Figure 3 : Villages in the Palau Islands.

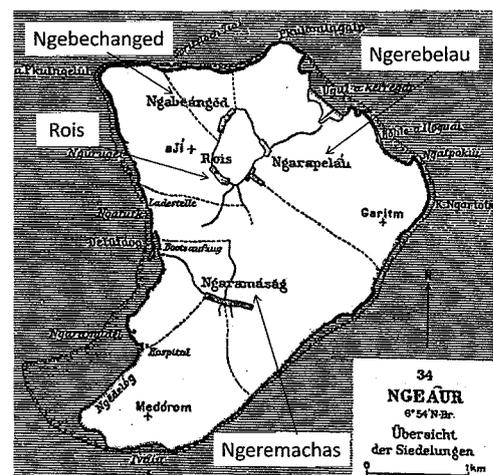


Figure 4 : Four villages on Angaur Island (Krämer 2002: 282).

² Koror was leading the southwestern villages including Airai, Aimeliik, Ngatpang, Ngeremlengui, Ngardmau, Peleliu, and Angaur. Melekeok was leading the northeastern villages including Ngchesar, Ngiwai, Ngaraard, Ngerchelong, and Kayangel. Southern remote islands, with different culture and language from the Palau Islands, did not belong to the federations.

³ A linguist Daniel Long pointed out that borrowed words from Japanese were more frequently used in Angaur than in other parts of Palau (personal communication). This is because Angaurese had been exposed to Japanese people and culture which had been brought through phosphate mining. Paradoxically, Japanese words were preserved in postwar era, while Japanese immigrants evacuated to their homeland.

⁴ Angaur State enacts October 9th as the Angaur Liberation Day, the day when indigenous people were found by the US soldiers during the Pacific War.

Ngerebelau, Rois and Ngebechanged were forced to move to the southern part of the island. People in Ngeremachas were surrounded by foreigners, who came to Angaur for mining.

Even after all Japanese had repatriated after World War II, Angaurese could not go back to their original homes and villages, since their lands had been mined and severely damaged. They were forced to resettle in the middle of the island, where Japanese and other foreign workers had formerly lived. Therefore, the ties that had bound Angaurese and their land were broken. Given the fact that traditional house lots were the center of Palauan social life (Parmentier 1987)⁵, such disturbance must have caused serious damage to Angaurese culture (cf. Useem 1945).

3. History of Phosphate Mining in Angaur

Phosphate is a mineral containing phosphorous which is commonly used in industry or for helping plants to grow. It was in much demand in pre-war Japan for improving food production. While phosphates were mined in some islands in Okinawa, the supply did not meet the demand. Import from foreign countries or exploitation of overseas territories of the Empire of Japan was essential for supplying the demand.

Phosphate mining in Angaur started after 1908, when the German South Sea Phosphate Company (Deutsche Südsee-Phosphat-Aktien-Gesellschaft) was established. The German administration incorporated almost all parts of Angaur as government land and accelerated the construction of mining infrastructure. After the Japanese Navy occupied Micronesia during World War I, a private corporation, the South Sea Enterprise Union (*Nan'yō Keiei Kumiai* [南洋経営組合]) was entrusted with the management of phosphate mining in Angaur. The Japanese Navy took control of it a year later. Based on the Treaty of Versailles of 1919, Japan took over the mining rights and infrastructure from Germany. In 1922, when the Naval Administration ended and the South Sea Government was established, the Phosphate Mining Office of the South Sea Government (*Nan'yō-chō Saikō-jyō* [南洋庁採鉱所]) began to control the industry in Angaur (SSSG 1932: 325). As the German administration did, the Japanese administration ignored the landownership of indigenous people in Angaur, treated all the land as public land, and continued mining without making payments to local landowners.

During the era of the South Sea Government, the phosphate mining became the second largest industry in Micronesia after the sugar cane industry in the Mariana Islands. Exporting phosphate to the Japan mainland earned a great income for the South Sea Government. The proceeds per year amounted to approximately 730,000 yen in 1922 and increased to about 990,000 yen in 1929 (SSG 1932: 329). Phosphate mining, together with the clearance fee of sugar in the Mariana Islands, helped the South Sea Government to be economically independent (Peattie 1988: 150). Angaur became an industrial city in Micronesia. There were various facilities including company buildings, cafés, stores, a post office, a hospital, an elementary school for Japanese children, a shrine, a police station and others (WHONIDS 1968: attached map 3).

After Japan withdrew from the League of Nation and intensified its militarism, Angaur was much more aggressively mined than before, under the control of the South Sea Colonizing Company (*Nan'yō Takushoku* [南洋拓殖]), which was established in 1936 as a national policy corporation. In the late 1930s, other islands

⁵ Even though most Palauans do not live in traditional house lots with stone pavement anymore, Palauans often bury the dead bodies of chiefs there. This is because Palauans are highly concerned about the belonging of a dead body. Palauan clans often quarrel over where a dead body should be buried (Endo 1997).

such as Sonsorol and Tobi of the outer remote islands of Palau, Ebon atoll in the Marshall Islands, Rota Island in the Mariana Islands, and Gaferut Island in Yap's outer islands were mined for phosphates, too (SSCCA 1982: 132-135). In addition, part of Babeldaob Island, the biggest island of Palau Islands group, was mined for bauxite for military purposes (Iitaka 2006; 2009). The main workers were indigenous Micronesians who were semi-compulsorily drafted to mining sites⁶. In 1944, the Japanese Army was stationed in Angaur and urged those working for the mining company, including the Micronesian workers, to flee from the island for military purposes, although some Japanese were locally drafted, and about 200 Angaurese were forced to stay in a small cave. At the beginning of September 1944, American Naval bombardments destroyed the infrastructures of the phosphate mining.

Right after World War II, Americans took over the mining business. A private company, J. H. Pomeroy Company, got a contract with the American Navy and the War Department and started to ship the remaining phosphate in Angaur to Japan. In 1947, a Japanese company, the Phosphate Developing Company (*Rinkō Kaihatu Kaisha* [磷鉍開発会社]) was established with capital funded by USA (Ogawa 1998). Japanese contract laborers came to reside in Angaur under the permission from the military government. Angaurese were opposed to the continuation of mining and petitioned to American officials that they prefer to return to the life before mining. Rather than being forced off the island with huge amounts of bank deposits, living on their own land without money was a more precious way of life for Angaurese (Hanlon 1998: 70). It was in 1955 that phosphate mining in Angaur was finally terminated, and the Angaur Mining Trust Agreement was approved (Richards 1957: 465-469).

However, there have been arguments among Angaurese over the landownership until now. There was also a controversy over the distribution of a trust fund, which amounted to 59,150 US dollars in 1951. It was recognized as an important revenue and allotted to the conservation fund of the US administration (Hanlon 1998: 72). Environmental problems such as pollution of soil and water and management of the ruins remained unresolved (figure 5). At the speech which was delivered at the 65th regular session of the United Nations general assembly held in 2010,



Figure 5 : Remaining ruins of the drying machine for phosphate. (Photograph by Shingo IITAKA in 2009).

Johnson Tribiong, the president of the Republic Palau, insisted that the damage caused by mining and war should be restored and compensated by the former suzerain states (PMUN 2010). There is also a law suit against the Japanese government brought by people from Angaur living overseas.

4. Mine Workers in Angaur

It is difficult to trace the precise changes in composition of mine workers in Angaur and the details of their daily lives, since records are limited. However, we have access to the statistical data compiled by the South Sea Government and the South Sea Colonizing Company (SSSG 1932; 1937; MSA 1940). These colonial

⁶ Toward the end of the Japanese administration, many Koreans were forced to work in mining sites in Ngardmau on Babeldaob Island (Iitaka 2009).

records help us to estimate the number of Micronesians who were sent to Angaur. In addition, a famous scholar of colonial studies, Tadao Yanaihara from the Tokyo Imperial University, conducted a survey from 1933 to 1934 throughout Micronesia. His writing in “Studies on South Sea Islands” informs us a lot about the mining in Angaur (Yanaihara 1935: 112-113). He traced the shift in worker-recruiting policies and investigated the economic impact of mining on indigenous people’s lives. Even though these records are fragmentary, it is possible to draw out the broad demographic changes and the patterns in the mine workers’ lives.

4.1 Demographic Change and Colonial Category.

One of the distinguishing features of population in Micronesia under the Japanese administration was that great many Japanese came to live in the islands. In 1922, the number of Japanese residents in Micronesia was no more than 3,310. The number of Japanese increased to around 20,000 in 1930. Despite the apprehension expressed by international societies such as the League of Nations, Japanese immigrants surpassed indigenous Micronesians in number in 1935. There were 51,861 Japanese immigrants, while there lived 50,573 Micronesians (SSSG 1932: 14; 1937: 4).

Since Koror was the administrative center, the number of Japanese in Palau was the second largest after that of the Mariana Islands, where the sugar industry attracted Japanese workers. Japanese in Palau numbered only 585 when the South Sea Government was established. The number increased to as many as 6,553 in 1935, outnumbering 6,230 indigenous people (SSSG 1932: 14; 1938: 4; SSG 1941: 9). These Japanese were government officials, local store owners, farmers, fisher men, and so on. In 1939, the number of Japanese in Palau was over 20,000.

Japanese administration categorized the residents in Micronesia as Japanese and “islanders” (“*tomin*” [島民] in Japanese) and divided the latter into “Chamorro” and “Kanaka” [カナカ]. “Kanaka” was a discriminatory category which ignored the cultural diversity of indigenous Micronesians. The administration considered that “Kanaka” were the savage and uncivilized people who lived on self-sufficient economy, while Chamorros were civilized under the influence of the Spanish administration and missionaries. At the same time, Japanese also incorporated “islanders” into modern economy as cheap wage laborers (Purcell 1976: 211). Not “islanders” but Japanese were considered as potential manpower for the development of the islands, especially in agricultural field. However, “islanders” were recruited as the main laborers for the hardest and severe work such as mining in Angaur (*figure 6*).



Figure 6 : Micronesian mine workers in Angaur (SSG 1932: 325).

4.2 Mine Workers of Different Ethnic Origins

Table 1 shows the demographic changes of indigenous Micronesians in Palau as a whole, in Koror, and in Angaur (Gorenflo 1996: 51). They were mainly Palauans, while some Micronesians from other islands were also included. The indigenous population was to some degree concentrated in the administrative center, Koror. Angaur where numerous mine workers lived had the second largest population after Koror. Since mine

workers were male who were not accompanied by their family, the gender balance of the population was not equivalent. In 1930, around 73 % of “islanders” in Angaur (519 out of 708) were male. Population dropped both in Koror and

Table 1: Population of “Islander” in Angaur (Gorenflo 1996: 51)

year	1925	1930	1935	1946
Palau	5,754	6,009	6,230	5,972
Koror	1,255	1,277	1,214	658
Angaur	798	708	751	316

Angaur after World War II. This was because most Palauans evacuated to the northern part of Babeldaob during the war and because mine workers in Angaur went back to their homeland.

When the Japanese Navy occupied Micronesia during World War I, there were 476 people engaged in mining in Angaur under the German administration. These workers consisted of 390 islanders, 68 Chinese and 18 German engineers (Yanaihara 1935: 112-113). The details of 390 islanders were not clear, but the presence of Chinese workers as well as islanders was conspicuous. In 1922, when the South Sea Government was established, the number of total workers was 426, consisting of 15 Japanese, 12 Chinese, 28 Chamorros, 88 Palauans, 209 Yapese and 74 outer islanders of Yap (Mogmog and Woleai atoll) (Yanaihara 1935: 112-113). While a few Japanese engineers controlled the industry, “islanders” especially those from Yap and its outer islands were drafted as cheap laborers. The number of Chinese decreased by then.

However, the administration changed the recruitment policy soon. Since the Permanent Mandates Commission at the League of Nations was critical about the population decrease in general in Yap, the Japanese administration was afraid of losing their trust in international community. Table 2 shows the workers’ composition in Angaur in 1922 and 1933. The workers from Yap and its outer islands were replaced by those from Chuuk and Mortlock and even by those from Japan. In 1933, the total population in Angaur was 948, including more than 200 Japanese residents. The number of those engaged in mining was 454, consisting of 26 Japanese company staff, 81 Japanese mine workers (63 from mainland Japan, 17 from Okinawa, and one from Korea), 4 Chinese, 32 Chamorros, 61 Palauans, 51 Yapese, 59 from outer islands of Yap, 6 Chuukese, and 134 from the Mortlock Islands (Yanaihara 1935: 112-113).

Generally, the Japanese administration did not encourage Micronesians gathering together or uniting in activities, except for such occasions as athletic events planned as a ruling technique (Itaka 2008). In Angaur, however, mine workers from various parts of Micronesia interacted with each other during their leisure time.

Table 2: Composition of Mine Workers in Angaur in 1922 and 1933 (Yanaihara 1935: 112-113)

	Japanese	Chinese	Chamorro	Palauan	Yapese	Yap Outer Islanders	Chuukese	Mortlock Islanders
1922	15	12	28	88	209	74	—	—
1933	81	4	32	61	51	59	6	134

5. Contacts among Mine Workers

Most of these Micronesians became mine workers on four-months to one-year contract (Yanaihara 1935: 112-113). After a group of workers went back to their islands, a new group arrived in Angaur. They were drafted from their homeland by village headmen who were appointed by the administration. The number of workers was decided in response to the request from the administration. According to the report submitted by

the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan to the League of Nations, Chamorros stayed in Angaur for longer periods with their families and were engaged in skilled jobs, while other Micronesians engaged in simpler manual labor (MOF 1927: 131). Micronesian mine workers learned to buy commercial products at local stores and even started to save money. According to the retrospective report by the South Sea Colonizing Company, some Micronesian workers were willing to come to Angaur to enjoy Japanese food or to see advanced facilities such as the hospital (SSCCA 1982: 134-135). However, Yanaihara pointed out that the recruitment of workers was semi-compulsory, since it was fulfilled under administrative orders (Yanaihara 1935: 112-113).

Mine workers' salaries were based on their ethnicity. According to Yanaihara, Japanese from mainland Japan received 3.45 yen and Okinawans received 2.53 yen per day. The salary for "islanders" was much lower. The salary for Chamorro was 1.40 yen, and that for "Kanakan" was 0.76 yen per day. Micronesian workers lived in accommodations or barracks provided by the administration. The administration roughly divided the works according to ethnicity and provided separate residential sections.

"Saipan Town" was originally the residence of Chamorro workers from Saipan. Currently, there are no documents which precisely show when Chamorros came, how many there were, and how long they stayed there. But it is generally known that they stayed in Angaur much longer than other Micronesians workers. Chamorros' arrival would be traced back to the German era. Chamorros also received more favorable treatment from the Japanese administration than other Micronesians, since they were recognized as relatively civilized people (MOF 1927: 133).

In spite of the division of labor and segregated residence prearranged by the administration, Angaur did not consist of ghettos of different ethnic groups. The interaction among mine workers was frequent and their relationship was close. They communicated with each other in Japanese, since they could not come to mutual understanding by their mother tongues. Some mine workers from Yap married local Palauan women. People in Angaur today still maintain close ties with their relatives in Yap Islands⁷.

There were interesting examples of cultural contacts in Angaur. As Takuya Nagaoka and Junko Konishi pointed out (Nagaoka and Konishi 2007), the marching dance, which had its origin in Chuuk and was widely spread over Micronesia, was introduced to Palau by mine workers who came to Angaur. Mine workers gathered and enjoyed dancing after work. Palauans learned how to perform the marching dance at that time. Today, the marching dance, called *matomatong* in Palau, is one of the most common and favorite genres of dance. Palauans dance *matomatong* with songs containing Japanese lyrics.

Another interesting example I encountered in the field is so called "Angaur bread." This homemade bread is a special product made in Angaur. Angaurese said that the recipe was taught by Chamorros from Saipan during Japanese era. The bread is so popular in Palau that it is commonly found in supermarkets in Koror. Palauans recognize the taste of the bread as characteristic of and special to Palau. The recipe is simple. Angaurese make dough, put it on the galvanized sheet iron fixed on the fire, and bake it until well risen. This will be an evidence which shows that there was a close interaction between Chamorros and Angaurese in their daily life.

⁷ For example, a man from Angaur started to manage a hotel in Yap in the 1970s and recruited relatives from Palau as workers. An Angaurese returning from Yap can speak fluent Yapese language.

6. Conclusion

As Epeli Hau'ofa illustrated, islands of Oceania are connected by the Ocean (Hau'ofa 2008). Most languages of the islands belong to the family of Austronesian languages, which alludes to long history of migration of human beings throughout Oceania. There were actual communication and networks among the islands. In pre-colonial Micronesia, there had been networks among islands, such as the tributary relationship among Yap and its outer islands, Yapese travel to Palau to quarry rocks for stone money, and outer islanders' voyages by canoes. The ties that bound the islands were intercepted by colonial authorities that administered the areas after territorial disputes among colonial powers and controlled the people on the islands separately.

At the same time, colonial authorities sent Micronesians abroad for administrative purposes. In the German era, a few Micronesians, children of noble or influential families, were drafted as soldiers and stationed in Yap, where a branch office under the German New Guinea Government was established. Some of them were sent to Chingtao, China. Under the Japanese administration, ordinary Micronesians had chances to go abroad. Male students of "islanders" who achieved higher results in public schools attended the Carpenter Apprentice Training School (*Mokkō Totei Yōseijyo*: 木工徒弟養成所), which was established in Koror in 1922 (EASSI 1938). Students from all over Micronesia were brought together and trained to be carpenters. Going to phosphate mining work in Angaur was another example, although workers were drafted by the administration⁸.

Japanese set up these travel to control and incorporate Micronesians for the benefit of the Great Empire of Japan. In this sense, Micronesians appeared to be passive actors. However, Micronesians also made use of the opportunity and created a hybrid culture, which might have disturbed the administration (cf. Bhabha 2004). The case of Angaur illustrated above well demonstrates this point. Marching dance is performed all over Micronesia and recognized as an important cultural heritage, although its origin and expansion have its root in colonialism. Angaur bread became a local product with specialty handed down by Chamorros from Saipan, yet it reflects the destructive history of mining in Angaur. These examples show that Micronesians went far beyond what the Japanese administration intended. In this sense, Micronesians were positive actors.

Angaur was a "contact zone" (Pratt 1992). Various ethnic groups who were drafted by the administration socialized with each other and as a result created a hybrid culture, which transcended the colonial categories set up by the Japanese administration. Even though historical documents tell us that there was a clear segregation of labor between Chamorros and other Micronesians, they socialized with each other. The interactions among Micronesian mine workers on Angaur Island will be easily dismissed, if we only rely on colonial records assuming the dual division of Japanese and "islanders" and the oversimplified categories of Chamorro and "Kanaka". Instead of constructing a story from colonial documents, attention should be paid to complex social interactions Micronesians made under the colonial situation. Such social interactions might have a vantage point of resistance, since it disturbed the rigid system arranged by colonial authority. Further information should be collected through ethnographic fieldwork.

⁸ In Ngiwal State on Babeldaob Island, there is a road called "Ginzadori" [銀座通り] constructed in Japanese time. It is a quiet village road rather than a busy shopping street. The road was built by a chief from Ngiwal, who participated in a tour to Japan (*naichihankō* [内地観光]) in 1915 (Itaka 2011). Participating in the tours to Japan, which were arranged by the administration, was also a way to go abroad.

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