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A STUDY OF URBAN MORPHOLOGY OF JAPANESE COLONIAL TOWNS IN *NAN'YO GUNTO*

Part 5 Ponape, Yap and Jaluit branch districts (*shicho*)

南洋群島における日本植民都市の都市構造に関する研究

（その５）ポナペ，ヤップ，ヤルート支庁

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Japan occupied most of Micronesia at the outbreak of World War One and tranformed the island region with substantial migration and urban development under the *Nan'yo-cho*. This paper examines the urban morphology and functions of Japanese colonial towns and settlements in the *Nan'yo-cho*'s three branch districts (*shicho*); Ponape (including Kusaie), Yap and Jaluit (Marshalls). As far as the number of Japanese migrants was concerned, excluding population centers on Ponape, the towns and settlements were much smaller as compared to those in the Northern Marianas and Palau. Yet the fundamental features of Japanese colonial settlements were shared with larger towns. The paper also discusses the functions of Japanese colonial outposts in the periphery of the short-lived colonial empire in the Pacific.

Keywords: *Colonial towns, Japanese Micronesia, Nan'yo, urban morphology*
植民都市，日本統治下ミクロネシア，南洋，都市構造

1. INTRODUCTION

Japan occupied Micronesia, formerly controlled by Germany, at the outbreak of World War One in 1914 and was given a League of Nations trusteeship to govern the region as *Nan'yo Gunto* [South Seas Islands] under the *Nan'yo-cho* [South Seas Government] in 1922 (Fig. 1). Substantial migration followed and eventually 96,000 Japanese nationals were to live and work in *Nan'yo Gunto* at its peak, easily outnumbering the 52,000 indigenous island population.[*1)] The main weight of migration was concentrated in the Northern Marianas where the sugar plantation industry was successfully developed by *Nan'yo Kohatsu* (NKK), and in Palau where the administrative headquarters was established. Approximately 80 per cent of the Japanese population was concentrated in these two branch districts (*shicho*) of the *Nan'yo-cho*.[*2)] Modern and busy towns appeared in these regions such as Garapan on Saipan and Koror in Palau. The urban morphology of these Japanese colonial towns is discussed in detail in our previous papers (Ono, Lea and Ando 2002 a,b). Outside these two districts, we have examined the features of the colonial settlement process in Truk (Chuuk) and the town of Natsujima (Tonoas) (Ono and Ando 2012). The aim of these studies is to improve the state of knowledge about a significant period of urban development in the Pacific and how Japanese colonial development brought modernization to the region.

In this paper, the urban features of Japanese colonial towns and settlements of various sizes are examined; namely those in the *Nan'yo-cho* branch districts of Ponape (Pohnpei, which included Kusaie now known as Kosrae), Yap and Jaluit (Marshalls).[*3)] The paper's focus is on the relationship between the sizes of the towns and settlements, their urban morphology and functions (administrative/industrial) in these island groups.[*4)]

Fieldwork in Micronesia was conducted in September 2008 (Pohnpei, Kosrae and Yap), March 2009 (Pohnpei and Marshalls), August 2009 (Kosrae

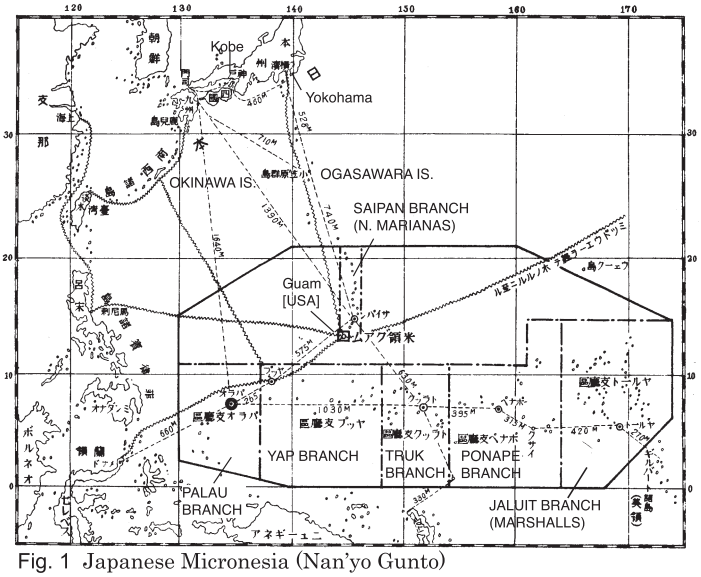

Fig. 1 Japanese Micronesia (Nan'yo Gunto)
Source: after Kosuge (1978: 197).

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and Marshalls), and March 2010 (Pohnpei). We were able to speak with a number of elderly Micronesians who remembered the Japanese period, as well as former Japanese residents including Okinawans.[*5)] They provided us with information about their experiences living in the towns and details of pre-war urban space. Maps were prepared based on aerial photographs taken by the US Navy in 1944 where available (from the collection of Bishop Museum, Honolulu). Actual uses of land and buildings were identified by existing maps and interviews with locals and former Japanese residents.[*6)] Specific sources have been stated for each map.

2. PONAPE BRANCH DISTRICT: KOLONIA AND MATALANIM ON PONAPE AND LELE IN KUSAIE

The *Nan'yo-cho* Ponape branch had the third largest Japanese population in the mandate at 8,048 in 1940 (Table 1). Ponape Island was the largest landmass in *Nan'yo Gunto* (one tenth of the total land area) with abundant water and fertile soil (Fig 2). However, because its interior rose to a height of 800 meters and was covered with dense woods, cultivated area in the Ponape branch amounted to less than one tenth that of the Saipan branch (Nan'yo-cho 1941a). Economic activities involving Japanese were limited and the Japanese population remained at a few hundred throughout the 1920s. In the 1930s, however, economic development began to transform the island. *Nan'yo Boeki* (NBK) established their bonito fishery base in Kolonia. NKK started up a cassava plantation for tapioca starch in Matalanim.[*7)] The *Nan'yo-cho* promoted the establishment of a new migration settlement to develop agriculture in Palikir (called Haruki-mura, or "Coming of Spring Village" at the time).[*8)] Other industries developed on Ponape included coconut plantations, lumber industries and a bauxite refinery, with over 30 companies operating by the early 1940s (Umesao 1943: 449).[*9)] As a result, the Japanese community on Ponape swiftly grew from 648 in 1930 to 7,803 in 1940, surpassing the local population, which was at 5,866 in 1940 (Table 1).[*10)]

2-1 The Growth of Kolonia, the Largest Town in the Eastern Carolines

Kolonia, located on the northern shore of Ponape Island, was the location of the *Nan'yo-cho* Ponape branch office that administered over Ponape, Kusaie and several adjacent atolls. Kolonia was the largest town outside the Northern Marianas and Palau in *Nan'yo Gunto*, and its population is estimated to have been at least 5,000 in the 1940s, including Japanese, Ponapeans and others.[*11)]

Kolonia was called Santiago de L'ascension by the Spanish in the late 19th century, the location from where they attempted to administer over the Eastern Carolines. Kolonia had originally been chosen by American missionaries as the site for their church in the mid-1850s, its advantage being its considerable distance from conflicting local kingdoms prior to the arrival of the Spanish (Hanlon 1981:26). Japanese explorer Keikun Suzuki visited Santiago in 1890, noting the presence of simple Spanish government buildings, barracks, a hospital, a church and a few trading stores that belonged to British and American merchants, but felt that it was 'not a town yet' (Suzuki 1892). The Germans took over Micronesia in 1899 and established their administrative center in Kolonia for the Eastern Carolines and the Marshalls (for the Western Carolines, Yap was the administrative center). During the German period, government facilities were built on the hillside while several trading stores operated near the pier at the northern end. However, the German community in Ponape remained smaller than the Spanish community.[*12)] The Cathoric church was rebuilt as a stone structure in 1911 by the German Capuchin brothers, making it the most recognizable building in town (Hezel 2003:66-67).

Japan took over what the Germans had left behind in 1914, but the town of Kolonia remained small during the early years of the Japanese period (Fig 3). In 1920, the population of Kolonia was at 543, of which 362 were Japanese (Table 1). It was only after the mid-1930s that the town saw its

Table 1 Population of Ponape Branch (1920-1940).

	19 20		19 25		19 30		19 35		19 40**	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Kolonia Total	543	**100.0%**	-	-	859	**100.0%**	2,287	**100.0%**	-	-
Local	181	33.3%	-	-	357	41.6%	891	39.0%	-	-
Japanese*	362	66.7%	-	-	490	57.0%	1,385	60.6%	3,768	-
Others	0	0.0%	-	-	12	1.4%	11	0.5%		-
Lethau, Matalanim Total	-	-	-	-	111	**100.0%**	567	**100.0%**	-	-
Local	-	-	-	-	107	96.4%	114	20.1%	-	-
Japanese*	-	-	-	-	4	3.6%	453	79.9%	-	-
Others	-	-	-	-	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	-	-
Ponape Island Total	4,563	**100.0%**	5,266	**100.0%**	5,984	**100.0%**	8,169	**100.0%**	13,692	**100.0%**
Local	4,165	91.3%	4,915	93.3%	5,320	88.9%	5,754	70.4%	5,866	42.8%
Japanese*	397	8.7%	343	6.5%	648	10.8%	2,394	29.3%	7,803	57.0%
Others	1	0.0%	8	0.2%	16	0.3%	21	0.3%	24	0.2%
Lele Total	-	-	323	**100.0%**	366	**100.0%**	465	**100.0%**	-	-
Local	-	-	312	96.6%	346	94.5%	430	92.5%	-	-
Japanese*	-	-	9	2.8%	19	5.2%	30	6.5%	-	-
Others	-	-	2	0.6%	1	0.3%	5	1.1%	-	-
Kusaie Island Total	816	**100.0%**	899	**100.0%**	1,017	**100.0%**	1,230	**100.0%**	1,844	**100.0%**
Local	786	96.3%	886	98.6%	990	97.3%	1,189	96.7%	1,605	87.0%
Japanese*	26	3.2%	9	1.0%	24	2.4%	34	2.8%	235	12.7%
Others	4	0.5%	4	0.4%	3	0.3%	7	0.6%	4	0.2%
Ponape Branch Total	**7,069**	**100.0%**	**7,968**	**100.0%**	**8,910**	**100.0%**	**11,467**	**100.0%**	**17,660**	**100.0%**
Local	6,638	93.9%	7,599	95.4%	8,201	92.0%	8,953	78.1%	9,584	54.3%
Japanese*	425	6.0%	357	4.5%	689	7.7%	2,486	21.7%	8,048	45.6%
Others	5	0.1%	10	0.1%	20	0.2%	28	0.2%	28	0.2%

Source: Japanese Population Census 1920-1935; Nan'yo-cho 1941b.
* Japanese include those from Sakhalin, Korea and Taiwan.
** Data on 1 October except 1940 (31 Dec).The number of residents for Kolonia in 1940 is only available for Japanese.

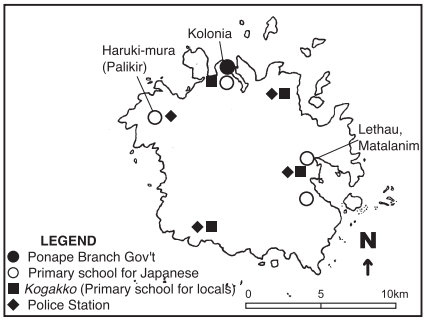


Fig. 2 Ponape Island.

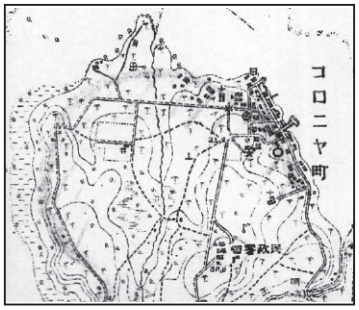


Fig. 3 Kolonia c. 1920.
Source: Japanese Navy 1922 (Collection of MARC, Univ. of Guam)

drastic expansion together with the rapid growth of the Japanese community on the island. The town expanded south along the shore and over the hill to the west (Fig. 4). The mangrove area on the eastern side was reclaimed to provide space for storehouses, factories, boat builders and commercial development.

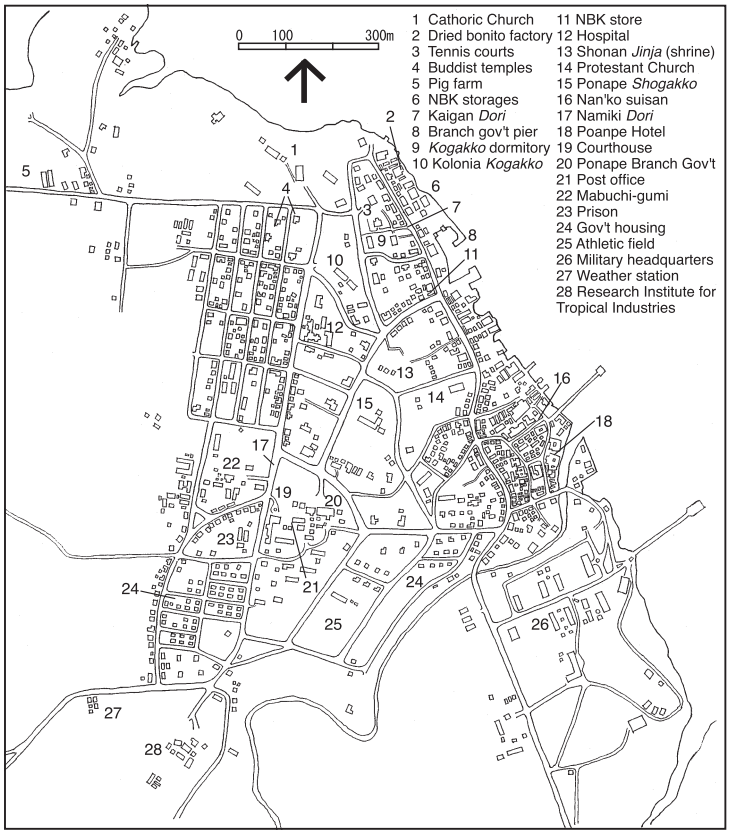
It seems that there was no consideration to buid a ceremonial entrance to the town, as seen at Koror in Palau. Anthropologist Tadao Umesao arrived at the branch pier of Kolonia in 1941, and his first impression of the town was quite unpleasant. The water in the bay was murky with oil, floating lumber and fish guts; the pier was tilting and broken, in desperate need of repair. His group had to walk through a narrow and muddy path between factories and storehouses where boxes used for dried bonitoes and logs were randomly piled before reaching the main street. Once in the town, however, they found the streets lively with stores and people.

> *..diagonal to the Kaigan Dori (shoreline street), several avenues with beautiful palm trees climbed straight uphill* (Umesao 1943: 426).

Three key components found in other Japanese colonial towns in *Nan'yo Gunto*, namely government/company precincts, commercial strips and pleasure districts, were also found in Kolonia (Ono et al 2002a,b, Ono and Ando 2012).

On the hillside, there were modern and tidy precincts with government buildings. There were administrative offices, the *kogakko* (elementary school for local children) and its dormitory, the *shogakko* (elementary school for Japanese children), Ponape Hospital, a courthouse, a post office, a large athletic field and government housing (Fig.5: A1). Namiki *Dori* was a street originally built by the Germans and was lined with mango trees, making a shaded tunnel. These trees, however, were cut down to widen the road in the mid 1930s (Adams 2010:68). Government housing blocks were added near the prison (Fig.5: A2). The *Nan'yo-cho*'s research institute for tropical industries was located at the southern end of the town with a botanical garden the Germans had created, as well as a weather station (Fig.5: A3).

Kaigan *Dori* was where the busiest commercial strips were developed, with many small stores and businesses (Fig.5: B1). The northern end of the street was the oldest part of Kolonia, where houses of established Ponapean and foreign traders could be found. Yvette Etscheit Adams, whose parents were from Belgium, lived in this area and often played with her Ponapean neighbors, Nanpei's daughters.[*13] *Nan'yo Boeki Kabushikigaisha* (NBK) ran the largest business in the town and their spacious store, a modern concrete structure, had a playground on its rooftop for children to ride swings or see monkeys kept in a cage (Adams 2010: 65). The Protestant church remained in its original location but was soon surrounded by stores. It was attended regularly by local Ponapeans. A pleasure district was formed near the shore in the reclaimed area with 1 hotel, 7 *ryoriya* (restaurants/brothels) and many cafes and *sushi* restaurants opening by 1939 (Nan'yo-cho 1941a) (Fig.5: B2). This was also an area where many Okinawans and several Koreans lived.[*14] Another commercial strip was developed along Namiki *Dori* on the hillside



Source: Buildings and streets laynout based on aerial photographs taken by US Navy, February 1944 (Bishop Museum collection); Air Target Map by Joint Intelligence Center, Pacific Ocean Areas reproduced in Peattie (1988); *Ponape-to Koronia shigaichi fukugenzu (showa 16-19 nen goro)* [Restored map of town area of Kolonia, Ponape Island, circa 1941-1944] in Okinawa-ken (2003); *Kyu-Koronia shigaizu* [Map of Old Kolonia] in Okinawa Ponape-kai (1990); Topographic Map of the Island of Ponape (North Half), Federated States of Micronesia (1:25,000), produced by the United States Geological Survey, 1983.

Fig. 4 Kolonia in February 1944.

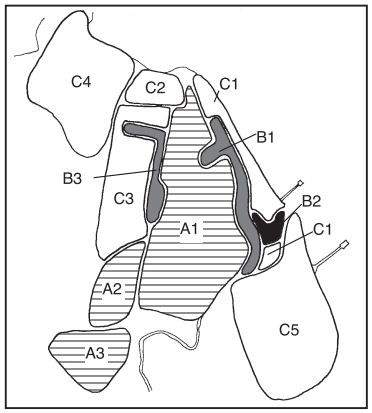


Fig.5 Landuse of Kolonia.

Fig.6 Kaigan Dori, Kolonia, in the late 1930s
Source: Hosokawa Shashinkan (n.d.)

(Fig.5: B3). There were several established Japanese stores like Futabaya which sold kimonos, tailors, clock shops and a photography studio. Ponape Theater, which showed movies, was located in the newly developed gridded blocks behind the main street. There were also houses and several businesses around this area (Fig.5: C3). Industrial buildings including bonito factories were concentrated along the shore where several piers jetted out into the sea (Fig.5: C1). The Catholic church premises remained on the northern side (Fig.5: C2). Although a large number of Ponapeans were seen going to churches, shopping at stores and having casual meals, most lived on the outskirts of the town.

2-2 Matalanim, a Company Boom Town

> *When we looked down from the hill, there was a big town under our eyes. It is Lethau. Several lines of lights ran long, ... the town looked splendid.* (Umesao 1943:756)

As noted by Umesao in 1941, Kolonia was not the only urban center on Ponape. There was also another town that sprang up in the mid-1930s. NKK's cassava production began in 1933 at Matalanim Village, in the south-west of Kolonia. The operation of a tapioca starch mill began in 1935 (later turned into a sugar cane alcohol plant) at the mouth of the Lethau River (Fig. 2). The Japanese population in Lethau rapidly increased from 4 in 1930 to 453 in 1935 (Table 1). Although the figures showing the number of Japanese living in Lethau and its surrounding area thereafter are not available, the continued growth of the town can be seen from the number of Japanese students at Matalanim *shogakko*, founded in 1936 with 51 students. Enrollment had swelled to 384 by 1941.[*15)] The number of Japanese residents around Matalanim is estimated to have been at a few thousand, based on the number of children attending the school.

The company precincts had the mill, the company office, railways, employees' housing and public facilities (a company store, a clubhouse, the original school and etc) laid out in a manner similar to other NKK company towns in the Marianas (Fig. 7 and Fig. 8: A1).[*16)] A commercial strip was quickly developed on the northern side of the company compound, with various small stores and cafes (Fig. 8: B1). The town had its first *ryoriya* by the late 1930s, which can be considered the beginning of a pleasure area (Fig. 8: B2).

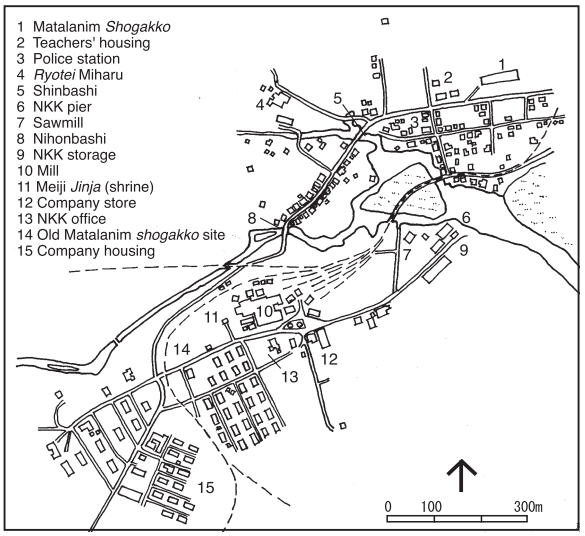
2-3 Lele in Kusaie, the Smallest Port Town

570 kilometers away from the population centers of Ponape, Kusaie Island was an isolated part of the *Nan'yo-cho* Ponape branch, mostly let alone by major Japanese developments. Although the island is fairly large (one third of Ponape Island), there were only 34 Japanese residents in 1935 (Table 1 and Fig. 9).

Lele, a small island off the main island, was where the first church in Kusaie had been established by American missionaries. A small port town had also been developed during the Japanese period (Fig. 10). There were large ruins from the 15th century in the center of the island and most local houses were built along the shore. Kusaie *Kogakko*,[*17)] a branch clinic of Ponape Hospital, a police office and a pier were built along the shorefront. There was no *shinto* shrine as seen in other towns. Since there were no administrative offices, a police officer handled any administrative matters when necessary. Novelist Atsushi Nakajima in 1941 noted that the police officer and school principal did not get along with each other, being the only public servants in the settlement. According to Nakajima who had visited many *kogakko* during his assignment to write textbooks for the *Nan'yo-cho*, this was typical in Japanese outposts in remote areas where only a police station and a *kogakko* were found. This was because they tended to fight over asserting their authorities (Nakajima 2001: 193-195).

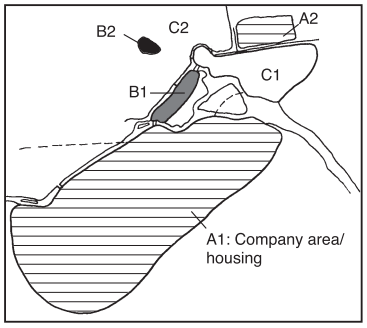
Although small, Lele was the commercial center of Kusaie. Kusaieans came to Lele in order to sell copra and buy goods. By the end of the 1930s, there were several Japanese stores, including an NBK branch store. There were also Kusaiean and American owned businesses in the small town.

While the number of Japanese remained small, the most significant change brought by the mandate to Kusaie was the introduction of regular



Souerce: Buildings and streets laynout based on aerial photographs taken by US Navy, February 1944 (Bishop Museum collection); *Kyu-Mataranimu kyojugai-zu showa 21 nenn goro* [Map of residential areas of old Matalanim around 1946] in Okinawa Ponape-kai (1990); Topographic Map of the Island of Ponape (South Half), Federated States of Micronesia (1:25,000), produced by the United States Geological Survey, 1983.

Fig.7 Lethau, Matalanim in February 1944



A1: Company area/housing
A2: Gov't precincts/housing
B1: Commercial area
B2: Pleasure area
C1: Other (businesses/residential)
C2: Other (mixed/outskirts)

Fig.8 Landuse of Lethau, Matalanim

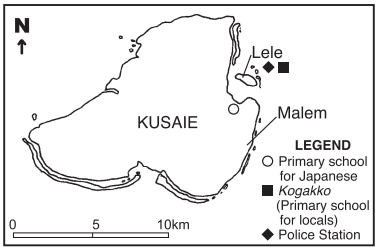
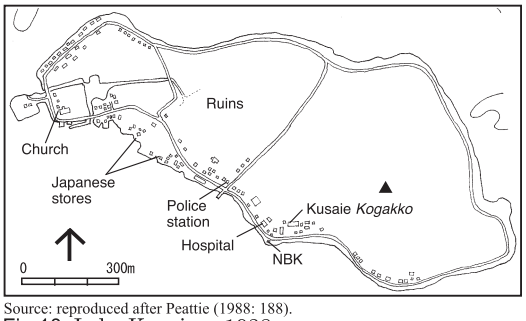


Fig.9 Kusaie Island



Source: reproduced after Peattie (1988: 188).

Fig.10 Lele, Kusaie c. 1938

shipping services that connected the most remote regions of the Pacific to the rest of the world. In 1939, *Nihon Yusen Kabushikigaisha* (NYK) made 19 round trips between Kobe and Jaluit, stopping at Kusaie both ways (Nan'yo-cho 1941a). American missionaries had been running a mission school on the western side of Kusaie Island since the 1870s. After the Japanese administration took control of Kusaie, they were amazed to see how supplies could be ordered and delivered at ease from Boston via Yokohama by NYK shipping, and that the ships were always on schedule (Buck 2005: 289, 305).

The number of Japanese residents in Kusaie increased to a few hundred by the end of the 1930s, when NKK began developing agricultural farms in Malem on the main island in preparation for the war in the Pacific. The farms were systematically divided for the cultivation of vegetables. Both Japanese and locals worked at the farms. Many migrants were recruited from Okinawa,[*18)] including Rinsho Kadekaru (1920-1999), who would become a popular Okinawan musician in post-war years. A provisional *shogakko* was opened for Japanese children on Kusaie coast opposite of Lele Island, and 31 children attended the school in 1941 (Nan'yo-cho 1942b). In Malem, there were a few stores that sold *awamori*, rice, canned food, *manju* etc. and also a barber. Thus, Japanese workers in Malem did not have to go to Lele in order to do their shopping as the supplies were provided in Malem. No *ryoriya* was opened in Kusaie.

3. YAP BRANCH DISTRICT: COLONIA AND MAKI

The Yap branch district consisted of the Yap Islands (Fig. 11)[*19)] and several remote atolls. The district had the smallest population among all six branch districts of the mandate. Its total population in 1940 was 7,383, of which 1,933 were Japanese (Table 2). The number of Japanese residents in Yap branch remained very small, with only 241 in 1930, consisting mostly of government officials and traders as economic activities were limited to copra and trocas shell trading. However, the development of a phosphate mine on Fais (251 kilometers northeast of Yap Islands) by *Nan'yo Takushoku* (*Nantaku*) brought an additional 600-700 Japanese workers to the district in the late 1930s. *Nantaku* also began copper mining and operated training farms for new agricultural migrants from Japan on the Yap Islands. As a

Table 2 Population of Yap Branch (1920-1940).

	19 20		19 25		19 30		19 35		19 40***	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Colonia Total*	-	-	315	**100.0%**	397	**100.0%**	**790**	**100.0%**	-	-
Local	-	-	169	53.7%	233	58.7%	288	36.5%	-	-
Japanese**	-	-	137	43.5%	157	39.5%	493	62.4%	-	-
Others	-	-	9	2.9%	7	1.8%	9	1.1%	-	-
Yap Island Total	5,474	**100.0%**	4,811	**100.0%**	4,253	**100.0%**	**4,332**	**100.0%**	4,746	**100.0%**
Local	5,382	98.3%	4,655	96.8%	4,019	94.5%	3,694	85.3%	3,392	86.8%
Japanese**	88	1.6%	143	3.0%	226	5.3%	627	14.5%	1,344	12.9%
Others	4	0.1%	13	0.3%	8	0.2%	11	0.3%	10	0.4%
Yap Branch Total	**8,439**	**100.0%**	**7,535**	**100.0%**	**6,735**	**100.0%**	**6,650**	**100.0%**	**7,383**	**100.0%**
Local	8,338	98.8%	7,366	97.8%	6,486	96.3%	6,006	90.3%	5,440	73.7%
Japanese**	97	1.1%	156	2.1%	241	3.6%	633	9.5%	1,933	26.2%
Others	4	0.0%	12	0.2%	8	0.1%	11	0.2%	10	0.1%

Source: Japanese Population Census 1920-1935; Nan'yo-cho:Nan'yo-cho 1941b.
* Population of Colonia includeds those in 'Koroni'and 'Chamoro-ku' (north side of Chamorro Bay) The actual town area was larger but the statistics is not available for the town as a whole.
** Japanese include those from Sakhalin, Korea and Taiwan.
*** Data on 1 October except 1940 (31 Dec).

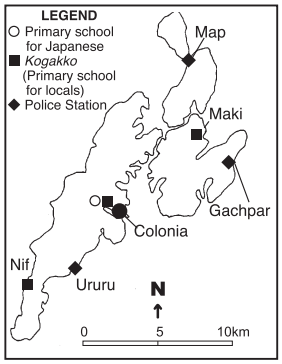
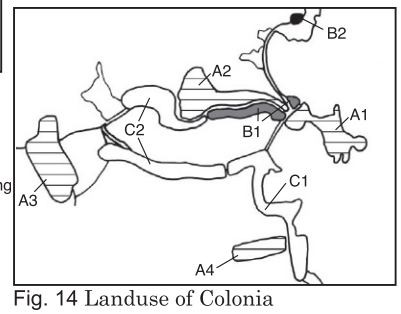


Fig. 11 Yap Islands and Locations of Kogakko and Police Stations

Fig.12 Colonia
Source: National Diet Library.



A1: Government/company precincts
A2- A3: Government precincts/housing
A4: Company area/housing
B1: Commercial area
B2: Pleasure area
C1: Other (industries/businesses)
C2: Other (residential area)

Fig. 14 Landuse of Colonia

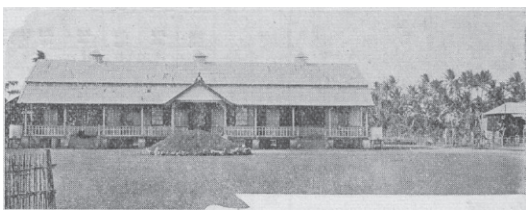
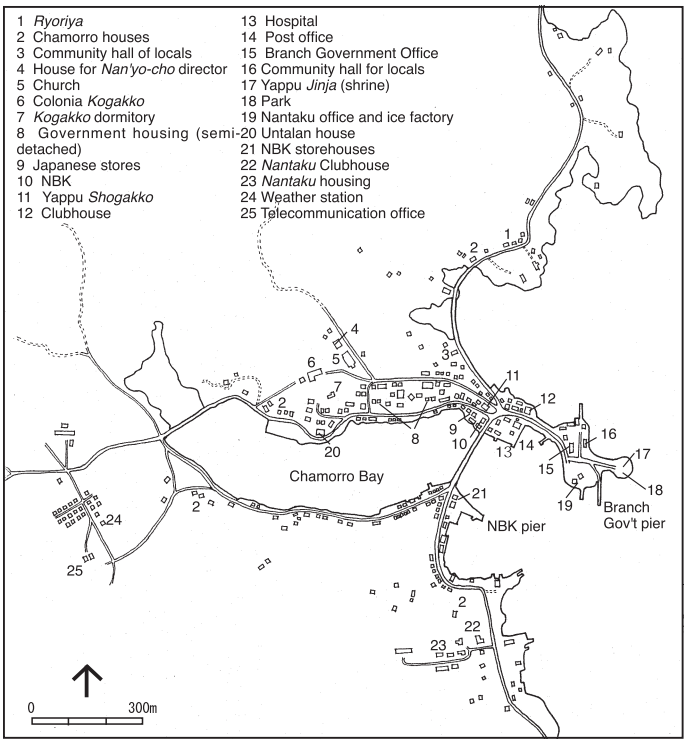


Fig. 15 Maki Kogakko
Source: Nan'yo Gunto kyoikukai (1937).



Source: Buildings and streets laynout based on aerial photographs taken by US Navy, July-August 1944 (Bishop Museum collection); *Koroni fukin(Enoshima-cho) ryakuzu* [Outline map around Colonia (Enoshima-cho)], 1939, Yap *shicho* [branch government] (Yohji Yamaguchi Collection, JAIPAS); Nan'yo-cho Yappu kogakko (1933); Topographic Map of the Yap Islands, Federated States of Micronesia (1:25,000), produced by the United States Geological Survey, 1983.

Fig.13 Colonia, Yap in 1944.

result, the Japanese population on the Yap Islands steadily increased from 226 in 1930 to 1,344 by 1940.

3-1 Colonia, the Smallest Branch Government Town

With Yap district being the smallest branch, the town of Colonia was the smallest among the six *Nan'yo-cho* branch government towns (Fig. 12). Colonia sat on the western side of Tomil Harbour, surrounding Chamorro Bay (Fig. 13). Most Yapese lived in traditional villages outside the town. There were about 300 Chamorro residents in Colonia and their houses were clustered together in several sections of the town. They had migrated from the Marianas during the Spanish and German times. Thus, their lifestyle was quite westernized and modern.[*20)] The Japanese population in the town was 493 in 1935 (Table 2). The exact number of Japanese in the town thereafter is unavailable, but considering the increase in the number of Japanese children at Yap *Shogakko* from 28 in 1935 to 160 in 1941 (Nan'yo-cho 1942b), it is assumed that there were roughly at least a thousand Japanese living in and near Colonia at the beginning of the 1940s. Although modest in size, there were government precincts around the piers (government offices, a post office, a hospital, a park, Yap Shrine and etc) (Fig 14:A1) and on the hill (the *shogakko*, the *kogakko*, government housing etc) (Fig 14:A2), a commercial area near the water (Fig 14:B1), and a pleasure area with *ryoriya* on its outskirts (Fig. 14:B2). In Yap, a *ryoriya* was operating as early as 1922 when the Japanese population of the branch was only 132 (Nan'yo-cho 1933a).[*21)] In the southern side of Colonia, there was also a bonito fishery base where Okinawans lived.

3-2 Maki, the Forefront of Colonial Rule

In contrast to Colonia, which shared the key features of Japanese colonial towns, Maki Community in the remote part of northern Yap Islands was an example of how Japanese lived in the periphery of the mandate territory. The Japanese population of Maki in 1935 was 9 (Japanese census), consisting of 3 teachers at Maki *Kogakko* (Fig. 15) and their families. The settlement contained a wooden school building with four classrooms, a dormitory and government housing for the principal's and teachers' families.[*22)] There was also a house for the Yapese assistant teacher.[*23)] The number of students enrolled in Maki *Kogakko* changed from year to year, but as it had a dormitory where students from the outer islands could stay, over a hundred students often studied there.[*24)]

The locals, together with the *kogakko* teachers, looked after the students in the dormitory, providing them with food and meeting their other needs. Since there were no stores, all shopping had to be done in Colonia. There was a weekly launch run by the *Nan'yo-cho* and the Japanese could either make use of this or else ask the locals for a ride on their canoes to the town. Supplies could also be ordered and delivered via the launch. As there was no Japanese school, the only school-aged Japanese boy in Maki, the son of the principal, sat in a class with local children in the *kogakko* and studied separately. Tadao Yanaihara pitied him upon his visit (Yanaihara 1935: 536), but the boy himself, Akira Ohashi, secretly enjoyed listening to his father's stories told during the class. Akira also spent his time swimming in the river and playing tennis with his local friends. Akira's father, Setsuzo Ohashi, was not particularly liked by local students when he taught at Colonia *Kogakko* as he would hit the students for misbehavior. However, he was much better received by the local students at Maki *Kogakko* as they saw him punishing his own son in the same way during his lessons.[*25)]

The *kogakko* premises did not make up a town, yet these were permanent Japanese settlements that functioned as the extension of administrative centers. They were built to carry out public education, which was a crucial colonial mission. Public education for locals began in 1915, the year after Japan occupied Micronesia, and was the most critical undertaking of the Japanese mandate.[*26)] In Yap, there was another settlement with only a *kogakko* (Nif). Three other settlements on Yap Islands only had a police station, where the police office and a residence were combined (Fig. 11).[*27)] They were also the extension of administrative centers built to maintain colonial order. These small but institutional Japanese outposts were scattered in remote locations of *Nan'yo Gunto*.[*28)]

4. JALUIT BRANCH DISTRICT: JABOR AND OUTER ATOLLS

The Marshall Islands, known as the Jaluit branch district during the Japanese period, were at the eastern end of Micronesia, furthest from Japan. The topography of the Marshalls was completely different from other island groups. The region consisted of chains of over 30 atolls where land was extremely narrow, at only a few meters above sea level and with thin topsoil. There was no land suitable for standard agriculture for Japanese immigrant farmers. Prior to the arrival of the Japanese, the German Jaluit-Gesellschaft (Jaluit Trading Company) had a monopolized trade in the Marshalls, and encouraged the planting of palm trees. As a result, the Marshall Islands had

Table 3 Population of Jaluit Branch (1920-1940).

	19 20		19 25		19 30		19 35		19 40***	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Jabor Island Total	-	-	-	-	1,357	**100.0%**	1,438	**100.0%**	-	-
Local	-	-	-	-	970	71.5%	1,005	69.9%	-	-
Japanese*	-	-	-	-	373	27.5%	428	29.8%	-	-
Others**	-	-	-	-	14	1.0%	5	0.3%	-	-
Jaluit Atoll	1,863	**100.0%**	2,078	**100.0%**	2,532	**100.0%**	2,422	**100.0%**	1,886	**100.0%**
Local	1,680	90.2%	1,885	90.7%	2,141	84.6%	1,989	82.1%	1,320	70.0%
Japanese*	172	9.2%	190	9.1%	375	14.8%	428	17.7%	563	29.9%
Others	11	0.6%	3	0.1%	16	0.6%	5	0.2%	3	0.2%
Jaluit Branch Total	**9,800**	**100.0%**	**9,644**	**100.0%**	**10,412**	**100.0%**	**10,446**	**100.0%**	**10,836**	**100.0%**
Local	9,589	97.8%	9,422	97.7%	9,970	95.8%	9,958	95.3%	10,153	93.7%
Japanese*	198	2.0%	217	2.3%	422	4.1%	481	4.6%	680	6.3%
Others	13	0.1%	4	0.0%	20	0.2%	7	0.1%	4	0.0%

Source: Japanese Population Census 1920-1935; Nan'yo-cho 1941b.
* Japanese include those from Sakhalin, Korea and Taiwan.
** The number of others in 1930 for Jabor include those on Enybor and Imrodj Islands.
*** Data on 1 October except 1940 (31 Dec).

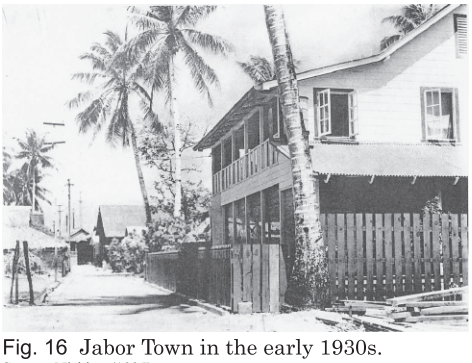
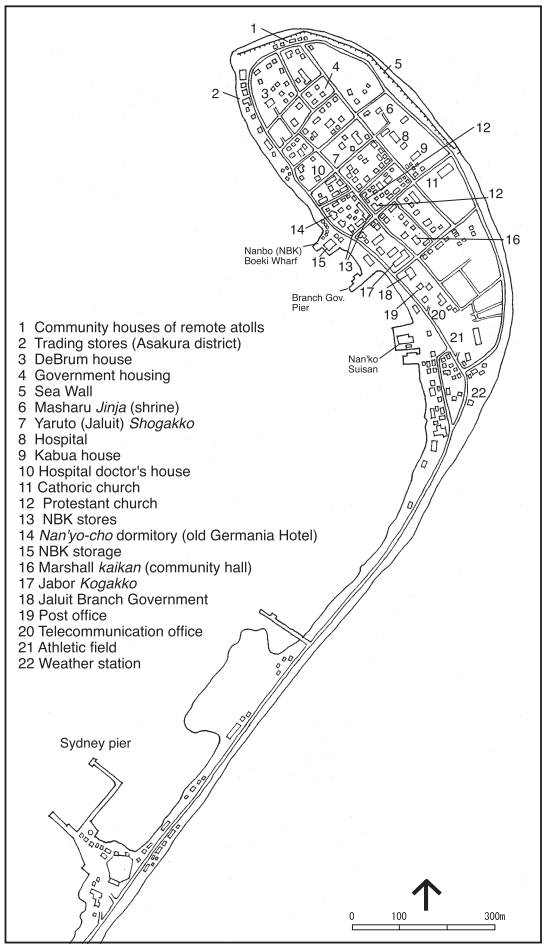


Fig. 16 Jabor Town in the early 1930s.
Source: Nishino (1935).

the highest copra produce in Micronesia, accounting for more than 40 per cent of the total amount of copra exported from *Nan'yo Gunto*. Because of copra trading, the Marshallese had been used to a cash economy since the 19th century. They were accustomed to buying commodities like rice (breadfruits and cassavas were more limited as compared to other island groups), clothes and other goods. Upon his visit in 1941, Atsushi Nakajima was surprised to find that almost all Marshallese families he saw owned sewing machines, even though their houses looked humble to his eyes. He also enjoyed a wide variety of food while in Jaluit, from roasted chicken to oven-fresh bread and coffee (Nakajima 2001: 34-43). Since economic opportunities were limited to copra trading, general merchandizing and fishery, the Japanese population in the Marshalls in 1940 was 680, the smallest among all branch districts (Table 3).

4-1 Jabor, a Trading Post

Since the German period, the center of administration and businesses of the Marshall Islands had been Jabor in Jaluit Atoll (Fig. 16). After the arrival of the Japanese in 1914, all Germans except those in missionary service were relocated to other areas in the Marshall Islands. In 1935, there were 1,005 Marshallese, 428 Japanese and 5 foreigners in Jabor (Table 3). The Japanese community consisted mainly of government officials and their families, merchants/traders, and fishermen.



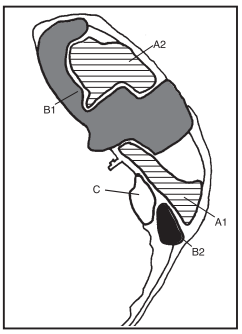
Source: Buildings and streets laynout based on on aerial photographs taken by US Navy, March 1944 (Bishop Museum collection); Jaluit (Yaruto) Anchorage, August 1984 (Scale:1:10,370), Chart no. 81809, Defence Mapping Agency Hydrographic/ Topographic.

Fig. 17 Jabor, Jaluit Atoll, Marshall Islands in 1944.

Jabor Town was small, flat and had a gridded street layout (Fig. 17). Buildings from the German period remained in the front row of the town and palm trees had been planted, providing a charming impression to visitors who arrived at the branch government pier.[*29)] Major government facilities including Jabor *Kogakko,* Jaluit branch government office, a post office, a telegraph office and an athletic field were to the south of the branch government pier (Fig. 18: A1). This was the oldest section of the town since Jabor became a trading post in the 19th century. On the northern side of the town behind the front row of buildings, there was also an area where Jaluit *Shogakko*, Jaluit Hospital and government housing were located (Fig. 18: A2).

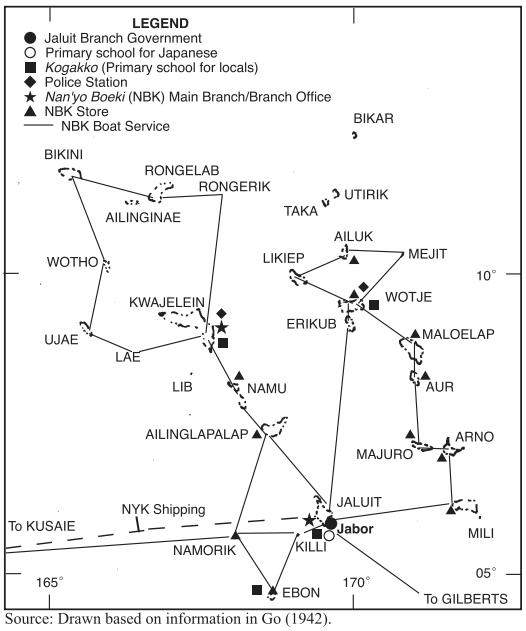
NBK had large warehouses along the wharves, where many stevedores worked. It ran the largest business in the Marshalls and had several retail buildings in Jabor. Most of 34 businesses in 1939 (Japanese census) were concentrated near NBK and a few blocks behind (Fig. 18:B1). Many of the Japanese stores selling goods were also involved in copra trading. A Protestant church run by the American Board of Mission and a Catholic church stood among stores and billiard shops. Towards the northern end, there was a row of community houses owned by different island groups and residences of wealthy Marshallese. In these houses, there were always many locals who had come from remote atolls to stay in town. At the southern end of the town was a pleasure district with some *ryoriya* and cafes/bars with many women (Fig. 18: B2). There were also Okinawan fishermen making their living out of bonito fishery in this area.[*30)]

In Jabor, the local Marshallese were very much a part of the urban economy. There were several Marshallese who owned large copra trading businesses.[*31)] Among local children at Jabor *Kogakko*, it was common to bring store-bought soda pop and canned fish on school field trips. No movie theater existed in town but the community hall, Marshall *Kaikan*, showed movies regularly.[*32)] Interestingly, its audience was 1.5 times that of Natsujima in Truk in 1939 (Nan'yo-cho 1941a), where a permanent theater



A1-A2: Government precincts/housing
B1: Commercial area
B2: Pleasure district
C: Other

Fig.18 Landuse of Jabor Town.



Source: Drawn based on information in Go (1942).

Fig. 19 Locations of NBK branches, Kogakko and Police Stations and NBK Boat Service Network.

could be found and the Japanese population was four times that of Jabor. This was presumably because more locals attended the movie showings.

4-2 NBK and Other Trading Stores in Remote Atolls: the Forefront of Japanese Colonial Economy

Jabor, Jaluit was the final destination of the NYK's eastbound shipping services from Japan. There were also regular boat services (eastbound and westbound) with other atolls within the Marshalls from Jabor, a service both ordered and subsidized by the *Nan'yo-cho* and operated by NBK. As NKK, NBK was not a government agency but had a prominent role in the economic development of *Nan'yo Gunto* from early years. By 1942, NBK was merged with NKK, forming the most powerful private corporation in *Nan'yo Gunto*.

Twelve NBK branch stores in remote atolls of the Marshalls were linked with the regular shipping network (Fig.19). The stores sold goods to locals and bought copra (Fig.20) (small NBK branch stores were also seen in the remote islands of the Yap Branch). The NBK employees often took local wives and had families.[*33)] Among the twelve NBK Branch locations in the Marshalls, Kwajalein and Wotje each had a *kogakko* and a police station as well. Ebon had a *kogakko*. The remainder only had a NBK branch office/store, sometimes along with other Japanese trading stores. Besides these trading outposts, there were also independent copra buyers who collected copra and traded with the NBK and other businesses.[*34)]

5. CONCLUSION

This paper has examined the urban morphology and features of Japanese colonial towns in Ponape, Kusaie, Yap and Marshalls including several smaller Japanese settlements in remote areas. The findings can be summarized as follows.

Firstly, three key components that characterized Japanese colonial towns in *Nan'yo Gunto*, namely government/company precincts, commercial strips and pleasure districts, were found even in towns with a Japanese population of only a few hundred. In particular, the existence of a government sector or established corporations like NKK effectively determined the size and function of Japanese colonial towns. *Nan'yo-cho* government officials or corporate employees who were paid high monthly salaries worked at government/company offices and lived in the formal housing area provided for them. They brought with them metropolitan life styles to the colonial settlements in the Pacific. Their needs as urban consumers facilitated to develop a wide variety of stores as well as *ryoriya*, where important social occasions took place. Colonia on Yap, Jabor in the Marshalls and Matalanim on Ponape in the 1930s were small towns with only several hundred Japanese residents, but all had *ryoriya* in their outskirts.[*35)] On the contrary, Lele on Kusaie did not have any *ryoriya* as there was no government administration or companies with sufficient white-collar employees. The number of *ryoriya* seems to have indicated the level of urban development in Japanese colonial towns.

Fig.20 Japanese Trading Store in the Marshalls, c. 1916-17
Soucrce: By T. McMahon, Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW. PXB 293/3/59.

Secondly, government facilities were scattered in a manner which showed respective needs for education and order for each area. For example, most *shogakko* were located in towns. However, sometimes they were built in rural locations where any sizable Japanese communities existed with families, as seen in the case of the *shogakko* on Kusaie.

Kogakko were more often built in remote locations in the midst of local communities to provide public education to local children. Teachers and their families lived by themselves on these *kogakko* premises, as seen in Maki on Yap. Although living in rural areas, the residents were not self-sufficient producers such as farmers; they lived on a good salary paid by the administration and were consumers who depended on supplies and transportation provided from towns. These *kogakko* premises functioned as outposts implementing policies at the forefront of colonial rule.

Similarly, police stations were established in remote areas on behalf of the colonial administration either alone or together with *shogakko/kogakko*. As discussed earlier, Nakajima in 1941 noted the typical dispute between the police officer and *kogakko* principal over exerting their authority in remote settlements, using a case observed in Lele on Kusaie as an example. Umesao also described his encounter with a police officer and his family living in an isolated village in Ponape, who acted as the highest authority handling all administrative matters in the area (1943: 455). These outposts with police stations were at the forefront of colonial order.

Away from *kogakko* and police stations, NBK branches were often established in more remote islands where there were trading opportunities, as seen in the Marshalls. Their modest settlements can be seen as outposts at the forefront of colonial economy. Although distant, these outposts were connected by regular shipping services subsidized by the *Nan'yo-cho.*

These outposts were small and reomote, yet they functioned as the extension of towns and contributed to consolidate the Japanese mandate of Micronesia.

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Anna Aliksa, Annie Sam, Kun Tolennoa, Lambert Talley; in Japan, Yumiko Imaizumi, Makihiko Tsujihara, Mitsuko Ikehara, Matsusuke Ikehara, Sakae Taira, Hatsuko Tamanaha, Ken Uehara, Junichi Uehara and Okinawa Ponape-kai; in Guam, MARC, University of Guam; in US: Bishop Museum Archives.

NOTES

*1) Japanese nationals include those from Sahalin, Korea and Taiwan. The peak populations were recorded in 1943 (Imaizumi 1993:76).

*2) There were more than 6 Japanese to one local in ratio in these two districts.

*3) In this paper, place names are presented as they were known during the colonial period such as Ponape (Pohnpei) and Kusaie (Kosrae).

*4) Previous investigations of these island groups include Peattie's study (1988) which provides the most comprehensive historical accounts of the Japanese colonial rule of Micronesia. Concerning Ponape, Bascom (1965) provides detailed information on the economic development of the island by the Japanese and the urban condition of Kolonia, while Hanlon (1981) describes the historical evolution of the town. A map of pre-war Kolonia with names of buildings based on information from former residents is now available (Okinawa-ken 2003). For Yap, Tsujihara et al. (2002) examines Japanese colonial architecture in Colonia and remote parts of the islands. For the Marshalls, information is limited concerning urban conditions during the Japanese period.

*5) Local interviewees included 4 Pohnpeians, 5 Kosraeans, 3 Yapese and 14 Marshallese. Former Japanese resident interviewees included 5 on Ponape, 2 on Kusaie and 1 on Yap.

*6) Since maps made by memoirs are not always accurate, we attempted to double-check the information on plural sources (maps and interviews) as much as possible.

*7) Wakamoto, a pharmaceutical company also had a cassava plantation on Ponape (Umesao 1943: 429-430).

*8) As Asahi-mura, Mizuho-mura and Shimizu-mura in Palau, the *Nan'yo-cho*'s idea was to promote the self-sufficiency on the island.

*9) Bascom (1965: 36-37) describes the development of Japanese businesses in detail.

*10) The economy of Ponape was comprehensive but most of the food and materials were imported to support the needs of the Japanese community. The export from Ponape exceeded the imports only for a few years in the 1920s when the Japanese population was small.

*11) The number of Japanese residents in Kolonia in 1941 was 4,012 (Nan'yo-cho 1942b). Ponapean population in Kolonia is only available for 1935, which was 891 (Japanese Census). Given the growth of the economy in the 1940s, the population of Kolonia in the beginning of the 1940s can be estimated to be at least 5,000 together.

*12) Yamamoto (1917:279) described six German government officers in Ponape all together; a head administrator, a doctor, an officer, two police officers and an assistant engineer.

*13) Interview with Yvette Etscheit Adams, March, 2010.

*14) Hatsuko Tamanaha born in 1936 on Saipan moved to Kolonia with her parents and lived behind Kaigan *Dori*, near a café. Her father was a boat builder from Itoman, Okinawa and her mother sold fish on the streets (Interview with Hatsuko Tamanaha, June 2009).

*15) The original *shogakko* was founded by NKK as a private school within the company premises. It was later turned into a public school and moved to a location outside as the number of Japanese children increased (Nan'yo Gunto Kyoikukai 1938). The number of enrolement for 1941 is from the *Nan'yo-cho* (1942b).

*16) See Ono et al (2002a). For the origin of sugar company town models, see Ono and Ando (2007).

*17) The original school for locals on Lele was established in 1917. Some local children commuted to the *kogakko* from the main island by canoes. Those who qualified to continue their studies were sent to Ponape for additional two years of study and lived in the school dormitory.

*18) There were several Koreans as well.

*19) There are four adjacent islands connected by roads, but together they were referred as Yap Islands.

*20) American Journalist Willard Price stayed with the Untalans, the most prominent Chamorro family while in Colonia (Price 1936:144-152). Their house was a white walled Spanish hacienda.

*21) Fumio Nonaka, a visitor in the early 1930s, noted a humble *ryoriya* with women from Japanese rural area. He wrote 'its business is almost entirely on officlals of branch government' (Nonaka 1934, reprinted in Koguge 1978: 48). In 1939, there were two *ryoriya* operating in Colonia compared to one in Matalanim on Ponape, although Colonia's Japanese population was smaller (Japanese census) .

*22) Tsujihara et al (2002) show the plan and detailed information on Maki *Kogakko* completed in 1935. The school was comparatively large in *Nan'yo Gunto*.

*23) Interview with Akira Ohashi, September 2008.

*24) The number of students are based on the *Nan'yo-cho* statistics (1933-1941a). Dormitory is not listed but according to Akira Ohashi, there was one.

*25) Interview with Akira Ohashi, September 2008.

*26) The role of education in Japan's colonial policy is discussed in Imaizumi (1996).

*27) The floor plan for the police station in Gachpar, Yap in shown in Tsujihara et al (2002: 416). It was built after 1939.

*28) Out of 12 *kogakko* in the three branch districts of Ponape, Yap and Jaluit, 7 were located in isolated locations. In 1939, there were 13 police stations (*junsa chuzaisho*) outside towns in the three branch districts.

*29) For example, Hotel Germania was built near the pier by a German Karl Domnick. This was turned into a dormitory for single officers of the *Nan'yo-cho*. The neat row of whitewashed frame buildings seemed as though they had been 'transplanted from any German town' (Hezel 1995: 52).

*30) The ratio of those from Okinawa among Japanese was the lowest in Jaluit Branch, at about 17% in 1939. The average was 59 % (Nan'yo-cho 1941a).

*31) For example, Kabua, the well-known local chief who had a large house in the town, owned two 25-ton schooners for copra trading. Because of copra trading, Marshallese were the most highly paid laborers since the German times (Hezel 1995: 53, 130).

*32) Interviews with Wase Saburo, Shizuko Kabua, Ruth Alik, Gordon Maddison and Johny Alik in March 2009 and Banep Bikajli, Laki Paul and Toleran Bob in August 2009.

*33) There were also Western resident copra traders who stayed in remote areas and took local wives before Japanese (Micronesian Seminar photo album, 'When copra was king', http://www.micsem.org/photos.htm).

*34) In Yap, independent copra buyers were often Okinawans and Koreans. They had humble huts where they stayed in the rural areas.

*35) There was a *ryoriya* in Natsujima, Truk in 1930 when the Japanese population was at 351 (Ono and Ando 2012). Here too *ryoriya* was built at the periphery of the settlement.

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和文要約

1914 年から約 30 年間、日本の統治下に置かれたミクロネシア（旧南洋群島）には 10 万人近い大量の日本人が移民し、各地に都市が形成された。最も人口が集中したのはサイパン支庁（北マリアナ諸島）とパラオ支庁（コロール島等）であったが、その他の地域にも多様な規模、機能の日本人居住地が形成され、現地社会に大きな変化をもたらした。本論文はこのうち、ポナペ支庁（ポナペ島、クサイエ島）、ヤップ支庁（ヤップ島）、ヤルート支庁（マーシャル諸島）の３支庁の日本人居住地について分析を行い、以下のことを明らかにした。

第一に、日本人人口が数百名の小さな町にも官庁／会社（官舎・社宅）街、商店街、歓楽街（料理屋）の３要素が揃っていた。官舎や社宅に住む日本人は月給をもらう都市的消費者で、彼らの生活様式が商店街の形成を促し、日本人町を作り出した。特に料理屋（料亭）は日本人社会において重要な社交場であり、都市発達の程度を示す重要な指標であった。

第二に、支庁や企業の所在地以外にも、各地域の事情に応じて様々な機能を持つ日本人居住地が見られた。現地住民への日本式教育を目的とする公学校は離島を含む僻地にも配置され、教員とその家族の数名が暮らす小さな居住地がつくられた。教育は委任統治の最も重要な施策の一つであり、こうした公学校は、日本による植民地統治の最前線に置かれた居住地であったと位置づけられる。同様に、僻地の巡査駐在所は、植民地秩序を維持する最前線に置かれた日本人居住地であった。また、公的機関ではなかったが、主としてコプラ貿易に携わる南洋貿易株式会社の支店は、時には公学校や駐在所もない離島にも配置され、一軒の店が植民地経済の最前線であった。こうした小さな日本人居住地は、都市の延長として機能し、委任統治の一翼を担っていた。

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