

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable". For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions.

1. Name of Property

Historic name: Chagui'an Massacre Site
Other names/site number: Yigo Massacre Site, GHPI Site No. 66-08-1114
Name of related multiple property listing:
N/A
(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing)

2. Location

Street & number: Chalan Emsley
City or town: Yigo Municipality State: Guam County: N/A
Not For Publication: Vicinity:

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,
I hereby certify that this X nomination ___ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.
In my opinion, the property X meets ___ does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following level(s) of significance:

X national X statewide X local
Applicable National Register Criteria:
X A ___ B ___ C ___ D

Lynda Bordallo Aguon
Lynda Bordallo Aguon, State Historic Preservation Officer 10/28/15
Signature of certifying official/Title: Date
State Historic Preservation Office, Guam Department of Parks and Recreation
State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register criteria.
Signature of commenting official: Date
Title : State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

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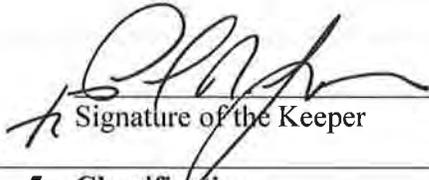
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4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

- entered in the National Register
- determined eligible for the National Register
- determined not eligible for the National Register
- removed from the National Register
- other (explain:)


Signature of the Keeper

4/5/2016
Date of Action

5. Classification

Ownership of Property

(Check as many boxes as apply.)

- Private:
- Public – Local
- Public – State
- Public – Federal

Category of Property

(Check only one box.)

- Building(s)
- District
- Site
- Structure
- Object

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Number of Resources within Property

(Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
_____	_____	buildings
<u>1</u>	_____	sites
_____	_____	structures
_____	_____	objects
<u>1</u>	_____	Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 0

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions

(Enter categories from instructions.)

OTHER: Massacre Site
LANDSCAPE: Unoccupied Land

Current Functions

(Enter categories from instructions.)

LANDSCAPE: Unoccupied Land
DOMESTIC: Single Dwelling

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7. Description

Architectural Classification

(Enter categories from instructions.)

N/A

Materials: (enter categories from instructions.)

Principal exterior materials of the property: N/A _____

Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current physical appearance and condition of the property. Describe contributing and noncontributing resources if applicable. Begin with a **summary paragraph** that briefly describes the general characteristics of the property, such as its location, type, style, method of construction, setting, size, and significant features. Indicate whether the property has historic integrity.)

Summary Paragraph

The Chagui'an Massacre Site is in the northern municipality of Yigo on the island of Guam, a U.S. Unincorporated Territory (Figure 1). The site encompasses 1.94 acres of mostly unoccupied and undeveloped land in a small rural community known as Chagui'an, the traditional Chamorro place name for the area. The Chagui'an Massacre Site is just north of Chalan Emsley, a small residential street diverging west off Guam Highway 9 approximately a kilometer northwest of the main entrance to Andersen Air Force Base. Access to the site is gained by proceeding roughly 880 m east on Chalan Emsley before turning north to traverse approximately 100 m through the thick jungle bordering the paved road. There are no known physical remains of the massacre (e.g., human remains, a trail, World War II artifacts). Regardless, the dense, wild tropical vegetation retains the area's 1944 appearance and sense of place, thus faithfully reflecting its historical association with the horrific slaughter of innocent Chamorros that occurred there. This setting continues to evoke the feeling and memories of the suffering of and sacrifices made by the indigenous population during the Japanese occupation of the island.

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Narrative Description

The Chagui'an Massacre Site is on the north-central plateau of Guam, the largest island in the Mariana archipelago and in Micronesia. Guam's northern interior consists of rugged limestone topography largely covered in dense tropical forest and dispersed residential settlements. There are no known pre-Contact archaeological sites, historic ranches, or other historic properties in the immediate vicinity of the massacre site.

During the first half of the 20th century, the Chagui'an area was heavily jungled and uninhabited. The local population may have entered the area to forage for economically useful plants or hunt coconut crabs and wild pigs. Travelers heading to Tarague (Talagi) to the north or to the south edge of the Yigo village area, traversed across Chagui'an via a bulcart trail (also called the Chagui'an Trail and Tarague Trail), "a much used unpaved road which ran from Yigo to Tarague point by way of Chaguian and Fineguayac" (Flores 1978).

The 1944 descriptions of the massacre site indicate the atrocity occurred beside this bulcart trail where it was shaded by several dokdok trees (breadfruit, *Artocarpus altilis*) (Flores 1978).¹ The slaughtered remains were found spread across a few hundred yards (Arnot and Johnson 1944a) in three (Perry 1944) or four (Arnot and Johnson 1944a) groups on both sides of the trail. With one group in an abandoned Ford truck, the remaining bodies are variously described as being in thickets alongside the one-way jungle road (Worden 1944), in an open bomb crater (Arnot and Johnson 1944b), in a clearing (Young in Josephy 1946:91), and in the weeds on both sides of the trail (Perry 1944).

Since World War II, the area surrounding the site has been converted to largely undeveloped residential lots with some tracts of land used for cattle grazing. The Chagui'an Massacre Site remains undeveloped and retains the thick jungle growth and flat limestone topography analogous to that encountered by World War II soldiers. Except for a small clearing accommodating a single-family dwelling close to the southeast boundary, the site is covered with dense tropical vegetation (e.g., *Cocos nucifera*, *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, *Epipremnum pinnatum*, *Leucaena leucocephala*, and *Nephrolepis* sp.).

Regardless of the relatively minor transformations of the surrounding landscape in the 70 years since 1944, the jungle continues to convey the feeling and association of the traumatic event that occurred at this location.

¹ The transcript of the 1978 Flores oral history translates the Chamorro word dokdok as 'palm' but a breadfruit tree or dokdok is easily distinguished from any of the many palm species on Guam. It may be that the interviewer added the word 'palm' rather than Mr. Flores stating the trees were in the palm family.

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8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- A. Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B. Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C. Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D. Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

- A. Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes
- B. Removed from its original location
- C. A birthplace or grave
- D. A cemetery
- E. A reconstructed building, object, or structure
- F. A commemorative property
- G. Less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years

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Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions.)

ETHNIC HERITAGE (Pacific Islander)

SOCIAL HISTORY

MILITARY

Period of Significance

1944

Significant Dates

August 7-8, 1944

Significant Person

(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)

N/A

Cultural Affiliation

N/A

Architect/Builder

N/A

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Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph (Provide a summary paragraph that includes level of significance, applicable criteria, justification for the period of significance, and any applicable criteria considerations.)

The Chagui'an Massacre Site is nominated to the National Register of Historic Places at the local, regional, and national level under Criterion A. Chagui'an represents the intense suffering and hardship endured by the indigenous population (Chamorros) of the U.S. Unincorporated territory of Guam during the 31 month Japanese wartime occupation of the island. Of the many incidents of Japanese military brutality on Guam, the largest known single act of violence is the beheading of 45 Chamorros by the Imperial Japanese Army at Chagui'an. The massacre site exemplifies the atrocities committed on Micronesian populations in the Pacific Theater of Operations and epitomizes the tragic extremes that can be inflicted on small, marginalized, native populations without political authority or the prerogative of military sanction in global conflicts. Chagui'an is one of only a handful of war-related massacres of civilians that occurred on U.S. soil during World War II.

Narrative Statement of Significance (Provide at least one paragraph for each area of significance.)

During World War II's Pacific campaign, Micronesian islanders were victims of countless gruesome and appalling atrocities perpetrated by the Japanese military. Horrific acts of violence against innocent civilians occurred during the 1941-1944 Japanese occupation of the U.S. territory of Guam. In June of 1944, the U.S military began the recapture of the island. By 31 July, after seizing Guam's beachhead, American soldiers began to drive northeast to flush out the retreating Imperial Japanese Army and secure the island. Pursuing the increasingly disorganized and dispersed Japanese forces through the dense jungle terrain and rugged limestone of Guam's interior, American troops entered the Chagui'an area on 8 August. As combat patrols from the 2nd Battalion, 21st Regiment, 3rd Marine Division navigated up a bullcart trail through Chagui'an, they encountered the grisly scene of the decapitated bodies of 45 Chamorros.

The bodies were in the weeds on both sides of a trail, 6 in one group, 23 in another group, and 13 in another group. Most of the heads had been completely severed although some were still attached. Decomposition was well underway although the features were not beyond recognition. The men's hands were bound behind their backs and it was apparent from the positions of the bodies that they had been beheaded while in the traditional Japanese kneeling position. [Perry 1944]

See Continuation Sheets.

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9. Major Bibliographical References

Bibliography (Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form.)

See Continuation Sheets

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____
- recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey # _____

Primary location of additional data:

- State Historic Preservation Office
- Other State agency
- Federal agency
- Local government
- University
- Other

Name of repository: Guam Preservation Trust

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): _____

10. Geographical Data

Acreege of Property 1.94

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Use either the UTM system or latitude/longitude coordinates

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates (decimal degrees)

Datum if other than WGS84: _____

(enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Latitude: 13.571291 | Longitude: 144.888899 |
| 2. Latitude: | Longitude: |
| 3. Latitude: | Longitude: |
| 4. Latitude: | Longitude: |

Or

UTM References

Datum (indicated on USGS map):

NAD 1927 or NAD 1983

- | | | |
|----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1. Zone: | Easting: | Northing: |
| 2. Zone: | Easting: | Northing: |
| 3. Zone: | Easting: | Northing: |
| 4. Zone: | Easting : | Northing: |

Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property.)

The boundary of the Chagui'an Massacre Site is indicated by the polygon on the accompanying USGS map (Figure 1). The boundary is centered on UTM reference point 271558E, 1501302N (projection WGS1984 UTM Zone 55N) and has a site diameter of 100 m to encompass 1.94 acres. This boundary includes portions of eight privately-owned residential lots: L7125-17-1, L7125-17-R1, L7125-17-R/W, L7125-R23-R/W, L7125-24, L7125-R28, L7125-25, and L7125-28.

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Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected.)

The Chagui'an Massacre Site location and boundary were established through Geographic Information System (GIS)-based spatial analysis of primary historical sources produced by those who first encountered the massacre. These sources include the U.S. 3rd Marine Division conducting the reconnaissance of Guam's northern plateau during August 1944 and the war correspondents who visited the site immediately after its discovery.

The 3rd Marine Division provided specific data of the massacre site location on the 1942-1944 U.S. Marine Corps Special Air and Gunnery Target topographic quadrangle maps (Special Grid Maps); Situation Overlay maps based on the Special Grid Maps; and daily field logs (D-2 Journals). The Situation Overlay maps were produced by World War II U.S. ground troops to notate and mark troop movements, enemy encountered, and other findings to detail the information contained in their daily field logs. U.S. troops recorded this information directly onto sheets traced from the Special Grid Maps; hence, the Situation Overlay maps are based on the Special Grid Map's polyconic projection system.

See Continuation Sheet.

11. Form Prepared By

name/title: Jolie Liston, Principal Investigator; Cacilie Craft, Project Director; Kelly Marsh,
organization: Garcia and Associates Ethnographer
street & number: 146 Hekili Street, Ste. 101
city or town: Kailua state: Hawaii zip code: 96734
e-mail ccraft@garciaandassociates.com
telephone: 808-262-1387
date: _____

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

- **Maps:** A USGS map or equivalent (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
- **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to this map.
- **Additional items:** (Check with the SHPO, TPO, or FPO for any additional items.)

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Photographs

Submit clear and descriptive photographs. The size of each image must be 1600x1200 pixels (minimum), 3000x2000 preferred, at 300 ppi (pixels per inch) or larger. Key all photographs to the sketch map. Each photograph must be numbered and that number must correspond to the photograph number on the photo log. For simplicity, the name of the photographer, photo date, etc. may be listed once on the photograph log and doesn't need to be labeled on every photograph.

Photo Log

Name of Property: Chagui'an Massacre Site

City or Vicinity: Yigo Municipality

County: N/A

State: Guam

Photographer: Cacilie Craft

Date Photographed: March 5, 2015

Number of Photographs: 6

GU_Guam_ChaguianMassacreSite_0001

Overview of Chagui'an Massacre Site from site center point, camera facing north.

GU_Guam_ChaguianMassacreSite_0002

Overview of Chagui'an Massacre Site from site center point, camera facing east.

GU_Guam_ChaguianMassacreSite_0003

Overview of Chagui'an Massacre Site from site center point, camera facing south.

GU_Guam_ChaguianMassacreSite_0004

Overview of Chagui'an Massacre Site from site center point, camera facing west.

GU_Guam_ChaguianMassacreSite_0005

Example of vegetation cover throughout the survey area, facing south.

GU_GuamChaguianMassacreSite_0006

Example of vegetation cover throughout the survey area, facing east.

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 460 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 100 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Office of Planning and Performance Management, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.

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Commander Perry (1944) reports that three other bodies (to total 45) were discovered nearby in the Salisbury area. Potentially due to the horror of the scene and the bodies being dispersed into at least three groups, military personnel and war journalists who witnessed the aftermath of the massacre provide different counts of the Chagui'an casualties.²

A gruesome depiction of the atrocity is provided by Private First Class Joe Young, a scout with the combat patrol, who states,

Suddenly, we came to a clearing. There, spread out on the ground, were about forty bodies of young men. They had their legs drawn up against their chests and had their arms tied behind their backs. They lay in awkward positions—on their sides and their stomachs, and on their knees—like swollen, purple lumps. And none of them had heads, they had all been decapitated. The heads lay like bowling balls all over the place.

There was a truck nearby with more bodies and lopped-off heads in it. It looked as if the Japs had been loading all the bodies and heads into the truck, but had been frightened away and had left everything behind. [Josephy 1946:91]

Military reports and newspaper accounts relate that, before their execution by decapitation or shooting, the victim's hands were tied behind their back, some had their feet bound, and they were forced to kneel. "Large welts and tears on the backs" of some of the men indicates they were beaten before being killed (Worden 1944).

The Chagui'an fatalities were identified as Chamorro men between 15 and 76 years old (Military Government of Guam Death Reports 1945). They "were in civilian clothes and none bore any indications that they were taking part or had taken part in the battle for Guam" (Worden 1944).³ Private First Class Young states there was a "beheaded woman in the truck" (Josephy 1946:91) but the remaining witnesses to the aftermath of the tragedy do not mention a woman, nor is a woman present in the Military Government of Guam Death Reports linked to the Chagui'an atrocity.

² As recorded in the official U.S. military report of the incident by Commander Perry (1944), this nomination counts the total number Chagui'an massacre victims as 45.

³ Those Chamorros who were members of the Guam Insular Force Guard before the 1941 Japanese occupation of Guam were 'blacklisted' by their captors and were more likely to be executed or tortured.

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Most victims of the brutal slaughter appear to have been conscripted in groups from the recently Japanese-established Chamorro concentration camp at Manenggon in the central village of Yoña to transport staple food supplies and military materials northward to Japanese defensive outposts (Josephy 1946:91; Garcia 1978; Torre 2001; Blaz 2008:83). An oral history collected from Jesus Garcia, a surviving member of a group of Asan villagers sent to "haul rice and biscuit supplies in big sacks on top of carabaos [water buffalo] to Yigo," tells of how, around Mataguac (near Chagui'an), two of the men,

(for reasons not recalled by Mr. Garcia) hastily abandoned their carabaos and went with the guide toward the interior where Mataguac Spring was located. Mr. Garcia believes that his companions must have wandered into the cave area where the Japanese had build [sic] there [sic] last defences [General Obata's headquarters] and in so doing incurred the ire of the Japanese. A short time later, one Saipanese interpreter⁴ came to inform Mr. Garcia and his other companions that the two who had gone to the spring had been beheaded. [Garcia 1978]

A few days after depositing their supplies several miles east of Chagui'an⁵ and being joined by a conscripted labor group composed of Piti villagers, Mr. Garcia recalls how,

a Saipanese interpreter secretly advised them (the Guamanians)⁶ to escape as there were plans to kill all of them. Seizing upon a time when twilight had descended and when they were lightly guarded, the villagers started running toward the thick jungle undergrowth in the guarded area's outskirts. From Mr. Garcia's observations, most of the Piti villagers scampered toward the general area of Chaguian while he and his two companions from Yona moved towards the direction of Agafo Gumas [in Yigo].

. . . A few days later word got back to Manenggon about the beheading of many Guamanians at Chaguian. Mr. Garcia presumes that among those killed were his co-prisoners from Piti who never got to Manenggon Camp. [Garcia 1978]

The large number of massacre victims identified as from Piti village, and the one from Asan village (Military Government of Guam Death Reports 1945), concurs with Mr. Garcia's recollections. Many of the other executed men were identified by Enrique Taitano Cruz as being from his village of Yoña (Perry 1944). The Japanese soldiers forced Mr. Baza, owner of a Yoña ranch, to provide eighteen strong and vigorous young men and carabao for a trip to Yigo; none of whom were to return to their families (Garrido 1978). Some of these men were identified as being victims of the Chagui'an massacre (Garrido 1978).

⁴ As the Northern Mariana Islands had been administered by the Japanese since 1914, Chamorros from the island of Saipan were fluent in Japanese and served as interpreters for the Japanese wartime administration on Guam.

⁵ Near the south entrance of present day Andersen Air Force Base.

⁶ Just after World War II, Guam's Chamorro population were referred to as "Guamanians" to differentiate them from Chamorros of the Northern Mariana Islands.

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Without any eyewitness accounts⁷ or survivors of the Chagui'an tragedy, the underlying reason for the gruesome murders must be interpreted within its historic context. Private First Class Young suggests the decapitated bodies found in the 1937 Ford truck (Flores 1978) parked on the bullcart trail were in the process of being moved (Josephy 1946:91) or perhaps the truck "was used to haul the victims to their doom" (Arnot and Johnson 1944a). At this stage of the war, it seems the retreating Japanese soldiers would have no spare time, extra energy, or reason to move 'enemy' bodies. Conceivably, the men were being transported away from General Obata's headquarters on the northeast side of Mount Mataguac (about 2.5 km south) to avoid U.S. forces congregating so close to the hideaway. As at least some of those massacred were escaping in the direction of Mataguac (Garcia 1978), it is possible they inadvertently got too close to the highly secret and vital Japanese command post, and were slaughtered to prevent disclosure of its location to American soldiers. However, there may not be a specific reason for the Chagui'an slaughter as in July and August of 1944 Japanese forces were inexplicably massacring scores of Chamorros.

The final disposition of the Chagui'an massacre victims is uncertain. The Marine Corps combat correspondent Josephy (1946:91) states, "the bodies were buried" but provides no other details. Commander Perry (1944) reports that the three bodies found nearby at Salisbury were "buried by a burial party" but does not give the location of the interment or mention what happened to the remaining men. Given that the Salisbury victims were certainly buried and that American soldiers and Chamorro friends and relatives knew about the atrocity, it is improbable that the remaining bodies were simply left in situ at the massacre site. However, family members of those killed may not have immediately known about their fate or were unable to travel north to Chagui'an in the tumultuous days following the American invasion when many Chamorros were still in internment camps. It is likely that the Chagui'an victims were buried but that in the aftermath of war, with countless bodies needing burial, their grave site went undocumented.

On 15 August 1944, about 2,000 Chamorros attended a requiem high mass preceded by a recitation of the rosary in memory of those massacred (Arnot and Johnson 1944b). Services were held by the only remaining Catholic priest on Guam, Father Oscar L. Calvo. The memorial service was filmed by Australian photojournalist, Damien P. Parer, who also filmed the bodies at the site of the atrocity (McDonald 2012:341). The massacre's historical significance continues to be remembered by the Chamorro population. On 12 April 2004, a memorial cross and signage listing the victim's names were erected to commemorate those who lost their lives at Chagui'an (Benevente 2014). This memorial park, a kilometer south of the massacre site, is administered by the Chagui'an Planning Committee and the Yigo Mayor's Office and owned by the Government of Guam.

⁷ The remarks section in the Military Government of Guam Death Reports (1945) states that the massacre was witnessed by Gabriel Flores Borja, a Chamorro from Saipan who served as a Japanese interpreter. If a written record of Borja's story of the massacre exists, it has never been located.

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Development History - Capture, Occupation, and Loss of the U.S. Unincorporated Territory of Guam by Japanese Imperial Forces

The Mariana Islands' indigenous population, the Chamorros, inhabited Guam for over 3,000 years before the 1521 arrival of Ferdinand Magellan's expedition. Claimed by Spain in 1565, it was not until the mid-1600s that Spanish colonization of Guam began in earnest with the intent of spreading Catholicism and offering a provisioning port for its galleons on their lucrative Acapulco-to-Manila trade route. After 230 years of dramatic sociopolitical and cultural transformations, Spain ceded Guam to the U.S. at the end of the Spanish-American War while much of Micronesia, and the remainder of the Mariana archipelago, was purchased by Germany. By 1899, a U.S. Navy captain was serving as the Governor of Guam and commander of the island's small naval base. Japan entered Micronesia during World War I, in 1914, and eventually (in 1920) secured a mandate from the League of Nations to administer Micronesia's former German possessions, including the Northern Mariana Islands (Peattie 1988).

At the beginning of the World War II Pacific campaign, the Imperial Japanese Army invaded the U.S. Unincorporated territory of Guam with the goal of eliminating an enemy base in the midst of Japanese controlled Micronesia and expanding their outer perimeter to curtail the threats of aerial attacks on the Japanese home islands. Japanese bombardment of Guam began on 8 December 1941, just a few hours after the attack on Pearl Harbor, as a part of a multi-prong attack against U.S. forces. Unfortified and with an insignificant force of about 400 U.S. soldiers and local men in the Insular Force Guard, the American Naval Commander soon surrendered Guam. Led by Major-General Tomitarō Horii, roughly 400 men with the Japanese Navy 5th Defense Force from Saipan and the 5,500 strong Japanese Army's South Seas Detachment assumed control of the island (Lodge 1954:8).

Within days of the Japanese invasion, the Japanese Commander-in-Chief issued a proclamation to the Chamorros stating, "under the regulations of our Japanese authorities and my [sic] enjoy your daily life as we guarantee your lives and [will] never distress nor plunder your property" (Palomo 1984:31). Regardless, he continued by declaring,

Those who conduct any defiance and who act spy [sic] against our enterprise, shall be court-martialled and the Army shall take strict care to execute said criminals by shooting. [Palomo 1984:31]

The latter was impressed upon the island inhabitants when, in early 1942, they were forced to witness the Japanese execute two Chamorros for alleged theft and communication with an American captive (Palomo 1984:61).

Soon after the invasion, Japanese Army troops were deployed to Rabaul in Papua New Guinea leaving a token force to garrison Guam. As a rear base, the island became a staging area for Japanese troops and ships preparing for battle to the south and east. For the next 31 months, Guam was largely administered by the Minseibu (Department of Civil Affairs) under the Imperial Japanese Navy. Within the context of the Japanization policy of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, the Minseibu pursued the objectives of maintaining peace and order, acquiring resources to develop a national defense system, and establishing military self-sufficiency (Peattie 1988; Higuchi 2013).

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The Japanese assimilation process involved teaching the Japanese language at schools; banning English; confiscating radios, cars, firearms, and cameras; enforcing the use of Japanese customs through corporal punishment; and mass indoctrination in Japanese ideology by requiring attendance at movies, parades, and lectures. The Japanization of Guam's 20,000 Chamorros, however, was more difficult to implement than initially assumed. Not only had the indigenous population been introduced to 40 years of democratic, liberal, and individualistic values in an American social and economic system but also, after centuries of Spanish rule, the island's inhabitants were devout Catholics who would not easily succumb to replacing religion with political ideology or Jesus with the Japanese Emperor (Higuchi 2001). It soon became clear that, "the main goal of Japanization [on Guam] was eradicating forty years of American symbols, values, and ultimately, loyalty among the Chamorros" (Camacho 2011:44).

Fear of the new regime's brutality, along with uncompensated seizures of buildings, evictions from homes, and confiscation of farmland, induced many Chamorros to flee the villages for their distant *lâncho siha* (ranches) where they relied on bartering and agriculture for subsistence. The local population was forced to supply monthly quotas of agricultural produce and livestock to feed the Japanese troops and officials. In addition, an obligatory number of Chamorros were required to work on Japanese farms and construction sites. Failure to meet these demands often resulted in brutal reprimands.

During the occupation, Japanese police and soldiers beat, tortured, and killed island inhabitants for genuine and alleged transgressions such as harboring American fugitives, operating radios, showing disrespect, or failing to deliver the mandated quantity of goods. By the middle of 1942, necessary provisions were becoming scarce for the local population due to the outpouring of food quotas and the Japanese commandeering additional desired goods (Palomo 1984:127). Deprivation and hunger became commonplace.

By late 1943, after American forces had taken the Gilberts and the Solomons, and were on the way to capturing the Marshalls and the Eastern Carolines, it became clear that Japanese military strength was deteriorating. The Japanese stance towards the Chamorros transformed from one of forced integration and assimilation to more direct commandeering of labor and resources to support Japanese military goals. With a shortage of provisions in Japan and U.S. attacks preventing Japanese transport ships from reaching Guam, the island's food supply rapidly dwindled. The suffering and hardship imposed upon the Chamorro population rose dramatically.

Increasing agricultural production to sustain the expanding occupation forces become a priority. The Kaikontai (Agriculture Development Unit) ruthlessly mobilized all able-bodied Chamorro women and children over twelve to toil from dawn to dusk as field hands. The Setsueitai (Navy Construction Company) anxiously strengthened Japanese defenses by building the Orote and Tiyan airfields and expanding fortifications. A labor force composed of Chamorro and indentured Okinawan and Korean men was forced to work night and day digging hundreds of underground air raid shelters, building barricades, hauling munitions, unloading ships, and constructing the airports. Throughout these desperate months, the Setsueitai and the Kaikontai treated the indigenous population with particular brutality.

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By March 1944, under the increasing threat of an Allied invasion, some 13,000 Japanese Army units returned to reinforce the roughly 5,000 Japanese Naval forces and noncombatant construction and agricultural units on Guam (Lodge 1954:8, 196–197). The majority of the newly arrived soldiers were seasoned war veterans deployed from the 29th Division of the Kwantung Army in Manchuria. Guam's defense was under the command of General Takeshi Takashina, Commanding General of the 29th Division and the Southern Marianas Army Group, until his death on 28 July when General Hideyoshi Obata, Commanding General 31st Army, assumed command.

On 16 June 1944, the U.S. military began preliminary air and sea bombardment of Guam in preparation for the imminent invasion. Retaking Guam and controlling the northern Mariana islands was an important strategic military objective for U.S. forces (Rogers 1995:194–195). Capturing the Marianas would sever the communication and supply lines between Japan and its island holdings in the South and Central Pacific, provide a base for the B29 Superfortress bombers to initiate raids on Japan, supply a deepwater harbor for a forward naval base to support U.S. operations in Southeast Asia, and strike a significant blow to Japanese morale.

On 10 July, with the U.S. invasion imminent, General Takashina, ordered the evacuation of almost the entire Chamorro population⁸ from their homes to be forcibly marched to internment camps, the largest of which was along the Manenggon River, near the southeast coast. The intent of this exodus may have been to assemble the civilians for their own safety, to prevent them from aiding enemy forces, or to congregate them for slaughter. Ten to fifteen thousand people, from infants to the elderly, carrying whatever possessions they could manage, were marched to camps at bayonet point over the course of several days and nights. Japanese military personnel beat anyone who left the path for food, water, or to rest while those who could not keep up were left behind to die. With no food, shelter, latrines, or medical supplies, and in the height of the season of torrential rains, survival became the chief occupation of those in the squalid camps. Japanese guards recruited able-bodied men and boys from the camps to carry food and supplies to outposts and build evermore defenses. There are no records of how many people died en route to or at Manenggon and the other camps in which they remained until released by U.S. forces on 31 July.

On 8 July, the U.S. air attack escalated to persist for thirteen consecutive days, the longest preliminary aerial bombardment sustained by any Pacific island during World War II (Crowl 1960:320). By 21 July, Japanese coastal defenses were sufficiently damaged that U.S. forces could invade the southwest beaches with the 3rd Marine Division coming ashore on Asan Beach and the Army's 77th Infantry Division and 1st Provisional Brigade landing in Agat (Lodge 1954; Crowl 1960; Gailey 1988). The Japanese military tactic for the defense of Guam emphasized annihilation of the enemy at the invasion beaches. Met with fierce resistance, it was not until 29 July that the beachhead line was secure and the heavily fortified Orote Peninsula fell to the Americans.

⁸Chamorros conscripted to feed the soldiers and carry ammunition through the dangerous front lines or who successfully hid from the Japanese were not interned in the camps.

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The Japanese planned to make a stand in Guam's mountainous interior if they were defeated in the initial assault phase. Cut-off from supplies or reinforcements, their inland line soon collapsed and the exhausted, disorganized, and desperate Japanese troops retreated onto Guam's northern plateau for their last-ditch defense in the Mount Mataguac-Mount Santa Rosa area in Yigo. Accompanying the fleeing Japanese soldiers were Korean and Okinawan conscripted laborers and Japanese civilians who feared death at the hands of the American military.

U.S. forces pressed northward after the retreating enemy in heavy rain and thick jungle with the 3rd Marine Division on the west, the 77th Infantry Division to the east, and the 1st Provisional Brigade in the center. Assisting the soldiers were Chamorro scouts in the Local Security Patrol Force, or Combat Patrol, as well as K-9 dog platoons. After continual skirmishes, and fierce engagements at Mount Barrigada on 2 August and Mount Santa Rosa on 7 August, U.S. forces completed the drive north by reaching the cliffs above Tarague. General Roy S. Geiger announced the end of organized resistance on Guam on 10 August. A final small battle occurred on 11 August at the fortified command post of General Obata at the base of Mount Mataguac.

U.S. forces and the Combat Patrol undertook considerable reconnaissance efforts to capture the 9,000 Japanese soldiers refusing to surrender and remaining hidden within Guam's jungles. Small skirmishes and confrontations occurred throughout the island long after it was declared secure with holdouts tracked down through September 1945 and the last straggler discovered in 1972. After the death of 1,769 American forces, roughly 18,000 Japanese soldiers, and over a thousand Chamorros during the Battle of Guam, the island once again became a U.S. Island Command with the objective of providing support for the next phase of the Pacific war operations.

Historic Context - World War II Japanese Atrocities on Micronesian Populations

Pacific islanders were caught in the crossfire of some of World War II's heaviest fighting to endure appalling physical and psychological horrors. Despite the indigenous island populations' lack of political authority or the prerogative of military sanction, they were forcibly subjected into the turbulent and bloody conflict between two colonial powers that raged across the Pacific.

Whether their islands had been claimed by Japan since 1914 or during the Pacific campaign, indigenous inhabitants of Micronesia were regarded as racially inferior subjects of the Japanese Greater East-Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Islanders suffered adversity in the form of food shortages, sexual slavery, forced arduous labor, and vicious brutality throughout the war (Mamara and Kaiuea 1979; White and Lindstrom 1989; Poyer et al. 2000; Falgout et al. 2007). These hardships were compounded by mandatory evacuations from home islands and the untold number of innocent civilians who lost their lives or were injured as casualties of war during fierce battles on the constricted islands. The most horrific savagery to native populations occurred in the last year of World War II when the Japanese Imperial Army recognized imminent defeat. In this atmosphere of fear and panic, Japanese organizational efficiency and social control completely collapsed and chaos reigned (Ineaga 1978; Dower 1986).

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During the terrifying period when Japanese loss appeared inevitable and invasion was at hand, Micronesians were victims of countless gruesome and appalling atrocities perpetrated by Japanese military forces including torture, rape, and random executions. Micronesian populations became "mere tools to be utilized without regard to their safety or well-being" (Palomo 1984:168). On Chuuk, some 70 native women, already forced into prostitution by their captors, were mercilessly gunned down (Hicks 1995). On Nauru, 39 sufferers of Hansen's disease were herded aboard a naval ship, ostensibly bound for safety on Pohnpei, which was intentionally shelled with those attempting to escape the doomed vessel shot to death (Tanaka 2010).

The most consistent instances of Japanese wartime atrocities inflicted on native islanders occurred on Guam, the largest of the Micronesian islands, where the native inhabitants were often "treated with suspicion" as the enemy (Camacho 2011). At least 1,170 civilians,⁹ most of them Chamorro, died during the 31 months of the Japanese invasion, occupation, and American capture of the island with thousands more suffering debilitating physical and psychological harm (Palomo 1984, 1991; Palomo and Borja 1994; Blaz 2008; Babauta 2014). Some of the numbered dead were casualties of war or those who died of old age while the fate of others was a direct result of the beatings, torture, and other injustices inflicted upon them by Japanese soldiers.

Once the American pre-invasion bombing and strafing of Guam began on 16 June, the island broke into chaos. With the breakdown in military morale and discipline, Japanese atrocities to their Chamorro captives began in earnest. At times the desperate, fearful, and suspicious Japanese forces brutalized the Chamorros out of fear of intelligence reports being sent to the U.S., for refusing to divulge the whereabouts of the fugitive U.S. Navy radioman George Tweed, or other acts of espionage; but more often acts of violence were inflicted without provocation and for no apparent reason.

The Japanese military's harshest atrocities against the Chamorro people were the massacres of innocent civilians. The plight of the Chamorros in these final days before Guam was captured by the Americans is portrayed in the gruesome description of the Fena massacre that tells of the fate of those kept in Agat to supply food to Japanese soldiers.

On July 22, the day after the American landings on the beaches at As'an and Agat, most of the girls were taken to various caves in the area and given to the soldiers as a reward for fighting bravely or to encourage them to do so. The girls were gang raped throughout the night. The rapes continued even as the Americans were advancing into the area. To hide the crimes, soldiers threw hand grenades into the caves before they retreated. For the girls not in the caves or who were fortunate enough to escape, their plight was still not over. Many were simply shot down as they sought cover in the jungle. One small group of girls found an additional horror. They were lucky enough to get away, but when they tried to hide in a cave they found it littered with bloody body parts. They were the remnants of the men and boys who had also been kept behind at Agat. They had apparently been forced into the cave where soldiers tossed grenade after grenade in after them. [Blaz 2008:151]

⁹ The War in the Pacific National Historical Park's list of those who died during the invasion, occupation, and liberation of Guam (8 December 1941–10 August 1944), compiled by Guam Governor and Congress, is not divided into nationality or ethnicity, but rather listed as the 'people of Guam' (J. Richardson, Superintendent, War in the Pacific NHP, pers. comm., 26 February 2015).

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Wholesale massacres of Chamorro men, women, and children by the Japanese Imperial Army in July of 1944 became frequent events on Guam. Father Jesus Baza Duenas, one of three Chamorro clergymen on Guam and an outspoken defender of his faith, along with three other Chamorros were beheaded 12 July after days of interrogation and torture. Eleven Chamorros were bayoneted to death in the capital of Hagåtña with two teenagers escaping the onslaught by feigning death. In two separate infamous massacres that occurred in Merizo, one at Tinta the other at Faha, villagers assigned to work crews were ushered into caves under the pretense of being offered haven from artillery shells. Japanese soldiers lobbed grenades in after them and bayoneted those who survived the explosions. At Tinta (NRHP No. 91001720), fourteen of the 30 Chamorro victims escaped to tell of the atrocities. All of the 30 men at Faha perished (NRHP No. 91001091). Of these brutal atrocities, the massacre at Chagui'an claimed the most victims.

Stories of the hardships and atrocities endured by their family, friends, and island nations during World War II continue to be solemnly passed down over the generations and commemorated year after year in the islands of Micronesia. Islanders remember World War II as a traumatic time when they were pawns in their own homeland, at the mercy of harsh military masters regardless of whether their islands were a Japanese colonial holding or a U.S. colony seized by the Japanese military. At times islanders speak of the quieter early years of the war or of their initial loyalty to Japan or the U.S., some even fighting on behalf of one side or the other. Many also point out that they were caught in the crossfire of a war not of their making but being fought by two colonial nations. For Micronesian islanders, the Pacific campaign was a time of hardships endured while serving others' colonial and wartime agendas. This was especially so in the final months of the conflict when adversity, starvation, and loss were rampant and pervasive. Far too common are the tragic stories of the deaths of mothers, fathers, sisters, brothers, daughters, and sons, each narrative seeming to bear more tragedy than the next. The pinnacle in these recountings of wartime suffering are the massacre narratives in which the senseless brutality against innocent islanders removed loved ones forever from the lives of their families.

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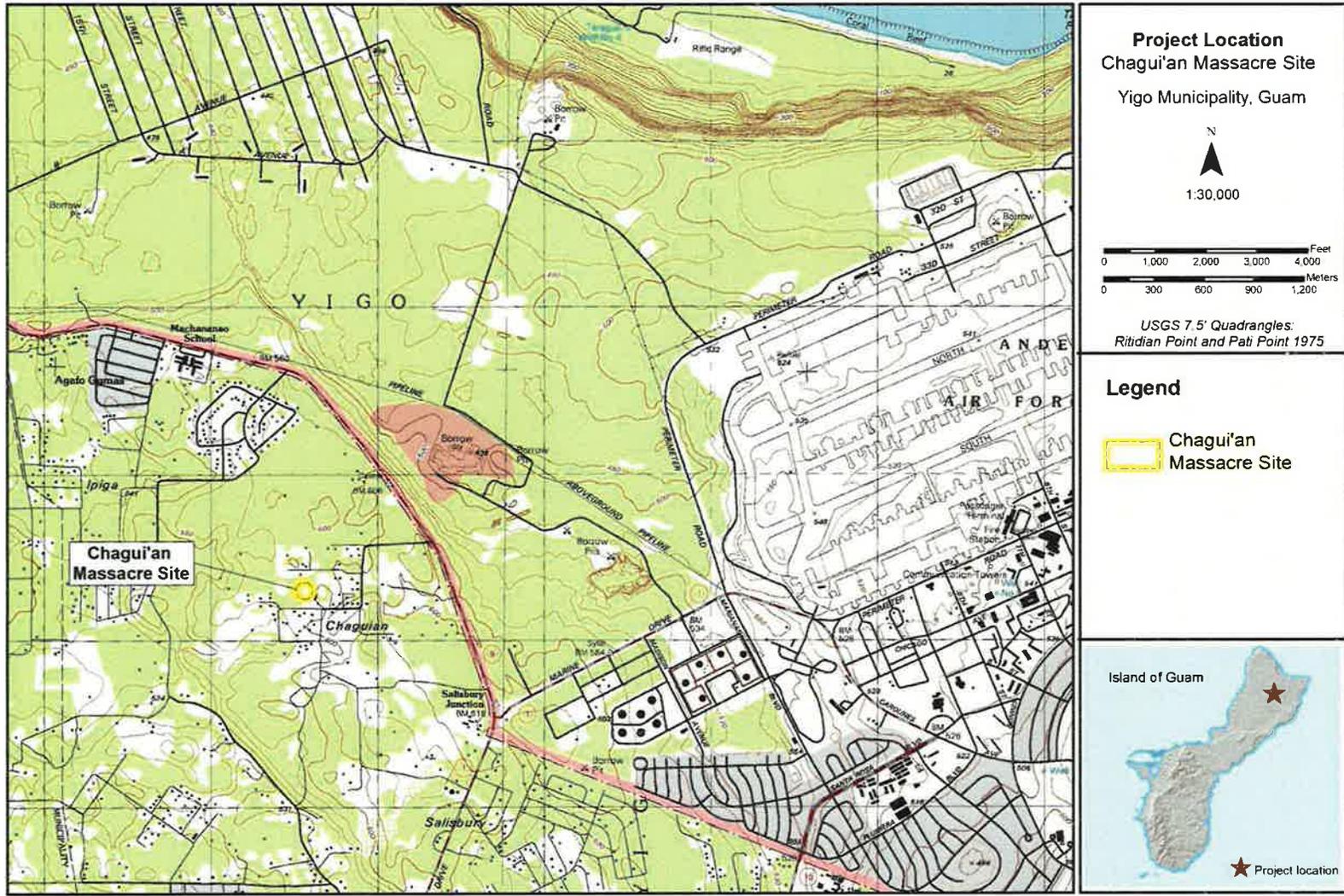
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The location of the Chagui'an massacre was first recorded in the 8 August D-2 Journals of the 3rd Marine Division's 21st Regiment as in the vicinity of Grid 788W with a later, more secure reference to the location as Grid 772E. On 9 and 10 August, troops from the 3rd Marine Division produced two Situation Overlay Maps that firmly placed the location of the discovered bodies along the Chagui'an bullcart trail, a known jungle access trail displayed on other maps of the period.

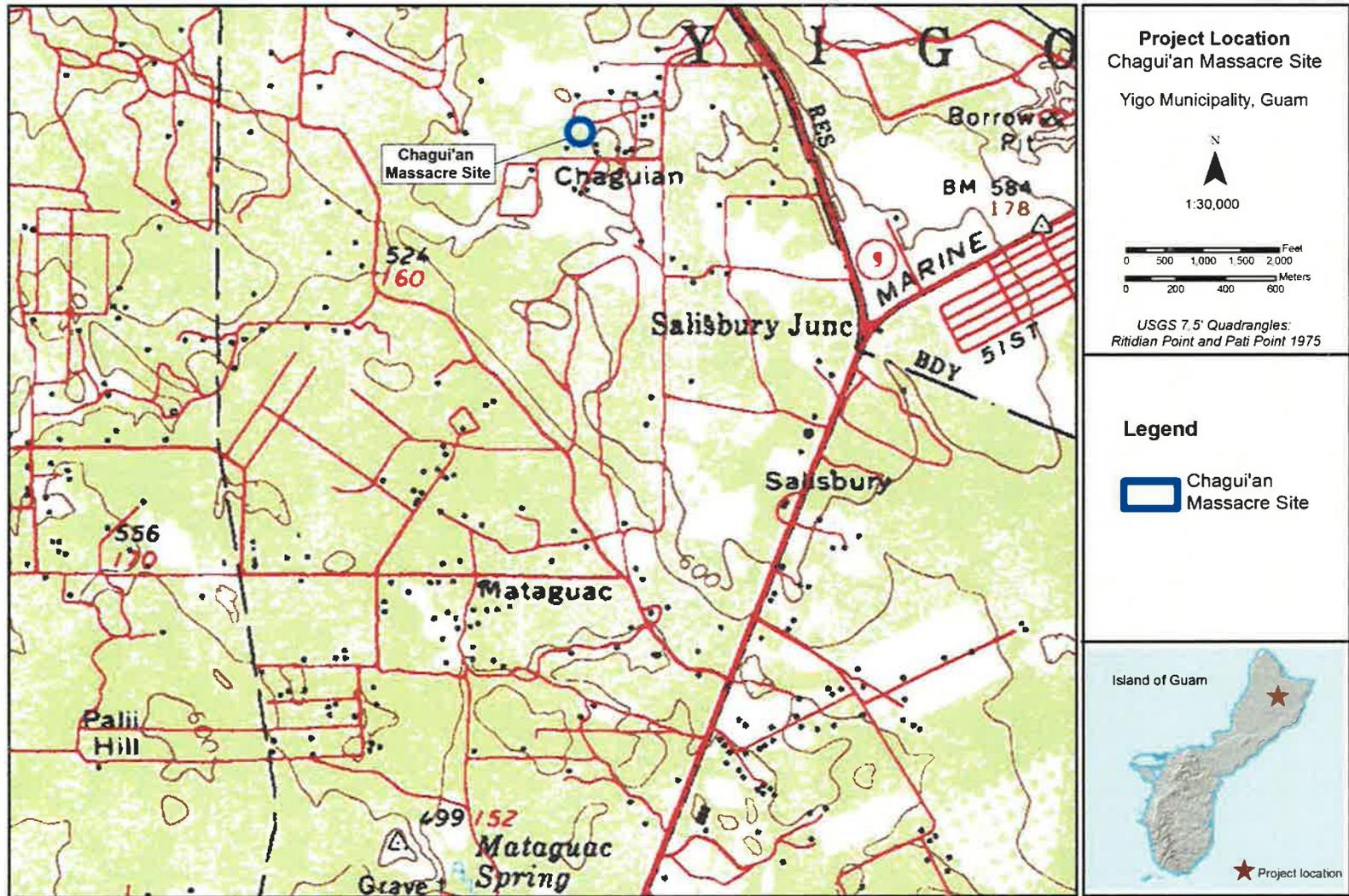
This historic spatial information was analyzed and compared with other historic imagery of the time (i.e., a 1944 U.S. Army Island of Guam map and 1940s military aerial photographs). This combined material was georeferenced using ESRI ArcGIS, Version 10.2, with the 1984 World Geodetic System (WGS84) datum and a projection of Zone 55 North. Point locations from the historic maps (e.g., known datums, major natural features) were spatially linked to the same features on contemporary USGS 7.5' topographic quadrangle maps and 2011 National Agriculture Imagery Program (NAIP) aerial photography. This georeferencing process verified the location of the massacre site in relation to contemporary maps with a potential error of 8 m, based on the Root Mean Square (RMS) value. The potential error of 8 m was considered favorable considering the inherent difficulties in pinpointing exact locations on contemporary maps using historical topographic quadrangles, which are not georeferenced to a current geographic datum or projection and often do not match more accurate modern coordinate systems.

The GIS-verified massacre site location was navigated to in the field using a handheld Geographic Positioning System (GPS) device. An archaeological survey was conducted of the georeferenced site location, but no physical remains of the massacre event or the original bullcart trail accessed by the 21st Regiment were encountered. Many trails and features dating to the World War II period are now overgrown in vegetation or were re-aligned, destroyed, or covered during modern development projects.

Due to the lack of physical remains or identifiable landscape features at the GIS-verified location, the site boundary was chosen based on verbal descriptions found in primary sources of the Chagui'an massacre. Commander Perry and wartime correspondents who visited the site within days of its initial discovery indicate that the bodies were distributed in several clusters. In their subsequent newspaper articles, the journalists describe the discovered bodies as being about "10 yards from the road" (Worden 1944) and scattered "down the jungle trail a few hundred yards" with one group in an abandoned truck (Arnot and Johnson 1944a; 1944b). The site boundary was therefore expanded to encompass the limits of the discovered bodies by extending it out in a 50 m radius from the site's center point. The Chagui'an Massacre Site is a 100 m diameter circle centered on the point identified through geospatial techniques.



Map 1. USGS topographic map showing location of Chagui'an Massacre Site.



Map 2. USGS topographic map showing close-up of Chagui'an Massacre Site.



Photo 1. Overview of Chagui'an Massacre Site from site center point, camera facing north.



Photo 2. Overview of Chagui'an Massacre Site from site center point, camera facing east.



Photo 3. Overview of Chagui'an Massacre Site from site center point, camera facing south.



Photo 4. Overview of Chagui'an Massacre Site from site center point, camera facing west.



Photo 5. Example of vegetation cover throughout the survey area, facing south.



Photo 6. Example of vegetation cover throughout the survey area, facing east.











