

# *War in the Pacific National Historic Park*

An Administrative History

Evans-Hatch & Associates, Inc.  
July 2004  
Under NPS Contract

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## Chapter 1

### BEFORE EUROPEAN CONTACT

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#### *Introduction*

The original settlers of Guam arrived from Southeast Asia. Their society was stratified by class, was typified by large, physically imposing individuals, and it exemplified both agrarian and maritime characteristics. They were serially monogamous, occupied multi-family housing, and demonstrated knowledge of sophisticated naval architecture.

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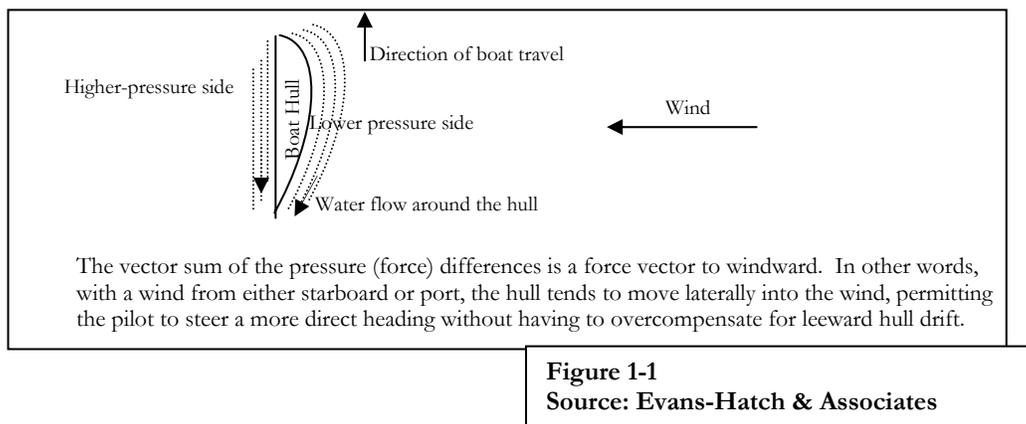
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The first settlers, referred to as Chamorro, are believed to have arrived from Southeast Asia bringing taro, yams, breadfruit, and rice. The first settlers also brought knowledge of pottery making and poultry. Noticeably absent were dogs and other domestic animals. Some anthropologists have commented that Guam's first residents were the only settlers they were aware of who didn't migrate with domestic animals. Importantly, they were also the only residents in Oceania who cultivated rice.<sup>1</sup>

The Chamorro were socially organized in matrilineal extended family groups, monogamous, and were stratified into three distinct classes.<sup>2</sup> They lived in single-family residences that were rectangular, had gabled roofs and were elevated above the ground approximately twelve feet. One of the first written descriptions of the Chamorro residents, recorded in 1668, reported that in that year there were approximately 180 villages on the island, each village comprised of between fifty and one hundred such single-family residences.<sup>3</sup> There was a total island population of between 35,000 and 50,000. These original island settlers dined on fish, yams, taro, coconuts, bananas, rice, and federico palms. They wore no clothing except hats for men and short aprons for women, and sandals when the going got rough. They also designed and constructed some of the most impressive ocean-going vessels in the world at the time.<sup>4</sup> One of the most unique design features of the Chamorro ocean-going vessels (called proas by Euro-Americans) was the asymmetrical hull shape when viewed in cross section. As illustrated by figure 1-1, this unusual shape resulted in the hull making minimal leeway when sailing on a tack.



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<sup>1</sup> Erik K. Reed. *General Report on Archeology and History of Guam*, unpublished manuscript. Santa Fe, NM: National Park Service, 1952.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Garcia, *Life of Sanvitores*, as report in Reed, *General Report on Archeology and History of Guam*, 14.

<sup>4</sup> Reed. 24.

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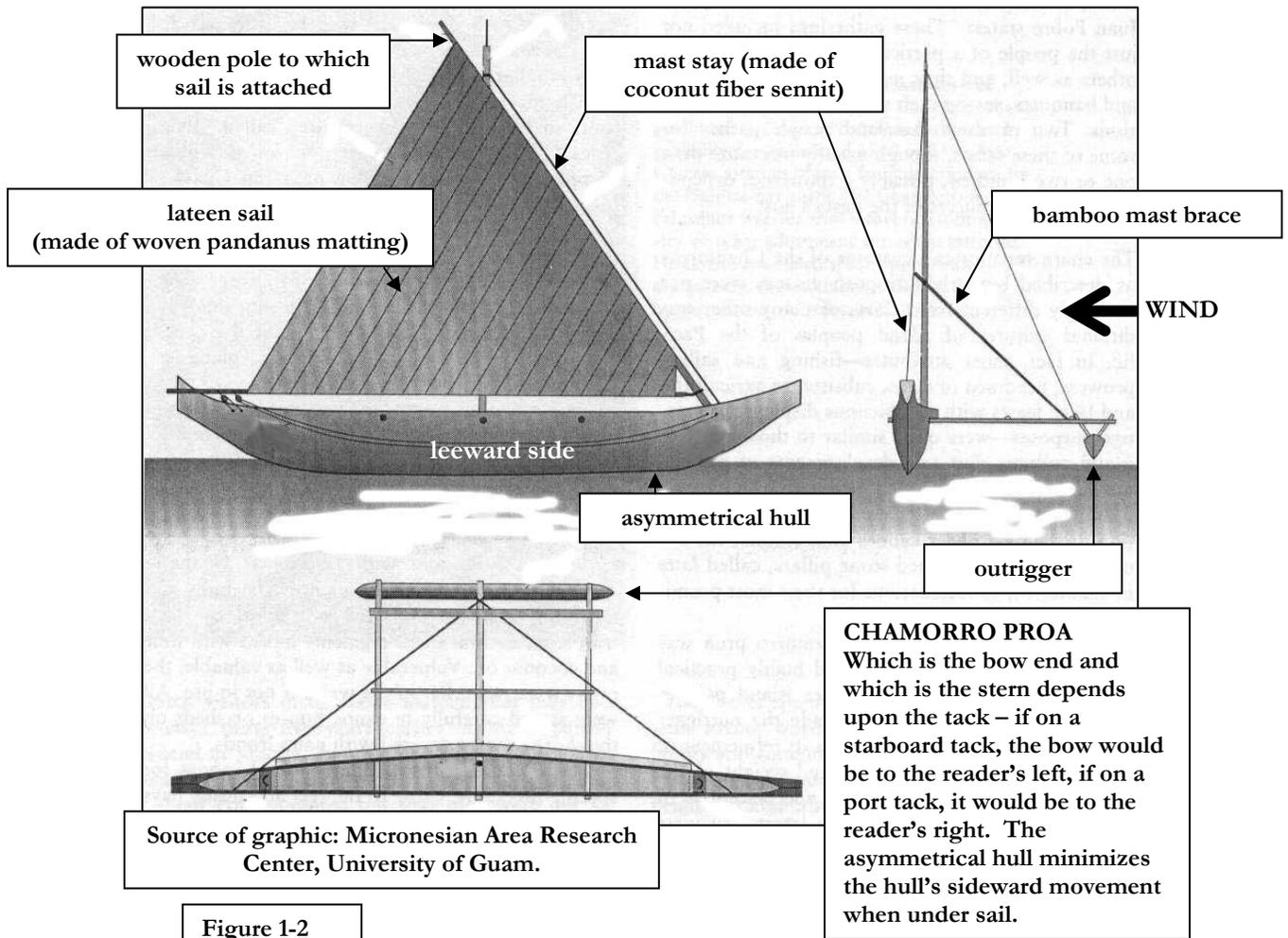


Figure 1-2

The first residents were reportedly serially monogamous, young unmarried men lived communally in a single large house. The more affluent lived in single-family houses constructed atop 12-foot high stone pillars, called latte stones, the less affluent used wooden posts to support their houses. It has been established that there were more than 250 latte sites on Guam prior to World War II.<sup>5</sup> Walls and roofs were constructed of wood and palm fronds. There is also evidence of residences being established in island caves, although these quarters may have served primarily as refuges during Spanish occupation. A late seventeenth century ethnographer described the houses he observed as being two rows of wooden posts, five posts in each row.

<sup>5</sup> Reed, 26

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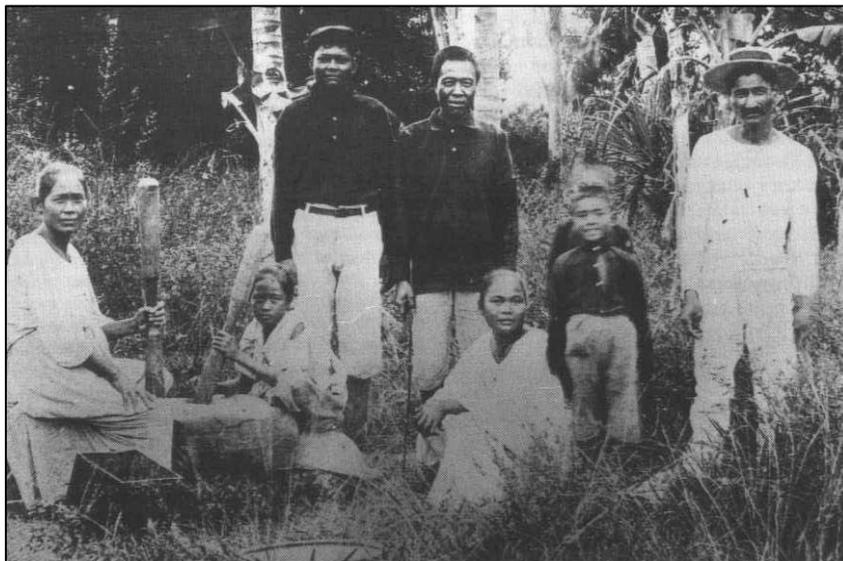
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The posts supported the roof as well as serving as framework for the walls. The roofs were plaited coconut fronds as were the walls. The floors were approximately one meter above the ground, and the houses reportedly had neither decorations nor carvings.<sup>6</sup>

By the last quarter of the seventeenth century, disease and physical violence between Chamorro and the newly-arrived Spanish priests and soldiers had reduced the Chamorro population to approximately 4,000, and the European island residents who fancied themselves in charge began successfully encouraging Filipino settlement of the island. Popular history records that the Spanish priests (though somewhat uncomfortable with the Chamorro custom of public nudity) got along well with the residents. There was, however, a Chinese resident on the southern end of the island, according to local history, who was anti-Spanish and anti-Roman Catholic. This Chinese resident, Choco by name, had reportedly shipwrecked on Guam and not



**Figure 1-3. Chamorro family hulling rice, early 1900s.**

Source: Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam.

only been assimilated into island culture, he had acquired influence. Choco claimed that the priests were baptizing infants with poisonous water causing the children to become ill, and, in some instances, to die. Violence flared in 1670 when a priest was purportedly killed on Saipan. It would appear that residents took exception to the

propensity on the part of the priests to forcibly remove children from their parents and burn the village for failure to attend church. The Chamorro-Roman Catholic violence culminated in an organized assault on a fortified church in September 1671 by 2,000 Chamorro. The siege lasted approximately forty days. Spanish reports of the protracted battle allege that there were no Spanish casualties. Afterwards, governors Salas and his successor, Jose de Quiroga, directed organized violence against Chamorro towns and villages for several years.

The Chamorro united behind a local leader named Agualin. They fought the Spanish with clubs and with lances tipped with sharpened human bone. They did not have bows and

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<sup>6</sup> Fritz, Georg. *The Chamorro: A History and Ethnography of the Mariana Islands*. Translated by Elfriede Craddock, N.M.I. Division of Historic Preservation, October 2001. 18. [Note: Georg Fritz was a District Administrator of the Mariana Islands in the late 1800s. He wrote this paper in 1904.]

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arrows. After a prolonged struggle, many of the Guam residents fled the Spanish, and relocated on Rota.<sup>7</sup>

Guam residents, like much of the world population first contacted by Europeans in the late 1600s and early 1700s, contracted diseases to which they had no immunity. Europeans had developed some immunity to smallpox, whooping cough and influenza, at least population immunity to the degree that exposure would not always result in a high morbidity or a high mortality rate. Guam residents had no such immunity. Consequently, the presence of the smallpox virus within a Chamorro community would inevitably result in most of the members contracting the disease, and, when contracted, the disease would often be fatal. Guam residents suffered epidemics in 1688, 1700, 1849, 1855, 1861, 1898, and 1899. The 1855 epidemic killed 3,463 on the island of Guam alone.<sup>8</sup>

Deaths resulting from both disease and fights with the Spanish left approximately 3,700 residents by 1710. Father Sanvitores had estimated the population to be almost 100,000 when he arrived in 1665.

Spanish priests encouraged marriages between Spaniards and Chamorro as well as between Filipino emigrants and Chamorro. By 1790 the number of mixed-race offspring from these unions exceeded the total Chamorro population (1,639 Chamorro; 3,218 mixed).

Georg Fritz reported that when he made his observations on Guam (c.1898) nearly the entire island population occupied the southern end of the island. He reported communities at Hazatna, Sumai on the Orote peninsula; Agat; Umatag; Merizo; Inaraham; Asan; Tepungan; and Pago in the south. The northern end of the island had no villages, however there were numerous isolated dwellings. Fritz reported that most villages had a population of between 200 and 600 residents except Merizo, which was the largest at 800.

During Spanish occupation, and probably before their arrival, the Chamorro had extensive farms throughout the island. The arrival of the Spanish resulted in livestock being added to the farms as well as some new crops previously unknown to the original residents.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 27.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Exploration of the planet in the late eighteenth century also meant traversing oceans without the benefit of what today would be considered the most elementary navigational technology. Although the latitude of a vessel could be determined with fair accuracy by the simple expediency of measuring the angle of the sun above the horizon precisely at noon, determining longitude was a problem. Position plotting was so inexact that ships would frequently anchor at night if near a lee shore, and if anchoring were not possible, they would come about and sail a reciprocal heading until the first light of dawn.

Quite simply, eighteenth century voyagers frequently did not know precisely where they were. For centuries mariners had relied upon "dead reckoning" to determine their longitude—guesswork based upon compass readings and distances measured by the log.<sup>9</sup> Currents and other variables were often difficult if not impossible to detect. The mystery of longitude made transoceanic voyages dangerous, and made accurate mapping of what was observed impossible. It wasn't until longitude could be accurately measured, for example, that the width of North America could be fully appreciated. A mid-seventeenth century map, prepared at a time when measuring longitude was still largely guesswork, indicated that North America was so narrow that it could be crossed on foot in ten days.<sup>9</sup>

Accurately measuring longitude was finally made possible by the appreciation of the relationship between two obvious realities: (1) The earth was basically spherical, described by a 360° circle, and (2) the

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Chamorro oral tradition provides us insight into the creation of the universe. It seems that in the time before before, a brother and sister were born without parents. Puntan, the brother, decided to die so a universe could be created. He prevailed upon his reluctant sister, Fu'n~ua, to assist. Puntan then died so parts of his body could be made into the universe. From one eye Fu'n~a created the sun; she made the moon from the second eye. Puntan's stomach became Mt. Tuyon; his penis became Laso de Fua; and his eyebrows became the rainbows. After the universe had been created, spirits inhabited the world at Mt. Sasalaguan, including a malicious devil named Chaife who not only controlled the winds, waves, and fire but derived particular delight in torturing the souls residing in Mt. Sasalaguan. One day some of these tortured souls escaped and were transformed into men and women at Fouha Bay. They were made from the red earth and the heat of the sun. All people are descendants of those created at Fouha Bay. Those unable to speak Chamorro simply have been away from the island for so long that they have forgotten how to speak the island language.

Other myths of ancient Guam include the Legend of Sirena the Mermaid, describing the fate of a chamorita who loved swimming in Agana River; the Legend of Chief Gadao – The

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earth rotated at a constant speed. The earth revolves through 360° in twenty-four hours; therefore, it rotates exactly 15° of longitude in one hour (360/24=15). Consequently, if the time at the ship's location is two hours later than the time at Greenwich, the navigator would plot the ship's longitude as 30 degrees (2 hours x 15 degrees/hour = 30 degrees). Dr. Nevil Maskelyne developed one of the first methods for making this time-difference determination. It was based upon measuring the angular distance between the moon and the sun or the moon and one of the fixed stars, and the time when the observation was made on board the ship. This time was compared to the time that the same astrological phenomena would be observed in London, and the time difference was then converted to degrees. These astrological angular distances as measured in Greenwich were published in the *Nautical Almanac*. Although theoretically correct, the mathematician who developed the method failed to appreciate the difficulty of accurately measuring astrological angles while standing on a sea-tossed deck.

An accurate chronometer was finally developed that could withstand both the physical forces exerted by a ship moving at sea and exposure to water. The chronometer kept track of Greenwich Time so that whenever local time could be determined by astrological observation, the difference between the two, and hence the longitude, could be ascertained (one hour = 15 degrees). The chronometer came of age in 1759 when John Harrison completed his fourth timepiece. After exhaustive tests lasting until 1764, its reliability was officially acknowledged by the British Admiralty.

Accurate position fixing and the ability to accurately map what was observed were critically important to the eighteenth century explorers. They were not merely adventurers off on sailing cruises, they were scientists seeking knowledge of economic, military, or scientific import, and they needed to be able to map what they found. The voyagers were dispatched to investigate and report on flora, fauna, climate, topography, natural resources, the presence or absence of other Europeans, as well as the social, political, and economic characteristics of local inhabitants. These ships set sail from London, New Spain (Mexico), or Boston with well-educated and experienced biologists, astronomers, cartographers, surveyors, and artists on board. Their missions were nearly indistinguishable from any mission of today's NASA.

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Challenge, the contest of strength between two chiefs; the Three Feats of Strength of Chief Gadao, Chief Gadao swam around the island fifty times; and the Origin of the Coconut Tree.<sup>10</sup>

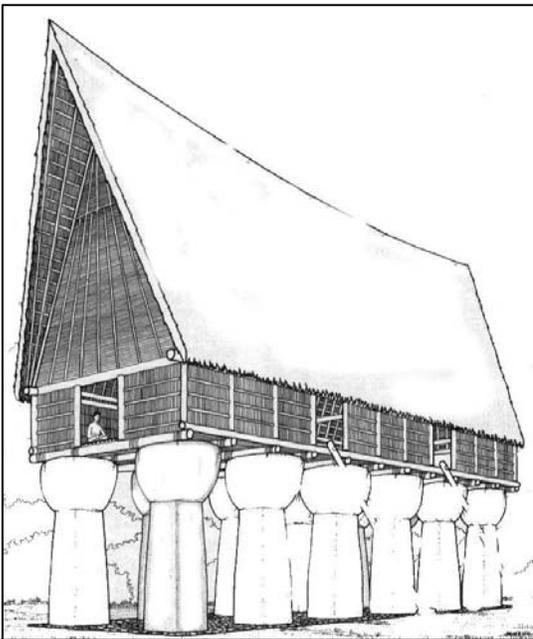
Chamorro culture was class-stratified. *Matua* was the highest class. They enjoyed the greatest privileges, including land ownership, control of the island wealth and prestigious occupations. They were the warriors, the sailors, the fisherman, the canoe builders, and the merchants. The next class, known as *atchaot*, was usually related to a *matua* by blood or marriage; they were permitted to assist *matua* in trades and professions. The lowest class was essentially a

slave class. Known as *mangatchang*, they were not permitted to become warriors, sailors, or build canoes, and their fishing was reportedly limited to river fishing. As a matrilineal society the female enjoyed a great deal of influence. It was women, generally, who controlled family life, property, and inheritance.<sup>11</sup>

Their sophisticated ocean-going vessels enabled them to engage in inter-island trade with residents on other Mariana Islands as well as residents of the Carolines. The medium of exchange was typically tortoise shell formed into disks strung together and worn around the owner's neck. This money was apparently accepted on most of the surrounding islands.

There is little direct genetic linkage between present-day Guam residents and ancient Chamorro. The ancient Chamorro were strongly built "proto-Malays," and had immigrated to the Mariana Islands by 1500 B.C.E. Disease, conflict with European immigrants, and intermarrying, primarily with immigrants from the Philippines, has resulted in the existence of Chamorro being almost exclusively a cultural rather than racial

phenomenon. The romantic notion by some Guam residents of recapturing their "Chamorro roots," is largely an attempt to claim commonality based upon place only, not upon any meaningful, objective genetic linkage.



**Figure 1-4. Chamorro multi-family residence. Pole-and-woven mat structure rests atop latte stone columns. Source: Micronesian Area Research Center,**

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<sup>10</sup> A number of Chamorro legends have recently been posted on the Government of Guam web site, [www.gov.gu/legends](http://www.gov.gu/legends). They include Legend of Two Lovers Point, Secret of Two Lovers Cave at Northern Guam, Legend of Sirena the Mermaid, Legend of Chief Gadao-The Challenge, Chief Gadao-Three Three Feats of Strength, Legend of the coconut, Story of the Boy Lizard, Legend of Our Lady of Kamalen, Legend of Haluu, The Blessed Mother Who Stopped the Giant Fish, The Beautiful Rainbow Bridge, The White Lady of Fonte' River, and Masala's Powerful Son Leaps to the Island of Rota.

<sup>11</sup> Paul Carano, "The Ancient Chamorros," *Guam Recorder*, Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, Agana, Guam, Summer, 1976.

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## Chapter 2

### VISITORS FROM AFAR

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#### *Introduction*

The meeting of two cultures is inevitably profound for both. In the case of the Chamorro-European meeting, a way of life that had existed on the island began rapid changes caused by the European's overpowering force coupled with the religious and cultural presumptions that typified colonialization. And, as with most of the western hemisphere, European diseases dramatically reduced the indigenous population to the point where not only individuals died, but the collective memory of entire generations were lost. This chapter focuses on that dramatic and sometimes volatile cultural mixing.

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In the spring of 1521, the resourceful Portuguese captain, Ferdinand Magellan, skillfully navigated his Spanish flotilla of three ships—the *Trinidad*, the *Concepcion*, and the *Vittoria*—through the dangerous straits that now bear his name, then northwest into the "unknown" expanse of the Pacific Ocean. Once he was north of the equator and in the channel of the northeast trade winds, Magellan turned his vessels west into longitudes beyond any previously known to Europeans. By March 5, 1521, after sailing for over three months from South America, Magellan's crew (comprised of Spaniards, Basques, Italians, Portuguese, French, Greek, and English) was hungry, sick, and dying from lack of fresh water, semi-starvation, and scurvy. Swept further west along the fourteen-degree north latitude by the prevailing spring trade winds from the northeast, on March 6, a weary seaman, perched in the sixty-foot-high crow's nest on Magellan's flagship *Trinidad*, sighted a bluish lump emerging on the horizon to the northwest, off the ship's starboard bow.

"¡Tierra! ¡tierra!," shouted the sailor to the crew on the deck below. Several hours later, Magellan guided his flotilla around the northern tip of the large island sighted, cruised in a southwesterly direction in deep water outside low reefs, and into one of the enclaves, or bays. By late afternoon on March 6, Magellan's flotilla anchored, most likely in the large and calm Tumon Bay or Agana Bay. The next morning, March 7, 1521, the first Europeans stepped ashore on a beach along Guam's northwest coast. Magellan remained three days on Guam before continuing on toward the Philippines.<sup>12</sup> Although Magellan was killed one month later on Mactan, his chief pilot, Sebastian del Cano, continued on from the Philippines and arrived back in Seville, Spain, on September 8, 1522, with 31 of the original 237 men and one of the three ships, the *Vittoria*, thus completing the first recorded voyage around the earth.<sup>13</sup>

### European Contact

For many years, historians have debated the location of Magellan's landing. The Chamorro had no written language to record the event (or not record the event, which would be equally persuasive). Therefore, the historian cannot consult any contemporaneous written record made by the residents of the time. There is also no Chamorro oral tradition reporting the event. To complicate matters further, a written narrative of the voyage simply reports making landfall at latitude 12 degrees north, longitude 146 degrees east, without identifying the location with any more specificity. And, since the minutes and seconds are omitted from the coordinates, the landing could have occurred anywhere within 360 square miles. (One minute of latitude equals one nautical mile.) Furthermore, the maritime world had not yet developed the chronometer, so one could only guess the longitude.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Robert F. Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall: A History of Guam* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995), 1-8.

<sup>13</sup> For a detailed first-hand account of Magellan's voyage see: Antonio Pigafetta, *First Voyage Around the World*. reprint. Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1969.

<sup>14</sup> Eighteenth-century voyagers frequently did not know precisely where they were. For centuries, mariners had relied upon "dead reckoning" (essentially guesswork based upon observations and years of experience at sea) to determine their longitude—guesswork based upon compass readings and distances measured by the "log" (an instrument towed in the water used to determine a ship's speed). The speed of the ship indicated by the log, when related mathematically with elapsed time, provided the distance traveled, (at

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Contradictions in the narrative reports of Magellan's two eyewitness scribes, voyage chronicler Antonio Pigafetta and the voyage's flag pilot Francisco Albo, have even made some people question whether Magellan landed on some other island in the Mariannas and not on Guam. In the late 1980s, Robert F. Rogers and Dirk Ballendorf re-examined the accounts of Pigafetta and Albo and, after carefully considering other islands as possible landing sites (such as Rota, Aguijan, Tinian, and Saipan), concluded that none other than Guam was Magellan's most logical landfall. The authors' nautical re-enactment sailing around Guam's northern-most point, Ritidian Point, also convinced them that Magellan could not have landed at Umatac Bay as supposed for hundreds of years, but most likely came ashore in one of the six calm enclaves on the twenty-mile stretch of coastline between Ritidian Point and Orote Point to the southwest. In addition to fresh water, coconuts, and Chamorro villages that were present in these bays, Tumon Bay offered the best anchorage of them all. Rogers and Ballendorf concluded that: "the written evidence, the geography, and logic combine to make it almost certain that Ferdinand Magellan dropped anchor on March 6, 1521, along the sheltered northwest coast of Guam, perhaps at Tumon Bay."<sup>15</sup>

Following Magellan's landfall on Guam, outsiders made only sporadic contact with the island and its residents over the next 150 years. During the 1500s, most of the ships that sailed near or anchored off the coast of Guam came from Spain. When Emperor Charles V sent a fleet of seven ships from Spain, carrying charts of Magellan's route four years after Magellan reached Guam, the primary goals were to trade for spices in the five small Spice Islands of the Moluccas and, if possible, establish Spanish authority there. Although the captain of this fleet, Don Garacia Jofre de Loiasa, died in the mid-Pacific, Toribio Alonso de Salzar captained the ships through Micronesia. The deceased Loaysa's flagship, the *Santa Maria de la Victoria*, reached Guam on September 4, 1526. Unlike Magellan's flotilla, the *Victoria* approached the unprotected eastern windward side of the island, where the crew eventually was able to anchor their ship in one of the small inlets known as Pago, Ylig, and Talofoyo, where they stayed until September 10.<sup>16</sup>

In 1526, Charles V of Spain sent a third expedition across the Pacific, this time from the west coast of New Spain (Mexico), over which he had claimed dominion and had begun building ships at Zacatula, Mexico. Avaro de Saavedra Cerón commanded a flotilla of three ships, built at Zaacatula, which left the nearby harbor of Zihuatanejo on All Souls Day in 1527. Saavedra, sailing the *Florida*, sighted the eastern windward side of Guam on December 29, 1527. Unable to

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least theoretically, since the log could not account for currents). Currents and other variables were often difficult if not impossible to detect. See Derek Hayes, *Historical Atlas of the Pacific Northwest* Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 1999).

<sup>15</sup> Robert F. Rogers and Dirk Anthony Ballendorf, "Whither Magellan?." *Guam & Micronesia: Glimpses* (1989): 10; Also see Roberts, *Destiny's Landfall*, 5-9.

<sup>16</sup> The information in this and the next several paragraphs has been synthesized principally from Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall* (pp. 8-20) and Erik K. Reed, "General Report on Archaeology and History of Guam." Typescript. Santa Fe: National Park Service, 1952. For a more exhaustive history of Guam, also see Paul Crano and Pedro C. Snachez, *A Complete History of Guam* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle and Company, ??)

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anchor in the deep turbulent waters, Saavedra took on provisions from Chamorro, who paddled out to them in proas<sup>17</sup> before continuing on to Mindanao and the Spice Islands.

In 1529, Spanish King Charles V signed the Treaty of Zaragoza with Portugal's King John III. This treaty divided dominion of the world in half between Spain and Portugal. Spain agreed to give up all claims to the Spice Islands to Portugal, while in exchange it gained European imperial authority over the Philippines and the Micronesian islands, including Guam. Despite this treaty, no Spanish ships stopped at Guam for nearly forty years. Not until 1664, did Spain send a contingent of four ships, under the command of Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, from Spain to the Mariana Islands with orders to select sites for future Spanish colonization. On January 21, 1565, Legazpi's *San Lucas* approached Guam from the southeast. After the sun set, Legazpi sailed around Guam's southwestern tip. The next day, he anchored his two larger ships just outside Umatac Bay. Legazpi remained there several days, went ashore and celebrated a mass, and formally declared Guam and the other Mariannas as the possession of Philip II of Spain. Accounts of Legazpi's expedition used precursors of the name "Guam" to refer to this island, for the first time. Previously, Guam had been called "Islas de los Ladrones" (Island of Thieves).<sup>18</sup>

Following Legazpi's visit, Guam became a regular provisioning place for Spanish galleons engaged in trading and transporting valuable goods across the central Pacific, west from Acapulco, New Spain to Manila, Philippines. These galleons, which carried silver from New Spain to the Philippines and Chinese goods (such as silk and porcelain) from Manila back to New Spain, made their yearly passage westward often to the north of Guam, between Guam and Rota. Often ships did not anchor, just furled their sails near one of the two islands while they took on food and water from the Chamorros who paddled out to the ships in their proas. Only Pedro Fernandez de Quirós is known to have touched Guam in 1596. During this period of trade between Acapulco and Manila, in the era of European empire building, Guam and the other Mariannas were small specks in what seemed to be a gigantic Spanish lake—the central Pacific Ocean.

By the late 1500s, however, Spain was not the only European country that sailed ships with alien visitors to the Marianna Islands and Guam's shores. After gaining independence from Spain in 1570, the Dutch began to challenge Spain for trade goods in the Pacific Ocean by the early 1600s. The first Dutch ships in the central Pacific came in 1600 from South America. The Dutch flotilla of four ships, under the command of Oliver van der Noort, spent September 15 and 16, 1600 at Guam, bartering iron nails for provisions with the Chamorros. In January 1616, Joris Silbergen along with other Dutch visitors stopped at Guam for three days. In January and February 1625, the Dutch "Nassau Fleet," comprised of eleven ships with 1,200 men, stopped

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<sup>17</sup> A proa (*parao* in Portuguese), first described by Pigafetta and Albo, was a Micronesian outrigger canoe with a single triangular lateen sail. It was known for its sophisticated and asymmetrical shape and weight, enabling this ocean-going sailing canoe to move swiftly and gracefully through the water. Roberts, *Destiny's Landfall*, 31-33.

<sup>18</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 8. The history of Guam during Spanish domination is presented in a lengthy series of articles in P. J. Searles, "Guam After the Spanish Conquest, Parts I, II, III, IV < V, VI, VII, VIII, and IX," *Guam Recorder* 12 and 13 (February, March, April, May, June, July, August, September, and October 1936).

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for seventeen days at Umatac Bay. The Dutch bought eighty-pound bales of rice from the Chamorros.

For decades, Spanish galleons from Acapulco continued to anchor off the coasts of Guam or Rota or at Umatac Bay on their annual trading voyage to the Philippines. The Spaniards usually remained on their galleons when they paused briefly in the Mariana Islands. Occasional shipwrecks and on-shore visits of Europeans did have some environmental consequences; rats, chickens, cats, dogs, and even flies and mosquitoes arrived on Guam.<sup>19</sup> However, the traditional way of life of the Chamorro underwent relatively minor gradual changes during the one hundred years after Miguel Lopez's visit to Umatac Bay in 1565.

Even initial missionary efforts appeared to have minimal impact on the indigenous peoples of the Mariana Islands. Early missionary efforts on the Mariana Islands had been short-lived and limited to Rota. Friar Antonio de los Angeles, a member of the Franciscan Discalced order of friars, had undertaken the first missionary efforts in the Marianas. In 1596, Father Antonio, on his way to the Philippines with twenty-two other Franciscans on the *San Pablo*, left the ship while it anchored, probably off Rota, and introduced Catholicism to the Chamorro during his one-year stay in the Marianas. He left for the Philippines in a Spanish galleon the following year. In 1602, Spanish Franciscan friars Juan Pobre de Zamora and Pedro de Talavera had performed missionary activities on Rota for seven months, before being retrieved by a Manila galleon in October that year. No Spanish mission or military settlement was founded in the Mariana Islands, between 1560s and the 1660s.<sup>20</sup>

During this time, Guam and its residents unknowingly became part of the immense empire of New Spain, ruled by the Viceroy of Mexico, extending from North America's Mississippi River to Manila, Philippines, and from Yucatan, Mexico, in the south to Nootka Sound on the west coast of present-day British Columbia, in the north. The life of the Chamorro residents began to change when foreign visitors took up residence on Guam supplanting the spiritual beliefs of the indigenous people with Christianity and introducing social and cultural norms alien to the Chamorro.

### Foreign Occupation Begins

The actual colonization and missionary efforts by Spanish soldiers and priests on Guam began almost 150 years after Magellan's 1521 visit with the arrival of Father Diego Luis de San Vitores. On June 15, 1668, Father San Vitores and five other Jesuits, along with a complement of Spanish soldiers, arrived at Guam on the *San Diego*, which had left Acapulco, Mexico, three months earlier. The next day, the forty-year-old San Vitores, with his black cassock flapping in the offshore breezes against his lanky frame, stepped ashore near the village of Hagatna (first called "Agania" or "Agadna" by the Spaniards). The Chamorros reportedly celebrated his arrival on shore with much dancing. Rams, sheep, a bull and cow, and parrots were unloaded from the ship along with quantities of supplies. The next day, the *San Diego* weighed its anchor and

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<sup>19</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 20; Reed, "General Report on Archaeology and History of Guam," 11.

<sup>20</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 18-19.

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headed west toward the Philippines, leaving the small group of around fifty men on their own for a year until the next galleon would arrive.<sup>21</sup>

Father San Vitores's entourage immediately set to work pursuing its dual purpose of establishing a Catholic mission and spreading Spanish secular authority. Even before the *San Diego* sailed from Guam, Father San Vitores conducted his first Catholic mass on the beach near small Chamorro huts in the vicinity of east Hagatna. Here, San Vitores preached his first sermon in Chamorro (having studied the language for years before arriving in the Marianas), "converted" about 1,500 adults (to be baptized later), and baptized around twenty children. The very first Christian baptism on Guam was reportedly performed on a two-year-old baby, christened "Mariana." Not long after this baptism, Father San Vitores renamed the archipelago known as "Islas de los Ladrones" to "Las Islas Marianas" (Mariana Islands) in honor of Mariana of Austria, queen regent of Spain between 1665 and 1677, who financially supported San Vitores's missionary efforts.<sup>22</sup>

Following this initial missionary work, Father San Vitores vigorously began other missionizing and colonizing work in the Marianas. Father San Vitores directed the construction of a church structure of palmaria wood as well as a priest's house at the mission in Hagatna. The small wooden church, named the "Dulce Nobre de Maria," was formally dedicated on February 2, 1669. The apparent initial enthusiasm of the Chamorros for Christianity encouraged Father San Vitores to send his staff out from Hagatna to other parts of the Marianas. One priest traveled to several small villages around Guam; another went to Rota; and two others sailed to Tinian and, later, to Saipan.

During the first several weeks, all went well for the missionaries and the Spanish soldiers as they went about their work. Relations between Chamorro residents and the foreigners appeared relatively amiable. Difficulties began to arise, however, when cultural differences clashed. Chamorro nobles in Hagatna, who believed that baptism was a prestigious activity and should be restricted to only the upper social classes in Chamorro society clashed with San Vitores's insistence on equality of treatment in his practice of Catholicism. The Chamorros and Catholic visitors also disagreed about who should have access to knowledge about the new imported religion. Furthermore, Father San Vitores apparently had no understanding of the Chamorros' deification of carved idols and ancestor skulls, and initiated their destruction, over the vehement objections of the Chamorros. San Vitores also pressed converted Chamorros to cover their naked bodies with palm skirts and cotton shirts, unfamiliar and uncomfortable to the islanders. Finally, the Chamorro began to suspect that the water used by the priests in baptisms might be poisonous, since many newborn infants died soon after baptism. The Chamorros did not realize that Christian doctrine encouraged the baptism of infants who appeared to be near

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<sup>21</sup> For a more detailed first-hand account of Father San Vitores's experiences on Guam see Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores, *Mission in the Marianas: An Account of Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores and His Companions, 1669-1670*. Translated by Ward Barrett (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1975).

<sup>22</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 45-47. Also see Father Francisco Garcia, S. J., *Vida y martirio del Venerable Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores [Life of Father Sanvitores]* (Madrid, 1683), translated and published in several issues of the *Guam Recorder* (September 1936-July 1939) and Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores, *Mission in the Marianas: An Account of Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores and His Companions, 1669-1670*. Translated by Ward Varrett (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1975).

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death and the elderly, and became convinced that San Vitores and his priests had come to the Marianas to take the lives of the children.<sup>23</sup>

Only six weeks after the Jesuits arrived, the Chamorros who had become increasingly agitated over the actions of the Spanish visitors expressed hostility toward the newcomers. In August 1668, one Jesuit priest (Father Luís de Medina) was wounded in the face on Guam. That month, the Chamorros killed a Spanish soldier and his servant, when in a proa near Tinian. In July 1669, the Chamorros held Father San Vitores prisoner during a visit to Saipan, threatening to execute him. Although San Vitores was released, the Chamorros soon afterward accused his traveling companion, Lorenzo, of being a child killer and killed him. By the time San Vitores returned to Guam in November 1669, he realized that he and his priests could not rely on the goodwill of the Chamorros for protection.

### **Clash of Cultures: Spanish-Chamorro Wars, 1670-1697**

In late 1669, only a year and a half after the arrival of Father San Vitores and his complement of Jesuits and soldiers, the priest organized a military force composed of a band of priests and soldiers known as the "Esuadrón Mariano" (Marianas Squadron) in an effort to impose his will on the Chamorros and defend the Christian faith. Father San Vitores wrote soon afterward that the Chamorros' "infracton of the Law of God or of the good customs that we taught them, would not go unpunished."<sup>24</sup> San Vitores ordered the squadron to Tinian to settle a dispute between warring Chamorro villages. The Marianas Squadron engaged in its first armed clash in what became known as the "Spanish-Chamorro Wars," a period of thirty years characterized by sporadic fighting between the Spanish visitors and the Chamorro residents.<sup>25</sup>

Outbreaks of violence over the next three years left feelings of bitter resentment and revenge in its wake that led to more fighting and death. In late January 1670, Chamorro warriors on Saipan attacked and killed two Catholic missionaries. Two Chamorro warriors were killed by Spanish soldiers on Tinian in March 1670. A year later, a group of Chamorros killed Father San Vitores's young Mexican servant, prompting the outbreak of fighting between a clan of Chamorros and the Spanish soldiers in Hagatna, where, by then, the mission church and residence had been converted into a crude fort. In September 1671, about 2,000 Chamorro warriors attacked the mission fort and nearly overwhelmed the missionaries and soldiers inside when a mammoth typhoon smashed into Guam and destroyed all the Chamorro houses and everything at the Spanish mission except the encircling stockade. The battle resumed several days later, ending in the death of many Chamorros and a promise from the living to obediently attend Catholic mass every Sunday. Momentarily, with increased power to expand his authority, Father San Vitores, in early 1672, ordered the construction of several new churches on Guam—at Pagat and Nisihan in the east, in the villages of Merizo in the south, and at Piggug near Talofof Bay in the southeast. Seeking revenge, a Chamorro leader orchestrated the murder of

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<sup>23</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 47-49; Reed, "General Report on Archeology and History of Guam," 43.

<sup>24</sup> Quoted in Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 51.

<sup>25</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 49-51; Reed, "General Report on Archaeology and History of Guam," 45-46.

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one of Vitores's catechist<sup>26</sup> in late March 1672. Five other Spanish foreigners were also killed in late March 1672.

Father San Vitores's death came only a few days later. On his return trip from Nisihan to Hagatna, he and one of his catechist paused at a village on Tumon Bay. Against the wishes of the headman of the village, San Vitores baptized a newborn infant in the village. Soon, the Chamorro leader and a companion killed San Vitores's catechist with a lance. When the Spanish priest came from the house of the baptism, he, too, was attacked and killed. San Vitores's death marked the end of the first era in the foreign occupation of Guam. As a result of the priest's martyrdom, the authority of the Spanish military expanded and the clash of cultures intensified.<sup>27</sup>

Following Father San Vitores's death, the so-called "Spanish-Chamorro Wars" continued for the next quarter century as Spaniards used unrelenting force to control the Chamorros. Although not all Guam residents opposed the foreigners, the Spanish soldiers on Guam performed acts of violence indiscriminately against the Chamorro as a group. When the Spaniards caught and killed one of San Vitores's murderers in May 1672, they also inadvertently shot an innocent Chamorro woman. Only days later, Spanish soldiers burned several houses and proas at a largely deserted village at Tumon Bay and along the beach



**Figure 2-1. The martyrdom of Father San Vitores, the Jesuit founder of the Roman Catholic mission on Guam in 1668. He was killed on April 2, 1672 in Tumon. Francisco Garcia, *Istoria della converwione alla nostra Santa Fede dell'Isole Mariane*, Naples, 1686, plate XV, reprinted in Robert F. Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall: A History of Guam*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii**

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<sup>26</sup> A "catechist is a person who uses questions and answers to teach the principals of Christian dogma, discipline, and ethics.

<sup>27</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 55-57; Reed, "General Report on Archaeology and History of Guam," 46-47.

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at Ypao (on part of "Hospital Point" south of Tumon Bay). In retaliation, small bands of Chamorro warriors from separate communities staged hit-and-run tactics against the Spaniards, over the next several months. The Spanish soldiers constructed a large diamond-shaped *presidio* (military garrison) near the beach in Hagatna for protection.<sup>28</sup>

Over the next eight years, sporadic and sometimes vicious fighting periodically erupted in numerous locations across Guam between the Spanish foreigners and certain Chamorro clans. Every act of violence committed by the Chamorro against the Spanish missionaries and military was met with retaliation and overpowering suppression by the Spaniards. When Chamorro warriors killed missionaries or attacked the *presidio* in Hagatna, the Spanish soldiers raided and burned Chamorro villages. The more rebellious villagers in the north experienced devastating scorched-earth sweeps that were used increasingly by the Spaniards in the late 1670s. The Spaniards even enlisted some Chamorros to kill known "troublemakers" among them and present their heads in order to avoid harsh reprisals by Spanish soldiers. Every June, Spanish galleons arrived with more soldiers and priests, as well as munitions and supplies, which made it possible for the Spaniards to continue their suppression of the Chamorro resistance. Each retaliatory Chamorro outbreak was met with increasingly harsh punishment exacted by the Spanish military, all as part of the foreigner's policy of *reducción*—to subjugate the Chamorro people into acceptance of cultural beliefs and practices of the western world. In an effort to avoid the relentless brutality of the Spanish, many Chamorros fled their villages to hide in caves or they sailed to other islands.<sup>29</sup>

With the elevation of Captain Don Joseph de Quiroga to governor of the small colonial capital at Hagatna in June 1680, the Spanish subjugation of the Marianas native people entered its most brutal phase of the Spanish-Chamorro Wars. Following strict orders to end all Chamorro resistance to Catholicism and Spanish rule, Quiroga initially sent soldiers out in all directions from a hill at present-day Macheche to hunt down all recalcitrant Chamorros. The more threatening Chamorros, when captured, were executed. Some were rounded up and resettled in Christian communities on Guam. All Chamorros on the island were forced to move to one of several Spanish *pueblos* (main villages), centered on a Catholic church. Children were forced to attend schools in *pueblos* that were taught by priests. After a two-year absence from Guam, Quiroga returned in 1684 and, as commander of the Spanish troops, launched an invasion of Saipan, where, reportedly, the most resistant Chamorros lived. Quiroga's large force of soldiers using intimidating firepower quickly conquered the island, and then went on to gain control of the peoples on the far northern Marianas and to build a church on Saipan.

During Quiroga's absence from Guam, a rebellious group of Chamorros attacked the *presidio* at Hagatna in July 1684, killing several priests and soldiers. The Spaniards successfully repelled a second assault with the help of friendly Hineti Chamorro warriors. Less than one month later, revengeful Chamorros attacked the Spanish detachments returning from Quiroga's expedition to Saipan and massacred all seventeen soldiers who had landed on Tinian during a storm. After his return to Hagatna in late November 1684, Quiroga launched a series of raids on

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<sup>28</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 58-59.

<sup>29</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 59-63.

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rebel Chamorro villages, suppressing all resistance or driving recalcitrant and frightened Chamorros to neighboring islands.<sup>30</sup>

The impact of the arrival of Spanish residents in the Mariana Islands and three decades of subsequent indoctrination by the missionaries and war with the soldiers proved irreversibly devastating for the indigenous Chamorros. Between 1668, when Father San Vitores arrived, and 1690, the native population on Guam plummeted from an estimated 12,000 to around 1,800 (including Spaniards and Filipinos). Many Chamorros had fled Guam to other neighboring islands and to The Carolinas to the south. Hundreds of Chamorros had been killed during the relentless battles, skirmishes, and burning by the Spaniards. Many old and young Chamorros also died from a combination of food shortages, stress, demoralization, disruption, and other deprivations during the three decades of warfare. Lastly, and most importantly, diseases introduced by Europeans to which the original Guam residents had no immunity, killed thousands. Perhaps microscopic organisms played a greater role in the demise of the Chamorro people and their culture than all of Spain's guns and crosses.<sup>31</sup>

Although precise records simply don't exist, some records of the introduction of disease can be gleaned from ships logs and extant journals. In 1688, the brigantine *San Francisco* arrived on Guam from Acapulco with a disease, probably influenza or smallpox, which proved deadly to an unknown number of Chamorros who had no resistance to these foreign pathogens in what is today called a "virgin soil epidemic." The next year, a Spanish galleon brought yet another disease to Guam, which killed about five percent of the island's 1,800 residents in a mere three months. Guam, by 1690, had become vastly depopulated of Chamorro; the majority of Chamorros still living resided on Rota, Tinian, and Saipan. But, these islands also finally succumbed to the ravages of foreign-born diseases when in 1693, when another virgin soil epidemic, most likely smallpox, killed Chamorros throughout the Marianas. Yet another devastating epidemic killed over 650 residents after the first Acapulco galleon of the eighteenth century brought what is thought to be influenza. The introduction of foreign pathogens to Guam was probably responsible for the death rate of Chamorros outpacing the birthrate at the beginning of the 1700s.<sup>32</sup>

The long years of the Spanish-Chamorro Wars came to a climactic close in 1694. Determined to put down the last remaining Chamorros living on the islands north of Guam, Don Joseph de Quiroga set off from Guam with fifty soldiers in the fall of 1694. He first stopped at Rota, where he intimidated remaining rebel Chamorros and consolidated control over them. Next, Quiroga and his men traveled to Saipan, where the remaining rebellious Chamorros capitulated upon the much-feared arrival of Quiroga. Quiroga then went south to the small island of Aguijan, to which the Chamorros living on Tinian had fled when they learned of Quiroga's exploits. At Aguijan, resistant Chamorros on the hilltops attempted to beat back the Spaniards by rolling boulders down on their invaders as they climbed the steep high cliffs to the flat-topped Chamorro refuge. Finally, overwhelmed by the Spanish soldiers, some defiant Chamorros took their own lives by jumping from the cliffs, a dramatically symbolic act of

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<sup>30</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 63-69. See also Garcia, *Vida y martirio del Venerable Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores [Life of Father Sanvitores]*.

<sup>31</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 69-71.

<sup>32</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 70-72.

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defiance in this last tragic battle of the Spanish-Chamorro War, epitomizing the strident clash between Chamorro and Spanish cultures.<sup>33</sup>

### Spain's Quiet Outpost and the Era of Fading Dominance, 1698-1898

In contrast to the eras of Father San Vitores and of Joseph de Quiroga, when Spain expended enormous human and financial resources to convert and quell the indigenous peoples on Guam and the other Marianas, the eighteenth century on Guam was a time of Spanish administrative neglect and diminishing presence. The nineteenth century witnessed the continuing decline of Spanish geopolitical influence in the region and the gradual appearance of ships from other European countries, including after 1783, the newly created United States. Foreign-born diseases, occasional devastating typhoons, and even disastrous fires sometimes had violent and dramatic effects on the Chamorros living on Guam. Yet change during the two centuries extending from 1698 to 1898 occurred less violently than it had in the previous decades.

Beneath the opaque veneer of Spanish religious and social adaptation and acculturation, a distinct sense of Chamorro identity remained and continued. During this two-hundred-year period, the population of pure-blooded Chamorros continued to decline. *Indies* or "Natural Indians," as they were called, fell from 3,539 people in 1710 (the first year of the official Spanish census on Guam) to 1,576 in 1742. Between 1783 and 1816, the Spanish census showed an equal number of pure-blooded Chamorros and non-Chamorros. After 1816, *Indios* were a dwindling minority, alongside Guam residents of mixed Chamorro, Filipino, Spanish, and mestizo (people of Spanish and Indian blood) ancestry.<sup>34</sup> Chamorro society changed in other respects. Indigenous Chamorro family names were replaced by Hispanicized surnames. The Chamorro clan structure also disintegrated. Simultaneously, a Spanish class structure emerged in which a small new *principalia* class, concentrated in the center of Hagatna, replaced the old Chamorro families. Increasingly, the traditional Chamorro matrilineal system gave way to the Spanish male primogeniture system of inheritance. Finally, Roman Catholicism became a refuge against the calamities of diseases, typhoons, and fire that periodically ravaged the island and against the unpredictability idiosyncrasies of individual Spanish rulers. Catholicism became an abiding part of the Chamorros spiritual heritage.

Even as the acculturation of the Chamorros took place, threads of the traditional, pre-contact society were carried forward into the neo-Chamorro society. Concepts of communal family ownership of land remained intact, thus countering the government and private ownership of land introduced and perpetuated by the Spaniards on Guam. Much of the indigenous Chamorro folklore and customs were perpetuated or mixed with Spanish and Filipino customs. Perhaps most importantly, the musical Chamorro language was maintained through the maternal control over the family life. Mothers raised their children to speak Chamorro at

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<sup>33</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 71-73. Joseph de Quiroga continued to influence the destiny of Chamorros into the eighteenth century. Quiroga remained in government, retiring as mayor of Hagatna in 1720. He died three years later and was buried in the Hagatna church. Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 79.

<sup>34</sup> Rogers, 79.

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home. Through the retention of language, new-Chamorro descendants never lost their awareness of their ancestral roots and their cultural identity.<sup>35</sup>

Spain's gradual relinquishment of control over the Mariana Islands and its people, and Guam's changing role in the geopolitics of imperial European interests in the western Pacific greatly influenced the course of history on Guam in the 1700s and 1800s. Spain's grip on Guam and its residents began to loosen in the first half of the eighteenth century under Spanish navy officers, sometimes assigned as governors, who tended to be more liberal and lenient than army officers serving as governor of Guam. Diminishing financial subsidies from Spain to operate the government on Guam, and pay and protect government institutions, officials, and soldiers, and to provide basic services for the island's residents also reduced Spanish influence. Increasingly, Spain found itself entangled in and financially drained by wars that took place in far-flung corners of the world. The administrative oversight of all Spanish colonies throughout Latin America and the Pacific were neglected as a consequence. Geopolitical events between different warring European nations left diminutive, distant Guam with diminishing Spanish soldiers, money, and administrative control from Manila, New Spain (Mexico), and Madrid. Additionally, several corrupt Spanish governors on Guam exploited the limited resources that did exist, further impoverishing the lives of residents. By the mid-1850s, Spain had become so distracted, distressed, and economically depressed by international domestic power struggles that it ended Guam's regular financial subsidy from Manila. Guam soon plunged into a deficit that continued for the remainder of the 1800s.<sup>36</sup>

Spanish commerce also declined in the Pacific during the 1700s and the 1800s. As early as the 1710s, Spanish galleons leaving Acapulco with silver and supply ships failed to stop at Guam some years, causing hardships for residents who had grown accustomed to and even dependent on imported goods. In the mid-1700s, the arrival of Spanish ships continued to be sparse and sporadic. In 1765, as power among European empires shifted, Spain rerouted its ship traffic between Spain and the Philippines to the Indian Ocean and around Africa's Cap of Good Hope, leaving Guam even more commercially isolated from the Spanish empire. Finally, revolution in Latin America against Spain ended all galleon voyages across the central Pacific Ocean, when, in 1811, Mexican rebels seized a silver-laden galleon in Acapulco embarking to Guam and Manila. Spain's silver life-line across the Pacific was severed forever, after the last two Spanish galleons left Acapulco for Manila by way of Guam in 1815.<sup>37</sup>

As Spain's political power and economic vitality ebbed around the world in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, other nations began to encroach on the Spanish lake of the central Pacific Ocean and on Guam. As early as 1685, an English privateer<sup>38</sup> had anchored his ship near Umatac Bay. The next year, English pirates also visited Guam, also stopping near Umatac. In March 1710, four English ships with a total of 200 crew, commanded by privateer Woodes Rogers, anchored off Umatac. English Captain John Clipperton showed up at Guam in March 1721 with one ship of privateers. Twenty years later, during the War of Jenkins' Ear

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<sup>35</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 74-75, 79, 84, 103-104.

<sup>36</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 79-82, 89-90.

<sup>37</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 77, etc.

<sup>38</sup> A privateer is the commander of a ship privately owned and crewed, but authorized by a government, usually one at war, to attack and capture enemy vessels.

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(1739-1741) between Spain and England, British Commander George Anson visited Tinian in 1742 for two months in his man-of-war, *Centurion*. By the mid-1700s, during the Seven Years' War (1754-1763), English men-of-war ships had replaced privateers in the Pacific. At this time, non-Spanish ships outnumbered Spanish vessels, particularly British ships, in the Pacific Ocean.<sup>39</sup>

Other European nations also began to dispatch numerous expeditions to the Pacific in the 1700s. France, a competitor for trade in that region, sent its first ship across the Pacific to the Far East, and the ship stopped at Guam in June 1708. By 1717, seventeen French ships had crossed the Pacific and anchored at Guam. French trade with the countries around the rim of the Pacific Ocean ended abruptly, when Spain captured several French ships in 1716 and 1717. The arrival of a so-called "Crozet's Voyage," two small ships commanded by Captain Chevalier du Clesmeur, at Apra Harbor in 1772, marked the return of the French to the Marianas.<sup>40</sup>

European maritime expeditions of exploration into the Pacific and to Guam accelerated after the American War of Independence ended in 1783, opening up the oceans for safe travel and making money available for non-military activities. France and Great Britain, as well as Russia, now challenged Spain's claim of exclusive dominion over the Pacific. Spain attempted to reassert its presence in the Pacific by mounting its own major scientific expeditions into the Pacific, led by Alessandro Malaspina, from 1789 to 1794. Halfway through the expedition, two of Malaspina's ships anchored off Umatac. Twenty years passed before Russian and France sent their own scientific expeditions into the Pacific, soon after the costly Napoleonic Wars ended (1803-1816), involving France, England, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Germany, Russia, Sweden, and parts of Italy. In 1817, a Russian Navy brig commanded by Otto August von Kotzebue stopped at Guam for a few days. Two more Russian expeditions also went to Guam in 1818 and 1819. In 1828, Russian Ferdinand Petrovich von Lütke anchored his two ships at Apra Harbor for three weeks.<sup>41</sup>

During the same period, the French government likewise financed and organized scientific expeditions traveling around the world that stopped at Guam, usually Umatac Bay, for rest and recuperation. The 350-ton corvette *Uranie*, commanded by Louis de Freycinet, remained anchored for three months off Umatac Bay in 1819. Members of the Freycinet expedition compiled a thorough scientific and historical description of Guam and its residents. Rose Pinon de Freycinet, wife of the commander, wrote in poignant prose about the "miserable conditions of the inhabitants," no doubt suffering, in part, from the depressed economy of the Spanish government in Guam.<sup>42</sup> Another scientific expedition sponsored by the French government, commanded by Jules Sébastien César Dumont d'Urville, anchored at Umatac for four weeks in May 1828. Ten years later, Dumont d'Urville returned to Guam on another circumnavigation. He, too, observed that "the island was poverty stricken. The inhabitants, ravaged by leprosy, lived in filthy huts among beautiful orange groves," Dumont d'Urville penned.<sup>43</sup> Dumont d'Urville's final voyage around the world from 1837 to the 1840s was one of the last scientific expeditions into the Pacific that stopped at the Mariana Islands. Beginning in

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<sup>39</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 69, 77-78, 80, 82.

<sup>40</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 80-84.

<sup>41</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 85, 91-92, 95. Also see Reed, "General Report," 58-59.

<sup>42</sup> Quoted in Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 92.

<sup>43</sup> Quoted in Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 98.

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the 1840s, non-Spanish traders transporting various merchandise and non-Catholic missionaries visited the Marianas.<sup>44</sup>

Less than twenty years after the founding of the United States in 1783, privately owned American ships began navigating across the Pacific Ocean on trading exploits. The first known American whaling ship in the Marianas, the *Ann & Hope*, from New England, arrived at Tinian in 1798. A year later, the American whaling ship *Resource* stopped at Guam for wood, water, provisions, and relaxation. In early 1802, the American bark *Lydia* from Boston dropped anchor in Apra Harbor on its way to Manila and Canton, China. The first officer of the *Lydia*, William Haswell, noted in his journal the residents "lived in neatly thatched basketwork houses about 12 feet from the ground" and described Hagatna as a pleasant town with about 500 buildings, six principal streets, and two forts—one on the hillside overlooking the town and the other at the landing place (near present-day Piti).<sup>45</sup> Another American ship, the *Maria* sailing from Boston, touched Guam in 1812. As the whaling and seal fur industries expanded in the Pacific along with the China trade, many other American merchant ships stopped at Guam for provisions—fresh produce and livestock, trepang (sea slug skins sold in China for use in soups), and pearls.<sup>46</sup> By the 1820s, American whaling ships often paused in the Mariana Islands. As many as sixty whaling ships a year stopped at Guam's Apra Harbor, many of which, such as the *Emily Morgan* sailing from New Bedford, Massachusetts, ventured from the United States and stopped at Guam many times in the mid-1800s.<sup>47</sup>

With the decline of whaling in the 1850s, American ships continued to visit Guam, but for far different reasons than before. United States merchant ships engaged in trade with Pacific rim countries began visiting Guam. Then, in late 1854, the first official American merchant consul to Guam, Samuel J. Masters, arrived off of Hagatna and presented himself to the Spanish governor. This visit was followed six months later by the arrival of the first American warship to Guam, the U.S.S. *Vandalia*, which anchored in Apra Harbor on July 6, 1855. The *Vandalia's* commander had come to Guam to reprimand the Spaniards for detaining survivors of the American merchant ship *Sarah Moores*, which had been brought to Guam after the ship ran aground in the Carolinas in late 1853. This invigorated American activity on Guam reflected shifting geopolitical conditions in the Pacific. As Spain's dominance on the former "Spanish Lake" in the central Pacific Ocean continued to diminish, the United States took a new interest in the Pacific after California became a U.S. territory, and the discovery of gold there brought thousands of immigrants to the West Coast from around the world. By the 1890s, dozens of American merchant ships, engaged in trading a wide assortment of commodities between both U.S. coasts and China, the Philippines, and Japan, sailed across the Pacific Ocean. Guam, by then, had become a central coaling station for trade in the region as well as an increasingly important naval crossroads.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 92, 95-96, 100.

<sup>45</sup> Quoted in Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 57. Haswell's journal is in the Essex Institute Library, Salem, Massachusetts and quoted in the *Guam Recorder* (September and October 1925).

<sup>46</sup> Over-harvesting of the reefs put an end to pearl diving in the Marianas by the late 1800s. Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 89.

<sup>47</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 57, 88-89, 94; Reed, "General Report," 60.

<sup>48</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 99-100, 106; Reed, "General Report," 61-62.

## Chapter 3

### AMERICA ON GUAM 1898-1950

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#### *Introduction*

The presence of a foreign sovereign was not new to residents of Guam, but the role of colonizer was certainly new to the United States. The Treaty of Paris, ending the Spanish-American War, stipulated that Spain would free Cuba, withdraw from the Philippines (whose future would be determined later), and cede to the United States Puerto Rico and other islands in the West Indies, along with the island of Guam. During the next fifty years the island served as an American naval colony. Guam's residents assimilated a new set of customs and habits while it continued to play an important geopolitical role in support of imperial interests in the western Pacific.

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The morning of June 20, 1898, Spanish Governor of Guam Juan Marina learned with great astonishment that four unidentified foreign vessels were steaming passed Hagatna on their way to Apra Harbor. One of the four was a warship. Marina soon found out that these were hostile American ships, and that the United States had been at war with Spain (in the Spanish-American War) for two months, since April 25. The four American vessels had come to capture Guam on their way to the battlefield in Manila, Philippines. The year 1898 marked a dramatic, abrupt end to nearly four hundred years of Spanish contact and influence. The next fifty years witnessed the dominance of America on Guam. As an American naval colony between 1898 and 1950, Guam's residents assimilated a new set of customs and habits even while remaining peripheral to American development of the island. Guam also continued to play an important geopolitical role in support of imperial interests in the western Pacific.

#### U.S. Initiation as Colonialists

Guam had nothing to do with the causes of the Spanish-American War, a conflict that marked a great turning point in the history of the western Pacific and the United States. In the 1880s and 1890s, the United States turned away from its anti-imperialist tradition, dominant after Civil War years (1860-1865), and emerged as an ambitious, aggressive, even covetous nation. A strong sense of national mission to bring civil liberty and Christianity to other cultures and to open markets for American trade around the world merged with the influential voices of a few foreign polity elite in the national government to fuel the growing popular belief that the United States had a manifest destiny to fulfill as a major power. In the 1890s, a series of imperialist outbursts brought the United States to the brink of war with Germany over a dispute involving Samoa (in 1889 and 1890); encouraged the annexation of Hawaii after a rebellion of local Americans against the Hawaiian queen (in 1893); prompted serious discussions of war with Italy and Chile over minor crises; and threatened Great Britain with war over a controversy in Venezuela (in 1895). The U.S. also teetered on the brink of war with Spain over American aid to rebels resisting Spanish rule in Cuba (in 1896). Influential naval strategist and author of *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History* (1890) Alfred Thayer Mahan believed that the United States could only become a great powerful nation if it extended its sea power beyond North America to strategic locations in the Pacific and Caribbean.<sup>49</sup>

In a frenzy of national excitement instigated by the *New York Journal's* sensational headlines, "The Whole Country Thrills with War Fever," accompanied by a front-page story about a terrific mysterious explosion that sunk the American armored cruiser *Maine* in Havana Harbor, Cuba, on February 15, 1898, heightened the nationalist urges of America's imperialist foreign policy elite, including then Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt. Newspapers around the country shouted for revenge over the loss of the *Maine* and its 250 officers and crew. In April 1898, Congress declared Cuba free from Spanish rule, demanded that Spain withdraw from Cuba, and directed the use of armed force to achieve these ends. With this declaration of war on Spain, Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt sent

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<sup>49</sup> Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1890).

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Commodore George Dewey to Manila Bay, where, on May 1, he defeated the aged Spanish fleet in seven hours.

United States Marines soon left San Francisco on the cruiser USS *Charleston* to assist Dewey with the capture of Manila. After being joined by three troop transports in Honolulu, fifty-four-year-old navy Captain Henry Glass put the four-ship convoy to sea. As soon as he was clear of land, he opened his sealed orders from the secretary of the Navy and learned that his immediate destination was not Manila. Instead, he had been ordered to capture Guam and to imprison the Spanish governor, other government officials, and any armed forces—all in a day or two—before continuing on to Manila. Guam, argued the U.S. Naval War Board, was an important coaling station and its capture would help support the campaign in the Philippines.<sup>50</sup>

Early on the morning of June 20, 1898, the *Charleston* entered Apra Harbor in dense tropical squalls. With no prior knowledge of the war between Spain and the United States, the shocked Spanish Governor Juan Marina was asked to surrender the defenses of the island. He and military officers were all taken prisoners of war. On June 21, 1898, Captain Glass had the American flag raised at Fort Santa Cruz on Apra Harbor; and a twenty-one-gun salute was fired as military bands boomed the "Star Spangled Banner." The next morning, Captain Glass's convoy left Apra for Manila, leaving no United States' officers or enlisted men behind to oversee activities on the U.S.'s new imperial possession. On August 12, the Spanish-American War ended just three months after it had begun.

The Treaty of Paris, signed by the United States and Spain on December 10, 1898, (and ratified on April 11, 1899) stipulated that Spain would free Cuba, leave the Philippines (whose future would be determined later), and cede to the United States Puerto Rico and other islands in the West Indies, along with the island of Guam. The rationale presented at the peace conference for giving Guam to the United States focused primarily on the concept of Guam as a stepping stone in the Pacific, between Hawaii and the Philippines. Guam, it was argued, was a convenient stopping place and useful as a coaling station in an era when naval ships were fueled with coal. (American expansionism in the 1880s and early 1890s was explicitly aimed towards obtaining naval coaling stations in places like Samoa, Midway, and Guam in the Pacific. The Treaty of Paris further specified that Congress would determine the civil rights and political status of Guam's inhabitants. The local residents were never consulted on this matter. The Treaty of Paris made the United States a major colonial power in the Pacific.<sup>51</sup>

A fourteen-month period of confusion prevailed between the departure of Spanish Governor Juan Marina and the arrival of the first U.S. naval governor. In December 1898, President William McKinley had issued Executive Order 108-A, which placed Guam under the control of the United States Navy. In 1899, the entire island of Guam was designated a naval station. In reality, the U.S. Navy acquired all Spanish crown lands when Guam came under

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<sup>50</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 107-109; Earl S. Pomeroy, *Pacific Outpost: American Strategy in Guam and Micronesia* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1951), 4.

<sup>51</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 109-13; Russell A. Apple, "Guam: Two Invasions and Three Military Occupations," 3; Pomeroy, *Pacific Outpost*, 6-10. Also see Henry P. Beers, *American Naval Occupation and Government of Guam, 1898-1902* (Washington, D.C.: Office of Records Administration, Navy Department, 1944) and M. Dean Zenor, "United States Naval Government and Administration of Guam" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1949).

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American rule, which amounted to roughly one-quarter of the 214-square-mile island. For the next forty-two years, all of the American governors of Guam were naval officers, who were serving at the same time as the naval station commandant.<sup>52</sup>

On August 7, 1899, Captain Richard Phillips Leary, chosen by the secretary of the navy as the first U.S. governor of Guam, arrived in Hagatna with instructions to fulfill the mission of the U.S. by maintaining the "strong arm of authority, to repress disturbance, and to overcome all obstacles to the bestowal of the blessings of good government upon the people of the Island of Guam."<sup>53</sup> Captain Richard Leary's interpretation of this mandate became, in part, embodied in a series of orders and proclamations he issued during the next year. Reflecting the rather stern, Victorian tendencies of the historical era and his own outlook, Leary immediately proclaimed that all activities related to church and state must be separated and that Guam residents must submit to the new American authority. He then issued executive general orders to prohibit the sale of liquor and its importation without a license. Leary also ordered that all land sales be halted until a new land registry system was established. In an attempt to do away with certain existing cultural practices, Leary prohibited celebrations and processions in Chamorro villages, on patron-saint feast days, he sent many Catholic priests away from Guam, and he declared unlawful the common practice of couples co-habiting and raising children together outside marriage. In addition, Leary issued proclamations and executive orders that: abolished peonage;<sup>54</sup> implemented agricultural and labor reforms; revised the land tax system; and established a new tariff for imports. Governor Captain Leary also instituted a public health program with navy doctors and corpsmen providing free medical treatment to the island residents, and he set up a public education system under naval control, with instruction in English, which replaced the Spanish Catholic church school system.<sup>55</sup>

Finally, Governor Leary ordered the completion of several public works. The U.S. Marines made improvements to the governor's residence (including the installation of typhoon shutters and the first corrugated tin roof on the island), cleaned up the main plaza in Hagatna for a military parade ground, repaired roads and bridges, dug sewers, improved water drainage and distillation systems, and constructed the first water storage tanks on Guam. Leary also instituted garbage collection, required outhouses in the main villages, and installed the first telephone system in Hagatna and Piti. When Captain Richard Leary and Lieutenant William Edwin Safford stepped down from their posts in mid-July 1900 and left Guam after only one year's residence, the cultural landscape, especially in and around Hagatna and Piti, had changed noticeably. The refurbished governor's residence, roads, bridges, tidier streets, water tanks, and outhouses collectively began to convey the physical image of United States occupation and the extension of the "strong arm of naval authority" over America's first colonial conquest.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> For a comprehensive examination of naval administration of Guam and other U.S. trust territories in the Pacific, see Commander Dorothy E. Richard, *United States Naval Administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands* (Washington, D.C.: n.p., 1957-1963).

<sup>53</sup> Quoted in Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 114.

<sup>54</sup> Peonage refers to the practice of perpetuating poverty by having the poor pay debts to the elite class by labor that sometimes lasted for years.

<sup>55</sup> Governor Leary's Lieutenant Governor William Edwin Safford wrote the first English-language text book on the Chamorro language. Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 117-19.

<sup>56</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 120-22.

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American Commander Seaton Schroeder relieved Captain Leary as governor and as naval station commandant on July 19, 1900; Ensign A. W. Pressey took Safford's place as lieutenant governor. Unlike Leary, Governor Schroeder spoke Spanish as well as French and seemed more accepting of the Spanish cultural traditions that had become integrated into the daily lives of island residents. Schroeder immediately reversed Leary's interpretation of the separation of church and state and once again permitted patron-saints feast days celebrations in the villages. Within a few months, the new governor allowed Catholic priests, sent away by Leary, to return to Guam.

The charitable and humanitarian volunteer efforts of Maria Schroeder, the commandant's wife, continued to improve public health conditions among residents. Maria Schroeder raised funds in the United States to build a new hospital. Although the native residents were suspicious at first, they eventually agreed to subject themselves to new foreign medical procedures. Common afflictions (ring worms, hook worms, and tape worms) began to be treated. The mortality rate of local residents began to drop. When Governor Schroeder conducted the first American census in August 1901, he learned there was a total of 9,676 non-Americans on Guam: 9,630 "citizens" of Guam and 32 mostly Spanish "aliens." Schroeder's census showed that the population of Guam had increased nearly twenty percent since 1886, when the last official count of residents had been made.<sup>57</sup>

During Schroeder's command, the Guam residents became increasingly restless and dissatisfied with the United States Navy's rule of the island, described by islanders as a "military government of occupation." Residents presented a petition to Schroeder, stating that "fewer permanent guarantees of liberty and property rights exist now than under Spanish domain"<sup>58</sup> and asking that a special commission be sent from Washington, D.C. to study and recommend ways to create a permanent civilian government on Guam. Schroeder endorsed the petition. This effort marked the first in a long series of proposals that sought civil liberties and representative government for Guam residents.

In the early 1900s and for the next fifty years, the United States Navy rejected each and every such proposal. In 1901, the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed the navy's absolute authority over Guam in a series of cases, collectively known as the *Insular Cases*, holding that the U.S. Constitution does not apply to insular territories (also called "flag territories" or "possessions")." In the key case, *Downes v. Bidwell*, Justice Henry B. Brown captured the racist view especially prevalent at the turn of the nineteenth century. In his opinion: "if these possessions are inhabited by alien races, differing from us in religion, customs, laws, methods of taxation and modes of thoughts, the administration of government and justice, according to Anglo-Saxon principles, may for a time be impossible."<sup>59</sup> Justice Edward D. White concurred with Brown and made a distinction between "incorporated" and "unincorporated" U.S. territories. Guam, designated an "unincorporated" territory, according to Justice White, was not intended to become a U.S. state and, thus, should not be treated as an integral part of the United States. As a result of the *Insular Cases*, in 1904, the U.S. attorney general informed the secretary of the navy that "the political status of these islands is anomalous. Neither the Constitution nor the laws of

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<sup>57</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 122-23, 125.

<sup>58</sup> Both quotes in Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 125, 126.

<sup>59</sup> Quoted in Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 125.

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the United States have been extended to them."<sup>60</sup> By the end of Governor Schroeder's two-and-one-half-year tenure, the structure and legal basis for U.S. naval authority on Guam had been firmly established.<sup>61</sup> The island was to be administered as a ship, "the 'USS *Guam*,' the governor as captain, U.S. military personnel as crew, and the Chamorro as mess attendants."<sup>62</sup>

#### Ordered Tranquility

Over the next fifteen years, U.S. naval governors (or acting governors/ commandants) came and went on Guam. Between 1903 and 1918, fourteen men served in this dual position for an average tenure of just over one year. These American governors, although often hardworking and capable, rarely became knowledgeable about local conditions and the Guam residents. Although considered more socially benevolent, the American administration of Guam differed little from that of the previous Spanish military rule, except for the separation of religious and governmental affairs and the imposition of the English language. Life for Americans on Guam settled into a placid colonial tedium of a small tropical outpost.

Each American naval officer serving as governor of Guam pursued a slightly different administrative agenda. Commander William E. Sewell (February 6, 1903-January 11, 1904) formalized Guam's judicial system and procedures. Commander George L. Dyer (May 16, 1904-November 2, 1905) initiated a detailed cadastral survey of the island and its waters, which was worked on sporadically over several years (and still incomplete by the early 1990s). Dyer also expanded the Maria Schroeder Hospital, and created a local civil service for islanders. Captain Edward J. Dorn (December 28, 1907-November 5, 1910) stressed the Americanization of Guam during his gubernatorial tenure by instituting the official observance of U.S. federal holidays, eliminating all but U.S. currency on the island, initiating the first island newspaper, the *Guam News Letter*, in May 1909 in both English and Spanish, and by creating the island's first public prosecutor, known as "Island Attorney." Captain Robert E. Coontz (April 30, 1912-September 23, 1913) energetically, although unsuccessfully, pushed Congress for the military fortification of Guam. Commander Alfred W. Hinds and the Navy Department invited American business firms, such as Atkins, Kroll & Company of San Francisco, to import and export goods to and from Guam. Captain William J. Maxwell, governor from March 28, 1914 to May 30, 1916, created the first local retirement fund for the Guam civil service. In 1914, he also attempted to gain citizenship for the people of Guam, however, was rebuffed by the Assistant Secretary of the Navy Franklin Delano Roosevelt.<sup>63</sup>

During this same fifteen years, the lives of island residents improved in some respects, even though civil liberties and equality under the law were withheld from the island residents. Health care provided to Chamorro by naval doctors and dentists helped improve residents'

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<sup>60</sup> Quoted in Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 126.

<sup>61</sup> Racism as an endemic part of the American naval officers' culture has been documented by several historians, including Peter Karsten, *The Naval Aristocracy: The Golden Age of Annapolis and the Emergence of Modern American Navalism* (New York: Free Press, 1972).

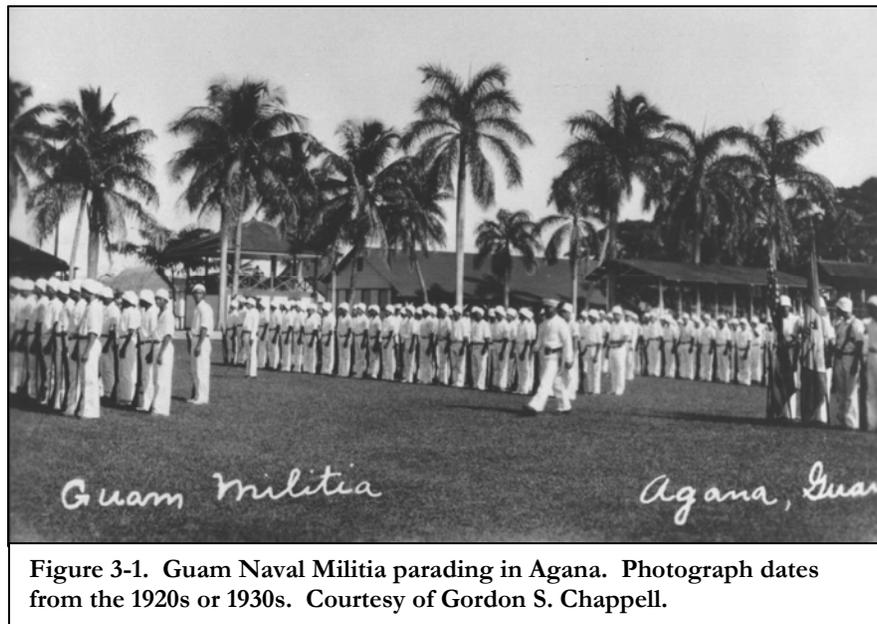
<sup>62</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 126.

<sup>63</sup> Franklin Delano Roosevelt was a nephew of Theodore Roosevelt, who had held the same position during the Spanish-American War. Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 128-34.

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quality of life by eradicating certain diseases (such as gangosa, a form of tertiary yaws) and aiding in the treatment of still deadly measles and whooping cough. Public education expanded, and students received free periodic medical exams. Chamorro enjoyed certain new amenities on the island, including electric lights in downtown Hagatna, a few paved roads, and the recreational diversion of baseball, all the rage in the United States. Nothing, however, substantially changed laws, practices, and attitudes that relegated Chamorro society to unequal status as inferior, second-class members of American society on Guam. The so-called "Jim Crow laws" in the United States that affirmed racial segregation in schools, housing, and nearly every aspect of social and civil life in the early 1900s, permeated American-dominated Chamorro society. Racial inequality was especially virulent in navy hiring and wage scales, where one rate existed for American citizens and a much lower one for Chamorro. During the early 1900s, the United States Navy did not permit the enlistment of Chamorro men except as mess attendants.<sup>64</sup>



**Figure 3-1. Guam Naval Militia parading in Agana. Photograph dates from the 1920s or 1930s. Courtesy of Gordon S. Chappell.**

Although political and social conditions remained much the same on Guam during U.S. naval administration between 1903 and 1918, the world around Guam and the island's place in it changed dramatically. At first, seemingly small but increasingly larger events drew Guam into a new global reality. The completion of the first undersea commercial telegraph cable linking Guam, Manila, Midway, Honolulu, and San Francisco in 1903, followed by the completion of the Panama Canal in 1914 brought Guam into a direct avenue of modern communication and transportation linking the island with the rest of the world. Guam began to be seen as a vital

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<sup>64</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 130, 133-34.

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stepping stone in the Pacific—a secure way station and a relay point—in the communication and transportation channel between the West Coast of the United States and the Philippines.<sup>65</sup>

#### Neutrality Broken by World War I

Increasingly, during the early period of U.S. administration, the navy began to appreciate Guam's militarily strategic geographic location and relationship with the islands and resources scattered around Micronesia. Japan had been interested and active in the South Sea Islands since the 1880s. Both Japan and Germany had commercial interests in the western Pacific; Guam was at the geopolitical center of these overlapping spheres of interest. Early on, the United States took measures to protect Guam's harbors and provisioning capabilities against potentially unfriendly countries with commercial interests around the Pacific, particularly in Asia. As early as 1906, the U.S. Navy began to formulate a series of secret contingency war plans, each one known as "War Plan Orange," that cast Japan (orange) as the enemy in a future war. The initial and subsequent revised War Plans Orange emphasized the importance of defending the Philippines, Guam, and Hawaii with combined U.S. Army and Navy forces. When war broke out in Europe in early August 1914 and Japan declared war on Germany two weeks later, the United States assumed a passive stance as Japan seized control of all German Micronesia (including the Northern Mariana, Caroline, and Marshall islands).<sup>66</sup>

As the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire) fought tenaciously against the Allies (Great Britain, France, Russian, Italy, and Japan) in the Great War (renamed World War I after the Second World War began), the United States remained uninvolved militarily. Guam's status as an oasis of neutrality in the western Pacific did not prevent it from engaging in certain wartime activities. For example, War Plan Orange was revised twice between 1914 and 1917, a detailed plan of the defense of Guam was completed in 1915, new artillery was placed on Orote Peninsula, and an "Insular Force" consisting of Chamorro men was formed to assist navy personnel at the port. In March 1917, Governor Captain Roy C. Smith decreed universal, unpaid military service for all Chamorro men between the age of sixteen and twenty-three. United States neutrality in the mid-1910s, did not keep Guam detached from the war and the complexities of wartime activities in the western Pacific. Guam businesses sold over two million pounds of copra<sup>67</sup> to Japan annually, after war had increased the demand for coconut oil.<sup>68</sup> Additionally, the United States manufactured and exported munitions and goods of all kinds to the Allies for the war effort, and America loaned the Allies money to buy those goods. By 1917, the United States had loaned the Allies about \$2.2 billion; the Central Powers had received far less from the U.S., about \$30 million.

On December 14, 1914, the German navy cruiser S.M.S. *Cormoran*, with its 373-man crew, entered Apra Harbor seeking a re-supply of coal. Guam Governor William J. Maxwell,

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<sup>65</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 128, 130-31. Also see David G. McCullough, *The Path Between the Seas: The Creation of the Panama Canal, 1870-1914* (Simon and Schuster, 1977) for a very readable history of the Panama Canal.

<sup>66</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 130-31.

<sup>67</sup> Copra is a dried kernel of the coconut used to make coconut oil.

<sup>68</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 135-38.

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Captain of the U.S. Navy, interned the ship in harbor, where it remained for two years. On April 7, 1917, the United States declared war on Germany, shortly after German U-boats attacked American ships and the U.S. learned that Germany was trying to persuade Mexico to attack the United States. When Guam Governor Captain Roy C. Smith sent two officers to demand surrender of the *Cormoran* and the request was evaded, a U.S. Marine Corporal Michael B. Chockie fired a shot across the bow of the *Cormoran's* supply launch in an attempt to stop the fleeing launch. Chockie's shot was the first one fired by an American in the Great War—later known as "World War I." Only minutes later, the commander of the *Cormoran* blew up the ship to keep it from being seized by the American Navy and he and his men swam toward shore. The *Cormoran* remains at the bottom of Apra Harbor, 120 feet down.<sup>69</sup>

Ordered tranquility characterized life on Guam after the dramatic scuttling of the *Cormoran*. The U.S. Navy on Guam had no further involvement in the Great War other than installing two 400-hundred-foot-high towers on Libugon Hill for a high-powered radio station. The cultural and social life of the Chamorro remained unaffected by the war. Local customs continued to mix Chamorro and Spanish traditions. The Chamorro language continued to be the dominant language on Guam, even after two decades of U.S. occupation. Land and family lineage continued to be, as always, the basis of wealth and prestige in the subtle caste system that existed in Chamorro society. Natural disasters not wartime activities interrupted this tranquility in 1918. A mammoth typhoon slammed into Guam in July, severing miles of telephone and electric wires and, from late October to December that year, a devastating influenza pandemic, which raged worldwide, swept across Guam, leaving 858 dead (nearly 6 percent of the population). In the midst of the world's struggle against this deadly disease, World War I ended without fanfare or public celebration with the signing of the armistice on November 11, 1918.<sup>70</sup>

#### Life After War

After the war ended, life on Guam followed a predictable pattern similar to the first two decades under United States administration; each governor and naval base commandant exercised his own particular style of administration and set of priorities that influenced the lives of Guam residents in subtle and sometimes profound ways. The autocratic, racist Captain William W. Gilmer (November 15, 1918-July 7, 1920) issued over fifty rigid orders in less than two years, ranging from edicts against whistling and the fandango dance in public to prohibiting the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages, barring interracial marriages, and instituting the death penalty for serious crimes. Life on the island was humorless and grim until the U.S. Navy relieved Gilmer and replaced him with an intelligent, fun-loving man, Captain Ivan C. Wettengel (July 7, 1920-October 28, 1921). Wettengel immediately rescinded some of Gilmer's most outrageous orders. Acting Governor Captain Adelbert Althouse (February 7, 1922-August 4, 1923), favored the continued acculturation of Guam residents to American ways through education. He reorganized the Guam public school system, patterning it after the California system, and encouraged the organization of a new monthly, the *Guam Recorder*, which, over the

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<sup>69</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 135-36, 138-40.

<sup>70</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 140-43.

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next two decades, featured many articles, English language publication, on the history of Guam by Lieutenant Commander P. J. Searles.<sup>71</sup>

Commander Willis W. Bradley, Jr., who served as Guam's governor from June 11, 1929 to May 15, 1931, was militarily accomplished (graduated first in his class at Annapolis Naval Academy and received the congressional Medal of Honor in World War I) and a civil libertarian. He made a greater impact on local political conditions than any American governor before him. Soon after arriving on Guam, he recommended that U.S. citizenship be granted by federal legislation to all native residents; he immediately followed up by issuing his own proclamation that established Guam citizenship and naturalization procedures. Bradley also recommended that Guam citizens be granted a bill of rights, protecting them from any arbitrary and capricious decrees ordered by future naval governors. He also established the "Second Guam Congress" (purely advisory, like the First Guam Congress), consisting of two legislative houses (Assembly and Council), and he implemented the election of village commissioners. Finally, Willis Bradley initiated ambitious efforts to improve Guam's decrepit roads, overcrowded schools, construct all new public buildings of concrete, and to establish a library. As poignant testimony to Bradley's high regard by the locals, Guam residents asked the secretary of the navy to allow Bradley to represent them in the United States when the navy replaced him in May 1931, just as the Great Depression plunged to its greatest depths.<sup>72</sup>

Following Governor Bradley's departure, political and economic conditions deteriorated under subsequent American governors as the bleak reality of depression settled over the island in the 1930s. The Great Depression crushed economic activity on the island, most noticeably by depressing copra prices and diminishing its exports, and it retarded education by limiting the number of teachers that could be hired. By 1941, there were only eighty-five miles of paved roads on the island. Most governors of Guam rejected the resolutions passed by the new Second Guam Congress. Island residents still had no right to protection by grand jury, and there were still no trials by jury. Education remained inadequate. Racial discrimination permeated the navy's administration of the island. The majority of the population depended on government support to survive during the 1930s. Navy governors squelched additional efforts (in 1933 and 1936-37) to obtain American citizenship. Congress continued to support the navy view that Guamanian residents had not improved their economic condition enough to deserve citizenship. The U.S. Navy failed to improve local civil liberties and enlarge the responsibility for self-government. The U.S. Congress perpetuated the military colonialism on Guam practiced by the navy.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 144, 145-48.

<sup>72</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 149-51.

<sup>73</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 152-53, 156, 158-60.

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Only in the area of public health did the U.S. Navy markedly upgrade conditions for the residents of Guam. Greatly improved sanitation and medical services nearly eliminated leprosy and gangosa on the island. The death rate dropped dramatically between 1905 and 1940. The

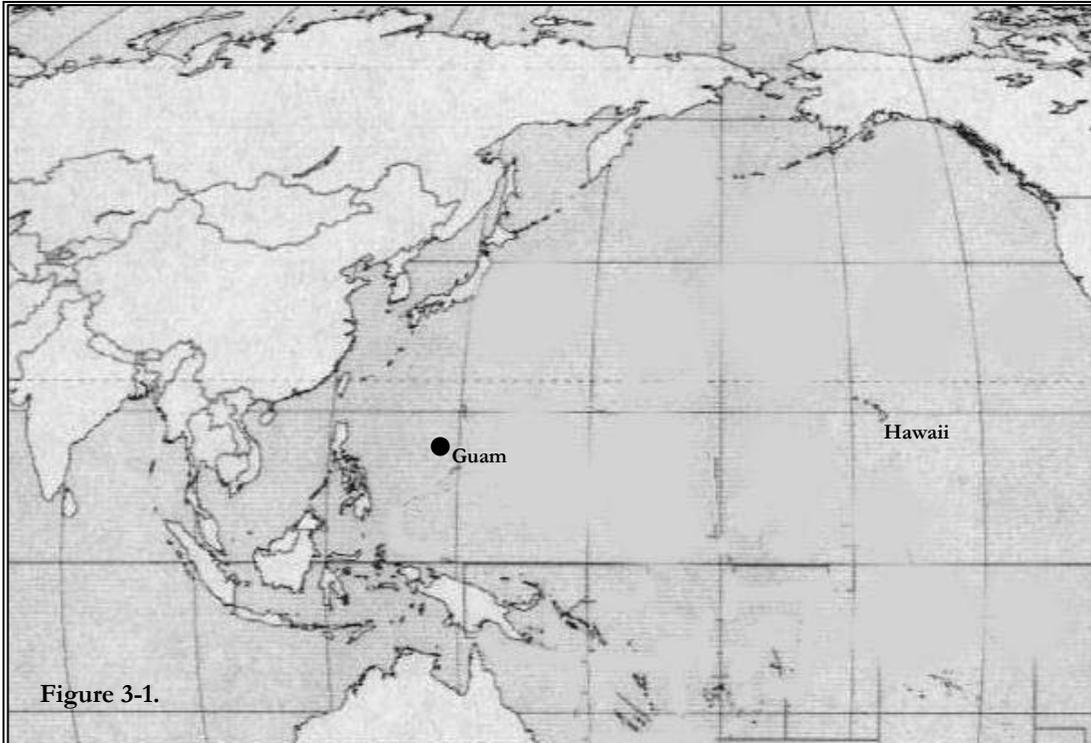


Figure 3-1.

Figure 3-2. Original map courtesy of the Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam. Map modifications by Evans-Hatch

population of local Guamanians had increased 128 percent during forty years of American naval administration, from 9,630 in 1901 to 21,502 in 1940. The failure of U.S. Navy administration of Guam is, perhaps, understandable, even if not excusable. The primary mission of the naval governors was military defense and not civil development.<sup>74</sup>

### **Japanese Arrive on Guam**

During the 1930s, the U.S. Navy became increasingly absorbed by its mission of military defense. Japan, which had been given control of most of Micronesia<sup>75</sup> after World War I by a 1920 League of Nations mandate, and her activities in Micronesia became a growing distraction and cause for concern. Worried about Japan's efforts to consolidate its control over Micronesia

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<sup>74</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 145-46, 157-58, 160-61.

<sup>75</sup> Japan had not been given control over the U.S. territories of Guam and Wake Island and the British colonies of the Gilbert Islands, Nauru, and Ocean Island.

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in the late 1910s and the early 1920s,<sup>76</sup> the U.S. Navy once again revised its "Plan Orange" in 1927 and 1928 for an assumed Japanese invasion of Guam. It began to intercept and decode Japanese radio signals by 1929. A year later, President Herbert Hoover prohibited civil aircraft from flying over Guam (as well as Pearl Harbor, Guantanamo, and Subic Bay) in a feeble attempt to prevent foreign surveillance of the island. After Japan reneged on its obligations under existing arms treaties and closed off most of Micronesia to outsiders, and after Americans found and began monitoring patriotic Japanese nationals living on or routinely visiting Guam, who were part of the Japanese intelligence system, a board of naval officers recommended, in the 1938 Hepburn Report, that Guam be developed as a major air and submarine base. (The Navy General Board and Congress later rejected this large-scale fortification.)<sup>77</sup>

By the late 1930s, Japan began to build up its military on Micronesian islands, until then used primarily to fuel the Japanese civilian economy. The Japanese built a constellation of military facilities: airfields, harbors, ammunition depots, gun emplacements, barracks, and fuel storage facilities. Micronesia was to be a major staging area for planned offensive air and naval operations. Kwajalein (Marshall Islands) would later be used to support an attack on Hawaii and Wake Island. The Palau Islands were being prepared to provide support for a campaign in the Philippines. Truk (now Chuuk, Caroline Islands) was being readied as a base for amphibious landings on Tarawa and Makin (Gilbert Islands). Majuro (Marshall Islands) would be used for air strikes against Howland Island. Jaluit (Marshall Islands) was being prepared for the seizure of Nauru and Ocean Island. Finally, the Japanese were making military preparations on Saipan to support a naval and air attack on Guam.<sup>78</sup>

The eyes of the world shifted abruptly toward Europe when Germany invaded Poland on September 1, 1939, an event marking the outbreak of World War II. Immediately, the American high command made preparations for possible military campaigns in the Atlantic Ocean and Europe against the Nazi regime in Germany the top priority. Preparations for a war in the Pacific became secondary. In late 1939 and early 1940, when the United States formulated its global military strategic plans called "Rainbow War Plans," the U.S. Navy put Guam in the lowest priority defense category, an acknowledgement that Guam could not be defended.<sup>79</sup>

Despite this, the United States, over the next two years, used Guam for wartime preparations against Japan and, as Japanese-American relations became increasingly strained, to defend Guam against a long-predicted Japanese attack. After Japan joined the Axis Pact with Germany and Italy in September 1940, the United States sped up its efforts to decode Japanese encrypted communications. In July 1940, the U.S. and Great Britain imposed a trade embargo

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<sup>76</sup> For a close examination of Japan's strategic military activities in Micronesia, see Willard Price, *Japan's Islands of Mystery* (London: W. Heinemann, 1944); Paul Clyde, *Japan's Pacific Mandate* (New York: MacMillan, 1935); Yanaihara Tadao, *Pacific Islands Under Japanese Mandate* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1939); Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie, editors, *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945* (Princeton, N.J. Princeton University Press, 1984); and Mark R. Peattie, *Nan'ya: The Rise and Fall of the Japanese in Micronesia, 1895 to 1945* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988).

<sup>77</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 146-47, 151, 156-57. Also see Herold J. Wiens, *Pacific Island Bastions of the United States* (Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1962).

<sup>78</sup> Dirk Anthony Ballendorf, "World War II in Micronesia: A Lecture Presented at the University of Guam." Micronesian Studies Department, University of Guam, Mangilao, Guam.

<sup>79</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 157.

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on aviation gasoline and strategic metals produced for sale to Japan. Then, in mid-February 1941, President Franklin Roosevelt declared Guam off-limits to all foreign and domestic nonmilitary sea and air traffic. In February and March, Congress appropriated a total of \$4,700,000 for last-minute defense projects to improve Guam's Apra Harbor, to construct new oil storage tanks at Cabras Island, and to prepare for the construction of airfields on Orote Peninsula. In July 1941, President Roosevelt froze all Japanese assets in the United States. On October 17, 1941, the last American military dependents left Guam on the USS *Henderson*. The last issue of the *Guam Recorder* was published in November. Everyone on Guam expected war to break out in the Pacific. The only unanswered questions were "where" and "when."<sup>80</sup>

Guam residents did not have long to wait. Shortly after 8 a.m. on the clear morning of December 8, 1941, the drone of aircraft flying over Hagatna could be heard as residents prepared to celebrate the Feast of the Immaculate Conception or began their work day as fishers, merchants, or government workers. Captain George J. McMillin, governor of Guam and commandant of the U.S. Navy on the island, had learned, two hours earlier, of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. He was planning to evacuate people from the capitol of Hagatna when he heard the aircraft overhead and craned his neck to look skyward. A few minutes later, war planes, with round red markings on their wings, swooped down over Sumay, on Orote Peninsula, and dropped a series of bombs, one of which hit a big Standard Oil Company tank; it immediately burst into flames and sent up black billowy clouds of smoke, obscuring the clear blue sky. Over the next few hours, Japanese airplanes bombed military targets at Piti navy yard, the Libugon radio towers, vessels in Apra Harbor, and the mine sweeper *Penguin*, about one mile off of the Agat beaches. The Japanese began to bomb Hagatna the afternoon of December 8. The next day, the Japanese resumed their bombing of Guam, once again, striking the Libugon radio towers again and downtown Hagatna. They also strafed<sup>81</sup> villages scattered throughout the island.<sup>82</sup>

On December 10, Japanese troops landed at widely scattered locations around Guam—Tumon Bay, Apruguan-Dungcas Beach (north of Hagatna), Bile Bay (north of Merizo on the southwest coast), Talofoto Bay (on the southeast coast), Agat beaches, and Hagatna Bay. In a short time, Japanese soldiers converged on the Plaza de Espana in Hagatna, where Governor McMillan had assembled three platoons of the Insular Force Guard (with a total of about eighty-five Guamanian men), along with a handful of U.S. Marines and sailors to defend the governor's family and American staff personnel. In the dim light of the early morning, gunfire erupted across the Plaza de Espana. Japanese soldiers closed in on the Insular Force Guard and American soldiers and sailors in what Governor McMillan later described as a "hopeless" situation.<sup>83</sup> Around 7 a.m. on December 10, McMillin signed a letter of surrender, less than six

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<sup>80</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 157, 161-62.

<sup>81</sup> Strafing is machine gun fire from shot from fighter airplanes to targets on the ground.

<sup>82</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 163-65.

<sup>83</sup> Edward E. Hale, chief warrant officer third class of the U. S. Navy on board the *Penguin* before it was bombed by the Japanese, described the sequence of events around the plaza on December 10 in *First Captured, Last Freed: Memoirs of a P.O.W. in World War II, Guam and Japan* Sebastopol, CA: Grizzly Bear Press, 1995), 8-35.

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hours after the Japanese stepped foot on Guam. The flag of the Rising Sun was immediately raised on the flagpole in the plaza, just as the sun rose over Guam.<sup>84</sup>

By the end of December 1941, Japan completed its conquest of Micronesia. On December 23, Americans on Wake Island, about 2,000 miles to the east of Guam, surrendered to Japan after endless air strikes over a two-week period. Japanese control of Micronesia extended from Wake Island and the Mariana Islands in the north to Palau in the far southwest and the Gilbert Islands in the southeast. The Japanese used these Micronesian islands for offensive operations until September 1943.

Guam remained under Japanese control for the next two and one-half years. Immediately after the United States surrendered, the Japanese rounded up all Americans and foreigners and shipped them to Japan as prisoners of war. (Six American sailors remained loose on the island for several weeks before all but one, George Tweed, were found and executed by the Japanese.) Many Guamanians, including those in the Insular Force Guard and nurses, were treated as prisoners during the day and forced to work involuntarily as unpaid field workers, planting and harvesting crops, stevedores who unloaded ships, miners at a manganese mine at Libugon, and as nurses. The Imperial Japanese Army soon created the "Minseisho," a section of the military responsible for civil government on the island. The Minseisho performed many functions, including issuing an identification pass, or "dog tag," for every Guamanian, issuing money, rationing food and other commodities through coupons, and establishing quotas for the monthly production of food for the Japanese troops. As the supply of food dwindled, more and more Guamanians, who scattered into the countryside during and after the invasion, began harvesting their own food from the sea and the land. A shortage of money gave rise to bartering among the Guamanians and the 6,000 Japanese troops, who were garrisoned at Sumay on Orote Peninsula. Although Japanese administration of Guam was harsh at first, Japanese rule relaxed after January 14, 1942, when the Japanese naval guard force took over the administration of Guam. The Japanese did not confiscate the islanders' property, even though marshal law was in effect. Most islanders did not experience extreme hardship until the last few months of Japanese occupation. According to historian Robert Rogers, "the islanders adopted an attitude of guarded submissive neutrality toward the Japanese while hoping for the return of the Americans."<sup>85</sup>

When the return of Americans did seem imminent, the Japanese imposed much harsher security measures, and drafted nearly everyone to raise food crops for the Japanese soldiers or build defensive structures. After American bombing of Guam became sustained in the late spring and summer of 1944, the Japanese moved Guamanians to internment camps in the interior and eastern coastal areas at Maima, Tai, Manengon, Talofoto, Inarajan, and several other

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<sup>84</sup> About sixty-five Guamanians and Americans and ten Japanese soldiers lost their lives during the invasion. Governor George McMillin described events leading up to the surrender in "Surrender of Guam to the Japanese," *Guam Recorder* 1 (April-September 1972): 9-12. Father Alvin LaFeir's remembrance of the Japanese invasion of Guam is presented in "The Builder's Story," *Pacific Profile* 4: 2 (February 1966): 14-16, 20-24. Also see Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 165-68; Ballendorf, "World War II in Micronesia," 3-5; Erwin N. Thompson, *Historic Resource Study: War in the Pacific National Historical Park, Guam* (Golden, CO: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Denver Service Center, c. 1985), 1-2.

<sup>85</sup> Quoted in Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 173.

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places, where although food was often scarce, shelter temporary, and living conditions impoverished, they were away from areas where fighting later occurred.<sup>86</sup>

### Americans Return to Guam

The United States began sporadic counter attacks in the Pacific not long after the Japanese invasion of Guam. The U.S. made air attacks on Tokyo in April 1942. In May and June, the American Navy halted Japanese advances by winning major victories in the Coral Sea and also near Midway Island. This was the first major turning point in the Pacific War. U.S. troops wrestled Guadalcanal from the Japanese in the summer of 1942. From then on, the United States took one Pacific island after another from the Japanese, within Micronesia and outside it, in stepping-stone fashion. As early as January 1943, American aircraft and submarines attacked a Japanese cargo carrier inside Apra Harbor. Seven months later, on August 27, 1943, the USS *Snapper* hit the Japanese *Tokai Maru*, anchored in Apra Harbor. The *Tokai Maru* sand, coming to rest on the bottom next to the German ship *Cormoran*, sunk during World War I. The first major American counter attack in Micronesia took place in November 1943, when the U.S. Pacific Fleet made landings at Tarawa (Gilbert Islands) and, then, captured Kwajalein, Wotje, Jaluit, and Maloelap (all in the Marshall Islands), 1,500 miles east of Guam, in February 1944. (This offensive thrust from the east replicated an earlier "Orange Plan" devised by the U.S. Navy.) Also in February 1944, the Americans (Admiral Raymond Spruance's Fifth Fleet) destroyed the important Japanese base at Truk [Chuuk] Lagoon (Caroline Islands) about 600 miles southeast of Guam. Then, on February 23, 1944, American aircraft carrier-based airplanes bombed the Japanese airstrip on Orote Peninsula, marking the beginning of the end of Japanese occupation of Guam.<sup>87</sup>

The Mariana Islands were considered the first line of defense of Japan itself. In April 1944, a U.S. submarine torpedoed a Japanese submarine tender. In May 1944, Americans began regularly bombing Guam and other islands in the Marianas. In late June and early July 1944, U.S. bombing strikes against Japanese targets in the Marianas, including Guam, increased in intensity. The U.S. Navy's Central Pacific Offensive attacked and captured, first, Saipan, then, Tinian in June and July, putting Japan within range of U.S. B-29 bombers. As the U.S. Marine Corps fought the Japanese on Saipan beaches, nearly 100 U.S. dive-bombers blasted Guam. The U.S. Navy's Fifth Fleet bombarded a Japanese minelayer at Cabras Island the next day. <sup>88</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Paul Carno, "Liberation Day: Prelude to Freedom," *Guam Recorder* 3 (second series, July-September 1973), 4-5; Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 169-76. A constellation of islanders' wartime memories was presented in a series of articles in the July 1965 issue of the *Pacific Profile*. These include: Audrey B. Camba, "Merizo Massacre" (pp. 6-7, 28-29, 50-53); Jose Gutierrez, Anatacio Blas, and Frank Terlaje, "They Staked Their Lives So They Can Hear the News" (pp. 14-16); Herbert J. Johnston, "A Barrel of Soap" (pp. 13, 57); Francisco G. Lujan, "Inarajan Uprising" (pp. 9, 54); Francisco G. Lujan and Joaquin Aflague Limtiaco, "Last Hours of Father Duenas" (pp. 10-11); Pedro Peredo, "Wartime Memories" (pp. 17-18); Paul B. Souder, "The Problems of Feeding, Clothing, and Housing 18,000 War Refugees" (pp. 24-27); William Stove and Van Tiljord "Military Remnants of the War" (pp. 30-31); and Luis P. Untalan, "The Long Trek Manengon" (pp. 20-21, 23).

<sup>87</sup> Carno, Liberation Day," 3.

<sup>88</sup> Ballendorf, "World War II in Micronesia," 5-10; Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 174-78

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As the U.S. offensive gradually advanced toward Japan and the American threat grew, the Japanese on Guam, just 1,350 air miles from Tokyo, built up their defenses. In October 1943, the Japanese began construction of an airstrip on Orote Peninsula (the present site of Sumay golf course). Another airstrip was begun on the island's central plateau (Jalaguac-Tiyan, the present location of the Agana Naval Air Station). Both airstrips were later bombed by the U.S.



**Figure 3-3. U.S. military commanders on Guam, December 1944. From left to right: Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, U.S.N. (front seat), Commander in Chief Pacific, and Commander in Chief Pacific Ocean Areas; Rear Admiral Forrest B. Sherman, U.S.N., (on Nimitz's staff); Vice Admiral J. H. Hoover, U.S.N., Commander Marianas Area; and Major General Henry L. Larsen, U.S.M.C., Island Commander (and, therefore, Governor of Guam), 1944-46.**

After the first American air raids on Guam began in February 1944, the Japanese ordered Guamanians and Koreans, who had been brought to Guam as laborers, to build shelters, usually dugouts topped with coconut logs and tunnels dug into hillsides and cliffs. The Japanese ordered the construction of new roads, pillboxes, and gun emplacements on the beaches and elsewhere. As U.S. bombing intensified in the early summer of 1944, the Japanese supervised the continued construction of ground defenses, mostly on the western side of the island. Barbed wire, mines, and obstacles were put underwater along the reefs and lagoons. Dummy cannons were mounted all around the coasts and on Cocos Island. Guamanian and Korean laborers dug tunnels in the hills overlooking possible American landing sites, particularly in the ridges above Asan, later named Bundschu Ridge and Nimitz Hill (central portion of Bundschu Ridge) and behind Agat Beach on Mount Alifan.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Carno, "Liberation Day," 4.

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Final preparations for the American ground invasion of Guam began in early July 1944. On July 8, United States aircraft and ships attacked the island day and night for thirteen days in a systematic "softening" of Japanese defenses on Guam. On July 14, the Navy's underwater demolition teams swam in toward the beaches, checked Japanese barriers, and, three days later, destroyed obstacles on the planned assault beaches, including tank traps, cribs filled with coral, and wire barriers. By July 20, Navy frogmen had blown 640 obstacles off Asan Beach and 300 off Agat, making the actual landing of troops on these beaches possible. "The American bombardment of Guam," Robert Rogers emphasized, "had gathered momentum from 18 July on to become, by the morning of 21 July, the most intense crescendo of conventional firepower ever inflicted on any locality in the Pacific war."<sup>90</sup> The U.S. fleet assembled off Guam's western shore on the morning of July 21 was enormous: eleven battleships, twenty-four aircraft carriers, and 390 support ships.<sup>91</sup>

Throughout the night and early morning of July 21, 1944, all American assault units moved to their assigned positions off Asan and Agat beaches. A total of 54,891 men poised for attack.<sup>92</sup> On the morning of July 21, two major American forces landed northeast and southwest of Apra Harbor. The 20,328 men of the Marine Division (under Major General Allen H. Turnage) landed on Asan beach, the northern invasion sector. In a three-pronged attack, the marines slowly advanced toward Adelup Point (in the northeast), central Asan beach, and Asan Point (in the southwest) under heavy mortar, artillery, and small arms fire from Japanese defensive positions. At the end of the day, the marines had taken Adelup Point and had dug in on the ridges behind Asan Point and Asan Village. On July 22, after surviving a Japanese counter attack, the marines moved up the steep hills toward Mt. Chachao. Serious Japanese counter attacks that followed during the next three days were eventually beaten back during bitter fighting and the loss of 3,500 Japanese soldiers.<sup>93</sup>

The Americans' second major force landed on beaches at Agat, south of Apra Harbor, in the southern sector operation. The 9,886 men of the First Provisional Marine Brigade (led by Brigadier General Lemuel C. Shepherd, Jr.) were the first to land on the beach, under intense Japanese defensive fire. The next day, the 17,958 men in the Seventy-seventh Infantry Division (led by Major General Andrew D. Bruce) lent support to the marines in holding their beachhead. On July 25, a combined American force of 34,563 men secured the Agat area, between Agat Bay and Apra Harbor. The First Provisional Marine Brigade then turned northward to meet the Third Marine Division, heading south from Asan, to cut off the eight-square-mile Orote Peninsula, where 3,100 Japanese troops were trapped. The two groups met on July 27, thus securing an area extending from Adelup Point in the northeast to Facpi Point, south of Agat.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Quoted in Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 181.

<sup>91</sup> Carno, "Liberation Day," 6; Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 174-78, 182-84. Also see O. R. Lodge. *The Recapture of Guam* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Marine Corps, Headquarters, G-3 Division, Historical Branch, 1954); reprint Fredericksburg, TX: Awani Press, 1984).

<sup>92</sup> Of this total of 54,891, 20,328 belonged to the Third Marine Division, 17,958 to the Seventy-seventh Infantry Division, 9,886 to the First Provisional Marine Brigade, and 6,719 to the III Amphibious Corps.

<sup>93</sup> Carno, "Liberation Day," 6-7; Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 182-84.

<sup>94</sup> Carno, "Liberation Day," 7; Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 182-85. Details of the American invasion of Asan and Agat are presented in Erwin N. Thompson's *Historic Resource Study: War in the Pacific National Historical Park, Guam* (N.p.: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, c. 1985).

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Once the Americans had taken most of the land between the beaches and the "Force Beachhead Line" (a north-south line extending from Asan to Agat behind the coastal peaks of Mt. Chachao, Mt. Tenjo, and Mt. Alifan), two major military objectives remained: Orote Peninsula and the interior of Guam. After a three-day push to destroy the weary but resistant Japanese on the peninsula, the First Provisional Marine Brigade, preceded by U.S. air attacks and naval artillery, captured the Orote airstrip and swept to the tip of the peninsula on July 29. At the same time, the Third Marine Division and the Seventy-seventh Infantry pushed the remaining Japanese to the east and north, through mountain terrain. The two forces merged in early August and together made the final push toward Ritidian Point in an eventually successful effort to drive the Japanese off of Guam on August 8.<sup>95</sup> One last stronghold of Japanese resistance, Mt. Santa Rosa, was attacked by the army's Seventy-seventh Division. After two days bitter battling, the army gained the summit. On August 12, 1944, army troops stormed and captured the last Japanese stronghold near Mt. Mataguac. Once again, Guam was in American hands.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> See Major General Haruo Umezawa and Colonel Louis Metzger, "The Defense of Guam," **PGBSO?** for details of the Japanese defense of Guam and the American offensive.

<sup>96</sup> The invasion of Guam cost 18,377 Japanese their lives; 1,250 were taken prisoners. American losses were 1,370 killed in action and 6,053 wounded in action. About 9,000 Japanese remained on Guam, scattered and hiding in small groups, for as long as a year. It took three decades to capture or kill the last 114 Japanese stragglers; the very last, Sergeant Shoichi Yokoi, surrendered in January 1972. Carno, "Liberation Day," 7-9; Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 185-94; Ballendorf, "World War II in Micronesia," 11.

## Chapter 4

### THE ORGANIC ACT

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#### *Introduction*

The legal and political environment within which the War in the Pacific National Historical Park was created and developed has played a significant role in the relationships of the National Park Service, the United States Government, and the Government of Guam. An appreciation of the historical development of Guam's legal status, both as it relates to the United States and to the international community generally, will enable the reader to more fully place the park within its proper context.

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In 1950, the United States Congress enacted what would become known as the Organic Act of Guam.<sup>97</sup> There were a number of significant provisions contained in this legislation, but the two provisions having the greatest effect on the daily lives of Guam residents were the grant of United States citizenship and the establishment of local control over many local issues. The profound significance of the Organic Act to both residents of Guam, and ultimately its effect on the War in the Pacific National Historical Park can only be fully appreciated after an examination of the historical context within which the legislation was enacted.

Under the terms of the December 10, 1898, Treaty of Paris<sup>98</sup> Spain ceded Guam to the United States. Importantly, the treaty did not provide for eventual incorporation of Guam into the United States. This failure to provide for eventual incorporation led and continues to lead to a sense of disenfranchisement and political frustration by residents of Guam.

Until the early 1900s, territorial status was considered an initial step toward eventual statehood. The three evolutionary stages were spelled out in the Northwest Ordinance<sup>99</sup>: (1) the territory would be governed by a congressionally designated governor and other federally appointed executive and judicial officials; (2) a local legislative body would be created, a permanent constitution drafted, and a nonvoting delegate allowed in Congress; and (3) full self-government and statehood would be granted. However, as the United States began acquiring lands remote from the continental United States the concept of “territorial incorporation” evolved to distinguish between areas intended to be ultimately anointed with statehood and those areas not intended for statehood. An “unincorporated” territory was not intended for ultimate statehood, an “incorporated” territory was. Importantly, residents of an “incorporated” territory were afforded the full spectrum of constitutional rights enjoyed by United States citizens under the extension doctrine.<sup>100</sup> Guam was (and remains) an unincorporated territory, and its residents are subject to the full weight of federal control without commensurate counterbalancing congressional representation or voting rights.<sup>101</sup>

Residents of Guam logically judge their relationship with the United States and the rest of the world in part by comparing their legal status with the status enjoyed by their immediate neighbors, specifically other residents of Micronesian islands. Unfortunately, those comparisons increasingly lead to discontent. Guam’s militarily strategic location motivates the United States to treat the island as a military installation and, unfortunately, its unique cultural and legal history provide just enough justification to enable the United States to get away with it.

Unlike Guam, which the U. S. acquired in the late 1800s, the rest of Micronesia became the responsibility of the United States after the Second World War when Japan’s League of Nations’ responsibilities were reassigned to the United States by the newly-created United

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<sup>97</sup> Public Law 81-630, codified at 48 USC 1421 *et seq.*

<sup>98</sup> 30 Stat. 1754.

<sup>99</sup> Northwest Territory Ordinance of 1787, 1 Stat. 50.

<sup>100</sup> Coudert, “The Evolution of the Doctrine of Territorial Incorporation,” *Columbia Law Review*, 26:823, 827, as quoted in Elizabeth A. Mckibben, “The Political Relationship Between the United States and Pacific Islands Entities: The Path to Self-Government in the Northern Mariana Islands, Palau, and Guam,” *Harvard International Law Journal*, Vol 31, No. 1, Winter 1990.

<sup>101</sup> See Justice White’s concurring opinion in *Downes v. Bidwell*, 182 U.S. 282-83 (1901), and the Supreme Court’s unanimous opinion in *Balzac v. Porto Rico*, 258 U.S. 298 (1922) for a full discussion of limits on constitutional rights afforded residents of unincorporated territories.

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Nations. The legal instrument under which the United States acquired its responsibilities was the Trusteeship Agreement,<sup>102</sup> a bilateral contract between the United States and the United Nations.<sup>103</sup> Under the provisions of the Trusteeship Agreement (as well as the mandate of the United Nations) the United States was charged with administering the Trust Territories in a manner designed to lead to self-governance or independence. In the more than fifty years since the formation of the Trusteeship Agreement, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, the Republic of the Marshall Islands, and the Republic of Palau have all achieved, under the tutelage and with the encouragement of the United States, some form of separate political identities.

Although United States sovereignty over Guam is clearly distinguishable in international law from its neighbors, residents of Guam compare their seeming lack of power over their daily lives with their Micronesia neighbors. They are understandably dissatisfied, finding no delight in the subtle nuances of international law, and the mandates of the United Nations' agreement which defines the relationship between the United States and the rest of Micronesia. In contrast, the territorial clause of the United States Constitution, which defines the relationship between Guam and the U. S. empowers Congress, "to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States."<sup>104</sup> In short, the territorial clause of the United States Constitution grants Congress powers to govern the internal and external affairs of U. S. territories. As the Supreme Court stated in *Sims v. Sims*, "In the Territories of the United States, Congress has the entire dominion and sovereignty, national and local, Federal and state, and has full legislative power over all subjects upon which the legislature of a State might legislate within the State. . ."<sup>105</sup> This federal dominion exceeds the control that can be exercised by the federal government over states. The residents of Guam do not have the political powers enjoyed by states. These powers rest in the United States Congress.<sup>106</sup> Additionally, Guam residents are not permitted to vote in federal elections, they are

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<sup>102</sup> Trusteeship Agreement for the Former Japanese Mandated Islands, approved by the United Nations Security Council, Apr. 2-July 18, 1947, 61 Stat. 3301, T.I.A.S. No. 1665, 8 U.N.T.S. 189.

<sup>103</sup> The Trust Territory the United States was to administer under this Trust Agreement was geographically extensive. It consisted of approximately three million square miles of the Pacific Ocean from latitude 1 degree to 20 degrees north and from longitude 130 to 170 degrees east. It included more than 2,100 islands in three major archipelagos: the Caroline, Mariana, and Marshall Islands. The Trust Territory included most of Micronesia. See Armstrong, "The Emergence of the Micronesians into the International Community: A study of the Creation of a New International Entity," *Brooklyn Journal of International Law*, 5:207 (1979).

At the end of the Second World War, the United States ceded all Pacific islands it had gained military control over (except for Guam) to the United Nations, and the United Nations then transferred administrative authority over the islands to the United States without reconveying sovereignty. Elizabeth A. McKibben, "The Political Relationship Between the United States and Pacific Islands Entities: The Path to Self-Government in the Northern Mariana Islands, Palau, and Guam," *Harvard International Law Journal*, Vol 31, No. 1, winter 1990.

<sup>104</sup> U.S. Const. art. IV, Sec 3, clause 2. *United States v. Huckabee*, 83 U.S. 414 (1872).

<sup>105</sup> *Sims v. Sims*, 175 U.S. 162, 168 (1899).

<sup>106</sup> Both the equal treatment provisions of the U. S. Constitution (Article I, Sec 9, cl. 6; Article IV, Sec 1; Article IV, Sec 2, cl. 1; and Article IV, Sec 4) as well as provisions of the tenth amendment creating residual state powers ("The powers not delegated to the U. S. by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to

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permitted only such congressional representation as may be bestowed by Congress, and what Congress gives Congress may take away.

It is from this long-term, ninety-year-old position of total subservience to the federal government that residents of Guam have watched their neighbors in the rest of Micronesia achieve greater control over both their internal and external affairs. Two weeks after the 1898 peace treaty with Spain was signed, President William McKinley placed the United States Navy in complete control of Guam. The Navy remained in charge for over fifty years until Congress passed the 1950 Organic Act under which President Harry S Truman replaced the Navy with the United States Department of the Interior. It should be noted, however, that notwithstanding both presidential proclamation and congressional passage of the 1950 Organic Act, the U. S. Navy continued to exercise dominion over the island through its “security clearance” program. Under this program, no person could enter or leave Guam unless they passed through an island naval base. Additionally, the U. S. Navy prohibited civilian airlines from selling tickets to a person unless the airline first determined that the person had a security clearance. Only after being sued in United States District Court did the Navy comply with the will of Congress and the president. In fact, it took a second Presidential Order, some twelve years after Truman’s 1950 order to force the Navy to comply with the law (Executive Order 11045, August 21, 1962, Kennedy).<sup>107</sup>

The 1950 Organic Act delineated certain powers of local governance. The United States Congress; however, can amend or repeal the legislation at will. There has been a movement for local governance for over one hundred years. In 1901, Guamanians petitioned the United States asking that a permanent civilian government be established. That petition was approved by the naval governor and sent to the Senate. It passed the Senate in 1903 but was blocked in the House of Representatives. In 1925 and again in 1933, Guamanians petitioned Congress for United States citizenship. Both petitions failed. In 1931, the United States naval governor created the first elected Guam Congress; however, two years later, the Guam electorate expressed profound dissatisfaction with the advisory-only political body by refusing to fill twelve seats. In both 1937 and 1939, the Guam Congress again petitioned the United States Congress for citizenship, without success. Finally, with the enactment of the Organic Act in 1950, Guamanians were granted U. S. citizenship and provided with a basic local government framework that included a local legislature empowered to enact laws of local application.<sup>108</sup>

The Organic Act, as originally passed in 1950, proclaimed that, “The government of Guam shall have the powers set forth in this Act. . . .”<sup>109</sup> Federal courts have repeatedly held that the government of Guam possessed only those powers conferred upon it by the Congress of the

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the states, are reserved to the states respectively or to the people.” U. S. Constitution, Tenth Amendment.) vest powers in state governments whereas territories such as Guam are completely subservient to federal power under the treaty clause.

<sup>107</sup> It has been argued that Section 142k of the Organic Act expressly extended that authority to the Navy: “Nothing contained in this chapter shall be construed as limiting the authority of the President to designate parts of Guam as naval or military reservations, nor to restrict his authority to treat Guam as a closed port with respect to the vessels and aircraft of foreign nations.” W. Scott Barrett and Walter S. Ferenz, “Peacetime Martial Law in Guam,” *California Law Review*, March 1960, 1-30.

<sup>108</sup> Solomon, “The Guam Constitutional Convention of 1977,” *Virginia Journal of International Law*, 19:723.

<sup>109</sup> The Organic Act of Guam, 64 Stat. 384, Sec 3, 48 U.S.C. Sec 1421

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United States.<sup>110</sup> The Organic Act also included a “Bill of Rights,”<sup>111</sup> granted United States citizenship to persons living in and born in Guam.<sup>112</sup>

Three provisions contained in the Organic Act are critically important to understanding the history of War in the Pacific National Historical Park.<sup>113</sup> These sections deal with property, both land and personal property. They address three separate issues: *title* of all property, *control* of all property, and *administrative supervision* of all property:

a) The *title* of all property (both land and personal property) owned by the United States and *used by the naval government of Guam in the administration of civil affairs* was transferred to the government of Guam;

b) The *control* of all property (both land and personal property) owned by the United States but not used in the administration of civil affairs, was placed under the *control* of the government of Guam to be *administered for the benefit of the people of Guam*; and

c) The *administrative supervision* of all property (both land and personal property) not covered by sections a) and b) was placed *under the control* of the United States Secretary of the Interior who was empowered to lease or sell it when he or she concluded that the property was no longer needed for public purposes. (Please see Appendix 7 of this Administrative History for the precise language of this section of the act.)

Importantly, the president of the United States could stop the conveyance of title and control of property ((a) and (b), above), and President Truman did just that. By Executive Order 10178, dated October 30, 1950,<sup>114</sup> Truman stopped the transfer of a large quantity of both personal and real property, including hundreds of acres of land, road and utility systems, navigational aids, Adelup Reservoir, and electrical power stations, as well as all the personal property used in connection with the retained real property. President Truman’s Executive Order also prohibited the conveyance of land to the Government of Guam that the Navy had identified immediately after the war as replacement land for land taken from residents of Guam; *administrative control* over this land was transferred to the Secretary of the Interior.

Guam’s representation in the United States Congress was not granted by the Organic Act. In 1964, the Guam Legislature created its own elected office in Washington, D.C. The position was little more than an elected lobbyist since it carried with it no voting powers in either the Senate or the House of Representatives. The position was finally recognized, at least partially, by the federal legislature when it amended the Organic Act in 1972, permitting Guam to elect a nonvoting member of the House of Representatives. Finally, Guamanians were permitted to draft their own constitution in 1976. However, on the eve of the constitutional convention, the United States Supreme Court concluded that the Guam Legislature lacked authority under

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<sup>110</sup> *Rodriguez v. Gaylord*, 429 F. Supp. 797 (Since Guam is an unincorporated territory, the government of Guam has only those powers conferred upon it by Congress).

<sup>111</sup> Sec 5; 48 U.S.C. 1421b, as amended by Public Law 90-497, 82 Stat. 847.

<sup>112</sup> Sec 4. This provision was later repealed by Act of June 27, 1952, 66 Stat. 280 and reenacted (with changes) as part of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, 8 U.S.C. Sec 1407.

<sup>113</sup> Codified at 48 U.S.C. Secs 1421 – 1425, as amended.

<sup>114</sup> 15 F.R. 7313.

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the Organic Act to create a Guam Supreme Court and dissolved the island's Supreme Court.<sup>115</sup> A draft constitution was finally presented to the island electorate in 1979. It was defeated.

Within two years, the Guam Legislature created the Commission on Self-Determination for Guam, charged with ascertaining the type of political relationship the Guamanians wanted with the United States. Voters were presented with six options: statehood, commonwealth status, incorporated territory, status quo, free association, or independence. Commonwealth status was selected most often, with statehood coming in a close second.<sup>116</sup> The Commission on Self-Determination prepared a Draft Commonwealth Act intending to submit it to the United States Congress. The U. S. House of Representatives Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs expressed concern with provisions of the Draft Commonwealth Act that conditioned certain voting rights on race. However, the Guam Commission on Self-Determination refused to modify or eliminate the racist provision. In August 1987, the residents of Guam voted on the Draft Commonwealth Act. With a voter turn-out of approximately 39 percent the proposed commonwealth act was approved by approximately 51 percent except those provisions based upon race which were not approved. The objectionable provisions were redrafted and resubmitted to the electorate in a second election in November of 1987 where a 54 percent voter turnout passed the document with a 55 percent for and 45 percent against vote.

During the 1988 national elections, the Republic platform included a provision supporting the creation of commonwealth status for Guam under United States sovereignty. After the republican victory in that election, the administration appointed Manuel Lujan as Secretary of the Interior. Lujan had been very active in the Guam commonwealth movement.

Greater autonomy may have become a popular issue of successful political campaigns and socio-economic agendas; however, the reality is that Guam is financially constrained from straying too far from United States fiscal coffers. As of March 1981, more than fifty percent of all employed civilian, non-military persons were working for either the territorial or federal government. All income taxes, including taxes collected from military personnel assigned to the island, stayed on the island as general fund revenues of the territorial government. In the beginning of the 1981 federal fiscal year (October 1, 1981), this revenue amounted to fifteen percent of Guam's total general fund revenues. Revenue received by the government for fiscal year 1982 totaled US\$153.6 million, a 5.9 percent increase from the prior year. Forty-eight percent of this revenue was derived from territorial income tax, twenty-five percent from a four percent sales tax on goods and services, and fifteen percent from income tax collected from federal employees (including military personnel stationed on the island). These government revenue figures should be viewed against the backdrop of the increase in the island's total gross receipts. In 1973 gross receipts were only US\$563 million; however, by fiscal year 1982 they had

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<sup>115</sup> *Guam v. Olsen*, 431 U.S. 195 (1977). In this five-to-four decision Justice Marshall was joined by Justices Stewart, Rehnquist, and Stevens, in a dissenting opinion where the minority criticized the majority of the court for destroying "a significant part of the system of self-government established by some 85,000 American citizens through their freely elected legislature. *Id.*, 205.

<sup>116</sup> *Guam Draft Commonwealth Act*, Legislature of Guam, Proposed Draft Feb. 1988, 10.

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reached US\$1 billion. Retailing (32 percent) and manufacturing (31 percent) were the two primary sources of the island's gross receipts.<sup>117</sup>

The fastest growing industry in Guam over the last forty years is tourism. Since the arrival of the first regularly scheduled commercial flight from Japan in 1967, tourist spending on the island has climbed from US\$1.32 million in 1966 to US\$130 million in 1982. Approximately 84 percent of the 326,341 tourists arriving on the island in 1982 were from Japan, and their spending accounted for more than thirty-two percent of total retail sales on the island.<sup>118</sup> Some economic scholars have asserted that Guam's economic development in the 1960s and 70s has been impressive. For example, the per capita income in 1982 was US\$4,574, or almost double what it was in 1972.<sup>119</sup> The fact that an increasingly large percentage of the island's total revenue is derived from tourism may foreshadow a change of heart by island residents. As the island's economic dependency on the United States military becomes increasingly overshadowed by Japanese tourism, the residents may flirt with other forms of relationships with the United States.

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<sup>117</sup> Frederica M. Bunge and Melinda W. Cooke, editors *Oceania: A Regional Study*, Wash. D.C.: American University, 1984.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 270.

<sup>119</sup> *Id.*, 271.

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## Chapter 5

### Pre-Legislation Planning and Preparation 1952 - 1978

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#### *Introduction*

The planning that precedes the establishment of a national historical park varies significantly from park to park. Each proposed park presents unique political, social, economic, logistic, and environmental factors, and they all must be addressed by the planners. The underlying Park Service proposal must be well thought out since the service must live with their creation.<sup>120</sup> War in the Pacific National Historical Park on Guam was no exception. The climate, topography, rapidly changing economy and remoteness from the continental United States all combined to greatly complicate the pre-park planning, and dramatically increased the factors that had to be considered. Park concepts were discussed for almost twenty-six years. A war in the Pacific park was first mentioned in 1965; the park wasn't created until 1978. This chapter examines the events, discussions, planning, and proposals of that period.

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<sup>120</sup> It is important to note that there are occasions when national parks are created by Congress without the National Park Service being consulted, and times when parks are created by Congress even over the objection of the Park Service.

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The War in the Pacific National Historical Park was created by legislation enacted in 1978. However, federal government studies of Guam's historical significance and recreation potential officially began in 1952 when the Park Service was asked by the Office of Territories to conduct archeological and recreational studies.<sup>121</sup> This effort resulted in an inventory of prehistoric sites as well as evidence of Spanish influence on the island. Thirteen years later, NPS investigators again visited Guam, this time at the request of Guam's Governor Manuel M. L. Guerrero. The September 19, 1965, *Territorial Sun* article reported that,

An NPS study group that visited Guam in June 1964 recommended that two parks be established on Guam: A National Seashore Park, and an historical park commemorating and interpreting the war in the Pacific. The group also recommended that the Government of Guam create a territorial park system to identify and preserve historical material and develop public park areas.

This group was comprised of Glenn O. Hendrix, Chief of New Area Studies and Master Plans, Western Office of Design and Construction; Edward A. Hummel, Regional Director, Western Region; and Douglas Hubbard, Chief Park Naturalist, Yosemite National Park.<sup>122</sup>

This 1964 visit culminated in a proposal recommending that a Philippine Sea National Seashore Park and a War in the Pacific National Historical Park be established. The 1965 proposal identified the purpose of the historical park as being the interpretation of World War II in the Pacific with particular emphasis on the battle for Guam.

Two years later, in January 1967, Representative Richard C. White (D-Texas), who had served with the U. S. Marine Corps during the Guam landing, introduced House of Representatives Bill 2911, which would have authorized the creation of War in the Pacific National Historical Park. (See Appendix 5 of this document for Representative White's introductory remarks.) In a March 28, 1967, memorandum to the Office of the Solicitor General's Legislative Counsel, the Director of the National Park Service reported that the service was studying the possibility of a War in the Pacific Park and expected to complete a master plan in July of that year. The director also indicated that the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments would be considering the issue at its April 1967 meeting.<sup>123</sup> The possibility of an NPS park was echoed on Guam as well as within the District of Columbia. The *Guam Daily News* reported that,

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<sup>121</sup> *Status Report: Proposed War in the Pacific National Historical Park, Guam*, Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1969, archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office, National Park Service, Oakland, California, (hereafter cited simply as the Pacific Great Basin Support Office). Two reports that were created in 1952 were *The Archeology and History of Guam*, by Dr. Erik Reed, and *Parks and Recreation Areas, Territory of Guam*, by Irving C. Root, both were National Park Service reports.

<sup>122</sup> *Territorial Sun*, September 19, 1965.

<sup>123</sup> Memorandum. From Director, National Park Service to Legislative Counsel, Office of the Solicitor, March 28, 1967. It should be noted that the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments concluded that the areas on Guam relating to the battle for Guam had national significance and recommended the establishment of a War in the Pacific National Historical Park.

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Four NPS employees are scheduled to arrive on Guam on February 15 to prepare a preliminary report with data in support of legislation introduced by Representative Richard White (D-Tex) to establish an historical park. The report would be disseminated for public comments before being submitted for ultimate inclusion into a park master plan. The NPS group will consist of Richard Barnett; Bruce Black, naturalist; Merrill Mattes, Historian; and Ronald Mortimore, landscape architect.<sup>124</sup>

The master plan group explored Guam for three weeks, from February 15 through March 7. Existing Park Service records indicate that the group consisted of Richard W. Barnett, leader; Merrill J. Mattes, historian; Bruce Black, naturalist; and Mark Malik, landscape architect, with the assistance of Paul Souder, chief of the Guam Department of Land Management. The group explored landing beaches, coral reefs, Japanese caves, shelters, and fortifications using a helicopter and a forty-five-foot boat, both supplied by the navy, and a jeep supplied by the Government of Guam. The group was guided by Guam resident Jesus Lizama. While on the island, the group conferred with the Governor of Guam, the 9<sup>th</sup> Guam Legislature's Committee on Parks and Monuments, and the governor's Parks and Monuments Advisory Committee.<sup>125</sup>

The authors of the 1967 Master Plan identified the "Management Category" of the Guam sites as "Historical," and Theme XXI, "Political and Military Affairs Since 1865," as the relevant classification under the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. They justified suspending the fifty-year rule on the grounds that the tropical climate and other factors were resulting in a rapid loss of the island's historic sites and artifacts.



**Figure 5-1 War debris on the Agat Invasion Beach, February 1967. National Park Service photograph. Pacific Great Basin Support Office, file P6SOI-WAPA**

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<sup>124</sup> *Guam Daily News*, February 13, 1967

<sup>125</sup> *A Master Plan for War in the Pacific National Historical Park, Guam*. United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, July 1967.

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The 1967 planners advocated that the park should consist of two major units – the Asan Unit and the Agat Unit. The park would also include the Mount Tenjo approach and overlook. Most of the land in both landing beaches was part of the navy reservation; however, the NPS group expressed optimism that they could work with the navy and obtain access as well as rights sufficient to allow for interpretation. They proposed that the headquarters for the future park be on Asan Ridge, providing an overlook of the Asan landing area. A one-way interpretive road would permit vehicular traffic between park headquarters and an Apra Harbor overlook. Circulation for the Agat Unit would be by spur road connections.



**Figure 5-2 Agat Beach in February 1967. Net fisherman in foreground. Houses along shoreline were within proposed park boundary. National Park Service photograph. Pacific Great Basin Support Office, file P6SO1-WAPA.**

While on the island, the group also investigated land ownership. They discovered that Asan Point was administered by the navy as a hospital annex; Apaca Point was used as a civilian recreation area by the navy; and various strips of seashore land were owned by the Government of Guam and were undeveloped. The upland areas were also owned by the Government of Guam and were steep, wooded, or grassy and used for limited grazing or cultivation. There was a public school on Adelup Point. Approximately one-quarter of the Agat Unit was wooded; the rest had a few residences or was being used for grazing or agriculture. Similarly, the upland areas in the Asan-Piti area were predominately undeveloped and being used for limited grazing or cultivation. There were limited commercial uses on lowlands near the coast. The planners concluded that, “Present agricultural and grazing uses are considered compatible with the purposes of the park. However, changes in intensity or methods could change the situation.”<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Ibid, 37.

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Toward the end of the 1967 master plan, procedural steps were delineated which were to be implemented when and if enabling legislation were enacted authorizing a park's creation. The plan identified two phases of the proposed park's development: Phase I was identified as the "Planning and Initialing Action," phase. The objective of this phase was to ensure that, "developments are well conceived, and that human relations get off to a good start in an atmosphere of trust and understanding with park neighbors."<sup>127</sup> Phase I was also identified as the time to continue work on the master plan, the time to formulate and initiate "action plans," and a time to commence interim operations. Phase II was to be a time of development, a time of construction. The planners included language under Phase II regarding staffing that is



**Figure 5-3 U.S. Navy facilities on Asan Point in February 1967. National Park Service photograph. Pacific Great Basin Support Office, file P6SO1-WAPA**

enlightening: "Because of severely limited housing on Guam, housing for the superintendent and historian should be provided first."<sup>128</sup> Therefore, the 1967 planners planned on both a superintendent and a historian to be immediately assigned to the new park.

Not everyone within the Park Service agreed that Guam was the most appropriate location for a War in the Pacific Park. In August 1967, Robert Utley, the service's chief historian sent a memorandum to the Chief, Division of New Area Studies and Master Planning. The Utley memorandum served as the cover, transmittal sheet for two other memoranda: one from Roy Appleman, Chief of Park History Studies, and the second from Ed Bearss, then a research historian for the service. Both Appleman and Bearss argued strongly that Guam was not the best location for a war in the Pacific park, and, further, that if the park was located on Guam, the

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<sup>127</sup> Ibid, 52.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid, 53.

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proposed park location on the island was historically inappropriate. Utley expressed agreement with Appleman and Bearss in his transmitting memorandum. Utley noted that Appleman had been a combat historian in the Pacific during World War II, and Bearss had served with the Marines in the Pacific. Utley concluded that these experiences made both men particularly well qualified to comment on the master plan for the proposed park.

The Bearss memorandum that Utley forwarded argues that the battle for Guam was not the turning point for the war in the Pacific, nor was it even the most important battle in the Marianas – Saipan probably was. Bearss stated that Midway, Wake, and Attu probably had greater claim to importance in the Pacific theater than did Guam. He also mentioned that Guam was not the only American soil lost to the Japanese; they also took some Aleutian Islands (Attu, Agattu, and Kiska) and Wake. Additionally, he argued, there were other islands within the Trust Territories-Pacific that were of equal or even greater importance than was Guam, including Kwajalein and Eniwetok in the Marshalls and Palau in the Carolinas. Furthermore, Bearss argued, if the Park Service were to establish a visitor center where it would tell the story of the war in the Pacific, it should be built on Oahu on or adjacent to Pearl Harbor. Not only was Hawaii more historically correct, he argued, its statehood and proximity to the United States mainland would result in more American visitors. Bearss suggested that if the service created a park on Guam, it should more appropriately be called “Battle of Guam National Historical Park.”

Bearss concluded his three-page memorandum by arguing that not only is Guam an inappropriate location for such a park, the proposed park boundaries were historically unsound. With few exceptions, he argued, the Japanese rarely contested the beaches. Japanese beach defenses were usually eliminated by pre-landing naval and air bombardment; therefore, the Japanese established their main defenses on high ground overlooking the beaches and fired mortars and artillery from there. Consequently, Bearss would have the park service locate the visitor center on one of the high points – Mt. Alifan, Mt. Chachao, or Mt. Tenjo. As to the rest of the park, Bearss proposed the following boundaries in his memo:

Agat: A relatively small portion of the beach connected to a strip of land extending inland to the Force Beachhead Line, excluding the towns of Agat and Santa Rita.

Asan-Piti: Again, only a small, limited amount of beach should be included together with access to Fonte Plateau. The park, Bearss argued, should include both Fonte Plateau and Orote Peninsula.

Mt. Tenjo and Mt. Alifon: This unit should be expanded to include the ridge stretching from Mt. Alifan in the south to Fonte Plateau in the north. A one-way road should be constructed which would link the Agat Unit with the Asan-Piti Unit.

In addition to the Bearss memorandum, the Utley memo transmitted comments by Roy Appleman. Appleman reported that both the Secretary of the Interior and the Director, Office of Territories, were exploring the idea of a war in the Pacific park being located on Wake Island. If they concluded that Wake was not an appropriate location, Appleman stated, Oahu would certainly be more appropriate than Guam. Appleman also agreed with Bearss regarding the proposed park boundaries. Appleman stated that if the park were to be located on Guam, the high ground would be more historically appropriate for the park, not the beaches. The ridgeline connecting Mt. Alifan and Fonte Plateau should be the principal park area, he argued. He suggested that the park should include limited areas at the northern and southern beaches, both

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connected to the ridgeline by a road that went from the southern beach over Hill 40 to Mt. Alifan. The road would then continue north along the ridgeline to Mt. Chachao, then down to the northern beach, passing Fonte Plateau as closely as possible. Appleman also noted that the visitor center that was proposed in the master plan (on Asan Ridge) was considerably below the elevation of the Force Beachhead Line, and it should be located on this line. Appleman continued:

A battlefield park along the lines indicated [in this memo] would need to pre-empt only a small part of the 6 miles of beaches now proposed. This would free the remainder for other uses, which one can feel confident will be pressed for in any event. The present plan apparently contemplates that the beaches should be used for swimming, bathing, and related water sports. I do not think this use should be part of an historical battlefield park. Let that development take place outside the park and let it be operated by other officials or persons for that expressed purpose if it is to be done.<sup>129</sup>

Although a thorough search was conducted at several NPS archives as well as at the park itself, no documentation could be located that represented a continuation of this dialogue. The paper trail simply vanishes as if the siting issues raised by Utley, Bearss, and Appleman were never addressed. And, this is entirely possible since ultimately the presence of the park on Guam was strongly advocated within the United States Congress. The park was created from the top down. Legislation creating the park was introduced and supported by representatives who were either personally involved in the battle for Guam, or were involved in the Pacific Theater.

The first bill introduced that would have created a War in the Pacific National Historical Park was sponsored by Representative Richard White in 1967. White had served with the United States Marine Corps during the Second World War and participated in the Guam landing. White's 1967 bill failed to pass. Undaunted, Representative White introduced similar legislation to the 91<sup>st</sup> Congress in 1969 (H. R. 5580), which also failed.<sup>130</sup> Nonetheless, the Park Service continued planning for a park on Guam. In 1969 H. P. (Phil) Troy, the Chief, Branch of Appraisals made his second trip to Guam. He had been on the island in 1967 to value land preliminarily identified as probable park land (his estimates of land values are mentioned above). Troy memorialized his second, 1969, trip in a June 5, 1969, memorandum he wrote to the Park Service's Chief, Division of Land and Water Rights. Troy reported that the Government of Guam had agreed to convey all its lands within the proposed park boundaries to the National Park Service. The value of the land the Government of Guam was to convey to the Park Service, according to Troy, was \$1,085,000, which was double NPS' credit of \$540,000.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Memorandum, Roy Appleman to Robert Utley, August 15, 1967.

<sup>130</sup> *Status Report: Proposed War in the Pacific National Historical Park, Guam*. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1969.

<sup>131</sup> These sums were the result of negotiations conducted in 1967 in which the Government of Guam received land on Cabras Island to be used as commercial port facilities in exchange for it transferring to the Park Service other land it owned in and around the villages of Asan, Piti, and Agat that were generally believed to become part of a future War in the Pacific National Historical Park.

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However, the Government of Guam wanted land worth \$821,900; therefore, the entire transaction would leave a net balance due NPS of \$276,000, and that balance was to be used by the Government of Guam to acquire private in-holdings within the proposed park that it would convey, in turn, to the service. Troy exclaimed in his memorandum that the result of his negotiations would probably result in the service acquiring lands for the park without needing additional appropriated funds.<sup>132</sup> The Secretary of the Interior echoed this conclusion in an August 28, 1969, letter to Melvin R. Laird, then Secretary of Defense:

The commercial port now being constructed on Cabras Island is located on land that has been deeded to the Government of Guam. In exchange, the Government of Guam is presently preparing a deed transferring lands in and around the villages of Asan, Piti, and Agat to this Department. This land to be deeded comprises nearly all of the areas included in the master plan for War in the Pacific National Historical Park. It, therefore, appears that this proposed park could become a reality at little or no cost to the United States.

The enclosed Land Use and Ownership Map illustrate the lands to be included in the park which principally are those for which the deed is presently being prepared. In the northern unit, just across Marine Drive from the Navy Hospital Annex, is a small tract that is a part of the former Asan Tank Farm, presently owned by the Navy but unused and improved only with an apparently abandoned Quonset building formerly utilized as a bowling alley. This tract contains approximately 25 acres. It has been selected as a key development site in the park proposal and is particularly suitable for this purpose since the tract adjoining it on the south is presently owned by this Department. In this area would be located the park headquarters, several interpretive facilities, and service and housing structures. A second area, Asan Point Overlook, located across Marine Drive to the west and adjoining but south of the hospital complex, is particularly vital for presenting to the visitor the historical account of World War II as it applies to the invasion beaches of Guam.<sup>133</sup>

The fact that the Secretary of the Interior's letter echoes sentiments expressed earlier by Troy in his June memorandum is not surprising since it appears that Troy actually authored the letter sent to the Secretary of Defense over the signature of the Secretary of the Interior.<sup>134</sup>

The above request for land transfer was apparently successful. An October 1970 article in the *Pacific Daily News*, announced, "National Park For Guam." The article reported that,

Rear Admiral Paul E. Pugh announced that the Asan Point Overlook, a hill and plateau overlooking the initial major landing area of United States forces

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<sup>132</sup> Memorandum from Chief, Branch of Appraisals (H.P. Troy) to Chief, Division of Land and Water Rights, dated June 5, 1969.

<sup>133</sup> Letter from the Secretary of the Interior to the Secretary of Defense, August 28, 1969

<sup>134</sup> Draft, RJBranges:HPTroy:mj;6/3/69, dated June 3, 1969,

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on July 21, 1944, has been transferred to the Department of the Interior. This will be a national historic park planned for Guam to commemorate the bravery and sacrifice of those participating in the Guam campaign in World War II.

The land was transferred by the Officer in Charge of Construction, Marianas for the Department of the Navy to the Department of the Interior and contains 16.45 acres. This property was formerly part of the Old Asan Point Civil Service Community, and is adjacent to the U.S. Naval Hospital Annex.<sup>135</sup>

Unfortunately, the land transactions between the Park Service and the Guam government didn't go as smoothly. According to a February 26, 1971, memorandum from the director of the Park Service addressed to the Director, Office of Territories, Guam had agreed to convey 877.41 acres to the Park Service. However, on April 3, 1970, Guam conveyed only 507.5 acres. After additional discussions, the Government of Guam conveyed what it reported was the balance of the land due the Park Service under the agreement. Unfortunately, it was the wrong land. This memorandum asks the Director, Office of Territories to assist the Government of Guam find its copies of the maps showing precisely what land it had agreed to transfer to the service.<sup>136</sup> In early March 1972, Robert L. Barrel, General Superintendent, Hawaii Group traveled to Guam in an attempted to resolve the confusion. He was accompanied by Philip E. Troy, Chief Appraiser, Lands Division, NPS, and Bruce Rice an NPS appraiser. Portions of his seven-page, single-spaced trip report cast some light on the problem:

Many land records were destroyed during World War II. Other documents seem to get lost. Many details are exceedingly difficult to pin down and to keep pinned down. There are disagreements between the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government. Land titles are cloudy and various parcels are in a disputed status. The Territorial government is resentful of the U. S. Navy and the Navy in turn sometimes appear [sic] contemptuous of the Government of Guam.<sup>137</sup>

Notwithstanding these reportedly enormous difficulties with chains of title, Barrel pressed on. His trip report continues:

The following matters were discussed in some detail with Lt. Governor Moylan and most members of the Department of Land Management. It was not agreeable to the Executive Branch for me to broach the details I discussed with them to the Legislature. There is considerable jealousy between the two branches and it seemed politic to accede to the wishes of the Governor and his

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<sup>135</sup> *Pacific Daily News*, October 1, 1970.

<sup>136</sup> Memorandum from Director, National Park Service, to Director, Office of Territories, Department of the Interior, February 26, 1971, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>137</sup> Memorandum from General Superintendent, Hawaii Group, to Director, Western Region, NPS, March 15, 1972. WAPA archives.

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staff at this time. Therefore, I have no concurrence from the Legislature beyond that which was given at the public hearings held by the House Subcommittee in January.

Although Mr. Barrel may have been successful discussing these issues with the governor's office, the sad fact was that Section 13525 of the Code of Guam prohibited the Governor of Guam from agreeing to exchange land without the approval of the Guam legislature.<sup>138</sup>

Barrel's second 1972 trip to Guam was destined to throw the entire concept of a war in the Pacific park located on Guam into serious doubt. In fact, what he found on the island during his September trip that year ultimately resulted in the Park Service deciding to discontinue supporting the establishment of the park altogether. The Park Service had received word that the Government of Guam, with the concurrence and assistance of the Army Corps of Engineers, was planning on constructing a small boat harbor within the boundaries of the proposed historical park. Barrel flew to Guam on September 26 to discover it wasn't a harbor that was being considered at the time, but rather a small boat ramp. In his later trip report, Barrel reported that the ramp, ". . . would be damaging, but not fatal, to the historic values in that area . . ."<sup>139</sup> However, he reports in the next paragraph in the same trip report, that in a meeting with representatives of the Government of Guam he argued that NPS would object to the construction of the ramp since the ". . . construction would definitely have an adverse effect on the historical values. . . ." Barrel continues, "Nobody from the Government of Guam appeared to agree with me. Members of the Government of Guam made it clear that they thought the impact on historical values was so minimal as to be imperceptible, and that I was being bull-headed, tendentious, and was standing in the way of progress." Barrel reported that the meeting was "somewhat stormy."<sup>140</sup> Having done his part for the Park Service's public relations, Barrel, while driving around the island, discovered an "urgent and appalling development." According to Barrel, the island planning commission had approved a zoning change that permitted the construction of a housing development, "in the heart of the Asan-Piti unit." Barrels continues, "If this subdivision is build, it will tear the heart out of the single most significant unit of the proposed park, eliminating or impinging upon the headquarters and major interpretive site, [and] wiping out much of the most significant battleground."<sup>141</sup>

Barrel's discovery of the approved subdivision in the Nimitz Hill area was considered a profoundly significant issue by Park Service staff. Curti Bohlen, the Acting Assistant Secretary of the Interior sent Carlos Camacho, the Governor of Guam a letter dated October 10, 1972, asking the governor to not approve the zoning change. (Apparently, under then-existing Guam statutes, the Governor had the power to essentially veto zoning changes approved by the Guam

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<sup>138</sup> Memorandum from H. P. Troy, Chief, Branch of Appraisals, NPS, to Chief, Division of Land Acquisition, NPS, May 17, 1972. WAPA archives.

<sup>139</sup> Memorandum from State Director, Hawaii, National Park Service [Robert L. Barrel] to Director, Western Region, National Park Service, September 29, 1972. WAPA archives.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid, 3. [Note: Barrel is referring to Lot 223-R4, Nimitz Hill Estates subdivision.]

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Land Use Commission.)<sup>142</sup> Although no records of additional correspondence could be found, it appears that the zoning change was adopted, and construction of the housing development commenced. On February 21, 1973, Bruce Rice with the Lands Office of the Denver Service Center, reported to Robert Barrel, State Director, Hawaii, NPS, that the developers had paid \$1,950,000 for the land and they were planning on building 170 homes priced from \$45,000 and up. Rice also mentioned that the Government of Guam had recently built a sewer outflow at Agat Bay on land they had deeded to the Department of the Interior for use as a national historical park.<sup>143</sup> Robert Barrel responded by sending a memorandum to the director of the National Park Services' Western Region on March 1, 1973, where he reported that land prices on Guam have doubled in the previous twelve months, and that the land acquisition costs for the park now would be approximately \$7 million. Barrel also reported that construction had started on the Nimitz Hills Estates housing development, and, in his words, "I honestly think that War in the Pacific [has] gone down the drain."<sup>144</sup> On March 19, 1973, the Director of the Western Region notified the Associate Director, Legislation, National Park Service, that the Western Region would no longer support the concept of the park on Guam:

Enclosed are copies of memorandum from Hawaii State Director Barrel, and Lands Appraiser Bruce Rice, Denver Service Center, concerning the subject proposal. These memorandums describe what appears to be abandonment by the Government of Guam of any controls that would have assisted in the establishment of this area.

Under the circumstances, and unless otherwise advised by your office, it is our intention to discontinue any further expenditure of resources in the compilation of data to support [the park in Guam] legislation.

We further suggest, that if requested to comment on the bills before Congress [H. R. 1596 – War in the Pacific National Historical Park, Guam] that the Service and Department submit a negative report based on the loss of integrity due to developments incompatible with the purpose of the historic park.

Please remove this proposal from the Western Region's legislative program.<sup>145</sup>

On April 23, 1973, the Chief, Division of Legislative Coordination and Support sent a memorandum to the Chief of the Division of Legislation, indicating that the National Park

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<sup>142</sup> Letter from Curti Bohlen, Acting Assistant Secretary of the Interior to Carlos G. Camacho, Governor of Guam, October 10, 1972, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>143</sup> Memorandum from Bruce Rice, Lands Office, Denver Service Center to Robert L. Barrel, State Director, Hawaii, NPS, February 21, 1973, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>144</sup> Memorandum from Robert L. Barrel, State Director, Hawaii to Director, Western Region, National Park Service, March 1, 1973, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>145</sup> Memorandum from Howard H. Chapman, Director, Western Region, National Park Service, to Associate Director, Legislation, National Park Service, March 19, 1973, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

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Service was submitting an “unfavorable” report on H. R. 1596 [War in the Pacific National Historical Park, Guam].<sup>146</sup>

The decision to discontinue supporting the concept of a war in the Pacific situated on Guam took deep and lasting roots. In July 1974, Rogers C. Morton, then Secretary of the Interior sent a letter to Governor Camacho (Governor of Guam), agreeing to the idea of entering into a twenty-five-year lease with the Government of Guam conveying the lands that NPS had planned on using for the park. The lease would permit the Government of Guam to develop the land into a recreational park.<sup>147</sup> The idea of a recreational park either on Guam or Saipan “commemorating” those Americans who died in the July 1944 landing was so attractive to some that James Watts, then Director of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, traveled to Guam and Saipan in early 1975, to promote the idea. Park Service staff got wind of the proposal, and Robert M. Utley, the Assistant Director, Park Historic Preservation sent a memo to the Associate Director of Legislation urging that the Park Service object to the proposal to establish a War in the Pacific National Historical Park on Saipan with swimming pools, tennis courts, and picnic areas. The author argued that the concepts of “recreational” park should not be confused with “historical” park. If a historical park was being considered, recreational activities should not be included. The author continued by reporting that Saipan had retained a great deal more historical integrity than did Guam, and if a War in the Pacific park were to ever be built it should be built on Saipan, and in the interim the historical integrity of Saipan should not be destroyed with recreational facilities.<sup>148</sup> The record contains additional evidence that the Park Service seriously considered the idea of a War in the Pacific National Historical Park on Guam a dead issue. Philip Stewart, Chief, Division of Land Acquisition send a memorandum to the Chief of the Division of Legislation reported that the Director, Office of Territorial Affairs is working to return the 850 acres to the Government of Guam that had been conveyed to the Department of the Interior for use as a park.<sup>149</sup>; and in July 1975, Richard Curry, then Acting Director of NPS, wrote to Legislative Counsel reporting that the Park Service was not interested in a park on Guam but would like to leave the question open for the possible siting of a war in the Pacific park on Saipan.<sup>150</sup> The depth of Interior’s loss of interest in a historical park on Guam is illustrated by a December 1975 letter from the Governor of Guam to the Department of the Interior repeating the one-and-one-half-year-old request for a twenty-five year lease empowering Guam to manage the lands originally intended for use as a park. The Governor reported in his letter that national register sites situated on that land were being damaged. The author reported

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<sup>146</sup> Memorandum from Chief, Division of Legislative Coordination and Support to Chief, Division of Legislation, April 23, 1973, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>147</sup> Letter from Rogers C. Morton, Secretary of the Interior to Governor Camacho, July 17, 1974, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>148</sup> Memorandum from Assistant Director, Park Historic Preservation to Associate Director, Legislation (Robert M. Utley), April 4, 1975, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>149</sup> Memorandum from Chief, Division of Land Acquisition (Philip O. Stewart), to Chief, Division of Legislation, April 14, 1975, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>150</sup> Memorandum, from Richard C. Curry, Acting Director, National Park Service, to Legislative Counsel, July 2, 1975, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

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that former Japanese bunkers were being used as domestic animal pens, land was being cultivated, and other areas used for parking lots.<sup>151</sup>

The National Park Service, the Department of the Interior, the Department of the Defense, and the Government of Guam may have all considered War in the Pacific National Historical Park on Guam a dead issue; however, they all underestimated the powers of resurrection enjoyed by those with offices inside the beltway of the District of Columbia. Immediately after the Department of the Interior submitted an unfavorable report on H. R. 4262 (the third bill introduced to establish a War in the Pacific park), Antonio Won Pat, the representative for Guam in the House of Representatives wrote to Thomas Kleppe, then Secretary of the Interior, asking why the turn-around after supporting the idea of the park for over a decade. Won Pat wrote that he was well aware of NPS' concern regarding the housing development near Nimitz Hill, but he wondered why one relatively small housing development would prove fatal to a proposed 2,751-acre park, particularly when the proposed park was also perceived as being several geographically dispersed units, and most particularly, when the housing development is nestled between hills and not viewable from most of the park. Won Pat also expressed wonderment that the decision to abandon the park idea had been made without anyone from the National Park Service bothering to go to Guam and investigate the impact of the completed development (Barrels had seen only plans).<sup>152</sup> After meeting with Representative Won Pat, Robert Utley, Assistant Director, Park Historic Preservation, recommended to the Associate Director, Legislation, that perhaps a visit to Guam by NPS staff might be appropriate. It might be wise, argued Utley, for staff to determine if their arguments of loss of integrity actually had any merit.<sup>153</sup>

Robert Barrel went back to Guam. He arrived on May 18, 1976, and super typhoon *Pamela* arrived the next day. Barrel was able to extricate himself from the rubble long enough to express a change of heart about the park. After touring the proposed park lands, he recommended that the Department of the Interior support the legislation, provided certain conditions were met:

- 1) Apra Harbor overlook should not be included,
- 2) the Japanese coastal guns should be accessed from Route 6,
- 3) the proposed NPS development should be moved from Asan Ridge (where there is insufficient room) to Asan Point,
- 4) not build a trail up Hill 40,
- 5) obtain zoning controls limiting building height in the Mt. Tenjo and Asan units, and
- 6) do not include Nimitz Beach.

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<sup>151</sup> Letter from Ricardo Bordallo, Governor of Guam, to the "United States Department of the Interior," December 16, 1975, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>152</sup> Letters from Antonio Won Pat, House of Representatives to Thomas S. Kleppe, Secretary of the Interior, March 1, 1976, and March 31, 1976, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>153</sup> Memorandum from Robert Utley, Assistant Director, Park Historic Preservation to the Associate Director, Legislation, March 29, 1976, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

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Barrel concluded that the Nimitz Hill Estates development is not a problem after all since the truly historical area is the beach between Adelup and Asan points, the steep slope up to Fonte Plateau, and areas on Fonte Plateau itself. And, the housing development does not adversely affect any of these areas.<sup>154</sup> On August 24, 1976, John H. Davis, Acting Regional Director, Western Region announced that he was sending a four-person study group to Guam in September to up-date the 1967 proposal for the establishing War in the Pacific National Historic Park on Guam, and the up-date would incorporate changes suggested by Barrel.<sup>155</sup> It would be 1978, or thirteen years after the first official proposal, before the United States Congress created the proposed historical park on Guam. Every bill introduced for the establishment of the park was introduced by Representative White, including the bill that was passed into law.

During these years of planning, abandonment, and born-again support, the economics of Guam continued to change. Tourism was becoming a substantial portion of the island economy, island population was becoming more centralized in urban areas, demand for general recreation areas was increasing, and the actions of public officials, including NPS staff, was becoming more transparent as the result of island news coverage becoming more thorough. The number of Japanese tourists who began arriving on regularly-scheduled commercial flights in the 1960s, increased. In 1963, 1,500 tourists vacationed on Guam; by 1972 the number had increased to 150,000. With the growth of tourism came increasing pressure to develop both physical facilities as well as a political infrastructure to provide for the arriving vacationers. By 1972, there were 2,500 hotel rooms on the island, and the Government of Guam launched programs focused on both the preservation of historical physical features as well as planning for orderly development of the land. A 1976 report inventoried historic and prehistoric sites on Guam, including forty-four sites around the island on the National Register of Historic Places.

In 1977, the Guam government was deeply involved in its planning efforts with an expressed intent to follow the general philosophy of the State of Hawaii by establishing land use districts for the entire island. In 1973, the Guam government completed a study of outdoor recreation on Guam. Both the 1977 planning work and the 1973 recreation plan expressly provided for the hoped-for NPS historical park. Additionally, the formal 1977 NPS proposal advocating the creation of the park was reviewed by the Government of Guam, including the governor, which concurred with the proposal that a World War II historical park be established on the island. Unfortunately, there were financial and demographic factors militating against such a park.

Capitalists began investing in beachfront resort hotels, residents opened restaurants, duty-free retail shops and intra-island transportation connecting the resort hotels with the new restaurants and shops were all developed. The island's metamorphosis from military base to Japanese tourist destination added new layers of financial and political complexities. The Park Service was no longer considering simply creating a historical park on an island dominated by the United States Department of Defense, it was now forced to deal with new local zoning and planning regulations of the local government agencies that promulgated and enforced them. The

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<sup>154</sup> Memorandum from Robert Barrel, State Director, Hawaii, NPS, to Regional Director, Western Region, August 3, 1976, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>155</sup> Memorandum from John H. Davis, Acting Regional Director, Western Region to Associate Director, Legislation, August 24, 1976, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

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Park Service also found itself dealing with rapidly increasing land prices as well as an increased awareness by land owners of the value of their land. Although the promise of tourism served to advance arguments of the pro-park advocates, it also added serious time pressures to planning efforts. Escalating land prices resulting from increased tourism necessitated rapid land purchasing. Valuable, coveted beachfront land was identified as probable park lands. Increasingly, beachfront property north of the intended park was being developed with high-rise resort hotels. Topography and Andersen Air Force Base barred further northward commercial development, placing more pressure on lands elsewhere on Guam, including those needed for the park. It became apparent to many planners both within the Government of Guam and the Park Service by the late 1960's that land privately owned along the beaches had to be purchased quickly. Delays could only result in escalating prices, and possibly even resorting to condemnation proceedings, which would have been a devastating public relations development. A 1967 letter from Paul B. Souder, the Government of Guam's Director of Land Management, to Richard W. Barnett, NPS Planning and Service Center in San Francisco estimated the value of 1,180 acres thought to be appropriate for the future park was valued at \$2,263,000, and the value of an alternate 830-acre park was worth \$1,660,000.<sup>156</sup> Additionally, these tourism-related commercial pressures on land prices (and, consequently, on land uses) accelerated the need to launch a public education campaign designed to acquaint residents with NPS policies pertaining to the nature of national parks and land uses the service considered compatible with its parks.

Since the word "park" conjured visions of baseball diamonds, picnic tables and other recreational structures in the minds of Guam residents (not unlike any town elsewhere in America), park planning made community involvement and public education absolutely crucial. Conflicting notions of the definition of park were exacerbated by the increased urbanization of Guam mentioned above. As more of the residents relocated to Agana, Tamuning, and Tumon, the demand for recreational and athletic uses of public land increased dramatically. The significance and centrality of the extended family traditionally enjoyed by long-time Guam citizens became increasingly jeopardized by the constraints of apartment and housing development living. This urbanization had particular significance for park planning since most of the urban growth occurred near and even adjacent to land being proposed for inclusion in the future park. So, the popularly perceived need for large, open areas for large social gatherings increased and was, in some respects, in conflict with the NPS notion of activities appropriate to battlefield parks. The mere suggestion of baseball diamonds or volleyball courts on the hollowed ground of Gettysburg would be enough to give NPS staffers heartburn.

These new and rapidly evolving political-economic dynamics argued strongly for rapid park planning and the rapid execution of the plan (including, most importantly an expedited land acquisition program). Unfortunately, the acquisition of land would prove to be an abiding irritant to those who would later manage the new park. They would find themselves trying to develop an embryonic park unit in an unsympathetic environment (some would characterize it as hostile).

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<sup>156</sup> Letter from Paul B. Souder, Director, Land Management, Government of Guam, to Richard W. Barnett, National Park Service Planning and Service Center, San Francisco, August 10, 1967, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

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In 1977 NPS revised its 1967 proposal. The 1977 plan identified the purpose of the proposed park as,

Provide an opportunity to tell the epic story of World War II in the Pacific from the attack on Pearl Harbor to war's end. Emphasize the battle of Guam as a classic example of the island-by-island fighting, which was an important factor in the prolonged struggle for control of the immense expanse of the Pacific Ocean, and how this affected the final outcome of the war.<sup>157</sup>

The proposal continued by setting forth the objectives of such a park:

- Preserve important geographical and historical features in order to provide a setting with enough historic integrity to adequately tell the story of the battle for Guam.
- Develop an interpretive program which will view the war and the battle for Guam as a part of history. This would include the particular interests and attitudes of both Japanese and Americans.
- Manage historic and natural resources in order to retain, as nearly as is practical, the historic setting of those sites to be interpreted.
- Provide only such developments as are needed to interpret and inform visitors. Provide access to important features and viewpoints, and permit adequate administration and management of the park.
- Cooperate with the Government of Guam in assembling local artifacts of Japanese occupation and American invasions to the extent that they are necessary for interpretation.
- Cooperate with Japanese historians in developing bicultural and bilingual interpretation.

The park planners did not ignore the social needs of residents. A picnic area was suggested for Gaan Point in the Agat Unit as well as day-use recreational facilities on Asan Point in the Asan Unit.<sup>158</sup> The park planners anticipated that both areas would be frequently used by island residents. Asan Point was also seen as offering a logical location for a regional park complex since it was a mere three miles from the urban center of Agana. The NPS park planners discussed the concept with the Government of Guam, who concurred. The planners envisioned that some use restrictions would be applied to the suggested regional park, including recreation being limited to day use; both construction and maintenance of facilities would be the responsibility of the Government of Guam; and all plans and designs would be reviewed by the Park Service in order to maintain historical integrity.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> *New Area Study, War in the Pacific National Historical Park, Guam, Revision of 1967 Proposal*, National Park Service, September 1977, 11.

<sup>158</sup> 1977 WAPA proposal, 14.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid*, 47.

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In addition to economic, demographic, and political factors, natural conditions had to be considered as well. Earthquakes are very common on Guam; the island averages two each day strong enough to be sensed by measuring devices, and about two per month strong enough to be perceived by residents. Additionally, the island is battered usually twice each year by severe storms, and it is not unusual for one of those storms to be a typhoon. Under the heading of “Special Conditions,” the 1977 NPS proposal included,

- Structures and facilities must be designed to withstand typhoon winds.
- Mildew in this warm, humid climate causes damage to supplies, equipment, records, etc. Air-conditioning is needed for protection of some storage areas, and dehumidifying devices may be required in other instances.
- Flooding of shore areas results from wind-generated waves during intense storms, and low valleys may be flooded by heavy rainfall.
- Erosion of soft volcanic soils is widespread and results from torrential rainfall on land where vegetation has been removed.
- Corrosion of metal equipment and objects is accelerated by warmth, humidity, and the salt air.
- The grassland savannas and tangantangan thickets are highly inflammable during the dry season. Unless checked, the resulting denuded land is then susceptible to severe erosion.
- Steep terrain in certain areas within the park proposal, combined with the possibility of slumping and accelerated erosion of volcanic soils, suggests that particular care be taken in location and design of park developments. The bluffs above Asan and Piti beaches are particularly susceptible to such problems.<sup>160</sup>

Interpretive efforts would also present unusual challenges. It was becoming increasingly obvious throughout the 1970s that the majority of tourists vacationing on Guam would be Japanese. Therefore, the 1977 proposal concluded, interpretive efforts had to show sensitivity to both the Japanese as well as the Americans, and all interpretive material and signage had to be in Japanese as well as English. Park visitors had to be provided with the ability to view battlefields of Guam from both the American and Japanese viewpoints; therefore, landing beaches had to be viewable both from the beaches and from overlooking high ground. To that end the NPS planners envisioned an interpretive center on the rim of Fonte Plateau overlooking Asan Beach that would interpret the broader story of the War in the Pacific. Most interpretation of the battle for Guam was planned for the specific significant sites themselves, such as Asan Point, Adelup Point, Rizal Point, Gaan Point, and Bangi Island.

The unusual challenges created by the need to interpret the War in the Pacific for Japanese as well as American visitors necessarily expanded to include the need to identify and preserve Japanese as well as American artifacts. And, that identification and preservation effort would require soliciting the assistance of Japanese as well as American historians and

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<sup>160</sup> 1977 NPS Proposal, 21-22.

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preservations. As if the issues engendered by creating a national park in a remote territory under the shadow of lingering mistrust of the federal government were not enough to raise blood pressure, the requirement to create and foster a working partnership with a former world war enemy was divinely designed to add arrhythmia to the hypertension, particularly when that nation did not itself choose to interpret the history of a war it had lost. There were Japanese guns on Piti Point, tunnels and fortifications along the Matgue River, Japanese pill boxes at both Asan and Agat beaches, Japanese coconut log fortifications at Agat Beach, and literally tons of Japanese military artifacts mingled with American military artifacts strewn across the entire landscape. The Guam of 1941 simply no longer existed by August of 1944. What had been a coconut palm-laced tropical island embraced by a radiantly-hued barrier reef in 1941 was a smoking mound of treeless desolation littered with disabled tanks, amtracks, landing craft, mortar tubes, ammunition boxes and mile upon mile of unrecognizable, mangled steel in the fall of 1944. Telling the story of what happened would require investigations, research, analysis and the informed interpretation of both Japanese as well as American historians. Any story without the Japanese half could do no more than tell of an American amphibious landing. It would appear, however, that much of the more detailed planning, and certainly the implementing groundwork was left to the first superintendent, Thomas Stell Newman. Identification of possible World War II artifacts for acquisition, ground checking the park and its boundaries, coordination of day-to-day operation plans with local authorities, and coordination with other federal agencies as well as Japanese historians and government officials were all left open even after the legislation was passed. In an August 5, 1977, memorandum, Ruth G. Van Cleve, Director, Office of Territorial Affairs, reported that she understood the then-current NPS position to be to simply get Congress to pass the enabling legislation establishing the park, then come back later with a plan in hand to submit cost estimates for funding.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> Memorandum, from Ruth G. VanCleve, Director, Office of Territorial Affairs, Department of the Interior, to Assistant Secretary, Fish, Wildlife, and Parks, August 5, 1977, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

Chapter 6  
SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT OF  
THE PARK'S CREATION AND  
EVOLUTION

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*Introduction*

First impressions are important. They create assumptions – some positive, some negative. Positive assumptions foster positive relationships that facilitate growth and productivity; negative assumptions either foreshadow an inability to grow and produce, or must be neutralized before growth and productivity are possible. This is as true of the creation of national parks as it is in many other human endeavors. The political and social climate that pre-exists a park's establishment is one of the more important facts that planners must consider in designing an appropriate local approach to introducing both the park as well as the park's concept. This chapter addresses that social and political environment that characterized Guam immediately preceding the establishment of the War in the Pacific National Historic Park.

## Chapter 6 – Social and Political Context of the Park’s Creation and Evolution

### Administrative History

#### War in the Pacific National Historic Park

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The establishment of a historical park on Guam presented a complex web of interconnected social and political challenges, perhaps some of the most complex ever faced by the National Park Service. In the late 1970s, Guam had an economy made largely dependent upon a large military presence; a struggle to maintain cultural integrity; a relatively new local government laboring to grasp the pride of autonomy in the shadow of federal Big Brother; and a tourist population overwhelmingly comprised of citizens of a nation who had attacked and occupied Guam during World War II and whose language was not understood by most islanders. Added to all this was the challenge of developing a new national historical park in a remote region where time zones and more than 3,800 miles of ocean to the nearest American islands further complicated communications; chronic underfunding; minimal support by an unsympathetic executive branch; a climate literally corrosive to artifacts; and repeated typhoons and severe tropical storms regularly scouring park grounds of improvements. The continued existence of the park and its evolution into a recognized institution on Guam and within the Park Service is attributable to the initial park staff, particularly the park’s first superintendent – Stell Newman.

T. Stell Newman, a PhD archeologist from the National Park Service regional office in Alaska, and former air force pilot, was an affable, politically sensitive young man whose ready smile accented a flowing beard. His wit was demonstrated when he cunningly fooled a local radio personality into tenderly caring for a seedling Newman had presented to him. Newman bestowed the talk show host with the honorific title of Junior Ranger, and insisted on donating a “special” fertilizer the announcer could use for the seedling. Newman frequently appeared on the talk show, and would inevitably praise the commendable care the talk show host was providing the “unique” seedling. It was not until the on-air memorial service for the sad, withered and very dead seedling that Newman disclosed that the seedling was merely a weed common to the island, and the herbicide he had been providing the talk-show host, representing it as “fertilizer,” may have contributed to the plant’s demise.<sup>162</sup>

Newman’s ingenuity was demonstrated in his method of designing a pedestrian walkway in the Asan Beach Unit. After learning that professionally designing the wide walkway would cost much more than his already inadequate budget would permit, he lashed two steel stakes to either side of a road grader blade and slowly drove his envisioned serpentine course, letting the stakes score two perfectly spaced, parallel lines between which the walkway would be built. His insightful selection of employees was graphically demonstrated when he hired a retired Air Force noncommissioned officer, Rogue Borja, who had been working as a maintenance supervisor for the Government of Guam since his retirement from the Air Force. The selection of that employee both ensured competent and reliable assistance, and it created a valuable political and social bridge to the Government of Guam. Perhaps who Stell Newman was and how he was perceived was most clearly demonstrated when memories of him and his untimely death in a car crash caused this retired Technical Sergeant to tear up during an interview fifteen years later.

For at least two generations, island residents harbored a mistrust of the United States government, even though an awareness of the island’s dependence on that government’s presence permeated every aspect of the resident’s lives. This distrust/dependency conflict

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<sup>162</sup> Tigger Newman, Stell Newman’s daughter, interview January 2004, by authors.

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manifested itself in a cooperation with the United States that floated precariously on a conflicted sea of suspicion. A July 1979 *Pacific Daily News* article reported that, “Since April, Guam’s leaders have become increasingly dissatisfied with the way U. S. officials are treating this territory’s residents.” The article went on to quote Guam Governor Paul Calvo as saying:

The people of Guam can no longer tolerate the insistence of the federal government to take serious actions affecting the daily lives of our people, almost totally ignoring relevant necessary input of its local citizens. We are first class, local Americans. All we ask is the federal government to recognize this. We don’t want to be first class citizens when it’s needed and excess baggage the rest of the time.<sup>163</sup>

This sense of alienation and a desire for greater political power continued through the late 1970s and into the 1980s. In 1982, fifty percent of all votes cast in an island-wide election expressed a desire that Guam become a commonwealth; only 26 per cent voted for statehood.<sup>164</sup>

The international community of nations was dissatisfied with the treatment it perceived Guam was receiving at the hands of the United States.<sup>165</sup> On November 21, 1975, the United Nations General Assembly voted 103-1 that Guam be demilitarized and be granted its independence. The United States disregarded the U.N. position, arguing that Guam residents had expressed their free will and wanted to maintain their close association with the U.S. government. Guam residents were well aware of the perceptions of their plight entertained by the international community. The UN debate and vote was well publicized on the island.<sup>166</sup>

The complexity of the social and political climate engendered by this mistrust/economic dependency dichotomy was compounded by three other interrelated factors: (1) Concentration of Island employment; (2) geographical concentration of island residency; and (3) an increased sense of investiture by residents in the future of Guam. In the early 1980s, half of the island’s work force of 33,000 was employed either by the Government of Guam or by the United States

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<sup>163</sup> *Pacific Daily News*, July 4, 1979. Note: The issue that precipitated this Government of Guam response was a decision to transfer island tax collection from the local government to IRS. Apparently, the decision was made without consulting the Government of Guam.

<sup>164</sup> Frederica M. Bunge and Melinda Cook, editors, *Oceans: A Regional Study*, Wash. D.C.: American University, 1984, 89. Note: Only four percent voted for independence. In a run-off election, seventy-three percent expressed a desire for commonwealth states, and twenty-one percent wanted statehood.

<sup>165</sup> *Star Bulletin*, December 4, 1975. This General Assembly resolution was an attempt to enforce Article 6 of the Trusteeship Agreement entered into by the United States and the United Nations shortly after World War II, under which the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands was created. That agreement required, in part, that the United States: “promote the development of the inhabitants . . . toward self-government . . . [and] . . . the economic advancement and self-sufficiency of the inhabitants,” *Trusteeship Agreement for the United States Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands*. Although Guam had been a territory of the United States since 1899, it was not exempted from the United Nations trusteeship agreement. No record of a United States response to the General Assembly resolution could be found in the U.N. archives; therefore, it is probable that Guam was intended to be included, as evidence by that failure to respond or object to the General Assembly’s presumption of inclusion.

<sup>166</sup> *Pacific Daily News*, December 4, 1975.

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Government. Over twenty-five percent of the population of 108,406 lived in or near Agana, the capital.<sup>167</sup> This near proximity of island residents, both geographically and economically meant that activities of the initial Park Service employees were highly observable and reports of those activities, both good and bad, received rapid and wide informal reportage. And, residents had an increasing incentive to be observant and caring. Island per capita income had increased dramatically. Between 1965 and 1975 business income, personal income and Government of Guam revenues tripled. The 1982 per capital income was US\$4,574, nearly double what it was in 1972. This sense of increased economic investiture by island residents manifested itself in extraordinarily large voter participation in local elections. During the 1980s, voter turnout was frequently between 80 and 90 percent.<sup>168</sup> Only when one fully appreciates the general sense of suspicion/dependency, the transparency of Park Service activities, the rapidity with which those activities were made known throughout the general community, and the heightened sense of investment by residents in the island’s future can one appreciate the social and political context within which the park was born and nurtured.

#### Federal Enabling Legislation

On August 18, 1978, Public Law 95-348 (92 Stat. 487, later codified at 16 USC 460dd) was enacted. It established War in the Pacific National Historical Park.<sup>169</sup> Section 6 of the Act states:

In order to commemorate the bravery and sacrifices of those participating in the campaigns of the Pacific theater of World War II and to conserve and interpret outstanding natural, scenic, and historic values and objects on the island of Guam for the benefit and enjoyment of present and future generations, the War in the Pacific National Historical Park . . . is hereby established.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> Bunge, *Oceans: A Regional Study*, 74.

<sup>168</sup> Bunge, *Oceans: A Regional Study*, 86.

<sup>169</sup> This public law had its genesis as Senate Bill 2821; the House of Representatives dealt with a companion bill, H. R. 12481. The Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs reported H. R. 12481 to the floor with House Report No. 95-1112; the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources reported the Senate bill out with Senate Report 95-784, both reports recommended passage, with amendments. See Congressional Record Vol. 124 (1978). On May 8<sup>th</sup>, H. R. 12481 was considered in the House. On May 10<sup>th</sup> the same House bill was considered and passed in the Senate. The House finally passed the bill on June 5<sup>th</sup>; however, it then vacated the passage and passed Senate Bill 2821 instead. On August 3, the Senate concurred with the amendments the House had added to Senate Bill 2821, then added some amendments of its own, and passed the amended amended bill. On August 4, the House of Representatives passed amended amended Senate Bill 2821 into law. It became effective on August 18, 1978.

<sup>170</sup> Public Law 95-348, 92 Stat. 492, 16 USC 460dd. For a verbatim presentation of the portions of this Public Law relevant to WAPA, see Attachment 8 of this document.

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The Act also authorized the Secretary of the Interior to acquire additional lands within the boundaries of the park (Sec 6(c)); to identify and mark other relevant points on the island in concert with the Governor of Guam (Sec 6 (d)); to retain the services of historians to interpret aspects of the park (Sec 6 (f)); and to negotiate with the Secretary of Defense to berth and interpret a World War II naval vessel (Sec 6(g)). Unfortunately, the legislation failed to clearly establish park boundaries: “The boundaries of the park shall be as *generally* depicted on the drawing entitled ‘Boundary Map, War in the Pacific National Historical Park, Guam’ numbered 24-80,000-B and dated March 1978.”<sup>171</sup> [Emphasis added.] This failure to establish a clear and definite boundary would haunt park staff for years to come.

In addition to a failure to define a clear boundary, congress’ failure to quickly appropriate money for the park created its own set of problems. In fact the 95<sup>th</sup> Congress never did make any appropriations for the park. Unfortunately, a reader of the legislation who is not familiar with federal spending procedures could have logically concluded that congress gave NPS \$16 million for the park:

For the purposes of the park established under this section, effective October 1, 1978, there are *authorized to be appropriated* such sums as may be necessary, but not to exceed \$16,000,000 for the acquisition of lands or interests in lands and \$50,000 for development [emphasis added].<sup>172</sup>

This language would be interpreted by Guam residents, including owners of property within the park boundaries, as meaning that congress had slipped \$16 million into NPS’ pocket. This misinterpretation would engender protracted resentment toward the Park Service that would simmer for years to come. The misinterpretation engendered an expectation that the land would be quickly purchased by the federal government. This expectation, in turn, limited the marketability (and, therefore, suppressed the price) of inholdings. Owners and prospective buyers alike assumed that since the land acquisition was imminent, it would be illogical to “develop” it. Even if the land were not acquired quickly by the government, owners and prospective “developers” alike reasonably assumed that restrictions limiting the nature of development would be applied.

As noted in chapter 6, above, legislative efforts to create War in the Pacific National Historic Park started back in the 1950s. By the early 1970s these efforts had crystalized into formal legislative activity. In January 1972, the House of Representatives Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs conducted hearings on Guam to solicit public opinion regarding the proposed historical park. The 45-member House committee was chaired by Wayne Aspinall (Colorado); the January hearings on Guam were headed up by Harold T. Johnson of California. Congressmen Burlison of Missouri and Ruppe of Michigan were present. Testimony, oral and written, was taken from representatives of the Government of Guam as well as private citizens resident on Guam.<sup>173</sup> The hearings were attended by several NPS employees, including the

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<sup>171</sup> Public Law 95-348, Sec 6(b).

<sup>172</sup> Public Law 95-348, Sec 6(k).

<sup>173</sup> Witnesses presenting oral testimony were: George Bamba of the Guam Legislature; Frank Blas Department of Commerce, Government of Guam; Paul Bordallo, 11<sup>th</sup> Guam Legislature; Richard

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Deputy Director (Flynn), a representative of Acquisitions (Griswold), the Regional Director from San Francisco (Chapman), and the Director of Pacific Operations (Barrell).

The most significant issue raised repeatedly both by witnesses who testified in person as well as those who testified by submitted written statements was the issue of local control. Repeatedly, witnesses expressed concern that the residents of Guam should be vested with some form of meaningful control over the proposed park. This concern was most strongly stressed as it related to acquisition, conveyance and use of real property within and adjacent to the proposed park. Additionally, many who testified expressed concern regarding the amount of land that would be incorporated into the park. As stated by Tomas C. Charfauros, Chairman of the Committee on Public Safety, Military and Veteran Affairs of the 11<sup>th</sup> Guam Legislature:

I would like to make one comment relating to the total land area to be included within the Pacific National Historical Park [sic]. Section 2 of bill S 2991, the Senate companion bill to bill H. R. 1726, contemplates that approximately 2,800 acres of land would be acquired for the purpose of the establishment of the park. In this regard we would like to echo the comments which have been made or will be made by many of the people testifying before your subcommittee that land on Guam is exceedingly dear. This is a small island, and the proposed size of the park represents a substantial amount of the total land area of Guam. Accordingly, my committee would respectfully request that the park area be limited in land area and that only those areas having the greatest national historical significance be acquired by the Secretary of the Interior for inclusion in the park. While undoubtedly the beachheads themselves are essential for the park and of great historical significance, a substantial portion of the mountain and plateau areas adjacent to the landing areas would not appear to be necessary for the historical presentation of the war in the Pacific and particularly the battles on Guam.<sup>174</sup>

When asked for clarification of the land proposed for inclusion in the park, the NPS Director of Pacific Operations (Barrel) reported that the total area included in the plan was 2,751 acres, of which only 1,191 acres were land acres.<sup>175</sup>

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Bordallo, Guam businessman; James Brooks, attorney for Betty Borja Santos; Paul Calvo, Guam Legislature; Tomas Charfauros, Guam Legislature; Dr. George Child, biology teacher, University of Guam; Fred Cochran, Guam businessman; Dr. Lu Eldridge; Charles Falcon, Marianas Divers Club; George Franquez; Joseph Hruby, teacher, Washington High School; Carlton Jones, Guam Chamber of Commerce; Manuel Jose, Guam businessman; Gerald Perez, Director, Department of Land Management of Guam; Jack Rice; Dr. Douglas Smith, Guam Science Teachers Association; and Richard Taitano, Guam Environmental Council. Additionally, letters were submitted for inclusion in the record by: James Branch, Guam Science Teachers Association; George Franquez; Carlton Jones, Guam Chamber of Commerce; and Bruce Karolle, geography teacher, University of Guam.

<sup>174</sup> Transcript, Hearing, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, United States House of Representatives, January 1972, Agana, Guam, 4.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

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These 1972 legislative efforts failed to create a War in the Pacific park; however, efforts did not end, and finally bore fruit in 1978 when, as noted above, Senate Bill 2821 was passed by both House and Senate to become Public Law 95-348 (92 Stat. 487). (The section of this law creating War in the Pacific National Historic Park is presented in its entirety as Appendix 8 of this document.)

Congress did not concern itself with the park again until 1993, on the eve of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the American’s 1944 landing on Guam. The 1993 report of the House Committee on Energy and Natural Resources succinctly presented the case for the congressional action:

Although it has been 15 years since the establishment of both parks [American Memorial on Saipan, and War in the Pacific National Historic Park] very little development has occurred toward fulfilling the purposes for which the parks were established. As ordered reported, H. R. 1944 [the proposed 1993 legislation] would increase the development ceiling at each park by \$8 million, to allow for the completion of a visitor center at each park in time for the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary commemoration of the liberation of Guam and the invasion of the Northern Marianas on Saipan and Tinian in 1994.<sup>176</sup>

The 1993 congressional bill (H. R. 1944) also provided for the construction of a monument in the park commemorating the experiences of Guam residents during Japanese occupation. As stated by Congressman Bob Underwood, the sponsor of this 1993 legislation,

It seemed to us as we watched the park mature a little bit, and as the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary came on the horizon, that there was a missing dimension to the War in the Pacific Park; and that was the recognition of the experiences of the Charmorro [*sic*] people.<sup>177</sup>

In his attempt to persuade the subcommittee to report favorably on the bill (recommend that the House pass it), Underwood arranged for the testimony of persons who lived on Guam during the Japanese occupation, including one who reportedly was physically attacked by some soldiers, and a second who reported what he had heard regarding abuse by soldiers.

The result of the 1993 legislative effort was the construction of the Asan Bay Overlook. Since 1993, the park has been beyond both the physical and budgetary horizons of Congress.

### **The Concept of “National Historical Park”**

And, there was yet another, and no less significant, issue that made the challenges of the Park Service staff more complex: Guam had never experienced a National Park Service park.

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<sup>176</sup> Senate Report, 103-98, To accompany H. R. 1944. Calendar No. 143, 3.

<sup>177</sup> Testimony, Hearing before the Subcommittee on National Parks, Forests and Public Lands, Committee on Natural Resources, House of Representatives, One Hundred Third Congress, First Session on H. R. 1944, May 27, 1993, Serial No. 103-29, 9.

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Therefore, park service philosophies pertaining to park use, and preservation of natural and cultural resources were alien concepts. The concept of “park” was very different on the island. Since 1966, the island government had officially recognized only three types of parks, all recreational: regional, district, and neighborhood. Uses included camping, picnicking, animal sanctuaries, marinas and small boat harbors (regional parks), sports fields and children’s playgrounds (district and neighborhood parks).<sup>178</sup> Consequently, the concept of a national historical park on Guam was introducing a whole set of new policies, procedures and park philosophies. Most of the island had been a World War II battlefield. At the end of 1944 the north half of the island was largely denuded of trees and shrubs, many if not most buildings and houses were rubble. And, this barren, smoldering landscape was littered with jeeps, tanks, ammunitions boxes, personal gear, unexploded ordnance, and the hundreds of other items of refuge and twisted metal left in the otherworldly aftermath of men living, killing and dying on the landscape. Residents watched the United States military bulldoze this landscape of war litter, and dump it in *ad hoc* landfills or in the Philippine Sea. They watched as the landscape became increasingly littered with oil and water tanks, temporary roads and bridges, drainage ditches and water pipes, power plants and sewage treatment ponds. They watched as innumerable corrugated tin buildings mushroomed one after another. They watched as the Navy transformed the island into the port and port-support environment reminiscent of naval bases in Norfolk, Long Beach and Bremerton. Residents watched as foxholes, pillboxes and bunkers were filled, and artillery gun barrels and mounts, as well as damaged landing craft and tanks, were hauled away by government contractors for their salvage steel.

Two generations of Guam residents had become accustomed to the cavalier treatment of the land, its resources, and World War II artifacts. And, into this long-running theater featuring transformation by bulldozer, entered the National Park Service from stage left. They preached preservation and conservation. They argued for the memorialization of the very flotsam and jetsam of war that had been scraped away for forty years. The Park Service wanted to prohibit baseball games in fields earlier ravaged by the diesel roar of navy machines. It is little wonder that NPS’ concept of “park” was not only alien but in some local circles viewed with speechless amusement. No island park had been dedicated exclusively or even primarily to the concepts of conservation, preservation, and interpretation, especially not a national historical park. Parks were to be used to play ball, picnic, and gather with friends and family. In short, the concept of “park” was exactly the same concept shared by the residents of any other local or regional area within the continental United States – the park had a ball diamond, a horseshoe pitching area, and a fountain in the middle.

Notwithstanding the above, there was still a general consensus by Guam residents that a park commemorating the sacrifices of World War II should be created on the island. In fact the first visits to the island by NPS were at the request of the Government of Guam. The cultural life on Guam had changed exponentially after the cessation of hostilities in the mid-1940s. Immediately following World War II, the United States navy invested heavily in Guam, and not merely in military facilities and the clearing of the battleground litter. The Navy constructed over 1,000 private dwellings for residents occupying refuge camps, paved roads connecting town to

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<sup>178</sup> *Master Plan of the Territory of Guam, A Physical Development Policy Statement*, Agana, Guam: Guam Territorial Planning Commission, 1966.

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town, seeded hillsides to minimize the erosion caused by the island’s heavy shelling denuding the island, and built a number of schools for residents. In 1952 what became known as the University of Guam was opened as a co-educational two-year college under the name of the Territorial College of Guam. In 1963, it was accredited as a four-year liberal arts college; a graduate school was added in 1967, and in 1968 it became a university. The first regularly-scheduled commercial flight of tourists from Japan landed in Guam in 1967; by 1982 tourism accounted for thirty-two percent of the island’s total retail sales, fifteen percent of its employment, and twenty percent of all government revenue. Of the 326,541 tourists visiting Guam in 1982 eighty-four percent were Japanese citizens.<sup>179</sup>

The decades of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s also witnessed the maturation of the embryonic Government of Guam that had been created by the 1950 Organic Act. Island government grew into a unicameral legislature, an executive branch consisting of a civilian governor and his various executive offices, and a judicial branch consisting of the Federal District Court of Guam as well as some lower courts created by the Guam Legislature. The legislature consisted of twenty-one senators elected by general popular vote and serving two-year terms. As an unincorporated territory the Guam government only had those powers given it by the United States Congress; all locally enacted laws must be reported by the governor to the United States Department of the Interior, and the U.S. Congress has the power to annul any local legislation. (As a practical matter, almost no Guam legislation has been disallowed by the United States federal government, with the exception of a couple pieces of proposed island legislation in the 1980s which attempted to condition voting rights upon race criteria.<sup>180</sup>) Notably, the Guam legislature responded favorably to the introduction of a bill in the U.S. House of Representatives that would have authorized the creation of a War in the Pacific Park. Notwithstanding the sometime pervasive perception by island residents that the U.S. federal government was not to be trusted, when the House of Representatives was entertaining House Bill 4262 in 1975, the Thirteenth Guam Legislature passed Resolution 147, “request[ing] the U. S. House of Representatives to pass H. R. 4262 to provide for the establishment of a National Historic Park in Guam within federal properties.”<sup>181</sup>

Perhaps one of the more accurate ways of assessing the social and political context into which this park was introduced is to figuratively look over the shoulders of the first Park Service representatives on the island. We can discover their perceptions of the socio-political climate by seeing how they went about introducing the park to the residents and by then examining the comments and reactions of the residents.

The first step in defining the future of a newly-created park is the preparation of the park’s General Management Plan. And, so it was with War in the Pacific National Historic Park.

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<sup>179</sup> Frederica M. Bunge, and Melinda W. Cooke, editors, *Oceania: A Regional Study*, Wash., D.C., American University, 1984.

<sup>180</sup> Not only is race-specific civil rights diametrically opposed to the entire concept of America, race, as commonly defined, simply does not exist. As Michael Bamshad and Steve Olson concluded, “Individuals from different [genetic] populations are, on average, just slightly more different from one another than are individuals from the same [genetic] populations.” Michael Bamshad and Steve Olson, “Does Race Exist?” *Scientific American*, Dec 2003.

<sup>181</sup> Resolution 147, Thirteenth Guam Legislature, 1976, Second Regular Session.

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Before the actual writing began, staff initiated contact with local and territorial political leaders and solicited general comments from residents at public meetings. Specifically, park staff implemented the following procedural steps:

- (1) Conduct informal workshops with the commissioners and planners of Agat, Piti, Asan and Agana (communities most directly affected by the creation of the park);
- (2) Conduct public meetings in these communities in March 1979;
- (3) Prepare a draft of the management plan;
- (4) Distribute the draft, including copies to Government of Guam agencies such as the Governor’s Office, Housing and Urban Renewal Authority, the Department of Parks and Recreation, and the Territorial Historic Preservation Officer;
- (5) Conduct six public hearings in 1980 to gather public comments about the draft;
- (6) Prepare a final General Management Plan, taking both written and oral comments into consideration;
- (7) Distribution of final management plan together with requests for comments from persons, agencies, and organizations that had commented on the draft
- (8) Public hearings on the proposed final General Management Plan. <sup>182</sup>

It should be noted that all of this activity that immediately followed the legislative creation of the park was actually a continuation of public interaction that was initiated by the Park Service years earlier, in the late 1960s. The proposal written by the Park Service that advocated the establishment of War in the Pacific park was based in part on extensive conferences engaged in by the Park Service and local associations and local government agencies. This late-1960s planning process received public attention. Several editorials and news articles were published in the island newspapers, all in support of the proposed park. Unfortunately, a search of news articles and editorials failed to reveal any detailed explanation of the nature of an NPS historical park. There didn’t appear to be an attempt to distinguish a historical park from a recreational park. The primary argument advanced for the creation of the park was pride in local history. Concerns expressed by owners of land that would be included in the park were assuaged by reassurances that the Park Service would pay fair market value for their land.

The sentiments of local pride, confusion regarding the nature of an historical park (and how it differed from a recreational park), and a feeling that land owners would receive prompt and adequate compensation, apparently continued into the late 1970s when public hearings were being conducted in preparation for the master plan preparation. Public comments received

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<sup>182</sup> *Environmental Assessment – General Management Plan – War in the Pacific National Historical Park*, Agana, Guam: National Park Service, 1983. Note: Public meetings to review the draft included August 17, 1982, Agat Village (thirteen persons attended); August 18, 1982, Piti Village (thirteen persons attended); August 19, 1982, Asan Village (seven persons attended); and August 20, 1982, Agana Village (twelve persons attended). No record of attendance at other, earlier meetings could be found.

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during the town hall-type meetings are informative. Some of the more significant comments received included:<sup>183</sup>

- (1) NPS should expedite their land acquisition program (see chapter 9, Park Lands, of this administrative history);
- (2) The Agat-Santa Rita High School needed expansion room, but is hemmed in by the park boundaries (park boundaries were adjusted);
- (3) The northwest section of the Agat cemetery should be removed from the park (park boundaries were adjusted);
- (4) Gaan Point needed restrooms;
- (5) A boat launching ramp should be constructed in the Gaan Point area (NPS suggested that other sites for a ramp be explored);
- (6) Utility poles on the beach side of the highway be relocated to the landward side to enhance viewscape.

When all comments, both oral comments made during the several public meetings and workshops and written comments contained in the more than twenty detailed letters received by park staff, they can be distilled into six broad categories:<sup>184</sup>

- (1) Land acquisition by the Park Service;
- (2) Boundary adjustments to permit residential, commercial and government use expansions as well as the inclusion of other historic sites;
- (3) Public recreational uses conflicting with NPS policy and philosophy (e.g., installation of lighted baseball fields, public boat launching ramps, or opening beer concessions in the park);
- (4) Greater recognition of Chamorro involvement in World War II;
- (5) Identification and protection of prehistoric Chamorro sites; and
- (6) Broadening the park’s scope to include the entire war in the Pacific rather than focusing primarily on Guam.

The social and political context of Guam within which the park was created by Congress was generally receptive to the park. However, the first few years of the park’s existence was a time of an unsympathetic administration in Washington, D.C., and that lack of political support from the executive office manifested itself in grossly inadequate funding. There was inadequate funding for staff, equipment, office space, historical research, interpretation activities,

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<sup>183</sup> Summaries of written comments received from agencies of the territorial government, and NPS staff responses are included in Appendix 2. Additionally, this appendix includes summaries of comments made during earlier workshops and public meetings, although the specific persons making these oral comments, and the attendance could not be ascertained.

<sup>184</sup> Throughout the process of gathering comments on the General Management Plan, many comments made were not relevant to a GMP, and more appropriately needed to be dealt with in other documents or contexts, such as hiring practices, interpretive methods, and protection of artifacts.

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maintenance of the public land within park boundaries, and expedient acquisition of private land in-holdings (as had been implicitly promised for years).

Were it not for the dedication and creativity of the park’s first superintendent and those he surrounded himself with, the park would not have continued to exist, or would certainly not have been the impressive park it became. Stell Newman, the park’s first superintendent, went on the radio and engendered an excellent relationship with a newspaper columnist. He used both forums to beg, and borrow equipment, and to recruit volunteers. He became friends with the majors of Asan, Agat and Piti, as well as preservation groups on the island and much of the local community. He and his staff created the park in spite of the United States Executive Office.

## Chapter 7

### LANDS

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#### *Introduction*

Land acquisition for inclusion in the park has been one of the more complex issues NPS has dealt with from the park's inception until the present. The complexity of that acquisition can only be fully appreciated by understanding the historical context of land ownership and control on Guam. This chapter develops that history and traces the acquisition of park lands.

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The acquisition and use of land has significantly affected the dynamics of the relationship between NPS and the residents of Guam. These dynamics assume their true significance when considered against the much broader historical backdrop of island land ownership and use generally. That history has been punctuated by what on occasion has appeared to be a cavalier attitude by various United States government agencies toward local ownership. The use of Guam by Spain and the United States as chattel to be used in negotiating the 1898 Paris Peace Treaty ending the Spanish-American War may well have engendered the United States Government's mind-set that has endured for the last one hundred years. The 677-page "Protocols" that were used by Spain and the United States as a preface to the treaty explaining their intent was very clear about local autonomy being a primary concern of both parties. However, the United States immediately transformed over a third of the island into a military installation, and generally treated the rest of Guam as its private property. A U.S. Navy officer was immediately appointed governor, and a pattern of military control of island affairs was established. That pattern continued for almost the next seventy years, and included: a June 27, 1930, order by the Naval governor of Guam (then Willis W. Bradley, Jr.) dividing the island into eight municipalities<sup>185</sup>, acquisition of 36 percent of the island land (claimed by the Guam legislature to have been acquired by fraud, deceit and coercion<sup>186</sup>); the 1950 implementation of a

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<sup>185</sup> Agana, Asan, Piti, Sumay, Agat, Yona, Inarajan, and Merizo. *Pacific Sunday News*, June 1, 1977.

<sup>186</sup> *Honolulu Advertiser*, March 10, 1971, reporting a Guam legislature resolution (Resolution 6) concluding that much of the land acquisition on Guam by the United States was effected by fraud. A cursory examination of federal court documents from the 1940s and 1950s revealed pleadings from the civil case *United States of America v. 2,471 acres . . .*, Civil No. 5-49, District Court of Guam, Territory of Guam. In that case a condemnation Declaration of Taking was filed by the Secretary of the Navy on November 30, 1948; however, funds were not placed in an escrow account to compensate owners for the condemnation until July 1954 (filed by C. S. Thomas, then Secretary of the Navy). A total of \$391,598 US was set aside as total consideration for the 2,471 acres. Separate judgments were entered for each of the several land parcels taken in this action. Significantly, each of the judgments pertaining to all the owners of all 2,471 acres recited that the land owner, "waived service of summons and any and all other process and notice in this proceeding, waived all right to a hearing on the . . . issue of just compensation . . ." "According to court records, all appraisers, interpreters, and attorneys involved in those condemnation proceedings were employees or contractors of the United States government. *United States of America v. 2,471 Acres*, Civil No. 5-49, District Court of Guam, Territory of Guam.

A June 1, 1977, newspaper article reported that testimony was heard by the Guam legislature arguing that the conduct of the United States in its acquisition of land warranted the payment of damages. The legislature had retained Marie Morrison Rambaud and her husband to research the issue of land takings on Guam. The Rambauds had successfully recovered a \$926 million settlement on behalf of Native Alaskans as damages for similar conduct by the federal government in Alaska. According to their testimony before the Guam legislature, the Rambauds concluded that only 2,600 acres were conveyed by Spain to the United States under the 1898 Treaty of Paris, but United States naval governors seized much more. Additionally, actions by agents of the U. S. government resulted in other substantial economic losses and the artificial suppression of land values to Guam residents, the Rambauds testified. For example, Captain Richard F. Leary, the first naval governor of Guam, prohibited the sale or transfer of land without United States government consent; he also prohibited residents from raising any food for export. As late as 1947, the United States Navy testified before congress arguing against opening the Guam real estate market since that would lead to "unwarranted inflation."

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“security clearance” program that prohibited civilian Guam residents from leaving or returning to Guam except through one of the island’s military reservations;<sup>187</sup> and the prohibition against civilian residents of Guam growing agricultural crops for export (quite a blow since Guam residents had been exporting food for over three hundred years, starting with Magellan’s arrival and resupply of his ships). Military control of civilian activities on the island was so pervasive that some legal scholars have concluded that Guam was under *de facto* martial law.<sup>188</sup> Table 9-1, below, presents a snapshot of land ownership changes that took place between 1950 and early 1953.

On October 15, 1977, the United States Congress finally responded to this pattern of land acquisition with the enactment of a statute empowering the District Court of Guam to hear claims alleging unfairness in government land acquisition.<sup>189</sup> The statute granted the court jurisdiction to review claims by persons or the heirs of persons from whom land was obtained between 1944 and 1963 by any means other than fair judicial condemnation proceedings. Fair

	<u>1950</u>	<u>1952</u>
<b>United States military</b>	<b>49,128</b>	<b>58,744</b>
<b>U.S. Department of the Interior</b>	<b>29,603</b>	<b>30,890</b>
<b>Government of Guam</b>	<b>815</b>	<b>850</b>
<b>Private</b>	<b>64,454</b>	<b>46,813</b>

**Figure 7-1. Land ownership on Guam in 1950 and 1952.**  
Source: Manuel Guerrero, Director of Land Management, Government of Guam. Speech to the Guam Legislature, February 1, 1952.

proceedings were defined as proceedings where the land value was established by a contested hearing and employees and/or agents of the government did not engage in unconscionable conduct such as duress or undue influence. In a later application of this statute, the 9<sup>th</sup> Circuit Court of Appeals concluded that Guam District Court should carefully reexamine the amount paid by the government where the initial taking of the land failed to include formal notice to the landowner that the hearing to establish the value of his land would take place whether he is there or not.<sup>190</sup>

This seventy-plus-year pattern of United States military control engendered a deep sense of local resentment and mistrust. This was the political and social environment within which the park was born and nurtured. Unfortunately, accidents of history and politics added even greater misfortunes. The land originally included within the park boundaries established by the 1978

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<sup>187</sup> W. Scott Barrett and Walter S. Ferenze, “Peacetime Martial Law in Guam,” *California Law Review*, Vol 48, No. 1, March 1960, 1-30. This “security clearance” program remained in effect until it was ended by President Kennedy’s Executive Order 11045 in 1962 after several civil rights suits were filed against the United States.

<sup>188</sup> Barrett, “Peacetime Martial Law in Guam,” 4.

<sup>189</sup> Public Law 95-134, 91 Stat 1159, codified at 48 USC 1424c.

<sup>190</sup> *Rodriguez v. Gaylord*, 429 F.Supp. 797.

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legislation that created the park as well as historically significant sites not included has resulted in protracted land acquisition negotiations, and misunderstandings that have caused a continuous sense of resentment.

The original land problems actually predated the park's creation by eight years. As far back as 1952 the United States Office of the Territories asked the Park Service's help in conducting a study of the recreational possibilities on Guam. In 1965 Park Service employees visited Guam at the request of the Governor of Guam<sup>191</sup> who had asked that NPS determine if any area on Guam had national significance – this study culminated in the park's creation being proposed. A copy of the NPS study proposing the creation was sent to Texas representative Richard C. White who had served on Guam during World War II and who would subsequently introduce federal legislation creating the park.

The reader will recall that during the mid- and late 1960s the United States was involved in the Vietnam War. Guam was used as a primary resupply location for Vietnam, including ammunition and other explosives. The U. S. Navy was increasingly concerned about handling explosives in a port facility it shared with civilian shipping. Consequently, the navy proposed that the United States exchange land with the civilian government of Guam. Cabras Island<sup>192</sup> appeared to be an ideal location for civilian port facilities, and at the time it was under the control of the Department of the Interior. Accordingly, the Department of the Interior sent the National Park Services' chief appraiser to Guam in October 1967 to assess the value to the property being considered for transfer to the Government of Guam. He concluded that the Cabras Island property was worth \$540,000. The NPS appraiser was aware of the growing interest in creating a national historical park on Guam. He asked the Governor of Guam if Guam would be interested in exchanging land it owned that could be used for the park. The governor was very willing, and, in addition to the Government of Guam-owned land situated within the proposed park boundaries, offered to acquire privately-owned land situated within those boundaries and, in turn, convey them to the Park Service. Lands owned by the Government of Guam that were located within the proposed park boundaries were appraised at \$1,085,000 (or double the value of the Cabras Island land). To make up this difference the Government of Guam identified other land owned by the United States on Guam that it would like to have. Unfortunately, that suggestion also failed to solve the equal-value problem since that additionally-identified land was valued at \$821,900 resulting in a net of \$276,900 owed to the United States by Guam. As partial payment of that difference, the Government of Guam agreed to acquire additional privately-owned land within the proposed park and convey it to the Park Service. The hope was that all private in-holdings within the park would ultimately be conveyed to the Park Service. By March of 1970 there was still 350 acres within the proposed park boundaries still privately owned.

On April 4, 1969, the U. S. Department of the Interior conveyed land it owned on Cabras Island to the Guam government to be used as civilian harbor facilities. As noted above, that April 4<sup>th</sup> conveyance included an agreement that the Government of Guam would subsequently convey land to the Department of the Interior for inclusion in a future War in the

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<sup>191</sup> By this time Guam was under the direction of a civilian, local governor as mandated by the Organic Act.

<sup>192</sup> A narrow, promontory-like island within a few yards of the west coast of the northern end of the island.

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Pacific National Historical Park. On April 20, 1970, Carlos Camacho, then Governor of Guam made that conveyance by quitclaim deed. The deed conveyed 507 acres.<sup>193</sup> Between 1970 and 1972 the Government of Guam conveyed a total of 850.55 acres to the Department of the Interior for inclusion in the proposed War in the Pacific Park.<sup>194</sup> This was only part of only the first chapter of land acquisition activities that would continue well into the 1980s and beyond.

Even as Governor Camacho quitclaimed the 507 acres to the Department of the Interior, the department was looking for additional land. For example, in August 1969, Walter Hickel, then Secretary of the Interior, wrote to the Secretary of Defense asking the Navy to release Asan Point overlook and twenty-five acres on Marine Drive adjacent to what was then the Naval Hospital Annex to the Department of the Interior for inclusion in the future park.<sup>195</sup> (The Secretary of Defense agreed to release Asan Point, but indicated the Navy must retain the twenty-five acres adjacent the hospital annex.)<sup>196</sup>

And, meantime, Congressional involvement in land ownership continued. On October 5, 1975, Congress enacted the Submerged Lands Act.<sup>197</sup> This legislation conveyed submerged lands to the Government of Guam to be administered in trust for the people of Guam. The Act conveyed all submerged land from mean high tide to three miles off shore. Unfortunately, the rather long list of lands excepted from the statute (not conveyed to the Government of Guam) made the statute needlessly complex. The Act did not convey:

- Oil, gas and other minerals;<sup>198</sup>
- lands adjacent to United States property that was above mean high tide;
- lands filled in or otherwise “reclaimed” by the United States Government prior to October 5, 1974;
- submerged lands containing a structure or improvement built by the United States Government;
- submerged lands previously identified by the president or Congress as having “sufficient scientific, scenic or historic value to warrant preservation;”
- submerged lands identified by the president within 120 days after passage of the Act (120 days after October 5, 1974);
- submerged lands under the control of any agency other than the Department of the Interior; and
- all submerged land owned by persons other than the United States.

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<sup>193</sup> Carlos Camacho, Governor of Guam, letter to Elizabeth P. Farrington, Director, Office of Territories, United States Department of the Interior, April 20, 1970. Memorandum from Director, National Park Service to file dated July 1970.

<sup>194</sup> Paul B. Souder, Bureau of Planning, Government of Guam. Report. September 27, 1983.

<sup>195</sup> Hickel, Walter. Letter to United States Secretary of Defense dated November 20, 1969.

<sup>196</sup> Secretary of Defense. Letter to Walter Hickel, Secretary of the Interior, January 24, 1970.

<sup>197</sup> Public Law 93-435, 88 Stat. 1210, codified at 48 USC 1705, as amended by Public Law 96-205.

<sup>198</sup> There are exceptions to this exception that are not relevant to this history.

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Additional problems were created when congress created the park in 1978 and the boundaries set for the park. The 1978 boundaries were not identical to the boundaries envisioned earlier, consequently, not all land previously conveyed to the Department of the Interior for inclusion in the park was within the boundaries set by the 1978 park-creation legislation. In fact, of the 850.55 acres conveyed by the Government of Guam to the Department of Interior only 521.29 acres were within the boundaries created by the 1978 park legislation.<sup>199</sup> This resulted in NPS having fee simple to some land exterior to park boundaries, and not having title to all the land situated within the park.<sup>200</sup>

Since the park's creation, NPS has struggled to acquire ownership of all land within the park boundaries and pending the acquisition of that ownership to somewhat ensure that the integrity of historically significant sites are not compromised. According to the draft of the Land Acquisition Plan prepared in 1979-80:

To prevent damage or adverse impacts to the Park's historical resources, and to properly develop and interpret the Park for the public, the National Park Service must completely control all lands and waters within the Park.

Leases, zoning restrictions, cooperative agreements, scenic easements, purchase of development rights, and all other protective controls of less than clear, fee-simple ownership of all lands and waters within the Park provide less than the best possible protection for these nationally significant Park resources. Therefore, fee-simple title to all lands and waters within the Park will be acquired by the National Park Service.<sup>201</sup>

The Park Service compiled a list of land within park boundaries that was privately owned, and prioritized that list, essentially establishing a chronologically sequenced land acquisition plan to be implemented parcel by parcel as congressional funding was received fiscal year by fiscal year. As is more fully explained below, the subtleties of United States government appropriations machinery was not completely appreciated by Guam residents who owned land scheduled to be acquired. There appears to have been a popular misconception that since the 1978 legislation that created the park approved a future \$16 million funding for park development, that the entire \$16 million was immediately available against which the park service could write checks. The second, required, legislative step of actually appropriating part or all of that money was simply not fully understood. It was not understood (nor made clear) that the \$15 million was merely "authorized" for future appropriations; it was not actually appropriated, and, therefore, was simply not yet available.

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<sup>199</sup> Souder, Report. September 27, 1983. Also, see Appendix 3 of this history for a list of park boundary adjustments advocated by Stell Newman, the Park's first superintendent.

<sup>200</sup> Solicitor, Department of the Interior to Regional Director, Western Region, NPS, dated January 30, 1981.

<sup>201</sup> *Land Acquisition Plan, Draft for Public Review*, U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, War in the Pacific National Historical Park, November 1979. This policy was substantially modified in later NPS letters and memoranda that discussed the acquisition of rights less than fee simple. See below.

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Consequently, the mistrust of the United States government, nurtured by over sixty years of what was perceived as inappropriate taking of land, was broadened to include the park service and its efforts to create a War of the Pacific Park. Residents owning land within the park boundaries wanted either to sell their land at a reasonable price to the park service, sell their land to commercial developers, or to be free to develop their land themselves. Not only did they perceive that the park service was not immediately purchasing their land as they had expected, but the park service was taking steps to ensure the continued historical integrity of sites some of which were on these private parcels. These efforts to avoid or mitigate loss of historical integrity served to reduce the value of the privately-owned land since the efforts appeared to diminish development options for both the owners as well as prospective buyers. The United States' government's expressed intention to acquire nothing less than fee simple interests in the land, and the long history on Guam of land taking by condemnation actions seriously diminished the marketability and therefore the price of park in-holdings



**Figure 7-2. Antonio Borja Won Pat.** Source: MARC, University of Guam.

The struggle to protect the historical integrity of privately-held land within the park boundaries, taken together with the perception that the Park Service was not immediately purchasing the land as residents assumed would happen, resulted in Park Service struggles with both private landowners as well as agencies of the Government of Guam. For example on May 17, 1984, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation sent a letter to Leonard Paulino, Executive Director of the Guam Housing and Urban Renewal Authority. The letter complained of a proposed development to take place at the Asan Village Archaeological site. The Advisory Council strongly suggested that Guam government officials not permit the work to proceed without complying with the consultation process mandated by federal regulations (36 CFR, part 800.6(B)).

These struggles over land ownership and/or land control took place at a time that Guam was increasingly being perceived as Japan's Hawaii. The increasing influx of tourists from Japan (a short flight from Guam) increased pressures on the Government of Guam (and, indirectly, the Park Service) to permit development of a tourist-based economy, including high-rise hotels, restaurants, improved roads, more and larger retailing outlets, and recreational use of beaches and parks (including areas within the park). On July 23, 1979, then-superintendent Stell Newman sent a memorandum to NPS's western regional office in San Francisco. He stressed that NPS needed to expedite its purchase of in-holdings particularly in the Asan area since local businesses could not obtain expansion loans and land cannot be sold since it is scheduled to be taken by the government.<sup>202</sup> On March 4, 1982, Guam's congressman Antonio B. Won Pat testified before a hearing conducted by the Public Lands and National Park Subcommittee, complaining that the park remained nothing but a "park on paper," and has been waiting for three years for land acquisition and development funding. Congressman Won Pat observed that

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<sup>202</sup> Stell Newman, Superintendent of WAPA. Memorandum to Western Region Office, dated July 23, 1979.

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then-Secretary of the Interior James Watt's unwillingness to acquire new park lands was to blame.<sup>203</sup>

An October 1982 editorial appeared in the Guam newspaper reporting that as of that date only \$500,000 had been appropriated for land purchases. The editorial quoted Stell Newman as expressing concern that President Reagan was trying to restrict further federal government land ownership. Newman is reported as concluding that a land protection plan originally scheduled to be prepared in 1984 should be prepared immediately. [See material above quoted from the subsequently prepared land protection plan.] Again in 1989 the National Park Service filed a briefing statement with the 101<sup>st</sup> Congress reporting that land acquisition was moving slowly. The NPS report also stated that land prices continued to go up in response to Japanese developers' land purchases and observed that private lands within park boundaries were prime land for development as tourist facilities.<sup>204</sup>

All of this inactivity was taking place after NPS had published its proposed Land Acquisition Plan in 1979, which stated, in part:

The Park's land acquisition program will be more easily understood if everyone knows the following basic goals of the program:

1. All private and public lands and waters within the boundaries of the War in the Pacific National Historical Park will be acquired by the National Park Service. *Every private landowner must expect to be bought out as soon as funding permits.* [Emphasis in the original.]
2. All private lands will be acquired in fee simple. Scenic easements, development rights, or other less than fee simple interests will not be acquired.
3. The maximum amount of funding possible will be requested by the Park each year so acquisition of all private lands will be swiftly completed.
4. The Department of the Navy and the Government of Guam will be asked to transfer all lands and waters under their jurisdiction within Park boundaries to the National Park Service as quickly as possible.
5. Insofar as possible, private lands will be acquired according to the following priority system.

The plan then listed the proposed order of land purchases, which was: a private residence on federal land in lot 260 of the Piti Unit, all private lands in Asan Beach Unit, followed by lands in Inland Asan Unit, followed in turn by lands in the Agat Unit, the Piti Guns Unit, lands in the Mt. Alifan Unit, and finally, lands situated in the Mt. Tenjo-Mt. Chachao Unit.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>203</sup> Antonio B. Won Pat. Testimony before the House of Representatives subcommittee on Public Lands and National Parks. March 4, 1982.

<sup>204</sup> National Park Service Report, Land Acquisitions, 101<sup>st</sup> Congress.

<sup>205</sup> *Land Acquisition Plan, Draft for Public Review*, U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, War in the Pacific National Historical Park, November 1979.

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A breakdown of land ownership within park boundaries in 1979 is presented in table 9-1, below. [For a breakdown of land ownership in 1979 by park unit, see Appendix 1.]

In January 1980, then-superintendent Stell Newman reported that there were over 230 acres of privately-owned land within the park and he perceived a realistic threat that incompatible development would occur on at least some of that acreage. He also indicated there were neither local nor federal protections against such development. Resistance to zoning controls and the ease with which owners could obtain variances neutralized local protections, and the lack of funding made federal protection unrealistic.<sup>206</sup>

Land issues also drew the Park Service into conflict with other federal agencies as well as local land owners. As was mentioned above, park boundaries included public lands administered by the Navy. The Park Service felt that those lands would be more appropriately administered by the Service. Additionally, there were areas outside the 1978 boundaries

<u>Ownership</u>	<u>Area/percent of total land</u>
Federal	610/69%
Department of the Interior	585/66%
U. S. Navy	25/3%
Government of Guam	25/3%
Private	239/27%

**Figure 7-3. Ownership of land situated within park boundaries as of November 1979.** Source: *Land Acquisition Plan, Draft for Public Review*, U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, War in the Pacific National Historical Park, November 1979

such as Nimitz Hill that NPS felt should be added to the park. The time was ripe for growth. The end of the United States' involvement in Vietnam resulted in the Navy's land requirements on Guam diminishing. Consequently, the Navy would declare a parcel it no longer needed as "excess," which would initiate a formal procedure where the General Services Administration (GSA) would become statutorily responsible for disposing of the parcel. GSA was required to notify other federal agencies of the availability of the land, and upon an expression of interest, the agency would take steps to convey the excess property to the new agency. This system had been in place for decades when the park was casting covetous gazes at additional land on Guam.

The issue of an acquiring agency paying for the land was in a state of flux. There is no legal requirement that when "excess" land is conveyed from one federal agency to another federal agency that the acquiring agency must pay for it. A "nonreimbursable" transfer is not unusual. The decision regarding a "nonreimbursable" land transfer versus the receiving federal agency being required to pay for it is determined by the GSA with direction from the President's Office of Management and Budget. During the term of President Ronald Reagan (1981-89) all inter-agency land conveyances required the acquiring agency to pay the GSA fair market value

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<sup>206</sup> Stell Newman, Questionnaire prepared for University of Michigan School of Law. January 16, 1980.

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for the property except in narrowly-defined cases. This Reagan-era proscription against nonreimbursable conveyances added a great deal of complexity to the park's development in the early 1980s.<sup>207</sup>

In late 1982, the Navy concluded that it no longer needed land it had been using on Nimitz Hill and declared the land “excess.” This was the site of the Japanese command center during the initial American landing in July 1944; it provided an excellent view of the invasion beaches; and, it contained a rich assortment of plants native to Guam. The Park Service recognized the land's value, and in January 1983 the Secretary of the Interior notified Morris Udall, Chairman, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, that the Park Service would be making a minor boundary adjustment add these 36.52 acres on Nimitz Hill.<sup>208</sup> The Park Service also filed a formal request with GSA's 9<sup>th</sup> regional office asking that the land be conveyed to the Park Service at no cost to the service.<sup>209</sup> This request launched a protracted struggle between the Park Service and GSA that finally culminated in special legislation overriding the GSA-President position and authorizing a transfer of the land to the park at no cost. The struggle itself is informative.

The GSA's response to the March 2, 1983, NPS letter asking for a nonreimbursable conveyance of the Nimitz Hill property was to cite Executive Order 12348 as prohibiting the requested cost-free transfer and demanding \$561,000 (which is what GSA had concluded was the fair market value of the land). Lowell White, Acting Director of the NPS Western Region notified the Director of the NPS Pacific Area of the GSA position.<sup>210</sup> In his letter, White observed that the Park Service didn't have the money at that time to purchase the land, but might in FY85 if the \$1.5 million NPS appropriations request was approved. White also observed, however, that if the Park Service did purchase the Nimitz Hill land with the FY85 money, “it would have a drastic effect on the War in the Pacific Land Protection Plan's higher priority to purchase tracts along the invasion beaches fronting Marine Drive.”<sup>211</sup> NPS renewed its request with the GSA, and this time David Stockman, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, Office of the President, responded and, again, reiterated that NPS would have to purchase the land for \$561,000.<sup>212</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> Correspondence between the GSA's 9<sup>th</sup> Region office and the Park Service during this time frequently referred to President Reagan's Executive Order 12348 as prohibiting “nonreimbursable” land transfers. That executive order (issued February 25, 1982) did not include such a prohibition, it only reestablished a Property Review Board that had been eliminated during the Ford administration. It was this Property Review Board that forbade nonreimbursable land conveyances.

<sup>208</sup> Secretary of the Interior. Letter to Chairman Morris Udall, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, January 1983. NOTE: The 1978 legislation that created WAPA contained a provision authorizing the park superintendent to make minor adjustments to the park boundaries after notifying the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and publishing the proposed boundary changes in the *Federal Register*.

<sup>209</sup> Howard Chapman, Regional Director, NPS. Letters to Howard Ours, Acting Chief, Disposal Branch, Real Estate Division, GSA, March 2, 1983 and March 7, 1984. Also, see GSA Form 1334, “Request for Transfer of Excess Real and Related Personal Property,” completed by NPS dated June 1, 1983.

<sup>210</sup> Lowell White. Letter to Director, Pacific Area. Dated February 22, 1984.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>212</sup> David Stockman, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, Executive Office of the President, Letter to the Secretary of the Interior dated January 6, 1984.

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The issue simmered for a while, and in May NPS' Regional Director for the Western Region sent a letter to GSA objecting to GSA's position. In his letter, the Regional Director argued that NPS funds would be depleted by having to purchase the Nimitz Hill parcels, resulting in its being unable to buy other land within the park owned by Guam residents. Were that to happen, the author of the letter argued, the federal government generally and the Park Service in particular would suffer an erosion of its already low popularity. Guam residents who owned land within the park had come to believe that NPS' purchase of their land was imminent. Additionally, if NPS failed to purchase that privately-owned land, continued the author, a number of those land owners would suffer financial hardships.<sup>213</sup>

During this same period, GSA and NPS were also debating Agat Bay Parcel number 2 (15.02 acres) which had also been declared excess by the Navy. NPS's August 10, 1983, letter to GSA asking that the Agat Bay parcel be transferred to NPS at no cost<sup>214</sup> went unanswered until NPS sent a second query six months later.<sup>215</sup> Only then did GSA respond by refusing to make a no-cost conveyance.<sup>216</sup> This GSA refusal was particularly poignant since the Agat Bay parcel at issue was listed on the Register of Historic Places. James Watt, Secretary of the Interior, also wrote to Gerald Carmen, Administrator of GSA, making the same pleas and arguments, but apparently to no avail.<sup>217</sup>

NPS was also pursuing the issue in Washington, D.C., as well as exchanging letters with GSA. In early 1984, NPS succeeded in having a bill introduced in the House of Representatives (H.B. 3519) that would have required the nonreimbursable transfer of any parcel declared "excess" by another federal agency to the Park Service if the parcel was located in a national park. Unfortunately, the bill died in committee and was not enacted. In October, however, NPS succeeded in having Congress add a provision to an appropriations measure conveying both the Nimitz Hill land as well as the Agat Bay parcel to NPS at no cost to NPS.<sup>218</sup> The General Services Administration conveyed Agat Bay parcel 2, and the Nimitz Hill land to the Park Service in early 1985.<sup>219</sup>

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<sup>213</sup> Director, Western Region, NPS to GSA. Dated May 23, 1984. Note: On September 6, 1983, WAPA superintendent Rafael Reyes sent an acquisition priority list to the Director of the Western Region. All the parcels listed in the prioritized list were in the Asan Beach Unit. See Rafael Reyes, Memorandum to Director, Western Region, September 6, 1983.

<sup>214</sup> Edward R. Haberlin, Chief, Division of Land Resources, Western Region, NPS, Letter to GSA dated August 10, 1983.

<sup>215</sup> Edward R. Haberlin, Chief, Division of Land Resources, Western Region, NPS, letter to GSA, March 30, 1984.

<sup>216</sup> GSA Letter to Edward Haberlin, NPS, dated May 4, 1984.

<sup>217</sup> James Watt, Secretary of the Interior, Letter to Gerald Carmen, Administrator, GSA. Letter dated May 4, 1984.

<sup>218</sup> Joint Resolution 648-37, Public Law 98-473.

<sup>219</sup> Theodore M. Bunsten, Director, Real Property Division, GSA Letter to Howard Chapman, NPS dated January 31, 1985, regarding the Agat Bay parcel 2. J. M. Kilian, Director, Real Estate Division, GSA, Letter to Byran Harry, Director, Pacific Area, NPS, dated February 7, 1985, regarding the Nimitz Hill land.

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#### Park Lands Today

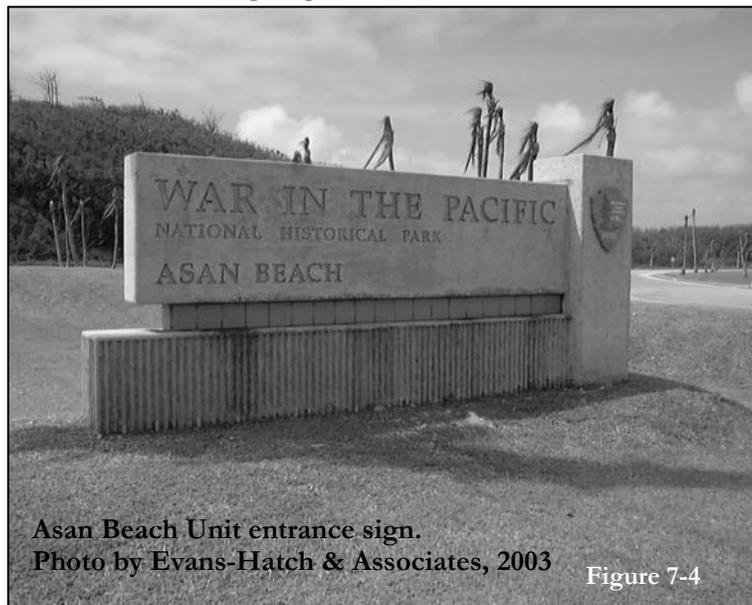
The park is comprised of seven separate, non-contiguous units on the central western side of the island. All park land is either on oceanfront property or on higher ground overlooking the beaches. Each unit is named for a landmark situated within the unit or close by.

1. Asan Beach Unit – 109 land acres, 445 acres off shore: Generally an area of sandy beach ranging from fifteen to thirty feet wide. The offshore area is within the reef and extends up to 1,000 feet off the beach. Water depth is from one to four feet with multiple coral formations. The boundaries of this unit encompass private homes and small businesses along the shoreline. There is an elementary school near the unit. A Navy hospital annex was built here in the 1950s and continued to be used until the late 1960s, with some of the buildings continuing in use during the Vietnam War. Although the buildings are now gone (with one exception), building foundations, and the remnants of paved roads remain. Historical cultural features pertaining to

World War II are limited to Japanese defense structures, including gun emplacements, caves, and approximately ten pillboxes. Some American battle equipment is reported to be offshore.

2 and 3. Asan Inland Unit, and Asan Beach Unit – 593 combined acres: These two combined units comprises the largest single geographical park unit (they are separated by a road). The Inland Unit occupies rugged topography situated between the coast highway and uplands that rise to 500 feet above sea level. Nimitz Hill, the site of Admiral Nimitz's headquarters for the Pacific fleet, is situated in this unit. A major battle was fought between American and Japanese forces in 1944 when the United States retook the island from Japanese occupation. There are remains of Japanese defensive fortifications at both the north and south ends of the unit, including pillboxes, various foundations, and a 75mm mounted gun. Both the terrain and the flora in this unit remain much as they were during the Second World War.

4. Piti Guns Unit – 24 acres: The smallest unit, it lies in hilly terrain immediately above the village of Piti. Three Japanese coastal defense guns remain *in situ*; however, they have been dislodged from their mountings by typhoons.



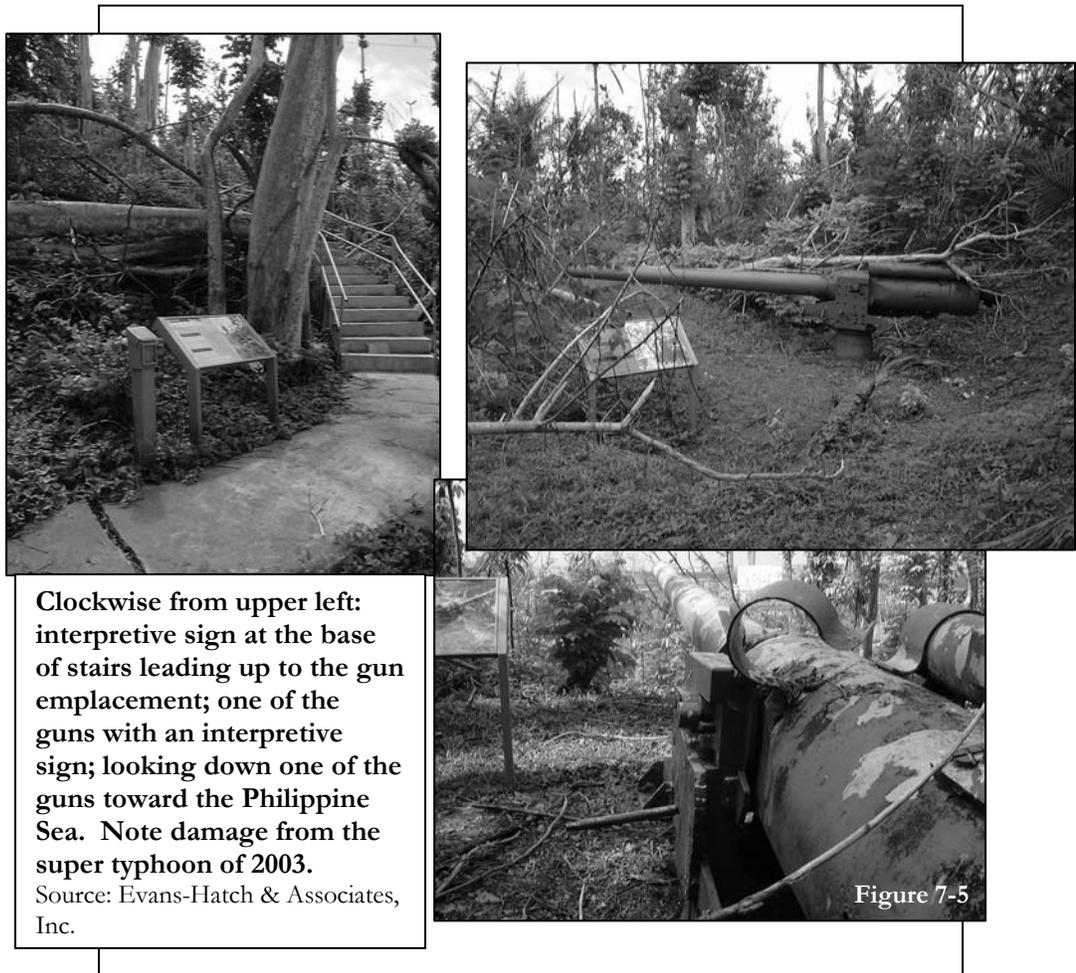
Asan Beach Unit entrance sign.  
Photo by Evans-Hatch & Associates, 2003

Figure 7-4

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The guns are situated on a westward-facing slope with an excellent view of the lagoon and Pacific Ocean. A dense stand of mahogany dates from a prewar agricultural experiment station situated on the site.



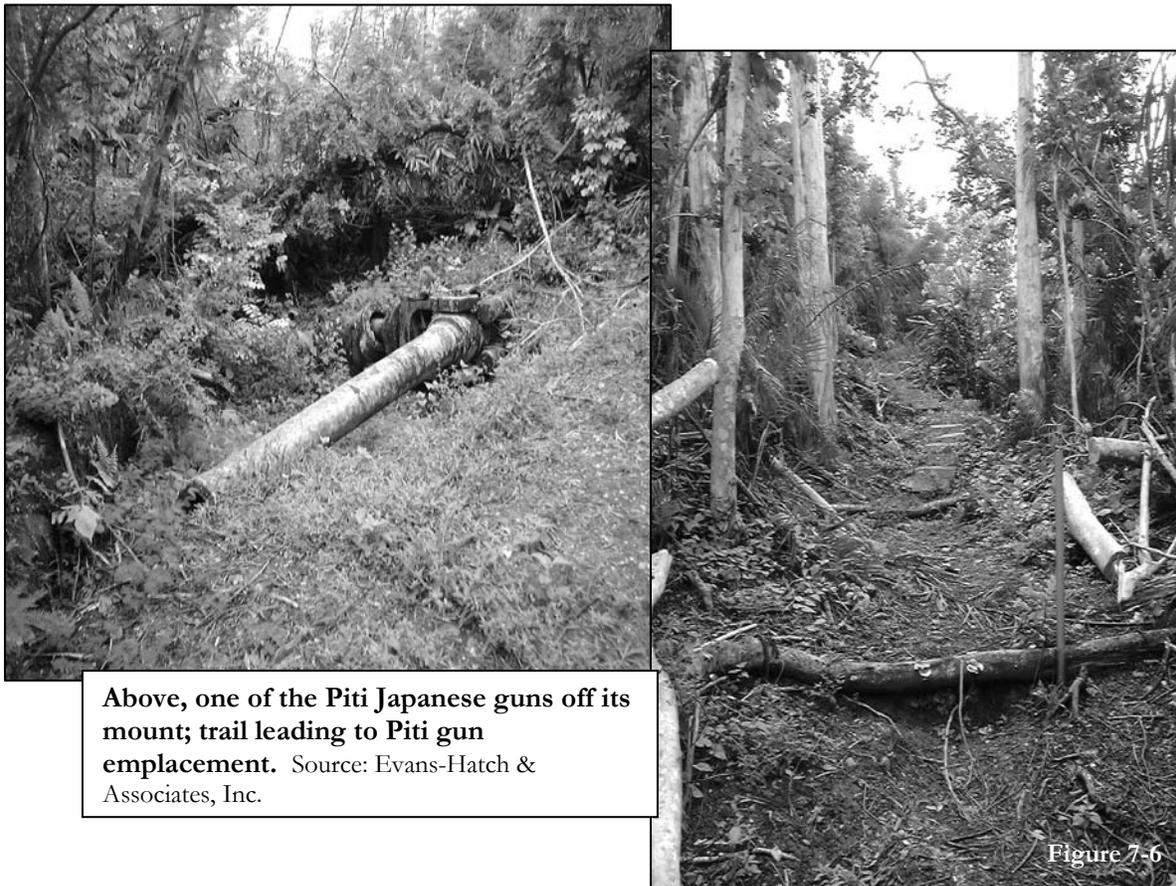
5. Mt. Tenjo – Mt. Chachao Unit – 45 acres: This unit is comprised of a vary narrow strip of land running along the ridge that connects Mt. Tenjo and Mt. Chachao and affords excellent views of both Agat and Apra harbor areas.

6. Mt. Alifan Unit – 158 acres: The unit lies on the western slopes of Mt. Alifan immediately adjacent to the communities of Santa Rita and Agat. The terrain is hilly dominated by open grass lands on the lower areas and dense jungle growth on the upper slopes.

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7. Agat Unit – 38 land acres; 557 acres in the water: The unit’s land is comprised of small, not always contiguous parcels between the coastal highway and the shore. The low-lying shoreline is accented by coral outcroppings rising no more than twenty feet above water level at high tide, and two small islets, Alutom and Bangi. The water portion of this unit is a one- to four-foot-deep lagoon fringed by a barrier reef. Historic remains dating from the Second World War include caves, bunkers, and more than ten pillboxes. The town of Agat is immediately adjacent to the unit, and the park is extensively used by local residents.



**Above, one of the Piti Japanese guns off its mount; trail leading to Piti gun emplacement.** Source: Evans-Hatch & Associates, Inc.

Figure 7-6

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**Signage at Agat Unit. Entrance to Gaan Point, right; entrance to Apaca Point, lower. (Both are part of the Agat Unit.)** Source: Evans-Hatch & Associates, Inc.



**Above: beach at Gaan Point; right: Japanese defense fortifications at Gaan Point.** Source: Evans-Hatch & Associates, Inc.

Figure 7-7

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Gaan Point. Clockwise, from upper left: Upper left: looking southwest at World War II guns; upper right: looking west, bunker mound with tourists approaching guns; lower left: looking northeast from the top of the bunker mound; lower right: looking north from the bunker mound, the bunker's landward opening is in the middle ground. Source: Evans-Hatch & Associates, Inc.



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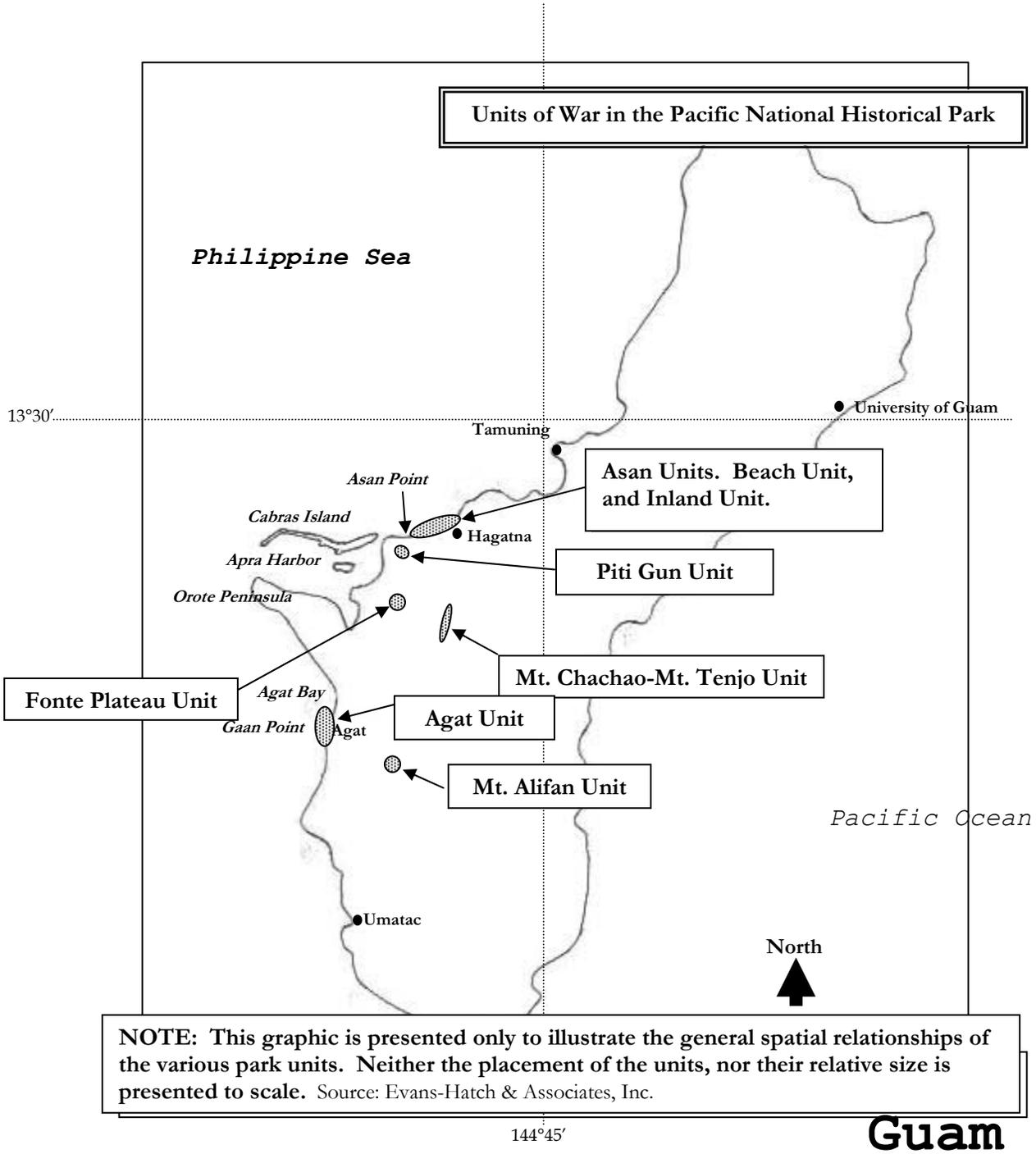


Apaca Point. Clockwise, from upper left: Picnic area looking west toward lagoon; upper right: tourist reading interpretive sign on beach side of picnic tables, looking southwest; lower left: sidewalk and interpretive sign, looking west toward the lagoon; lower right: distant view of picnic area, looking west toward lagoon. Source: Evans-Hatch & Associates, Inc.



Figure 7-9

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## Chapter 8

### **CREATING A PARK PRESENCE: THE NEWMAN ERA, 1979-1982**

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#### *Introduction*

Establishing a national park requires not only the enabling legislation, it takes staff capable of creating a National Park Service presence within the local community. The social and political context within which War in the Pacific National Historical Park was created presented very unique and unusual challenges. They were met by some very unique and talented individuals. This chapter tells their story.

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In August 1978, when Congress passed legislation creating War in the Pacific National Historical Park, the park resources were contained in six separate areas, or units, associated with the American invasion of Guam in 1944, totaling about 870 acres. These included: Both Asan beach and inland units; Agat; Piti; Mt. Alifan; and Mt. Tenjo/Mt. Chachao units. The Fonte Plateau unit was added later, resulting in seven separate units.<sup>220</sup> A large percent of both the Agat and Asan beach units were under water. Not all land in these units belonged to the National Park Service; 610 acres were federal land (including National Park Service-owned land), 21 acres belonged to the Government of Guam, and 239 acres were privately owned.<sup>221</sup>

#### War in the Pacific: The Resource

In the mid- and late 1970s, each area had a wide array of historical/cultural objects associated with World War II. Artifacts on the surface of the ground ranged from large coastal defense guns, such as those at Piti, to pillboxes and machine gun emplacements, like those at Agat Beach, Mt. Alifan, and Asan units, to foxholes, trenches, bomb craters, caves and tunnels, grenades, shell casings, and shrapnel, ubiquitous in nearly all the park units. A 1979 ground surface cultural resources survey completed by the National Park Service identified a total of nearly eighty cultural resource sites in the seven park units. About one-half of these were associated with Japanese defense during World War II. At some units, particularly the Asan unit (the beach and also inland parts), several cultural features, including concrete slabs and foundations, metal water tanks, pipes, and roads, were of American construction and built after World War II. Additionally, a few areas of the Asan unit, on the Bundschu and Chorrito ridges, had been used as dumps or were so heavily vegetated that the cultural resources could not be seen and surveyed.<sup>222</sup>

Despite the apparent abundance of historic objects on the seven park units, much had disappeared over the previous thirty years. The vast majority of artifacts and landscape features, both large and small, dating from World War II had been carried or eroded away, been bulldozed, or left to decay. At Asan Beach, where the U.S. Third Marine Division had come ashore on July 21, 1944, little remained on the ground dating from World War II other than a gun emplacement, four Japanese pillboxes, the same number of caves, and a submerged American landing craft lying offshore in sixty feet of water. Two shore monuments commemorating a Philippine national hero, a marker commemorating the American landing on invasion of Guam, and Memorial Beach Park, a narrow grass-covered strip of land extending from Marine Drive to the shoreline in Asan village, were relatively recent additions to the Asan Beach park unit. The inland Asan unit with the Asan Ridge battle site, including Chorito Cliff and Bundschu Ridge, had two known concrete pillboxes (atop Chorito Cliff) and evidence of

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<sup>220</sup> Some National Park Service records report seven park units; these records count the Asan Unit as two units, one along the beach and the other inland.

<sup>221</sup> "JCM" (Joseph C. Murphy), "Action Is Needed on War in Pacific Park," *Pacific Daily News Guam*, June 21, 1980.

<sup>222</sup> Russell A. Apple, "War in the Pacific National Historical Park, Guam, Cultural Resources, Unit by Unite," draft (Honolulu, Pacific Area Office, National Park Service, December 21, 1979). Also see Duane Denfeld, "War in the Pacific National Park Survey," typescript (N.p., September 1979).

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heavy shelling, had become completely covered with impenetrable undergrowth in the mid-1970s.

Despite the loss of historical integrity of cultural and natural features on Asan Beach and Asan Ridge, several areas in the Asan units had been listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1974 (Memorial Beach on Asan Beach), 1975 (Asan Ridge battle area), and 1978 (Asan invasion beach, enveloping Memorial Beach Park), as well as the Matgue River Valley Battlefield, largely for their commemorative value and not as pristine historic or natural features. The Government of Guam and the U.S. Navy, not the Park Service, owned most of the Asan invasion beach just before its listing on the National Register. The navy had no use for it, reporting it as excess property in 1976.<sup>223</sup>

The other park units had also lost most of their cultural objects and landscape features dating from World War II. In the late 1970s, one fairly intact pillbox and the remains of several others, the remnants of a couple of concrete gun emplacements, concrete and log bunkers, and a reinforced concrete strong point were all that existed on the Agat invasion beach, extending from Apaca Point, in the north, to Gaan Point, and southward to Bangi Point. When the American marines landed on this beach on July 21, 1944, twenty-five pillboxes, two reinforced concrete strongholds with over 110 guns, and two concrete emplacements with 40 guns occupied this same stretch of beach. Other inland park units (Piti, Mt. Tenjo/Mt. Chachao, and Mt. Alifan) were largely overgrown with dense vegetation, including the fast-growing, ubiquitous tangantangan tree, whose seeds were broadcast from airplanes after the Americans had reoccupied Guam to control erosion on the war-ravaged, denuded ridge and hillsides. Like the Asan beach and inland unit, the Agat invasion beach and the Piti coast defense guns had been listed on the National Register in the mid-1970s.<sup>224</sup>

Those cultural and natural features that existed in the newly created park units were incredibly varied in type, physical condition, historical integrity, and location in the park. No roads or trails linked all the separate units. Most were largely inaccessible to the public at the time of the park's creation. Little distinguished the land in the park from surrounding lands. Often boundaries had been made along contour lines on topographic maps and the only way to locate these lines was to refer to the topographic map. Frequently these boundaries made sense only on paper, such as a boundary across the exact middle of the top of a hill, rendering it useless as an observation point. Also, the inland units could not be reached easily if at all due to the absence of trails or roads to them and/or the dense tangle of vegetation around and in them. In

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<sup>223</sup> David T. Lotz, "Memorial Beach Park, National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form" (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, January 8, 1974); ??? "Asan Ridge Battle Area, National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form" (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1975); ??? "Asan Invasion Beach, National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form" (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1978); Perry J. Fliakas, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, to William J. Murtagh, Keeper of the National Register, August 1, 1978, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office, National Park Service, Oakland, California [hereafter cited simply as Pacific Great Basin Support Office].

<sup>224</sup> Guam Inventory Team, "Agat Invasion Beach, National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form" (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, August 1974); Stephen F. Lander, "Piti Coastal Defense Guns, National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form" (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, October 1975).

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reality, there was no visible identifiable War in the Pacific National Historical Park at the time of its creation.

When the first superintendent arrived on Guam in January 1979, "the physical appearance of the Park," wrote Superintendent Stell Newman, "consisted of exotic brush, trash, and weeds except for the recent community effort to upgrade Gaan Point in Agat. "The Service," Newman continued, "inherited numerous inappropriate non-conforming uses and facilities." These he enumerated: buildings occupied by squatters and leaseholds; a collection of Young Adult Conservation Corps (YACC), Government of Guam, and Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) facilities, mostly in the Asan Beach unit; cyclone fencing and abandoned power poles at Asan Point; and concrete steps at Piti, plus many, many other items and uses.<sup>225</sup> During his first year at the park, Superintendent Newman once gave a friend a bag of soil and twigs from a tangantangan tree, proclaiming with a broad smile that this was the park.<sup>226</sup> For the first several months, War in the National Pacific Historical Park had little recognizable identifiable presence.

#### The Park's Early Presence: Park Personnel

War in the Pacific's presence during the first years of the park's existence was embodied in its personnel, particularly in the park's greatly respected and much-loved first superintendent, T. Stell Newman. Born in Iredell, Texas, on July 13, 1936, Thomas Stell Newman<sup>227</sup> grew up with his parents and one younger brother, Nick Newman, in Texas, Florida, and South Carolina, before moving to Port Angeles, on Washington's Olympic Peninsula. Stell grew up in a family where trading, negotiating, and bartering were common, entertaining practices, according to Nick Newman, Stell's brother, many years later. "We would trade items with our cousins and friends and look for business opportunities, such as the time we captured Horned Toads in Texas for resale to neighborhood kids in Florida. This early training was useful for a brand new underfunded park," Nick Newman observed. "He [Stell] was at his best wheeling and dealing thousands thousands of miles from the boss and at the end of the supply line."<sup>228</sup>

Newman graduated from high school in Port Angeles in 1954. His father, a wildlife biologist, took a job with the National Park Service in Olympic National Park.<sup>229</sup> Skiing and

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<sup>225</sup> Stell Newman, "Superintendent's Annual Report—1979, War in the Pacific Historical Park," March 13, 1980, Archives, Harpers Ferry Training Center, National Park Service, Harper's Ferry, WV [hereafter cited simply as Harper's Ferry Training Center].

<sup>226</sup> Paul Borja, "Newman Remembered for His Warmth," *Pacific Daily News*, January 17, 1983.

<sup>227</sup> Thomas Stell Newman was born on the same date, July 13, as an early maternal ancestor with the surname of "Stell." The name "Stell," which he chose to be called, was a name used for several generations of that family. Annabel Newman (mother of Stell Newman), conversation with Gail Evans-Hatch and Michael Evans-Hatch, January 11, 2004; Annabel Newman, letter to Evans-Hatch and Evans-Hatch, January 25, 2004.

<sup>228</sup> Nick Newman (Stell Newman's brother), "Comments on First Draft Re. Stell Newman," February 2004, sent to Gail Evans-Hatch and Michael Evans-Hatch.

<sup>229</sup> Coleman Newman conducted research on the elk in Olympic National Park. After working at Olympic National Park for six years, Coleman was transferred to the National Park Service headquarters in Washington, D.C., where he was in charge of the Wildlife Research Division. He then was transferred to

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anthropology/archaeology were his early passions. Stell and his brother became avid skiers, indulging in the sport nearly every weekend on Hurricane Ridge and Deer Park ski areas in Olympic National Park. During most summers in both high school and college, Stell worked as a summer seasonal employee in Olympic National Park.<sup>230</sup> Between 1953 and 1958, Newman was a member of the National Ski Patrol. Stell majored in anthropology at Washington State University in Pullman, Washington, as an undergraduate, and received his bachelor's degree in 1958. As an undergraduate, Stell enrolled in the Air Force Reserve Officer's Training Corps (ROTC) program. He continued on with graduate studies and his ROTC training at Washington State University and received his Master of Arts degree in anthropology in 1959.<sup>231</sup> By then, he had become ensconced in investigating archaeological sites on the Washington State coast, particularly at Toleak Point, on the west coast of the Olympic Peninsula (about forty miles south of Cape Flattery on the Strait of Juan de Fuca).<sup>232</sup> chamorro

While in graduate school, Newman met Virginia (Ginger) Biddle, an undergraduate and fellow anthropology student at Washington State University. Born in Oakland, California, in 1938, Ginger Biddle and her family had moved to Mercer Island, Washington, before Ginger attended Washington State University in Pullman. Stell Newman and Ginger Biddle married in June 1960 around the time that Newman completed work on his master's degree and began a new career path.<sup>233</sup>

In 1960, Stell Newman entered the U.S. Air Force as a second lieutenant. After Newman trained in San Antonio, the young Newman couple moved to Mission, Texas, then to Mississippi, then to San Antonio, and, finally to Westover, Air Force Base in Massachusetts (for around four and one-half years). During most of his six-year air force career, Stell Newman flew in the Strategic Air Command, flying air tankers used for refueling airplanes, mostly B-52s. His squadron deployed to Sondrestrom Air Force Base in Greenland on many occasions, as well as to Europe, on ninety-day tours.<sup>234</sup> This he did against a Cold War backdrop of the Bay of Pigs

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Big Bend National Park in Texas, where he served four years as assistant superintendent. After serving as the first superintendent at Amistad National Recreation Area, headquartered in Del Rio, Texas, Coleman retired from the National Park Service in 1976. Annabel Newman, conversation with Gail Evans-Hatch and Michael Evans-Hatch, January 11, 2004 and letter to Evans-Hatch and Evans-Hatch, January 25, 2004; Tigger (Nancy) Newman (daughter of Stell Newman), conversation with Gail Evans-Hatch and Michael Evans-Hatch, January 3, 2004.

<sup>230</sup> One summer, Stell Newman worked, instead, as a smokejumper for the U.S. Forest Service in Missoula, Montana, but the slow fire season there encouraged him to return to Olympic National Park the next summer. Nick Newman, "Comments on First Draft Re. Stell Newman," February 2004.

<sup>231</sup> Nick Newman, "Comments on First Draft Re. Stell Newman," February 2004.

<sup>232</sup> T. Stell Newman, "Toleak Point—An Archaeological Site on the North Central Washington Coast" (M.A. Thesis, Washington State University, 1958).

<sup>233</sup> Tigger Newman, conversation with Gail Evans-Hatch and Michael Evans-Hatch, January 3, 2004; Annabel Newman, conversation with Gail Evans-Hatch and Michael Evans-Hatch, January 11, 2004.

<sup>234</sup> Tigger Newman, conversation with Gail Evans-Hatch and Michael Evans-Hatch, January 3, 2004 and letter to Evans-Hatch and Evans-Hatch, January 2004; Annabel Newman, conversation with Gail Evans-Hatch and Michael Evans-Hatch, January 11, 2004; Nick Newman, "Comments on First Draft Re. Stell Newman," February 2004; Stell Newman, letter to Colonel Richard Uppstrom, director, Air Force Museum, Wright Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio, February 20, 1980, Pacific Great Basin Support Office, NPS.

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crisis in Cuba and the escalating United States' involvement in Vietnam. Stell Newman's love of anthropology convinced him to leave the air force, as a captain and aircraft commander, and return to college as a Ph.D. student at the University of Hawaii.

To earn extra money, Newman flew twelve-passenger, light twin-engine planes part-time as a guide for a tourist airline; he visited most of the islands in one day. He, Ginger, and the two Newman children also operated a small business packing samples of sand, soil, and lava, for sale to tourists to Hawaii.<sup>235</sup> Immediately after receiving his doctoral degree in 1970, Newman was hired as director of the Hawaii State Historic Preservation Office, where he was responsible for administering the National Register of Historic Places program in Hawaii.<sup>236</sup>

Stell Newman's National Park Service career as a permanent employee began in 1974 when he took a job as "historian" in the National Park Service's Denver Service Center for one



**Figure 8-1. Superintendent Stell Newman. Photograph compliments of Tiger Newman.**

year. In 1975, he was offered a job with the Park Service's regional office in Anchorage, Alaska; where he worked there for four years as an anthropologist, as part of a team of professionals studying, in particular, the newly created Bering Land Bridge National Monument (headquartered in Nome).<sup>237</sup> When Newman left Alaska at the end of 1978, he had a total of over fifty published articles, technical reports, and manuscripts to his credit, most of them written on anthropological/archaeological subjects.<sup>238</sup> More than his education, experience, and credentials, Stell Newman brought to the superintendency an inquisitive and creative mind, respect for and enjoyment of the diverse groups and individuals with whom he came in contact, and a warmth and subtle wit that endeared him forever to the people of Guam. Stell Newman, not the park itself, presented a positive defining presence of the National Park Service on Guam between 1979 and 1983.

Stell Newman arrived on Guam in mid-January 1979, at age forty-two, to begin his first Park Service superintendency as the park's first superintendent.<sup>239</sup> His daughter Tigger (Nancy)

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<sup>235</sup> Nick Newman, "Comments on First Draft Re. Stell Newman," February 2004.

<sup>236</sup> T. Stell Newman, "Curriculum Vitae," typescript, Archives, War in the Pacific National Historical Park, Asan, Guam.

<sup>237</sup> Annabel Newman, conversation with Gail Evans-Hatch and Michael Evans-Hatch, January 11, 2004. Stell Newman is mentioned in John McPhee's modern-day adventures in Alaska, *Coming into the Country* (New York: Bantam Books, 1980), 13-27.

<sup>238</sup> T. Stell Newman, "Curriculum Vitae."

<sup>239</sup> As WAPA superintendent, Stell Newman was required to work in the official National Park Service uniform, which his previous NPS jobs had not mandated. His uniform he adorned with his retired father's NPS badge. Only after weeks of wearing his regulation uniform did he learn the proper color of socks (brown and not green, as he had guessed) to wear with his uniform. Tigger Newman, conversation with Gail Evans-Hatch and Michael Evans-Hatch, January 3, 2004.

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moved with him from Alaska. His wife Ginger came to Guam in June that year, after their son, Tom, had graduated from high school in Anchorage.<sup>240</sup>

Stell Newman spent the first few months figuring out where the park and its boundaries were located. His days were spent "becoming familiar with the Park resources, meeting and establishing working relationships with key people and agencies, and initiating the paperwork necessary to begin making the new park operational."<sup>241</sup> According to Newman, his inexperience as a park superintendent slowed the necessary programming and budgeting during the first few months. It caused "occasional delays in making policy decisions when the Superintendent had to check with higher level officials."<sup>242</sup> As superintendent, Stell Newman orchestrated all aspects of the park's operation: day-to-day operations and resource management; future planning and development; land acquisition; interpretation; research and education; budgeting; personnel; and media relations and public affairs. His full flowing beard, frequently accented with a ready smile, and his dry, intelligent wit, merged with his deep enjoyment of diverse cultures to engender an enduring positive perception of the park and the Park Service that continued long after his physical presence.

In addition to the park on Guam, Newman had two other resource areas to help develop and manage: American Memorial Park on Saipan and Guam National Seashore Study Area. The American Memorial Park (AMME) had been established by Congress in 1978 as an "affiliated area" (a related area of the National Park Service system). Saipan, unlike Guam, was a member of the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas, a part of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Island. Since islands in the Northern Marianas were not United States possessions, involvement of the U.S. government in developing the American Memorial Park on Saipan was accomplished by contractual obligations specified in the covenant creating the Commonwealth or by legislation. At its inception, the American Memorial Park was a Commonwealth park and there was no Park Service involvement. Concern about limited funds for park development, however, resulted in legislation involving the Park Service in the American Memorial Park development. At the urging of Representative Phillip Burton, a section was included in the Territorial Omnibus Act of 1978 that authorized the National Park Service to develop and operate the American Memorial Park (AMME). This section included a proviso stipulating that AMME would be turned over to the Commonwealth upon request. This Omnibus Act included authorization for the expenditure of three million dollars to be used for the development and operation of the park in accordance with a plan for that park's development. The plan had been prepared during negotiations of the Commonwealth Covenant and later amplified in a conceptual site plan prepared by a consultant. The National Park Service assigned Superintendent Newman to oversee development of the American Memorial Park. During his first year on Guam, he spent considerable time trying to sort out the legislative history of AMME and exactly what the Park Service was supposed to do with a park that it didn't own. Also, Newman, along with other Park Service personnel from NPS support offices, made periodic

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<sup>240</sup> Stell and Ginger Newman raised two children, Thomas, born in 1961, and Nancy (Tigger), born in 1963. Annabel Newman, conversation with Gail Evans-Hatch and Michael Evans-Hatch, January 11, 2004; Tigger Newman, conversation with Gail Evans-Hatch and Michael Evans-Hatch, January 3, 2004.

<sup>241</sup> Newman, "Superintendent's Annual Report—1979, War in the Pacific," 1.

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

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trips to Saipan to discuss park development with the Commonwealth administration as well as residents. In 1979, the NPS regional director authorized the assignment of one permanent ranger to the American Memorial Park to provide everyday operational guidance. As time went by, Superintendent Newman averaged about one trip a month to the American Memorial Park to provide development and management expertise.<sup>243</sup>

Superintendent Stell Newman also shared responsibility, with NPS planner Ron Mortimore and a Government of Guam Department of Parks and Recreation representative, for planning the future of the Guam National Seashore Study Area, a large area on the southwest coast of Guam, stretching from mid-island mountain ridges to coastal beaches and offshore ecosystems from Nimitz Beach (south of Agat Bay) to a coast strip south of Merizo. According to a proposed 1967 Master Plan for the Seashore Study Area, the purpose of the Guam National Seashore would be to protect a portion of Guam's unspoiled coral reefs and lagoon, volcanic uplands, and tropical vegetation, as well as historic and archaeological remains dating from the Spanish period of occupation, for the perpetual recreation, scenic, and scientific use of Americans and visitors to Guam. The Government of Guam had originally requested a study of the area by the National Park Service in the early 1950s, followed in 1966-67 by field studies requested by Guam Governor Manuel F. L. Guerrero. During Newman's first year on Guam, he served on a team (along with NPS planner Ron Mortimore and representatives from the Guam Department of Parks and Recreation) that explored the possibility of creating a National Seashore and met with local residents living on or near the southwest coast of Guam to discuss their views on such a park. (Newman noted general concern among local residents about losing their property if a National Seashore park was created).<sup>244</sup>

All this and more Superintendent Stell Newman did alone when he first came to the park, except for occasional guidance from the NPS offices in Honolulu and in San Francisco. During his first six months on Guam, he had no staff, equipment, or supplies. Out of necessity Newman enlisted the help of numerous non-NPS government agencies and individuals. He relied on the assistance of members of the Young Adult Conservation Corps (YACC) in the enormous task of cleaning up many acres of land at Asan Point and the Agat unit of the park, as well as for completing small construction projects. Newman continued to use the people and equipment of the YACC for routine maintenance in the park until 1982, when President Ronald Reagan discontinued the program. As time went on, Newman also enlisted the enrollees in the Youth Conservation Corps (YCC) and the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). During 1979, Newman established a close symbiotic working relationship with Guam's Department of Parks and Recreation. The park provided free building space in the Asan Beach unit for the department's maintenance functions; Parks and Recreation, in turn, supported many of the park's operational needs, such as occasional human power and equipment. Individual

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<sup>243</sup> Stell Newman, "Superintendent's Annual Report—1979, American Memorial Park," March 13, 1980, Archives, Harper's Ferry Training Center; Howard Chapman, regional director, western region of the National Park Service, letter to Honorable Adrian P. Winkel, high commissioner, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands Headquarters, Saipan, January 8, 1979, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>244</sup> Newman, "Superintendent's Annual Report—1979, War in the Pacific National Historical Park, 1, 5, 8-9; "Master Plan, Proposed Guam National Seashore," N.p. National Park Service, July 1967, revised September 1967, 3.

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volunteers played an important role in nearly all aspects of park development and management. In December 1979, Joseph M. Lupola (husband of the park's future administrative clerk, Diane Lupola), the first park volunteer, coordinated the clean up of Asan Beach.<sup>245</sup>

Superintendent Newman solicited and received development assistance during its first years of existence from numerous other government agencies: the U.S. Navy, Marines, Army, and Seabees, as well as Guam's Housing and Urban Renewal Authority, the Office of Territorial Affairs, the Office of the General Service Administration, as well as the majors of Asan, Agat, and Piti. At the end of his first two years as superintendent, Newman observed that: "development to day . . . is of the 'do it yourself' variety. More accurately, it is what locally would be called cumshaw development" (The word "cumshaw," originally derived from the Chinese language, where it meant favor, gratuity, and grateful thanks, was adopted by the U.S. military and used as slang term meaning begged, borrowed, and traded). "Approximately, \$600,000 worth of assistance was 'cumshawed' during 1980. At the end of 1980, however, these sources," Newman added, "were drying up and it will be up to the Service to complete the permanent and final development."<sup>246</sup> Even after nearly four years in the park, Superintendent Newman relied on others to put his park together. In June 1982, he organized a volunteer workday at Asan Point, during which about 200 Navy, Seabee, and Marine men and women spent a day working on various projects aimed at getting Asan Point ready to open to the public. They hauled rocks, picked up debris, cut brush, chain-sawed logs, welded equipment, filled holes in the ground, and planted coconut trees. "The work accomplished that day," wrote Newman in a newspaper article of thanks, "was staggering—more than our small park staff could have accomplished in several months of work!!"<sup>247</sup>

Stell Newman received assistance from other somewhat less visible sources as well during his four-year superintendency. From the outset, the staff of the *Pacific Daily News*, published in Hagatna, and Newman had excellent rapport due, at least in part, to the location of Newman's first office in the Pacific Daily News Building. "The park," Newman wrote in the spring of 1980, "enjoyed bountiful press coverage" throughout 1979; at least once a week, the media reported on park news items.<sup>248</sup> The *Pacific Daily News* and the *Guam Tribune*, as well as the local radio station, aided the park tremendously. The newspapers and radio constantly provided free publicity about park events, large and small, that ranged from public meetings to discuss park planning and development to Newman's acquisition of a World War II vintage road grader used by the Seabees.<sup>249</sup>

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<sup>245</sup> Newman, "Superintendent's Annual Report—1979, War in the Pacific National Historical Park," 2, 6, 7; Stell Newman, "Superintendent's Report—1980, War in the Pacific National Historical Park," 2; "War in the Pacific National Historical Park, Timeline of Park Development," c. 1998, Archives, WAPA.

<sup>246</sup> Newman, "Superintendent's Annual Report—1980, War in the Pacific," 4.

<sup>247</sup> Stell Newman, "War in Pacific Park Work Staggering," *Pacific Daily News*, June 28, 1982.

<sup>248</sup> Newman, "Superintendent's Annual Report—1979, War in the Pacific," 6.

<sup>249</sup> Victor Saymo, "Gift for War Park," *Guam Tribune*, February 23, 1980.

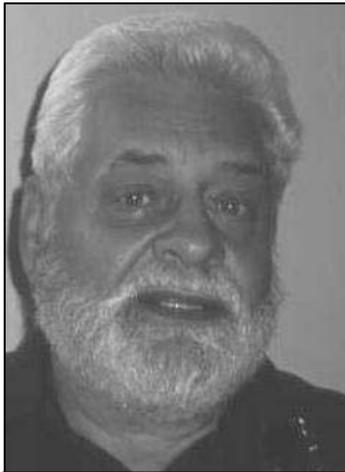
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Stell Newman once joked about making one of Guam's regular radio personalities, Jerry Rogers (also known as J. Q. Fanihi) a junior NPS ranger in training. He presented him with a tangantangan seedling, a virtual weed on the island, and tasked the junior ranger talk-show host with the seedling's care. Unknown to the aspiring junior ranger and his radio audience, the special "fertilizer" provided by Superintendent Newman during his frequent on-the-air visits was a diluted herbicide. All was revealed to the listening audience only after the radio host had suffered an appropriate period of mourning over the brown, dried, and very dead seedling.<sup>250</sup>



**Figure 8-2. Dr. Ballendorf, professor, University of Guam. Park friend, supporter and consultant. Photograph by Gail Evans-Hatch, 2003**

Superintendent Newman also fostered a close working relationship with the Micronesian Area Research Center (MARC) at the University of Guam in Mangilao on the east side of the island. This mutually beneficial relationship that he nurtured between the National Park Service and MARC yielded several research studies on various topics related to the War in the Pacific park and the National Seashore Study Area. One of the first Park Service-funded research papers, a study of repositories around the United States that held records on the history of Guam, which was initiated in 1978 before Newman's selection as superintendent,<sup>251</sup> was followed by many more research papers, financed in part or whole by the National Park Service, conducted under the auspices of MARC, and often published as part of MARC's "working papers" series. Superintendent and scholar Stell Newman encouraged this collaboration with MARC. During Newman's superintendency, research papers written under contract with the NPS and published by MARC addressed an array of natural history, cultural resources, and historical topics, including past land and sea uses within the park, land and fresh water organisms in the park and the National Seashore Study Area, marine biological

resources, geologic features in the Seashore Study Area, construction of defensive Japanese military structures on Guam, and narratives of the Chamorro experience during World War II, to name just a few.<sup>252</sup> In 1980, the National Park Service awarded MARC a \$15,000 grant to collect

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<sup>250</sup> Tigger Newman, conversation with Gail Evans-Hatch and Michael Evans-Hatch, January 3, 2004; Borja, "Newman Remembered for His Warmth," *Pacific Daily News*, January 17, 1983.

<sup>251</sup> Thomas B. McGrath, "American Naval Period on Guam, 1898-1950, MARC Working Papers, No. 6," University of Guam, 1979.

<sup>252</sup> Newman, "Superintendent's Annual Report—1979, War in the Pacific," 5-6; Jane Nolan-Jennison, "Land and Lagoon Use in Prewar Guam, Agat, Piti, and Asan, MARC Working Paper No. 15," University of Guam, 1979; Jane Jennison-Nolan, et al., "Cultural Resources within the Guam Seashore Study Area and the War in the Pacific National Historical Park," (Mangilao: MARC, University of Guam, 1980); Russell A. Apple, "Guam: Two Invasions and Three Military Occupations: A Historical Summary of War in the Pacific National Historical Park, Guam" (Mangilao: MARC, University of Guam, 1980); Lynn Raulerson, "Terrestrial and Freshwater Organism within and Linmology and Hydrology of the Guam Seashore Study Area and the War in the Pacific National Historical Park" (Mangilao: MARC, University of Guam, 1980); Richard H. Randall, "Geologic Features within the Guam Seashore Study Area"

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more than 100 books and other materials that told the story of World War II in the Pacific. An article in the *Pacific Daily News*, accompanied by a photograph showing Newman and MARC's Emilie Johnston seated behind a library table piled with books, reported that the MARC book collection would make research easier for park historians. "It's really great to get all this in one place," Newman told newspaper reporter Gene Linn. "Our historians have had to run over hell's acre to get materials."<sup>253</sup>

Finally, Stell Newman received willing assistance from his family in exploring resources of the new park. Particularly in the beginning of his superintendency, Newman turned his investigation of park resources into family natural history outings and learning adventures. His daughter Tigger Newman, who often served as the unofficial park photographer, recalled tramping through dense vegetation with her father soon after they arrived on Guam, in search of the park and its boundaries. Later on, Stell Newman and Ginger, and occasionally Tigger, explored some underwater portions of the park on scuba-diving adventures.<sup>254</sup>

For seven months, Superintendent Stell Newman was the only staff at the park. In late August 1979, Diane Lupola became the second permanent employee when Newman hired her as an administrative clerk. Lupola, a Guamanian (and the first female of Chamorro descent to wear the National Park Service uniform on Guam<sup>255</sup>), had been working in Washington State before coming to the park on Guam. The flow of required NPS paperwork and reports, as well as programming and budgeting data, immediately accelerated with the addition of Lupola. Over the next three and one-half years, Superintendent Newman relied increasingly on Diane Lupola to deal with an array of administrative issues, including land acquisition. In the spring of 1981, the administrative clerk's position was revised to include duties as the local liaison with Guam's Division of Lands. In this expanded position, Lupola maintained close contact with the Guam House and Urban Renewal Authority (GHURA), which acted as the Park Service's agent in acquiring park land. Lupola also coordinated the land acquisition activities of title companies and appraisal firms, and NPS's Western Regional Office in San Francisco.<sup>256</sup> Diane Lupola worked with Stell Newman nearly up to the end of his superintendency. About six months

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(Mangilao: MARC, University of Guam, 180); L. G. Eldredge, "Marine Biological Resources within the Guam Seashore Study Area and the War in the Pacific National Historical Park (Mangilao: MARC, University of Guam, 1980); Kathleen R. W. Owings, editor, "The War Years on Guam, Narratives of the Chamorro Experience" (Mangilao: MARC, University of Guam, 1981); Norma Cox, memorandum to associate director, administration, National Park Service, February 21, 1980, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office; Betty Shimabukuro, "Memories Collected for History," *Pacific Daily News*, Vertical File, MARC, University of Guam.

<sup>253</sup> Gene Linn, "Collection Details Pacific Battles," *Sunday [Pacific Daily] News*, September 7, 1980.

<sup>254</sup> Tigger Newman, conversation with Gail Evans-Hatch and Michael Evans-Hatch, January 3, 2004.

<sup>255</sup> Debra Hollems, an NPS employee at Ft. Union Trading Post NHS, North Dakota, was the daughter of a woman from Guam; therefore, Debra Hollems was the first female of Guamanian descent to wear the NPS uniform. [Hollems would later marry Jim Miculka, an NPS employee who would later be stationed on Guam, and she accompanied him on that 1980 move to Guam.]

<sup>256</sup> C. Sablan Gault, "Park Head Denies Discrimination Charge," *Pacific Daily News*, July 3, 1982; Newman, "Summary of Meetings Held and Activities Recommended," March 1981, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office; Newman, "Superintendent's Annual Report—1979, War in the Pacific," 3; Rogue Broja, oral history interview with Gail Evans-Hatch and Michael Evans-Hatch, January 28, 2003.

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before she left the park, a new park employee named Shaw, who became the first locally hired park staff, began working with Lupola and Stell Newman as a clerk typist.<sup>257</sup>

More than a year after Stell Newman arrived at the park, he hired Roque Borja as a maintenance worker. Borja began work as the chief of maintenance in February 1980.<sup>258</sup> Borja, a Guamanian born in 1933 in Sumay (the location of the U.S. naval station on Orote Peninsula), had joined the U.S. Air Force at age eighteen. While in the air force, Borja worked as a maintenance mechanic on C-45, C-82, C-134, R-70 (C-131), and C-141 airplanes. Following his



**Figure 8-3. Roque Borja, Chief of Maintenance during the Newman Era. Prior to his work with the park, Mr. Borja had served as Superintendent of the Guam Department of Parks and Recreation after a career in the U.S. Air Force. Photograph by Gail Evans-Hatch, 2003**

retirement from the military twenty years later, he began working in the maintenance section of the Guam Department of Parks and Recreation. He became superintendent after six years and worked in that capacity for about two years before Stell Newman selected him for chief of maintenance.

Borja was the first male of Chamorro descent to work at the park. "Mr. Borja is exceptionally well qualified for the job," Superintendent Newman told the local news media, "and our maintenance program is off to a good start."<sup>259</sup> As chief of maintenance Roque Borja assisted Superintendent Newman in budgeting and ordering equipment and supplies for maintenance and overseeing the work of the YACC and YCC. Borja performed numerous day-to-day maintenance tasks (usually identified in a bi-monthly maintenance schedule). Often Newman joined Borja in completing some maintenance tasks, such as driving the tractor and lawn mower, especially when Borja was new in the position and had no or only limited assistance from others. In April 1981, War in the Pacific National Historical Park hired Ed Mateo, the park's first laborer, to assist Borja with park development and maintenance projects. Borja worked as head of maintenance for nearly twelve

years, retiring from the National Park Service in November 1991.<sup>260</sup>

More than a year later, the park's first maintenance crew, comprised of Joey Mantanona, Joaquin Leon Guerrero, and Peter Santos, was hired.<sup>261</sup> Borja, more than any other employee,

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<sup>257</sup> "War in the Pacific: Timeline of Park Development," c. 1998, Archives, WAPA.

<sup>258</sup> Newman, "Superintendent's Annual Report—1979, War in the Pacific," 3; Newman, "Superintendent's Annual Report—1980, War in the Pacific," 2.

<sup>259</sup> "News Release, National Park Service," for release March 11, 1980, Archives, War in the Pacific National Historical Park.

<sup>260</sup> Roque Borja, oral history interview with Gail Evans-Hatch and Michael Evans-Hatch, January 28, 2003.

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was responsible for creating a physically recognizable War in the Pacific National Historical Park at the Asan and Agat beach units.

James E. Miculka was the last permanent managerial park staff hired during the Newman era. Miculka arrived on Guam, with his wife Debra, in September 1980 to begin his duties as park ranger, specializing in historical interpretation. A native of Texas born in 1954, Miculka had graduated from Sul Ross State University in Alpine, Texas, where he majored in history and paleontology. For three years, he worked as a park ranger and historian at Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site, Williston, North Dakota. Miculka's initial responsibilities included developing park visitor programs, exhibits, and brochures, as well as educational programs for Guam schools. He also was to give guided tours to organized groups.<sup>262</sup> During his first weeks on Guam, Miculka familiarized himself with the Asan and Agat battlefields, especially as they related to the topography and the few historic artifacts that still existed in these units. He also examined different recollections reported by the Americans, Japanese, and Guamanian survivors had of World War II events on Guam and especially at these two park beach units. During the remaining months of 1980, Miculka also began to lay the groundwork for interpretive planning.<sup>263</sup> In June 1982, William Summers, the park's first locally hired museum technician, joined Miculka in the interpretive activities at the park.<sup>264</sup>

Miculka's responsibilities as park interpretive ranger changed as the park evolved. During his tenure at the Guam park, he filled a variety of positions at the park, including chief ranger and Pacific Area Dive Officer. He also served as acting superintendent for several months in early 1983.

The number of permanent managerial National Park Service personnel assigned to the park during the Newman era remained small. Limited congressional funding for the park severely limited hiring of both permanent and seasonal staff. In the summer of 1982, Ware in the Pacific National Historical Park employed six temporary summer workers, all locally hired; four of the six were Guamanian. (Around this time, David Lotz, locally Guam resident who had recently not been selected for park ranger, charged that Newman had discriminated against local Guam residents in hiring park staff.)<sup>265</sup>

Office space was likewise diminutive, as well as distant from the park units. Until August 1980, Stell Newman occupied a small temporary office in a downtown Hagatna building, the Pacific Daily News Building (also known then as the Chase-Manhattan Building), provided by the local General Services Administration. With the addition of Diana Lupola to the park staff and the arrival of new office furniture that month, administrative offices were moved to a larger adjacent office in the same building. From the outset, Superintendent Newman attempted

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<sup>261</sup> "War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development," c. 1998, Archives, WAPA.

<sup>262</sup> "News Release, National Park Service," for release September 29, 1980, Archives, WAPA.

<sup>263</sup> Lester Chang, "New Ranger 'Recreating' the War," *Sunday [Pacific Daily] News*, October 5, 1980; Newman, "Superintendent's Annual Report—1980, War in the Pacific," 3.

<sup>264</sup> "War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development," c. 1998, Archives, WAPA.

<sup>265</sup> Newman, "Summary of Meeting Held and Actions Recommended During My Recent Trip to WRO," March 1981, 3; C. Sablan Gault, "Park Head Denies Discrimination Charge," *Pacific Daily News*, July 3, 1982.

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to persuade NPS authorities to permit moving the park's administrative offices from the fourth floor of the Pacific Daily News Building to an existing unoccupied building at Asan Point inside the park. In mid-1980, a *Pacific Daily News* editorial even speculated that a park headquarters, along with a visitors center and maintenance facility, would be constructed on Asan Ridge. No such development ever occurred. The park's headquarters in downtown Hagatna, remote from the park, not only greatly hindered all aspects of park management and development but it was almost inaccessible to the public due to limited parking. Stell Newman, no doubt, chuckled about light-hearted charges that his park consisted of no more than fourth-floor offices in the Pacific Daily News Building and that he spent all of his days simply riding around the building on his ranger mobile. However, Newman reported, in his 1979 and 1980 superintendent's annual reports, that the unsatisfactory park office space was a major problem frustrating park development. Despite Newman's persistent efforts to secure park office and interpretive space in or near the park, they were for naught for more than two years. In Newman's words, there had been "a lack of action by the General Services Administration, and a lack of sufficient pressure from the Western Regional Office of NPS to crack things loose."<sup>266</sup> A "furniture freeze" in 1980 compounded problems associated with the park's office space. By the end of 1980, park employees were using borrowed desks and file cabinets to furnish their offices, thus perpetuating the "cumshaw" approach to early park development.<sup>267</sup>

It was not until early 1981 that the park administrative offices moved out of the Pacific Daily News Building to Asan, located in Asan Beach park unit, where the Park Service leased the first floor of a building (Haloda Building), located just a few hundred feet inland from the ocean. This two-story concrete building had been used previously as a vocational trade school. When the NPS staff moved in, it had few interior partitions or walls and a central open atrium extending from the ground floor up to the second-floor ceiling. Superintendent Newman and the other staff occupied one large wide-open space on the first floor of the building. Newman positioned his desk on the southern end of the first floor and had a window overlooking the sea. By the end of Newman's superintendency, part of the ground floor had been separated from the administrative offices with a temporary wall and converted to a visitors center with interpretive exhibits, and museum storage cabinets had been set upon the second floor.<sup>268</sup>

### Planning and Management of the Park

Planning the future management of the War in the Pacific National Historical Park was Stell Newman's single most important and time-consuming activity during the first years of his superintendency. Newman spent long hours in 1979 and 1980 coordinating efforts to prepare the General Management Plan (GMP). He gathered a wide assortment of information about the park (largely through survey and research projects conducted on contract with MARC at the University of Guam); communicated regularly with and coordinated the visits of NPS Western

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<sup>266</sup> Newman, "Superintendent's Annual Report—1979, War in the Pacific," 10.

<sup>267</sup> Newman, "Superintendent's Annual Report—1979, War in the Pacific," 1, 10; Newman, "Superintendent's Annual Report—1980, War in the Pacific," 3; Borja, "Newman Remembered for His Warmth."

<sup>268</sup> Borja, oral history interview with Gail Evans-Hatch and Michael Evans-Hatch, transcript, 19-20.

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Regional Office park planners (especially Ron Mortimore); oversaw the translation into Chamorro, printing, and distribution of the GMP; organized public meetings; and responded to endless comments about the plan. During the park planning process Newman, Mortimore, and others examined fundamental park needs, possible park boundary refinements, ideas about interpretation and development, and the identification of key problems facing park development.<sup>269</sup>

During 1979, work on the park's General Management Plan progressed, especially during several visits made by National Park Service Western Regional Office planner Ron Mortimore. Public input was sought early in the planning process at public meetings held in the villages of Agat, Piti, and Asan—all located near park units. A wide assortment of uses was proposed by many groups and individuals for the various park units. These included:

<u>Asan Point</u>	flea market on weekends stock car and motor cross racing permanent building for Guam Department of Parks and Recreation fenced baseball field aquaculture project Asan village water tank subdivision and townhouse condominium development
<u>Agat</u>	small boat harbor boat launch
<u>Alifan</u>	road connecting Agat and Santa Rita carabao (water buffalo) riding trails

During 1979, Ron Mortimore, assisted by Stell Newman, led the team planning effort on the Guam National Seashore Study. By the end of the year, Mortimore had produced a draft "Statement of Management."<sup>270</sup>

War in the Pacific planning activities in 1980 again concentrated on development of the General Management Plan. Western Regional Office planner Ron Mortimore made several more trips to Guam to lead the planning process. Many research projects undertaken cooperatively by the National Park Service and MARC were completed in 1980 and contributed valuable information to the park planning process.<sup>271</sup> In late April, Newman made available to the public a summary of the draft GMP. This draft briefly described each park unit, the overall objectives of the park, and the proposed plans for using and managing each park unit. Beginning in June, Superintendent Newman organized more public meetings in Aga, Piti, Asan, and

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<sup>269</sup> Newman, "Superintendent's Annual Report—1979," March 13, 1980, 1.

<sup>270</sup> Newman, "Superintendent's Annual Report—1979," War in the Pacific," 1,7-9.

<sup>271</sup> Sheila Stevens, "WW II Historian: Sea Invasion Only Part of the Story," *Pacific Daily News*, February 8, 1980; Russ Apple, Pacific Historian Pacific Area Office, National Park Service, memorandum to Tom Mulhern, chief of Cultural Resources Management Division, Western Region, National Park Service, May 30, 1980; both at the Pacific West Regional Office.

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Hagatna to explain and answer questions about the draft General Management Plan. By the end of 1980, the draft final GMP had taken shape.<sup>272</sup>

In 1981, Superintendent Newman addressed several elements of the GMP that departed from customary NPS policies and were judged controversial among NPS professionals. Key among them was the tension between preservation of the historical integrity of certain park features and the use of park areas by local Guamanians as well as visitors. Stell Newman examined these two issues, in light of the legislated park purpose, in a memorandum and accompanying in-depth explanation, to the National Park Service's Pacific Area Office director in early April 1981. Newman's memorandum succinctly summarized his general view of how the park should be developed and managed. "I suspect that much of the controversy over these [GMP] proposals," Newman began,

stems from the idea that the War in the Pacific National Historical Park was established to preserve a historical area related to the battle Guam. This brings with it legitimate concerns for historical integrity, preservation of the historical scene, and protection of historical sites and features. However, reviewers should carefully consider the wording of the enabling legislation, which emphasizes that the primary park purpose is to commemorate the bravery and sacrifice of those who participated in the Pacific theater of World War II.<sup>273</sup>

Newman also urged reviewers of the GMP to consider the obligation to permit the "continuation of traditional cultural use patterns to our areas. This concern and the scarcity of suitable shoreline on Guam led to GMP proposals to integrate low key and simple shoreline recreational facilities into a national historical park."<sup>274</sup> Newman went on to explain in detail the rationale behind and argue in favor of several specific proposals presented in (and, in some cases, already developed) the GMP: the small picnic area at Apaca Point (Agat unit); a small memorial structure at the tip of Asan Point (Asan Beach unit); and the development of a community open space for large functions on one tract of land at Asan Point.

Through 1981 and into 1982, NPS personnel discussed and debated the perceived merits of and problems in the draft General Management Plan. Basic concerns among NPS cultural resource managers and historians focused on the primacy of preserving, protecting, and interpreting, in an authentic and accurate manner, the historic artifacts, sites, structures, and cultural landscapes, dating from World War II, that still remained in the [stl] units. Tom Mulhern, chief of the Historic Preservation Division of NPS's Western Regional Office, in a memorandum to NPS planner Ron Mortimore, criticized the GMP's emphasis on recreational use of the Agat Beach and Asan Beach units and the commemorative monuments planned for the Asan Point area, as well as the visually intrusive impact of other proposed developments on

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<sup>272</sup> "News Release: National Park Service, for release May 29, 1980"; Joseph Murphy, "In Our Opiniojn: Voice in the Park," *Pacific Daily News*, June 4, 1980.

<sup>273</sup> Stell Newman, memorandum to regional director, Western Region, National Park Service, April 9, 1981, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>274</sup> *Ibid.*

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the historic setting of the park.<sup>275</sup> Six months passed and discussions about the War in the Pacific GMP among National Park Service historians, including Chief Historian Edwin Bearss, and cultural resource specialists continued. By February 1982, Western Regional Office Regional Historian Gordon Chappell, in a February 4, 1982 memorandum to the Western Regional Office director sharply criticized the GMP for the "inadequate [historical] data base" used to develop the GMP. "In three crucial areas," Chappell wrote, "proposed effects on the land, boundary extensions, and recommendations for additional sites to be marked . . . , the inadequate data base has resulted in a plan that can result in damage or destruction of resources, either by affecting or ignoring them."<sup>276</sup> Chappell strongly recommended that a "historical resource study" of the park, prepared by a professionally qualified military historian in the Park Service, be completed before the GMP be finally approved. Acting Associate Director Ross Holland, Jr., of the Cultural Resources Management division of the National Park Service concurred. He also criticized the inadequacies of historical and archaeological studies already written in conjunction with MARC at the University of Guam, and called for the completion of a historical resources study that relied most heavily on "primary historical records," created at or near the time of the historical event being described.<sup>277</sup>

Meanwhile, as debate continued among National Park Service personnel about the adequacy of the "General Management Plan," local politics approval of the GMP, and forward movement of park development. Influential Guam Representative A. B. Won Pat, in a recent congressional oversight hearing said of War in the Pacific National Historical Park: "We have four employees, a rented office, and a lot of rusting war relics, and that's all."<sup>278</sup> Furthermore, Won Pat complained that there were many home owners and business owners in the Asan Beach area, in particular, that knew their property would be purchased by National Park Service, but didn't know when.<sup>279</sup> *Pacific Daily News* editor Joseph Murphy editorialized that "for too long that much-discussed park has been sitting there trying to survive and become established without funding by the federal government. Expedient progress in developing the park was locally an important priority.

Despite harsh criticisms of the GMP by National Park Service historians, the planning process for War in the Pacific moved forward (at the same time that funding for and eventual initiation of the Historic Resource Study also moved ahead). In June 1982, Superintendent Newman announced to the media that the draft General Management Plan and Environmental Assessment was available for another round of public review and comment. The environmental

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<sup>275</sup> Tom Mulhern, chief, Historic Preservation, Western Region, National Park Service, memorandum to Ron Mortimore, WAPA park planner, August 26, 1981, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>276</sup> Chappell, memorandum to director, Western Region, National Park Service, February 4, 1982, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>277</sup> F. R. Holland, acting associate director, cultural resources division, National Park Service, memorandum to regional director, Western Region, National Park Service, February 12, 1982, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>278</sup> Quoted in Joseph Murphy, "Don't Make Park Another Disneyland," *Pacific Daily News*, April 9, 1982.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.*

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assessment section of the document presented the economic and environmental impacts of the proposed park developments.<sup>280</sup>

On Guam, the review of the GMP took place at four scheduled meetings, attended by local villagers, during the summer of 1982. Comments and criticisms of the plan were regularly reported by the news media. Some meeting attendees differed in their view about which park unit should receive the primary focus of development and how each unit should be developed. Others, such as Dr. Joe Cruz, a native of Merizo, Guam, expressed concern about the very limited interpretation of the Chamorro suffering and experiences during World War II in the park units.<sup>281</sup> At one meeting, members of the newly formed citizen's organization, Marianas Recreation and Parks Society, many of whom had helped lay the groundwork for the park and its enabling legislation, commented on several elements of the GMP. Peter Melyan, president of the organization, submitted four pages of testimony at the final public meeting in August 1982. Key criticisms of the GMP included: the exclusion of a naval vessel in the park; maintaining the historic scene in park units; and hiring local Guamanians for permanent park positions. Many appendices that elaborated on specific points accompanied the letter submitted by the Marianas Recreation and Parks Society at public testimony for the War in the Pacific GMP. One month later, the National Parks and Conservation Association echoed some of the same sentiments about the GMP. In September, Superintendent Stell Newman assembled all the comments on the General Management Plan and sent them to NPS planner Ron Mortimore and others in San Francisco for a final analysis and preparation of the final draft General Management Plan.<sup>282</sup>

In mid-February 1983, with the General Management Plan and Environmental Assessment completed, a public meeting was held on Guam at the park's Visitor Information Center (Haloda Building) on Marine Drive for a final review of the GMP. The stated purpose of the meeting, according to NPS employee Jim Miculka, was to insure that all public comments had been thoroughly and accurately addressed in the GMP. Representatives from the National Park Service offices in Honolulu and San Francisco attended the meeting to answer questions. For two days after the meeting, National Park Service representatives met with members of the Marianas Recreation Society and with several Guam government agency officials to discuss any final concerns pertaining to the GMP. The last of all public comments on the GMP were accepted at the park headquarters in the Haloda Building by the end of February 1983. The completed final document was approved, printed, and distributed in May 1983. In addition to describing and prescribing development for each unit of the park, the final GMP acknowledged the need for additional data. The list of additional data needed included:

1. additional oral histories;
2. boundary surveys;

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<sup>280</sup> "News Release: National Park Service, for release June 18, 1982"; "National Park Plan Comments Being Solicited," *Pacific Daily News*, July 1, 1982; both at Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>281</sup> Elaine Santos, "Villagers Differ Over War Park Plans," *Pacific Daily News*, August 19, 1982; Elaine Santos, "War Park Plans Draw Public Fire," *Pacific Daily News*, August 21, 1982.

<sup>282</sup> Bob Perez, "War Park Needs Local Support to Flourish, Says Organization," *Pacific Daily News*, September 21, 1982; Peter R. Meylan, president, Marianas Recreation and Parks Society, letter to Stell Newman, August 3, 1982, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

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3. additional historical and attitudinal data from Japanese historians;
4. survey data of all the park's underwater acreage;
5. additional marine resources data;
6. a historical resources study;
7. archaeological excavations of certain caves in the park;
8. a scope of collections study;
9. more detailed interpretive plan;
10. a feasibility study of acquiring and maintaining a World War II vessel.

The General Management Plan and Environmental Assessment served as the general "blueprint" for and guided all future development at War in the Pacific National Historical Park.<sup>283</sup>

### Development and Maintenance

The physical development and maintenance of War in the Pacific National Historical Park was among Superintendent Newman's major priorities. At the end of his first year as superintendent, Newman cited the lack of physical presence on park lands as a major problem. This "causes local people and agencies to doubt that the Park will be developed in the near future," Newman noted.<sup>284</sup> A year later in early 1981, Newman reiterated the Guamanians eagerness to see the park fully open. "Every contact with the public and especially the media results in the question of when the park will be developed and open to the public."<sup>285</sup> In mid-1982, the park was sharply criticized for its slow development.<sup>286</sup> Actual development of the park consumed the greatest amount of Stell Newman's time.

Acquiring land inside the park boundaries owned by the U.S. Navy, the Government of Guam, or by private parties, logically preceded development of the park as a whole. Land acquisition, however, proved to be a slow and frustrating process. Limited appropriations by Congress to fund War in the Pacific during the first two years of its operation delayed the National Park Service's purchase of the approximately 240 acres of privately owned land inside the various park units. Only very slow progress was made toward acquiring private land. The Park Land Acquisition Plan was drafted, translated into Chamorro, printed (200 copies), and circulated for review in 1979. Newman held two public meetings in 1979, where with NPS's Western Regional Office reality specialists were present to answer questions. These meetings continued into 1980. Public comments were incorporated into the final draft, completed in 1980. Also in 1980, the NPS's Western Regional Office and the Guam Housing and Urban Renewal Authority (GHURA) entered an agreement, which laid out the procedures for GHURA

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<sup>283</sup> "News Release: National Park Service, for immediate release," February 4, 1983, Archives, War in the Pacific National Historical Park; "Environmental Assessment, General Management" (San Francisco: Western Regional Office, National Park Service, March 1983).

<sup>284</sup> "Superintendent's Annual Report—1979: War in the Pacific," 10.

<sup>285</sup> "Superintendent's Annual Report—1980: War in the Pacific," 4.

<sup>286</sup> Gault, "Park Head Denies Discrimination Charge."

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to serve as land acquisition agent for the park. By 1982, War in the Pacific National Historic Park finally had money available to begin purchasing private land inside the park units.<sup>287</sup>

Much of the physical development work completed during Stell Newman's superintendency was based on site-specific conceptual development planning done by Art Dreyer of the National Park Service's Western Regional Office. Dreyer made several visits to Guam in 1980. Over several months, Dreyer prepared conceptual plans for the Apaca Point picnic area, Gaan Point, and Bangi Point (all in the Agat unit), Adelup Point and Asan Point (in the Asan Beach unit), the Piti Guns unit, Alifan unit, and Lebugan Natural History Area. The development of Adelup Point (Asan Beach unit) Bangi Point (Agat unit), Piti guns, and Mt. Tenjo units was to focus on preserving and interpreting the historic features to the public.<sup>288</sup>

Actual physical development of the park proceeded slowly at first due to inadequate funding and limited park staff. With no maintenance staff, equipment, or supplies in 1979, development activities focused principally on removing trash and inappropriate objects, moving earth, and planting coconut trees in select park areas. Superintendent Newman directed these efforts, accomplished totally by the Young Adult Conservation Corps. The YACC cleared about forty acres in 1979, mostly at Asan Point. An eight-foot-high cyclone fence around Asan Point was removed, as well as a 40' x 200' steel building (given to the agricultural college at the University of Guam). The YACC also cleared acreage at the Agat Beach unit in preparation for the construction of a picnic area there. Finally, the YACC built wooden sign boards for later painting and installation at park entrances. By the end of the year, Newman had acquired an old pickup truck and a dump truck from Navy salvage yards to help with earth-moving development activities.<sup>289</sup> No park units were open to the public in 1979.<sup>290</sup>

The hiring of Roque Borja in February 1980 as chief of maintenance accelerated the park's development and maintenance work. The removal of buildings that were once part of the U.S. naval base—a two-story hospital, barracks, military club buildings—was accomplished either by Roque alone or, with a small group of seasonal, summer employees. Roque had countless truckloads of asphalt, boulders, and rocks torn up and hauled away. Newman estimated that about 2,000 cubic yards of concrete and asphalt were removed from Asan in 1980, much of which was done by volunteers from the Army Reserve Combat Engineers. Borja, assisted by the YACC, uprooted and cut up power poles and cleared away about 300 cubic yards of general debris—rocks, metal objects, broken glass, and brush.<sup>291</sup> Before the end of 1980, a 1950 John Deere tractor with attachments and a 2040 backhoe front-end loader had been ordered and received to help with the earth-moving activities.<sup>292</sup>

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<sup>287</sup> Newman, "Superintendency's Annual Report—1979, War in the Pacific, 1-2, 9; Newman, Superintendent's Annual Report—1980, War in the Pacific, 3; Newman, "Summary of Meeting Held and Actions Recommended During My Recent Trip to WRO," March 1981, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office; C. Sablan Gault, "Newman: More Land Acquired," *Pacific Daily News*, July 3, 1982.

<sup>288</sup> Newman, "Superintendent's Annual Report—1980, War in the Pacific; Joseph Murphy, "Action is Need on War in Pacific Park," *Pacific Daily News*, July 21, 1980.

<sup>289</sup> Borja, interview with Evans-Hatch and Evans-Hatch, January 28, 2003, 5.

<sup>290</sup> Newman, "Superintendent's Annual Report—1979, War in the Pacific, 2, 4, 6.

<sup>291</sup> Newman, Superintendent's Annual Report—1980, War in the Pacific, 2; Borja, interview with Evans-Hatch and Evans-Hatch, January 28, 2003, 6-7.

<sup>292</sup> Borja, interview with Evans-Hatch and Evans-Hatch, January 28, 2003, 5.

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The reconstruction of the Asan Beach unit in 1980 and 1981 began with the filling of building foundations and other depressions at Asan Point with 1,000 cubic yards of dirt from a nearby urban redevelopment project. A 1944 road grader, donated to the park by Black Construction Company in early 1980, may have been used to help with this and later earth-moving activities.<sup>293</sup> About 800 coconut trees were also planted around Asan Point in 1980; by 1981, they had grown about four feet high.<sup>294</sup> Around the same time, Newman followed through with a suggestion given to him by Japanese government officials during Newman's visit a year earlier; he had a small memorial area created at Asan Point.<sup>295</sup>

Borja oversaw the unloading of more dirt at Asan, this time to create a large raised earthen berm on the south side of the Asan Beach unit along a long stretch of busy Marine Drive. The angle of the berm was slanted to deflect automobile noise and permit mowing. The berm was completed in 1981. (The berm was later removed, except for a short stretch near the large park entrance sign, when a guardrail was put up along the parking area parallel to Marine Drive.)<sup>296</sup> The berm and broad lawn appeared appropriately commemorative. However, by mid-1982, mowing the expansive park lawn at Asan took all the time of six summer workers, thus diverting time and resources away from continued new developments at the Asan Beach unit.<sup>297</sup>

Also in 1980, Borja, with Newman's assistance, laid out parking areas and walking paths at Asan, and began their construction. Borja described the ingenious method devised for constructing the winding path:

Dr. Newman wanted it [the walking path] zig-zagging. . . . So . . . with the 2040 backhoe and front-end loader, I took an angle iron with two rods . . . loaded [these] two rods to it sharp and mounted it to the front end loader and just drove it down . . . making the markings [for the winding path].. . . And then we went in and rented the asphalt cutter and then removed everything [outside the marks].<sup>298</sup>

An additional earth-moving activity at the Asan Beach unit focused on constructing a new sewer line and pump station to serve Asan Point. One year earlier, the effect of this project on the historic qualities of Asan, a National Register of Historic Places property, had been evaluated and determined benign.<sup>299</sup> In May 1980, construction began, including trenching for the sewer line and pump station. Superintendent Newman informed the news media that a \$36,000 contract had been awarded to Silo Guam, Inc., to do the work. The new sewer system,

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<sup>293</sup> Sayno, "Gift for War Park." *Pacific Daily News*, February 23, 1980.

<sup>294</sup> Borja, interview with Evans-Hatch and Evans-Hatch, January 28, 2003, 47.

<sup>295</sup> Newman, "Summary Meeting Held and Actions Recommended During My Recent Trip to Western Regional Office," March 1981, Pacific Great Basin Support Office, 4.

<sup>296</sup> Borja, interview with Evans-Hatch and Evans-Hatch, January 28, 2003, 9; Newman, Superintendent's Annual Report—1980, War in the Pacific, 2.

<sup>297</sup> Gault, "Park Head Denies Discrimination Charge," *Pacific Daily News*, July 3, 1982.

<sup>298</sup> Borja, interview with Evans-Hatch and Evans-Hatch, January 28, 2003, 14-15.

<sup>299</sup> Robert Barrel, state director, Hawaii, National Park Service, letter to Felix L. Crisotomo, state historic preservation officer, Agana, Guam, June 5, 1979, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

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when completed, would service the building at Asan Point used by the YACC, and would later serve as a public restroom.<sup>300</sup> By early 1982, the YACC had nearly completed a picnic area at Asan Point.<sup>301</sup> Although a great deal of construction work was accomplished in 1980 and machine mowing had begun of the expansive grounds, the Asan Beach unit was not officially opened to the public until 1981.

By 1980, two areas in the Agat unit (Gaan Point and Apaca Point) were developed enough to open to the public. At Gaan Point exotic brush and debris were cleared away from the historic defense structures to permit public access. An entrance sign was also made and erected at Gaan Point by Roque Borja. Around the same time, three flagpoles were erected at Gaan Point to fly the United States, Japanese, and Guam flags. (For the next eleven years, Maintenance Chief Borja personally raised and lowered these flags every day.)<sup>302</sup> At Apaca Point a small picnic area with two small wooden shelters (designed by Tom Fake in the NPS's Honolulu office) and three picnic tables (built by the park's Maintenance Chief Roque Borja), along with three cooking grills, were built. Superintendent Stell Newman organized formal opening ceremonies at Gaan Point in May 1980 and Apaca Point on month later. At the Apaca Point picnic area ceremonies Governor Paul Calvo praised the Young Adult Conservation Corps for their tremendous contribution cleaning up the area and installing the picnic facilities.<sup>303</sup> After its opening, visitors used the Apaca picnic area to its full but limited capacity, despite the lack of running water and restrooms. Gaan Point, with its defense structures, was visited by about 100 people a month. Restrooms at Gaan and Apaca points were not available for public use until 1982.<sup>304</sup>

Through 1980 and 1981, other areas in or associated with the park continued to be cleared of brush and debris, including: Lebugan Natural History area, Adelup Point (Asan Beach unit), Piti unit, and Finille Creek areas. The YACC accomplished most of this work in the summer of 1980. Limited personnel to maintain these areas, however, meant that the rapid regrowth of vegetation soon reversed all human development efforts. In early 1981, Superintendent Newman reported that the "Piti Guns area had to be allowed to re-vegetate."<sup>305</sup> Despite this perpetual challenge of clearing away ramped vegetation, the two Piti guns were open to the public in 1981, accessed by a set of steps. Future plans called for constructing parking areas near the site and making footpaths around the guns.

In 1982, a major park development project was officially launched and celebrated at Gaan Point in the Agat unit—a "Living Memorial" of trees. Park employees had already planted coconut trees at Asan Point in an effort to help restore areas of War in the Pacific Historical Park to the way they looked before the heavy shelling during the 1944 American landing

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<sup>300</sup> "Asan Point Sewer," *Pacific Daily News*, May 15, 1980.

<sup>301</sup> Susan Kreifels, "Park Put in Bind by YACC Cuts," *Pacific Daily News*, April 6, 1982.

<sup>302</sup> Newman, "Summary Meeting Held and Actions Recommended During My Recent Trip to Western Regional Office, March 1981, 4; Borja, interview with Evans-Hatch and Evans-Hatch, January 28, 2003, 9-11, 34.

<sup>303</sup> "Apaca Point Opens," *Guam Tribune*, May 27, 1980.

<sup>304</sup> Newman, "Superintendent's Annual Report—1980," Gault "Park Head Denies Discrimination Charge," *Pacific Daily News*, July 3, 1982; PHAN Mary Webb, "Visit a Piece of History—Piti Guns," *Pacific Crossroads*, April 17, 1981.

<sup>305</sup> Newman, Superintendent's Annual Report—1980."

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destroyed most of the trees. The denuded ground quickly became taken over by the weed-like tangantangan trees. Dr. J. Henry Hoffmann, a Guam dentist, conceived of and organized the imaginative "Living Memorial." Patterned somewhat after the tree planting commemorative practice in Israel by American Jews, individuals and organizations on Guam, in Japan, and around the United States were invited to contribute \$100 for each tree planted. The U.S. Air Force and U.S. Navy provided and transported the trees to park land. The National Park Service took responsibility for specifying the size and location of each tree, planting the trees, and maintaining them. Proceeds would go to the American Cancer Society. Public dedication ceremonies for the "Living Memorial" project took place on May 26, 1982, at Gaan Point. Governor Paul M. Calvo and Bishop Felixberto C. Flores spoke at the dedication. Superintendent Stell Newman presented a brief historical overview of the park. *Pacific Daily News* editor Joseph Murphy praised the project for its ingenuity, broad inclusiveness, and positive environmental impact. "The appearance of the park is vital, and that is why this living memorial project is so important."<sup>306</sup>

During the Newman era and through most of the 1980s, Roque Borja worked out of a maintenance shop located in the Asan Beach unit near Asan Point. A two-story Butler-type building (similar to a Quonset hut) near the Asan River, close to the Guam Parks and Recreation maintenance building, served as the maintenance building until the late 1980s. This location seemed ideal to Newman since he envisioned a close working relationship, even the sharing of equipment, between the park and the Guam Park and Recreation Department.<sup>307</sup>

Park development during the Newman years, even though limited, occasionally provoked criticism. In 1979, during Stell Newman's first year as superintendent, a controversy exploded over the construction of a small boat harbor at Gaan Point inside the boundaries of the Agat unit. Before Congress created War in the Pacific National Historical Park in 1978, local Guam government authorities had approved the construction of a small boat harbor at Agat by the U.S. Corps of Engineers, over the objection of the Park Service. When the Corps raised the issue of the marina again, after the 1978 formation of the park, Stell Newman and the Park Service again strongly objected. Representatives of the National Park Service, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, and the Department of the Interior's executive offices argued vehemently that the proposed small boat harbor was totally unacceptable because it would severely intrude on the historic scene and damage the integrity of the invasion beach and reef area in the vicinity of Gaan Point. After months of debate, Robert Utley, deputy executive director of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation in Washington, D.C. and Robert Barrell, Hawaii state director of the National Park Service flew to Guam for a public information meeting and private discussions to review the boat harbor proposal. Months of debate and negotiations passed before the Advisory Council and the National Park Service convinced the Corps to find an alternative location for the small boat harbor.<sup>308</sup>

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<sup>306</sup> Murphy, "Living Memorial Dedication Today," *Pacific Daily News*, May 26, 1982. Also see Borja, interview with Evans-Hatch and Evans-Hatch, January 28, 2003, 37,

<sup>307</sup> Borja, interview with Evans-Hatch and Evans-Hatch, January 28, 2003, 17-18.

<sup>308</sup> Newman, "Super's Annual Report—1979, 1; Colonel Peter D. Stearns, district engineer, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Honolulu, letter to Felix L. Crisostomo, director, Department of Parks and Recreation and Historic Preservation officer, April 13, 1979; Robert M. Utley, deputy executive director,

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Finally, National Park Service historians in the Western Regional Office began to question whether Stell Newman had followed all the necessary survey and documentation procedures required by historic preservation law to evaluate and preserve whatever historic features still existed in the park dating from World War II—before he removed buildings and vegetation, moved earth, and replanted trees. They also criticized some of his development decisions, like the small memorial area at Asan Point and the three flag poles at Gaan Point, claiming that they intruded on the authentic historic World War II scene.<sup>309</sup>

Physical development and maintenance of the park became severely threatened near the end of Stell Newman's superintendency. In March 1982, the Young Adult Conservation Corps (YACC) ended abruptly with the beginning of the Ronald Reagan administration. Fifteen YACC employees at Asan were dismissed, creating an enormous vacuum in park maintenance capabilities. Superintendent Stell Newman told the local media that the YACC had been responsible for virtually all maintenance work, cleanup, and some construction activities. No new maintenance workers would start working at the park until the end of April. Until then the rest of the park staff would have to pitch in, Newman told the press. "I'll be mowing the lawn this afternoon. . . . We don't want to see the park left unattended."<sup>310</sup>

### Interpretation

During 1979, interpretive efforts were minimal due to a lack of funding, staff, and knowledge of the park's precise boundaries and resources. Interpretive planning progressed as part of the overall master planning effort. Actual interpretive activities were limited to occasional tours for visiting National Park Service staff, important guests and dignitaries, and interested local residents given by Superintendent Newman. He also made numerous informal presentations to local service clubs and government agency heads, and communicated regularly with the local newspapers and radio and television stations about park news.<sup>311</sup> In the late fall of 1979, Superintendent Newman turned serious attention to interpreting the park's history to the public and, thereby, helping create a more concrete presence of the park. Eager to move ahead quickly, Newman first considered the installation of an existing traveling exhibit, entitled "Magnificent West II," to simply familiarize the Guamanian people with the National Park concept. When the logistics of excessive shipping time and money proved problematic, Newman and others explored the possibility of creating interim (fiberglass embedded) wayside exhibits. The estimated cost of planning (around \$3,800) and producing of these exhibits

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Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, letter to Peter D. Stearns, May 23, 1979; and Robert R. Garvey, Jr., executive director, Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, letter to Peter D. Stearns, July 9, 1979; all letters at the Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>309</sup> Newman, "Summary of Meetings Held," March 1981, 2, 4.

<sup>310</sup> Susan Kriefels, "Park Put in Bind by YACC Cuts," *Pacific Daily News*, April 6, 1982; Newman, "Summary of Meetings and Actions Recommended During My Recent Trip to WRO," March 1981, 3.

<sup>311</sup> Newman, "Superintendent's Annual Report—1979, War in the Pacific," 3.

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(\$10,000 to \$15,000) very likely ended further discussions of the project. The park had no funding for production of interpretive materials or signs in fiscal 1979 and 1980.<sup>312</sup>

By December 1979, Superintendent Newman began searching for and enlisting volunteer help in pursuing his vision of the park's interpretive program. Around the same time, Stell Newman and Dirk A. Ballendorf, director of the Micronesian Area Research Center (MARC) at the University of Guam, and others began discussing the need to record the experiences of those who took part in events on Guam during World War II—Guamanian residents and all those in the American and Japanese military. Stell Newman began writing letters to several American veterans of the Guam landing and post-war cleanup, asking them to write or tape their recollections of their experiences. These recordings, Newman assured all his correspondents, would be deposited in the MARC archives and would be of great value in the future interpretation of the park and for research by future historians.<sup>313</sup>

Stell Newman also began searching for artifacts of all kinds that might be donated to and used to interpret the war in the Pacific. Throughout the year, Newman was approached by several individuals wishing to donate a wide assortment of both Japanese and American World War II artifacts.<sup>314</sup> In a December 26, 1979 letter to the chief of military history for the army in Washington, D.C., Newman asked about the availability of World War II uniforms and the existence of vintage Japanese vehicles that may have been given to the U.S. Army for museum displays. "I am now trying to locate," Newman explained, "World War II uniforms and other pieces of personal equipment. . . . One of the interpretive concepts that I am almost certain will be used will [have] our Park staff dressed in World War II uniforms to give guided tours and lectures." Newman went on to describe more of his vision of the future park:

We are also planning an outdoor museum for large pieces of military hardware, such as landing craft, tanks, artillery pieces, aircraft, etc. . . . Any assistance that you might give us in locating examples of some of the more important items of military hardware in the Pacific Theatre would be appreciated<sup>315</sup>

At nearly the same time, Joe Murphy of the *Pacific Daily News*, no doubt at Stell Newman's urging, editorialized about the need for certain military equipment. "There is nothing

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<sup>312</sup> Newman, letter to Dick Cunningham, chief of interpretation, Western Region, National Park Service; manager, Harpers Ferry Center, letter to Howard Chapman, director, Western Region, National Park Service, November 7, 1979, both in Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office; Newman, "Superintendent's Annual Report—1980," 3.

<sup>313</sup> Newman, letter to K. L. Canonage, December 18, 1979, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office; "War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development," c. 1998, WAPA.

<sup>314</sup> In early September, for example, a donor, Derek Snodgrass, gave the park eight bullets that he had found on one of the park beach units. After thanking him for the contribution, Stell Newman urged Snodgrass not to pick up any more World War II remains when alone, since they could be dangerous and explode if disturbed. "You should get your parents or another adult to check them out before touching them," Newman cautioned. Stell Newman, letter to Derek Snodgrass, September 4, 1979, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>315</sup> Newman, letter to Norman Miller Cary, chief of military history, U.S. Department of the Army, December 26, 1979, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

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that the National Park Service would like better than [to] have a restored Japanese Zero fighter plane," Murphy announced in his "Pipe Dreams" column, "both at the Guam War in the Pacific National [Historical] Park, or at the new Arizona Memorial Visitor Center in Hawaii that will be completed next year." After informing readers that he had located a Japanese Zero airplane undergoing restoration by an former Navy chief petty officer Murphy suggested that "maybe we could talk Chief [Steve] Aiken into a trade. We could give him all the leftover bombs on Guam for it."<sup>316</sup> Apparently Stell Newman's approach to building the park by means of "cumshaw" development techniques (borrowing or trading) had infected the nearby offices of the *Pacific Daily News*.

Stell Newman's quest for interpretive objects of all kinds and his tenacity in asking others for them blossomed in 1980. The local news media eagerly continued to support his efforts by routinely printing articles about the latest artifacts discovered in the park or donated to it. Newman's enthusiasm and resourcefulness in locating and acquiring materials for interpretive exhibits was boundless. He began the new year with a letter to secretary of the of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., asking for large items—tanks, artillery pieces, landing craft, and motor vehicles—that might be displayed in the outdoor museum planned for the park. "One additional concept I would like to explore with you," Newman wrote,

is the possibility of placing the *Enola Gay* on permanent display here in the Park. . . . I would like to determine if there is any chance to acquire it for the museum here. . . . We would certainly have to provide a protective revetment or building to properly care of the aircraft. An interpretation of the latter phases of World War II and the introduction of atomic weapons into warfare are an important part of our Nation's history and should be interpreted somewhere. I am hoping to establish a cooperative agreement with the Peace Memorial at Hiroshima, Japan, whereby the exhibit is jointly designed and produced<sup>317</sup>

In 1980, Newman sent a barrage of additional letters focusing on park interpretation. He wrote to the headquarters of the U.S. Marine Corps, then the Library of Congress, asking for a copy of the radio recording made by former Marine Corps combat Technical Sergeant Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. during the American landing on Guam on July 21, 1944.<sup>318</sup> In February, Stell Newman wrote to the director of the Air Force Museum at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Ohio, as well as the director of the U.S. Navy Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., asking if they had any "Japanese or American aircraft, ground support equipment, weaponry, or other

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<sup>316</sup> Joe Murphy, "Pipe Dreams," *Pacific Daily News*, December 18, 1979.

<sup>317</sup> This is the airplane from which an atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, Japan, on August 8, 1945, which brought Japan to the brink of surrendering to the U.S. The *Enola Gay* is on display and interpreted to the public at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Newman, letter to S. Dillon Ripley, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, January 9, 1980, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>318</sup> Newman, letter to Division of History and Museums, Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, letter to Newman, February 20, 1980; Newman, letter to Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., March 3, 1980, all in Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

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items that were used in the Pacific Theatre, which might be available to the park, on either permanent loan or by transfer."<sup>319</sup> Newman also expressed interest in historic photos, movies, or stills that might be duplicated.<sup>320</sup> Superintendent Newman asked the commander of the Thirtieth Naval Construction Regiment in San Francisco and the commander of the Naval Construction Battalion Center if the Seabees might have appropriate material or equipment that could be donated for an exhibit about Seabee involvement in World War II. (In the same letter, Newman also asked if the Seabees, through its community action program, might be willing to help with the physical development of the park by scraping and grading overgrown areas, hauling off junk and refuse, contouring the land, removing post-war construction remains, hauling in topsoil, planting fifteen-foot-tall coconut trees, and constructing concrete forms for picnic tables.)<sup>321</sup>

Stell Newman was especially intent on exhibiting large items of military equipment at the Asan and Agat units, probably to help give the park a dramatic visible presence as well as interpret the war in the Pacific. In the spring and summer of 1980, he contacted equipment companies, airplane manufacturers, and the air force asking about the availability of amphibious vehicles, landing craft, airplanes, aerial bombs, and even plans of various World War II artillery and guns for possible donations.<sup>322</sup> "I can foresee great public interest in putting together an exhibit at Asan Point or, perhaps, at Gaan Point in Agat based on the equipment you would be willing to donate," Newman wrote to the head of the Cruz Equipment Company in Agana (Hagatna).<sup>323</sup> In a letter to the president of Failsafe Corporation, Newman observed" "I have noticed your C-46 [airplane] parked at the Guam Airport and would like to find out if your company would be interested in donating it the National Park Service for exhibiting in the park."<sup>324</sup> Newman wrote to the commander of the Third Air Division of the air force in San Francisco asking about replicas of the two atomic bombs used in World War II or other inert vintage bombs. He also asked if any units in that division might be interested in restoring World War II aircraft that Newman hoped to receive for his Asan outdoor exhibits.<sup>325</sup> Newman also wrote to the commander of the naval base on Guam asking for the donation of a Japanese two-

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<sup>319</sup> Newman, letter to Uppstrom, February 20, 1980, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>320</sup> Newman, letter to director, U.S. Navy Memorial Museum, Washington, D.C., February 20, 1980, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>321</sup> Newman, letter to Commander Don R. Sheaffer, Department of the Navy, Thirtieth Naval Construction Regiment, San Francisco, March 3, 1980; Newman, letter to commander, Naval Construction Battalion Center, Fort Hueneme, California, March 3, 1980; both letters at Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>322</sup> Robert D. Fritz, catalog of artillery and gun plans, 1979, to Stell Newman, March 24, 1980, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>323</sup> Newman, letter to Eddie J. Cruz, Cruz Equipment Company, Inc., Agana, Guam, July 16, 1980, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>324</sup> Newman, letter to president, Failsafe Corporation, Ballground, Georgia, August 18, 1980, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>325</sup> Newman, letter to Brigadier General Louis C. Buckman, commander, Third Air Division, San Francisco, July 14, 1980, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

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man submarine on display at the naval base, as well as assistance in locating a World War II Seabee bulldozer.<sup>326</sup>

From the outset of his superintendency, Stell Newman realized the importance of presenting an accurate and authentic interpretation of the war in the Pacific. Newman anticipated and encouraged park visitation by Japanese tourists, as well as Guamanians and Americans. He was committed to presenting both the Japanese and American viewpoints on the war. Exhibiting and interpreting Japanese items of military equipment was absolutely essential for presenting a balanced approach to an interpretation of the war in the Pacific. Newman located and began reading material about the Japanese culture and military history; he ordered books on these subjects, including first-person accounts of the war written by Japanese soldiers. He also looked for books written in Japanese that might be of interest to Japanese tourists and could be sold at the park. The last two weeks in March 1980, Superintendent Newman went to Japan to talk with Japanese park officials about park development, to tour several Japanese parks, to learn behavior patterns of the Japanese tourist, and to seek "advice on the sensitivities of interpreting WW II parks for Japanese visitors."<sup>327</sup> He also hoped to find military objects available for interpretive displays. While in Japan, Newman asked park officials if they would be interested in helping develop the master plan for the park. "They said 'yes'," Newman reported upon his return to Guam, "and immediately offered to send the planner for a month."<sup>328</sup> Newman received help from a Japanese park planner soon afterwards. Stell Newman's trip to Japan initiated a long and beneficial exchange between Japanese park officials and others and the War in the Pacific National Historical Park.<sup>329</sup>

Superintendent Newman had mixed success in acquiring objects for interpretative exhibits. Japanese officials, although eager to contribute, told Newman there was little military equipment left on Japan after the war; Guam and the United States probably had much more.<sup>330</sup> Certain items Newman requested were not available (such World War II uniforms and personal gear) or, if they existed, high freight and other charges put them beyond his financial reach. Sometimes Newman located desired equipment owned by potential donors who were skeptical of the park's ability to protect and preserve precious items, therefore refused to turn over objects to the park. By the fall of 1980, however, Superintendent Newman had achieved considerable success in acquiring objects of all kinds for interpretation. Black Construction Company made a major donation in late February when it gave the park a 1944 model of a road grader used by the Navy Seabees in the Pacific Theater.<sup>331</sup> By mid-summer, Newman had been given or promised a wide assortment of items. "I am having good success in getting most of the World War II material remaining on Guam for park exhibits," Newman exuberantly reported.

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<sup>326</sup> Newman, letter to Admiral Robert Fountain, U.S. Navy, Pacific Fleet, July 16, 1980; Fountain, letter to Newman, August 9, 1980, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>327</sup> "News Release, National Park Service," for release March 17, 1980, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>328</sup> Frank Quimby, "Japan Ready to Help Plan Park," *Pacific Daily News*, March 7, 1980; Joseph C. Murphy, "Action Is Needed on War in the Pacific Park," *Pacific Daily News*, July 21, 1980.

<sup>329</sup> Newman, letter to Taki Iwai, Iwanami Shoten, Publishers, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo, February 19, 1980; Bill Williams, attorney at law, Agana, Guam, letter to S. Kotani, Daisue Construction Co., Ltd. Minamilu, Osaku, May 14, 1980, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>330</sup> Murphy, "Action Is Needed."

<sup>331</sup> Victor Saymo, "Gift for War Park," *Pacific Daily News*, February 23, 1980.

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I have been promised a number of mines, shells, depth charges, and bombs by units at NAVMAG for an exhibit. The Marine Barracks is giving us their four Japanese cannons and two will be installed in original Japanese pillboxes at Gaan Point. The other two will be located at Asan Point and the Marines are going to construct coconut log emplacements for them. Cruz Equipment Company is going to donate several amphibious DUKS used in the Guam invasion and they will also put on exhibit at Gaan Point. I have received interested noises from Black Construction Company on donating the two Japanese Type 10 anti-aircraft/cannons in front of their office on Marine Drive. These will go in emplacements at Asan Point.<sup>332</sup>

"We are now directing major efforts to getting Asan Point and Gaan Point open to the public," Newman added, "to show a beginning for the park."<sup>333</sup> In addition to large objects, Newman had also collected a wide assortment of donated World War II artifacts, ranging from Japanese gas mask canisters, U.S. helmet fragments, and GI canteens to bullets, shrapnel fragments, and battery gun shells. Newman expressed enormous delight when he received copies of black and white photographs taken on Guam by a U.S. Marine during the American landing there in July 1944.<sup>334</sup>

Stell Newman's efforts to establish a real physical presence by creating outdoor exhibits open to the public were finally realized in 1981. Gaan Point, in the Agat Beach unit, opened in the spring of 1981. On display were several military objects, including a Japanese cannon and bunker. A trail connected various objects of interest at Gaan Point. A large wooden sign with painted letters as well as Japanese characters stood at the entrance to the Gaan Point outdoor exhibit. Across the bottom of the sign, equal recognition was given to both the National Park Service and the Young Adult Conservation Corps (YACC) for their contributions to open that park unit to the public. The opening of Gaan Point followed the less dramatic opening of the small Apaca picnic area in the Agat unit.<sup>335</sup> Not long afterward, Newman was offered and for a time considered accepting a World War II combat ship. It presumably would have been anchored off the Asan or Agat beaches.<sup>336</sup>

The arrival of interpretive specialist James Miculka in September 1980 did not halt Stell Newman's many requests for donated items. Miculka's experience with interpretive printed material and indoor exhibits simply allowed the park to broaden its interpretive efforts. By the end of 1980, Miculka had familiarized himself with mountains of material on World War II in the Pacific and had also attended training on curatorial methods at the National Park Service's Harpers Ferry Center. By the beginning of 1981, he began work on a park brochure, the text for outdoor signs, and on indoor exhibits. Around this time, park staff was finally preparing to move the park's administrative offices from the Pacific Daily News Building to the Haloda

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<sup>332</sup> Newman, letter to Admiral Robert Fountain, July 16, 1980, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>334</sup> Newman, letter to Clay F. Smith, Cincinnati, Ohio, August 8, 1980, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>335</sup> Mary C. Ferris, "War Park a Monument to WW II Battles," *Guam Shoppers' Guide*, March 6, 1981.

<sup>336</sup> C. Sablan Gault, "Park Head Denies Discrimination Charge," *Pacific Daily News*, July 3, 1982.

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Building at Asan, which had space for indoor interpretive exhibits on the first floor as well as approval and funding to construct an audio visual room. The Park Service began leasing this first-floor space in the spring of 1981.<sup>337</sup>

War in the Pacific National Historical Park received its first funding for the production of interpretive material, signs, and even a vintage World War II truck (with money from the "vehicle fund") in 1981.<sup>338</sup> In early March, the *Pacific Daily News* announced that Miculka was in charge of preparing the indoor exhibit to be housed in the Haloda Building, "which will include displays of World War II flags and uniforms of the armed forces of the United States, Japan, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and other nations involved in the war. . . . Small arms, maps and other mementos" would also be exhibited, Miculka reported.<sup>339</sup> By the end of that month, an interpretive folder outlining the Japanese and American occupation of Guam during World War II was nearly ready for printing.<sup>340</sup>

Miculka pushed ahead with plans for indoor interpretive exhibits. Through the summer and fall of 1981, Miculka located and collected photographs, newspaper articles, posters, soldiers' songs, and more that told the story of the Japanese and American soldiers' experiences in the Pacific during World War II. Toshihiko Sakow was hired by the National Park Service as a consultant to design the indoor exhibit.<sup>341</sup> The exhibit in progress received a major boost in early 1981 when Tadao Nakata, a private Japanese collector contacted by Miculka, gave the park Japanese military uniforms, publications, posters, and accouterments. "The gift was the biggest asset the park has for exhibit material," Miculka reported. It enabled the park to present a more balanced picture of the war in the Pacific. Later, Oyama Mamaru of Japan also donated Japanese artifacts to War in the Pacific National Historical Park.<sup>342</sup>

Jim Miculka's year-and-a-half-long efforts to create an indoor exhibit were realized on July 20, 1982 with the opening of the park's visitor information center. Staunch park supporter and politician Antonio Won Pat, Lieutenant Governor Joe Ada and representatives from the navy and air force joined the ribbon-cutting ceremonies at the Haloda Building, along with nearly 100 others. Donor Tadao Nakata traveled from Japan for the opening ceremonies. The new interpretive exhibit, built by the NPS's Harpers Ferry Center, featured a ten-minute slide/sound show in both English and Japanese. Japanese uniforms and printed material, U.S. magazines, newspaper articles, and other objects that had been gathered by the park, donated, and obtained

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<sup>337</sup> Newman, "Superintendent's Annual Report—1980, War in the Pacific," 3; Newman, memorandum and "Summary of Meetings Held," to Western Region Director [Howard Chapman], March 1981, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>338</sup> Newman, "Superintendent's Annual Report—1980, War in the Pacific"; Newman, memorandum and "Summary of Meetings Held," to Western Region Director, March 1981, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>339</sup> "Park Plans Proceeding," *Pacific Daily News*, March 4, 1981.

<sup>340</sup> Miculka, memo to Heath Pemberton, Dave Forgang, Dick Cunningham, and Russ Apple, with text for folder, March 25, 1981, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>341</sup> Paul J. Borja, "Time Trip Being Prepared in War Park," *Sunday [Pacific Daily] News*, November 1, 1981.

<sup>342</sup> Gene Linn, "Asan War Park Receives Japanese Memorabilia," *Pacific Daily News*, January 5, 1982.

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from the Smithsonian Institution, National Archives, and branches of the military. Opening of the visitor center received broad coverage in the press.<sup>343</sup>

Stell Newman's and Jim Miculka's interpretive efforts soon extended beyond the park's dry land to its underwater sites. A total of nearly 1,000 acres of the park, along the Asan and Agat units, were underwater. As early as 1980, a volunteer dive team (that included Tim Rock, Dave Hendricks, Suzanne Hendricks, Richard Fisher, and Pete Peterson) had been formed, demonstrating that a public interest in the submerged sections of the park existed.<sup>344</sup> In February 1982, a visiting marine biologist from the Channel Islands National Park, Gary Davis, had suggested the possibility of an underwater scuba-diving trail. Plans to develop an underwater interpretive trail in the vicinity of Gaan Point in the Agat unit had to be scrapped a month later, when it was discovered that a sewer outfall emptied polluted water nearby. Still, the idea of interpreting the natural history of marine life in the park as well as possible sunken historical objects seemed worth pursuing.<sup>345</sup> The search for a workable underwater trail was resumed in October 1982, even though Newman confessed to the local press that: "the area you can put in a dive trail is relatively limited."<sup>346</sup> Its time had not yet arrived by the end of 1982.

In late 1982, a major aid to the future interpretation of the park's history—the War in the Pacific Historical Resource Study—was successfully launched. This project was initiated after years of discussions among NPS historians and others about the study's value and content. On the eve of Stell Newman's arrival in the park in January 1979, the acting assistant director of cultural resources in the Washington Office of NPS, Ross Holland, had cautioned against using military histories and secondary published sources in planning for and interpreting the new park. New research is needed, he emphasized.<sup>347</sup> By mid-1981, after the park's completed draft general management plan called for development and interpretation without new historical research—without a historic resource study—National Park Service military historians vehemently objected. In September 1981, Regional Historian Gordon Chappell in NPS's Western Region insisted that funding be sought to complete a historic resource study for the park, written by a military historian.<sup>348</sup> NPS Chief Historian Edwin Bearrs, two months later, summarized a long debate between the NPS park planners and military historians in a letter to Brigadier General Edwin H. Simmons, director of U.S. Marine Corps History and Museums. "It is mandatory that a historic resource study, to feature a review [of] primary sources, be programmed in the near future. Otherwise the NPS, in its efforts to interpret the area, will be plagued by certain ambiguities in

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<sup>343</sup> "News Release, National Park Service," National Park Visitor Information Center Opens July 20," c. July 1982, Pacific Great Basin Support Office; C. Sablan Gault, "Pacific War Park Opens Show at Visitor Information Center," *Pacific Daily News*, August 6, 1982.

<sup>344</sup> "War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development," c. 1998, Archives, WAPA.

<sup>345</sup> Susan Kreifels, "Underwater Trail a Diving Attraction," *Pacific Daily News*, February 16, 1982; Joseph C. Murphy, "Underwater Park," *Pacific Daily News*, February 20, 1982; C. Sablan Gault, "Alternate Dive Trails Considered," *Pacific Daily News*, March 20, 1982;

<sup>346</sup> "Weather Hampers Underwater Trial Plan," *Pacific Daily News*, October 19, 1982.

<sup>347</sup> F. Ross Holland, Jr., memorandum to regional director [Howard Chapman], Western Region, January 2, 1979.

<sup>348</sup> Gordon Chappell, memorandum to regional director, Western Region, NPS, September 9, 1981, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

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site identification previously noted by Marine Corps historians. . . . Only through use of primary documents generated on the regimental, battalion, and company level can such ambiguities be resolved," Bearss emphatically stated.<sup>349</sup> Another six months passed before funding had been appropriated and a NPS historian, Charles W. Snell, was selected to write a historic resource study. Snell made his first trip to Guam to assess the park's boundaries and historic resources in September 1982. By the end of the year, Snell was immersed in primary research from a wide array of government sources.<sup>350</sup>

### Newman Era Ends Abruptly

At the end of 1982, Superintendent Newman and his staff could measure the progress that had been made in developing all aspects of the park over the previous four years. They, no doubt, assumed that Newman's energy and enthusiasm would continue to advance the park further into the future. This was not to happen.

On December 27, 1982, a little before 10 a.m., Stell Newman was heading northeast on Route 1, less than a quarter mile from the visitor center. Suddenly, a Toyota pickup truck with two young men, traveling in the opposite direction, lost control, swerved across the highway's centerline, and slammed into the door of the 1975 AMC sedan driven by Newman. Stell Newman was killed instantly. He was pronounced dead at 10:25 by Dr. P. Boonprankoong. Stell Newman was forty-six years old.<sup>351</sup>

Stell Newman's sudden and untimely death released an outpouring of anguish and sorrow across Guam and elsewhere. For weeks, his friends and family, while grieving his death, memorialized his life in the local newspapers and at gatherings to remember his life and contributions to War in the Pacific National Park. Joseph C. Murphy of the *Pacific Daily News* who had come to know Stell Newman and championed all his park development activities, wrote that Newman

represented everything that is good in our federal government, and in doing so, wound up with a sensitive love for Guam. . . . He wanted more than anything to make that park into the premier memorial to all those killed in the Pacific battle. . . . It was Newman, more than any other person who was responsible for getting the park plan moving. . . . T. Stell Newman WAS [the] Historic Park. . . . The people of Guam will miss him, and we hope that some day his

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<sup>349</sup> Edwin C. Bearss, letter to Brigadier General Edwin H. Simmons, director of U.S. Marine Corps History and Museums, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard, Washington, D.C., November 10, 1981.

<sup>350</sup> Charles W. Snell, memorandum to Kenneth L. Raithe, Jr., on report on the trip to Guam, October 13, 1982; Charles W. Snell, memorandum to Wilford D. Logan, "Package No. 132—War in the Pacific NHP, Guam"; both at Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>351</sup> Injuries received, principally a severed aorta and dislocation of the cervical (neck) spine, were the primary cause of Newman's death. Elaine Santos, "Park Superintendent Dies in Car Collision," *Pacific Daily News*, December 28, 1982; "Trip Report (Guam Time)," January 11, 1983. The driver of the other vehicle was later convicted of manslaughter and served a minimum sentence.

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memorial will be a completed, beautiful and touching War in the Pacific National Historical Park.<sup>352</sup>

In late December, the Thirteenth Guam Legislature passed a resolution asking the governor to give Newman the Ancient Order of Chamorri posthumously.<sup>353</sup> This was the first time such an award had been given to a non-Chamorro.

Two days after his death, friends of Stell's gathered privately to celebrate his life and honor his person in a letter "To Stell."

We remember his cool competence under stress, the humorous, even playful part of his nature, the grace and friendship that warmed the lives around him, the values and firm grounding that informed his work, the art and craft that inspired his leisure and edified what might have been the barren hours. . . . Stell was a man of action, but also an academic and philosopher who seemed effortlessly to combine his gifts for the greater enjoyment of life's offerings. . . . We must grieve his untimely loss—to his family, to us his friends, to the institution he served so well. Yet, the view of his life that we all share cannot help but bring a smile—he did so many things so well with such good spirit. To honor him, let us share his amused view of the human condition, his joy in physical and intellectual quest, his seeking in the mysteries that surround.<sup>354</sup>

On Sunday, January 16, 1983, about 150 people gathered at Gaan Point in a memorial to remember Superintendent T. Stell Newman and tell stories about his life.<sup>355</sup> Some time later, some of his ashes were spread at sea, from Asan Point in the War in the Pacific National Historical Park. Hundreds of dollars were donated to plant dozens of palm trees in a cluster at the Agat Beach unit as a living memorial to Stell Newman.<sup>356</sup> Twenty years later, this memorial and memories of Newman remain vivid. In 2003, Roque Borja recalled that he had "never had a supervisor like him. . . . He was truly outstanding. He was good."<sup>357</sup>

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<sup>352</sup> Joseph C. Murphy, "T. Stell Newman WAS Historic Park," *Pacific Daily News*, December 29, 1982.

<sup>353</sup> "Memorial Rites Planned for Park Superintendent," *Pacific Daily News*, December 31, 1982.

<sup>354</sup> "To Stell," a remembrance by Stell's friends at the Stondalls' home, December 29, 1982, Archives, War in the Pacific National Historical Park.

<sup>355</sup> Paul Borja, "Newman Remembered for His Warmth," *Pacific Daily News*, January 17, 1983.

<sup>356</sup> Tigger (Nancy) Newman (daughter of Stell Newman), letter to Gail Evans-Hatch and Michael Evans-Hatch, January 2004; Youngsoo Chang, "Park Site for Newman Memorial Service," *Pacific Daily News*, January 12, 1983; Borja, interview with Gail Evans-Hatch and Michael Evans-Hatch, January 28, 2003, 24.

<sup>357</sup> Borja, interview with Gail Evans-Hatch and Michael Evans-Hatch, January 28, 2003 (transcript, 31).

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## Chapter 9

### **EXPANDING PARK OPERATIONS: THE REYES YEARS 1983-1991**

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#### *Introduction*

The death of Stell Newman in late December 1982 marked the end of a brief embryonic period of birth and early planning for War in the Pacific National Historical Park. During Newman's four-year era, when the number of personnel ranged from one to four and the park units were, at first, undifferentiated from everything around them, the persona of Stell Newman WAS the park. The Newman legacy continued during the eight-year superintendency of Rafael (Ralph) Reyes. Planning and early physical developments undertaken by Newman were continued. Development in the Reyes period, however, also slowly evolved to acquire its own unique character.

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Rafael Reyes, a kind and understanding man, avoided controversy whenever possible; his years as superintendent were characterized by his non-confrontational management and public relations style. Reyes era developments included gradual expansion of park funding and park staff, increased effort to hire permanent and seasonal employees of Chamorro descent, and efforts to foster productive relationships with Japanese park personnel the Japanese tourist industry. Volunteers continued to contribute in significant ways to park development; but they were fewer in number and more focused in their activities than during Newman's superintendency. The Reyes years became a time when the protection and preservation of park cultural and natural resources became an important thrust of park management strategies. The physical development of the park as well as interpretive exhibits also continued to expand. Perhaps most notably, the 1980s witnessed the exploration, documentation, assessment, and interpretation of underwater resources at Asan, Agat, and elsewhere in the Pacific.

#### Park Staff

Following Stell Newman's death in late December 1982, Chief Ranger James Miculka became acting superintendent for four months. In early April 1983, Rafael (Ralph) J. M. Reyes assumed the post of superintendent of War in the Pacific National Historical Park and of the American Memorial Park on Saipan. Reyes became the first National Park superintendent of Chamorro descent.

Born in 1926 on Guam, Reyes was fifteen years old when the Japanese bombed Guam on December 8, 1941. During the two-and-one-half-year Japanese occupation of Guam, the Japanese used Reyes and many other Chamorros to construct some of the defensive structures that Reyes later would protect as superintendent of War in the Pacific National Historic Park. After the war, Reyes went to live with his brother in Vallejo, California, where he graduated from high school. Reyes then moved to Palm Springs, where he lived with and worked for his uncle in his uncle's cabinet shop for about two years. Reyes returned to Guam to attend the University of Guam, and, after two years training, received a certificate for proficiency in graphic arts. In 1948, at age twenty-two, Rafael Reyes enlisted in the U.S. Air Force at Anderson Air Force Base. Over the next twenty years, he worked as an illustrator at several different locations. Reyes retired from the air force in 1969 and returned to the University of Guam, where he completed his junior year, majoring in Fine Arts.<sup>358</sup> Reyes then worked as an urban planner with the San Bernardino, California Planning Department. In the early 1970s, Reyes returned to Guam and took a job as a park planner for the Guam Department of Parks and Recreation. Rafael Reyes became head of that department in 1975. Reyes was one of eighteen applicants who competed nationwide for the position of superintendent of War in the Pacific National Historical Park. After being hired, Rafael Reyes guided the park's development over the next eight years, except for a two-month period in 1985 when he went to Sequoia Kings Canyon National Park to study park operations there. Reyes retired from the National Park Service on June 30, 1991.<sup>359</sup>

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<sup>358</sup> Rafael Reyes, communication with Gail Evans-Hatch, February 19, 2004; also Reyes, letter sent to Evans-Hatch & Associates, March 21, 2004.

<sup>359</sup> "Rafael J. M. Reyes: New Superintendent Takes Charge," May 9, 1983; Rafael J. M. Reyes, "Superintendent Announces Retirement," c. 1991; both in Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

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Roque Borja, who had served as chief of the Maintenance Division under Stell Newman, continued working at the park for another nine years, through the entire Reyes superintendency. Borja continued to oversee the physical development and maintenance of the park, often with a very limited number of seasonal staff and volunteers. Two to four seasonal employees were routinely hired to work several months (often six months) each year. Limited park funding in the late 1980s, however, required a drastic reduction in the hours of seasonal laborers. Local Boy Scout Troop 45 and Team 45 of Talisay volunteered to help with some maintenance activities in 1987. Borja also received occasional guidance with specific projects from other National Park Service offices. In 1988, for example, Denver Service Center structural engineer Richard Silva worked with Borja and the Maintenance Division on the emergency stabilization of the Gaan Point Japanese pillbox and other park structures. In May 1987, Borja received the "Professional Group Award" from the Government of Guam Soil and Conservation Resources Department. Roque Borja retired from NPS in November 1991, after eleven years of NPS employment and just four months after Superintendent Reyes' retired.<sup>360</sup>

James E. Miculka, after serving as acting superintendent for four months following Stell Newman's death, resumed his responsibilities as ranger and interpretive specialist when Reyes became superintendent. Miculka remained at the park through nearly the entire eight-year Reyes superintendency, except for one year (October 1985 to November 1986), when he completed a Masters of Science degree in natural resource management at the University of Scotland in Edinburgh. After a second permanent park ranger (Rose Manibusan) was hired in 1986, Miculka became chief ranger at the park. As a ranger he had many leadership roles: chief of the park dive team, head of the park's fire fighting team, and in charge of law enforcement. Miculka also continued as the chief of interpretation, and was primarily responsible for exhibits, curation of museum objects, making presentations to park visitors, coordinating special events and celebrations, and hiring and supervising seasonal park interpreters and volunteers. Chief Ranger Jim Miculka left Guam and transferred to Jean Lafitte National Park in New Orleans, where he took a position as the chief of Interpretation and Resource Management in August 1991, six months before Superintendent Reyes retires.<sup>361</sup>

Rose S. N. Manibusan began working for War in the Pacific National Historical Park just one month after Rafael Reyes became superintendent and she remained at the park throughout his eight-year superintendency (and into the twenty-first century). Manibusan worked first as a clerk typist for the park, then as a member of the NPS submerged cultural resources unit before she became a park ranger. Her 1986 promotion to a permanent ranger

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Also see Esther Paik, "Local Engineer Tapped to Head Historical Park," *Pacific Daily News*, April 6, 1983; Gene Rose, *Fresno Bee*, December 16, 1985; Tandra Maddock, "Japanese Bombs Recalled," *Pacific Daily News*, December 8, 1988.

<sup>360</sup> Reyes, "Annual Narrative Reports of Superintendents [1988], February 17, 1989, Archives Harpers Ferry Center, National Park Service; "War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development," c. 1998, War in the Pacific National Historical Park.

<sup>361</sup> Rafael Reyes, "Annual Reports of Superintendents" [1985], March 10, 1986, and [1986], February 10, 1987, and [1989] March 1, 1990; all at Harpers Ferry Center. Also see "War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development.

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position made her the first female park ranger of Chamorro descent employed by the National Park Service, and the second permanent park ranger at the park.

Manibusan played many roles as park ranger, between 1983 and 1991. She served on NPS's first fire fighting team in the 1980s. She assisted Chief Ranger Jim Miculka with interpretive programs, and worked closely with the Marianas National Park Association to enhance visitor awareness and help fund interpretive programs, exhibits, and special projects at War in the Pacific National Historical Park and the American Memorial Park (AMME) in Saipan. Manibusan also took on resource management duties, helping especially to inventory and assess underwater sites. In October and November 1987, she was the first person selected from the park to attend a ranger skills course at the National Park Service's Albright Training Center at the Grand Canyon. In October 1989, Manibusan transferred to the Fire Management office in the Ranger Division at NPS's Western Regional Office. She returned one year later, soon after the departure of Chief Ranger James Miculka and assumed the position of chief of interpretation.<sup>362</sup>

In 1985, Nobuo Ichihara, chief ranger at Chubu-Sangaku National Park in Japan, worked at the park for an entire year as part of an exchange program between the National Park Service and Japanese parks. He participated in park development, operations, and interpretation projects, especially as they related to Japanese visitors. He helped increase Japanese visitor awareness of the park by opening lines of communication. He translated tourist and interpretive brochures for War in the Pacific and other NPS Pacific parks into Japanese. Ichihara also became involved in the assessment of World War II submerged resources on Saipan. He also took part in several NPS training programs dealing with resource management, fire control, park operations, and interpretation. Ichihara lived on Guam with his wife, Midori, and son, Kotaro, for ten months before completing the last two months of his yearlong exchange program by visiting other national parks.<sup>363</sup>

The number of permanent part-time and seasonal (usually 180 days) employees fluctuated during the 1980s, reflecting ebbs and flows in funding. The Ranger Division expanded slightly in the mid-1980s with the addition of Jimmy Garrido, hired as a temporary employee in 1985, which became a permanent part-time employee in 1986. Kevin Carter also began working for the the park's ranger division in the mid-1980s. Both men, just as Park Ranger Rose Manibusan, began their association with the park as members of the NPS Dive Team. David Arriola also worked for the park as a ranger in the mid-1980s. One seasonal interpreter, Vernon Kamiaz, began working at the park in 1988. In 1990, Masao Wada, Japanese consul general, worked in the interpretive division of the park, completing translations from English to Japanese and promoting the park to Japanese travel agencies. During the Reyes superintendency, the park's clerk typist administrative technician position was occupied by several individuals, including Esther Taitano and Joann Diego.<sup>364</sup>

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<sup>362</sup> "War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development"; Reyes, "Superintendent's Annual Report" [1986], February 10, 1987; and [1987], April 26, 1988; both at Harpers Ferry Center.

<sup>363</sup> "2 New Park Rangers Join Pacific National Historical Park," *Guam Tribune*, January 4, 1985; Reyes, "Annual Reports of Superintendents" [1985], March 10, 1986.

<sup>364</sup> "War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development"; Reyes, "Annual Reports of Superintendents" [1985] March 10, 1986; and [1986] February 10, 1987; and [1988] February 17, 1989;

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Finally, NPS employee Ed Wood came to work at the park on several occasions in the 1980s. From November 1985 to May 1986, he came from Lehman Caves National Monument in Baker, Nevada, to work as acting interpretive specialist during Jim Miculka's one-year leave of absence to complete a graduate degree at the University of Edinburgh. Wood returned to the Marianas in January 1989 (from his position as visitor center supervisor at Grand Canyon National Park) after being selected as the supervisory park ranger-in-charge (replacing Gordon Joyce) at the American Memorial Park on Saipan, Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands.<sup>365</sup>

Volunteers, working as both individuals and associated with organizations, contributed countless hours to operations, development and maintenance, and interpretive programs during the 1980s. Several individuals associated with the non-profit Marianas National Park Association (1983-1989), including Anthony Ramirez, Gordon Tydingco, Dirk Ballendorf, John Weisenburger, David Lotz, Carlos Nieves, and Annette Donner, worked to improve visitor awareness of the park's existence and to improve its interpretive programs. When this organization dissolved, the Arizona Memorial Museum Association, based in Honolulu, extended its reach to the park in May 1990. Several individuals also volunteered to serve on the NPS Dive Team, formed in 1983 (Suzanne Hendricks, Joe Taitano, Time Rock, Greg Champion, and Bill Cooper) and NPS Fire Fighting Team, formed in 1984 (Kin Leon Guerrero, Lonnie Knudsen, Henry Conway, and Rick Sotomayor). On special occasions, such as the park's 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration in 1988, David Lotz and Lonnie Knudsen led visitors on hikes to historic sites in the park and elsewhere on Guam. Lotz and Knudson led visitors on several "historic sties boonie stomps," one of which included several historic sites in the park, in August of that year.<sup>366</sup> Volunteers contributed hundreds of hours each year, mostly in curatorial services, interpretation, and resource management. Superintendent Reyes reported that volunteer hours in 1986 totaled 960 hours. In 1990, commercial airline pilot William Cooper, alone, donated over 500 hours to the NPS Dive Team project to explore and survey a shipwreck at Apra Harbor.<sup>367</sup>

The administrative offices for War in the Pacific National Historical Park personnel continued to be located in the leased Haloda Building at 115 Marine Drive, Asan, throughout the Reyes superintendency. Some alterations were made, however, to the park staff office space. In the summer of 1983, shortly after the arrival of Rafael Reyes, construction of office space on the

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and [1989] March 1, 1990; all at Harpers Ferry Center. Also see James Miculka, e-mail message to Gail Evans-Hatch and Michael Evans-Hatch, February 2003.

<sup>365</sup> Reyes, "Annual Reports of Superintendents" [1985] March 10, 1986; and [1986] February 10, 1987; and [1988] February 17, 1989; and [1989] March 1, 1990; all at Harpers Ferry Center.

<sup>366</sup> Reyes, "Superintendent's Annual Report [1986] February 10, 1987 and [1989] March 1, 1990; "War in the Pacific 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary," *Pacific Daily News*, August 14, 1988. In 1984, *Pacific Daily News* travel editor Ronn Ronck wrote that there was no one "who knows the backside of Guam better than he [Lotz] does." Ronck, "If You Visit Guam Take a Long Hike," *Pacific Daily News*, May 27, 1984. Lotz put together annotated hiking maps of Guam.

<sup>367</sup> Reyes, "Annual Reports of Superintendents" [1987] April 26, 1988 and [1990] March 1, 1990.

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second floor of the building allowed park staff to move there from the first floor, where a temporary wall separated offices from the visitor center and museum.<sup>368</sup>

By 1985, park staff had identified a long list of problems with the building, ranging from cracked or broken windows and deteriorated weather stripping around windows, to water seeping through the walls at several locations (behind the information desk and near the GI exhibit on the first floor as well as the west wall on the second floor). Although the owner, Ida Chang of Overseas Investment Corporation, had completed some repairs by May 1986, other items (such as water leakage in certain walls, inadequate water proofing on the roof, and disintegrating paint on exterior walls) had still not been addressed.<sup>369</sup> By then, the General Services Administration (GSA) had begun assessing the space requirements for the the staff so that a new headquarters could be located before the lease of the Haloda Building expired on December 14, 1987. Superintendent Reyes communicated with GSA over several months regarding space requirements, even though there was a growing resistance by the park to move from the Haloda Building, just as the park was approaching its tenth anniversary and the fiftieth anniversary of U.S. involvement in World War II. Chief of GSA contracting, John M. Ozanich, noted in a February 28, 1987, letter that the manager of the park desired to remain in the Haloda Building, since the facility was both a visitor center and park headquarters. "The park is now beginning to be developed and there will be significant development and preparation for activities in 1991-92 commemorating the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of World War II operations in the Pacific. It is essential that there is not an office relocation during the next five years."<sup>370</sup> Efforts to negotiate the purchase of the Haloda Building in the mid- and late 1980s also proved unsuccessful. By 1988, the National Park Service had concluded that:

Even if the Service succeeds in acquiring the Haloda building,  
this structure will eventually be demolished since:

(A) It intrudes directly upon the Asan invasion beach

...

(B) It would not be cost effective to bring the building up to acceptable safety codes. Air conditioning is needed year round, full time in a structure of this design. This is very expensive.<sup>371</sup>

In 1988, the Haloda Building cost the National Park Service \$116,000 a year to lease and pay for utilities and minimal maintenance. Despite NPS's failed efforts to buy or have the Haloda Building adequately maintained, War in the Pacific National Historical Park

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<sup>368</sup> Jim Miculka, acting superintendent, War in the Pacific, memorandum to director, Western Region, National Park Service, August 19, 1983.

<sup>369</sup> Reyes, letter to Ida Chang, May 1, 1986, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>370</sup> John M. Ozanich, chief, contracting and general services, letter to Melanie Norton, General Services Administration, San Francisco, February 20, 1987.

<sup>371</sup> National Park Service, War in the Park National Historical Park, "Statement for Management," August 1988, 30, 42, Archives, WAPA.

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administrative offices remained in the building, renamed the "T. Stell Newman Visitor Center" in 1985, for the next sixteen years, until early 2003.

### Planning and Resource Management

Planning for the future of the park and managing park resources—natural, cultural (both above and below water), and museum items—became more focused and refined in the 1980s, following final approval of the General Management Plan in May 1983, just around the time that Rafael Reyes became superintendent. Plans for managing the lands in War in the Pacific National Historical Park took final form in several documents produced in the 1980s: the Land Management Plan (completed in April 1983), the interpretive plan (interim completed in May 1983), the Natural and Cultural Resource Management Plan (revised and updated in January 1984), the Land Protection Plan (completed in April 1984), the Scope of Collections Statement (completed in February 1985), the Historic Resource Study (completed in July 1985), the Fire Management Plan (completed in March 1987), the Statement for Management (completed in August 1988), and the Micronesia Submerged Cultural Resource Assessment (completed in 1991). Each planning document helped clarify and advance management strategies for its varied resources. The development of each plan had its own history, unique to War in the Pacific National Historical Park

The Natural and Cultural Resource Management Plan, which expanded on the General Management Plan (GMP), was revised and updated in January 1984, less than one year after approval of the GMP. This revised management plan emphasized the importance of managing War in the Pacific National Historical Park to conserve, protect, and interpret the outstanding historic and natural values and objects associated with the park. As a historical park, rather than an NPS national memorial,<sup>372</sup> The park had been created to protect and interpret its historic fabric and associated values. The Natural and Cultural Management Plan fleshed out and elaborated on two general objectives presented in the GMP: 1) preserve and manage important geographical and historical features within the park, and 2) preserve, perpetuate, and interpret important natural features. The preservation of features, additional research on resources, and restoration of the historic scene comprised the three principal thrusts of the resource management plan. This management plan presented a comprehensive list and discussion of specific, identifiable cultural and natural resource management issues, called "project statements." In order of priority, these project statements called for the completion of several projects or tasks, which included:

- 1) Stabilizing/preserving historic sites
- 2) Surveying of submerged cultural resources
- 3) Managing natural/cultural resources
- 4) Re-establishing the historic scene
- 5) Conducting Chamorro oral histories
- 6) Completing park topographic base map

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<sup>372</sup> National Park Service national memorials are set aside primarily for their commemorative value.

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- 7) Reducing vehicle damage to park resources
- 8) Completing the impact study for removal of reef construction
- 9) Completing vegetation map
- 10) Conducting Japanese oral histories
- 11) Conducting American oral histories
- 12) Completing research study on reef subsistence use
- 13) Completing exotic plant control research
- 14) Completing wildfire study and survey
- 15) Completing small animal inventory
- 16) Completing archaeological surface survey

At least a dozen projects of lesser importance were also presented as project statements in this plan.<sup>373</sup>

The protection, preservation, and stabilization of park resources became a major focus of management activities during the Reyes superintendency. Resource protection and preservation took many forms in the 1980s, many of which were defensive and aimed to check intrusive and destructive activities in or near the park. In the summer of 1983, Superintendent Reyes objected to certain design aspects of the Guam House and Urban Renewal Authority's (GHURA) Asan Redevelopment Project adjacent to the Asan Beach unit. Reyes communicated his grave concerns (as had Superintendent Stell Newman in May 1981) about the visually intrusive nature of the proposed use of riprap and elements of the project's drainage system, as well as the lack of pedestrian access across the ninety-foot-wide channel created by the project. Nearly a year later, these same design concerns had not been adequately addressed. The Advisory Council on Historic Preservation and the GHURA were hammering out a memorandum of agreement to try and address the park's historic preservation concern about protecting the historic scene around Asan Point.<sup>374</sup>

The War in the Pacific staff took a far different defensive stance in 1984 to a mock landing of the U.S. Marines in the Asan Beach unit. The so-called American invasion re-enactment was part of the annual Liberation Day celebrations on Guam; 1984 marked the fortieth anniversary of the July 21, 1944 American landing on Asan and Agat beaches. Presumably, to protect the historic resources, scene, and associated values of Asan Beach, the National Park Service prohibited the battle re-enactments inside the park boundaries. Both the *Pacific Daily News* editor Joseph Murphy and the Guam Department of Parks and Recreation Manager David Lotz sharply criticized Superintendent Reyes for NPS's refusal to allow the Marine re-enactors to land at the original landing site on Asan Beach. "The decision not to allow the Marines to land in the park area just brings into focus the insensitivity of the park officials,"

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<sup>373</sup> "War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Natural and Cultural Resource Management Plan," 1-20.

<sup>374</sup> Rafael Reyes, letter to Leonard Pauline, executive director, Guam Housing and Urban Renewal Authority, June 9, 1983; Pauline, letter to Reyes, March 1984; Reyes, letter to Pauline, April 27, 1984; Guam House and Urban Renewal Authority, "Report to the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, Documentation for Determination of No Adverse Effect for the Asan Village Site," April 1984; all documents at Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

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editor Murphy charged.<sup>375</sup> Guam Parks Management Officer David Lotz refuted Reyes's earlier statement that NPS had never been asked to participate in the re-enactment, and he strongly criticized NPS's, and especially Chief Ranger Jim Miculka's, "negative attitudes." According to Lotz, "this latest non-involvement of the Park in the community has created a serious rift that only positive meaningful cooperation from NPS can ever hope to erase."<sup>376</sup> Six months later, Superintendent Reyes wrote to the NPS Western Region's chief of interpretation asking for "the interpretation of the law" prohibiting battle re-enactments on National Park Service property.

That same year, 1985, the Park Service and Superintendent Reyes resisted another Government of Guam (GovGuam) proposed project—dredging at Adelup Point of two swimming acres. NPS believed the dredging would have an adverse visual effect on the historic scene in the Asan Beach unit. In addition to dredging for recreational swimming Guam Governor Ricardo Bordallo also wanted to construct the governor's offices at Adelup Point on land inside the park boundaries, but not yet purchased by the National Park Service. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers was to complete this dredging for GovGuam's Department of Parks and Recreation. After several weeks of protracted discussions, all parties involved eventually agreed to dredge only two acres of reef flat on the east side of Adelup Point. "It appears," wrote Corps Colonel Michael Jenks, to Governor Bordallo, "that the approved two-acre swimming area would satisfy that need [for recreational swimming] while still preserving the historical significance of the War in the Pacific National Historical Park as requested by the National Park Service."<sup>377</sup> In September 1985, the Government of Guam then made a second application to the Army Corps of Engineers to dredge the west side of the point. The National Park Service remained opposed, renewing its argument that this activity would adversely the historic scene visible from the U.S. landing beach at Asan. The Government of Guam then wrote to the secretary of the Interior asking to have Adelup Point removed from the park by changing the park boundaries.<sup>378</sup> Finally, the Army Corps of Engineers at Fort Shafter, Hawaii conferred with Bryan Harry of the National Park Service's Pacific Area Office, and concluded that no dredging would occur at Adelup Point.<sup>379</sup>

Resource protection at War in the Pacific took other varied defensive forms in the 1980s, from prohibiting large concerts in the park and removing explosives from underwater resources to rejecting the construction of an observatory tower at Piti Bay. In 1986, for example, Superintendent Reyes tersely turned down a request to permit a live concert featuring country

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<sup>375</sup> Murphy, "War Park Not Taking Part in Liberation," *Pacific Daily News*, July 17, 1984. Also see Murphy, "Flying Much Safer Than Driving on Guam," *Pacific Daily News*, July 20, 1984.

<sup>376</sup> Lotz, letter to Ralph Reyes, July 27, 1984; Reyes, letter to chief of interpretation, Western Region, National Park Service, January 3, 1985; both in Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>377</sup> Michael Jenks, letter to Guam Governor Ricardo J. Bordallo, August 23, 1985, Pacific Great Basin Support Office. Also see Reyes to Everette A. Flanders, chief, construction, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, August 8, 1985, and Flanders, letter to Robert Fink, Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, August 27, 1985; both at Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>378</sup> National Park Service, Western Region, "99<sup>th</sup> Congress Issues Briefing Statement," January 28, 1986, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>379</sup> Reyes, Annual Reports of the Superintendents (1985), March 10, 1986, Harpers Ferry Center.

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rock group "America" at Asan Point.<sup>380</sup> From 1988 to 1990, the National Park Service engaged in protracted discussions with the Government of Guam, Department of Parks and Recreation, the Corps of Engineers, and T & NN International, Inc. about the construction of an offshore observation tower, elevated walkway, and support shoreside facilities next to the Marine landing at Asan Beach within the park. National Park Service, Pacific Region Director Bryan Harry repeatedly stated that this forty-foot-high tower located adjacent to the Asan Beach unit (listed on the National Register of Historic Places), would have an adverse effect on the historic resources and associated values of the park.<sup>381</sup>

During the Reyes years, War in the Pacific undertook several positive, constructive resource management projects. Although begun near the end of Stell Newman's superintendency, the Historic Resources Study (HRS) came to fruition during the Reyes years. The HRS was intended to provide accurate and essential historical data that would enable park managers to better manage, as well as interpret, the approximately 100 historic buildings, structures, and objects identified by an archaeologist (and included on the park's List of Classified Structures). There was great concern especially about preservation of the deteriorating concrete Japanese defense structures in the park. Research would be conducted in primary source military records to ensure the greatest accuracy possible. Park HRSeS aimed to document, in a readable narrative, the origin, history, use, integrity, and relevance of the park's existing cultural resources, as well as historic World War II natural landscapes, so that they might be evaluated for preservation and/or restoration initiatives by the National Park Service. Historic base maps showing the location of all historic features related to World War II would accompany the HRS.

According to the early project description, the Historic Resource Study was to begin in mid-1982 and be completed in September 1983 by a NPS historian for a total project cost of \$92,000. Charles Snell, historian in the Washington, D.C., office, was selected to research and write the HRS ("NPS Package No. 132"). *Ad hoc* consultants to the project included: chiefs of the U.S. Navy, Army, Marine Corps, and Air Force history divisions, the Historic Preservation Office, Department of Parks and Recreation, Government of Guam, the War in the Pacific superintendent, Nagayo Houm, Japanese historian at the University of Tokyo, and Erwin Thompson, National Historic Landmark program project historian, working at the Denver Service Center.<sup>382</sup> While Charles Snell began work on the Historic Resource Study, historian Erwin Thompson undertook research for a National Historic Landmark "theme study," a contextual history, of World War II in the Pacific. Undoubtedly, the two history studies were intended to mesh and both historians, Snell and Thompson, would have the benefit of each other's work.

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<sup>380</sup> Jeff Pleadwell, letter to Ralph Reyes, September 23, 1986; Reyes, letter to Pleadwell, October 2, 1986; both at Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>381</sup> Bryan Harry, letters to Francis Dayton, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, April 7, 1988 and December 19, 1989, and to Satoru Kawanamie, managing director, T & NN International, Inc., March 30, 1990; all at Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>382</sup> Gordon Chappell, Historic Resource Study proposal, Package Number 132,, c. 1981, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

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Over the next several months, Charles Snell conducted intensive research on World War II history. He spent three weeks on Guam in September 1982. He visited the Micronesia Area Research Center at the University of Guam and closely examined and assessed the historical adequacy of each park unit and its boundaries. He also traveled to World War II historic sites outside the park units with Stell Newman, Jim Miculka, and Anthony Ramirez (preservation officer at the Guam Historic Preservation Office) to assess the potential for marking and interpreting them.<sup>383</sup> By early December 1982, Snell had compiled fourteen bibliographies of unpublished and published studies, articles, and books relating to Guam during World War II.<sup>384</sup>

By the spring of 1983, Charles Snell had examined hundreds of primary source historical records, both in paper and microfilm format, photocopied thousands of pages, and catalogued all the material he had amassed on the American landing on Guam. In addition to producing an impressive historical narrative typescript (on a *typewriter*), Snell photocopied thousands more pages of narrative, maps, and photographs of the American battle on Guam, catalogued, and, finally, meticulously indexed all this material.<sup>385</sup> The thirty-page "Catalogue of Overlays Prepared by the 3<sup>rd</sup> Marine Division, 1<sup>st</sup> Provisional Marine Brigade, and the 77<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division" was one of over two dozen catalogues of research material prepared by Snell, in his effort to bring order to the exhaustive and exhausting accumulation of material he had gathered.<sup>386</sup> During the same period, National Park Service historian Erwin Thompson continued his research, at numerous repositories, for the World War II war in the Pacific theme study.<sup>387</sup>

As the months passed, concern about the protective management of the historic resources in War in the Pacific National Historical Park and about the need to possibly refine the boundaries of the park so as to include additional significant World War II sites and structures heightened among NPS historians, especially in the Western Region. Growing concern over rapid deterioration of World War II artifacts as the result of the climate of Guam, and the slow progress being made to evaluate the significance of actual World War II resources on the island, prompted Western Region historian Gordon Chappell to ask NPS Chief Historian (as well as a military historian) Edwin C. Bearss to go to Guam, make a thorough reconnaissance of World War II sites, and suggest recommendations about possible park boundary revisions. After his six-day visit to and site-by-site analysis on Guam, Bearss recommended that minor park boundary adjustments be made to include five important World War II sites: 1) Dungcas Japanese invasion beach; 2) Dadi Beach Japanese pill box complex; 3) Apuntua Point dump site

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<sup>383</sup> Snell, memorandum to Kenneth L. Raithel, assistant manager, Alaska/Pacific Northwest/Western Team, Denver Service Center, October 13, 1982, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>384</sup> Snell, memorandum to Wilford Logan, Alaska/Pacific Northwest/Western Team, Denver Service Center, December 8, 1982, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>385</sup> This important typescript Historical Resource Study must still be compiled, edited, and printed. When those tasks are completed, hopefully by WAPA volunteers, the document will be a continuing source of rich historical information.

<sup>386</sup> Snell, "A Catalogue of Overlays Prepared by the 3<sup>rd</sup> Marine Division, 1<sup>st</sup> Provisional Marine Brigade, and the 77<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division," August 1983, Pacific Great Basin Support Office. Also see Snell, "Status Report No. 7 for Package No. 132, October 1983, memorandum to Betty Jones, chief of Planning Division, Alaska/Pacific Northwest/Western Team, Denver Service Center.

<sup>387</sup> Thompson, "Trip Report, Central Pacific, September-November 1983," to Chief Historian Edwin C. Bearss, National Park Service, November 9, 1983, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

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of World II heavy equipment; 4) Hill 40 Marine defensive stronghold; and 5) the crest of Mount Alifan, which afforded a panoramic view of the Agat invasion beach and the Orote Peninsula.<sup>388</sup>

Two months later in May 1984, historian Snell scrambled to complete the last series of indexes for research material, including maps, for the Historical Resources Study that would help identify the various historic resources still remaining on the ground. By mid-May 1984, Snell had apparently exhausted all NPS economic resources for the study and was working as a volunteer for the National Park Service. On May 18, 1984, Snell wrote his fifteenth and "Final Status Report for Package No. 132," the WAPA HRS, and mailed it from Washington, D.C., along with ten various indexes and maps, to the Denver Service Center. Snell closed his letter saying, "May 18, 1984, marked the end of the 36<sup>th</sup> year of service for the writer with the National Park Service, having entered on duty on May 19, 1948, at Saratoga National Historical Park, Stillwater, NY, with a salary of \$2,500 per year."<sup>389</sup> Money ran out on Snell's work before clerical personnel were given the task of typing his narrative into a computer, the Washington Office never followed up on getting that done, so it remains in typescript form in the park files today, with final editing, revisions, and printing needed. (see footnote 385, *supra*).

Denver Service Center Historian Erwin Thompson, at work on a theme study of the Pacific War which took the form of a number of completed National Historic Landmark nominations (but without an accompanying narrative summary or report), was subsequently assigned to prepare a historic resources study on War in the Pacific National Historic Park. Thompson's assignment was to prepare a brief study, which was only intended to serve as an interim document. Thompson's work did not eliminate the value of the primary source research Snell had done or the need to complete Snell's study by editing and publishing it. One year later in July 1985, with little fanfare, Erwin N. Thompson completed the War in the Pacific Historical Resources Study. Thompson acknowledged the contributions of NPS historian Russ Apple and D. Colt Denfeld, who had completed a brief history and set of base maps through MARC at the University of Guam in the early years of the Newman superintendency. Thompson's 200-page HRS briefly described each park unit, its World War II history, and cultural resources still remaining from the war. Photos, maps, and diagrams took up about half of the HRS. Thompson concluded the HRS by addressing a number of stabilization and preservation issues related to the historic features in and near War in the Pacific National Historical Park.<sup>390</sup>

The stabilization, preservation, and curation of historic sites, features, and objects remained one of the highest priorities on the list of management projects in the Natural and Cultural Resources Management Plan, written by Jim Miculka. The management plan stated the scope and the park's serious need for stabilization and preservation succinctly in early 1984:

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<sup>388</sup> Bearss, "Recommendations as to Boundary Refinements at War in the Pacific National Historical Park and Sites to Be Identified and Marked on Guam Outside the Park, March 30, 1984, memorandum to Regional Director, Western Region, National Park Service, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>389</sup> Snell, "15rh and Final Status Report for Package No. 132," May 18, 1984, memorandum to chief, Planning Division, Alaska/Pacific Northwest/Western Team, Denver Service Center, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>390</sup> Erwin, N. Thompson, *Historic Resources Study: War in the Pacific National Historical Park, Guam* (Golden, CO: National Park Service, July 1985).

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Historic structures within the park are steadily deteriorating. Foxholes, tunnels, trenches, emplacements, shell craters, and other earth features are eroding, filling in, and collapsing. Pillboxes, bridges, bunkers, and other concrete and steel structures are deteriorating because of rust exfoliation. Historical artifacts in the park's study collection are deteriorating as this collection continues to grow. . . . The tropical environment, with high temperature, high humidity, high salt content in the air, etc. create severe conservation problems that cause damage to the resources.<sup>391</sup>

Although limited funding for positive stabilization and preservation efforts kept the park from hiring a permanent full-time museum conservation specialist or maintenance worker with specific stabilization knowledge, a small number of stabilization/conservation projects were undertaken in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In 1988, stabilization of Japanese defense pillboxes was completed at Gaan Point in the Agat Beach unit. This was the very first effort to preserve these fragile structures in the park.<sup>392</sup> In August 1989, structural engineer Richard Silva from the Denver Service Center led a team, which included the park's maintenance staff, to stabilize two Japanese bunkers at the Piti side of Asan Ridge.<sup>393</sup> These structures included pillboxes, gun emplacements, and a bridge. Six of the twelve structures required major preservation treatment; five were recommended for immediate preservation. Since the Japanese and the Chamorro forced laborers working on the defenses had built these structures very hastily, and had used sea water and local beach sand to make the concrete (which in time would corrode the steel reinforcing bars in the concrete), some National Park Service and other engineers seriously questioned if these structures could be preserved in the hot, humid conditions on Guam. "The climate, the salt air, the inferior concrete seems to me to make the preservation of these bunkers totally impractical," wrote the special assistant to the Western Regional director to Stan Albright, Western Regional director in October 1989. "Even though the cost to stabilize the two bunkers was only \$11,000, I find it difficult to justify this cost. . . . I suggest . . . that we allow the bunkers to disintegrate."<sup>394</sup>

Nonetheless, over several months, stabilization/preservation proceeded. In 1990 and 1991, the National Park Service contracted with the firm Wiss, Janney, Eistner Associates, Inc. to stabilize twelve structures in five locations within the park that had been constructed by the Japanese in 1944. These structures included: a strong point at Gaan Point (Agat Beach unit), pillboxes in the Agat and Asan Beach units and on Asan Island, and three coastal gun emplacements at the Piti unit. An inspection of and suggestions for the maintenance of the

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<sup>391</sup> "Natural and Cultural Resource Management Plan," January 1984, 21.

<sup>392</sup> Reyes, "Annual Reports of Superintendents" [1988], February 17, 1989, Harpers Ferry Center.

<sup>393</sup> Richard Silva, "Trip Report, August 7-25, 1989," October 3, 1989, memorandum to assistant manager, Western Team, Denver Service Center, Pacific Great Basin Support Office; Reyes, "Annual Reports of Superintendents" [1988], March 1, 1990.

<sup>394</sup> Special assistant to regional director, Western Region, memorandum to Stan Albright, regional director, Western Region, October 23, 1989, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

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Matgue River Bridge in the Asan unit was also made in the spring of 1991. The park maintenance staff contributed many hours of labor to this stabilization work. No stabilization was completed on any of the other 98 historic sites listed in the August 1988 "Statement for Management: War in the Pacific."<sup>395</sup>

Submerged cultural resources became the focus of the most intense examination. The Natural and Cultural Resource Management Plan (updated in January 1984) listed the surveying of submerged cultural resources as high on the list of park management priorities, second only to stabilizing and preserving historic sites in the park. Interest in the submerged resources of the park was logical since over half of the park was under water. Of the park's approximate 1,900 acres, roughly 1,000 acres (445 acres at the Asan Beach unit and 557 at the Agat Beach unit) were underwater.<sup>396</sup> Even before Stell Newman's death and through the Reyes years of the 1980s, park personnel maintained a sustained interest in locating, surveying, interpreting, and protecting submerged cultural resources both at the park on Guam and the American Memorial Park in Saipan.

From the outset, the National Park Service's Submerged Cultural Resources Unit (SCRU) in Santa Fe led and participated with the Government of Guam in efforts to research, document, and protect submerged cultural resources. In February 1981, SCRU visited Guam for the first time and made a preliminary assessment and recommendations for further underwater archaeological survey work. Following the death of Stell Newman, War in the Pacific Ranger and Interpretive Specialist James Miculka energized the park's efforts to explore and assess its underwater resources. In the spring of 1983, Miculka organized a volunteer NPS dive team. The first volunteer members included Joe Taitano and Suzanne Hendricks, soon followed by Rose S. N. Manibusan, James Garrido, and Kevin Carter. William Cooper, Dave Hendricks, Tim Rock, Rich Fischer, Randy Sablan, Larry Walters, Jim Brandt, Bonnie Brandt, Dennis Blackenbacker, and divers from Apra Sport Divers also participated in the park's Submerged Resources Team activities over the next eight years. In March 1983, Toni L. Carrell, a member of the NPS's Submerged Cultural Resource Unit (SCRU), based in Santa Fe, came to Guam to lead training on submerged cultural resources management. His workshop was attended by the park's Submerged Resources Team members, GovGuam staff, and local community members. The park's dive team members had a chance to practice some of these techniques later in the year when they assisted SCRU in a survey of the USS *Arizona* in Pearl Harbor, Honolulu.<sup>397</sup>

In late September 1983, SCRU returned to Guam to assist park staff assess the park's submerged cultural resources. During the assessment, between September 24 and 30, a plan was formulated for a large-scale underwater survey of War in the Pacific National Historical Park and related sites. Dan Lenihan, Larry Murphy, and Jerry Livingston from SCRU led the park's Dive Team (Jim Miculka, Rose Manibusan, James Garrido, and Kevin Carter), as well as American Memorial (AMME) Park's Chief Ranger John Martini. During the week-long assessment, the dive team made about thirty dives at a number of sites in an effort to locate and identify known

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<sup>395</sup> Regional historical architect, Western Region, National Park Service, "Trip Report, War in the Pacific National Historical Park," April 4, 1991; "Stabilization of World War II Concrete Military Structures," no date; both at Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>396</sup> "Natural Cultural Resource Management Plan," January 1984, 3-4.

<sup>397</sup> "War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development," c. 1998, WAPA.

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submerged cultural resources inside the park boundaries or that were potential additions to the park. They inspected the dumpsite at Asan Beach used by the U.S. military to dispose of World War II ordnance; they assessed possible routes for underwater trails, and observed areas within the park that had been damaged by dynamite and/or chlorine used by local fisherman to kill and harvest fish. Numerous sites were mapped, photographed, and/videotaped. This assessment prompted several recommendations: 1) develop a Submerged Cultural & Natural Resources Plan; 2) continue an active marine monitoring program; 3) complete a comprehensive survey of the park's reefs and related areas; 4) continue to train park divers; 5) purchase a boat to support the park's submerged research and monitoring program; 6) expand the Agat unit boundaries to include the Apunta Point area and create a new park unit that included the submerged area of Apra Harbor; 7) modify the marking buoys above certain underwater resources; and 8) develop a means of interpreting these sites that emphasize their preservation.<sup>398</sup> These diving surveys conducted with SCRU resulted in the production of "Assessment of the USS *Arizona* and War in the Pacific NHP and Guam Shipwreck" sites and a video.<sup>399</sup> The War in the Pacific Submerged Resources Team and SCRU personnel also surveyed, documented, and mapped submerged resources within the boundaries of the AMME on Saipan.

In April 1985, SCRU staff again returned to Guam and conducted additional training on submerged cultural resource management. The training involved additional field surveys of the offshore areas of the Agat Beach unit. Chief Ranger Miculka, Kevin Carter, Jimmy Garrido, and visiting Japanese park ranger Nobuo Ichihara conducted a series of extensive surveys in and around the park and within and surrounding the American Memorial Park on Saipan. In May and June 1987, SCRU, the U.S. Navy, and the park dive team conducted a six-week survey and documented various ship wrecks and other resources in Apra Harbor and the Asan Beach unit. Survey activities progressed slowly, as time permitted for the two permanent park rangers, during the rest of 1987. SCRU came back to Guam in the summer of 1988 mapping the 400-foot-long SMS *Cormoran*, a World War I German gunboat, the 500-foot-long *Tokai Maru*, a Japanese freighter sunk in World War II adjacent the *Cormoran*, and the *Kitsugawa Maru*, all located on the silty bottom of Apra Harbor, outside the park boundaries. The work was supported by the park's Dive Team and members of the Guam Department of Parks and Recreation. (Please see Chapter 3 for more information about the history of these two ships.)<sup>400</sup>

The park's Submerged Resources Team had a rare underwater opportunity in early 1988, when the Cousteau Society (named after famous French marine explorer and inventor of the Self-Contained Breathing Lung—SCUBA—apparatus Jacques Cousteau) invited Jim Miculka and Rose Manibusan to join the crew on board the society's windship, the *Alyone*, while they conducted research around Guam as part of their "Rediscovery of the World" tour. Beginning in December 1987 and continuing for the first four months of 1988, Miculka and Manibusan

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<sup>398</sup> James E. Miculka, "Submerged Cultural Resources Assessment: War in the Pacific National Historical Park," c. 1988, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>399</sup> Toni Carrell, editor, "Micronesia: Submerged Cultural Resources Assessment" (Santa Fe: Submerged Cultural Resources Unite, c. 1991), 5140-15

<sup>400</sup> Carrell, "Micronesia: Submerged Cultural Resources Assessment"; Reyes, "Annual Reports of Superintendents" [1987], April 26, 1988; Reyes, "Annual Reports of Superintendents" [1989], March 1, 1990; "War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development," c. 1998.

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participated in many of the activities of the Cousteau Society divers. "While the park's dive team failed to become fluent in French," reported Superintendent Reyes, "they did manage to work on many exciting dives, have hot showers after each dive, and sample French cuisine from the ship's chef." Park staff made a video and shot a number of slides during these adventures with the Cousteau Society and incorporated into several interpretive programs.<sup>401</sup>

The year 1988 also provided a grand opportunity for the Submerged Resources Team to interpret underwater resources not far from the park. The park celebrated its tenth anniversary that year. One of the many celebratory activities organized by the park staff was a dive of the SMS *Cormoran* and the Japanese *Tokai Maru* in Apra Harbor. In late August, Jim Miculka, Suzanne Hendricks, Bill Cooper, and Rose Manibusan led twenty-eight divers in an exploration of the two adjacent ships. Around this time, the park publicized its desire to acquire these two vessels from the U.S. Navy by expanding the park to include a ten-acre satellite unit with the *Comoran* and the *Tokai Maru*, suggesting that NPS could provide greater protection of the vessels against vandals.<sup>402</sup> The inclusion of these two resources never occurred.

Intense exploration and documentation of submerged resources gradually waned in the late 1980s. In November 1989, Jerry Livingston from SCRU came to Guam to work with the park's Submerged Resources Team in mapping the *Cormoran*. This project continued into 1990.<sup>403</sup> Over the next year, Toni Carrell, member of the Submerged Cultural Resources Unit of NPS, with assistance from many others, including Jim Miculka, assembled a 550-page report that described numerous underwater resources in Micronesia that SCRU teams had helped document and assess, including those in and near the park. During the previous decade, SCRU had investigated, at the request of many for technical assistance, submerged sites on the islands of Rota, Belau, Kosrae, and Saipan, as well as Guam. Carrell's report aimed to present information that would be useful for submerged resource site interpretation, protection, and conservation, and would contribute to the historical understanding of the Micronesian Islands' and their maritime history. Carrell's report presented historical background, as well as a description, and analysis of each submerged site. Drawings accompanied the data presented on some submerged resources, like the *Comoran* and the *Tokai Maru*, which the the park's Submerged Resources Team had helped complete. The "Submerged Cultural Resources Assessment" reported that:

Six known sites related to the Pacific Theatre of World War II are located within the two offshore areas of the park. These sites were discovered during partial transects of each unit with maximum depths of 60 feet. The information presented here was gathered during the 1983 and 1987 surveys and training dives by the park's SRT [Submerged Resources Team].<sup>404</sup>

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<sup>401</sup> Reyes, Annual Narrative Reports of Superintendents" [1988], February 17, 1989.

<sup>402</sup> Jerry Henkel, "Park Service Provides Sunken Ships Dive Tour," *Pacific Sunday [Daily] News*, August 28, 1988; Tim Rock, "May Become Park Attraction: Tokai Maru," *Pacific Daily News*, no date, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>403</sup> Reyes, "Annual Reports of Superintendents" [1989], March 1, 1990; "War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development," c. 1998.

<sup>404</sup> Carrell, "Micronesia: Submerged Cultural Resources Assessment," 516.

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These six sites, briefly described, included: 1) amphibious tractor treads (Asan Beach unit); 2) American Landing Vehicle Tracked—Amtrac unit (Asan Beach unit); 3) Camel Rock Ammunition Dump (Asan Beach unit); 4) Gaan Point Amtrac (Agat Beach unit); 5) American Pontoon Barge (Agat Beach unit); and 6) amphibious tank turret (Agat Beach unit). A World War II dumpsite on the south side of nearby Orote Peninsula was also described. Carrell noted that both the Asan and Agat beach units needed more detailed underwater surveys.<sup>405</sup>

Finally, the 1980s witnessed the development of a resource management program to deal with fire. The 1984 "Natural and Cultural Resource Management Plan" for War in the Pacific National Historical Park presented a project statement for completing a wildfire study and survey, which would ascertain the impacts of fire on natural areas of the park and assess the management strategies (fight or let burn) that should be followed. Such a study took shape in the Fire Management Plan produced by Tom Gavin (in the Western Regional Office of NPS) in 1987.<sup>406</sup> Concurrently, the need to control wildfires and contribute to the larger Guam community effort of fire fighting was felt and acted upon by park personnel in the mid-1980s. In June 1984, Chief Ranger Jim Miculka organized the park's first fire fighting team, composed of Rose S. N. Manibusan, Jimmy Garrido, Kevin Carter, Kin Leon Guerrero, Lonnie Knudsen, Henry Conway, and Rick Sotomayor. The team began and continued training in fire fighting on park and adjacent lands, hosted by the Division of Forestry, Department of Agriculture. In 1987, a Memorandum of Understanding for Fire Management joined the War in the Pacific Fire Fighting Team, the Guam Fire Department, the Navy Fire Department, and the Division of Forestry, Department of Agriculture, Government of Guam in a cooperative effort to fight Guam's fires. This enabled agencies involved to cross-train and assist as needed in the suppression of fires as well as educating the public in fire prevention. Many of the skills acquired by the park's fire fighters were put to use during the dry months of 1987 (March through June) when Guam experienced a severe drought and the island's worst fire season on record. The fire fighting team, along with other federal and local government agencies, responded to around thirteen fires.<sup>407</sup>

### Building and Maintaining the Park

Roque Borja, Chief of Maintenance, supervised all development and maintenance activities in the park. Borja and his staff performed multiple, diverse tasks, including daily trash collection, weekly lawn mowing, raising and lowering the flags at Gaan Point each day, and assisting with vital historic resource preservation/ stabilization projects. During the Reyes superintendency, many maintenance projects were completed, such as: constructing and

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<sup>405</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>406</sup> "Natural and Cultural Resource Management Plan," revised and updated in January 1984; "War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development," c. 1998. The first draft of the Fire Management Plan was prepared by Fire Management Officer, Chris Cameron, in the Western Regional Office in 1983.

<sup>407</sup> Reyes, "Annual Reports of Superintendents" [1987], April 26, 1988; "War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development," c. 1998.

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maintaining and constructing new picnic shelters and tables and comfort stations at the Asan and Agat beach units, replacing fireplaces, reshaping beaches and berms, maintaining graded roads, expanding parking areas, replacing automobile barriers in parking areas, and replacing interpretive signs.<sup>408</sup> Occasionally, the Maintenance Division bore the full brunt of dealing with totally unplanned and unpredicted natural disasters, such as typhoons, floods, and fires. Limited funding that minimized the number of permanent maintenance staff during the Reyes superintendency greatly hampered sustained progress on long-term projects. This included the planning and construction of the new maintenance building in the Asan Inland unit, a project that extended over several years and that was not completed until just before Reyes and Borja retired from the National Park Service.

Chief of Maintenance Borja and his staff had primary responsibility for constructing and overseeing contract work on comfort stations built in the most-visited park units, Asan Beach and Agat Beach. In March 1984, Superintendent Reyes hosted groundbreaking ceremonies for the construction of a comfort station at Gaan Point (in the Agat Beach unit). CWC Builders were contracted to build the 25' X 25' structure. Both water and sewer lines were hooked up to the public utility lines.<sup>409</sup> In late 1985, a survey was conducted for the construction of a comfort station at Asan Point. Five years passed before the project was undertaken. In September 1990, archaeological clearance was given to build a 25-square-foot comfort station of concrete cinder block on a reinforced concrete slab, located about 140 feet southwest of the park's aged maintenance building. The sewer and power lines from the restroom were connected to existing service utilities.<sup>410</sup>

Although massive quantities of non-historic buildings and other debris had been cleared from the Asan Beach unit during the Newman superintendency, large amounts of debris still remained and were cleared away in the mid-1980s. Asan Point (the site of the former Camp Asan Hospital complex), in particular, had several unsafe buildings, jagged concrete chunks, exposed re-bars, and dumped debris. The Park Service worried about personal injury and tort claims that might result, and was also eager to return Asan Beach to a semblance of the historic World War II scene. NPS budget cuts in the mid-1980s prevented the park from receiving the estimated \$100,000 needed to remove this debris at the east end of Asan Point near the Asan River. In early 1986, Superintendent Reyes appealed to the military on Guam for help in removing the ten to fifteen truck loads of concrete, coral fill, rebar, and vegetation, much as Superintendent Newman had done six years earlier. At the same time, Superintendent Reyes asked for and received help from the Public Utility Agency of Guam in removing three fire hydrants in the former Camp Asan Hospital complex.<sup>411</sup>

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<sup>408</sup> Reyes, memorandum to regional director, Western Region, March 31, 1986, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>409</sup> "Ground Breaking Ceremony, Gaan Point Comfort Station, Wednesday 21 March 1984"; Reyes, memorandum to regional director, Western Region, NPS, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>410</sup> Stephanie Rodeffer, memorandum to Superintendent Reyes, September 13, 1990; Gary F. Somers, "Archaeological Clearance Survey Forms," memorandum to chief of Division of Archaeology, WACC, NPS, September 5, 1990; both at Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>411</sup> "Development/Study Package Proposal, Package No. 169," September 4, 1985; Reyes, letter to Lt. Col. Nathan D. Hawthorne, Fort Juan Muna, Guam, January 14, 1986; Edward Wood, acting superintendent at WAPA, letter to Commander Owens, Camp Covington, Guam, February 18, 1986; Reyes, letter to Joseph

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The park Maintenance Division spent an enormous amount of time and money dealing with environmental factors unique to Guam. The preservation and stabilization of historic features, such as defensive Japanese pillboxes, bunkers, and gun emplacements, required bi-monthly clearing of dense vegetation that grew at a ferocious rate. Even the straightforward task of mowing the expansive lawn at the Asan Beach unit was a year-round activity in Guam's tropical climate. Chronically short-staffed, the maintenance program, served by only one permanent staff and two to four seasonal workers, was sometimes barely able to complete the minimum maintenance necessary to keep park units open. Diminished funding in 1986, for example, required the small maintenance crew to abandon all efforts to control vegetative growth in the Asan Inland unit and resulted in it being closed to the public.<sup>412</sup>

The damage, sometimes great, caused by the arrival of typhoons and severe storms every fall and winter took enormous sums of money and human resources to repair. About every five years or less, a monster typhoon, known as a "super typhoon," hit Guam, causing great damage to park natural and cultural resources, especially those on the exposed western side of the island, where most typhoons swept ashore. On November 12, 1984, Typhoon Bill hit Guam, causing great damage to Gaan Point and Apaca Point in the Agat Beach unit. Several mature camachili, manzanita, soursap, and pago trees were uprooted or lost limbs and needed to be cut up and cleared away before the unit could be made safe and opened to visitors.<sup>413</sup> (In December 1986, Typhoon Kim hit the American Memorial Park with 160 mile-per-hour winds, causing \$88,000 in damages, which the Maintenance Division helped repair.<sup>414</sup>) In January 1988, Typhoon Roy, with gusts up to 168 miles per hour, swept in along the shoreline of Asan Beach unit, leaving tons and tons of debris in its wake. It took \$79,600 (provided by the Western Regional Office) to repair the damage done to park resources. It took three weeks for the park to resume normal operations.<sup>415</sup> On January 14, 1990, Typhoon Koryn ravaged the Asan Beach coastal unit, toppling palm trees, eroding sections of the beach, depositing sand on lawns and parking lots, and causing some damage to both the Stell Newman Visitor Center/Headquarters and the old maintenance building near the beach in the Asan unit.<sup>416</sup> The Maintenance Division completed or orchestrated most of the cleanup and recovery work after typhoons had wrecked havoc with park units.

A major new park development during the Reyes superintendency was the construction of a new maintenance building. Not long after Ralph Reyes arrived at the park, periodic discussions began about the inadequacy of the existing building built in the late 1940s near the Asan River on the east side of Asan Point. In 1978, the Young Adult Conservation Corps remodeled the building for the group's use. In March 1984, Superintendent Reyes and Maintenance Chief Borja expressed concern about the security and safety of the maintenance

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Cruz, chief officer, Public Utility Agency of Guam, January 28, 1989; all at Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>412</sup> Reyes, "Superintendents Annual Report, 1986," February 10, 1987.

<sup>413</sup> Reyes, memorandum to Bryan Harry, director, Pacific Area Office, November 28, 1984, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>414</sup> Reyes, "Superintendents Annual Report, 1986," February 10, 1987.

<sup>415</sup> Reyes, "Annual Narrative Reports of Superintendents" [1988], February 17, 1989.

<sup>416</sup> Reyes, letter to chief, Lands Division, Western Region, National Park Service, February 8, 1990, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

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area and about repairs needed in the building's wiring and lighting. Also, the park's 1988 "Statement for Management" reported that: "the old, unsafe maintenance building on this beach is a major intrusion."<sup>417</sup> The construction of a new maintenance facility, estimated to cost \$310,000, was low on the list of park projects, thus funding for a new building did not look promising in the near future. Over the next few years, efforts were made to secure the building with a chain link fence and alarm system, make it safe, and prolong its use with regular painting.<sup>418</sup>

In 1987, the financial reality of constructing a new maintenance building finally seemed imminent. Late that year, American Institute of Architects member Stephen Farneth visited the park to inspect the site of the proposed new maintenance facility, in the Asan Inland unit, several hundred feet east of and not visible from Marine Drive. In 1988, appropriated funding permitted construction of the "horizontal phase" of the building. NPS contracted with the firm of Clough HK, Ltd. to do the work. Funding for the "vertical phase" became available the following year. "The old dilapidated Maintenance structure at Asan Point has seen its days," Superintendent Reyes reported in Mary 1990, "and will soon be replaced with a new maintenance facility at Asan Inland unit. . . Upon completion (June 1990) the old structure will be demolished and disposed, giving more room for our park visitors," Reyes noted.<sup>419</sup> Unexpected delays slowed progress on the new maintenance facility; it was finally completed in February 1991. The farewell retirement party for Superintendent Rafael Reyes was held in the new maintenance building five months later.<sup>420</sup>

### Interpreting the Park to Visitors

When Superintendent Rafael Reyes arrived in the spring of 1983, four years after the park's establishment, the activities in the Interpretive Division were limited, but beginning to expand. Although personal services interpretation were extremely limited due to the limited staff of one (James Miculka) the new museum exhibit installed in the Visitor Center opened in August 1982. It included a sound/slide program produced by Harpers Ferry Center, providing basic interpretation to park visitors. In the spring of 1983, the slide program was replaced with a revised version produced by Harpers Ferry Center. Harpers Ferry Center was also in the process of developing a park brochure. Over the next eight years, staff made great advances in expanding interpretive venues for park visitors.

During the 1980s, the interpretive staff was assisted in their efforts by a cooperating association. The Marianas National Park Association, a non-profit organization, formed in 1983 to enhance visitor awareness of the significance of the War in the Pacific park. The association helped support interpretive literature and programs, exhibits, and special projects. The first

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<sup>417</sup> "Statement for Management: War in the Pacific," August 1988, 42.

<sup>418</sup> Facility manager, Hawaii Volcano, memorandum to director, Pacific Area, March 7, 1984, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>419</sup> Reyes, "Annual Reports of Superintendents" [1989], March 1, 1990.

<sup>420</sup> Reyes, "Annual Reports of Superintendents" [1987], April 26, 1988, and [1988], February 17, 1989; "War in the Pacific National Historic Park; Timeline of Park Development," c. 1998; Roque Borja, interview with Gail Evans-Hatch and Michael Evans-Hatch, January 28, 2003, 18, 20-21.

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board members included: Anthony Ramirez, Gordon Tydingco, Dirk Ballendorf, John Weisenburger, Carlos Nieves, and Annette Donner. By 1988, the organization had become inactive; it dissolved in May that year. In 1989, the Arizona Memorial Museum Association (AMMA), based in Honolulu, extended its activities to the Guam park, thus becoming the park's new cooperating association that helped support interpretive activities. AMMA Executive Director Gary Beito visited the Guam park that year and quickly set up association operations on Guam.<sup>421</sup>

The park's "Interim Interpretive Plan" guided the park's interpretive activities in the 1980s. In February 1983, the recently completed the draft "Interim Interpretive Plan," identified the park's interpretive themes, presented interpretive tools and methods, and made specific recommendations for interpretation at each park unit. NPS Interpretive Planning Team members (Art Allen from Harpers Ferry, Gary Barbano from the Pacific Area Office, Dick Cunningham and Dave Forgang, from the Western Regional Office, and Jim Miculka from War in the Pacific park) identified seventeen major interpretive themes. These were:

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|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1) causes of the war                            | 10) military statistics           |
| 2) chronology of the Pacific War                | 11) geographic scope of war       |
| 3) lives of ordinary participants               | 12) ecological impacts of war     |
| 4) effects of the war on groups                 | 13) communications                |
| 5) war in the homeland                          | 14) personalities of participants |
| 6) Japanese and American psyche                 | 15) logistics and supply          |
| 7) aftermath and results of war                 | 16) natural resources and economy |
| 8) effects of new wartime technology            | 17) Battle of Guam                |
| 9) military strategy and tactics <sup>422</sup> |                                   |

The "Interim Interpretive Plan" then presented ideas for developing a museum and wayside exhibits and signs, audiovisuals, oral histories, publications, environmental education, and personal services (guided tours, park talks, off-site education programs, etc.). The thirty-five-page interpretive plan concluded by making several summary recommendations:

- Help form a cooperating association;
- Develop a wayside exhibit plan;
- Submit required funding requests for exhibit cyclic maintenance;
- Acquire a "random access" slide projector;
- Develop a slide program for off-site programs
- Fill roving interpretive need;
- Gain a better understanding of Japanese visitors' needs and interests;
- Pursue an active oral history interview program;
- Develop a table-top relief map of Guam;

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<sup>421</sup> "War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development," c. 1998.

<sup>422</sup> Allen, et al. "Interim Interpretive Plan," February 22, 1983, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

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- Acquire a film library of World War II newsreels;
- Develop a rotating exhibit of military artifacts; and
- Develop a "Collections Management Plan."<sup>423</sup>

About two years later, Museum Technician Jimmy Garrido, with guidance from others, prepared a "Scope of Collection Statement." This came about a year after Western Regional Curator Dave Forgang had visited the park and described the poor environmental conditions of the exhibits (temperature, humidity, and light), both inside the Visitor Center and outside in various park units, and the critical need for secure storage, which might be met when the second floor of the Haloda Building was converted to administrative offices and, hopefully, museum storage. "Dotted throughout the park are many World War II artifacts," noted Forgang, "all of which are in various states of poor condition; they are literally rusting away." Forgang went on to describe problems of fluctuating temperature and humidity in those areas of the T. Stell Newman Visitor Center where the collections were stored (second floor) and other areas (first floor) where they were exhibited.<sup>424</sup> The "Scope of Collection Statement," completed in January 1985, stated that the park should acquire museum objects that related to the Pacific Theatre during World War II and it set forward procedures for collecting, categorizing, accessioning, and using the collection. The plan also presented a few restrictions pertaining park collections, one of which noted that War in the Pacific National Historical Park "will accept only those items for which it can provide storage, preservation and protection under conditions that will assure their availability for museum purposes."<sup>425</sup>

Changes occurred to the exhibits in the mid-1980s. The museum exhibit area on the first floor was expanded when the Haloda Building interior was remodeled, creating second-floor space for park administrative offices and museum collection storage as well as audiovisual storage. In 1985, the Newman Visitor Center museum exhibits included U.S. and Japanese war relics, memorabilia, and a portrayal of the effect war had on Guam, the United States, and twelve other nations involved in the Pacific Theatre. A twelve-minute slide presentation was shown upon request. The Visitor Center remained open to the public seven days a week, eight hours on weekdays and partial days on Saturdays and Sundays.<sup>426</sup>

Despite the reportedly poor condition of museum objects exhibited outdoors in various units of the park, strong sentiment existed among some park supporters to expand the park's outdoor exhibit displays. Since Stell Newman's superintendency the urge and the opportunity had been to find and display all kinds of World War II military objects, including airplanes, naval vessels, and landing craft. This urge persisted through the mid- and late 1980s, when a movement gained momentum for the park's acquisition of large artifacts, including a Japanese midget submarine. The Governor of Guam was among those who strongly favored the park's

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<sup>423</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>424</sup> Dave Forgang, regional curator, Western Region, memorandum to regional director Howard Chapman, Western Region, June 18, 1984, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>425</sup> Jimmy Garrido, "'Scope of Collection Statement,'" January 31, 1985, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>426</sup> War in the Pacific National Historical Park, A Special Supplement to the *Guam Tribune*," 1985, Vertical File, Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam.

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acquisition and display of World War II-related objects. "I feel the Park should be pursuing an aggressive program of large artifact acquisition such as aircraft, tanks, and artillery," wrote Guam Governor Ricardo J. Bordallo to Superintendent Reyes in July 1984. "Unfortunately," Bordallo continued, "that has not materialized."<sup>427</sup> Bordallo encouraged the park to obtain a World War II ship—an aircraft carrier, battleship, cruiser, destroyer, or submarine—that it could display in one of its beach units. Other opportunities to acquire World War II equipment surfaced. Doug Hubbard, former NPS employee and then superintendent of the Admiral Nimitz State Historical Park in Fredericksburg, Texas, wrote Superintendent Reyes and Chief Ranger Jim Miculka, on January 7 1985, informing them that several Japanese type 95 light tanks existed in a so-called "Tank Park" on Ponape (one of the Gilbert Islands of Micronesia) that might be purchased for \$50 each. "I suspect that one of these tanks from Ponape could be removed and taken to Guam without destroying the integrity of the park," Hubbard speculated.<sup>428</sup> Limited funding purportedly kept the NPS from acquiring such large objects. Plus, Park Service historic preservationists remained concerned about the expense of maintaining large objects.

Just six months later, the U.S. Navy on Guam offered the park a Japanese mini-submarine, the *Ko Hyoteki*, a Type C two-person midget submarine built by Ourazaki, Kure, that had run aground near Togcha Beach in August 1944. It had been displayed at the Apra Harbor Naval Station for several years. In 1988, *Pacific Daily News* editor Joe Murphy declared that: "The War in the Pacific National Historical Park needs more artifacts and exhibits if it is ever to develop into a real attraction. . . . There are still tanks around, and some big guns sitting on Marine Drive. . . . How about a three-man submarine?" Murphy chastised park staff in 1988 for not coming up with the funding to buy and maintain such large artifacts to display in the park. Guam Governor Bordallo and others also encouraged Superintendent Reyes to exhibit the submarine at the Asan Beach unit in.<sup>429</sup>

Superintendent Reyes and others in the National Park Service initially supported the proposal to relocate the submarine and discussed the details of the move during the summer of 1989.<sup>430</sup> Later that year, the NPS contracted with Tri-Coastal Marine, Inc. to survey and assess the cost of transporting and preserving the *Ko Hyoteki*. By late 1989, a cooperative agreement had been completed outlining the shared responsibility that the U.S. Navy and National Park Service would take to transport, preserve, and maintain the midget submarine. The Navy agreed to perform preservation measures, fabricate mounting piers at Asan, and transport the submarine to Asan Point. The National Park Service agreed to make the submarine available for public viewing and interpret it, and to maintain and preserve it against ordinary corrosion. The annual cost of maintenance was around \$4,300; approximately \$24,000 was required every ten years to

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<sup>427</sup> Governor Ricardo J. Bordallo, letter to Ralph J. M. Reyes, July 13, 1984, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>428</sup> Doug Hubbard, "Nimitzgram" to Marc Sagan, Reyes, and Miculka, January 7, 1985, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>429</sup> Joe Murphy, "Mini-sub Offered to War National Park," *Pacific Daily News*, September 8, 1988; Reyes, communication with Evans-Hatch & Associates, March 21, 2004.

<sup>430</sup> D. N. Hagen, commodore, U.S. Navy, letter to Ralph Reyes, July 18, 1985, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

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sandblast and repaint the sub. Park Service Director William Penn Mott reviewed and supported the cooperative agreement with the U.S. Navy.<sup>431</sup>

In 1988, Chief of Interpretation Jim Miculka, along with Rose Manibusan and many non-NPS individuals, helped celebrate the tenth anniversary of War in the Pacific National Historical Park's congressional founding. The park's interpretive staff played a central role in organizing celebrations. Park staff organized a series of activities in August, proclaimed National Park Service month by Guam Governor Joseph Ada. "Evening in the Parks" seminars were held in the Stell Newman Visitor Center,<sup>432</sup> "boonie stomp" hikes were led by David Lotz and Lonnie Knudson of the Guam Department of Parks and Recreation, awards for a NPS poster contest were recognized and handed out, a free dive tour was conducted by park staff and volunteers, and a new twenty-minute video program was shown at the Visitor Center. The celebrations ceremonies climaxed on August 18, when the National Park Service invited the public to a gathering at Asan Point, featuring speeches by military and civilian dignitaries. Following opening invocation by Reverend Yushin Enomoto, Superintendent Rafael Reyes made a short speech, followed by Guam Delegate Ben Blaz, Acting Governor Frank Blas, and Guam's Consul General of Japan Katsuo Tosa. National Park Service Director William Penn Mott, Jr., made the keynote commemorative speech. Mott told the audience that he had been touched by the beauty of Guam and what War in the Pacific National Historic Park had to offer. He emphasized that WPA had a special role to play—to preserve not only the story of the war, but also the history of the culture on Guam. The ceremonies at Asan Point ended with the presentation and flying of eleven flags representing countries from around the world that had participated in the Pacific Theater of World War II. The United States Navy Band played the national anthem of each country involved; the Boy Scouts of Guam presented the flags.<sup>433</sup>

The celebration of the park's ten-year anniversary and the special interest that National Park Service Director William Penn Mott took in developing the park, fueled plans to build a new interpretive center for completion by the fiftieth anniversary of the American landing on Guam in 1994. In early 1988, the Denver Service Center had completed a draft "Design Concept Plan" of this new visitor center, to be built on Nimitz Hill (Hill 40), which offered a panoramic view of the American landing beaches below. During the park's tenth anniversary celebrations in August 1988, NPS Director Mott visited the proposed visitor center site on

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<sup>431</sup> Bryan Harry, director, Pacific Area, memorandum to regional Director Stan Albright, Western Region, NPS, December 4, 1989; NPS Director William Penn Mott, Jr., memorandum to Stan Albright, director, Western Region, December 15, 1989, both in Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>432</sup> Seminar participants included: Tony Palomo, field representative from OTIA; All Miller, historian at Anderson Air Force Base; Greg Champion, Guam Cable TV; Annette Donner, Donner & Associates; David Lotz, director, Guam Department of Parks and Recreation; the Honorable Katsuo Tosa, consul general, Japan; Dirk Ballendorf and William Hernandez, both from Micronesia Area Research Center, University of Guam; Barry Smith, Marine Laboratory, University of Guam, and Tim Rock, author of *Diver's Guide to Guam and Micronesia*, "War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development," c. 1998.

<sup>433</sup> "War in the Pacific Park, 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary," August 4, 1988, *Pacific Daily News*; "Community Lacks Interest in Park," *The Guam Tribune*, August 19, 1988; "Park Anniversary," *Pacific Daily News*, August 20, 1988; Anna Cristine, Ulloa, "A Commemorative Celebration," *Pacific Daily News*, August 21, 1988; JO3 K. Boehm, compiler, "War in the Pacific Park Marks 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary," *Pacific Crossroads*, August 26, 1988.

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Spruance Drive atop Nimitz Hill. A year later, after being replaced as National Park Service director by James M. Ridenour, under the new George Bush administration, and becoming a special assistant to the director of the Western Regional Office, William Penn Mott returned to Guam in July 1989. By this time the Denver Service Center had completed a more thorough design concept of the proposed visitor center. The building was to be two stories, approximately 8,000 square feet in size (5,000 square feet of which would be devoted to interpretation and visitor services), and simulate a "pill box" defensive military feature.<sup>434</sup>

Former Director Mott met with many local and regional officials on Guam during his summer 1989 visit, described details of the visitor center design concept, and initiated discussions about funding the Nimitz Hill Visitor Center. Mott suggested that funds for this structure come from three sources: 1) local, 2) Marines and armed services, and 3) congressional appropriation. He anticipated that by raising around \$500,000 from local and U.S. military sources, Congress would be more willing to appropriate the anticipated \$2,000,000 needed to pay for the remainder of the project. During the summer and fall of 1989, Mott appealed to several Guamanian local officials and politicians, U.S. military officers, and prominent American business people to serve on a committee to raise money for the interpretive center or to donate money to the project. He successfully persuaded Police Chief Adolph Sgambelluri of Guam to serve as chair of a local fund raising committee. In September 1989, T.R. Sullivan, executive vice president of Jones & Guerrero Company, Inc., wrote to Mott on behalf of his construction company pledging \$25,000 to kick off the fund-raising campaign for the visitor center.<sup>435</sup> By early 1990, Mott had received initial promises from a long list of politicians, government leaders, and business people to serve as "directors" on the so-called "Friends of Pacific War Interpretive Center" (FPWIC).<sup>436</sup> By then a rough draft of a plan of operation for the Friends group had been hammered out.

It specified that the "basic fund-raising approach will concentrate on direct solicitation of major gifts from corporations, foundations, and individuals located or doing business in Guam."<sup>437</sup> The Arizona Memorial Museum Association, a tax-exempt not-for-profit organization, would serve as advisor and banker for FPWIC. The tentative schedule of visitor center activities

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<sup>434</sup> Tim Rock, "Our National Park Looks Ahead," *Pacific Sunday News Magazine*, January 15, 1989; Reyes, letter to Anthony C. Mariano, Guam Historic Preservation officer, April 18, 1989, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>435</sup> William Penn Mott, letters to: Ben Blaz, August 1, 1989; Masao Wada, August 1, 1989; Adolf Sgambelluri, August 2, 1989; Director James M. Ridenour, National Park Service, August 4, 1989; Lee Webber, August 4, 1989; Marvin Sexton, August 21 and September 12, 1989; T. R. Sullivan, September 12, 1989; and Sullivan, letter to William Penn Mott, August 8, 1989; all in Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>436</sup> This list of tentative directors included: Guam Governor Joseph H. Ada, Daniel K. Akaka, John Blas, Congressman Ben Blaz, Paul Calvo, Greg Champion of Guam Cable TV, Phillip Flores, Daniel K. Inouye, Admiral T. J. Johnson, Spark M. Matsunaga, Bob Marrion, Mark Paugelinau, Patricia Saiki, Roger Sardea, Marvin Sexton, Adolph Sgambelluri, Vice President of Jones-Guerrero Company T. R. Sullivan, Commander of the Philippine Scouts Cornelius Tapao, Council General of Japan Masao Wada, and Bill West. "Plan of Operation," accompanying memorandum from Director Bryan Harry, Pacific Area to Director Stanley Albright, Western Region, May 22, 1990

<sup>437</sup> "Plan of Operation," accompanying memorandum from Harry to Albright, May 22, 1990

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projected that the memorandum of agreement for approval of the construction project would be completed by March 30, 1990 and that the person-to-person fund-raising campaign would be launched by June 1, 1990. As the weeks went by in 1990, some concerns arose about the economic feasibility of building the new visitor center, and an apparent shift in the fund-raising strategy occurred. In late July 30, 1990, Guam's congressional delegate to Congress, Ben Blaz, wrote to the new National Park Service Director James Ridenour that:

Letters from my congressional district have stated concerns about this proposal [to building an interpretive facility on Nimitz Hill]. They have mentioned the added expense to the already strained budget for War in the Pacific if the NPS chooses to staff not only the Nimitz Hill facility but also the park's area of major use and the World War II equipment display at Asan Beach.

Also," Blaz added, "constituents have written me that three pieces of the World War II equipment outside at Asan Beach are rusting away.<sup>438</sup> Only a week later, a letter drafted from Bryan Harry, director of the NPS Pacific Area Office in Honolulu, indicated that the new visitor center "will be financed from federal appropriations," even though, Harry acknowledged, seed donation from the public—particularly veterans—would be an important asset in securing funds.<sup>439</sup>

This critical shift from a heavy reliance on private donations to a heavy reliance on congressional appropriations for funding, in the constantly changing quixotic political environment on Guam and in Washington, D.C., greatly diminished the chances of realizing the construction of the new visitor center on Nimitz Hill. As the War in the Pacific National Historical Park entered the 1990s and the decade of World War II celebrations, it did so without a new visitor center. Although land on the proposed site for the structure on Nimitz Hill was transferred from the Department of Defense to the National Park Service in March 1992, no funding was ever made available for contracting the architectural or engineering drawings of the building. The park staff, which experienced a great turnover of personnel in 1990 and 1991, devised many other ways to celebrate and commemorate key historic events in the Pacific Theater of World War II that made use of the Stell Newman Visitor Center in the leased Haloda Building on Asan Beach.<sup>440</sup>

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<sup>438</sup> Ben Blaz, letter to James Ridenour, July 30, 1990, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>439</sup> Bryan Harry, draft letter to Ben Blaz, August 8, 1990, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>440</sup> Edward E. Wood, Jr., "Visitor Center and Museum," July 11, 1992, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

## Chapter 10

### DECADE OF SPECIAL EVENTS: WOOD AND GUSTIN ERA

1991 - 2002

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#### *Introduction*

The superintendencies of Edward E. Wood, Jr. (July 1991 to August 1998) and Karen Gustin (1998-2001) was a decade remembered for its special historic events, both planned and unplanned. Planning for the fiftieth anniversary of World War II in the Pacific, typhoon Omar struck the island in 1992 and in December 1997 Super Typhoon Paka wreaked havoc on the island -- it was the worst typhoon in Guam's recorded meteorological history. In August 1998, the park celebrated its twentieth anniversary, that year, the entire island of Guam and War in the Pacific National Park welcomed President Bill Clinton. Also in 1998, Superintendent Ed Wood left the superintendency, and Karen Gustin, the park's first female superintendent arrived shortly thereafter.

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#### War in the Pacific National Historical Park

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#### Park Staff

As in past years, War in the Pacific National Historical Park continued to be understaffed in the 1990s. In 1993, War in the Pacific National Historic Park had six permanent employees. A 103<sup>rd</sup> Congress briefing statement dated January 1993 noted that "a need for an additional ten permanent employees to meet the minimum requirements."<sup>441</sup> The park gained an additional employee around the time of the World War II fiftieth anniversary celebrations. By the end of the 1990s, the park claimed seven permanent staff: the superintendent, three ranger/interpretive staff, and three Maintenance Division staff. [See Appendix 9 for the 1997 C-MAP and CR-MAP FTE calculations.]

Edward E. Wood, Jr., became the park's third superintendent. He was assigned Acting Superintendent in August 1991, about a month after Superintendent Reyes retired from the Park Service. Wood was no stranger to the park. He had worked for seven months, between November 1985 and May 1986, as ranger/interpretive specialist at the park while Chief Ranger Jim Miculka was away on an educational leave. Wood also had worked at the American Memorial Park on Saipan, serving as ranger-in-charge since January 1989. During that time, he had participated in the dive team activities.

Edward Wood began his association with the National Park Service in 1972. After graduating from the University of New Mexico in 1970 with a Bachelor of Science degree in biology and working as a research technician for Lovelace Foundation, then a veterinary medicine laboratory in Albuquerque for two years, Wood was employed as a park ranger in September 1972. Over the next thirteen years, Wood broadened his ranger experience while pursuing various assignments: law enforcement, interpretation, district ranger, division chief, and resource manager. His NPS assignments were at Jefferson National Expansion Memorial National Historic Site in St. Louis, Everglades National Park in Florida, Padre Island National Seashore in Texas, and Lehman Caves National Monument. In 1985, Ed Wood began training designed to prepare him for a park superintendency at the Western Regional Office (then in San Francisco), in the Washington, DC office, and in three different California parks where he "shadowed" the superintendents. In November 1985, he went to Guam for the first time, where he served as acting interpretive specialist until May 1986. He left the Marianas for two and one-half years to serve as Visitor Center Supervisor for Grand Canyon National Park before taking up the position of Ranger-In-Charge at American Memorial Park on Saipan until July 1991.

He guided the park through the busy years of World War II fiftieth anniversary celebrations from 1991 through 1994. Wood served as first acting, then permanent superintendent for seven years, until August 1998, when he transferred to Arkansas Post National Memorial. He returned to Guam briefly in September to close out the fiscal year.<sup>442</sup>

Sarah Cramer worked as an administrative assistant through much of Wood's superintendency. She first worked as a clerk typist, then, under the Administrative Careers

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<sup>441</sup> Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Western Region, 103<sup>rd</sup> Congress Issues Briefing Statement, Issue: Staffing of the Park (War in the Pacific), Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>442</sup> Wood, "FY98 Superintendent's Annual Reports," no date, Harpers Ferry Center, National Park Service; "Lot of Changes Mark Guam's Young Park," *Islander Magazine, Pacific Sunday News*, May 15, 1994. Wood, communication with Evans-Hatch & Associates, March 19, 2004.

**Chapter 10 – Decade of Special Events: Wood and Gustin Era (1991-2002)**  
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Program, was promoted to Administrative Officer in the mid-1990s. In July 1993, Cramer worked with the Office of Guam's Delegate to Congress and the fiftieth anniversary "Golden Salute" steering committee to coordinate the grand opening of the Asan Bay Overlook. Two years later, Cramer was promoted to administrative officer, the first to hold this position in the park's history. She remained in that position until October 1998, when she left the park around the time that Superintendent Wood left.<sup>443</sup>

During Superintendent Edward Wood's tenure, permanent and seasonal park positions were overwhelmingly filled by local Guam residents. In 1994, five positions were advertised and three were filled by local hires. Two years later, six park positions were taken by five park positions were filled by local residents.<sup>444</sup>



Figure 10-1  
Source: War in the Pacific National Historic Park

**War in the Pacific park staff, 1996-1998. Front, left to right: Superintendent Karen Gustin, Park Ranger Michael Tajalle, Administrative Clerk Tina Borja, park volunteer Felicia Gutierrez, Rita and Jim Powell of the Maintenance Division, and museum curator Steve Keane. Rear, from left to right: Christine DeLury, Regional Manager of the Arizona Memorial Museum Association, Ranger in Charge Chuck Sayon, Chief of Interpretation Rose Manibusan, Administrative Officer Mary Mesa, Colleen Wilson, Administrative Support Clerk Angela Wise, Temporary Administrative Clerk Beth Fejerang, and Facility Manager Ron Wilson.**

Karen Gustin became the park's first female superintendent a few weeks after Ed Wood's departure in the fall of 1998. She came to the park with over fifteen years of National Park Service experience. Not long after receiving her Bachelor of Science degree in outdoor recreation from Colorado State University, Gustin began working as a seasonal park ranger at Death Valley National Monument and the U. S. Forest Service in California. This position was followed by assignments as front-line interpretive specialist at Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in St. Louis, Chief Ranger at Ocmulgee National Monument in Georgia, Chief of Interpretation at Kenai Fjords National Park in Alaska, and training instructor at the Grand Canyon's Albright Training Center. Gustin was assigned her first superintendency at Effigy

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<sup>443</sup> "War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development," c. 1998, WAPA; Wood, "FY98 Superintendent's Annual Report," no date, Harpers' Ferry Center.

<sup>444</sup> Wood, letter to Congressman Robert Underwood, June 6, 1997, Archives, WAPA.

## Chapter 10 – Decade of Special Events: Wood and Gustin Era (1991-2002)

### Administrative History

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Mounds National Monument in Iowa (1994-1996), followed by a position as unit manager at Katmai National Park in Alaska (1996-1998).<sup>445</sup>

Eric Brunnemann became the fifth superintendent of War in the Pacific National Historical Park (and American Memorial on Saipan), arriving in his new post in mid-2002. Brunnemann came to the park with a master's degree archaeological anthropology from the University of Texas, as well as a master's degree in American studies from the University of New Mexico. After working briefly at the San Antonio Museum Association, Brunnemann began working for the National Park Service at Fort Davis National Historic Site, where he was a museum technician. In 1991, he became one of the first staff for newly created Petroglyph National Monument in Albuquerque, New Mexico. Over the next eight years, Brunnemann successfully developed critical components of the monuments interpretive program, established museum collections, and implemented the monuments first cultural resource management program. In 1999, he moved to the NPS's Southwest Utah Group of parks, where he served until 2002 as the cultural resources program manager for Canyonlands and Arches National parks and Hovenweep and Natural Bridges National monuments. For a time, he served as acting superintendent at Hovenweep and Natural Bridges National monuments.<sup>446</sup> Brunnemann arrived at the park just six months before another disastrous super typhoon, in December 2002, which caused such extensive damage to the Newman Visitor Center that the National Park Service moved out of the building. This marked the end of the first era of NPS administration of War in the Pacific National Historical Park and the promise of a new beginning of park administration and interpretation of the park.

Through most of the 1990s the Interpretive Division had three permanent staff. Rose Manibusan worked as chief of the Division of Interpretation as well as serving in the role of park ranger throughout the 1990s. She coordinated the exhibits, oral history project, and many other special projects for the fiftieth anniversary celebrations, which climaxed in 1994. She also helped coordinate special fiftieth anniversary activities with several organizations, including agencies of the Government of Guam, and the Micronesia Area Regional Center at the University of Guam. For five weeks in late 1995, Manibusan accepted a detail in Yosemite National Park to gain a broader perspective on National Park Service interpretive programs and park operations generally.<sup>447</sup>

Sean Cahill began working as a volunteer in January 1990. He accepted a museum technician position with the park in May 1993. His interest in history had led him to work previously at Fort Douglas Military Museum in Utah, followed by employment with the National Park Service. He worked as a museum technician in the Alaska Regional Office of NPS, at Grand Canyon, and at Scotty's Castle in Death Valley, California, before coming to work at the Guam park. Diligent and hard working, Cahill received a special achievement award for his outstanding contributions to the park in 1990-1991.<sup>448</sup>

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<sup>445</sup> Gustin, communication with Evans-Hatch & Assoc., March 12, 2004.

<sup>446</sup> Brunnemann, untitled professional career narrative, 2004, e-mailed to Evans-Hatch & Associates, March 2002)

<sup>447</sup> Wood, memorandum to superintendent, Yosemite National Park, August 8, 1995, Archives, WAPA.

<sup>448</sup> "War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development," c. 1998, WAPA.

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#### War in the Pacific National Historical Park

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Two other rangers/interpreters—Michael Tajalle and Steve Keane—joined the staff during the World War II fiftieth anniversary celebrations. Michael Tajalle was hired as a park ranger in early 1992 after serving in the U.S. Army for twenty-two years. During part of that time, he fought in Vietnam. Tajalle had attended the Park Service's Ranger Academy before arriving on Guam. Tajalle became the first permanent park ranger of Chamorro descent to work at War in the Pacific National Historical Park. In 1993, he was the first male Chamorro to attend the National Park Service's ranger skills course at the Grand Canyon's Albright Training Center. Tajalle became involved in many activities: the Marianas Oral History project (jointly supported by the NPS and MARC, Guam Cable TV, and KGTF Public Broadcasting), the opening of the Asan Ridge Trail, and many other World War II fiftieth anniversary events.<sup>449</sup> Michael Tajalle remained at the park for several years.

Steve Keane became the park's new museum technician in January 1994, the year of the major fiftieth anniversary celebration in the park. Previously, he had worked at NPS's Western Archaeological and Conservation Center in Tucson. He immediately began taking care of a backlog of curatorial concerns. He helped fabricate new exhibits for celebrations commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the World War II American landing. Over the next six years, he computerized and updated the park museum and library records and improved the overall operations and storage of these areas. Keane transferred to the Statue of Liberty National Monument in 2000.<sup>450</sup> Seasonal rangers in the 1990s included: Rick Sotomayor, Commodore Mann, Jr., DePaul Guerro, and others.<sup>451</sup>

The park's Maintenance Division had three staff throughout most of the 1990s. Brian Strack was hired in February 1994 as the park's facility manager (chief of the Maintenance Division). He had worked previously at Wind Cave National Park in South Dakota. Strack was responsible for all maintenance and construction in the park, aided by only two permanent full-time laborers and many volunteers. He coordinated all fiftieth anniversary special project developments in the Asan Beach unit, Gaan Point and Apaca Point in the Agat Unit, and the Piti Unit. He also facilitated the efficient and speedy completion of the Stell Newman Visitor Center improvements in 1994, including painting, installation of new exhibits and updating lighting.<sup>452</sup>

Ronald D. Wilson became the park's facility manager in July 1997. In addition to managing the maintenance division, he also served as the park's contracting officer. Wilson arrived with twenty years of experience as a Navy Seabee, after which he worked for a few years as a construction representative with the Western Division Naval Facilities in California, after which he worked for the U. S. Fish and Wildlife Engineering Center in Denver, and then as a facility manager with the Northwest Biological Center in Seattle. Before arriving on Guam, Ron Wilson had been recognized and rewarded for his creative and innovative approaches to

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<sup>449</sup> "War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development," c. 1998, WAPA; Leo Babauta, "Guam Veterans, Park Rangers Impressed by President," *Pacific Daily News*, November 24, 1998.

<sup>450</sup> "War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development," c. 1998, WAPA; Gustin, Superintendent's Annual Report, FY2000, no date, Harpers Ferry Center; "Lots of Changes Mark Guam's Young Park," *Island Magazine, Pacific Sunday News*, May 15, 1994.

<sup>451</sup> "War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development," c. 1998.

<sup>452</sup> "War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development," c. 1998, WAPA; "Lots of Changes Mark Guam's Young Park," *Island Magazine, Pacific Sunday News*, May 15, 1994.

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accomplishing work and solving problems, as well as his infectious enthusiasm and positive attitude toward work and life. He put these qualities to use soon after his arrival on Guam shortly after the destructive Super Typhoon Paka battered the island in December 1997. Wilson led the park in its cleanup and recovery efforts. As the result of these efforts, he received a certificate of appreciation from the director of the Pacific West Region of the National Park Service, and also the outstanding employee award.

Prior to President Bill Clinton's visit to Guam and the park in November 1998, Wilson oversaw the improvement of park resources and worked with the Secret Service to plan the president's visit. Wilson left the park in January 2000 to become Chief of Maintenance, Capitol Reef National Park in Utah. He returned to War in the Pacific and his former position with the park three years later (in January 2003). His timing remained good: Less than one month after his return, the island was hit by Super Typhoon Pangsona, which caused extensive damage to Guam and to the park's Newman Visitor Center/administrative headquarters and other park resources. Ron Wilson had been back less than one year when he died suddenly on November 15, 2003, at the age of fifty-seven.<sup>453</sup> In 2001, the permanent maintenance workers included Rita Powell and James Powell.<sup>454</sup>

Volunteers played a vitally important role in park operations during the 1990s, just as they had since the Newman superintendency. The divisions of Interpretation and Maintenance, in particular, depended on volunteer contributions. Volunteers helped operate the Visitor Center and participated in the oral history program, which became increasingly active in the 1990s. In 1996, the first Volunteer-in-Parks Oral History Team (also called the "Marianas Oral History Team") was established by Rose Manibusan, Tony Ramirez, Herbert Del Rosario, and Joe Guerro. Some individuals, such as David Lotz, who designed and made a series of airplane exhibits for the Visitor Center, and Sean Cahill, who contributed to the production of a series of guidebooks during the World War II fiftieth anniversary celebrations, made enormous contributions of time, money, energy, and goodwill to the park.<sup>455</sup> Volunteer Joyce A. Quinn wrote the "Asan Beach Guide" in 1992 for the park. And, there were others who contributed enormously, including Anthony Ramirez, a volunteer historian; Herbert Del Rosario, with the College of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI); Joe Guerrero, Historic Preservation Office (CNMI); Sam McPhetres, Historian, (CNMI); Warren Nishimoto, University of Hawaii; and Dr Dirk Ballendorf, Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam.

Community Service Program<sup>456</sup> enrollees also gave many volunteer hours to the Maintenance Division. In 1998, for example, sixty-eight Community Service Program participants donated 8,016 hours to the Maintenance Division. In fiscal year 2000, 100 Community Service Program clients donated 17,000 hours (equivalent to eight full-time equivalencies, FTEs) to the park. These enrollees took care of routine maintenance, such as

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<sup>453</sup> "NPS Grieves Loss of Facility Manager," *National Park Service News*, November 18, 2003.

<sup>454</sup> "War in the Pacific National Historical Park, FY01 Annual Performance Plan" (N.p.: National Park Service, 2001, Harpers Ferry Center Archives).

<sup>455</sup> National Park Service, News Release, "Anniversary Model Aircraft Exhibit," c. 1991, and "Model Aircraft Exhibit" c. 1992, WAPA.

<sup>456</sup> The Community Service Program referred clients who had broken the law to the park to serve their community service time.

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mowing laws, cutting back rapidly growing vegetation, and picking up trash. They also helped clean up after Super Typhoon Paka in late 1997. The day-to-day work and special project work of the Maintenance Division could not have been done without the contributions of the Community Service Program volunteers.<sup>457</sup>

During the fiftieth anniversary, park received volunteer assistance from many government agencies, private organizations, and individuals. Several branches of the military—the US Army Reserve, Army National Guard, Air Force National Guard, and the Seabees (U.S. Navy Construction Battalion)—gave of their time and energy to prepare for the celebrations. In addition, many local Guam residents helped in various ways with the production of a new park film, "Liberating Guam," scheduled for a premiere showing in July 1944. Jack Eddy, Ben Blaz, Dirk Ballendorf, Tony Palonio, Annette Donner, Doug Mac Hugh, and several others volunteered their time to make this film possible.<sup>458</sup>

#### Resource Management:<sup>459</sup>

As with all NPS parks, resource management at War in the Pacific National Historic Park is performed within the parameters of federal legislation, including *The National Park Act of August 25, 1916*; *The Historic Sites Act of 1935*; *Fish and Wildlife Coordination Act of 1958*; *The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966* [and its amended version of 1980]; *The National Environmental Policy Act of 1969*; *The Coastal Zone Management and Marine Protection, Research, and Sanctuaries acts of 1972*; *The Endangered Species Act of 1973*; *The Clean Water Act of 1977*; and *the National Trust Act of 1978*. And, in the case of the Guam park, the enabling legislation that created the park. Honoring the mandates of this lineage of federal legislation as well as a plethora of executive orders, and directives from both the DOI as well as NPS, all of which have been engendered by varying political agendas, is an administrative gauntlet not intended for the weak-at-heart. The complexity of the administrative tightrope walking is well exemplified by demands made of the staff during this period of 1991 to 2002. The period commenced with a continuation of the apathy that had characterized the attitude prevalent inside the District of Columbia beltway and had been historically manifested by inadequate funding and inadequate staffing since the park was born in 1978. With the advent of a growing awareness of the impending fiftieth anniversary of World War II in the Pacific political interest suddenly became keen.

To put the resource management responsibilities of the staff in perspective it would be helpful to briefly review the environment (geological and climatic) within which they performed these tasks. As mentioned in chapter 1 of this history, Guam is a volcanic peak that has undergone several periods of subsidence and uplift resulting in much of the island's volcanic material being interbedded, and in many places covered, by limestone created by the island's reef.

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<sup>457</sup> Wood, "Superintendent's Annual Report, FY98," no date, and Gustin, "Superintendent's Annual Report, FY2000, no date, both in Archives, Harpers Ferry Center; "War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development," c. 1998, WAPA.

<sup>458</sup> "Lots of Changes Mark Guam's Young Park," *Islander Magazine, Pacific Sunday News*, May 15, 1994.

<sup>459</sup> For purposes of this administrative history, "Resource Management" means the management of resources (both cultural and natural) dating from the period of historical significance, in the case of WAPA that would include resources dating from World War II.

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The slopes of the island are characterized by alluvium thinly covered by unconsolidated clays, silts, sands, and gravels that have been eroded from higher slopes. These slopes are accented by scattered large boulders consisting of very dense, hard limestone that have been sliding down the hills, displaced by erosion and transported by gravity. This thin layer of silt, sand, gravel, and clays is exposed to a uniformly warm and humid tropical climate. The 81° F. year-round average afternoon temperature, 81 percent year-round average humidity, and average four-to-twelve mile per hour trade winds, are interrupted at least twice each year by severe tropical storms that drop an average 81 inches of rain on this silt, sand, gravel, and clay. Since record keeping began in 1908, typhoons have either hit Guam or passed close enough to cause wind, rain, and flood damage every three years. Since 1908, typhoons have scored direct hits on Guam at least every eight years. The low elevation occupied by the island's population centers (including much of the acreage of the park), and the fact that the soils at these low elevations are high in clay content, combined with the faithful, cyclical return of typhoons and severe tropical storms has resulted in a history of severe property damage and loss (including park resources). This same combination of factors also carries with it an ironclad guarantee of future severe property damage and loss to park resources.

These threats to park resources take on a very realistic focus when one appreciates that the historical cultural resources of the park are structures built hurriedly using local materials (including high salt-content water), little or no reinforcement, and intended to be temporary. The Japanese defenders had no interest in creating structures to be enjoyed by future generations; they were simply erecting temporary protection from small arms fire and shrapnel. These are the historic cultural resources staff is charged with protecting from heat, humidity, floods, typhoon winds, and the persistent trampling of curious tourists. In short, the charge of War in the Pacific National Historic Park is little more than the protection of sandcastles on a heavily used beach shaking in the midst of an earthquake during a prolonged heavy, tropical rain.

The first stirrings of awareness that the fiftieth anniversary of the American 1944 landing on Guam also precipitated awareness that these historical resources need to be examined. In early 1991, an interpretive planning team was dispatched to the park from the Western Regional Office and Harpers Ferry Center to examine existing interpretive activities and plan for the fiftieth anniversary ceremonies.<sup>460</sup> Also in 1991, park staff contracted with the company Wiss, Elstner Associates, Inc., to examine the World War II concrete structures and present preservation alternatives to the park. One of the options the company presented was the removal of the historic, salt-laden, non-reinforced roofing and replacing it with steel-reinforced concrete having a chemical composition more appropriate for the tropical climate. Park staff preferred another alternative the company presented which was the stabilization of the original roofing rather than replacement. Unfortunately, an impasse apparently arose between the park and the Western Region architects and funds were pulled from the entire stabilization program.<sup>461</sup> This stabilization program included a pillbox, two gun emplacements, and a stone/concrete wall at Asan Beach, a gun emplacement and pillbox at Gaan Point, and two

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<sup>460</sup> Letter from Leslie M. Turner, Assistant Secretary, Territorial and International Affairs to J. Bennett Johnston, Chairman, Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, May 20, 1993

<sup>461</sup> Resource Management Plan, War in the Pacific National Historical Park, February 14, 1997.

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pillboxes at Apaca Point. The total cost of stabilization based upon retention of the historic fabric of these structures was \$41,000 (in 1991 dollars).

Other cultural features dating from the period of relevance (June-July 1944) included the small community of Asan, which was a farming and fishing village, rice paddies, and various roadways and scattered buildings. In 1994 The Western Regional List of Classified Structures (LCS) Team members Jamie Donahoe and Hank Florence evaluated historic structures at the Guam park. NPS Park Ranger Rick Sotomayor, and an administrator with the Guam Department of Parks and Recreation, David Lotz, with Logan Oplinger functioned as tour guides.

Natural resources dating from the period of significance include the beach itself, strand vegetation typical of Pacific islands, including Pandanus, coconuts, beach morning glory, and various grasses. Both these cultural and natural features were largely destroyed by the bombardment of Americans just prior to and contemporaneous with their 1944 invasion.<sup>462</sup> As stated in the Resource Management Plan completed in 1997:

The terrestrial habitats of War in the Pacific National Historical Park have been devastated by alien biotic introductions more than any other park in the system. Of course, the entire park area was devastated by U. S. bombardment during the re-invasion – without a single square yard of real estate unaffected. Following the bombardment in Guam’s wet climate erosion in these devastated lands washed tons of silt onto the fringing coral reefs and threatened their very existence. The Navy responded to curb the erosion by aerial broadcasting seeds of tangentangen as a quick expedient ground cover. It has been effective. A half-century later, tangentangen endures as the dominant shrub land community in the park.<sup>463</sup>

That same 1997 Resource Management Plan identified one of the goals (“Management Objectives”) of managing the resources as:

Develop an appropriate interpretive program, which will foster an understanding of the reasons for the Pacific War, the sequence and nature of its conduct, its effects upon the people involved, its basic themes and broad patterns, the manner of its resolution, and the course of its aftermath.<sup>464</sup>

Perhaps the most profound dynamic of the management of natural resources was the complete loss of a number of species of birds. In preliminary biodiversity studies conducted by the park in the mid-1970s, over thirteen separate bird species were identified. By the late 1980s, all but one species was gone. An explosion of a non-native snake population destroyed the

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<sup>462</sup> It could be argued that if the period of significance is that time immediately after the beach landing of the Americans in 1944, the most historically appropriate method of ensuring the integrity of park resources would be to arrange for an annual bombardment of WAPA by the United States Navy.

<sup>463</sup> Resource Management Plan, War in the Pacific National Historical Park, February 1997.

<sup>464</sup> Resource Management Plan, War in the Pacific National Historical Park, 1997.

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avibiota. The brown tree snake was inadvertently introduced to Guam from New Guinea. The indigenous Guam bird population had evolved in the complete absence of snake predators, and having no experience with snakes, the birds of Guam had not evolved any survival characteristics or behaviors that would have protected them. The abundant bird population (food) discovered by the newly arrived brown tree snakes (thought to have arrived on aircraft – traveling coach or baggage class) encouraged a snake population explosion. At the height of its population, biologists estimated that prime habitats contained approximately 12,000 brown tree snakes per square mile. This may have been the greatest density of snakes anywhere in the world at that time. The loss of the bird population has resulted in an equal diminishment of the island snake population; however, populations of mice, rats, lizards and geckos still provide adequate cuisine for a sizable population.

Other than baseline information derived from sources other than NPS, there was no baseline information on park vegetation, nor was there any marine inventory as late as February 1997. In fact, the 1997 the park Resource Management Plan states, “In sum, there is no current, valid baseline information on the park’s terrestrial biota.”<sup>465</sup> The Resource Management Plan continued:

Plant studies and vegetative mapping specific to the park have not been done. In general, the goal of vegetation management is to maintain the park vegetation in broad appearance to the landscape aspect, which prevailed at the time of the U. S. invasion and recapture of Guam – the historic period for which the park was established. In that regard, two historic landscapes (the Asan Beachhead and the Agat Beachhead) should be defined. Both *Asan Invasion Beach* and *Agat Invasion Beach* are already listed on the National Register. This CMP identifies them as Cultural Landscapes of the Historic Site category, associated with the U. S. invasion at these beachheads in July and August of 1944. Portions of these landscapes lying within boundaries of War in the Pacific National Historical Park should be nominated to the National Register as historic landscapes. The park proposes to add Asan and Agat Beachheads to the Cultural Landscape Inventory (CLI) and seek funding to prepare Cultural Landscape Reports (CLR) of the two beachheads.<sup>466</sup>

In addition to threats to the resources from weather and climate, park staff was forced to contend with issues common to any historical park in an urban setting. Needs and demands of residents have often been in conflict with the mandates inherent in a historical park. Baseball on park property is an excellent example. In March 1994, the park Superintendent sent a memorandum to Marilyn Merrill, the Congressional Liaison of WASO:

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<sup>465</sup> Ibid, 14.

<sup>466</sup> Resource Management Plan, War in the Pacific National Historical Park, 1997, 15. Note: See Appendix 10 of this administrative history for a reprint of the Plant Communities Table presented in the 1997 Resource Management Plan.

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Since 1980, when the park areas at Gaan were cleared and developed for interpretation of the historic defensive structures and caves, we have had to deal with special interest groups that do not understand the significance of the historic resources. Their idea of a “park” is a place to play sports. This consequently leads to some real confrontations.

Among the groups desiring to use the Gaan site for sports are the various organized baseball and softball teams. We have had Little League teams, Babe Ruth teams, and even teams from the Guam Major League (semi-pro) all playing in the open fields of the park. They contend that their presence in no way affects the visitors to the park (they do not consider the baseballs flying across the parking lots, trails and wayside exhibit panels as hazardous to anyone). The baseball practice also causes bare ground paths to be created in the landscaped areas and the players have openly stated that they have poisoned park vegetation to prevent interference with their activities.

The park has had a difficult time convincing the community of the need to preserve the historic resources. The usual response is one of indifference and actual animosity because they feel that a historic park does not serve the needs of the community. Many believe that if land is not used for houses, hotels, businesses, or sports fields, it is being wasted.<sup>467</sup>

The superintendent had attached several news clippings to his memorandum, one from the *Pacific Daily News*, a Gannett Newspaper, dated March 21, 1994. The article read, in part:

Almost every afternoon, young athletes and coaches gather at the long, flat open field at Agat’s Gaan Point to practice baseball, soccer and other sports. But the National Park Service wants to put a stop to that. On Friday, Park Service workers placed a 5-foot high boulder on the field’s pitching mound to render the field unusable for baseball games, village Mayor Antonio Babauta said. Yesterday, several Agat youths and village residents gathered to express their outrage with the Park Service.

The author of the news article failed to mention the attempts made by the Park Service over the preceding fourteen years to find some compromise, including arranging to modify the park boundaries to permit the construction of an alternative baseball diamond, and actually arranging with the U. S. Navy to have the alternate area graded and prepared for use as a diamond.<sup>468</sup>

The historical integrity of park resources not only had to be protected from local baseball, softball, and soccer teams, it also had to be protected from the United States Army. In 1995, the Army Corps of Engineers concluded that it would be nice to permit the construction of platforms over the lagoon at Asan Cut and Togcha Beach to be used by fishermen. As reported in an October 20, 1995, letter to the Corps from the superintendent, both areas are

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<sup>467</sup> Memorandum from Superintendent, WAPA, to Congressional Liaison, WASO, March 25, 1994.

<sup>468</sup> Ibid.

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within the boundaries of the historical park, and their historical integrity would be diminished by the fishing platforms. Twelve days later, on November 1, 1995, the Corps of Engineer's Chief of Guam Operations wrote the superintendent asking what the superintendent's jurisdictional authority was for objecting. The superintendent photocopied the enabling legislation together with boundary maps, and sent it back with a cover letter that mentioned that the area in question (including the submerged area) was on the National Register of Historic Places and suggesting that the Corps of Engineers may also want to speak with the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation since any modification to a historic scene by a federal agency required the Council's review. The next piece of correspondence in the file is dated four years later (August 12, 1999). It is a letter from the new park superintendent to the Army Corps of Engineers; the reference line of the superintendent's letter reads, "Application to construct public fishing platforms, Public Notice No. 990100143." The new superintendent patiently reiterated the Park Service opposition based upon historical integrity arguments. This interagency tug-of-war lasted over four years; time that could have been more productively spent playing baseball at Gaan Point.

Resources management cannot be discussed in a sociological vacuum any more than it can be discussed absent a thorough examination of climate and weather. War in the Pacific is an urban historical park not only exposed to an extraordinarily harsh tropical climate but also operated within a consumptive culture and a public assistance economy. Open space featuring manicured landscaping is rare on Guam. Rusting cars, refrigerators, discarded shreds of blue plastic tarpaulins, and empty beer and soda cans litter the margins between rights-of-way and impenetrable brush growth. Chronic traffic jams are more reminiscent of the Ventura Freeway than a Pacific island. It is telling that the single most notable attribute of the web page published on the Internet by Guam's chamber of commerce in 2001 was the boast that the island had the largest K-Mart in the world. Between 7:00 a.m. and 7:00 p.m. Marine Drive in the central west side of the island (the most heavily populated) is so filled with traffic that it is unable to move faster than a rapid walk. The beach running parallel to this four-lane, clogged roadway and less than two blocks away, is caressed by the gentle lapping of a crystalline blue lagoon, and is completely deserted. The economy of Guam rests squarely on three legs: government employment, government assistance, and tourism (with its typical minimum-wage jobs).

The park created an extraordinarily unique environmental feature on Guam – well-manicured, open spaces next to beaches without the suffocating presence of strip malls, the homogeneous facades of fast-food drive-ins, and four-lane roadways slowly undulating with the ebb-and-flow of shopping hours. The Park Service transformed what had been landfills camouflaged by vociferous jungle growth, into mowed lawns overpoweringly seductive to players of baseball, soccer, and Frisbee. What had once been the repositories of the detritus of consumerism – the battered and rusted toasters, automobile axles, differentials and misshapen wheels, the torn and frayed blue plastic sheeting, and the endless piles of plastic once containing promises of hair dye, fingernail paint, sugar water for Olympic athletes and luminescent prophylactics, had been cleared, scraped, planted, and mowed. And, all this within an urban area populated by persons who had never visited Yosemite, Yellowstone, Gettysburg, Olympic, or Denali. Into this setting, the Park Service placed its staff and charged them to literally stand alongside that four lane roadway, filled bumper-to-bumper with motorists heading home with shopping bags filled with future additives to the island's *ad hoc* landfill, and expected them to preach preservation and historical integrity. From the 1950s on, the Park Service dispatched

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historians, landscape architects, archeologists, generic planners, and real estate appraisers to investigate the historical integrity of extant artifacts, and the costs associated with the creation and growth of the park; however, NPS did not investigate the cultural climate its park would inhabit.

**Building and Maintaining the Park**

Park construction and maintenance during the 1991 – 2002 period were carried out with inadequate funding, in a destructive tropical climate, while dodging typhoons and severe tropical storms. If a park resource was constructed of metal, it rusted, if it was organic, it had to be mowed or trimmed weekly, if it was steep it was shaken loose by earthquakes, if it was not firmly embedded in the earth, it was blown away, and if it was anywhere near sea level, it flooded. Park maintenance required the patience of Job and the marine architecture of Noah. In the midst of all of this, park staff was thrust into the vanguard of preparations to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the 1944 American World War II landing on Guam.

According to available records, 1991 was merely the continuation of a routine that had evolved in the park since its founding in 1978. In the summer, two members of the Youth Conservation Corps who worked in the park from June 17, 1991, to August 9, 1991, supported park staff.<sup>469</sup> The six park staff and the two YCC employees were busy. Vehicle gates and automobile barriers were installed at both Asan Point and Asan Overlook; native vegetation was restored at Asan Point and Gaan; flagpoles were replaced, restrooms repainted, and picnic sites replaced at Gaan; and park roadway striping was repainted.<sup>470</sup> Within the seven separate park units there were seven miles of beach, seventeen miles of roads, and eight miles of trails to be maintained; and there were seventy acres of grass to be mowed each week throughout the entire year. Additionally, staff completed and installed a special Insular Guard exhibit, and had started construction of wayside exhibits; and begun the production of audiovisuals. In July, park staff won second place for its float in the Liberation Day parade. The maintenance staff, under the direction of former maintenance supervisor Roque Borja (who had retired in the fall of 1991), built a full-scale replica of a World War II amphibious vehicle that had been designed by Dave McLean, NPS Harpers Ferry.

The year 1992 was a continuation of 1991. Painting, repairing, mowing, and planting were briefly but noticeably interrupted by a typhoon. On August 28, 1992, Typhoon Omar, with winds of 140 to 165 miles per hour graced the island. Three park employees lost their homes, two other park staffers lost most of their roofs, and every park employee suffered some damage to their personal property. Broken windows, soaked carpeting, uprooted trees, and damaged cars accented the aftermath. The Arizona Memorial Museum Association immediately set up a relief fund and purchased supplies, both food and materials needed for repairs.

The typhoon paused briefly at the park's visitor center where it broke three large windows and flooded the entire administration area. Electrical service was lost (as it was

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<sup>469</sup> News Release, April 1991, War in the Pacific National Historical Park. The program was designed to balance work with the development of an understanding and an appreciation of the environment and heritage for youths between 15 and 18

<sup>470</sup> Regular Cycle Maintenance Report, WAPA, June 26, 1992.

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throughout much of the island) and was not returned for two months. Park staff purchased a 30-kilowatt generator and had it shipped from Honolulu.<sup>471</sup>

The Asan Beach area was littered with downed trees and debris resulting from the high winds and water; the Asan Inland area suffered major tree loss (the maintenance building located in this unit survived with only minimal damage); and the Piti Guns area lost at least two hundred trees, including twelve old-growth mahogany trees. The Apaca picnic area in the Agat Unit was totally submerged under several feet of water; the wooden pavilions were torn apart, and when the water receded the entire picnic area was covered by sand, gravel, and coral. Five major old-growth trees were felled in the Gaan area, falling trees destroyed its picnic tables, and most of the beach vegetation was lost. The World War II bunkers, however, survived the storm. The restroom facility at the Rizal area of the Agat Unit lost its roof resulting in the complete loss of its fixtures.

Both the Mt. Alifan Unit and the Fonte Plateau Unit suffered heavy winds, that stripped much of the vegetation and enthusiastically stirred up the rusted car bodies and refrigerators the residents of Guam had been so graciously donating to the park's cultural landscape for many years but had been well concealed by the lush tropical flora. Of all the park areas, the only site that escaped severe damage was the future site of the Asan Bay Overlook on Nimitz Hill.<sup>472</sup> Due to its location, it escaped the most severe winds.<sup>473</sup>

Water and electricity were not restored to the entire island for several months. Within just a few weeks of the typhoon all island retail stores ran out of batteries, gas stoves, propane, candles, kerosene, flashlights, small portable electrical generators, and bottled water. Residents, who could afford it, relocated their entire families to temporary rentals in motels and other temporary lodging where generators could supply electricity for air conditioning and food refrigeration.

As the fiftieth anniversary of World War II in the Pacific approached, suddenly the eyes of the world, and the eyes of the United States Congress, became narrowly focused on War in the Pacific National Historic Park. Specifically, the eyes of Congress and the eyes of the world were focused on the six permanent employees at the park. Prior to this 1991-94 period, park maintenance had emphasized clearing non-historic structures and providing visitors with basic, essential services such as restrooms and parking areas. Inadequate staffing and funding prohibited the realization (and perhaps even the conceptualization) of any greater aspirations. As reported in a 1992 report by the superintendent:

Developments in both War in the Pacific NHP and American Memorial Park have lagged behind the initial estimates. Funding has not materialized and only

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<sup>471</sup> Without the generator there would have been no electricity, without electricity there would have been no air conditioning, and without air conditioning there would have been no cloth or paper artifacts remaining in the museum (housed in the same building).

<sup>472</sup> In 1997, this same site again suffered minimal damage from another super typhoon (Paka). See Superintendent's Annual Report FY98, War in the Pacific National Historical Park.

<sup>473</sup> The unique nature of the topography surrounding the overlook is one of the reasons park staff has repeatedly identified it as the best location for the construction of a visitor center and administrative offices.

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recently has the interest been sufficient to bring about any substantial improvements. With the exception of the American Memorial Trust Fund and some small donations, all development of the parks has been accomplished within programs of the National Park Service's annual appropriations for operations.<sup>474</sup>

During this same period, the park was gaining in popularity with Japanese tourists as well as an increasing number of World War II veterans. Over 60,320 guests stopped at the visitor center in 1991, and certainly an exponentially larger number of persons drove right past the unimposing two-story building to visit the various park units.<sup>475</sup> Although the park had an FTE ceiling of 10.9 (which would probably have still been inadequate for a park with seven discontinuous units situated in a typhoon-bashed tropical climate), only six staffers were there. According to a Congressional briefing sheet:

The park was established in 1978 and has been operated at a below minimally acceptable level ever since. Little progress has been made toward the park goals since the low staffing has prevented the programs from being advertised in interpretive programs. The park image is poor in the community because most staff time is utilized to complete the protection of the historic resources. With few exceptions, training of the staff has been delayed because of the high costs and long time requirements inherent in mainland training courses. Thus, the staff is not as efficient as is required to operate adequately at the current level of staffing.<sup>476</sup>

And, the very physical nature of the historic sites these six staffers were charged with protecting exacerbated problems confronted by staff even more was:

Numerous historic sites and artifacts exist within the boundaries of the park that relate to World War II. Many of the sites were constructed rapidly and without regard for longevity. A large number are deteriorating badly and will collapse if not treated immediately. The salt-water mixed aggregate will not withstand weathering and after nearly fifty years the structural integrity is questionable. The historic value of rebuilt temporary defensive structures is a matter of conjecture since the historic fabric would no longer be intact and only a replica would remain.<sup>477</sup>

In 1992, Robert Underwood, representative from Guam, introduced House Bill 1944 in the 103<sup>rd</sup> Congress that authorized the construction of a monument within the park commemorating the "loyalty of the people of Guam and the heroism of the American forces

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<sup>474</sup> Report, Edward E. Wood, Jr., Superintendent, War in the Pacific NHP, July 15, 1992.

<sup>475</sup> Briefing Statement prepared for 103<sup>rd</sup> United States Congress by NPS, submitted on January 31, 1992.

<sup>476</sup> 103<sup>rd</sup> Congress Briefing Statement by NPS, January 1992.

<sup>477</sup> Ibid.

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that liberated Guam.” The legislative motivation that had been building behind this proposed law was made very clear by a letter sent almost a year earlier to Manuel Lujan, Jr., then Secretary of the Interior, by members of the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, asking the Park Service to budget funds for park improvement:

In 1978, Public Law 95-348 established the War in the Pacific Park in Guam and the American Memorial Park in Saipan and authorized \$19 million for park development. However, to this day only \$3 million has been appropriated. The “parks” are not only incomplete, but are a sad statement of our Nation’s indifference to the memory of those who suffered under occupation or fought for freedom. It would be truly negligent for us to fail to complete these parks in time for the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the very battles they commemorate.<sup>478</sup>

The single most significant maintenance and construction activity undertaken to prepare for the fiftieth anniversary celebrations was the construction of the Asan Bay Overlook, complete with memorial walls listing United States military and Guam civilians who were casualties of the war. This construction was contracted out with the exception of paving which was performed by the navy. In addition to the overlook, landscapes were manicured, parking areas and roads re-stripped, signs repaired or replaced, and museum exhibits readied.<sup>479</sup>

After the last trumpet notes of the fiftieth anniversary celebrations had echoed across the Philippine Sea, park routine again became routine, until the latter part of 1997. On December 16, 1997, Guam was struck by another super typhoon. Referred to as Paka, it was the most severe typhoon in the history of the park. The damage visited on the island and on the park, as well as the damage control and logistical problems caused by the storm were reruns of issues and problems caused just six years earlier by typhoon Omar. Loss of electrical power and the consequential threat to artifacts and furnishings, exhaustion of emergency equipment, severe damage to park structures including picnic tables, vehicle roadways and pedestrian trails, felled trees, and loss of vegetation. A new visitor center/administrative offices/museum had not been funded; consequently those activities remained in the same building still located the same twenty-five yards from the edge of the same lagoon. Winds tore off a basement door facing the water, which resulted in severe damage to carpets, exhibit cases, and exhibits, not only from flooding, but also from actual wave action to which the bottom floor was exposed. The roof of the building was also damaged. The combination of waves pounding the ground floor and wind-driven rain caused an estimated \$137,000 in damages. It was only through the extraordinary efforts of park staff that the visitor center was reopened to the public in less than one month, and within two months Asan Point and Gaan Point were both reopened for visitation.<sup>480</sup>

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<sup>478</sup> Letter from United States Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources to Manuel Lujan, Jr., Secretary of the Interior, November 5, 1991.

<sup>479</sup> For a detailed account of fiftieth anniversary activities by WAPA staff, see the “Interpretation” section of this chapter.

<sup>480</sup> It is worth noting that by December 2002 a new visitor center/administrative offices/museum had still not been funded, leaving those activities in the same building, still situated twenty-five yards from the

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One of the more unexpected, and yet in hindsight probably obvious results of the typhoon was an increase in park visitors. The island-wide loss of both electricity and water and the resulting closure of most public facilities, including other public parks, resulted in a 7.7 per cent increase in park visitation, further exacerbating the already extraordinarily stressful conditions under which park staff was working.<sup>481</sup>

On January 16, 1998, the Incident Command Team, Burned Area Emergency Rehabilitation, National Park Service (BAER) group arrived on Guam to evaluate park damage caused by Paka. After conducting an examination and analysis of park damage, much as it did six years earlier, the group concluded that damages suffered by the park were valued at \$1,865,003.<sup>482</sup>

Park cleanup efforts were augmented by forty volunteer participants from the Volunteer-In-Parks Program who provided a total of 466 labor hours, and sixty-eight Community Service Program clients<sup>483</sup> who provided a total of 8,016 hours in park cleanup. Additionally, NPS employees from HAVO, NEPE and OLYM were dispatched to the park, the Government of Guam assigned ten temporary employees and the park hired thirty additional temporary employees over a period of several months. A bucket truck, bobcat, backhoe, dump truck, stake-bed truck, and tilt trailer were either rented by the park or provided by SEKI and HAVO to support the cleanup.

More than twenty dump-truck loads of debris were removed from the visitor center parking lot, including more than six inches of beach sand and multiple loads of concrete debris. New security gates had to be installed at the entrance to the office as well as the entrance to the parking garage. It took an unbelievable 200 dump-truck loads to clear rubbish from the Asan Beach Unit, where twenty fully-dedicated employees spent over thirty days removing rocks and coral from the grass and beach areas. Some of the rocks rolled in by the typhoon weighed more than 300 pounds each.<sup>484</sup> The typhoon also demolished a 100' x 10' section of sidewalk that had been constructed using reinforced concrete with extra wide outside edges. Approximately one-and-one-half miles of sidewalks and parking lot were covered with at least six inches of sand; gates, bollards, parking curbs, trashcans, and restroom doors were all replaced.<sup>485</sup> The palm trees

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lagoon. Recognizing a golden opportunity when it saw one Fate again visited a super typhoon on the park in December 2002, again flooding carpets and exhibits, and causing damage to the building and grounds.

<sup>481</sup> Superintendent's Report, FY98, War in the Pacific National Historical Park.

<sup>482</sup> Ibid.

<sup>483</sup> Community Service Program is a program of the Guam criminal justice system under which a person performed community service in lieu of a fine and/or time in jail.

<sup>484</sup> An interesting note for future similar efforts: Heavy equipment such as bulldozers could not be used to scrape coral from the grassy area. The coral would simply bury itself rather than be slid out of the area. (See Superintendent's Annual Report, FY98, War in the Pacific National Historical Park.

<sup>485</sup> The Facility Manager, Ron Wilson, a retired Navy SeaBee, set up a concrete fabrication yard at the rear of the WAPA maintenance yard (outside the historical area). He trained emergency-hire personnel to build concrete forms, mix the concrete, pour the concrete, finish it and remove it from the molds before cleaning and preparing the forms for the next pour. Five hundred bollards and 130 curbs were manufactured at this *ad hoc* facility using 130 cubic yards of concrete mixed in a nine cubic-foot mixer! Ron Wilson died in 2003. (See Superintendent's Annual Report, FY98, War in the Pacific National Historical Park.)

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were only minimally damaged – more than 450 palm trees were still standing after the storm, park employees merely trimmed them and removed any coconuts still attached.

It took a crew of fifteen seventeen days to remove downed trees from the Piti Guns area; they filled thirty truckloads with debris from the area. Two weeks were spent clearing rock and sand from Gaan Point; fifty truckloads of debris and twenty truckloads of sand and rock were taken off. Over one hundred truckloads of debris were removed from Apaca Point; and 300 yards of fill had to be brought in. Again, palm trees survived. The 200 palm trees that graced Gaan Point merely had to be trimmed and coconuts left hanging removed.

In the brief four-year respite between typhoons (please note “severe tropical storms” have been too numerous to detail), park staff stabilized three pillboxes by patching concrete, replaced Mabini Monument plaques, trimmed over 900 coconut trees, installed picnic tables and grills, built forty trash can holders, planted over one hundred flowering plants at the new Asan Bay Overlook, and replaced forty concrete steps leading up to the Piti Guns. Staff also modified the maintenance shop by constructing a mezzanine storage area inside the building and an outbuilding for the storage of hazardous waste. With the exception of emergency hires blown in by typhoons, one Chief of Maintenance and two WG-3 laborers performed all this maintenance. As stated by one recent superintendent:

Community Service program participants donated in excess of 10,000 hours [in 2001] – equivalent to 5 FTE. Without this program, the Park would not be able to keep up with general and daily maintenance – the Park desperately needs more personnel in maintenance. War in the Pacific has a critical need for additional maintenance personnel. The park cannot continue to depend on this program [community service] so heavily. Within the last two months, the park has seen the number of people drop from 20 to 5 because other agencies are now taking these people.<sup>486</sup>

In addition to mowing more than seventy acres each week, every week of the year, pruning 900 palm trees, restoring restrooms and trails from vandalism damage, the installation of the Asan Bay Overlook Memorial Plaques created a whole new set of maintenance problems. The extremely high humidity of the Guam tropical climate, coupled with frequent severe tropical storms and frequent vandalism (due to the complete absence of any law enforcement budget)<sup>487</sup>, Park staff has recently been forced to deal with the rapid deterioration of these memorial plaques, including stripping and treating them. In 2001, that effort cost \$36,000.<sup>488</sup>

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<sup>486</sup> Annual Report, FY01, War in the Pacific National Historical Park.

<sup>487</sup> In November 2000, PWR Chief Ranger Jay Wells and HAVO Chief Ranger Paul DuCasse conducted the region’s first Law Enforcement Needs Assessment. Both assessments concluded that four additional FTE each were necessary for both Saipan and WAPA. The reports concluded that resources were not being protected and noncommissioned employees were being required to respond to situations that law enforcement would normally handle. Ibid.

<sup>488</sup> Ibid.

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**Interpreting Park Resources**

The Division of Interpretation continued to tell the story of World War II in the Pacific and on Guam throughout the 1990s. The T. Stell Newman Visitor Center with its exhibits, slide and video programs, and its gift and bookshop remained the primary place of park visitor contact with NPS staff. The Asan Beach Overlook, developed in the mid-1990s, became a popular point of interpretation and contemplation. Outdoor interpretive plaques, commemorative monuments, and a few pieces of large military equipment and machinery in three park units (Asan Beach, Agat Beach, and Piti) remained less-visited places of park interpretation. A few grand plans initiated in the late 1980s, such as the relocation of a two-person World War II Japanese submarine from the U.S. Naval Station on Guam to the park, and the construction of an 8,000 square-foot visitor center on Nimitz Hill, never materialized. The fiftieth anniversary of World War II, however, brought about many new programs, exhibits, and activities at War in the Pacific National Historical Park that began in 1991 (fifty years after the Japanese invasion of Guam) and climaxed in July 1994 (fifty years after the U.S. military landing on Guam). In addition to rapidly advancing development efforts, the fiftieth anniversary of World War II in the Pacific presented the park with numerous opportunities to reach out to and cooperate with the larger Guamanian community in a way that it never had before, in planning, commemorative celebrations, and interpretive programs. The oral history program, in particular, became an important vehicle for not only gathering valuable historical information but for bringing the people of Guam and the park staff together.

Two interpretive efforts in the late 1980s—the relocation of a Japanese submarine to the park and the construction of a new visitor center on Nimitz Hill—never became the reality originally conceived, but evolved into slightly different interpretive projects. For several years, the National Park Service pondered the borderline appropriateness of the costly maintenance of a Japanese two-man submarine in the park. In 1992, the submarine, located at the Naval Station on Guam, was judged in poor condition due to rusting and exposure to the marine environment. The vessel could not be moved as a whole because its diminished structural integrity would result in breakage. The Navy began studying the best method for moving the submarine; these investigations dragged on for many months.<sup>489</sup> The U.S. Navy eventually began to lose interest in paying to have the submarine moved from the Naval Station to the park. By 1994, the climactic year of NPS's interpretation of World War II in the Pacific, all plans to move the submarine to the park had been apparently abandoned. Instead, park staff took its interpretation outside the park to the off-site submarine. NPS created and placed an exhibit about the submarine at the Naval Station (along with a second exhibit at the War Dog Cemetery, also at the Naval Station<sup>490</sup>). These two exhibits were among the thirty new outdoor exhibit panels created by NPS for the World War II fiftieth anniversary celebrations on Guam.<sup>491</sup>

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<sup>489</sup> Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Western Region, "103<sup>rd</sup> Congress Issues Briefing Statement, Issue: Japanese World War II Mini-Submarine Exhibit (WAPA)," Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>490</sup> Richard Hoffman, Harpers Ferry Center, memorandum to Rose Manibusan, November 1993, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>491</sup> "Lots of Changes," *Pacific Sunday News*, May 15, 1994.

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The planned new park visitor center atop Nimitz Hill on Spruance Drive in the Asan Inland unit of the park also experienced a transformation in its execution. Between 1989, when the NPS's Denver Service Center and Harpers Ferry Center had initially put together a conceptual design for the visitor center, and 1992, \$15,000 had been spent developing these conceptual plans further. By 1992, the Denver Service Center and the new Superintendent, Edward E. Wood, Jr., estimated that the cost of the Nimitz Hill Visitor Center would be \$8,000,000 to \$10,000,000.<sup>492</sup> In early 1993, Superintendent Wood justified an appropriation for the construction of the Nimitz Hill Visitor Center to the 103<sup>rd</sup> Congress by stating that: "With the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Commemoration approaching, a park presence needs to be established and the Visitor Center is an [sic] major portion of this requirement."<sup>493</sup> By the early summer of 1993, the plan to construct such a visitor center by 1994 had been abandoned, due to inadequate congressional funding and the diminished time left to complete the project in time for the celebrations scheduled for July 1994. In June 1993, Leslie Turner, assistant secretary of Territorial and International Affairs, noted that the National Park Service still preferred the Nimitz Hill location for its new visitor center, with its commanding views of the American Marine landing beaches (and park units) at Asan and Agat. Congressional funding of \$45,000 for the project, however, only permitted gradually phased development of the site. "The first phase would be a scenic overlook with parking, walkways and wayside exhibits. The second phase would be the visitor center."<sup>494</sup> In late 1993, Guam State Historic Preservation Officer Richard D. Davis, confounded what had already become an unlikely venture when he stated that design restrictions were needed and desirable for the Nimitz Hill Visitor Center, otherwise it might negatively impact the historic scene and disturb potential prehistoric and historic archaeological deposits in the vicinity of the site.<sup>495</sup> As late as January 1993, the Park Service held out hope for a visitor center on Nimitz Hill, which might be ready to open in July 1994. By then, however, confusion reigned among some Western Region staff about whether NPS and the Government of Guam might jointly build a visitor center and/or veterans memorial at Asan Point, rather than construct a solely NPS visitor center on Nimitz Hill.<sup>496</sup> After fiftieth anniversary celebrations ended in 1994, Congress, apparently, felt less compelled to appropriate a huge sum to implement the phase II construction of the visitor center on Nimitz Hill.

Also, disagreement arose between the Government of Guam, which had initially promised to financially support the Nimitz Hill Visitor Center, and the Park Service over the best site for visitor contact within the park. In the early 1990s, the Guam Legislature had established a Veteran's Memorial Committee, charged with planning the construction of a

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<sup>492</sup> Edward E. Wood, Jr., "Visitor Center and Museum," July 11, 1992, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>493</sup> Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Western Region, 103<sup>rd</sup> Congress Issues Briefing Statement, "Issue: Visitor Center" (WAPA), January 1993, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>494</sup> Leslie M. Turner, assistant secretary, Territorial and International Affairs, letter to J. Bennett Johnston, chairman, Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, June 15, 1993, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>495</sup> Richard D. Davis, State Historic Preservation Office, Department of Parks and Recreation, Government of Guam, letter to Superintendent Ed Wood, December 3, 1993, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>496</sup> Rose Manibusan, memorandum to Edward Wood, February 4, 1993, Archives, WAPA.

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memorial complex with a visitor contact area, outdoor exhibits, and a remembrance wall within the Asan Beach unit. This site, more than the Nimitz Hill site, had greater historic World War II significance to the people of Guam. The Government of Guam, thus, withdrew its pledged financial support of the Nimitz Hill Visitor Center plan<sup>497</sup>

#### Fiftieth Anniversary Projects

Fiftieth anniversary special projects, programs, and commemorative ceremonies involved special planning, projects, and people War in the Pacific staff participated in local planning for fiftieth anniversary celebrations. Guam Governor Joseph Ada appointed the park's Interpretation Division Chief Rose Manibusan to the "50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Defende Tanota (Defense of Guam, 1941) Steering Committee.<sup>498</sup> The National Park Service focused tremendous attention on interpreting the American landing on Guam in July 1994 and World War II in the Pacific. Many volunteers, employees of the Micronesia Area Research Center at the University of Guam, and National Park Service personnel from Harpers Ferry Center and the Western Regional Office in San Francisco worked together to plan, pay for, and produce several interpretive projects, including wayside exhibits, indoor exhibits and video programs that included an oral history component, construction of the Asan Bay Overlook (in the Asan Inland unit), and trail rehabilitation to Asan Ridge and Piti guns.

In 1991, an interpretive planning team comprised of staff from Harpers Ferry Center (HFC) and the Western Regional Office visited the park. Planning team members included Lynne Nakata, Dave McLean, Karine Erlebach, and Cliff Soubier, met with the Interpretation Chief Rose Manibusan to evaluate and improve the park's interpretive programs.<sup>499</sup> This team began developing several interpretive projects, planned for completion by July 1994. Even before the end of 1991, Rose Manibusan and Lynne Nakata developed a scope of work for a new indoor exhibit in honor of the Insular Force Guard.<sup>500</sup> On December 10, 1991, Superintendent Wood and Rose Manibusan unveiled this new exhibit, "Guam Insular Guard," at the Stell Newman Visitor Center. Attending the exhibit opening were local dignitaries, former members of the Guam Insular Force Guard, and the NPS Chief Historian Edwin Bearss, who was a guest speaker at the ceremonies. Other guest speakers included Guam Governor Joseph F. Ada, U.S. Congressman Ben Blaz, Rear Admiral James Perkins, III, and Insular Guardsman Pedro G. Cruz.<sup>501</sup>

In fiscal year 1992, Harpers Ferry Center allocated funds for wayside exhibits and audiovisual projects. In January that year, the HFC audiovisual producer spent several weeks at

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<sup>497</sup> *Ibid.*; Edward E. Wood, Jr., "Visitor Center and Museum," July 11, 1992, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>498</sup> "War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development," c. 1998.

<sup>499</sup> "War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development," c. 1998.

<sup>500</sup> Dan Quan Designs was awarded the contract to develop exhibit designs. Bruce Ficke received the award to fabricate the exhibit. War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development," c. 1998; Turner, letter to J. Bennett Johnston, June 15, 1993, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>501</sup> "50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Outbreak of War in the Pacific," December 1991, brochure, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

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the park. Wayside exhibit planner from HFC, Richard Hoffman, came to Guam in April 1992 to meet with Rose Manibusan and determine the number, location, and interpretive needs for each wayside exhibit. Manibusan and volunteers immediately began compiling research data for the wayside interpretive panels.<sup>502</sup>

Over the next two years, the National Park Service moved ahead with the implementation of plans to interpret and celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of World War II in the Pacific wayside exhibits. Funding for these exhibits came from the Arizona Memorial Museum Association, the Guam Humanities Council, and the National Endowment for the Humanities. By mid-1994, thirty wayside exhibits had been completed by Harpers Ferry Center (for approximately \$150,000). These outdoor interpretive panels stood at various sites in the park—Asan Beach, Piti, Apaca Point, and Gaan Point (Agat Beach unit)—as well as at the two-person Japanese submarine and the War Dog Cemetery, both located at the U.S. Naval Base on Guam.<sup>503</sup>

For the fiftieth anniversary celebrations, the park interpretive staff, led by Rose Manibusan, put together a suite of changing indoor exhibits in the Stell Newman Visitor Center. Exhibits presented a number of themes: the first year of war, the Chamorros during the war, women and children on Guam during the war, the fall of the Philippines, naval battles of the Coral Sea and Midway, the Guadalcanal campaign, the atomic bomb, and aircraft of World War II (presented by models fabricated by park volunteer David Lotz). Typically, the indoor exhibits changed about every six months, between June 1992 and mid-1994. Many of the interpretive panels were written English, Chamorro, and Japanese.<sup>504</sup>

Media served as an important aspect of the park's indoor exhibits. Harper's Ferry Center and the Western Region played the lead role in planning and developing interpretive media for the fiftieth anniversary celebrations. Harpers Ferry Center put together a video, entitled "Recapture of Guam" (for around \$250,000). The HFC also produced a video, "Liberating Guam." This film relied heavily on oral history videotaped interviews conducted by park staff and volunteers, in conjunction and with the enthusiastic guidance and support of MARC, especially Dirk Ballendorf, at the University of Guam. The Guam Humanities Council, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the Arizona Memorial Museum Association contributed large sums to the film's production. These interviews passionately captured the personal stories of Guamanians, while the Japanese occupied the island during World War II. This interactive video premiered in July 1994. A year later, "Liberating Guam" won a finalist

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<sup>502</sup> "War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development," c. 1998; Turner, letter to J. Bennett Johnston, June 15, 1993.

<sup>503</sup> "Lots of Changes," *Pacific Sunday News*; War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development," c. 1998; Wood, memorandum to Stanley Albright, regional director, Western Region, June 11, 1993, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>504</sup> News Release: National Park Service, "Assistance Sought for Upcoming Museum Exhibit," c. 1992; "New Exhibits Open on Liberation Day at War in the Pacific National Historical Park," c. 1992; "Volunteers in Parks Recognition," c. 1992; Wood, memorandum to Lynne Nakata, interpretive specialist, Western Region, January 14, 1993, all in Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

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award (one of four top awards given) at twentieth-eighth Annual WorldFest in Houston, Texas, in a film contest with 4,100 entries competing from thirty-seven countries.<sup>505</sup>

Construction of the Asan Bay Overlook on Nimitz Hill, considered seriously as the site for a new visitor center for five years (1998-1993), was another important fiftieth anniversary project. The overlook provided a spectacular panoramic view of the American landing beaches at Asan and the highlands rising up from the beaches. The overlook interpretive memorial garden was dedicated to the Chamorro who suffered during the Japanese occupation (1941-1944) and to the American casualties of the Guam campaign. The new Asan Bay Overlook had space for twenty cars and six buses. It opened in July 1944, during the climactic events of the fiftieth anniversary ceremonies.<sup>506</sup>

The preparations made by the National Park Service and other government agencies and organizations for celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of World War II on Guam and Saipan in the Pacific culminated in July 1994. During the week of July 18-22, when the U.S. had landed and retaken Guam fifty years earlier, the Government of Guam, U.S. armed forces, and the National Park Service organized a series of commemorative activities promoted as the "Golden Salute." Highlights of the week included memorial services on land and sea, several dedication ceremonies, an air show, a parade, a fireworks display, and a festival. On July 19, the park's new memorial complex at Asan Bay Overlook was formally dedicated. A joint ceremony for Japanese and American veterans, aimed at closing the book of war to peace and harmony in the future, closed the Golden Salute weeklong activities.<sup>507</sup>

**American Memorial Museum Association**

The Arizona Memorial Museum Association (AMMA), one of over fifty non-profit cooperating associations throughout the United States that supported the educational, scientific, historical, and research efforts of the National Park Service, helped promote and interpret War in the Pacific park in numerous ways in the 1990s. The Guam branch of AMMA, headquartered at the USS Arizona Memorial Park in Honolulu, helped fund new exhibits in the Stell Newman Visitor Center, prepare and print new guidebooks and pamphlets, and contribute to special events.

AMMA played a critically important role in helping the park fund and orchestrate numerous items and activities associated with the 1994 fiftieth anniversary celebrations of the World War II landing of the American military on Guam. The association funded completely or in part some of the commemoration ceremonies and guidebooks, such as the "Asan Beach

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<sup>505</sup> Wood, letter to Hiro Kurashina, director, Micronesia Area Research Center, University of Guam, December 9, 1992; regional director, Western Region, memorandum to Edward Wood, January 28, 1993; Wood, memorandum to regional director, Western Region, June 11, 1993; all in Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support. Also see "Lots of Changes," *Pacific Sunday News*, May 15, 1994; J. Hunter Todd, chairman and founder, Worldfest Houston, letter to Michelle South, Harpers Ferry Center, June 8, 1995, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>506</sup> "Lots of Changes," *Pacific Sunday News*, May 15, 1994.

<sup>507</sup> "News Release: National Park Service, Commemoration of the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Re-capture of Guam," July 1, 1994; "Fiftieth Anniversary Golden Salute: Joint Ceremony for Japanese and American Veterans," July 22, 1994; both in Archives, WAPA.

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Guide"<sup>508</sup> and four companion guidebooks produced for each of the four fiftieth anniversaries of the War in the Pacific.<sup>509</sup> The American Memorial Museum Association also contributed to the fiftieth anniversary commemoration poster contest battle map, visitor center library activities, and oral history transcriptions.<sup>510</sup> The association funded and staged a volunteer appreciation banquet in late August 1994 to thank all those volunteers who had contributed to the fiftieth anniversary celebratory programs. In August 1994, Superintendent Wood loudly praised the AMMA for all its contributions to the park. "The assistance we received from you," Wood wrote to AMMA executive director Gary Beito, "and the Association for these activities has proved to be . . . a godsend. Without it, we would have been hard-pressed to accomplish what we did and the whole commemoration would have been significantly lacking in the details that made it so successful."<sup>511</sup>

After these celebrations, AMMA continued to support the purchase of equipment and supplies, such as curatorial storage facilities, traveling and stationary exhibits, and the conversion of historic photos to high quality CD-ROM format. AMMA aided the park in continuing to develop its oral history program. In 1998, AMMA contributed \$25,000 to park operations, mostly to interpretive activities and projects (\$8,000 to oral history, \$8,000 to special events, \$6,000 to the visual interpretive computer system, and a total of \$3,000 to curatorial projects and the park library.)<sup>512</sup> Between 1989 and 1999, AMMA donated over \$300,000 to the park, primarily its interpretive activities. AMMA occupied space in the Stell Newman Visitor Center throughout the 1990s.<sup>513</sup>

#### Oral History Project at War in the Pacific Park

The fiftieth anniversary celebrations of World War II invigorated the park's oral history efforts, then in its infancy. Since the founding of the park, Dirk Ballendorf and other staff at the University of Guam's Micronesia Area Research Center had encouraged first Superintendent Stell Newman and subsequent park superintendents to interview and tape record the valuable World War II recollections of selected Guam island residents, before these memories were totally lost. The return of hundreds of World War II U.S. and Japanese veterans to Guam for fiftieth anniversary celebrations in 1994 provided the park and the other agencies on Guam with an abundant rationale to forge ahead with a serious well-organized oral history program. The fifty year-old video-taped remembrances of Guam residents and military participants would not only be a valuable addition to the historical record of the war, but could also be used to created

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<sup>508</sup> Joyce A. Quinn, "Asan Beach Guide," no place of publication: American Memorial Museum Association, 1994.

<sup>509</sup> "War in the Pacific: The First Year" (1992), "War in the Pacific: Homefronts of 1943" (1993), and "War in the Pacific: The Pacific Offensive" (1994), all published by the National Park Service and the Arizona Memorial Museum Association.

<sup>510</sup> "Ware in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development," c. 1998, WAPA; Wood, letter to Gary Beito, executive director, Arizona Memorial Museum Association, September 20, 1993 and August 1, 1995, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>511</sup> Wood, letter to Gary Beito, August 1, 1994, Archives, Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>512</sup> Wood, "FY98 Superintendent's Annual Report," no date, Harpers Ferry Center.

<sup>513</sup> "Arizona Memorial Museum Associations: A Non-Profit Organization," c. 1999, WAPA.

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poignant and effective interpretive educational NPS programs being produced for the anniversary activities at the park. Importantly, recording the different memories and perspectives of eye witnesses also presented the park with a superb opportunity to reach out beyond the park boundaries and connect in a personal way with the Guamanian people and, at the same time, meaningfully communicate important aspects of the park's mission and goals to island residents.

In the early 1990s, individuals in NPS's Western Regional Office and Harpers Ferry Center began working on a film production that would incorporate videotaped eyewitness accounts of the war on Guam. In late 1992 and early 1993, Chief of Interpretation Rose Manibusan and Superintendent Ed Wood began writing to U.S. and Japanese World War II veterans who had fought on Guam, asking that they record their memories of experiences on Guam.<sup>514</sup> Discussions between Wood and Manibusan, Lynne Nakata and Jonathan Bayless (NPS Western Region), and Karine Erlebach (Harpers Ferry Center) about the logistics of and funding for a fiftieth anniversary "Oral History Project" continued through 1993. Interviews actually began soon afterward. Among those interviewed were Beatrice Emsley, Pedro Cruz, Hiram Elliot, Carmen Artero Kasperbaur, Ralph Reyes, Juan Perez, Pete Perez, Francisco Cruz, and war veterans Jack Eddy, Pete Siquenza, and Ben Blaz.<sup>515</sup>

In the spring of 1994, Manibusan met with MARC Professor Dirk Ballendorf to discuss the park's oral history program. One month later, the National Park Service sponsored oral history training for park staff, park volunteers, and other interested individuals on Guam in preparation for fiftieth anniversary tours in July that year. During the "Golden Salute activities, marking the climax of the fiftieth anniversary commemorative celebrations in July 1994, two teams of NPS (Steve Haller and Daniel Martinez) and Air Force (Al Miller and Chuck McManus) historians interviewed more than fifty returning U.S. veterans and Guamanian survivors of World War II. Guam cable TV and KGTF-TV donated the crews and equipment to film the interviews. The Guam Hilton Hotel donated rooms to be used to conduct oral history interviews.<sup>516</sup>

War in the Pacific's oral history program subsided after the climatic fiftieth anniversary celebrations in 1994. Other interpretive activities, such as the installation of new exhibits in the Visitor Center and the design, construction, and dedication of the Asan Memorial Wall, diverted some of the park's limited human and financial resources away from the oral history program. In 1997, the oral history program became re-energized by the Arizona Memorial Museum Association-sponsored oral history training workshop that featured instructors Warren Nishimoto (director, Center for Oral History, University of Hawaii), Dirk Ballendorf (professor, MARC), Donald Platt, Daniel Hildenbrandt, and Tony Palomo, held at the Guam Hilton in early June. Two months later, the park organized the park's first volunteer oral history team, the "Marianas Oral History Team," coordinated by Rose Manibusan, Tony Ramirez, Herbert Del

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<sup>514</sup> Manibusan memorandum to Superintendent Ed Wood, February 4, 1993; Manibusan form letter to "Dear Sir," about early 1993; both at Pacific Great Basin Support Office.

<sup>515</sup> Wood, letter to regional directory, Western Region, June 11, 1993.

<sup>516</sup> "Inventory List of Oral History Tapes, Incident Command System Oral History Team Golden Salute . . . July 18, 1994 to July 23, 1994; "War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development," c. 1998; both in WAPA Archives.

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Rosario, and Joe Guerrero. Soon, the Mariana Islands Oral History Team hosted an oral history photographic exhibit on Saipan and Guam in the fall of 1997. Super Typhoon Paka and the tremendous damage caused to the park in December 1997 as well as preparations for the park's twentieth anniversary and for the arrival of Presidential Bill Clinton in the summer and fall of 1998, diverted attention away from the oral history efforts.<sup>517</sup>

#### Celebrating the Park and the President in 1998

The spring and early summer months of 1998 were spent preparing for the twentieth anniversary of War in the Pacific National Historical Park. August 18 marked the park's official birth date. Earlier in the year, Acting Governor Madeline Bordallo signed a proclamation designating the month of August as National Park month on Guam. The park staff and the Guam's delegate to Congress invited the public to a special ceremony, "Preserving Our Natural and Cultural Heritage," at Asan Point on August 18. Roughly 200 people attended this special event. Dirk Ballendorf, professor at MARC, presented a history of the first ten years of the Park Service on Guam. Tony Palomo, director of the Guam Museum, presented the history of the second ten years War in the Pacific National Historical Park, and a new twenty-minute video entitled, *Guam's Past and Promise for the Future*, produced by Greg Champion and Tim Rock and written by Jim Miculka and Rose Manibusan featuring park sites, awareness of endangered species, and environmental concerns on the island, was shown at the Visitors Center. In his keynote address, Honorable Robert A. Underwood, delegate to Congress, talked about the history and significance of War in the Pacific. Underwood and Chief of Interpretation Rose Manibusan presented special awards to significant park partners, volunteers, and the park staff. The Arizona Memorial Museum Association financially sponsored this event.<sup>518</sup>

Less than four months after the twentieth anniversary celebrations, President Bill Clinton visited Guam and War in the Pacific National Historical Park. Air Force 1 arrived with the president at Won Pat Guam International Airport on November 23, 1998 to a warm, flag-waving and wildly cheering crowd, with raised "Hafa Adai" signs, all along the route of the presidential motorcade on Marine Drive. In the mid-morning, President gave a short, fifteen-minute speech, the first presidential address on Guam since 1986, to about 25,000 Guam residents at the Ricardo J. Bordallo Governor's Complex at Adelup. Later, the presidential motorcade ascended Nimitz Hill to War in the Pacific's Asan Bay Overlook. Chief of Interpretation Rose Manibusan and park ranger Michael Tajalle took turns presenting a fifteen-minute history of Guam during World War II and the significance of the park to the President, who stood quietly with his hands behind his back and listened. "He listened—he just listened," Manibusan later said. Ranger Tajalle exclaimed later that it was "really a great honor to meet the

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<sup>517</sup> Ibid.

<sup>518</sup> Superintendent Ed Wood was not present for these ceremonies since he had transferred from WAPA one month earlier. Several individuals and groups contributed to the success of this celebration, including Army ROTC Daniel J. Mulhauser, Secretary to the Archbishop of Agana, Flora Baza Quan, the Guam Territorial Chorale and the Guam Territorial Band, Chaplain Joel Rayfield, a Lt. Col. in the U.S. Air Force. Wood, "War in the Pacific National Historical Park, FY98 Superintendent's Report, no date; "War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development," Working Draft, c. 1998; all at WAPA.

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president . . . I was really shocked—I figured he had a lot of questions to ask about the story we gave, but he didn't."<sup>519</sup> Clinton led Guam Governor Carl Gutierrez and First Lady Geri Gutierrez along the wall of names stopping briefly at the name of the First Lady's mother. The president then laid a wreath at the memorial, before being greeted by a small group of World War II veterans, dressed in their military uniforms. The presidential limousine soon afterward, wound its way down Nimitz Hill amidst more island residents waving American flags. Only a few hours later, President Clinton left Guam, a stop on the final leg of his tour of Asian countries.<sup>520</sup>

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<sup>519</sup> Leo Babauta, "Guam Veterans, Park Rangers Impressed by President," *Pacific Daily News*, November 24, 1998.

<sup>520</sup> "President Clinton Welcomed"; Amy Tatko, "Air Force One Touches Down"; Babauta, "Guam Veterans" and "Clinton Honors War Dead"; Brad Wong, "Clinton Addresses Issues"; Hiroshi Hiyama, "President Inspires Residents"; Lloyd Jojola, "Fighting for President's Attention"; all in *Pacific Daily News*, November 24, 1998.

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**WAPA Land Ownership as of November 1979, by Park Unit**

Source: *Land Acquisition Plan, Draft for Public Review*, U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, War in the Pacific National Historical Park, November 1979.

**Asan Beach Unit:**

<u>Ownership</u>	<u>Land Area (in acres)</u>
Federal	47
Government of Guam	14
Private	8
Total water in this unit	445 acres

**Asan Inland Unit**

<u>Ownership</u>	<u>Area (in acres)</u>
Federal	364
Government of Guam	4
Private	182
Total water in this unit	0

**Piti Guns Unit**

<u>Ownership</u>	<u>Area (in acres)</u>
Federal	24
Government of Guam	0
Private*	0
Total water in this unit	0

\*NOTE: this 1979 NPS report indicated that although records reflected no private ownership of any land in this unit, there was a private residence on the hillside immediately below the guns.

**Agat Unit**

<u>Ownership</u>	<u>Area (in acres)</u>
Federal	19
Government of Guam	7
Private	5
Unknown ownership	6
Total water in this unit	557 acres

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**Mt. Alifan Unit**

<u>Ownership</u>	<u>Area (in acres)</u>
Federal	158
Government of Guam	0
Private	0

**Mt. Tenjo/Mt Chachao Unit**

<u>Ownership</u>	<u>Area (in acres)</u>
Federal	0
Government of Guam	0
Private	44

NOTE: In 1979 this unit was a narrow ribbon of private land approximately following an abandoned dirt road between Mt. Chachao and Mt. Tenjo. At each end the unit widened just enough to permit parking and overlooks.

**Appendix 2**  
**Comments During Preparation of the General Management Plan**  
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This appendix is divided into three sections. The first section lists agencies, organizations, and entities with whom WAPA staff coordinated the preparation of the General Management Plan, the second section presents significant written comments on the proposed General Management Plan that are believed to have significance to persons administering the park in the future, and the third section deals with oral comments made during public meetings (again, only comments believed to have long-term significance for persons managing the park in the future have been included). Significant comments pertaining to matters that have been resolved but retain substantial historical significance for future park managers are included in this appendix. Neither of the last two sections is intended as a verbatim report, but merely as a synopsis of the more significant, relevant comments received. A more detailed presentation of comments received can be found in the *Environmental Assessment: General Management Plan – War in the Pacific National Historical Park, Guam, 1983*. Throughout this appendix the General Management Plan is referred to either as the “plan” or the “draft.”

1. WAPA staff consulted and/or coordinated the plan’s preparation with

- Office of the Governor of Guam
- Office of the Lieutenant Governor of Guam
- Guam Housing and Urban Renewal Authority (GHURA)
- Director, Bureau of Planning, Government of Guam
- Director, Bureau of Budget and Management Research, Government of Guam
- Department of Agriculture, Government of Guam
- Environmental Protection Agency, Government of Guam
- Guam Department of Parks and Recreation
- Territorial Historic Preservation Officer
- Commissioners and planners of Piti, Asan, and Agat municipalities
- U. S. Army Corps of Engineers
- National Parks and Conservation Association
- Marianas Recreation and Park Society
- General Public at public meetings held in Agat, Piti, Asan, and Agana.

Public meetings were conducted prior to preparation of the draft, after the distribution of the draft, and a final set of meetings limited to persons who had previously comments held after the proposed final draft was distributed.

2. WAPA received written comments from

- Acting Governor of Guam;
- Director, Bureau of Planning, Government of Guam (two letters);
- Director, Bureau of Budget and Management Research, Government of Guam;
- Director of Commerce, Government of Guam;
- General Manager, Guam Visitors Bureau;
- Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency, Government of Guam;
- Director of Land Management, Government of Guam;
- Director of Agriculture, Government of Guam;

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Director, Department of Parks and Recreation, Government of Guam;  
3. WAPA staff received the following comments, segregated by source<sup>1</sup>

Guam Housing and Urban Renewal Authority: This agency had prepared an urban renewal plan for Asan Village and was concerned about clear park-village boundaries; location of a water storage reservoir for Asan Village; and the design of a floodwater drainage system through the park to Asan Bay. All three issues were resolved to the satisfaction of both WAPA and the commentator.

United States Army Corps of Engineers: The Corps wanted a small boat harbor at Gaan Point. The issue was resolved by the Corps investigating other sites.

Director, Bureau of Planning, Government of Guam: Contributions, sacrifices, and suffering of Guamanians during the war should be given appropriate attention in the park's interpretation efforts.

Environmental Protection Agency, Government of Guam: WAPA should take necessary steps to minimize, mitigate, and/or avoid erosion resulting from park construction projects. Also the plan should examine in greater depth the effects of relocating persons presently residing within the park's boundaries.

National Parks and Conservation Association: Other World War II sites in the Pacific should be studied as well as Guam. Also, WAPA should coordinate closely with Government of Guam agencies and local agencies to ensure public recreation areas are provided as well as other compatible uses on land adjacent to WAPA park boundaries, and, where appropriate, exclude such recreational lands from the park.

General Manager, Guam Visitors Bureau: WAPA should ensure that any future changes of the park boundaries be preceded by adequate public notice and participation.

Comments made during workshop in Asan with Asan commissioners, village planners, and local residents on March 22, 1979:<sup>2</sup> This workshop was dominated by concerns expressed about NPS land acquisition and uses permitted within the park

Comments made during workshop in Piti with Piti commissioners, village planners, and local residents on March 23, 1979: Comments made at this workshop were more diverse than were comments received during the preceding day's meeting in Asan. Comments at the Piti workshop included a suggestion that NPS permits local

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<sup>1</sup> Several commentators expressed the opinion that the park was not doing an adequate job of hiring local residents for park positions. A second, very common comment, was that WAPA was not adequately identifying and marking sites associated with the war efforts of Guam residents, and generally failing to show adequate sensitivity to the importance of Chamorro traditions and contributions.

<sup>2</sup> The workshops held in Asan on March 22, 1979, Piti on March 23, 1979, and Agat on March 26, 1979, were attended by Stell Newman, Superintendent of WAPA, NPS; Ron Mortimore, Park Planner, NPS; and Tom Fake, Landscape Architect, NPS. Apparently, the meetings were not closed meetings since fifteen persons attended the Asan workshop, five attended the Piti workshop, and there were more than thirty in attendance during the Agan workshop. The next year, after the draft had prepared, there was a second series of meetings: June 4, 1980, in Piti, June 6, 1980, in Agana, June 9, 1980, in Agat, June 10, 1980, in Asan, another meeting in Piti on June 13, 1980, and a second Agat meeting on July 1, 1980.

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craftsmen to sell their wares on park property; the access road be routed to avoid increasing traffic through the residential area; the Park Service should provide a broader education of what a national park is since WAPA would be Guam resident's first experience with a NPS park. Attendees also expressed wishes that picnicking and camping be permitted on the park, suggested that a trail be built through the mahogany grove, restrooms should be installed, and that NPS should acquire other federal land to be used to construct recreational facilities. Judging from the nature of many of the comments, there appeared to be general confusion about where the park boundaries were.

Comments made during the workshop in Agat on March 26, 1979, with Agat commissioners, village planners, and local residents: (This workshop attracted much greater participation, thirty residents attended.) There appeared to be general confusion regarding park boundaries, permissible park uses (both on land and in the lagoon), the nature of facilities and war relics that would be made available in the park. Significantly, there was a general and intense interest voiced regarding the desire that a boat harbor be constructed at Gaan Point. Some attendees indicated that Agat has been trying to get a boat launching ramp and boat harbor since the 1950s, and residents were getting impatient. Lastly, there was general concern that a baseball field be constructed at Gaan Point.

Comments made during a June 4, 1980, meeting in Piti:<sup>3</sup> The most common concern was to ensure that public access to the Piti guns did not result in increased motor vehicle traffic through the residential area.

Comments made during a June 6, 1980, meeting in Agana: Apparently, there were very few attendees at this meeting. In response to a question about existing buildings on the oceanside of Marine Drive in Asan, NPS staff indicated that it would remove all buildings except the Haloda Building which would be used as a temporary visitor center.

Comments made during a June 9, 1980, meeting in Agat: Concern was expressed regarding access to the Mt. Alifan Unit, as well as access to the beach area between Namu River and the Community Center. [This meeting was then continued until July 1, 1980, since several commissioners were unable to attend due to schedule conflicts.]

Comments made during a June 10, 1980, meeting in Asan: During this meeting, attendees identified five historical sites on the island that should be marked (1) in the Mt. Chacho area, beyond the fire station on Nimitz Hill: site of a Japanese medical aid station during the battle for Guam, reportedly used primarily for amputations; (2) the area behind the University of Guam: high cliff where Japanese soldiers reported took their own lives; (3) at the site of the dental clinic on the Naval Station: reportedly 2,000 Japanese soldiers committed suicide and were buried; (4) the beach at East Agana: Japanese invaders landed; and (5) additional, unidentified areas in the northern part of the island.

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<sup>3</sup> Again, at all the meetings conducted in 1980, after the draft had been prepared and distributed, the issue of NPS land acquisition was repeatedly raised by meeting attendees.

**Appendix 2**  
**Comments Made During Preparation of the General Management Plan**  
**Administrative History**  
**War in the Pacific National Historical Park**

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Comments made during a June 13, 1980, meeting in Piti: Lightly attended, and comments did not vary from the earlier June 4<sup>th</sup> meeting.

Agat meeting of July 1, 1980: No one attended.

Public Comments during Asan public meeting of August 19, 1982: A memorial similar to the Iwo Jima monument should be erected in the village. (NPS replied that large memorial statutes are not appropriate in historical parks.) Also, the oral history project should be initiated and completed as soon as possible.

Public Comments during Agana public meeting of August 20, 1982: Additional historical sites should be identified, particularly sites relating to the suffering and contributions of Guam residents during the war.

**Appendix 3**  
**Initial Suggested Boundary Changes**  
**Administrative History**  
**War in the Pacific National Historical Park**

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The following are park boundary changes suggested by Stell Newman, WAPA's first superintendent:

Agat Unit: Change the boundary to remove the sewage disposal plant from the park; remove the land between the sewage disposal plant and the cemetery; and add the church land on the other side of the cemetery to create a continuous stretch of parkland between the cemetery and Bangi Point.

Asan Beach Unit: Add the area on the north side of Adelup Point, as well as sufficient land to provide access to the added land. This area contains some significant historic structures.

Asan Inland Unit: Add the area where the Japanese has located their last command post. Additionally, add some area on Nimitz Hill to be used as an overlook

Mt. Alifan: Remove areas within this unit that contain no historical features. The unit has public access problems, and would require sharing a road with the Agat Junior High School, then adding additional land for the construction of an additional access road.

Mt. Chachao/Mt. Tenjo: Add a small strip of land that contains some archeological sites, and add the summit of Mt. Tenjo as well as parts of an existing four-wheel-drive road.

Piti Unit: Modify the boundaries to facilitate a more convenient and less intrusive access and parking.

**Appendix 4**  
**Histories of Units of the Park**  
**Administrative History**  
**War in the Pacific National Historical Park**

The source of this timeline is Russell A. Apple, *Guam: Two Invasions and Three Military Occupations*” Micronesia Area Research Center, University of Guam, 1980.

**Asan Beach Unit** (This is the area at Asan on the lagoon side of Marine Drive.)

1892 – 1900	Leprosy colony
1901 – 1903	Prisoner camp for Philippine rebels
1917	Prisoner of War camp. From April 6 through April 30, 289 members of the crew of the German cruiser <i>Cormoran</i> was held here.
1922	USMC used this area as a quartermaster depot, barracks and small arms firing range.
1944	Japanese defensive positions were placed on top of and on both sides of Asan and Adelup points. A 1979 NPS survey listed twenty-two surviving Japanese defensive structures.
1945 – 1947	First Camp Asan. Used for open storage. Forty-one quonset huts and other buildings were arranged in rows. The flat area between Asan Point ridge and Asan River was filled with white coral sand and there was no grass or other vegetation.
1948 – 1967	Second Camp Asan. Housing for civilian employees of the navy. The camp included sixteen two-story barracks, an outdoor theater, a chapel, a club, softball fields, tennis courts, a basketball court, an administration building, a mess hall, a fire station, concrete sidewalks, and paved parking areas.
1968 – 1972	Buildings previously used for civilian employee housing were converted by the navy into a four-hundred-bed regional military hospital for use during the Vietnam War. These medical facilities were abandoned in 1972.
1975	Vietnamese refugee camp. At any one time, this camp held between 5,000 and 6,000 refugees. The refugee camp existed only a few months, it was discontinued in December 1975.
1976	Supertyphoon Pamela destroyed all buildings except the fire station. Navy bulldozers removed the rubble.

**Appendix 4**  
**Histories of Units of the Park**  
**War in the Pacific National Historical Park**  
**Administrative History**

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**Asan Inland Unit** (This is the area at Asan on the inland side of Marine Drive.)

- 1945 – 1947                      Three very large quonset huts were here. They were used for bowling and other recreation. Probably continued to be used during the second Camp Asan and possibly even by the Navy Hospital. Supertyhpoon Pamela probably destroyed them. Concrete pads were still visible in 1980.
- 1945                                A tank farm (Asan Tank Farm) occupied both the ridge and the adjacent valley. A fire on August 22, 1948, severely damaged the facility. It had been abandoned by 1953. The tank farm consisted of three 10,000-barrel tanks and three 80,000-barrel tanks plus a pipeline, pump station and administration buildings. The last of it was removed in 1968. A portion of this unit, the portion fronting Marine Drive on the Agana side of the bowling alley, was intensively cultivated for rice as late as 1939.
- 1945 – 1947                      The Asan Military Cemetery was located inland of Marine Drive, on the Piti side of the Asan River. Marines killed during the invasion were buried here initially. Their remains were disinterred in 1947 and moved to cemeteries on the U. S. mainland or Hawaii. Bundshu Ridge is in this unit. The ridge was named for Captain Geary R. Bundshu, USMC, who died on the ridge on invasion day.

**Piti Unit**

- 1909 – 1932                      Below the ridge on the Philippine Sea side, there was the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station occupied the ridge and the slope on the Philippine Sea side from 1909 to 1932.
- 1932 – 1940                      The Guam Agricultural Experiment Station was converted into an agricultural school in 1932, and remained a school until 1940. The mahogany trees just below the ridge are the only physical evidence remaining of this school and the Agricultural Experiment Station that preceded it..
- 1944                                Japanese artillery units began to install three large guns on the westward-facing slope. Installation was not finished and the guns were never fired.

**Appendix 4**  
**Histories of Units of the Park**  
**War in the Pacific National Historical Park**  
**Administrative History**

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**Mt. Tenjo – Mt. Chachao Unit**

- 1915 The United States built the ridge road connecting Mt. Tenjo and Mt. Chachao to enable them to install three seven-inch coastal defense guns. The guns were removed in 1931
- 1944 This ridge was part of the forward beachhead line set by the Americans for their landing.

**Agat Unit**

- Pre-1940 There was a major rice-growing area along the approximately one-half mile-wide strip of land inland from the beach; it also had a dense grove of coconut trees. Old Agat had a pre-World War II population of approximately 791.
- 1944 American naval and air bombardment destroyed all of Agat.
- 1944 – 1945 This site was used by the Americans as a refugee camp for Guamanian refugees immediately after the American landing. The number of refugees in this camp reached 6,689 at one time.

**Mt. Alifan Unit**

- 1944 This was the most fortified and armed Japanese defense point. It had a three-gun battery, infantry trenches, a fire-control center, and observation post.

**Fonte Plateau Unit**

- 1944 This area contained a number of Japanese bunkers and caves, tunnels and trenches. Nimitz Hill is in this unit.

**Appendix 5**  
**Introductory Comments on the Floor of the House of Representatives by Rep Richard**  
**White (Texas) on January 18, 1967**  
**Administrative History**  
**War in the Pacific National Historical Park**

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NOTE: These comments by Representative White are important in that the 1978 House of Representatives bill that was enacted creating WAPA was also introduced by Representative White.

Mr. WHITE: Mr. Speaker, the island of Guam has particular significance to those of us who served in the Pacific Theater during World War II.

Guam, the first U.S. territory occupied by the Japanese in World War II, also was the scene of a major turning point in the war during July and August of 1944, when the U.S. forces recaptured the island in a bloody battle.

The island is closely tied also in geography and in strategy to other significant battle sites in the Pacific – Tarawa, Guadalcanal, Saipan, the Battle of the Philippine Sea and Peleiu, as well as others.

The significance of Guam and of the entire war in the Pacific is great in our American history and pertinent sections of Guam merit careful historical development and preservation. Today there is no fitting commemoration of the sacrifices and the bravery displayed by the participants in the Pacific Theater and the Guamanian citizens. I believe it important that we wait no longer to provide significant commemoration and historical preservation of this kind.

I, therefore, am introducing today a bill to establish a national historic park on the island of Guam. As stated in the legislation the purpose is to “commemorate the bravery and sacrifices of those participating in the campaigns of the Pacific Theater in World War II, including the Guam campaign, and to interpret this significant period in the history of our Nation.”

The park would include, but not be limited to, that site of the major American return to the island on July 21, 1944, on Asan Beachhead, and also include the mountain and plateau areas surrounding the beachhead, which comprise the major battlefield.

The Secretary of the Interior would be authorized to landscape, erect markers, construct a museum and other appropriate buildings, provide exhibits and interpretative material.

My legislation assures that development would be coordinated closely with the monument to the American war dead planned by the American Battle Monuments Commission.

Interpretation would deal with all aspects of the conflict, relating the significance of Guam to the war and the significance of the war to American history. This is information that Americans and all citizens of the world must not forget.

It is my hope that this legislation will receive your early attention and approval.

Source: *Congressional Record*, Volume 113, January 18, 1967.

**Appendix 6**  
**World War II Historic Sites and Features Extant in 1967**  
**Administrative History**  
**War in the Pacific National Historical Park**

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The following is a list of historic sites and historic features existing in 1967 that related to World War II:<sup>1</sup>

**Agana vicinity:**

- (1) Ruins of old Spanish Fort Santa Agueda overlooking Agana was the site of a Japanese gun emplacement.
- (2) Japanese community bomb shelter on Esperanza Road consisting of an extensive system of interconnected rock tunnels.
- (3) A series of individual and multiple caves and concrete shelters along O'Brien Drive.
- (4) Site of the first command post of Major General Turnage, 3<sup>rd</sup> Marine Division, USMC.
- (5) Concrete Japanese pill box on Paseo de Susanna Drive adjacent to Agana Harbor.

**Asan Invasion Beach:**

- (1) The intersection of Marine Drive and Halsey Road was once a heavily fortified Japanese defensive position; a pill box was extant in 1967.
- (2) Steep hillside between Adelup Point and the Asan River were called Chonito Cliff and Bundschu Ridge by American Marines. Two Japanese concrete bunkers were extant in 1967.
- (3) The beach itself.
- (4) Asan Point. This was the lower end of the northern invasion sector. Japanese fortifications, including gun emplacements are situated on the south shore of the peninsula.

**Asan-Piti Battle Zone:**

- (1) Many American amphibious vehicles were destroyed during later waves of the invasion force on Piti Beach. Piti Beach was also the site of General Geiger's command post.
- (2) There was reportedly a great deal of hand-to-hand fighting as well as tank battles near the Nidual River Bridge.
- (3) The Nidual River Valley was considered a key topological feature by the Americans. A major Japanese counterattack was launched down this valley. It contained numerous Japanese caves in 1967.
- (4) Asan Ridge was the site of heavy fighting just prior to the Americans reaching the "Force Beachhead Line."

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<sup>1</sup> *A Master Plan for War in the Pacific National Historical Park*, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, July 1967.

**Appendix 6**  
**World War II Ruins Extant in 1967**  
**War in the Pacific National Historical Park**  
**Administrative History**

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- (5) The road connecting Nidual River and Tepungan (a village immediately below Piti) was the site of extensive Japanese shelters and defenses. It was the scene of heavy fighting.
- (6) Three large Japanese coastal guns are situated on the west-facing hillside immediately above Tepungan.

**Fonte Plateau Battle Zone:** The seaward edge of Nimitz Hill was the location of the battle that resulted in the Americans gaining control of the Northern Invasion Sector.

- (1) A crater-like depression was the scene of General Takashino's last stand.
- (2) A large concrete underground structure with two tunnel entrances is believed to have been the main Japanese command post. It is situated adjacent to Halsey Road.
- (3) There are numerous other caves on and near Nimitz Hill.
- (4) The Force Beachhead Line is an arbitrary line defined by the Marine Corps commanders that stretched between Mt. Alutom, Mt. Chachao, and Mt. Tenjo. The American invasion force was to move forward until it reached the force beachhead line where it was to stop advancing to await additional logistical support and further orders.

**Agat Invasion Beach**

- (1) Apaca Point was the upper end of the southern invasion sector. Japanese caves are situated in an around the point.
- (2) The invasion beach.
- (3) Gaan Point is near the center of the invasion sector and was a crucial Japanese strong point. It inflicted heavy losses on the invading forces. Caves and a heavy concrete fortification as well as a gun emplacement were extant in 1967.
- (4) Bangi Point marked the lower end of this invasion beach. In 1967, the point still had a machine gun nest, a heavily sheltered big gun emplacement, and a concrete pill box.
- (5) Hill 40 was the name given this topographical feature by the invasion force. It is situated immediately inland from Bangi Point.

**Mount Alifan Battle Zone:**

- (1) A Japanese gun emplacement and an extensive system of tunnels existed on a low hill between Agat and Santa Rita in 1967.
- (2) Mt. Alifan was a pivotal point in the invasion strategy. Intensive fighting occurred here before the Americans were able to capture this high ground.

**Appendix 7**  
**Organic Act Land Title Provisions**  
**Administrative History**  
**War in the Pacific National Historical Park**

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The Organic Act of 1950 essentially created a form of “home rule.” It empowered residents of the Territory of Guam to establish local legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government empowered to control most local issues. The United States Congress retained the right to disapprove any legislation enacted by the Guam legislature; however, the Organic Act was a substantial move toward autonomy from a legal and political condition closely akin to martial law that had existed on the island throughout most of the twentieth century. Although the Act obviously contained a number of very significant provisions, the provisions pertaining to land control is the language most important to the creation and management of WAPA. For that reason, that language is reproduced in its entirety below. Section 1421f of Title 48, United States Code (Section 28 of the Act of August 1, 1950, The Organic Act) states:

**§1421f. Title to Property Transferred.** (a) The title to all property, real and personal, owned by the United States and employed by the naval government of Guam in the administration of civil affairs of the inhabitants of Guam, including automotive and other equipment, tools and machinery, water and sewerage facilities, bus lines and other utilities, hospitals, schools, and other buildings, shall be transferred to the government of Guam within ninety days after the date of enactment of this Act.

(b) All other property, real and personal, owned by the United States in Guam, not reserved by the President of the United States within ninety days after the date of enactment of this Act, is hereby placed under the control of the government of Guam, to be administered for the benefit of the people of Guam, and the legislature shall have the authority, subject to such limitations as may be imposed upon its acts by this Act or subsequent acts of the Congress, to legislate with respect to such property, real and personal, in such manner as it may deem desirable.

(c) All other property owned by the United States in Guam, the title to which is not transferred to the government of Guam by subsection (a) hereof, or which is not placed under the control of the government of Guam by subsection (b) hereof, is transferred to the administrative supervision of the Secretary of the Interior, except as the President may from time to time otherwise prescribe: Provided, That the Secretary of the Interior shall be authorized to lease or to sell, on such terms as he may deem in the public interest, any property, real and personal, of the United States under his administrative supervision in Guam not needed for public purposes.

Appendix 8  
The Park Enabling Legislation  
(Public Law 95-348, 92 Stat. 492, 16 USC 460dd)  
Administrative History  
War in the Pacific National Historical Park

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SEC. 6. (a) In order to commemorate the bravery and sacrifice of those participating in the campaigns of the Pacific theater of World War II and to conserve and interpret outstanding natural, scenic and historic values and objects on the island of Guam for the benefit and enjoyment of present and future generations, the War in the Pacific National Historical Park (hereinafter in this section referred to as the "park") is hereby established.

(b) The boundaries of the park shall be as generally depicted on the drawing entitled "Boundary Map, War in the Pacific National Historical Park, Guam" numbered P-24-80,000-B and dated March 1978, which shall be on file and available for inspection in the offices of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior. Following ninety days notice to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives and to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the Senate, the Secretary may make minor revisions of the boundary of the park by publication of a revised map in the Federal Register.

(c) Within the boundaries of the park, the Secretary may acquire lands and interests therein by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, exchange or transfer.

(d) Other points on the island of Guam relevant to the park may be identified, established, and marked by the Secretary in agreement with the Governor of Guam.

(e) The Secretary shall administer property acquired in accordance with the laws generally applicable to the management of units of the National Park System.

(f) The Secretary is authorized to seek the assistance of appropriate historians to interpret the historical aspects of the park. To the greatest extent possible, interpretative activities will be conducted in the following three languages: English, Chamorro, and Japanese.

(g) The Secretary is authorized to enter into negotiations with the Secretary of Defense for the berthing and interpretation of a naval vessel of World War II vintage which shall be accessible to the public on the island of Guam.

**(h) Within two years from the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall develop and transmit to the committees named in subsection (b) a general management plan for the national historical park consistent with the purposes of this section. Within five years from the date of enactment, the Secretary, through the Director of the National Park Service, shall conduct and transmit to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the Senate and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the Senate and the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives a study of additional areas and sites associated with the Pacific campaign of World War II. The study shall contain a description and evaluation of each area or site, and an estimated cost of acquisition, development, and maintenance of the area or site, if appropriate, together with such additional authority as may be needed to enable him to implement his recommendations. The Secretary**

Appendix 8  
The WAPA Enabling Legislation  
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Administrative History

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**shall concentrate his study within Guam and the Northern Mariana Islands, but shall also investigate additional areas and sites within the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands to the extent possible, and may include other areas and sites in the Pacific area if practicable.<sup>1</sup>**

(i) The Secretary is authorized and directed to the maximum extent feasible, to employ and train residents of Guam or of the Northern Mariana Islands to develop, maintain, and administer the park.

(j) Notwithstanding any provision of law to the contrary, no fee or charge shall be imposed for entrance or admission into the War in the Pacific National Historical Park.

(k) For the purposes of the park established under this section, effective October 1, 1978, there are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary, but not to exceed \$16,000,000 for the acquisition of lands or interests in lands and \$500,000 for development.

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<sup>1</sup> All of paragraph 6(h) was struck out in 1994 by Public Law 103-437 (108 Stat. 4585).

Appendix 9  
**C-MAP and CR-MAP**  
**Taken from the 1997 WAPA Resource Management Plan**  
**Administrative History**  
**War in the Pacific National Historical Park**

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An R-MAP (Resource Management Assessment Program), and its cultural resources counterpart (CR-MAP), is a method applied to define a park's staffing needs for the protection and preservation of its natural and cultural resources. A thorough examination of existing records was unable to discover any R-MAPing or CR-MAPing activity until 1997 when it was presented in the WAPA Resource Management Plan. The material presented below is a verbatim presentation of the R-MAP and CR-MAP data presented in the 1997 Resource Management Plan.

<b><u>TOTAL NATURAL FTE DERIVATIONS</u></b>				
<b><u>Activity RMAP</u></b>	<b>Existing</b>		<b>Staff</b>	<b>Gap</b>
	<b><u>Allocation</u></b>			
Vegetation Management	1.03		0.00	1.03
Wildlife Management	2.09	0.00	2.09	
Prescribed Fire Management	0.10	0.00	0.10	
Water Quality Management	0.93	0.00	0.93	
Air Quality Management	0.21	0.00	0.00	0.21
Geologic Management	0.21	0.00	0.21	
Disturbed Area Rehabilitation	0.62	0.00	0.62	
Pest and Hazard Management	0.21	0.00	0.21	
Environmental Planning	1.40		0.00	1.40
Collections Data Management	0.50	0.00	0.50	
Science Oversight	<u>0.30</u>	<u>0.00</u>	<u>0.30</u>	
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>7.60</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>7.60</b>	

<b><u>TOTAL CULTURAL FTE DERIVATIONS</u></b>				
<b><u>Activity CRMAP</u></b>	<b>Existing</b>		<b>Staff</b>	<b>Gap</b>
	<b><u>Allocation</u></b>			
Archeological Inv/Res/Mgt	0.77	0.00	0.77	
Historic Structures	0.52	0.00	0.52	
Ethnographic resource/research	0.13		0.00	0.13
Museum Collections Doc/Pres/Use	1.05	1.00	0.05	
Cultural Resources Library	0.10	0.00	0.10	
Cultural Studies/Reports	0.20		0.00	0.20
Historic Preservation Compliance	<u>0.10</u>	<u>0.00</u>	<u>0.10</u>	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2.87</b>	<b>1.00</b>	<b>1.87</b>	

Appendix 10 – Plant Communities  
 Reprinted from the 1997 WAPA Resource Management Plan  
Administrative History --War in the Pacific National Historical Park

**Plant Communities of the War in the Pacific National Historical Park**

Site ↓	Pre-WWII ↓	Japanese Occupation ↓	Post-Liberation ↓	Present ↓
<b><u>Asan Units</u></b> Strand	Strand	Strand	Basically destroyed	Strand
Beach	Halophytic-Xerophytic	Halophytic-Xerophytic Limestone Forest	Basically destroyed Limestone Forest	Tangentangen; some Limestone Forest
Coastal Plain	Some houses; cleared land	Some houses; rice paddies	Basically destroyed	Mowed grass; weeds; Tangentangen
River Valleys	Ravine Forest; Limestone forest	Ravine Forest; Limestone forest; Fortifications	Heavily damaged	Tangentangen; some Limestone forest
<b><u>Fonte Plateau</u></b> Slopes	Limestone forest; savanna	Limestone forest; savanna	Damaged	Tangentangen; some Limestone forest; savanna
<b><u>Piti Unit</u></b> Slopes	Limestone; Ravine forest	Limestone; Ravine forest Mahogany; fortification	Basically destroyed	Mahogany; Ravine forest
<b><u>Mt Tenjo/ Chachao Unit</u></b> Slopes	Savanna; some Limestone forests; Ravine forests	Savanna; fortification; Limestone forests; Ravine forests	Damaged	Savanna; some Limestone forests Ravine forests
<b><u>Agat Unit</u></b> Beach	Strand; some houses	Strand; houses; fortifications	Basically destroyed	Strand; mowed grass; fortifications
Coastal Islands	Halophytic, Xerophytic Limestone forest	Halophytic, Xerophytic Limestone forest	Heavily damaged	Halophytic, Xerophytic Limestone forest
Slopes	Savanna; Ravine forests	Savanna; Ravine forests fortifications	Basically destroyed	Eroded Savanna; Ravine forests