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The Asia-Pacific War in the Davao Settler Zone, December 1941

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ABSTRACT. As a Filipino-Japanese settler zone before and during the Asia-Pacific War, Davao offers a case of how conflicts affect frontiers where people of warring countries had coexisted. This paper presents a local history of the war in Davao, a province in southern Philippines. Of the three and a half years of the Asia-Pacific War, it zooms in on the Japanese bombing and military invasion from 8–31 December 1941. Archival and oral sources in Filipino, Japanese, and English languages were examined to identify common exigencies and to search for patterns of how the residents responded to those. The paper finds that the proximity of Filipino and Japanese populations caused panic, chaos, and a domino of violence. At the outbreak of the war on 8 December, Filipino suspicions against the Japanese residents burst into open animosity, which led to indiscriminate murders and the incarceration of the Japanese populace. On 20 December, some of the Japanese residents released by the invading Japanese military used their positions as mediators to seek vengeance against Filipinos who had abused them. In this monthlong chaos, Filipino and Japanese residents survived through prewar linkages that transcended their nationality. From 8–20 December, the Japanese residents survived Filipino hostility and internment with the help from non-Japanese family and friends outside the camps. From 20–31 December, many Filipinos were cushioned from the Japanese invasion by Japanese family, friends, employers, and employees. Besides nationality, kinship and prewar networks based on locality and livelihood influenced Davao residents' experiences of the war.

KEYWORDS. Davao · Asia-Pacific War · conflict · frontier

Introduction

Davao covers the area around Davao Gulf in the southeasternmost corner of the Philippines, in the island of Mindanao. To the north of Davao, beyond the mountains, is Agusan; to the west is Cotabato; to the south is Celebes Sea; and to the east is the Pacific. In the northern part of Davao Gulf lay the islands of Samal and Talikod. The western coast of Davao, the center of economic activity and later the site of Davao City, is kept fertile by Mount Apo. As the American explorer

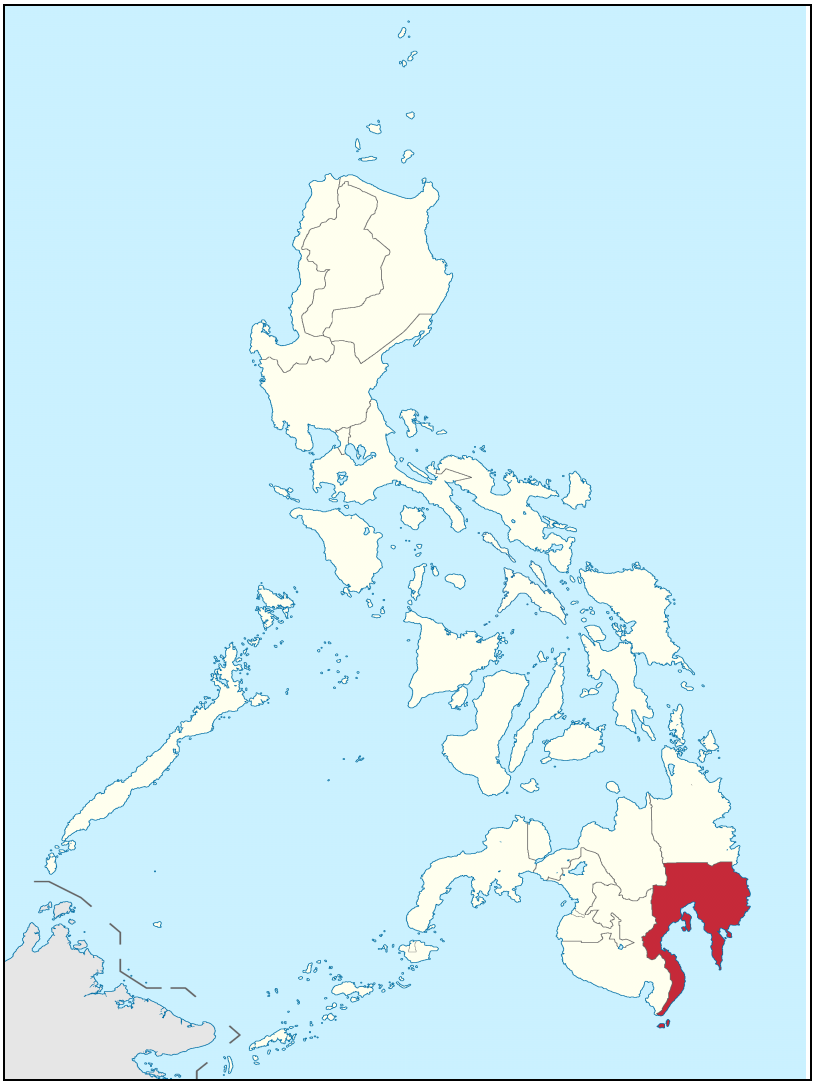

Figure 1. Map of the Philippines showing the then-province of Davao (1914-1967) before it was divided into the provinces of Davao del Norte, Davao Oriental, and Davao del Sur. *Source:* Map by Roel Balingit from Wikimedia Commons.

James Burchfield gushed, "We saw soil ten feet deep, rich volcanic ash land that would grow anything that could be grown in the tropics. We saw a land well-watered, big region all around the Gulf with streams frequent as deer paths" (quoted in Tiu 2003, 48).

At the outbreak of the Asia-Pacific War in 1941, Davao was a province with twenty-one municipalities and subprovinces, including the Chartered City of Davao (Philippine Commonwealth Commission of the Census 1940, 3–4). Thoroughfares of Davao City's *poblacion*, the Central, were lined by bazaars, restaurants, offices, and houses mostly of Filipino, Japanese, and Chinese residents (Mizuguchi 2010, 8–10; Panuncialman 2002, 105). Likewise, the barrios along the banks of the Talomo River (starting from Barrio Talomo in the coast, upstream to Tugbok, Mintal, and Calinan) were dotted by plantations, warehouses, houses, offices, hotels, and stores of Filipino and Japanese residents. In particular, Barrio Mintal was a known Japanese enclave—complete with a Japanese school, at least one Shinto shrine and one Buddhist temple, a Japanese cemetery, and an obelisk memorializing Kyôzaburô Ohta, the Japanese pioneer who established the oldest and most influential Japanese corporation in Davao (see the map insert "Dabao ni Okeru Zairyuu Nihonjin Chuushin Chizu" [Map of the City by the Japanese Residents in Davao] in Ohno 1991). Further south, in Barrio Daliao was the headquarters of the Furukawa Plantation Company, the largest and wealthiest company in the province.

The indigenous people of Davao were a diverse lot. Local historian Macario Tiu listed fifteen ethnic tribes: Ata, Bagobo, B'laan, Dibabawon, Giangan, Kalagan, Kulaman Manobo, Mandaya, Manguwangan, Mansaka, Matigsalog, Obo, Samal, Sangil, and Tagakaolo. He adds that each tribe is not homogenous, that characteristics of different tribes overlap, and that many intermarriages have occurred among them. Tiu (2005, 47) explains that distinction among the tribes remains because the tribal people themselves acknowledge them.

The Bagobos, the ethnic group that traditionally resided in what in 1936 would become Davao City, was observed to live in loose, dispersed small groups without a single political unit. These groups (locally called *banod*) consisted of only several hundred families led by a datu who had no special privileges outside settling conflicts within his banod. The members were free to leave or marry into other tribes, and slaves may be set free by their masters. When the Japanese pioneers started trickling into Davao in the first decade of the twentieth century, a number of ethnic communities, especially the Bagobos, welcomed them.[1]

The first waves of Japanese migrants came to Davao from 1903 to 1905. Laborers in the ending Benguet Road Project connecting Manila to Baguio, these Japanese migrants moved to Davao in response to the

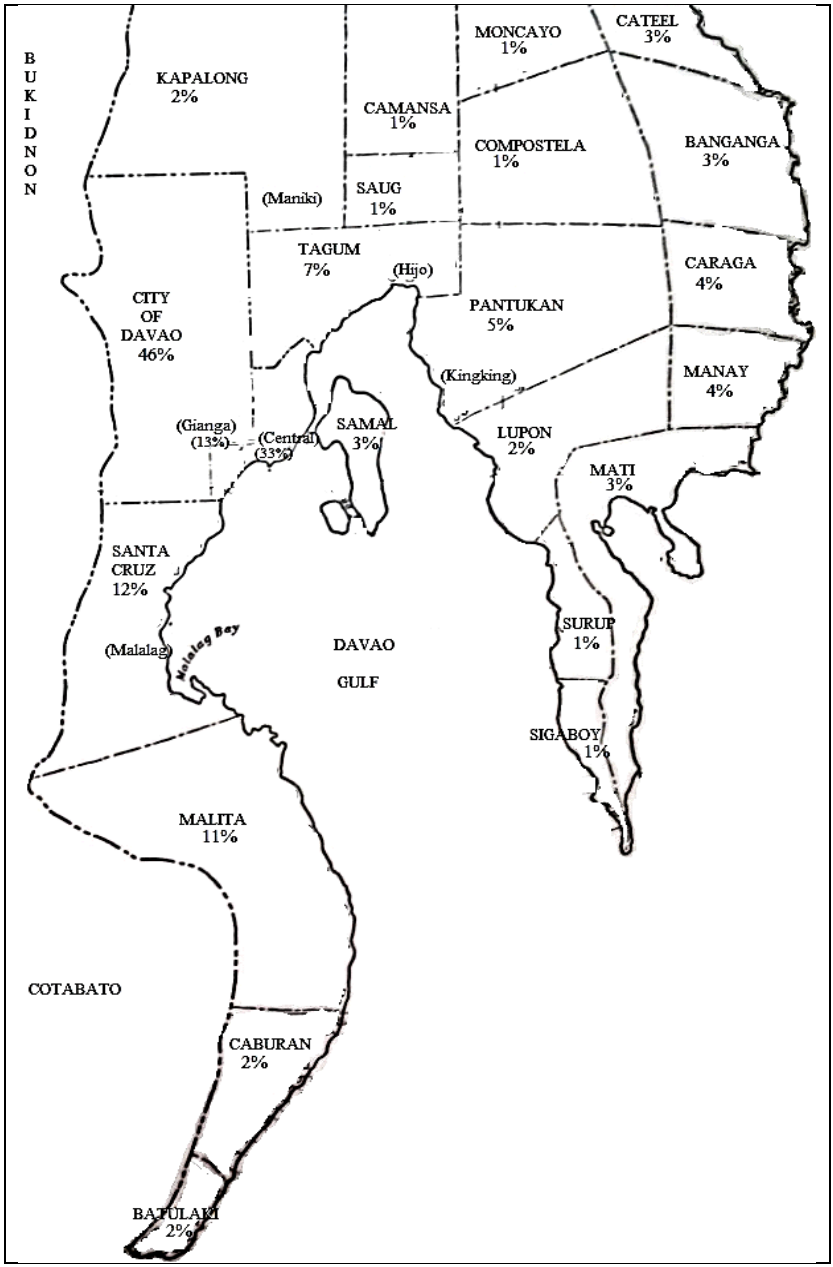

Figure 2. Davao province and the population of each municipality and subprovince in percentage to the provincial population, 1939. *Source:* Philippine Commonwealth Commission of the Census (1940, 2).

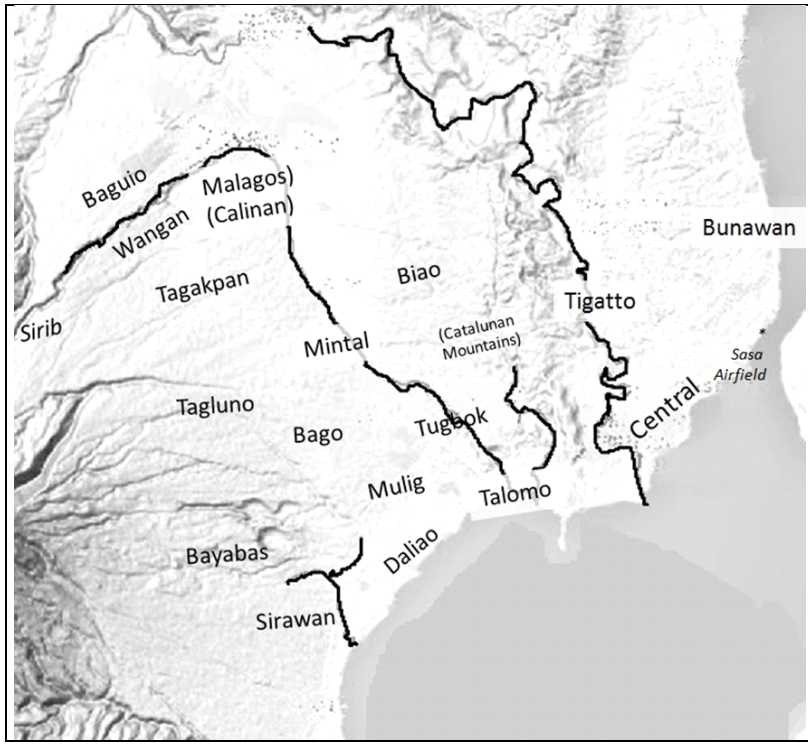

Figure 3. Davao City and its barrios, 1939. *Source:* The list of districts comes from the Philippine Commonwealth Commission of the Census (1940, 3–4). An unlabeled map was lifted from Google, with the rivers highlighted by the author and the names of districts labeled over.

need for manual labor in American plantations there. Led by Kyôzaburô Ohta, a Japanese who had worked in Manila and became conversant in English and Spanish, they pitched in their savings and established the Ohta Development Corporation (hereafter Ohta DC), which allowed them to legally own land (Yu-Jose 1997, 108; Iwasaki 2009, 104; Goodman 1967, 1–2). The Japanese pioneers—as the Japanese migrants of this period came to be called—were few and many of them married into the ethnic community. Although they were deemed queer by their American and Filipino neighbors, they were nonetheless valued as plantation workers (Corcino 1992 in Abinales 2001).

The dynamics between the Japanese migrants and their host communities changed during the first boom in the production of abaca, Davao's main industry. From 1918 to 1921, at least a hundred Japanese were murdered by ethnic groups—a conflict that historian

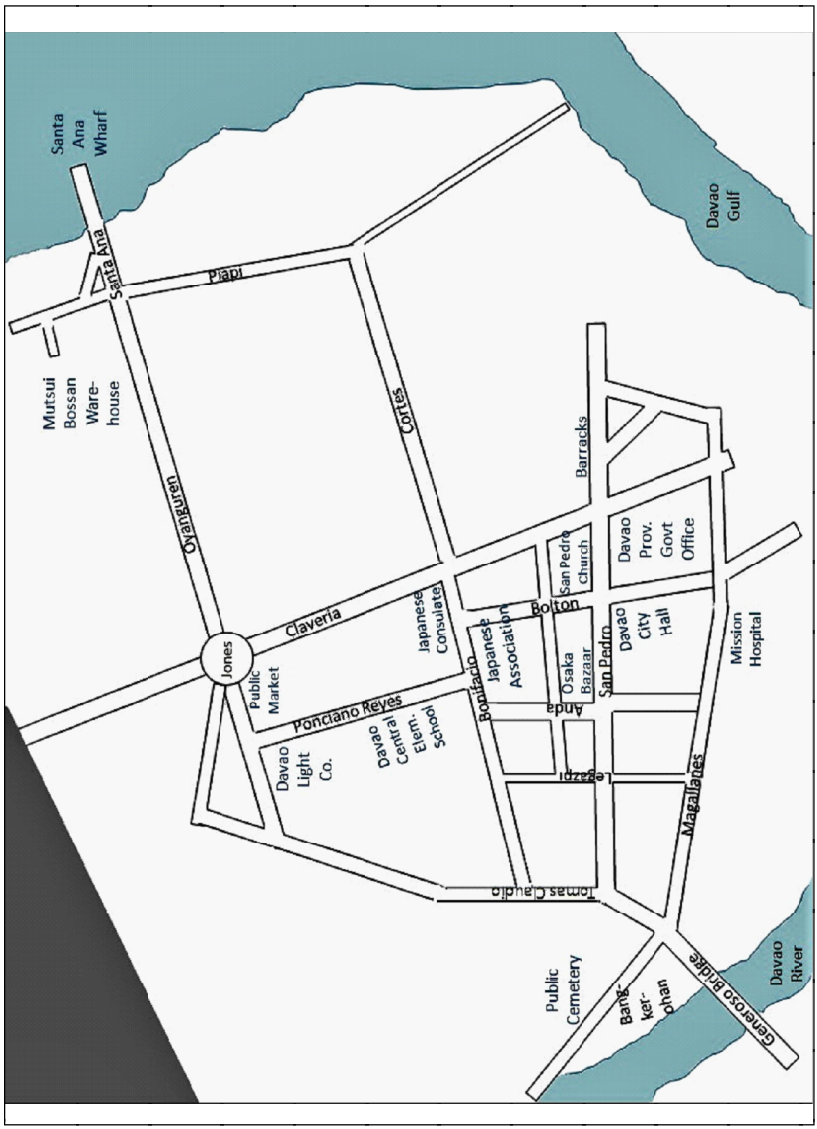

Figure 4. Central (Davao City Poblacion) at the outbreak of the war. *Source:* Map drawn by the author from information provided in Mizuguchi (2010, 8–10).

Table 1. Population of Davao by citizenship, 1903, 1918, 1939

	1903	1918	1939
Total	65,496	69,390	292,600
Filipino	20,224[a]	64,006	270,823
Japanese	no data	4,472	17,888
Chinese	no data	762	3,595
American	no data	80	112
Spanish	no data	48	52
All others	no data	22	no data

Source: Reports of the Philippine Census, 1903, 1918, 1939.

[a] The figure pertains only to "civilized" population. The total population of Davao District in 1903 was 65,496 of which 69.1 percent (45,272) was "wild." Unlike the 1918 and 1939 censuses that categorized the population by citizenship, the 1903 census categorized the population by civilization (wild, civilized) and by race (brown, mixed, white, yellow, black).

Shinzo Hayase attributes to the Japanese plantations' rapid expansion (Hayase 2007a, 177). The First World War triggered a rise of demand and prices of abaca fiber and, consequently, an influx of Japanese capital and migrants. Yoshizo Furukawa, for example, established the Furukawa Plantation Company (hereafter Furukawa PC) in 1914 and amassed land all over Davao City. Likewise, the Ohta DC established subsidiary companies through which it may indirectly acquire more public lands (Hayase 1984, 257–59, 271). Furthermore, the Japanese migrants of this period, unlike the Japanese pioneers of the earlier generation, formed a cohesive community that refused to assimilate or even acculturate with the local community. In 1919, Orlie Walkup of the Bureau of Lands observed that because of the "intense national conceit or patriotism [the Japanese] will never become wholehearted citizens of the country which received them" (quoted in Cody 1959, 180). As the Japanese plantations and communities expanded, they displaced the ethnic groups who had traditionally roamed the western coast of Davao Gulf and who based their livelihood and religion in its environment. Most likely, the indigenous people's murder of Japanese residents in the late 1910s to the early 1920s was made in retaliation.

During the dip in the abaca production industry in the early 1920s, many Japanese residents, especially laborers from Okinawa, chose to remain in Davao. According to Yoshizo Furukawa, a Davao in recession still offered far better living conditions than Okinawa (Ohno 2011, 230), which was but a group of small islands in the

farthest south of Japan, sitting along the typhoon belt, and of barren soil. As recalled by Yasue Igei, a Japanese woman from Okinawa, "No matter how poor one got, he could still eat three times a day [in Davao because] root crops grew wild in the river and other vegetables were easy to plant."[2] When the industry picked up in mid-1920s, so did Japanese migration. Unlike in other Southeast Asian countries to where Japanese civilians migrated, most Japanese women in Davao were married and population increased not only because of new entrants but also because of childbirths (Yu-Jose 1992, 69–71). Yasue Igei and Sendai Nakama, for example, came as migrant brides for Japanese men already settled in Davao; Emi Nakama and Masa Ginoza were summoned by their husbands after acquiring their own abaca hills; and Moto Yonamine accompanied her husband to Davao. Before the war, Yasue bore two children; Sendai, at least three; Masa, four; and Moto, six.[3]

Despite the Japanese economic and cultural presence, the Filipino settlers numbered the most. The Filipino settlement began in 1848 after the conquest of the Spaniard Jose Oyanguren. However, Spanish authority was unstable and was never enough to dominate the area (Tiu 2003, 1). The 1903 census recorded only 20,224 "civilized brown" individuals. Frederick Wernstedt found that though population jumped to 64,006 in 1918, this increase was not accompanied by land applications, suggesting that Filipinos were coming into Davao to work and reside in established towns and plantations (United States Bureau of the Census 1905, 129; Census Office of the Philippine Islands 1920, 104; Wernstedt 1971, 49). Mostly from oral sources I found that the Filipino migrants in the late 1910s, like the Japanese, came to Davao to work as laborers in Japanese-owned and/or managed plantations, pier, and lumberyards.[4] When Japanese corporations had already dominated Davao's economy in the 1920s, Filipino professionals, especially doctors and lawyers, and government officials came to work for them (Dacudao 2006, 45–47).

By the 1930s, the "Davao Land Problem"—that is, the Japanese's illegal acquisition of land through Filipino subleases and dummy corporations—became a hot issue in Manila and in other urban centers such as Cebu. To that concern, observes Patricia Dacudao (2006), the Filipino settlers in Davao responded with apathy. They continued their partnerships with the Japanese and, if necessary, protected the Japanese from investigation teams from Manila. Although Filipinos working for and with the Japanese indeed sided with them in Manila's Davao Land Problem, more and more Filipino migrants poured into

Davao in the 1930s and even up to early 1941. These newcomers brought with them nationalist sentiments fuelled by debates on the question of the impending Philippine independence and with anti-Japanese sentiments borne out of Japan's military expansion to China. At the outbreak of the war, therefore, there seemed to be two types of Filipino settlers (where the Japanese were concerned): early settlers who were friendly with the Japanese, and 1930s migrants who held anti-Japan sentiments.

By the outbreak of the war, Davao remained to be a multicultural frontier, albeit its composition and the dynamics of its peoples had transformed. In examining frontiers, scholars consider a variety of factors: ethnicity, nationality, religion, generation, social class, and affinity to the frontier (i.e., length of stay and reason for coming to the frontier). In examining how the indigenous Filipinos, Japanese migrants, and Filipino settlers experienced the outbreak of the war in Davao, this paper considers the residents' (1) kinship, (2) prewar networks based on livelihood and specific locality in Davao, and (3) nationalist sentiments and racial prejudices.

Studying migration into Mindanao in the twentieth century, Frederick Wenstedt (1971, 61–63) found that most migrations were at the urging of families already in the frontier.[5] Oral sources illustrate how this was so. During and after their migration, the Suarez-Magallanes family was in constant contact with their relatives, the Dakudao and the Gaston families who had long preceded them.[6] Matsuda and Chibana of Yomitan Village in Okinawa,[7] and Jôtarô Nakama and Magoichiro Yonamine of Kin Town (also in Okinawa),[8] all had fathers, uncles, and brothers in the frontier before they left Japan. Kamado Nakama[9] and her sister were forced to move to Davao because all their relatives had migrated, leaving no one in Okinawa to take care of them (Kin-Chô Shi Hen San Iin Kai 2002, 252).

Once in the frontier, the new migrants relied on their families already there. The four Japanese men mentioned above initially lived and worked in their kin's farms before acquiring their own lands or being employed by a company. Likewise, Justiano Pilapil, one of many migrants from Danao, Cebu, sailed to Davao with his wife and lived with his in-laws who were already tenants in a plantation (Tiu 2005, 133). Perhaps because they were in a foreign country, the Japanese formed ward, town, and prefectural associations for mutual aid—for example, helping members whose farms were destroyed by water sprout, soliciting donations to let an ill member return to Okinawa,

and simply welcoming a newcomer (Yomitan-son Shi Hen San Iin Kai 2002). The largest of these organizations was the Japanese Association.

As a factor, kinship (and places of origin) created enclaves of residents coming mostly from the same towns and, consequently, the same country. An exception to this were the Filipino-Japanese families, formed mostly between Japanese pioneers and indigenous Filipinas before the first influx of migrants in the late 1910s.[10] Although these intermarriages were demographically insignificant (in the 1939 census, they numbered 269 in a province with a population close to 300,000), this paper considers them for two reasons: first, oral sources show that these intermarriages, having been cultivated within close-knit ethnic communities, formed familial bonds that went beyond the basic family unit. In these villages, living with an aunt or an uncle seemed just as natural as living with one's own parents. Second, though few in number, these intermarriages are a unique feature of the frontier.

The second link that influenced Davao residents' experience of war was their networks based on locality and livelihood. Migrant laborers had been provided with lodging by their companies since the first boom of the abaca industry during the First World War. By the 1920s, the plantations and their vicinity were dotted with schools, dance halls, cockpits, health centers, bazaars, and places of worship where laborers, employees, and tenants mingled and interacted. At times, as in the case of the Ohta DC, movies were regularly shown in its warehouse in Davao City ("Hahira" in Yomitan-son Shi Hen San Iin Kai 2002). Or, as in the case of the Dakudao estate in Tugbok, tenants and employees were invited into the landlord's mansion for parties and gatherings (Kenji Migitaka, in Dakudao, n.d.). The Ohta DC, in particular, had so strong an influence that even children of current employees went to school with a vision of working for it ("Hahira" in Yomitan-son Shi Hen San Iin Kai 2002).

Although Japanese enclaves existed, economic interactions transcended nationality. Because the Public Land Act of 1903 (and of 1919) prohibited residents besides Philippine and American citizens from acquiring public land, many Japanese companies and individuals partnered with Filipino landowners. In this partnership, locally called *pakyaw*, the Japanese cultivated land legally registered under the Filipino as if it were his own.[11] The Japanese cultivators (*jieisha*) then hired Filipino and Japanese laborers. In 1935, more than 87 percent (1,798 of 3,062) of the jieisha cultivated Filipino land (Hayase 1984, 118). In commercial centers such as the Central, Calinan, and Tagum,

Japanese residents worked as helpers in Filipino houses and stores, and vice versa (Yu-Jose 1996, 73).

This paper does not consider social class as a factor, though it existed in Davao. While the laborer in the outskirts of Davao City might have the same daily grind as the laborer in Pantukan on the other side of the gulf, it is unlikely that the two had ever met, mingled, and formed networks. In contrast, the laborer in Davao City would have regularly interacted with his employer, especially after harvest, during Christmas, and other celebrations. During the war, the laborer's relationship with his employer and the employer's relationship with his employees and tenants influenced their survival.

The third factor influencing linkages and divisions in the Davao Settler Zone was racial prejudice, which in this paper pertains specifically to Filipinos' hostility toward the Japanese people and the Japanese's discrimination against people whom they deemed as outside the Yamato (pure Japanese) race. Despite reports on the Davao Land Problem that depict Filipinos in Davao as sympathetic to their Japanese neighbors and colleagues, a score of Filipino settlers held anti-Japanese sentiments similar to those in Manila. This may be explained by the fact that Filipino migration into Davao continued well into the 1930s when Manila was stirred by preparations for independence and by news of Japan's atrocities in China. Noticeably, accounts which sympathized with the general Philippine sentiment that viewed the Japanese as enemies were held by Filipinos who migrated into Davao from the late 1930s to just before the war—for example the Campo family, the Soriano family, and Matilde of Leyte.[12]

Likewise, despite the close working relations of many Japanese with Filipinos, ideas of Japanese racial superiority and destiny to lead Asia were filtering into Davao. In the 1930s, ten Japanese schools were established in the province.[13] In these schools, students were taught Japanese values, bowed in the direction of the Imperial Palace, recited the Imperial Rescript in which they promise to lay down their lives for Japan if necessary, and sang military songs. Along with this Japanese pride came the prejudice against those who were not Japanese. As Japanese migration scholar Shun Ohno observed, "They were proud of being 'first-class nationals' and wished to prevent the *nisei*'s (second-generation Japanese) assimilation into Filipino society and become third-class nationals (Ohno 2011, 238)."[14]

War and Frontier Communities

Despite Davao's unique position as a prewar Japanese migrant destination and a Filipino-Japanese settler zone in a predominantly pro-US country, its experience of the war has been barely examined. Local historians Ernesto Corcino (1998), Gloria Dabbay (1992), Heidi Gloria (1987), and Macario Tiu (2003, 2005) focus more on the Spanish and the American periods and on the ethnic tribes.[15] Likewise, scholars on the Philippine-Japan relations who cover Davao write more about its prewar economic development and the dynamics among the Japanese migrants and the Filipino host community then (Goodman 1967; Saniel 1966; Yu-Jose 1992; Iwasaki 2009). General works on the Japanese occupation of the Philippines, of course, cannot delve into Davao local history; instead, they highlight Davao's prewar Japanese communities and the Filipino-Japanese relationship that led Filipinos in Davao to collaborate with Japan (Agoncillo 1965, 48–50; Syjuco 1988, 49).

Recently, the war in Davao had been recounted in a number of publications (see for example Lucaks 2010; Yap-Morales 2006; Vallejo 2009). Japanese migration scholars have also dealt with the Japanese residents' experiences of the war in Davao (Hayase 1999; Ohno 1991; Kaneshiro 2002). These war accounts, however, examine only the experiences of either the Filipinos or the Japanese residents. In this paper, I place both Japanese and Filipino accounts on the table to understand Davao's wartime experience as a Filipino-Japanese settler zone.

To examine a multicultural frontier's experience of the Asia-Pacific War, the paper looks into conflicts in other frontiers, particularly those in the late nineteenth into the twentieth century when ideas of nation and state began to draw borders bisecting the map. Tessa Morris-Suzuki (1999) narrates how Okhotsk, a multicultural crossroad in the thirteenth century, was named, imagined, occupied, and finally divided by both Russia and Japan in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Bart Nabrdalik (2008) shows how international borders were imposed in southeastern Poland—through forced migration and ethnic cleansing. However, conflicts in frontiers are not always in the form of borders imposed from the outside. As observed by Boal and Livingstone in their analysis of ethnonational hostilities between the Irish and the English in Belfast, "Frontier environments display culture contrasts . . . [and] are regions of stress" (1984, 166). As meeting points of cultures, frontiers are sites of conflict.

Examining the forms of conflict within the frontier itself, the contributors of the anthology *Diminishing Conflicts in Asia and the Pacific* (Aspinall, Regan, and Jeffrey 2013) have noted the heterogeneity of conflicts in frontiers. Civilians, regardless of nationality, become victims. Perpetrators include the military of opposing countries, the police force, the guerrilla fighters, and the civilians themselves. Proximity to enemy population can be both a cause of exigency and means of survival. Moreover, violence occurs not only between one national against another, but also between nationals of the same country. Likewise, aid comes not only from co-patriots but also from citizens of the opposing nation. In the case of Saipan, a Pacific island that had long-standing interaction with the Japanese civilians before the Asia-Pacific War, the line between civilians and military increasingly blurred as the war wore on. Keith Camacho (2008) concludes, the local Chamorros who served as interpreters to the Japanese military not only stood as agents of the Japanese military rule but also laid vulnerable to the animosity of fellow Chamorros, even their kin, especially in the neighboring pro-US Guam.

This mesh of conflict and mutual aid makes an inquiry on conflicts in frontiers imperative in understanding wars. In frontiers where people of opposing nations had long coexisted, the costs of war go beyond human casualty, economic disruption, and destruction of infrastructure; here, wars affect human relationships. How, for example, was conflict experienced in Pacific islands where Japanese civilians had resided decades before the Asia-Pacific War? I concur with Boal and Livingstone (1984, 168) that to understand a multicultural frontier's experience of conflict, the experiences and perspectives of various social groups need to be considered. This paper focuses on the experience of Davao, one of the several localities in the Pacific that hosted Japanese settlers before the war.

The paper takes the approach of local history, which presupposes that people within a geographic location have a shared past. In 1977, Alfred McCoy (1977, 740) observed that while a number of local histories of the war had cropped up, these mostly follow concerns of Manila, not of the locality itself. Five years later, in a speech in the National Conference on Local History, Resil Mojares (1982, 2–5), citing McCoy, enumerated the roles of local historians in studying the Asia-Pacific War, and called for the search of alternate perspectives. From the 1970s to the 2000s, local histories of the war have been filling up the shelves—commemorating the valor of local residents

(Acebes 2008; Lacar 1982) and searching for alternate perspectives (Mallilin-Jamboy 1985; Hofileña 1990; Joven 2005).

In the conclusion of his *Ylo-ilo*, McCoy laid out methods through which local historians might explore alternative perspectives: go out of conventional periodization that commonly follows military and political landmark events, explore other geographical scope besides administrative demarcation of provinces and islands, and utilize a mix of oral and archival sources.

While this paper focuses on the outbreak of the war, it provides a rather lengthy introduction of the prewar dynamics of the indigenous Filipinos, the Japanese migrants, and the Filipino migrants as it presupposes that linkages among them were factors to their wartime experiences. To delve into the experiences of these three groups, the paper zooms in on the first month of the three-year war, from the first Japanese air raid on 8 December 1941, to the end of December 1941 during which the invading Imperial Forces weeded out anti-Japanese elements. After December 1941, very few crimes against Filipino civilians were reported in the Records of the War Crime Trials. This suggests that after December 1941, conditions in Davao had more or less normalized, the invasion had ended and the Japanese military occupation had begun. Davao residents' experience of the Japanese military occupation proper (which lasted from February 1942 to mid-1944) and the final year of the war during which Davao was razed by American bombers (August 1944 to August 1945) merit separate discussions.

In this paper, while "Davao" pertains to the province, stories are skewed toward the city bearing the same name because its population had the highest percentage of Filipino (29 percent) and Japanese (79 percent) in the province.[16] I used as primary sources the Records of the War Crime Trials and the reports of the chapter heads of the Japanese Association when the Japanese military took over Davao in 1941.[17] Noticeably, there are more Japanese memoirs and collective biographies than Filipino written reminiscences. The Filipino side is written mostly in family histories, in Santiago Dakudao's war diary, in the collective biography provided in *Battle of Ising* (Vallejo 2009), and in few scattered newspaper clippings. Like Davao's local historians, the primary sources are mostly on the Spanish and the American periods and on the ethnic tribes. Thus, to supplement the sparse Filipino written sources, I interviewed old Filipinos (and Filipino-Japanese) who experienced the war in Davao.

In the Eve of the War

The outbreak of the undeclared Second Sino-Japanese War and the succeeding Nanjing Massacre in 1937, Hitler's declaration of war in 1939, and Japan's advance into Indochina in April 1941 made the war ever more real to Washington and Manila. In April 1941, the Commonwealth Government established the Civilian Emergency Administration to store supplies and conduct air-raid drills and practice evacuation. In July of that year, Washington formed the United States Army Forces in the Far East (USAFFE), a joint US-Philippine Army command, and recalled Douglas MacArthur to be its commander.

Davao belonged to the 10th Military District (Mindanao) of the Visayas-Mindanao Force (Ancheta 1982, 6-7). In September 1941, USAFFE training camps were established all over the country; Davao's training camp was in the present-day Davao Medical Center (Regional Hospital) in Bajada, just north of the Central.[18] In Malalag and in Sasa, the USAFFE had installed airstrips. In the Central, close to San Pedro Church (present-day Cathedral) and Provincial Government Office, was the Army barracks (see figure 4). Besides the military installations cropping up one after another, Filipino civilians, such as Luciano Abenoja and Alfonso Gravador, were trained for military service.[19] Retired Philippine Army officers who took up the plow, such as Filomeno Namoc and Anastacio Campo, were recalled to duty. Residents were also kept abreast of the state of the United States–Japan diplomatic negotiations and Japan's military advances in Northeast Asia through word of mouth. Jose Campo, for example, recalls his Japanese classmate Hiroyuki Mizuguchi[20] giving them news about the Sino-Japanese War (Yap-Morales 2006, 29). Having interviewed Filipinos in Davao in the 1950s, Cecil Cody wrote, "Filipinos working for Japanese in 1932 recall hearing their employers decry the assassinations of political leaders and the rise of the military" (1959, 182).

Filipino settlers, especially recent migrants, began to fear their close proximity to a large Japanese population. Jose Campo, whose family had just moved and resided in the Central, recalled that the Japanese Association Office just a few blocks from their house hosted more and more meetings as the war drew closer (Yap-Morales 2006, 52). Writing in 1941, Florence Horn summarized the rumors flying around Davao:

> Furukawa laughs a little grimly when he says that he never bothered to deny hysterical stories about his company's activities in Davao. When he imports an auto crane and the rumor flies that the Japanese are bringing in armoured tanks into Davao, he issues no statement of denial. When people say there is ammunition stored in his warehouses, or that the recreation field he has built for employees is so located and designed that it would be an excellent landing-field for Japanese war planes, Furukawa says not a word. He insists that it would do no good to deny even the worst accusations. (Horn 1941, 275 in Abinales 2001)

Davao at War

Panic at the Outbreak

At the outbreak of the war, this fear burst into open panic. Santiago Dakudao, a wealthy Filipino living in Tugbok, in the southern outskirts of Davao City, wrote in his diary:

> On the first day of the bombing incident, it was learned that a plane landed in Tamugan Cogonal. Rumors had it that the pilot was forced to make a landing because of an unfavorable condition. Another version said that it was done purposely to make contact with some Japanese nationals on the spot for reasons of military strategy. The pilot was identified in a drinking bout with the Japanese in Ventura, a posse was sent to arrest him. As he tried to escape, he was shot and died along the way to the hospital. The news created quite a stir among the residents of this city . . . The pilot was later identified to be the son of Uchida from a Bagobo maiden. His name was Jose Uchida from Bayabas. (Dakudao, n.d.)

The unfortunate Filipino-Japanese Jose Uchida was of course not the pilot. Tameichi Hara, a Japanese commander who was with the task force that attacked Davao, recorded that of the twenty bombers and fighters that left carrier *Ryujo*, one landed in Davao because of engine trouble. Its crew escaped and was rescued by the accompanying destroyer *Kuroshio* (Hara 1961, 38).

The bombs themselves were not a problem for the residents. Japanese and American sources—and even Santiago Dakudao who took the outbreak with nonchalance—agree that the bombing was sporadic and non-obtrusive, to say the least. In a span of two weeks, only about

twelve bombs were dropped, all of which were on military installations far outside commercial and residential areas. The oil tanks they hit (the few times that they did) were easily plugged by military personnel on the ground (Gleeck 1993, 95). There was no casualty, and only one was wounded. Tameichi Hara, recalling his bewilderment at Davao's lack of defense, described, "It was the most peculiar operation" (1961, 38).

Rather, the fear of their proximity to Japanese communities plunged the city into panic and chaos. The bombing occurred around six in the morning, after which children still went to school (Kabasares 2004). In Davao Central High School, pandemonium erupted only after it was announced that war had been declared (Mizuguchi 2010, 11). In a town in Pantukan in present-day Davao Oriental, rumors spread that all Filipinos who were associated with the Japanese would be killed. Jose Cabrera, a Filipino who served as bodyguard to a Japanese family in the town, took advantage of his employer's incarceration in the Central. Hearing that the volunteer armies were accepting recruits with weapons, Jose stole his employer's pistol and joined the guerrillas. Throughout the war, he would be part of the guerrillas wandering around present-day Davao del Norte (Vallejo 2009, 112). Out of fear that the twenty thousand Japanese civilians would aid the invading Japanese military and in an effort to separate the two populations at war, Filipinos incarcerated the Japanese—men, women, and children.[21]

For decades, Filipinos believed that many Japanese civilians were actually undercover spies sent as vanguards for the Japanese invasion. Lydia Yu-Jose finds that the number of Japanese spies in Davao was not significantly higher than in other parts of the country. She adds, however, that Japanese elites, such as Yoshizo Furukawa and Yasaku Morokuma, presidents of the two largest corporations in Davao, were invited to Tokyo to brief military top officials on conditions in the Philippines and attended meetings for strategic landings (Yu-Jose 1996, 73–74).

The general Japanese populace seemed just as distraught about the outbreak of the war as the Filipinos. Kenji Migitaka, a student in the Japanese Calinan Elementary School, recalled, "Suddenly my teachers . . . were panic-stricken and began running around in the school premises" (Dakudao, n.d.). For the Japanese residents, Davao was a land full of promise in which they strove hard to create a better life than what they had in Japan—hard work which the war put to waste. Chibana and Jôtarô Nakama had been farming in their relatives' land

in Davao and saving money since 1929 and 1934, respectively. Like many migrants from Okinawa, both men borrowed money to finance their trip to Davao. At the outbreak of the war, they had just acquired their own abaca farms. Jôtarô wrote, "After I've paid the money I borrowed from my uncle, I partnered with a young man to buy my own abaca hills but war began, and it was all for naught."[22]

Japanese Internment

Immediately after the first bombing, Japanese civilians were incarcerated as enemy aliens. Both the Davao provincial government and the Japanese residents were unprepared. There were too few Filipino soldiers to apprehend and guard the twenty thousand Japanese residents. Because the incarceration was unexpected, the Japanese were captured with only the clothes on their back and families were separated. The internees were crammed in a few makeshift camps for almost two weeks. Overcrowding, lack of proper sewage and sanitation, and food scarcity should have been expected.

When the commotion that followed the first air raid on 8 December reached Yasue Igei's village, her husband left on his bike to check the situation. When Yasue was told that he was captured by Filipino soldiers, she gathered her children and hid in a nearby house. There, she saw Filipino soldiers approach and heard gun shots, followed by a shout that commanded the Japanese civilians to surrender. Yasue's friend, Masa Ginoza, had just returned from walking her children to school. Without her family, she was taken by the Filipino soldiers to the internment camp. "The children were on their own," Masa recalled. "We were worried that they wouldn't have even an *onigiri* (rice ball) to put in their mouths; after a while, there were mothers who went crazy."[23] Filipino-Japanese mestiza Aiko Tanaka[24] watched as her mother insisted to the Filipino soldiers that she accompany her Japanese husband to the internment camp. Of course, it was in vain.

Lucky were those whose local organizations acted fast. Moto Yonamine, for example, recalled that at the bombing, her community was assembled by their local organization chief. The women and children were hidden in the plantation manager's mansion, while the men waited for the Filipino soldiers. Meanwhile in Tugbok and Calinan, the Japanese employees of the Dakudao, Lacson, and Ventura plantations congregated, finding safety in number and were waiting for

the Filipinos to intern them. Seeing that the Japanese properties were being looted in their absence, Santiago Dakudao "gave word to our Japanese workers that they are free to deposit their possessions to the custody of the plantation for safekeeping" (Dakudao, n.d.).

School buildings in both the Central and in the villages did not suffice. In the report of the chief of the Japanese Association Davao City Chapter, he complained that despite the availability of school buildings, these were not opened to the Japanese internees, and women and children slept outdoors. Kenji Migitaka, whose family was interned in the Japanese Calinan Elementary School, recalled, "It was a pity to see those assigned to live in the shacks especially when it rained, and it rained almost every night . . . And when it rained at nights, the Japanese children were given to sudden bursts of helpless cries creating confusion, anxiety and depression" (Dakudao, n.d.). In the Davao Central Elementary School, the toilets burst with overflowing feces, and volunteers had to bury theirs using bare hands. Hiroyuki Mizuguchi, a graduate of the school, requested the Filipino guards to allow him to visit the schoolteachers at their homes. Allowed, Hiroyuki borrowed from the teachers—his former teachers—the keys to the rooms where equipment were stored. Thus, with appropriate tools, the Japanese internees constructed proper sewage and makeshift shelters.

Food was also a problem. Hiroyuki Mizuguchi remembered that on the first few days the internees were given just a spoon of rice per meal. Matsuda, who was camped in the Central High School, recalled that fifteen people shared a plate. Masa Ginoza in another camp described a similar situation. Until the local government commissioned the Osaka Bazaar, the largest store in prewar Davao, to aid in food rationing, the internees lived on the baskets of bread, *kakanin* (rice cake), and fruits brought into the camp by their non-Japanese friends and families outside (mainly Filipinos, with a rare exception in Hiroyuki Mizuguch's case as he had a Spanish employer/patroness). About a week after they were incarcerated, Hiroyuki was tasked to use his connections with the Filipinos to smuggle in bread, which his group sold to the hungry Japanese internees.

To top it all, ill-thoughts gnawed on the internees; it did not help that men and women were interned separately. Masa Ginoza recalled that in the female camp, rumors flew that Filipino soldiers were randomly shooting internees in the men's camp. Meanwhile in the men's camp, rumors that Filipino soldiers raped the women proliferated.

The rumors were not always groundless. Fely Campo, a Filipina nurse in the Ohta Hospital in Mintal, recounted:

> I heard many stories. The volunteer guards, a few of whom worked in the hospital, had abused some of the Japanese attendants who were incarcerated in the hospital along with the Japanese civilian patients who were confined there . . . One day the female Japanese attendants were crying. They said the guards had raped them. I was just too afraid to talk to the guards. We were afraid of what ideas would enter their heads. We were young nurses at that time. (Yap-Morales 2006, 44)

At the sight of the invading Imperial Forces, the Japanese internees stirred, their Filipino guards "had become nervous and unnaturally restless" (Kenji Migitaka in Dakudao, n.d.) and the tension in the camps exploded to open conflict. According to Magoichiro Yonamine, the internees were gathered in the schoolyard and surrounded by Filipino guards. "The Philippine soldiers who heard that the Japanese Forces were arriving began randomly shooting the machine gun."[25] When the Imperial Army tanks barged in the camps, however, tables turned and the Filipino guards who were not able to escape were beaten to death ("Chibana 1907," Yomitan-son Shi Hen San Iin Kai 2002). The Davao Japanese Association Davao City Chapter recorded that during the internment, thirty-one internees were shot to death, another ten were massacred in the Osaka Bazaar, twenty-four were wounded, and five were missing.

In their incarceration from 8–20 December, the Japanese residents in Davao had their first taste of war. They suffered poor living conditions, lack of food and water, separation from families, ill-rumors, and Filipino hostility. Nevertheless, the Japanese would not have survived the two-week incarceration were it not for the food, clothing, tools, and protection supplied by non-Japanese friends and families outside.

Japanese Invasion

Before daybreak on 20 December, Japanese troops landed at Daliao and Talomo in the south of the Central, and at Sasa and Tibungko in the north. By sunrise, about twenty Japanese warships, including a carrier, had reached the strait between Santa Ana Wharf and Samal Island. For about an hour, these warships shelled the coast, while about ten bombers bombarded the USAFFE defenders. The USAFFE,

its lines breached, withdrew to the hilly northwestern side of Davao City where Japanese tanks would be at a disadvantage. Although they destroyed the Generoso Bridge to cover their tracks, Japanese planes detected the move, and more than fifty USAFFE supply trucks were blown up (Gleeck 1993, 96–97). On the same day, an estimated 12,000 Japanese soldiers, artillery, cavalry, tanks, and cyclists marched victoriously into the city (Ancheta 1982, 48).

At the news of advancing Japanese forces, Filipino families in the Central scampered toward the outskirts. The Campo family evacuated to Tigatto, about twenty kilometers north, with their longtime friends and neighbors, the Palma Gil family. The large Arieta family (relatives included) walked toward their friend's fishpond in Panabo. The Magallanes-Suarez family, together with their attendants, relocated to their farmhouse in Baliok, Talomo. Likewise, the Soriano family moved to their farmhouse in Catalunan. The Dakudao family, already outside the Central, circled the city to check on their relatives and to gather food and medicines. The Filipina nurses in the Ohta Hospital in Mintal, who were instructed by the Filipino Dr. Cuyugan to stay, were advised by their Japanese patients how to behave in front of the Japanese soldiers. Once the soldiers arrived, these patients also mediated on their behalf.

Meanwhile, several Japanese male residents formed the Japanese Volunteer Guards,[26] which had branches around the province and a headquarters in the Guino-o Autobus Terminal in the Central. In the Central, Mizuguchi recalled that there were about sixty members divided into two squads, and were trained to handle rifles. During the invasion, they were tasked to guard posts and aid in liquidating anti-Japanese Filipinos. Until the Kempei Tai arrived in Davao in June 1942, they were supposed "to keep peace and order" and "to catch Filipino recalcitrant, whom they called 'bad elements.'"[27]

With the help of the Japanese Association and the newly formed Japanese Volunteer Guards, the Imperial Forces imposed their brand of order. On 28 December, Filipino families in Calinan were awoken by Japanese soldiers, who barged into their shacks, pulled down their mosquito nets, and ordered them to file outside.[28] After a roll call, thirty men were taken to a nearby school to be exhibited for the residents to place a charge on. If after one or two days no accusation was placed on the exhibited men, they were let go and instructed to secure a "Good Citizen Certificate" from the Japanese Association

office in Mintal. In the same week, similar mass arrests were reported in Daliao and in Tibungko.

Having been assessed by Japanese residents (chosen specifically because they knew the local language), Filipinos were classified between good (*bueno*) and bad (*malo*). Those deemed as good citizens were given "Good Citizen Certificates" (Mizuguchi 2010, 39). Those suspected of being anti-Japan and classified as malo were publicly executed. Those known to be part of the USAFFE were boarded on a truck and never seen again. On 28 December, a public execution of several Filipino men was held in the Davao Central Elementary School.[29] The following day in Mintal, a certain Justo Pacheco was tied to a tree in a schoolyard, bayoneted, and machine-gunned for allegedly refusing to surrender his pistol.

Besides aiding the Japanese military in setting up the military occupation, Japanese residents and corporations also vouched for their families, neighbors, employees, and employers. The men who were exhibited in Calinan and then instructed to secure "Good Citizen Certificate" in Mintal were accompanied by Japanese Association members of the Calinan Chapter. In the case of Daliao, the Furukawa Plantation Company mediated and attested that the incarcerated Filipinos were its employees. In the Central, queuing Filipinos—men and women, young and old—were accompanied by Japanese friends and families who can vouch for their characters. Cesar Matsuo's Japanese father, before leaving his family to hide somewhere else to keep them safe from anti-Japanese Filipinos, left his wife a letter for the invading Japanese military. It stated that her husband and her children were Japanese nationals, and should be treated with respect.[30]

Being vouched for by a Japanese did not ensure the Filipinos of protection, as it was not only against the Japanese military that the Filipinos needed to be wary. In the closing days of December, three cases of disappearances—in Calinan, in Tibungko, and in Daliao—were reported in the Records of the War Crime Trials. Common to these cases is that, first, unlike the public executions, they were shrouded in secrecy. Second, the witnesses were threatened into silence, and the victims' families lived with the uncertainty of whether their fathers and husbands would still come home or not. Third, the silence and uncertainty were broken by Japanese friends who, despite the threats, whispered to the victims' families the fate of their loved ones.

Of the twenty Filipinos apprehended in Daliao, two disappeared. Of the thirty or so Filipinos exhibited in the schoolyard of the Japanese

Elementary School in Calinan, about five disappeared and a few others were tortured before being released. Of the Filipinos who were incarcerated in the Tibungko Lumber Company office, four were blindfolded, separated from the others, and never seen again. The Calinan murder case was closed because of the lack of evidence. Of the numerous Calinan residents who witnessed the exhibit of the suspected Filipinos, only two Japanese neighbors were able to tell the widows how their husbands were murdered. In Tibungko, the laborers were threatened not to speak of the incident, and the first Filipino witness to come forward did so a year and a half later, under pressure from the victim's family, and whispered the story only to the victim's wife—not to the authorities.

The Filipinos who disappeared were presumably murdered, not by the invading Japanese soldiers but by the Japanese residents. According to Alfonso Oboza, mayor of Davao City from 1 February 1942 to 8 May 1944, Filipino residents complained more about the Japanese Volunteer Guards than the Japanese soldiers.[31] The motives of these civilian murders can be inferred from the Japanese experience from 8–20 December. After the Japanese military took over Davao, the chapter heads of the Japanese Association submitted a report where they listed their grievances against the Filipinos.

Common to the reports, and substantiated by Filipino accounts, was the ransacking of Japanese houses and stores. As one chapter head reported, even the bananas that they expected to eat when they arrived home were looted. "No law was in operation," Santiago Dakudao described the conditions in Tugbok and Mintal. "There was no authority to hold any man in check except his conscience." Similar ransacking was described by Hiroyuki Mizuguchi in the Central and by Pedro Ataran in Tagum (in present-day Davao del Norte) (Mizuguchi 2010, 8–10; Vallejo 2009, 133).

The Japanese residents also deplored the brutalities they received from Filipinos immediately after the 8 December bombing. Teodoro Tatishi, the prime suspect in the murder of four Filipinos in Tibungko, justified, "The Tibungko Lumber Company had volunteer guards to protect the civilians but they did not protect me or my father."[32] Although Teodoro, a Filipino-Japanese laborer of the Tibungko Lumber Company, did not detail his experience with the Filipino volunteer guards, one can imagine that it was not unlike the experience of Jose Uchida of Bayabas. In Calinan in the other side of the city, a similar Filipino volunteer guard unit was organized by the residents led

by a USAFFE lieutenant. Like in Tibungko, its proponents disappeared after being apprehended by the Japanese residents.

Finally, besides Filipino hostility, the looting of Japanese belongings and their harsh internment, prewar personal and work-related rivalries with their Filipino neighbors also came into play. Lucena Dionisio, widow of one of the Filipinos who disappeared in Calinan, testified in 1946:

> When the war broke out, my husband and a few other prominent Filipino residents, with the help of a Philippine Army lieutenant, formed a volunteer guard unit. The Japanese residents of Calinan did not like this at all. Aside from this possible reason, there were some personal differences between Dr. Alejandro Lara (another Filipino who disappeared) who owned a drug store and the Japanese residents who wanted to monopolize the drug store business in the locality. Akiyama was not in good terms with my husband because of some dental bills which remained unpaid by Akiyama. Watanabe was not in good terms with Dr. Augusto Lucas (third of the disappeared Filipinos).[33]

In the Japanese invasion on 20 December, tables turned. The Japanese Association and the newly formed Japanese Volunteer Guards were tapped to facilitate the establishment of the military rule. Because of Filipino hostility after the 8 December bombing, their two-week internment and the looting of their belongings, a number of Japanese residents abused the power given to them and liquidated the Filipinos against whom they held grudges. In the Japanese military's classification of Filipinos, the Japanese residents and companies vouched for their Filipino friends and families. While the abuses by the Japanese residents could not be prevented, the victims were at least told of the truth by a handful of Japanese friends.

After the Outbreak and After the War

From January 1942 until March 1944, there were only two cases in the Records of War Crime Trials. Despite this drop in reported criminal cases, rumors of Japanese atrocities continued to proliferate, suggesting that during the Japanese military rule, conflict and violence in the frontier remained, albeit in a different form. In March 1944, the Kempei Tai conducted a two-month-long mass arrest, inquiry, and torture of Filipinos suspected to be aiding the guerrillas. In September

of that year, the Central was razed to the ground by American bombers and more air raids rained on other commercial and residential centers in other parts of the province. In April 1945, American troops landed in Cotabato, advanced toward Davao, and triggered a frenzy of Filipino massacres by retreating Japanese military. Meanwhile, the Japanese civilians were ordered to escape to the interior mountains of Tamogan with the Japanese military; here they lived vulnerable to the wild environs of the mountain and to American air raids targeting the Imperial Army. Moto Yonamine's four children and Cesar Matsuo's brother were but a few of the casualties in Tamogan (Kin-Chô Shi Hen San Iin Kai 2002, 229; Cesar Matsuo, interview by the author, 26 April 2014).

After Hirohito surrendered in August 1945, the Japanese in Tamogan started trickling down the mountains and into American camps where they were given medicines and food, and protected from the vengeance of Filipinos wrathful against anyone associated with Japan. From there they were taken to the Daliao Stockade and, by batch, repatriated back to Japan. Filipino-Japanese who were sixteen years old and above were given a choice between going to Japan and staying in Davao (Yu-Jose 1996, 80; Aiko Tanaka, interview by the author, 30 April 2014; Cesar Matsuo, interview by the author, 26 April 2014). Filipina wives of Japanese residents and their mestizo children below sixteen years old, such as Cesar Matsuo and Aiko Tanaka, were not allowed to go to Japan. Meanwhile, Filipinos in evacuation—the Campo and the Dakudao families, for example—returned to their homes. Families of victims of the Japanese massacres returned to the scenes of the crimes to collect the remains of their loved ones. Families of Filipinos who disappeared—for example, the Sorianos—vacillated between mourning for their deceased and hoping that their loved ones would return home.

Japanese plantations were confiscated and distributed to Filipinos. Filipina wives of Japanese residents and their mestizo children who remained in Davao hid in fear of anti-Japanese animosity of Filipinos. Local histories written in the 1950s focused on the diverse ethnic tribes, problematized how to rehabilitate the city, and barely mentioned Davao's history as a Filipino-Japanese settler zone.[34] In the 1960s, Davao saw another influx of Filipino migrants, newcomers who did not share the other residents' prewar and wartime experiences (Wernstedt and Simkins 1965, 90–92). The silencing of Davao's prewar Japanese residents immediately after the war and the influx of new Filipino

migrants might explain the lack of primary sources on the Filipino prewar and wartime experiences.

Also since the 1960s, Japanese economy and Philippine-Japanese relations picked up. Around the same time, Japanese repatriates who lived in Davao before the war made annual pilgrimages to Davao. Around the 1970s, recalled Cesar Matsuo, his Japanese father visited him and his siblings. In the late 1980s to the early 1990s, the Philippine Nikkei Jin Kai International School was established and continuously attracted Filipino-Japanese students. Filipino-Japanese children who had to hide immediately after the war began to use again their Japanese names—for example, Aiko Tanaka. As he published his memoir (2010), Hiroyuki Mizuguchi had moved to Davao and once again settled there. In 2013 a memorial was put up in the former Japanese Cemetery in Mintal "as a sign of long history of friendship between Davao and Japan."[35]

Conclusion

For a period so short, the Asia-Pacific War has attracted much attention from scholars and enthusiasts alike. A quick look at Morton Netzorg's and Shinzo Hayase's voluminous bibliographies on the period attests to this observation (Netzorg 1977; Netzorg 1995; Hayase 2009). The endeavor of historians to expand the historiography and search for new sources and perspective also cannot be faulted. Since immediately after the war, civilian survivors and veterans had been recording their reminiscences of the period. In the late 1970s and the early 1980s, historians, such as Resil Mojares (1982) and Alfred McCoy (1977), called for the use of local history to reassess dominant assertions on the period. Since the late 1980s and throughout the 1990s, scholars have used a mix of Filipino, Japanese, and American sources, which not only enlightened Filipinos as to the reasons for Japanese policies and brutalities, but also put to the fore stories of people who fell in the cracks of the dominant collaboration-resistance dichotomy (see for example, Ikehata and Jose 1999)

This paper aims to contribute to this discourse on the Asia-Pacific War using Davao's experience as a Filipino-Japanese settler zone. Guided by insights from studies of other conflicts in other frontiers, I examine how the Asia-Pacific War was experienced in Davao and how prewar linkages and divisions affected people's responses to its exigencies.

In his analysis of the Japanese residents in wartime Davao, Shinzo Hayase concludes: "Relations of mutual trust that could have prevented the confusion that arose at the outbreak of the war did not exist between the Japanese and their Filipino neighbors" (1999, 272). I would like to further nuance this observation in my examination of the Filipino and Japanese archival and oral sources. Familial and cordial relations between Filipinos and Japanese were very few in number if compared to the total population of Davao Province. After all, the Japanese comprised only about six percent of the provincial population, and most of them came and lived in Davao barely interacting with Filipinos. However, where they existed, familial and cordial relations among Filipinos and Japanese residents did facilitate each other's survival during the various stages of the outbreak of the war.

Rather than an absence of mutual trust that could have prevented chaos, that chaos was started by racial prejudice brewing since before the war. Japan's 8 December bombing in itself was not an exigency. Rather, the panic it caused led to indiscriminate murders of Japanese, Filipino-Japanese, and Filipinos suspected of conniving with Japan. Coupled with hasty and haphazard internment of Japanese civilians, racial prejudice and panic caused massacres of Japanese residents during Japan's invasion on 20 December. Considering what the Japanese residents had suffered and the prewar racial prejudice they themselves held, it was no wonder that many a Japanese abused the power given to them by the invading Japanese military.

That said, the Filipinos and Japanese residents would not have survived the monthlong chaos were it not for the prewar linkages between them. Filipino-Japanese family ties and neighborhood and occupational networks facilitated in the sharing of resources and information. Moreover, these linkages extended beyond personal interactions. The Japanese tenants and employees of the Dakudao estate, whether they knew the family personally or not, would have benefited from the offer of safekeeping their belongings in the Dakudao warehouse. The Filipino employees of the Furukawa Plantation Company in Daliao benefited from the vouch of the company even though it is safe to assume that they had never personally met Yoshizo Furukawa. Though mutual trust might have been absent, neighborhood and occupational linkages still facilitated Davao residents' survival of the chaos at the outbreak of the war.

At its core, the paper advances the need to listen to frontiers, especially those in which people of warring countries had long

coexisted. Davao was one such case. More cases in the western Pacific—the area that the Japanese used to call the "South Seas" (*nan'yo*)—await to be examined. It is my hope that local historians of these communities would come together to find common themes in the experiences of frontiers in the Asia-Pacific War.❁

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Notes

1. For more information about Bagobo culture and how it transformed in the twentieth century, see Gloria (1987) and Hayase (2007b).
2. どんなに貧しくても三度のご飯にはありつけたからね。タンコン（ウンチェーバー）は川に自生するし、ほかの野菜もよくできた。(Kin-Chô Shi Hen San Iin Kai 1996, 122).
3. Yasue Igei (born in 1910) came to Davao in 1927 as a migrant bride. For a time she and her husband lived in a community of Japanese residents, but around the mid-1930s they acquired a farmland and became independent cultivators (自営者 read as "jieisha"). Emi Nakama (born in 1918) left Kin Town along with her daughter and six other relatives at the behest of her husband who was already in Davao. They lived with her husband's family, and later became independent cultivators. Residing in Bago, they sometimes hired Filipinos (Bagobos) and were invited to local festivals. Masa Ginoza (born in 1908) came from a relatively well-off family in Kin Town. She was summoned to Davao in 1928 by her husband who had been cultivating a Filipino-owned land since 1923. As independent cultivators, she and her husband had farm implements that their neighbors regularly borrowed, and employed Japanese and Filipino laborers. Her three daughters went to the Japanese school in Daliao. Accounts of these three women came from Kin-Chô Shi Hen San Iin Kai (1996). Sendai Nakama came to Davao in 1930 as a migrant bride of Akira Nakama. Immediately before the war, she sent her older children back to Okinawa for schooling; however in their escape to Tamogan in 1945, she had with her at least three children, the oldest of whom was born in 1936. Lastly, Moto Yonamine of Kin Town, Okinawa came to Davao in 1936 with her husband and brother-in-law. They first resided in the southern part of Davao City together with many Kin Town migrants. Later, they moved to the eastern coast of Davao Gulf when an American business partner offered them land. Sendai's and Moto's accounts maybe found in Kin-Chô Shi Hen San Iin Kai (2002).

4. For example, Monico Batoon (Tiu 2005, 125), Felimon Egos (Tiu 2005, 127), and Anatalio Marinay (Tiu 2005, 134).
5. Patricia Dacudao (2006, 48) likewise observed that Filipinos adapted to the frontier through food and lodging provided by families already in Davao.
6. The Suarez-Magallanes family, which migrated to Davao in the mid-1930s, consisted of Jose Magallanes of Iloilo, his wife Nena Suarez-Magallanes of Negros, and their four daughters Maryann, Margot, Ising, and Fely. Before the war, they resided in the Central and had several estates in the southern part of Davao City. My main source for their story is Suarez Magallanes (2007). The Dakudao family in this paper pertains only to Carmen Lacson-Dakudao and Santiago Dakudao; their children were in Manila during the time of the narrative. Santiago Dakudao was one of the late 1910s migrants. With the aid of the Ohta Development Company, he studied medicine in Tokyo and became the first resident doctor of the Ohta Hospital in Mintal. On the eve of the war, the Dakudao family resided in their mansion in Tugbok, had a plantation in Calinan, and sublet a number of its other estates in southern part of Davao City to Japanese agriculturalists. The Dakudao family was one of the wealthiest and most famous Filipino families in pre-Second World War Davao, hence their story is mentioned in numerous sources. This paper relies mostly on *Sang Una* and on Michaelangelo Dakudao's unpublished manuscript, "The Japanese Interlude in Davao's Past," a collection of primary accounts which consists of a portion of Santiago Dakudao's wartime diary; a letter by one of Santiago's employees, Ken'ichi Migitaka, written immediately after the war; and an essay by Ken'ichi's son, Kenji, written in the early 1990s.
7. Chibana (born 1907) and Matsuda (born 1920) were two of the numerous Japanese residents in Riverside in the upper stream of Talomo River, Davao City, from Yomitan Village in the Okinawa Prefecture in Japan. Chibana migrated in 1929, weeded farms of his neighbors, and after acquiring his own land in 1934 summoned his wife and child to live with him in Davao. Matsuda was summoned to Davao by his father when the Second Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1937, presumably to avoid conscription. Through friends in his ward association, Matsuda became a runner-boy for the Ohta DC. During the war, both Chibana and Matsuda were conscripted first to construct air fields and commandeer food from plantations in the vicinity, and then in late 1943 into the military. There is a notable difference in how the two men viewed their involvement in the war effort. While Chibana admitted that the conscription greatly disrupted their daily activities, and viewed the war negatively, Matsuda found pride in his job in the military and considered Japan's occupation of Davao as its victory in its eight-year war (starting in 1937). Perhaps because he employed Filipino laborers before the war, Chibana spoke about the Filipinos rather sympathetically. Accounts of the Yomitan migrants come from the online copy of the Yomitan-Son Shi Hen San Iin Kai (2002).
8. Jôtarô Nakama (born in 1910) from Kin Town in Okinawa Prefecture migrated to Davao in 1934 to avoid military conscription. He worked in his uncle's farm as an all-around errand boy and supervised both Japanese and Filipino laborers. His account can be found in Kin-Chô Shi Hen San Iin Kai (1996, 133–34). Magoichiro Yonamine did not record an account of the war. We know about him through the account of his wife, Moto Yonamine, whose background is discussed in Note 3.
9. Kamado Nakama (born in 1914) came to Davao in 1930, lived with her parents in the eastern coast of the Davao Gulf. Hers was a Japanese migrant community, and

in 1933 she was married to a neighbor and fellow Kin Town migrant. On the eve of the war, she had two sons whom she sent back to Okinawa to escape the possible dangers in Davao.

10. I have not encountered a Filipino-Japanese prewar marriage that was not between a Japanese pioneer and an indigenous Filipina before the first boom in the abaca industry in the late 1910s. Also, the Japanese residents, even the Okinawans, generally discouraged intermarrying with Filipinos; and Filipino accounts attest that the Japanese preferred to either return to Japan to get married or ship in migrant brides.
11. For more Filipino-Japanese partnership in agriculture, see Dacudao (2006) and Hayase (1984).
12. The Campo family migrated to Davao in 1939 when Captain Anastacio Campo was designated as provincial inspector of the Philippine Constabulary. Together with his wife Remedios and nine children, Anastacio resided in the Central and maintained a farm in Kapalong in present-day Davao del Norte. Their eldest daughter, Fely, worked as a nurse in the Ohta Hospital in Mintal. The eldest son Jose was a student in Davao Central High School and was classmates with Hiroyuki Mizuguchi, whose memoir also serves as a reference material for this paper. All information on the Campo family comes from Yap-Morales 2006. The Soriano family, consisting of Jesus (a lawyer), his wife Carmen, and five children, migrated to Davao in 1940. They rented an apartment in the Central near Jesus's office, and bought a farm in Catalunan, which they entrusted to a Filipino foreman. Information on the family comes from M. N. Panuncialman's biography of Carmen Soriano (Panuncialman 2002). Matilde (surname masked) moved to Davao from Leyte in 1941. She lived and worked in her older sister's household near Santa Ana Wharf. Data on her experience come from an interview with her by the author on 1 May 2014, in Davao City.
13. These schools were in Mintal, Daliao, Calinan, Bayabas, Manambulan, Lasang, Lasang East, Tongkalan, Digos, Catigan (Toril), Wangan, and Bangcas. All but Digos were within Davao City. There was another school in the Central, established in 1921 (Philippine-Japan Historical Museum).
14. Yu-Jose (1992) also tackles the increasing Japanese nationalism in the 1930s albeit from a different angle. She concludes that although Japanese writers had various views on the Philippines during the early twentieth century, by the end of the 1930s these converged and reached a consensus in part due to Japan's domestic politics and in part due to pressures from Filipinos in the 1930s. In 1935, for example, Secretary of Agriculture Eulogio Rodriguez declared the *pakyaw* illegal, cancelled all land applications discovered to be connected to the Japanese, and arranged for the Japanese deportation. At once, the Japanese Association announced that they would defend "to the last drop of their blood" the land they were cultivating (Yu-Jose 1992, 127).
15. This paper uses "ethnic tribes" and "indigenous peoples" interchangeably. They refer to Filipinos who deem themselves part of the ethnic groups listed by Macario Tiu and (currently) the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples. These are Ata, Bagobo, B'laan, Dibabawon, Giangan, Kalagan, Kulaman Manobo, Mandaya, Manguwangan, Mansaka, Matigsalog, Obo, Samal, Sangil and Tagakaolo. I agree with Tiu that while these groups largely overlap culturally and linguistically, while further studies must be made, and while intermarriages have blurred their

differentiation, distinction is still made because the ethnic groups themselves do so (Tiu 2005, 47).

16. Computed from the Philippine Commonwealth Commission of the Census (1940).
17. Shinzo Hayase (1999) and Grant Goodman (1991) cautioned researchers from using the Records of the War Crime Trials as it was compiled immediately after the war when anti-Japanese sentiments were still high. I took note of this potential bias. I discovered, however, that while the American investigators gave their opinion, they did not seem to censure data. In one case file, a letter of a Japanese mother pleading for her implicated son was even included.
18. For the list of military districts, see Ancheta (1982, 6–7). The location of the training camp comes from oral sources in Vallejo 2009, 87–88, 95–102, 118–19.
19. Before the war, Luciano Abenoja and Alfonso Gravador resided in present-day Davao del Norte. Luciano was a farmer and Alfonso Gravador was part of the Philippine Army. Both men went to the cadre camp in Davao City for training, and in May 1945 fought in the Battle of Ising. Filomeno Namoc joined the Philippine Army in Bohol in 1937 and migrated to present-day Davao del Norte in 1941. After the USAFFE was established, he was recalled to Tagbilaran for active duty. During the war, he returned to Davao to be closer to his wife and child. Like Luciano and Alfonso, he also fought in the Battle of Ising (Vallejo 2009, 87–88, 95–102, 118–19).
20. Hiroyuki Mizuguchi, born in 1921 to Japanese parents, migrated to Davao with his siblings at their father's behest. His parents, having found high-paying work in the Central, wanted their children to study in Davao, and pursue a professional career. Hiroyuki became one of the few Japanese students in the Davao Central Elementary School and in the Davao Central High School. In 2010, Hiroyuki published his memoir *Jungle of No Mercy*, which serves as a reference material for this paper.
21. The figure 20,000 is an estimate for the Japanese population at the outbreak of the war. According to Hayase, however, "there is no way of verifying it statistically" (2014, 144n1).
22. おじさんから借りた旅費を返済した後は自分の稼ぎだから、ウチガミのニーセー（青生）と二人で麻山を買ったんだが戦争になって、サワラバイ（むだ骨になった）。 (Kin-chô Shi Hen San Iin Kai, 1996, 133).
23. 子どもとは離れ離れになって心配のあまり与えられるおにぎりも口にすることができず、しまいには頭がおかしくなった母親もいた。 (Kin-Chô Shi Hen San Iin Kai 1996, 127).
24. Aiko Tanaka (born in 1930 to a Bagobo Filipina and a Japanese pioneer, resided in Baracatan, an interior village in Davao City), interview with the author, 30 April 2014.
25. 「日本軍の上陸を知ったフィリピン兵が、逃走する際に機関銃を乱射したんだ」(Kin-chô Shi Hen San Iin Kai 2002, 225).
26. Hiroyuki Mizuguchi calls it "Japanese Vigilante Troop" (2010, 41–42). Shinzo Hayase uses both "volunteer army" and "self-defense league" (1999, 274). I follow the term used in the Records of the War Crime Trials.
27. Alfonso Oboza in Records of the War Crime Trials, Bundle 24, Report 241; Hayase (1999, 277).
28. The Calinan case is in Records of the War Crime Trials, Bundle 22, Report 235; the case involving the Tibungko Lumber Company in Ilang, Davao City is in

Bundle 17, Report 163; and the Daliao case is in Bundle 22, Report 228. The case of Justo Pacheco is in Bundle 22, Report 236.

29. Alfonso Oboza in Records of the War Crime Trials, Bundle 24, Report 241.
30. Cesar Matsuo (born in 1940 to a Bagobo Filipina and a Japanese pioneer in Sirib, Davao City), interview by the author on 26 April 2014.
31. Alfonso Oboza in Records of the War Crime Trials, Bundle 24, Report 241.
32. The case involving the Tibungko Lumber Company in Ilang, Davao City is in Records of the War Crime Trials, Bundle 17, Report 163.
33. The Calinan case is in Records of the War Crime Trials, Bundle 22, Report 235.
34. Case in point, the Historical Data Papers–Davao Province in the Philippine National Library, Manila; Pacis (1950).
35. "The Monument of No Regret," in Mintal Public Cemetery, Davao City, photo taken by the author on 23 April 2014.

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