Wanting Memories

Histories, Remembrances and Sentiments Inscribed in Music and Dance of the Ogasawara Islands

A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY OF THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

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Masaya Shishikura
DECLARATION

I, Masaya Shishikura, hereby declare that, except where otherwise acknowledged in the customary manner, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, this work is my own.

[Signature]

Masaya Shishikura
DEDICATION

To my beloved wife Monami
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

While this thesis represents the culmination of my work, the end result constitutes the collective and collaborative efforts of many individuals in my life. Many Ogasawara Islanders have had close involvement in this thesis as their words appear throughout the written document as well as the photographs and videos. I extend my warmest gratitude to Edith Washington, Yamaguchi Manami, Tamura Midori and Sasaki Minako amongst the many others listed in the pages of this thesis. They are all in my memories and I express my sincere gratitude to each and every one of them. My extraordinary experiences as a student at the University of Hawai‘i greatly helped me to conduct this research. A warm and heartfelt mahalo to friends and teachers in my Hawai‘i ‘ohana, I remember you all. In particular, I recognise the long-term friendship of Made Mantle Hood and his contributions to this thesis. He was indeed another supervisor to me. Truly this is a product of the unique scholarly environment and mentorship at The Australian National University. I thank my supervisors: Stephen Wild, Tessa Morris-Suzuki and Paul D’Arcy, and my gratitude extends to other staff members and friends at ANU.
ABSTRACT

This thesis explores histories, remembrances and sentiments inscribed in music and dance of the Ogasawara Islands. Through a musical ethnography, the thesis illustrates the identity and dignity of this small, remote but extensively connected community in the Pacific. Since the first settlement of 1830, the islanders have suffered various hardships caused by colonialism, war and international politics. As a result, a fracturing of memories has occurred that created a deep sorrow in the islanders’ sentiments. However they hardly stand idle lamenting loss and absence while trying to console their sentiments through singing and dancing. The want of memories reveals a responsive sense of yearning, and calls for multiple forms of historical narratives, practices and performances. Music and dance can be vital media to recollect and retrieve things past, because they preserve various fragments of the past in song lyrics, bodily movements and dance choreographies. These fragmented memories are often judged as ambiguous, incomplete and defective in conventional historiography. A diversity of Ogasawara musical activities appears to represent the fracturing of memories, but it actually provides an alternative view to see the islands beyond mere historical factuality, and enriches our historical consciousness, understandings and experiences towards collective remembrance. In this view from the frontier, the thesis recognises Ogasawara’s own memories that are associated with many other places and peoples, and affirms its identity and dignity beyond imagined boundaries of border, nation and ethnicity.
NOTES ON STYLE, TRANSLATION AND VISUAL IMAGES

This thesis applies the Hepburn style of Romanization with few exceptions, such as Japanese names. I spell Japanese names as they appear on my ethics clearance forms or other sources indicated by each individual, and in order of family name and given name (as in the normal Japanese custom). Following the islands’ custom, I often call the Ogasawara Islanders with their first names (though this is rather unusual on mainland Japan). Other than noted, all translations and musical transcriptions are my own. Also I provide sources of visual images if they are not my own. Photo courtesy includes Edith Washington (Washington), Ogasawara Aisaku (Ogasawara), Tomita Masuo (Tomita), Sasaki Minako (Sasaki), Tamura Midori (Tamura) and Tsuji Tomoe (Tsuji). I express my sincere gratitude to the contributors of the images. All footage of the films is my own.
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CHAPTER 1

MY KULEANA

Figure 1.1 The Shed, a House for PhD Music Students at ANU
1.1 INTRODUCTION

Departure

Figure 1.2 Leaving from the Takeshiba Pier, Port of Tokyo, for the Ogasawara Islands

The beginning of this study was difficult and uncertain. From several people, with whom I discussed my research, I received comments about the narrowness of the research subject and a possible shortage of information for a doctoral thesis. It is true that the Ogasawara Islands are clusters of tiny isles, where less than 2,500 people live today in relative isolation (Figure 1.3). Before my first visit to Ogasawara, I encountered the problems of the islands—caused by a sense of smallness and remote location, as briefly introduced below.
The Ogasawara Islands (or Bonin Islands in English) were virtually uninhabited until 1830, when five Caucasians and some twenty people from Hawai‘i first migrated to one of the islands, known as Chichi Jima today. The early settlers sustained a small autonomous community, but later in the 1870s, the Japanese government began sending a large wave of immigrants to establish its occupation there. As a result, the Caucasian/Pacific Islander settlers were obliged to become Japanese citizens; at the same time, they were discriminated against as *ijin* [literally ‘aliens’] within their homeland. The Japanese administration continued for several decades, but was terminated with Japan’s defeat in the Pacific War (1941-1945). Later the United States of America occupied the islands, together with Okinawa, Amami, Tokara, and other islands in Micronesia. The US Navy controlled Ogasawara as a military base and allowed only ‘Caucasian descendants’ to reside there. ‘Former Japanese settlers’ were
excluded from their home and became refugees on mainland Japan.\footnote{Prior to this, all Ogasawara civilians, including ‘Caucasian descendants,’ evacuated to mainland Japan.} For more than 20 years, around 300 island residents (including navy officers and their families) experienced life segregated from the rest of the world. In 1968, the islands were returned to Japanese administration. The reversion again troubled the ‘Caucasian descendants,’ who experienced difficulties and discrimination within the newly introduced social system. In 2008, Ogasawara village celebrated the 40th anniversary of reversion, yet some social problems caused by this complex history still remain unresolved (Figure 1.4).

Today in Ogasawara, three types of residents are conventionally identified: ‘Caucasian descendants’ and ‘former Japanese settlers,’ who are minorities compared to the majority of ‘newcomers,’ who moved to Ogasawara after the reversion (Kasuga 2002: 26-30).\footnote{In Japanese, they are called “ōbeikei tōmin [literally ‘European/American lineage islanders’],” “kyū tōmin [old islanders],” and “shin tōmin [new islanders]” respectively. These terms are problematic in several senses. For instance, the term “ōbeikei tōmin” includes some discriminatory overtones as these people have experienced throughout the island history. Note that most of the ‘Caucasian descendants’ have Japanese lineage, as well as ancestors from the Pacific Islands. Also many of the ‘former Japanese settlers’ were born and reared on the mainland, and then moved to Ogasawara after the reversion (just like ‘newcomers’), although their family can trace its lineage back to pre-war Ogasawara. Some people use the word “shin shin tōmin [new newcomers]” in comparison to the early ‘newcomers,’ who migrated to the islands soon after the reversion. After all, these terms are not precise and create discriminations amongst the islanders, but they are still conventionally used in Ogasawara.} These distinct peoples often have their own experiences and memories, which

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure1_4.png}
\caption{Ogasawara Chronology}
\end{figure}

\begin{itemize}
\item 1830  \begin{itemize}
\item The First Migration by Five Caucasians and Some 20 People from Hawai‘i
\end{itemize}
\item 1870s  \begin{itemize}
\item Japanese Government Began Sending Immigrants
\end{itemize}
\item 1941-45  \begin{itemize}
\item Pacific War
\end{itemize}
\item 1946-68  \begin{itemize}
\item US Navy Period
\end{itemize}
\item 2008  \begin{itemize}
\item The 40th Anniversary of Reversion
\end{itemize}
\end{itemize}
sometimes create alienation from or antagonism towards each other. There are about 2,000 people living on Chichi Jima, and less than 500 people reside on the other inhabited island of Haha Jima. The rest of the islands are uninhabited, although government officers are stationed on the islands of Iwo Tō (known as Iwo Jima in English) and Minamitori Shima (or Marcus Island in English) for military and other national interest purposes. The island infrastructure has been greatly improved since reversion, to include public housing, telephone lines, mail service, banking, a police station, television broadcasting, Internet access, and education until high school. However the community still remains small and isolated. There are problems of accessibility to the islands and a lack of employment opportunities. A boat trip of 25.5 hours from Tokyo metropolitan area is the only public transportation to Ogasawara. With tourism as the major industry, island business heavily relies on this single boat, which is available only once a week. The residents are often transient for various reasons, including job relocation, health problems and family matters (see Chapters 2 and 3 for further historical and social conditions of the islands).

I experienced firsthand the difficulties of conducting research on such a small and remote place with many transient residents. During my first visit to Ogasawara, I was also concerned that there might be insufficient data for a doctoral thesis (see Chapter 2.2). However the diversity in musical culture made me think that I might be able to write an extensive ethnography of island music and dance. I was interested in Nanyō odori [literally ‘South Pacific dance’] derived from Micronesia, taiko drumming resembling the practices of neighbouring Hachijō Island, steel pan performances as arrival music for the boat, festival music [matsuri bayashi] for Shinto rituals, and hula accompanied by local songs written in Japanese lyrics (see Chapters 4 and 5 for the
islands’ musical genres in detail). The previous literature (see below) did not answer my question: why does this diversity of musical activities appear in such a small remote community. I had an intuition that research based on substantial fieldwork would resolve my enquiry, and began to search for my kuleana in this study of the Ogasawara Islands.

*Kuleana* is a Hawaiian word with multiple meanings: “Right, title, property, portion, responsibility, jurisdiction, authority, interest, claim, ownership…” (Pūkui and Elbert 1986: 179). My former mentor Ricardo D. Trimillos sent me this word with encouragement when I faced difficulties in this project: each scholar has a different *kuleana* that makes one’s research distinctive and valuable, even if the subject is small, restricted, or has previously been studied by others. The word *kuleana* has further implications: taking responsibility for something and appropriately applying one’s own attributes and expertise. The Ogasawara Islands have been marginalised and neglected due to their smallness, remoteness and fringe locality. With my *kuleana*, in this thesis, I aim to certify the identity and dignity of this small island community.

In the following paragraphs, I first examine several documents concerning the islands’ music and dance, and also refer to anthropological, sociological and historical studies. The literature review exposes difficulties in Ogasawara studies, yet also implies the need for extensive research from island perspectives. Following an overview of previous research, I briefly introduce my theoretical approach in this thesis, that is, how

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3 Other musical genres of Ogasawara include choral singing, brass band, Japanese *bon* dance, rock music, and so on.

4 Prior to this research on Ogasawara, I studied with Ricardo D. Trimillos at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, from where I received a Master’s degree with a thesis on Hawaiian music entitled “I’ll Remember You: Nostalgia and Hapa Haole Music in Early Twenty-first Century Hawai‘i” (2007).
to trace fragments of the past and make sense of the past in the present. I explore possible historical practices for collective remembrance and argue the significance of small stories that collectively construct memories of Ogasawara. Finally I explain how I conducted fieldwork in search of fragmented musical memories and present a chapter outline for further reading.
In recent years, I have noticed some increasing interest in the Ogasawara Islands (Figure 1.5). However, studies in humanities and social sciences are still scant and largely neglected. In the case of music studies, ethnomusicologist Konishi Junko has predominantly contributed to the literature on Ogasawara musical culture, both in English and Japanese. Her article, “Developing Tradition: The Origin and History of Music in the Ogasawara Islands” (2001), is a significant account that first introduces the islands’ music and dance as an academic subject. In this paper, Konishi describes “the processes by which people form their own [musical] traditions from diverse cultural threads” (30) along with a brief history of Ogasawara. It remains introductory without substantial documentation and argument, but the article implies the possibility of further research.

5 Before Konishi, several authors briefly refer to music of Ogasawara, such as Tanabe (1968) and Dangi (1982).
The following year, linguist Daniel Long published an edited volume, *The Introduction of Ogasawara Studies* [*Ogasawara Gaku Koto-hajime*] (2002), which presents outlines of history, culture, literature, language, geography, society, and the international politics of the islands. The book also contains two chapters on music and dance, prepared by Konishi as well as musicologist Kitaguni Yu; the authors provide valuable information about Ogasawara musical culture. For instance, Kitaguni introduces fascinating stories of the islanders, who travelled around Micronesia during the US Navy period and encountered local songs with Japanese lyrics (146-53, see also Chapter 3.4). However these chapters are still preliminary, as Kitaguni mentions: “…this is just a beginning of the investigation of tracing roots of Ogasawara folksongs, and further research will reveal unknown roots and explicate dynamics of the folksongs of Ogasawara” (156). The chapter written by Konishi is almost identical with her article of 2001 with some additional information. In the epilogue, she refers to *Questions of Cultural Identity* (Hall and du Gay eds. 1996) and raises questions about Ogasawara identity, but concludes the chapter only with expectations for further development of unique performing arts on the islands.

Following Konishi, ethnomusicologist Henry Johnson published two journal articles, “Sound, Environment and the Politics of Place—Ring Links and Their Reflections of Nature in Ogasawara” (2002) in *Perfect Beat* and “To and From an Island Periphery: Tradition, Travel and Transforming Identity in the Music of Ogasawara, Japan” (2004) in *The World of Music*. These articles describe Ogasawara musical culture in association with mainland Japan artists, who adopt island songs and dances for their recording productions. Johnson’s insights into the “politics of place” and “travelling music” are significant in locating Ogasawara in connection with other places beyond the
geographical isolation. Although this thesis does not treat those mainland artists in detail, I will also explore the locality of Ogasawara in considering the “politics of place” and “travelling music.” Indeed it is the very interactions with many others that emancipate the islanders from isolation and marginalisation.\textsuperscript{6}

Like Johnson, Konishi Junko also recognises Ogasawara in association with other places. For instance, she has published several articles (such as 2003, 2004 and 2005) that investigate the island musical culture by tracing its Micronesian heritage. Her research, along with works by anthropologist Nagaoka Takuya and ethnomusicologist Yamaguti Osamu,\textsuperscript{7} cumulatively resulted in a book, \textit{A Comparative Study of the Performing Arts Being Spread by Cultural Exchange between Micronesians, Ogasawarans and Okinawans Focusing on Its Reception and Changing Aspects} (2008).\textsuperscript{8} In this book, Konishi, Nagaoka and Yamaguti conduct comparative analyses of various performing arts originating from Micronesia and explicate their transmission and transformation.

This collection of essays includes valuable historical and cultural accounts, such as an outline of the transmission of the “marching dance” and movement analyses of Nanyō \textit{odori} (or “marching dance”) of Ogasawara. However they often remain simple descriptions of possible traces of “marching dance,” and hardly address such issues as colonialism, segmented history and loss of memory. I acknowledge that the previous literature provides fundamental information and materials. Accordingly this thesis

\textsuperscript{6} Other than specifically noted, I utilise the term “islanders” as “the people who have lived and sustained life on the islands of Ogasawara in the past and/or in the present” in this ethnographic study.\textsuperscript{7} The spelling of “Yamaguti” is from his original publications.\textsuperscript{8} The book is in both Japanese and English in one volume. The Japanese title of the book is: \textit{Mikuronesia, Ogasawara, Okinawa no Minzoku Geinō Kōryū to Sono Juyō, Henka no Dōtai ni Kansuru Hikaku Kenkyū}. 
further seeks insights into understandings of Ogasawara musical culture and includes the increasingly significant academic inquiries of memory and sentiment in its arguments.

The musicological literature demonstrates the need for further studies, but it is not only a matter for music research. Anthropologist David R. Odo indicates: “There is indeed a lacuna in the anthropological literature about the Ogasawara Islands; in fact, there has been little research about the Islands conducted outside the natural science field” (2003: 5). I agree with Odo and recognise a huge “lacuna” in Ogasawara studies. As follows, I introduce several publications about Ogasawara culture and society, and explore some relevant issues for this thesis.

According to Midori Arima (1990), Mary Shepardson is one of the first anthropologists who wrote about the Ogasawara Islands. Shepardson contributed a chapter “Pawns of Power: the Bonin Islanders” (99-114) to The Anthropology of Power (Fogelson and Adams eds. 1977). Later she prepared a draft manuscript, which was published as The Bonin Islands: Pawns of Power (1998) posthumously. Shepardson also served as a committee member for Arima’s PhD dissertation, “An Ethnographic and Historical Study of Ogasawara/the Bonin Islands, Japan” (1990).

In these studies, Shepardson and Arima explore a history of the Ogasawara Islands from anthropological perspectives. They adopt an identical methodology that describes an

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9 Arima states: “Shepardson and her colleague, Blodwen Hammond, were the only anthropologists who had conducted fieldwork on the Ogasawara Islands [before 1984]. In summer 1971, only three years after the reversion to Japanese administration, they visited the islands for about two months and investigated the descendants of the original Western settlers, focusing on acculturation and socialization processes” (1990: 14).

10 Shepardson invited Arima for an Ogasawara fieldtrip in 1984, and also provided Arima previous data, which “had been accumulated for more than 15 years” (ibid.: 13).
island history mostly from oral narratives, but for different purposes: to present the struggle for power or politics of the islands (Shepardson 1977: 113); and to argue against the concept of a homogenous Japan (Arima 1990: 2).

Shepardson states: “From their [the oldest informants of 1971 fieldwork] recollections we glean further information about the islands and the islanders whose names appear in the records” (1998: 124). She extensively incorporates narrative stories, which appear in such chapters as “Memory Culture” (124-46) and “Oral History of the Descendants of the Early Settlers, 1930 to 1944” (162-70). Arima also claims that her research is an “ethnohistoric” study, which: “concentrates on the past condition of cultures, using oral and written traditions as the primary source, and emphasizes the diachronic dimension… Questioning old informants to elicit memory ethnography was an important part of my upstreaming technique” (12-13). These studies suggest the significance of historical approaches, particularly using oral narratives, in Ogasawara studies.

Oral narratives receive increasing attention in historical studies today, but other historical traces possibly increase our consciousness and understanding about the past as well. In Ogasawara studies, anthropologist David R. Odo demonstrates a unique approach to explicate history through visual archival materials. His PhD thesis, “The Edge of the Field of Vision: Defining Japaneseness and the Image Archive of the Ogasawara Islands” (2003), utilises a variety of photographic images of the Ogasawara Islands, and illustrates historical traits of the Japanese “gaze” toward the new territory in colonial and postcolonial contexts. He argues: “The various clusters of photographs, the early projects sponsored by the national government and later ones produced
commercially, were sites of negotiation for emerging definitions of Japanese national identity” (287). Odo demonstrates the utility of photographs and other visual images as alternative sources for history.

Odo’s approach significantly exemplifies the possibility of visual anthropology in historical studies. However, in his discourse, Ogasawara is located at the periphery or “edge” of Japan—to be marginalised and neglected under the gaze of the nation. In the same way, sociologist Ishihara Shun provides a critical analysis on the relationship between Japan and Ogasawara. In his The Japanese Empire and the Ogasawara/Bonin Islands: Socio-historical Studies on the Naturalized People’s Encounters with Sovereign Powers [Kindai Nihon to Ogasawara Shotō: Idō-min no Shima-jima to Teikoku] (2007), Ishihara introduces a unique concept of “idō-min [literally ‘moving people’]” to project the image of the naturalised people of Ogasawara, who were identified as ambiguous, fluid, strange and suspicious under the gaze of the Empire of Japan (42). It is important to recognise people as dynamic subjects that move and migrate around many places. However this one-sided gaze from the empire again marginalises and neglects the naturalised people. The Ogasawara Islanders, sometimes compulsorily, travelled away from home and moved around the Pacific, but they were never ambiguous or suspicious from their own perspectives. The concept of idō-min reveals the problematic view contextualised within Japanese colonialism, and thus critical and transposed thinking is required to contest such an authoritative, essentialised and unequal gaze.

Besides the academic writings mentioned above, a valuable source is Ogasawara Chronicle: Trembling Islands on the Border [Ogasawara Kuronikuru: Kokkyō no
Yureta Shima] (2005), by nonfiction writer Yamaguchi Ryoko. In this book, Yamaguchi takes a subjective approach; it extensively includes the author’s experiences on the islands and interactions with the local people. Through conversational narratives, Yamaguchi introduces various stories from personal interviews and highlights emotions, experiences and memories of islanders. Arima (1990), Shepardson (1998) and Ishihara (2007) also present substantial life stories of Ogasawara people, but they inevitably shape the narratives to conform to their own arguments. Unlike such scholars, Yamaguchi is simply motivated to record the lives and feelings of the people, who have experienced the unique history of Ogasawara (5). As a result, this book includes ‘miscellaneous’ personal reminiscences, which might seem insignificant from a larger historical discourse. However, from the local perspectives, they are memorable, significant and celebrated moments. I also value such small stories in tracing Ogasawara history, culture and music, because they provide an alternative view ‘from the islands’ and confirm Ogasawara’s identity against the colonial views from the nation.

The literature review reveals the critical lacuna of Ogasawara studies and suggests various possibilities for extensive research. The music studies conducted by Konishi and others provide valuable materials and suggest further issues to be discussed from the breadth of historical and cultural contexts. Anthropological and sociological literature indicates the significance of historical approaches in Ogasawara studies and exemplifies practical methodologies in tracing island pasts through oral narratives and visual images. However existing research often unintentionally replicates the national and colonial gaze that marginalises Ogasawara to a periphery or subordinate position as well. I also notice that current publications on Ogasawara tend to highlight the
I acknowledge that the existence of the ‘Caucasian descendants’ is noteworthy in considering the historical and cultural experiences of Ogasawara. But such a one-sided approach risks neglecting the ‘former Japanese settlers’ and ‘newcomers,’ who also have striven to sustain the island community until today. In this thesis, I present various stories that collectively delineate the island people within diversity and interactions, and illustrate Ogasawara from their own perspectives.

The Ogasawara Islands preserve a diversity of musical activities. To explicate this complexity, it is necessary to consult history, geography, people and their customs unique to the islands. Particularly I am concerned with the enormous sense of lost memories. The loss or ‘want’ of memories has created various sentiments of anxiety, alienation, loneliness and displacement, but also produced counter emotions of nostalgia, affection, affinity and empathy. In such a process of ‘loss and yearning,’ music and dance take on a significant role in this small and remote community. The islanders sing to recollect fragments of the past and dance to reconfirm connections to many others.

Below, I present a summary of a theoretical approach to the problem of ‘wanting memories.’ Missing memories demand various small stories, music and dance that collectively transform sentiments of distress into love for the islands.

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The title of this thesis is inspired by a famous Hawaiian song “Wanting Memories” from Keali‘i Reichel’s album *Kawaipunahele* (Figure 1.6). Released in 1997, the song lyrics describe sentiments of ‘loss and yearning’:

I am sitting here wanting memories to teach me
To see the beauty in the world through my own eyes
Since you’ve gone and left me, there’s been so little beauty
But I know I saw it clearly through your eyes

Now the world outside is such a cold and bitter place
Here inside I have few things that will console
And when I try to hear your voice above the storms of life
Then I remember all the things that I was told

I think on the things that made me feel so wonderful when I was young
I think on the things that made me laugh, made me dance, made me sing
I think on the things that made me grow into a being full of pride
I think on these things, for they are true

I am sitting here wanting memories to teach me
To see the beauty in the world through my own eyes
I thought that you were gone, but now I know you’re with me
You are the voice that whispers all I need to hear
I know a please a thank you and a smile will take me far
I know that I am you, and you are me, and we are one
I know that who I am is numbered in each grain of sand
I know that I’ve been blessed again, and over again
(Excerpts, see also the lyrics in Appendix A)

The lyrics tell of Hawai‘i and its people, yet they could also pertain to another island group in the Pacific, known as Ogasawara today. Not unlike Hawai‘i under American rule, the Ogasawara Islands have suffered an entangled history with migration, colonisation, annexation, war, segregation and reversion. As a result, the islanders today experience a deep sense of loss caused by missing memories, displacement and isolation.

The term ‘wanting’ is insightful to this study on memory with its dual sense—‘want’ means to desire, but can also express a lack or absence of something. In the case of Ogasawara, the islanders do not stand idle lamenting loss and absence while trying to console their sentiments through singing and dancing. “I thought that you were gone, but now I know you’re with me”—the ‘want’ of memories demands recollection of various things past inscribed in places, ocean, fauna, flora, people’s customs, music and dance, and addresses the islanders to “grow into a being full of pride” with their own identity and dignity.

The song “Wanting Memories” resonates throughout this thesis. The Ogasawara Islanders manifest a strong sense of loss that needs to be filled with something. To develop this argument, I first refer to “collective memory,” proposed by French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1992). By this concept, Halbwachs indicates that the construction of memory is often a collective process in a community or society. I am particularly interested in this process of collective remembrance after the loss of memories. Through various misfortunes and political manipulations, memories of
Ogasawara have been largely disrupted. As a result, it became difficult to trace and recollect the past with conventional historiography alone (as to be exemplified in the following chapters). On the Ogasawara Islands, the past appears in segmented and defective forms rather than as a single definite fact, so that alternative methodologies are required to make sense of the past. The term ‘collective’ suggests various ways to search for things past inscribed in personal stories, local places, community activities, music and dance that together fulfil the ‘want’ of memories of the Ogasawara Islands.

French historian Pierre Nora also proposes collective approaches for remembrance in his “lieux de mémoire” or places of memory (1996). The ‘lieux’ are multiple sites, where various memories have been embedded or inscribed in different forms. Nora clearly distinguishes history and memory as: “far from being synonymous, [they] are thus in many respects opposed” (3). By proposing the concept of lieux de mémoire, he tries to overcome conventional historiography that marginalises other stories, places and memories. Nora recommends us to search and explore memories hidden in various places, such as landscape, memorials, and sites for everyday activities. The notion of lieux de mémoire is indeed versatile, including “material, symbolic, and functional” places (14), and suggests alternative methodologies for collective remembrance. However Nora’s scope remains within the nation of France; what he intends is to delineate a vast topology of French symbolism (xv). In search of lieux de mémoire of Ogasawara, it is required to cross over the boundary of nation and explore memories from the ‘frontier.’

As examined in the literature review, previous Ogasawara studies tend to replicate the national and colonial gaze. In Ogasawara as elsewhere, ‘nation’ and ‘civilisation’ often
trap our way of thinking about history as two dominant agencies in modern
historiography. Historian Tessa Morris-Suzuki (2000) proposes the “view from the
frontier” in search of narratives other than a history for the nation or civilisation. In this
view, the ‘frontier’ is not a border or boundary, but a spatial designation that preserves
its own dynamic locus expanding to other places. With this view from the frontier,
Morris-Suzuki seeks to locate regional, minor, and also individual reminiscences
together with a larger national or global level history (250). Throughout this thesis, I
will present various small stories that might be judged as fragmentary and ambiguous,
and therefore unnecessary in a larger narrative. However, in the view from the frontier,
small stories are never marginalised and rather enrich our understandings of history. I
argue that small stories collectively help to resolve the ‘want’ of memories of the
Ogasawara Islands.

The issue of collective remembrance also involves how to recollect and interpret small
stories or fragments of the past. The notion of lieux de mémoire is insightful for
incorporating ‘places’ in historical consciousness, but additional practices and
‘performances’ are required to increase our experiences in “making sense of the past.”
Here I refer to historian Greg Dening, who proposes “performances” or theatre as an
important part of historical practice (1996). In his discourse on Pacific history, Dening
signifies practices other than conventional historiography and suggests such
performances as singing, dancing, carving, painting, acting and reenacting for collective
remembrance (xiv). Through the performances, Pacific history recollects various
fragments of the past and enhances its narratives beyond mere documentations of the
truth. These historical practices are also relevant to the Ogasawara Islands.

Conventional historiography hardly satisfies the ‘want’ of memories of Ogasawara, thus
performances of music and dance are required in this island community as well. Paul Connerton (1989) also emphasises the importance of “bodily practices” for social remembrance. Music and dance can be extraordinary bodily practices that produce “commemorative ceremonies” after loss, absence and displacement (see further theoretical arguments in Chapter 6).

In this thesis, I examine music and dance as performances that satisfy the ‘want’ of memories of Ogasawara. A diversity of musical activities locates the islands in various historical and cultural connections, and further produces affinity and empathy towards many others. By dancing hula, the islanders imagine the first Hawaiian immigrants; by drumming taiko, they invoke nostalgia for past Japanese settlers; and through singing Micronesian songs written in Japanese, the islanders embrace memories of the people who suffered as a result of the politics of nation-states. Music and dance preserve various small stories in their lyrics, sounds and movements, and affirm the identity of Ogasawara in multiple relationships with many others. My kuleana is to seek out and empower these small stories inscribed in music and dance.
To collect small stories of Ogasawara, substantial fieldwork was required. On 20 December 2008, I took my first 25.5-hour voyage to the islands. In this preliminary trip, I stayed on Chichi Jima for about 1.5 months. After conducting library research in Tokyo, I took the boat again for extensive fieldwork: from 7 April 2009 to 10 January 2010. During this stay, I primarily lived in Chichi Jima as before, but also travelled to the other inhabited island of Haha Jima several times and observed festivals and events there. The island of Iwo Tō was inhabited before the Pacific War; the residents preserved a unique musical culture associated with their own life style, social custom and community activities (see Chapter 4.4). This island is currently virtually uninhabited and inaccessible without official permission. I requested the village office to let me join the annual Iwo Tō visit project for paying respect to ancestors’ graves [bosan], but it was not feasible. Before returning to Canberra, I took another short trip in March 2010, which allowed me to observe the emotionally charged final ritual for the departure of high school graduates to mainland Japan (see Chapter 5.3). In August 2011, I also conducted follow-up fieldwork to confirm and supplement previous data.
collection. On this occasion, I stayed on Chichi Jima for about a month during the summer festival period, and observed and participated in several musical activities as well.

Through existing literature (such as Odo 2003: 10 and Yamaguchi 2005: 61-62) and other sources, I learnt that the islanders were reluctant to share information and sometimes hostile towards ‘researchers.’ But, unexpectedly, the island musicians and dancers were friendly to me, welcomed me upon first contact, and later provided me with outstanding experiences for this thesis. As well as observing and participating in the practice sessions, I was also allowed to perform together on stage for several events and other occasions (Figure 1.7). For instance, I performed taiko drumming on the sacred tower [yagura] at the bon dance convention in Chichi Jima, danced wearing only a loincloth [‘fundoshi’ in Japanese and ‘malo’ in Hawaiian] at the island hula festival, sang with the choir at St George’s Church for a Christmas concert, presented the taiko performance to farewell the passengers of the boat, and appeared as a Nanyō odori dancer painting my face and body black at Haha Jima reversion festival. I also carried out interviews and had many casual conversations, attended various social activities if not musical ones, toured around the islands by walking or with a moped, and drank and sang with island fellows. The extraordinary ‘island life’ accumulatively resulted in my ethnography of Ogasawara musical culture.

Besides the field activities mentioned above, I focused specifically on filming by carrying a camcorder almost all the time. The footage I took for this thesis is to enhance the narratives and emotive expressions with visual images. Sociologist Edgar Morin indicates the potential of ethnographic film in the following paragraph:
There is the rest, the most difficult, the most moving, the most secret; wherever human feelings are involved, wherever the individual is directly concerned, wherever there are interpersonal relationships of authority, subordination, comradeship, love, hate—in other words, everything connected with the emotive fabric of human existence. There lies the great terra incognita of the sociological or ethnological cinema, of cinematographic truth. There lies its promised land. (1988: 102, italics in the original)

Much of this thesis concerns human feelings and describes transforming sentiments from a ‘cavernous sense’ of emptiness to ‘empathy,’ ‘affinity’ and ‘love.’ Particularly I struggled with how to illustrate the overflowing emotions towards departing island children (see Chapter 5.3 and Appendix B.2). Following Morin’s advice, I include a film in this thesis, entitled “Overwhelming Love,” to demonstrate “the emotive fabric of human existence” that is often marginalised in academic studies yet necessary to comprehend human beings. I also present another film, “Flowers of the Islands,” which supplements this thesis with moving pictures of various island musical activities throughout the year (see Appendix B.1). Together with numerous photographic images, the films are meant visually, as well as emotionally, to enrich the reader’s experience when encountering the narratives in this thesis.

This thesis consists of seven chapters. Following this introduction about ‘my kuleana,’ Chapter 2 describes the ‘cavernous sense’ that permeates the Ogasawara Islands. Beginning with a biography of an island woman, I introduce various sorrows associated with the small community, isolated location and entangled history—together with some basic information about life in Ogasawara. Chapter 3 traces the history of the islands by referring to song lyrics—from early discoveries, the first settlement, Japanese colonisation, communications with Micronesia, segregation under the US Navy, and experiences after the reversion. As if to hear ‘echoes of coral sand,’ I trace fragments of
the past inscribed in the song texts that echo on the islands through musical performances today. Chapter 4 presents ethnography of the islands’ music and dance that fill the cavernous sense of Ogasawara. Since the first settlement, the islanders have suffered isolation, colonisation, migration, alienation, war, segregation, and international politics. However they still have sustained the life on ‘my dear Bonin Islands’ by filling the cavernous sense with music and dance. This chapter includes various accounts of past musical and cultural activities as well. Chapter 5 continues to describe island musical culture, yet deals with current island music events, together with selective island musicians and dancers, as I experienced through fieldwork. Finally a story about the island children recapitulates the ‘overwhelming love’ of Ogasawara through a ritualistic process for remembering the islands. Based on the historical and cultural ethnography, Chapter 6 explores theoretical issues concerning ‘wanting memories.’ It elaborates collective remembrance, bodily practices, performances and historical truthfulness, and explicates Ogasawara memories in various relationships with many others. These arguments collectively sift history towards multiple narratives and practices, and seek to enrich humanity with affinity, empathy and love. My ‘Ogasawara nostalgia’ concludes this thesis with a summary and prospects for future studies.

It is true that the Ogasawara Islands are small and isolated, yet the transposed view from the ‘frontier’ proposes a diversity of research possibilities. In this thesis, I present various stories around the islands that contest negative or marginalising views on Ogasawara. Multiple narratives inscribed in personal talks, social customs, island ecology, song lyrics and dance choreographies might be seen as fragmentary and insignificant, but they actually provide extraordinary experiences for collective remembrance of this small island community. My *kuleana* would be satisfied if these
small stories of the Ogasawara Islands could serve to illustrate the humanity that exists beyond border, nation and ethnicity.

Figure 1.8 The Boat to Ogasawara Crossing Tokyo Bay
CHAPTER 2
A CAVERNOUS SENSE

Figure 2.1 A View from Asahiyama Hill, Chichi Jima
2.1 Nothing on the Islands

Biography of an Island Woman

“Since there is nothing on this island…” — I have heard these words several times from an aunty who has lived in Ogasawara for a very long time. One of the recent few recipients of the 88-year-old celebration [beiju] award, she showed me the prize of a golden table clock adorned with her name—“Mrs Ohira Kyoko.” It is her Japanese name; she is also recognised by another name (Figures 2.2 and 2.3).

Figure 2.3 Kyoko’s Golden Table Clock

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1 *Beiju* is one of the Asian age designations: the celebration for the 88-year-old longevity.
Kyoko was born and reared in Chichi Jima as Edith Washington, the youngest daughter of Charles Washington and Ogawa Tsuma. Her father was the grandson of the New Englander Nathaniel Savory, one of the first immigrants to the island of Chichi Jima in 1830. Charles could speak English, yet the family mostly communicated in Japanese because of her mother Tsuma, who came from Enoshima of Kanagawa Prefecture. Edith was relatively well-educated, but there were no English lessons in the island school system under the Empire of Japan (Figure 2.4). In 1939, after completing school, the nineteen-year-old girl left the island for the first time and began a new life in the Sumiyoshi district of Osaka.

On the mainland, she realised that her brother, who lived in Tokyo, had adopted the common Japanese family name Kimura, so she followed suit and named herself Kimura Kyoko. In this period around the Pacific War (1941-1945), the people with Caucasian

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2 She attended up to seinen gakkō kenkyūka (post-youth school), which was the highest level in the Ogasawara education system at that period.
names changed, or rather were forced to change, them to Japanese style names.\(^3\)

Although there was some harassment (as suggested by the name change), Kyoko was filled with expectations in mainland life: “There is nothing that I cannot do if others can!” Charles and Tsuma had thought that their youngest daughter would be homesick and come back soon, but Kyoko never thought to return. In 1943, when her older sister became ill, Charles and Tsuma asked Kyoko to return and take care of the family. She supposed that her parents missed her much as well. Soon after, in 1944, the forced evacuation began as the islands were fortified against the impending US military campaign.\(^4\)

The fourth and largest evacuation occurred on 1 July with the 7,185-ton boat *Noto Maru.*\(^5\) The huge crowd, numbering 1,750 including Kyoko and her family, boarded this expatriation ship—each person was allowed to bring only three pieces of luggage. Kyoko recalled that when the boat was sailing, several passengers spontaneously began to sing the popular song “Rabaul Ballad [*Rabauru Kouta]*,” adapting it to include the words: “Farewell Chichi Jima until I come back again, the fleeting tears of this separation blur my eyes” (see the lyrics of “Rabaul Ballad” in Appendix A).\(^6\) On the deck, Kyoko learnt this song of parting sorrow and sang it with other evacuees. Several days later, the boat off-loaded a mass of refugees who had left most valuables on the

\(^3\) Other examples of name changes include: from Isaac Gonzales to Ogasawara Aisaku; from Able Savory to Sebori Eiichi (Yamaguchi 2005: 121-26).

\(^4\) American victory in the Battle of Saipan (15 June–9 July 1944) followed by the Battle of Iwo Jima (19 February–26 March 1945) in the Ogasawara Islands.

\(^5\) The evacuation from Ogasawara began on 4 April and had been attempted nine times until 4 August. While 6,886 people had safely arrived on the mainland, the last boat *Tonegawa Maru* was sunk with thirteen evacuees by a US naval bombardment.

\(^6\) The actual lyrics begin: “Farewell Rabaul until I come back again…” This popular tune during the Pacific War was also adapted from the song “South Pacific Line [*Nanyō Kôro*]” (1940), lyrics by Wakasugi Yusaburo (1903-1955), music by Shimaguchi Komao (1911-1945), first released by Nitta Hachiro (1908-1989). The transition of the song lyrics corresponds to Japanese military activities in the South Pacific: advancement (1922-1942), repeated defeats and withdrawals (1943), and evacuation from Ogasawara (1944).
islands and had no prospects on the mainland. Who could imagine that the US Navy would control the islands for more than two decades after the war? For some of them, this was to be the last sight of their home.

Kyoko was accommodated with other ‘naturalised people’ from Ogasawara in a camp, located at the Nerima district of Tokyo. She was forced to work at an arsenal there, making cartridges twelve hours a day (or in some cases, at night), together with other migrants from the countryside and also Korea (Figure 2.5). This work lasted for a whole year. At noon on 15 August 1945, the Gyokuon Hōsō [literally ‘Jewel Voice Broadcast’] announced the defeat of Japan. It was a memorable moment; Emperor Hirohito spoke on a radio for the first time. For some reason, Kyoko herself does not remember this historic moment, but the war was at an end and she came to use her English name Edith Washington again.
On 17 October 1946, the ‘Caucasian descendants’ arrived at Port Lloyd [now Futami Port]—they returned to Chichi Jima more than two years after their last sight of the island from the expatriation ship (Arima 1990: 58). As previously mentioned, the US Navy allowed only ‘Caucasian descendants’ to return to Ogasawara (see also Chapters 2.5). After leaving the camp in Nerima, Kyoko was living in Taura, Kanagawa Prefecture, where she received the privilege of a ‘return permit’ jointly signed by Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan. Kyoko was embraced with an intense nostalgia for Ogasawara, particularly after her bitter experiences on the mainland. The destroyer Keyaki of the Imperial Japanese Navy, re-fitted by SCAP as a repatriation boat, transported 129 fellow islanders, including Kyoko, to their home of Ogasawara (Figure 2.6). She did not realise that this would be the beginning of a long period of segregation from other places in the world.

Figure 2.6 Edith (Fifth from Right) on the Repatriation Boat with Other ‘Caucasian Descendants’ (Photo Courtesy Washington)

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7 Including native Japanese, who had married the ‘Caucasian descendants.’
8 Her father, Charles, was working as an interpreter at the US Forces camp there.
The island of Chichi Jima looked like empty. The Imperial Japanese Army had destroyed almost all of the houses and public buildings by the end of the War. Within a few years, the island again seemed covered with jungle, as it had been when the island was first colonised in 1830. The US Navy provided a Quonset hut as temporary housing for returnees, and later advised them to build their own houses anywhere they liked around the Ōmura area with a subsidy for building materials (Ishihara 2007: 401-2). Kyoko, now Edith Washington again under the American administration, came back with her family to the neighboring area of Okumura, where they had owned the land since the pre-war period. There were only about 290 people on the islands, including US Navy officers and their families (Nishimuta 2008: 203). Edith experienced another kind of sorrow evoked through loneliness—missing the Chichi Jima life that she shared with more than 4,000 residents before the war (Figures 2.7 and 2.8).\(^9\)

\[\text{Figure 2.7 Edith with Island Children during the US Navy Era (Photo Courtesy Washington)}\]

\(^9\) In 1940, there were 7,461 residents in total on the Ogasawara Islands: 4,302 people on Chichi Jima; 1,905 people on Haha Jima; 1,164 people on Iwo Tō; and 90 people on Kita Iwo Tō (Ishii 1967: 22).
In 1949, after “enjoying unmarried life” for several years, Edith married one of her relatives, Ned Washington—though he had the different Japanese family name of Ohira, which Edith uses today (Figure 2.9). The wedding ceremony was held in Christian style at the island Church of St George’s, but Edith appeared wearing Japanese *kimono*, as did several other participants. The couple was blessed with four babies—Rance, Michael, a daughter Janet, and Dino. Edith herself named the fourth baby Dino; she preferred this with only four characters to make it easier to spell. In 1955, the US Navy established the Admiral Arthur Radford Elementary School, at which her four children received education in the American system. Edith also attended the school for English lessons to facilitate life under the United States authorities. The US Navy severely restricted the islanders’ contacts with Japan, even though their citizenship remained

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10 Edith told me that she wished to visit Japan to search for a possible husband, just like many island boys in those days. The boys travelled around the mainland with a special permission for looking for a fiancé [*yome sagashi*], but she was “unfortunately” not entitled to receive the permission.

Edith could neither leave the island nor communicate with her friends in Japan.

On 26 June 1968, four years before the reversion of Okinawa, the Ogasawara Islands were returned to Japan. When she heard the news of reversion, Edith was exceedingly delighted: “Everyone is coming back and we can live together again.” She was filled with deep emotion and described it in the following verses:

The wish is granted and the reversion is coming
Everyone indeed, everyone must be joyful indeed
    Joyful, joyful
      Everyone must be joyful indeed

Even a traveling swallow eventually comes home
Towards the beloved and yearned for, beloved and yearned for home
    Towards home, towards home
      Towards the beloved and yearned for home

(Excerpts, see also the lyrics in Appendix A, music in Appendix C)

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12 Edith was required to register her marriage and four babies in Tokyo by asking proxies, who were allowed to travel there for a family visit or hospital attendance (Nishimuta 2008: 205). Edith herself could not have a chance to visit mainland Japan or any other places during this period, as she declared: “I could have no excuse to leave the island; I was too strong, had no health problem!”
Later she applied the melody of an old Ogasawara tune “Dance-Song of Susaki [Susaki Ondo]” to the lyrics; the song became known as “Dance-Song of Reversion [Henkan Ondo],” one of the island’s classics today (see also Chapter 4.2).

In the song, Edith directs her sentiments towards the expatriates, including many friends and acquaintances away from their home for more than 20 years. It was truly a moment of rejoicing for her. However it was also the beginning of another disruption for the ‘Caucasian descendants.’ Edith particularly extends her sentiments to the eldest son Rance who experienced true hardship. When the Ogasawara Islands were about to be handed over in 1968, Rance was a junior at George Washington High School in Guam—just one year away from graduation. Yet, he soon returned to Chichi Jima and transferred to the newly established Ogasawara High School, where he began to learn Japanese letters from basic hiragana characters. With his best efforts, Rance tried to cope with strangers and to accommodate himself in the foreign administration system. Even though he spoke Japanese fluently (it was the language of family communication), Rance was still discriminated against because of the bias against ‘non-native speakers.’ Eventually he left Ogasawara and became an American citizen after having served in the United States Army.

Many of the ‘Caucasian descendants’ left the island after the reversion, including Edith’s four children. Edith herself remained in Ogasawara, though she has enjoyed travelling around freely since then. She showed me many travel photos—taken at a gateball tournament on the mainland and at a party with her family/friends overseas

13 During the US Navy period, island children usually attended a high school in Guam after graduating from the Radford School of Chichi Jima.
Currently she utilises both names. On my ethics clearance form, Edith initially wrote her name as Ohira Kyoko, but said: “If it [your thesis] is in English, use Edith Washington… I don’t remember the spelling since I haven’t written it for so long!” Of course, she could spell her name correctly. This occasion reminded me that having both English and Japanese names constitutes part of her identity.

The transition of her names represents her ambivalent life in-between. Edith Washington/Ohira Kyoko has certainly survived a troubled life with political harassment, forcible evacuation, compulsory labour, extended segregation, and racial discrimination, just like many other islanders. However my descriptions of her life diverge from her own statements in many ways. Edith used the words “company housing [kaisha no ryō]” rather than “camp” in Nerima district, and never referred to the US Navy era as the “segregation.” By being considerate of others, Edith was

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14 Gateball is a game invented in Japan, a mallet team sport similar to croquet.
reserved in describing her entangled life experiences: “It is not only us who suffered from the war; there were many others who experienced further hardship.” She recalled the other forced labourers who were also abused in the Nerima arsenal, including school children, apprentices from poor hamlets, and naturalised ethnic Koreans.

“Since there is nothing on this island”—these words appear simple, straightforward, and to have no implication, yet must be realised as part of her exceptional biography. I see Edith as having outstanding vitality. This 88-year-old woman is still working for the village facilities, appearing on public occasions to provide stories or sing songs, running around a gateball court playing several games per day, and riding on her antique Honda motorcycle around the island everyday (Figures 2.11 and 2.12). She nevertheless expresses her sentiments about the island with a sense of loss and absence. I have no hope of thoroughly comprehending her emotions or of projecting myself into her extraordinary life experience. However the other islanders, and even a visitor like myself, still share this empty feeling of Ogasawara to some degree. It is a collective sentiment shared amongst the islanders, and can be extended to others—just as Edith was considerate towards her colleagues at the arsenal.
In what follows, I explore this sentiment by extending the biography of Edith Washington to experiences of myself and other islanders. I first describe my early days in Ogasawara, which were filled with a deep ‘cavernous sense’; I felt as if I had a huge cave in my chest. Through my island life, I also provide some detailed information of Ogasawara geography, infrastructure, social customs and cultural practices—to be referenced for further reading. Then I introduce several historical accounts. The cavernous sense is actually a cumulative sense that pertains from the first settlement of 1830. The combination of these episodes recapitulates the cavernous sense permeating this small remote community until today. It is the result of various sentiments of loss, desperation, hostility, solitude, and parting sorrow.
Figure 2.12 Edith, Going Home after Work
2.2 The First Visit

Long Journey

A 6,700-ton boat with a capacity of 1,043 passengers, the Ogasawara Maru [commonly known as Oga-maru] departs every six days from Takeshiba Pier in the Port of Tokyo.\textsuperscript{15} It usually leaves the pier at 10:00 am for its 25.5-hour voyage and arrives around 11:30 am the next day at Futami Port of Chichi Jima, though delays of several hours can occasionally occur due to rough ocean conditions. The visitors for Haha Jima transfer at Futami Port to a small boat called Haha Jima Maru [commonly known as Haha-maru] for another two-hour voyage. The Oga-maru normally stays three nights at Futami Port and leaves Chichi Jima at 2:00 pm for another 25.5-hour trip to the Port of Tokyo. This schedule demands the visitors either to stay three nights or more than a week in Ogasawara. During the peak tourist seasons, the boat departs Chichi Jima only 2.5 hours after its arrival on the same day, known as arrival/departure [chaku-hatsu]

\textsuperscript{15} There exists some other, but very limited, ways to visit the islands. For instance, the cargo Kyōshō Maru takes several customer passengers occasionally, though it takes more than two days to reach Chichi Jima. Sightseeing boats are also available several times a year during holiday seasons, such as New Year break.
service, which makes the boat accessible every three days and allows the visitors relatively flexible travel plans.

On 20 December 2008, I arrived at Takeshiba Pier around 9:00 am, with two suitcases and bags filled with filming equipment, to secure a second-class ticket for the boat departing on that day. The waiting room was rather quiet, though several people were already lined up at the ticket window, which was still closed. I had come too early. According to the shipping company, there were only 200 passengers on this voyage before Christmas. This period towards the end of year is the busiest season in the Japanese calendar, yet it seemed that the fellow passengers were rather relaxed with no obligations. I had enough time for a cup of coffee with my wife and mother, who came to see me off (yet they were rather curious about the boat). The first boarding announcement was made about 20 minutes before the departure. I soon got into the boat and prepared for filming—not to lose the only chance to capture the images of “leaving from the Port of Tokyo.” I could see, through the viewfinder, that my wife and mother were waving their hands and saying something. I soon realised that we could talk by mobile phone.\(^{16}\) Other passengers also gathered around the deck, waving their hands and talking by phone to friends and family on shore. The boat set off from the pier slowly. My wife and mother were becoming smaller and smaller, and finally disappeared amongst the crowd. The parting by a boat was truly emotional and sentimental, I thought (Figure 2.14).

\(^{16}\) But, of course, mobile phone cannot be used after the boat sails out of Tokyo Bay.
The sentiment of farewell did not last long. I was soon fascinated by the vessel’s equipment and began to explore the boat. It was my first experience of boarding such an ocean liner. The Oga-maru allocates five levels for its passengers, including facilities such as: a restaurant, tearoom and kiosk; toilets, shower rooms and vending machines on each level; and entertainment spaces for video watching, karaoke singing, and smoking (Figure 2.15). I found my tiny sleeping space, less than a half-meter to my neighbours each side, in a large shared room on the middle level. On the deck, people were watching and taking photos of such scenes as famous Rainbow Bridge, Fuji Television building, several tankers and other smaller boats, and the airplanes flying from/to Haneda Airport (Figure 2.16). But it was very cold in December on the water of Tokyo Bay. I soon left the deck after capturing enough footage and went to the restaurant for some hot food: curry with rice and fried pork [katsu karē] (Figure 2.17).
Figure 2.15 Kiosk of the Oga-maru

Figure 2.16 A View from the Oga-maru: A Boat and Fuji Television Building (Behind)

Figure 2.17 Katsu Karē at the Restaurant
The Ogasawara Islands are far away. Prior to this trip, I had travelled to Fiji for a conference and got a cold after using a fan all the sultry night. I thought I had recovered enough to undertake the voyage, in the hope of observing Christmas on Chichi Jima, yet still became sick after having lunch. I wondered if this sickness was from the cold or from the movement of the ship—anyway I took some medicine and lay down on my tiny blanket. I did not remember how long I slept, but some hours later I was woken by the ship’s roll and ran for a toilet. The Oga-maru is proud of its stabilisation technology, yet it still sways as it picks up speed after leaving Tokyo Bay, particularly when the boat meets with the Kuroshio Current around the Hachijō Island (Figure 2.18). I vomited several times, and when I felt my stomach had become thoroughly empty, it was still midnight—only half way to Ogasawara. My drunken neighbour, snoring less than a half-meter from me, sometimes rolled and invaded my space. This nearly 1,000 km overnight voyage was extremely lengthy, exhausting and taxing on my weakened body (see also Appendix B.1 for the voyage).
When a cluster of islands appears offshore in the next morning, they are the Muko Jima Islands, already part of Ogasawara, and soon the island of Chichi Jima becomes visible (Figure 2.19, though I could not see them in this first voyage). The other sub groups of the Ogasawara Islands include the Haha Jima Islands and Volcano Islands [Kazan Rettō], located to the south of the Chichi Jima Islands (Figure 2.20). The “Ogasawara Islands” is a generic term for these island groups, together with the remote islands of Nishino Shima, Minamitori Shima and Okinotori Shima: the latter two representing the easternmost and southernmost territories of Japan respectively (Figure 2.21). Oddly enough, Tokyo Metropolitan Government administers these 30-odd tropical and
subtropical islands extending far to the south of Japan. As mentioned, civilians reside only on the islands of Chichi Jama and Haha Jima, and some employees of government institutions, such as the Japan Self-Defence Forces and Japan Coast Guard, are based on Iwo Tō and Minamitori Shima. The rest of the islands are currently uninhabited.

Figure 2.19 A View of the Muko Jima Islands from the Oga-Maru

Figure 2.20 Island Groups of Ogasawara
When the boat sailed alongside the Muko Jima Islands, I was almost dying on a narrow rug with the seasickness—blessing the end of this traumatic voyage sooner rather than later. Before the launch of the current *Ogasawara Maru* in 1997, it required almost 30 hours for this trip on its predecessor, also called the *Ogasawara Maru*. The first regular service after the reversion began in 1973 by the *Chichi Jima Maru*, which took 38 hours from Tokyo to Ogasawara. Before the war, it was several days’ voyage to/from these remote islands. The first settlers from Hawai‘i spent about a month on a boat, searching around scattered islands in the vast ocean (Cholmondeley 1915: 17). I wondered how the evacuees of 1944 spent their time on the *Noto Maru* other than singing, and how the 129 ‘Caucasian descendants’ experienced the voyage on the destroyer *Keyaki* when repatriating to their home in 1946. A long journey creates a sense of displacement or estrangement with its physical experience of the distance. I was glad that the boat was arriving at Futami Port on time. When I disembarked, I truly felt relieved.
Figure 2.22 A Map of the Chichi Jima Islands
“What a small place it is,” I was astonished when arriving on Chichi Jima. I guessed it would be small, but the island was even smaller than I expected. The Geospatial Information Authority of Japan measures the clusters of islands as having an area of 104.41 km² collectively. Chichi Jima actually occupies the largest land area (23.80 km²), followed by Iwo Tō (23.16 km²) and Haha Jima (20.21 km²); the rest of the islands are less than 8 km². The tiny atoll of Okinotori Shima almost disappears at full tide, so that concrete breakwaters and titanium nets protect the atoll. Other remote islands of Minamitori Shima and Nishino Shima are also small with 1.51 km² and 0.29 km² respectively (Figure 2.24). These scattered islands of Ogasawara secure extensive parts of Japan’s exclusive economic zone (measured from the shoreline of permanent terrestrial features under the UN Law of the Sea). Ogasawara Village Newsletter, published and distributed for the residents every month, reports that there were 1,980 residents with 34 nonregistered dwellers, including long-term visitors such as myself, in
Chichi Jima on 1 January 2009. The census also counted 454 residents with 14 nonregistered dwellers in Haha Jima on the same day (Ogasawara Village 2009: 1). When I arrived at Futami Port with 199 other Oga-maru passengers, there must have been at least 2,000 people in the area of 23.80 km².

Figure 2.24 Remote Islands of Okinotori Shima, Minamitori Shima and Nishino Shima (Top to Bottom) (Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism of Japan)
At the port, several people were waiting for the visitors, including a stranger from Australia, holding placards with the names of their guesthouses (Figure 2.25). Soon I could find my hostess and took her car with another guest. She drove the car very slowly, yet in a minute or so we arrived at her property named Kiri-maru House. This guesthouse provided five rooms, two on the ground floor and three on the upper level, and there was another cottage nearby. My room upstairs was small, yet equipped with a kitchen, television and air conditioner. After having the terrible experience on the boat, I particularly appreciated sleeping on the bed without sways and drunken neighbours. I rested for a while, and then began to explore my surroundings.

![Image](image_url)

**Figure 2.25 Greetings at the Port**

It was a small place indeed. I started to walk back to the port through the village main street—passing by the police station, post office, village hall, festival park, a branch of Japan Agricultural Cooperatives, souvenir shops, and two grocery stores: Ogasawara Co-op and Koiwai Shōten. Within a few minutes, I could see the boat from which I disembarked a couple of hours ago. Then I turned to the back street, where I found several eating/drinking places. That was it (Figure 2.26). This area must have been the
centre of the island, but I encountered only a few people during this short excursion. It was very quiet even though the boat had arrived on this day.

Many visitors, like myself, find accommodation in this Ōmura area: one of the four major residential areas on Chichi Jima. As can be seen in the map above, most government institutions, guesthouses, shops and bars are located in this area. Ōmura has been the centre of the island since the US Navy was based around this area. Many ‘Caucasian descendants’ have been living in this area as well after having constructed their houses according to the navy’s advice. The Ogasawara Co-op was reorganised from the Bonin Islands Trading Company, which was established as the only supermarket during the American period (Figure 2.27). The festival park, called Omatsuri Hiroba in Japanese, is formally recognised as the Radford Hiroba since the Admiral Arthur Radford Elementary School stood there until the reversion (Figure 2.28). This park is adjacent to Ōmura Kigan beach, commonly known as Maehama [meaning ‘front beach’], and there is a thatched gazebo at the end of the beach, called
Gegege House—named after a famous Japanese comic Gegege no Kitaro (Figures 2.29 and 2.30). Next to this beach filled with coral sand, there is a lighthouse, known as the Blue Lighthouse [Ao Tōdai], a favourite spot for jumping into the water, comprising part of Futami Port along with the waiting rooms of Oga-maru and Haha-maru (Figure 2.31).

17 The house looks like a picture that appears in this famous apparition comic by Mizuki Shigeru (b.1922). Mizuki often draws unique structures and sceneries based on his military experience in Rabaul during the Pacific War.
Figure 2.29 Maehama Beach Filled with Coral Sand

Figure 2.30 The Gegege House, with the Blue Lighthouse (Right) and Asahiyama Hill (Behind)
In the following days, I walked around this area searching for musical elements, but the only music I could discover was a song “Coconut [Yashi no Mi].”\textsuperscript{18} This daily broadcast of recorded music announced the end of the day at 5 pm through public speakers.\textsuperscript{19} I visited St George’s Church in the west side of the town, expecting possible Christmas festivities. But the clergyman Ogasawara Aisaku told me that there would be neither music nor ceremony, except a small gathering for a cup of tea. He also informed me that a tape player provided music for the service, though a piano was placed at the corner of the chapel. It was the same at Ōgamiyama Jinja; this Shinto shrine also employed recorded music for its rituals. From the shrine, located midway to the peak of less than 200 meters height on Ōgamiyama hill, I could overlook the entire Ōmura area, and could also observe Ōgiura area on the opposite side of Futami Bay. I wondered if I could obtain enough data for my PhD thesis in such a small place.

\textsuperscript{18} The famous poet Shimazaki Toson (1872-1943) published the poem in 1900. Later the poem became a popular song with music by Onaka Toraji (1896-1982). Onaka composed the melody for the lyrics in 1936, when the Japanese gaze directed towards the South Pacific. See the lyrics in Appendix A.

\textsuperscript{19} It is a common local practice to broadcast the ‘end of the day’ at 5 pm in many parts of Japan.
In front of the *Oga-maru* waiting room, there are two consecutive tunnels—passageways connecting Ōmura to Kiyose and Okumura. A shorter tunnel, Ōmura Zuidō is followed by the longer and dark Kiyose Zuidō (Figure 2.33). They were constructed in 1937 and 1939 respectively under the direction of the Imperial Japanese Army. Since it was also utilised as a shelter during the war, Kiyose Zuidō is equipped with thick iron gates on both sides. Coming through these tunnels, there is a three-forked road with traffic lights: one of only two traffic lights on this island.²⁰ The way to the left is for Kiyose, the residence of many ‘newcomers’ since the Tokyo Metropolitan Government has developed reasonable apartments in this area after the reversion. The Ogasawara High School is sited on a small hill of this area; there is a fine view of Futami Bay from the classrooms (Figure 2.34).

²⁰ Another traffic light is located at the entrance of Futami Port (see Figure 2.33).
The only clinic of Chichi Jima is also located in Kiyose. In front of this clinic, there remain closed spaces—constructed and utilised by the Imperial Japanese Army. Local folklorist Matsuki Kazumasa assumes that the United States took advantage of these Kiyose Vaults, fortified with duplicated structures, copper plated walls, and a bank vault door, to deploy nuclear weapons when it controlled the island (1998: 31-34) (Figure
2.35). Political analysts Robert S. Norris, William M. Arkin and William Burr conclude:

[Unidentified] “C” and “I” locations are Chichi Jima and Iwo Jima. After researching the National Archives and the U.S. Navy Archives, exchanging e-mail with experts, and communicating with U.S. veterans who served on or visited the islands, we can now tell the story that the Pentagon managed to keep secret for more than 40 years. (2000: 11)

Chichi Jima became a port of call for submarines and Iwo Jima became an outpost of the Far East Air Force. During the mid-1950s, President Eisenhower approved extensive nuclear deployments to the Pacific, and Chichi Jima and Iwo Jima became nuclear bases. (Ibid.: 13)

It seems that the local residents knew about this. One of my informants told me that, during the US Navy era, a security guard of the vaults once cautioned him not to visit the site otherwise he would be shot (interview anonymous August 2011). Journalist Yamaguchi Ryoko cites the following interviews as well: a high official of the US Navy was dismissed for telling the secret while drinking; and on the night when the weapons were cleared from the island, all residents on the route were advised to close their curtains and turn off the lights while this mission was underway (2005: 169-72). For such military and political reasons, the US Navy severely restricted the islanders’ activities at that period, just as Edith Washington was never permitted to leave the island.
The way along the bay from the three-forked road leads to the Okumura area, where one of the first immigrants, Nathaniel Savory, resided and which was the home for many ‘Caucasian descendants’ before the war. Edith still lives here with her son Rance (who had returned from the US) and his family. Rance owns an American style bar called “Yankeetown” which is also the English name of this Okumura area. Edith told me that once a beautiful shoaling beach extended from the front of her house to an isle known as Savory Rock [‘Futami Iwa’ in Japanese]. Today the Savory Rock is connected to land by a breakwater, where another lighthouse known as the Red Lighthouse [Aka Tōdai] stands. The rock and breakwater enclose the fishing port called Futami Gyokō. The beach has disappeared as a result of reclamation, and social facilities stand there nowadays, such as the Welfare Centre and Okumura Playground. The village also constructed a pier in front of the centre, known as Tobiuo Sanbashi [Flying Fish Pier], a favourite walking route of the residents (Figure 2.36).

21 He returned to Chichi Jima after his father Ned passed away.
Beyond the fishing port, there is Ogasawara Marine Centre, which is familiar to the islanders as the Kame Centre [Turtle Centre]. This research institute mainly surveys and promotes protection of green sea turtles that are recognised as an endangered species today. The turtle has been part of the traditional diet of Ogasawara since the first settlement of the islands. Only one licensed turtle hunter on each island of Chichi Jima and Haha Jima conducts seasonal shooting of up to 135 turtles per year. The centre is adjacent to Byōbudani ravine from where steep coastlines continue to the Ōgiura area (Figure 2.37).
Figure 2.37 The Kame Centre (Orange Roof) and Coastline to Ōgiura

The rock rising above the water south of Futami Bay is Kaname Iwa rock. It is located like a rivet [kaname] of the white curved sandy beach [ura], which spreads as if it were a fan [ōgi], and is thus called Ōgiura [Fan Beach] (Figure 2.38). The area named after the beach is relatively far from other residential areas; it can be reached through several tunnels along the steep coastlines (though it is less than ten minutes’ drive). During the 1870s, the Japanese government first established a village office there as well as other public facilities. A monument to the Japanese colonisation of Ogasawara stands on a way to the local shrine, Ogasawara Sadayori Jinja. Before the war, a small ferry, called kayoi sen [commuting boat], connected the Ōmura and Ōgiura areas several times a day. Not many people reside in Ōgiura area today due to the “One Island, One Community” policy enforced during the early reversion days. The policy aimed to supply adequate public infrastructure intensively, but prevented some residents from returning to their own lands, including the significant past communities of Ōgiura on Chichi Jima and Kitamura on Haha Jima.
On Christmas Eve, I observed a musical performance of farewell taiko drumming at the port. It was my first experience of live music in Ogasawara, yet my attention was rather directed to the boat leaving the island. The Oga-maru was slowly moving off from the quay farewelled by a group of people. The boat sounded its whistle several times in response, and became smaller and smaller as it headed towards the open sea (Figure 2.39). This farewell invoked a sense of sorrow in my mind—“Anyhow I cannot leave this lonely small island until the boat comes back.” Without the boat, the pier seemed empty, and so too did my heart—mentally and physically, the island life largely depends on the Oga-maru. The ‘cavernous sense’ is a feeling of having a cave as if it penetrates throughout my body, as I experienced in these early days of Ogasawara, and remained until the end of my field trip to some degree. It was not like a severe physical pain yet enough depressed my heart. The cave needs to be filled with something somehow.
Figure 2.39 The Leaving Boat
The Tide

The tide rises, yet falls soon after. In the same way, the life of this small place is transient with constant flows of people coming in and out. On 28 December, the Oga-maru returned to the islands filled with 816 passengers, who probably planned to spend the holidays around New Year’s Day on the islands. Compared to the time of my arrival, the pier was much more crowded and animated, together with live welcome music by the steel band. This was an arrival/departure service; the boat promptly turned around for mainland Japan, though there were only 148 passengers for the return leg. The Oga-maru came back to the port on New Year’s Eve with 493 people, and soon left again transporting 365 customers.

Two cruise ships, the Kiso and Ishikari, also appeared off the shore on this last day of the year with more than 1,000 visitors in total. Futami Port cannot accommodate these extra large ships, 15,795-tons and 14,257-tons respectively, so that they anchored in the middle of the bay and the passengers took a small ferry to land (Figure 2.41). The stores were full of tour groups looking for souvenirs, lunch boxes [bentō], and bottled
drinks. The restaurants were crowded also, and there was even a temporary stall selling octopus dumplings \textit{[takoyaki]}. In the evening, the visitors returned to their hotel-ships to have dinner, night entertainment, and a sleep.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure241.jpg}
\caption{A Ferry Commuting from the Cruise Ships}
\end{figure}

The local people also became active when these boats arrived. The mass of visitors provided additional work for the islanders, such as tour guides or instructors for night sky viewing, bush walking, battle-ruin visits, beach activities, cruising and diving (Figure 2.42). The guesthouse workers were busy welcoming and farewelling their guests with the arrival/departure schedule of \textit{Oga-maru}. Shops, restaurants and bars also hired temporary workers to serve extra customers and extended their opening hours to benefit from the prosperity. It was truly a cheerful moment.
Even for those not involved in tourism, the arrival day of *Oga-maru* is still exciting; the boat supplies almost every commodity, including meat, vegetables, drinks, medicines, clothing, and other everyday items. Limited numbers of newspapers become available in bundles of several daily issues, and newly published books and magazines are also displayed for purchasing. These products are soon unloaded from the boat and prepared
for sale within several hours; it is the routine of the evening of boat arrival that the
people gather around the grocery stores for new merchandise, particularly for fresh food
(Figure 2.43). The post office and other freight agencies become busy as well
delivering letters, boxes and packages from mainland Japan. In this way, the boat
literally bridges places and peoples, and has been affectionately adopted in this small
island community. The islanders must have a multitude of projected feelings towards
this very important object, such as joy, expectation, loss, longing, and parting sorrow.

I was delighted with the lively people and restless town, and was further excited by the
music and dance featured in New Year’s Eve and New Year parties. Around 11:00 pm,
the sounds of taiko drumming heralded the countdown event at the festival park.
Following the taiko performance, in this year of 2008, a slide show was presented—
featuring memorial projects of the 40th anniversary of the reversion. Accompanied by
the voice of Edith Washington singing the island favourite, “My Dear Bonin Islands,” the narration of the slide show stated:

40-year-old Ogasawara: it is not infected with urban life yet. 40 years have passed since the Ogasawara Islands were returned from the United States. Although its history has changed, the relationship between the village people and island nature are intact.

“40-year-old Ogasawara”—I understood that the narration indicated the youthfulness of the community, and in doing so, pictured a prospective future of the islands too. However it was also about neglecting of the past. The term represented the segmented history and entangled memories that created the amnesia of 138 years before the reversion.

Meanwhile the Ogasawara specialities, such as rum and passionfruit liquor, were served as well as noodles and other kinds of food and drink. The countdown to New Year began ten seconds before midnight. Many fireworks and sirens of the cruise ships celebrated the coming year of 2009 as well. The cruise passengers would also enjoy their own parties and the fireworks on the water. The taiko group Bonin Bayashi concluded the event with their “Sperm Whale Drumming [Makkō Daiko]” performance (Figure 2.44).

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22 Ogasawara village distributed the CD *The Wind of Bonin [Bonin no Kaze]* to its residents as part of the “40th Anniversary of the Reversion” project. The CD features island music, including “My Dear Bonin Islands” sung by Edith Washington (see also Chapter 4.1).

23 It is a Japanese custom to have noodles on the New Year’s Eve to bless longer life by eating the things long for the coming year.
On the morning of 1 January 2009, Maehama beach was crowded with people who were waiting for the New Year event beginning at 10:00 am. A steel-frame stage was set up on the beach for the event entitled “The Earliest Beach Opening in Japan.” The temperature of the island, at 10 am of that day, was 19.5 degrees Celsius with a chilly wind; it was not comfortable for swimming. Although Chichi Jima is located about 1,000 km south of Tokyo metropolitan area, it is still only subtropical and often cold during the winter. Yet surprisingly, I noticed several people running into the sea (Figure 2.45). They soaked their bodies in the water for a while and received the certificate of “The First Swim of the Year” prepared by the village office.
Another taiko group Hasshōryū Daiko opened the event with singing and drumming, followed by a Shinto ceremony celebrating the New Year and blessing the sea. Other musical performances of the event included Ogasawara hula, Nanyō odori dance and kaka drumming.\textsuperscript{24} I was pleased to observe the island music and dance, which I had read about in the literature but were hardly visible until this event. Amongst these performances, I was particularly interested in the hula, which was different from the one practised in Hawai‘i in several aspects. The choreography was unique to the Japanese song lyrics telling about Ogasawara. The band instrumentation was also different; it employed the African djembe, as well as the ukulele, electric guitar and bass guitar. However the performance was still identified as hula, because the dancers wore hula skirts and leis, and their steps and hand gestures resembled Hawaiian hula (Figure 2.46). As I realised later, this hula is borrowed from Hawai‘i, yet localised to be appropriate for the Ogasawara Islands (see also Appendix B.1).

\textsuperscript{24} The \textit{kaka} is a slit-drum: a recently invented instrument in Ogasawara (see Chapter 5.1).
The event closed with a lottery draw. The first prize was a free round trip ticket on the Oga-maru, but the winner had to travel only from the Tokyo metropolitan area; it was advised that the ticket would be presented to a relative or friend on the mainland if a local participant won (though it did not happen this time). Other prizes included Ogasawara local products, such as passionfruit and red spiny lobsters [aka isebi].

The village office projected this New Year’s event, as well as the countdown party, as part of the island’s tourism promotion. However, it should be noted that the local people also participated in, supported and thoroughly enjoyed these festivities. They came to the beach on the morning of New Year’s Day, swam in the cold water, were excited with the lottery drawing, and presented music and dance. As I explore in the following chapters, they love such festivals and events to ‘enjoy island life.’ After the lottery drawing, several baby green sea turtles, reared at the Kame Centre, were released at Maehama beach (Figure 2.47).

25 Scientists Hideo Sekiguchi and Ray W. George recognise the aka isebi as a new species of Panulirus brunneiflagellum (2005). Ogasawara is renowned for its unique fauna and flora, and sometimes referred as the “Galapagos of the Orient.”
The shapes of the *Kiso* and *Ishikari* were impressive on the water of Futami Bay, so that it looked empty when they disappeared on the next day. The *Oga-maru*, with only 78 passengers, came back from the Tokyo metropolitan area on the following day. Within a few hours, she left the island again filled up with 935 passengers, who enjoyed the break in Ogasawara. The island became suddenly quiet. The festival park and Maehama beach looked different without the crowd of people. Many shops, restaurants and bars were closed as well, and even the islanders seemed to vanish somewhere (Figures 2.48 and 2.49).
The tide fell again. This is an everyday cycle of Chichi Jima life, though the New Year’s influx of people is an extreme instance. Still it is typical that the island becomes animated with the arrival of the Oga-maru, yet it soon calms down after she leaves with visitors. I again felt loneliness that was never relieved until the end of this preliminary trip. In April of the same year, I would return to Ogasawara for extensive fieldwork, and then find out another sorrow of the islands.

Figure 2.49 “The Shop Maruhi Closed: 4, 5 and 6 January.”
2.3 NOSTALGIA WITHIN HOME

Passing People

I took the Oga-maru again on 7 April 2009 to return to the islands—filled with a sense of nostalgia. I was not a stranger anymore. It was fortunate that, in my previous visit, I could observe the annual Cultural Circles Festival. By featuring various musical genres, the festival allowed me to communicate with many island musicians and dancers, and convinced me of the feasibility of this research. I missed the islands and expected further interactions with the people during this extensive field research.

The second voyage was much more relaxed than the first one. I took travel medicine as prescribed and prepared for the 25.5-hour sway. While sailing from Tokyo Bay towards the Pacific Ocean, I appreciated the changing colour of water from grey to deep blue. The next morning, I found turquoise blue water in Futami Bay that made me feel like being back in Ogasawara. I was thinking about the island musicians and dancers, hoping that they remembered my face and would allow me to observe their activities again.
Although Chichi Jima was still quiet, I did not have the sense of anxiety anymore. On the day of my arrival, several people already recognised me and welcomed my second visit. However I still sensed some loneliness. I noticed a decreasing number of members in every music/dance group. One day in mid-April, I was waiting in front of the *Oga-maru* waiting room to attend a *taiko* practice session, scheduled there from 7 pm. But no one came. About 20 minutes later, a member of the group, riding a bicycle, finally appeared and said to me: “Only you? No one there?” It seemed that he anticipated this and stated: “Sorry we must cancel the session today, since everyone left the island…”

April is the beginning of the Japanese academic year and also a major job relocation period. Most schools, colleges and universities schedule their teaching year from April following graduation ceremonies, only once a year, in March. This custom extends to the employment system of many companies and government offices. They often hire new graduates in April, and also move the workers from one position to another during this period. Ogasawara is no exception. Almost all high school graduates leave the islands in March, and begin new lives on the mainland in April to receive higher education or professional training (Figure 2.51). Public servants, such as schoolteachers and administrative officers, also experience job relocation in this season. Accordingly a major shift of people occurs in Ogasawara.

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26 Japanese fiscal year also begins in April.
27 There are some children, who receive higher education overseas as well.
28 In fact, many island residents today are public servants and their families.
The shift of people is conspicuous in this season, yet the constant move of people is rather habitual. Census data from 2001 indicates that 18.8 per cent of residents left Ogasawara that year; the number is more than three times the national average of a 4.8 per cent transfer rate (Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism 2003: 3). If evenly distributed across the population, it would mean that the entire population changed every six years or so. In fact, almost every adult islander has experienced life in another place for several years. This means that she/he must have experienced either a ‘departure from’ or ‘migration to’ the islands at least once. Those people who moved to Ogasawara due to job relocation tend to leave the islands sooner, while withdrawal can happen to anyone in this small and remote community.

There are various reasons for withdrawal besides graduation and work relocation. For instance, scarcity of job opportunities often appears to be a problem. The main industry of tourism cannot provide enough employment with limited numbers of visitors; if not in peak season, there are less than 400 passengers for each boat arrival. It is possible to be a fisherman or farmer, but such a worker is not always successful; the incomes of
these occupations reach only 1.1 per cent and 0.4 per cent respectively of the total income of the islands.\textsuperscript{29} Owning a restaurant or bar is also difficult in a place with only about 2,500 people, so that the business often depends on tourism as well. As a result, many residents work temporarily and eventually leave the islands after several years.

It seems that the word \textit{hikiage} [withdrawal] is always on the mind of islanders. They experience Ogasawara with a sense of nostalgia; it will be a place for missing and longing if \textit{hikiage} happens.\textsuperscript{30} In many cases, the current residents are not rooted on the islands, that is, they have no family lineage and real estate there. This means that they must take the 25.5-hour voyage, available only once a week, if there is a family problem or misfortune. An informant once told me that he never expected to be present at his parents’ deaths after moving to Ogasawara (interview anonymous August 2011). The scarcity of island real estate makes it almost impossible for newcomers to purchase land and a house, which are expensive even if they become available.\textsuperscript{31} According to statistics, only 16.8 per cent of residents have their own houses, so that others rent apartments or other types of housing (Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism 2003: 3). Even if they endure the poor life with low income and away from their families, the residents still have to think about the possibility of \textit{hikiage} for other reasons, such as health problems. I have noticed many elderly islanders travelling on

\textsuperscript{29} Ogasawara Fishermen’s Union provides generous support for its members, and there are successful fishermen, as I recognised. However their lives are still uncertain and risky, often having much debt by purchasing a fishing boat.

\textsuperscript{30} I utilise the term “nostalgia” in a broad sense. In 1688, Swiss doctor Johannes Hofer coined the word “nostalgia” to describe a disease or public epidemic (once believed so) of homesickness. Since then, the connotations of “nostalgia” have expanded from the illness to various sentiments associated with displacement and its responsive emotion of yearning, as to be explored in this section also (see Shishikura 2007: 119-129 for further arguments).

\textsuperscript{31} Less than four per cent of the land is utilised for residence, roads and farming in Ogasawara (Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism 2003: 2). After having troubles on land issues (see Chapter 2.5), the owners often became reluctant to sell their properties, even if they are not living on the islands anymore.
the boat for hospital and medical care; some of them might not return home if intensive care becomes required. The *hikiage* is an everyday word amongst the islanders, as I have heard it many times throughout my fieldwork. It can happen to anyone unexpectedly.

Chichi Jima resident Inoue Naoshi is a singer-songwriter. While working at the Welfare Centre for his living, Naoshi actively performs music in a bar, on stage, and on other occasions. The song lyrics Naoshi writes often reflect his own experiences of the islands, like many other Ogasawara local songs. The song “Island Life [Shima Gurashi]” is one such example that recapitulates what I mentioned above in this chapter.

Every morning, I take the way along the beach to my workplace
Riding a moped and humming
Ah, the *Oga-maru* is in the port
So the island seems to be animated, I feel

For lunch today at Captain Cook
Will have a crêpe viewing the ocean
Ah, a sudden cloud from the mountains
With a squall, I am detained here for a while

Such island life is ordinary
Yet it will certainly be nostalgic, if I return

The colour of sky gradually and gradually [changes]
This may become the best sunset
Ah, will hurry to the Weather Station\footnote{Located on a hill, called Mukazukiyama, near Ōmura area. It is a local favourite spot for sunset viewing.}
Maybe she will be there too

Such island life, it is ordinary now
Yet if I return to Tokyo, certainly, certainly
Certainly, certainly, certainly, certainly
Certainly, I will feel nostalgic
(See the original Japanese lyrics in Appendix A)

I have never seen this crêpe shop Captain Cook, once located in front of the *Haha-maru* waiting room. It was closed several years ago after only a few years of business; the
owner couple left the island due to the wife’s serious illness. Naoshi still lives in Chichi Jima, yet projects himself to past residents as withdrawn—he has farewelled them years after. In the lyrics, Naoshi still longs for “such island life” while realising its impermanence (Figure 2.52).

Figure 2.52 Inoue Naoshi, Singing His Song “Island Life”

Captain James Cook (1728-1779) never visited Ogasawara, though HMS Resolution sailed around Iwo Tō after Cook’s death in Hawaiʻi. His name is rather symbolic of the voyage in the Pacific, and can be extended to such stereotyped images of a south sea island as tropical, remote, savage, wild, and a sort of blank slate. Probably the shop owners borrowed the label of “Captain Cook” by embracing the nostalgia for the Pacific, which is a place to be explored, but not a promised land—even if one hopes so. It seems that the Ogasawara Islanders still preserve such a sense of expedition and consequent withdrawal at the end.

The hikiage can happen to anyone anytime—it is part of the ordinary life cycle of Ogasawara. The people leaving the islands often abandon daily commodities because
of the cost of shipping; it is better to buy brand new goods rather than to send used materials from this remote place. Ayumi’s Shop [Ayumi no Mise] is a recycling station in the Welfare Centre prepared for donated items. I was astonished at the numerous second-hand goods there, such as clothes, furniture, tableware and toys, laid aside at the corner of the building. In front of the leftovers, I felt lonely as if I were a castaway in a remote island (again just in a stereotyped novel or film of the Pacific). Locals rather took it for granted, saying: “Many people leave, many others come instead, and some useful goods remain here for us.” However such constant transfer of people surely impacts the islanders—as to be explored in the following chapters. In a sense, these passing people preserve and perpetuate Ogasawara musical culture one after another.

The travelling story of a double bass musical instrument exemplifies the above-mentioned island custom or fate—people leave and things remain. A high school teacher first brought this double bass in Chichi Jima, yet, as usual, he moved back to the mainland after a few years because of job relocation. The bass was left behind to be shared by fellow island musicians. A fisherman, who played together with the schoolteacher in a local band Crescent Mountain Boys, stored it in his shed for a while. Afterwards Haha Jima people asked to borrow the instrument for a newly established hula group there. One day, the fisherman’s boat dropped by Oki Port of Haha Jima. Nishimoto Homare, one of the founding members of Haha Jima hula band, describes his first encounter with the bass: “Many onlookers gathered around the boat and were surprised when the captain took out the bass from his fish tank!” (email communications April 2012). Thereafter a Haha Jima musician Nagahori Shigeru had used the instrument for several years (Figure 2.53). Later Homare returned the bass to Chichi Jima after hearing that a member of Chichi Jima hula band, Tomita Masuo, was
about to buy a double bass (Figure 2.54). Still the instrument has been occasionally transported by boat and used for Haha Jima music activities. After travelling between Chichi Jima and Haha Jima, the bass retains numerous scratches on its body; they are the proof of the ‘island musical instrument’ that has been played by from one musician to another, just like Ogasawara musical culture as a whole. Shigeru left Ogasawara in 2011 upon his retirement from the village office, and Masuo is planning to leave the islands as well. But the ‘island double bass’ will remain and keep on making Ogasawara sounds—performed by the next island musicians.

Figure 2.53 Nishimoto Homare (Left) and Nagahori Shigeru (Right, with the Double Bass) in Haha Jima Music Live
Parting sorrow from home, missing past residents, and anxiety about an uncertain life: these sentiments pertain to the islanders as a shared sense of nostalgia for Ogasawara. This nostalgia is not a simple emotion invoked only through the transient island life; it is also implicated in a segmented history and tangled memories that often create conflicts and estrangement amongst the islanders as well. As an example, anthropologist Kasuga Sho introduces the debate on airport construction in Ogasawara. For the ‘former Japanese settlers,’ Ogasawara should be developed as a prosperous home, just like in the pre-war period, so that accessibility to the mainland takes priority over environmental degradation. On the other hand, the ‘newcomers’ who moved after the reversion often “selected” the islands as a home by embracing a dream of “natural and simple lifestyle.” Kasuga concludes that the alienation is from different

33 This is a ‘general’ discussion, as I notice that several ‘Caucasian descendants’ and ‘former Japanese settlers’ rather oppose the airport construction to protect the island nature.
images about their “homes” (2002: 26-30). They both invoke nostalgia for home, but this sentiment sometimes results in antagonism that further enhances the sense of loss and absence.

Beginning with my own experience, in this section, I explicated nostalgia that pertains to the island community. This nostalgia of Ogasawara is not only a contemporary phenomenon, but is rather historical and can be observed in the sentiments of past residents as well. It is further involved in violence, invasion and discrimination, and enhances the cavernous sense of the islands. In the following section, I introduce several historical accounts associated with the cavernous sense that permeates this small place from the past to present.

Figure 2.55 Shigeru, Rushing to the Haha-maru with the Double Bass at Oki Port, Haha Jima

34 He also indicates that the ‘newcomers’ were rather negative about television broadcasting begun in the 1990s (ibid.).
“First arrivals are the greatest”—these words articulate peoples’ hierarchy in Ogasawara to some degree. Azuhata Takashi as President of the Ogasawara Association says:

“Even if one lands only a month earlier, or just disembarks faster than the others from the same boat, the forerunner is greater than the followers; it is such a ridiculous place here” (Ogasawara Association 2009: 2). This is not always true, yet the sentence still admonishes the ‘newcomers’ to respect the privilege of precursors, that is, the ‘Caucasian descendants’ and ‘former Japanese settlers.’ The claim actually implies the
unsecured and deteriorated positions of early immigrants, who have often been troubled, neglected and marginalised throughout the history of Ogasawara.

Life on this remote island of the Pacific was perilous and unstable from the beginning of the first settlement in 1830. Several diaries, letters and reports on the Bonin Islands of that period describe plots of murdering, assaults of pirates, and betrayal amongst the immigrants. For instance, Christian missionary Lionel Berners Cholmondeley introduces the following letter by a retired seaman Francis Silver of the Island of Fugil or Fayal:

Be it remembered that I, Francis Silver, of the Isle of Fugil [?] do make oath of the following: That Mr. Matthew Mazarro told me some time since that if he could get [Aldin] Chapin and [Nathaniel] Savory out of the way he would give everything he possessed in the world. I told him that it was more than I could do. He said that it was easy enough for to be done. I said, Well, How? He said for me to go up on Sh… land and wait for Savory to come up there after melons, and for me to go close alongside of him for to make friends with Savory and when he turns his head… to beat his Brains out with a club, and if that did not kill him to stab him with a knife until dead and throw him into the sea. I then answered that I would not do it. A few days after he told me he would give me some Laudanum and for me to give it to Savory’s girl and for her to put it in Savory’s tea and poison him. (1915: 35-36)

The document is dated 27 September 1838; the early Caucasian colonists were already hostile towards each other within a decade after the first settlement of 1830. Acting British Consul for the Sandwich Islands Alexander Simpson took Mazarro’s side of the dispute, promising “to support him by all means in their power against the troubles of the peace of that distant settlement.” Yet Cholmondeley continues: “Troubles it is certain there were, and continued to be rivalries, feuds and even bloodshed…” — Mazarro died in 1848 leaving a young widow Maria del los Santos y Castro [commonly

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known as Maria Dilessanto], who became a wife of Nathaniel Savory two years later, “and the unsalaried governorship of a British colony to be contested for between him and another first colonist John Millinchamp” (ibid.: 20-22).

Japanese sociologist Ishihara Shun indicates numerous disorders agitated by deserters and drifters as well. For instance, he cites such incidents as “fourteen mariners flee from a British warship” (from Obana 1862: 24-25) and “eighteen hidden natives from the island of ‘Oahu” (from Collinson 1852: 116, 137). These rascals often troubled the islanders with excessive demands or depriving the property of inhabitants (2007: 113-16). Amongst them, a visit by the cutter Maid of Australia and junk vessel Saint Andrew, led by Captains Young and Barker respectively, caused one of the most terrible incidents on the islands. Flying the national flags of Britain and Denmark, the two boats fled from a rough ocean into Port Lloyd [now Futami Port] one after another on 9 and 11 of August 1849. After fixing the boats and obtaining some provisions, they left the island on 29th of the same month with some islanders who were recruited during this stay. On 21 September, the cutter and junk vessel returned to the island to repair the boats again, but this time the crews plundered all they could get hold of such as clothing, live stock, oil, salted food, stores, and $2,000 cash savings of Savory (Cholmondeley 1915: 26-27, Ishihara 2007: 117-18, Tanaka 1997: 49-50). English naval officer Richard Collinson (1811-1883), visiting the island with HMS Enterprise in 1851, reports:

Mr. Savory still felt his loss deeply, but most of all his wife, who was a young girl born on the island; she, however, it appears, was a good riddance,

36 There are several other reports of violence as in Blake (1838) and Ruschenberger (1838).
37 This was not Maria Dilessanto. Ishihara indicates that the male Caucasians on the island of that period usually had several wives (2007: 128-29).
for by all accounts she gave information as to where his money and valuables were hid, and departed nothing loth.” (1889: 116)

Collinson granted a Union Jack for the settlers to indicate the authority of Great Britain in this lawless isolated island. He also provided firearms and advised the settlers to oppose such marauders collaborating with each other.

The sense of loss and emptiness should have increased with such misfortune, violence and despair on the remote island. Already in 1836, the pioneers codified a local law to discipline and protect the early colony (Figure 2.57). The law included decisions by majority, rules concerning slaves and women, treatment of fleeing seamen, and the protection of endangered green sea turtles (Ruschenberger 1838: 302). Nevertheless they still experienced betrayals, assaults and murders, as described above.38 Troubles caused by power struggle seemed to be inevitable in such a small remote community, as similar incidents were identified in Pitcairn, Norfolk, Lord Howe and Cocos Islands at that time.39 Later, life on the Bonin Islands would be further complicated with the exertion of Japanese imperial power.

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38 Cholmondeley also mentions that the first baby between Nathaniel Savory and Maria Dilessanto “was found drowned in a small pool of water,” possibly killed by “a Kanaka woman who had been with Nathaniel shortly before he married” Maria (1915: 155). See also Ishihara (2007: 110-36) for further examples of violence in the early colony.

39 For instance, during the 1830s, American adventurer Joshua Hill took control of Pitcairn by intrigue and troubled the islanders until his expulsion in 1838.
It seems that one of the first settlers John Millinchamp left the island soon after the attack of the pirates in 1849. He moved to the island of Guam, the birthplace of his second wife Joaqquina de la Cruz, and lived there until his death in 1897 (Dobson 1998). In 1853, Commodore of the US Navy Matthew Calbraith Perry (1794-1858) visited Peel Island [now Chichi Jima], and counted only 39 residents there even more than two decades after the first settlement (Figure 2.58). There were some subsequent migrants from the whalers, including Joachim Gonzales and Thomas Webb, and several births were reported as well (Cholmondeley 1915: 23-33). Nevertheless the population did not increase much probably due to withdrawal, kidnapping, and death of the residents within the insecure island life. Sudden and massive expansion of the community occurred as Japanese colonialism extended to the Bonin Islands from the 1860s onward. The foreign authority provided stability and prosperity, but the Caucasian/Pacific

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40 Following this exploration around the Bonin Islands, Perry visited Uraga of Japan, known as Kurofune Raikō [Black Ships Visit]. Later he compelled the Tokugawa shogunate to abandon the restricted seclusion policy [sakoku].
Islander settlers would also face hardships as ‘White/kanaka’ minorities—awkwardly located at the edge of Japanese territory.

Figure 2.58 Natural Tunnels Once Existed in Futami Bay, Chichi Jima, Surveyed by Commodore Perry in 1853 (Hawks 1856: 201)

On 18 January 1862,\(^{41}\) the Japanese warship Kanrin Maru, under the command of a representative of the Tokugawa shogunate Mizuno Tadanori (1810-1868), arrived in Port Lloyd, which was renamed Futami Wan [Bay] by the explorers (Figures 2.59 and 2.60). The Japanese envoy met all the residents, who numbered 38 including twelve children, and provided them such gifts as a barrel of alcohol [sake], Japanese decorated bowls [owan], coloured woodblock prints [ukiyoе], scissors, candles, fans, toys, tobacco pipes and cases. Following the courtesy performance, Mizuno changed his attitude and arrogantly stated that the “Ogasawara” Islands had been part of Japanese territory for more than 300 years (see also Chapter 5.2); he compelled Nathaniel Savory and other inhabitants to accept its occupation (Tanaka 1997: 149-57).

\(^{41}\) 19 December 1861 [Bunkyū 1] in the Japanese lunisolar calendar.
Historian Tanaka Hiroyuki states that the islanders appreciated Japanese authority because it could contribute to public order and welfare (ibid.). This may be partly true, but I also believe that the people were suspicious and anxious about the foreigners, who suddenly arrived on a warship and insisted upon occupation of the island. Mizuno also
declared such an irrational claim: the goats on the island were property of Tokugawa shogunate, even if they had been brought by the early settlers; because these goats had eaten plants grown on the land of Japanese territory (ibid.: 154, Tsuji 1995a: 76-77). The visit of Kanrin Maru must have been one of the most decisive and stressful incidents for the early settlers.

It seems that Nathaniel Savory planned to leave the island as he indicated in letters to his family in Massachusetts, New England (see Cholmondeley 1915: 70-75). Nevertheless Nathaniel admitted the excessive demand and declaration by the Japanese envoy, and testified on 20 March 1862:

…I have five children viz. Agnes Burbank born Feb. 14th 1853, Horace Perry born April 3rd 1855, Helen Jane born Feb. 28th 1857, Robert Nathaniel born March 18th, 1860, Esther Thurlow born March 26th 1862. My wife is a native of Guam, is 34 years of age. My expectations are to remain here for life… (Ibid.: 119)

After naming his children and wife, 68-year-old Nathaniel declared his intention to remain on the Ogasawara Islands under the Japanese administration. Having a ‘new’ family, even though he belonged to an unfamiliar foreign country, Nathaniel recognised Chichi Jima of the Ogasawara Islands as home. As testified, he continued living with his family in Chichi Jima, until his death in 1874 (Figure 2.61).

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42 The publications by Tsuji Tomoe are not written in current academic manner. However I still value his publications and refer to them as they include various kinds of information that can be obtained only through local sources.

43 It seems that the last child Esther Thurlow was not yet born or just a newly born. Nathaniel replied, on 22 January 1862, to a question about a missing baby: “One is still in the belly of my wife (everyone laughed out loud)” (Tanaka 1997: 154).
Figure 2.61 Grave of Nathaniel Savory, Ōneyama Graveyard, Chichi Jima
A Sense of Displacement within Home

Figure 2.62 St George’s Church in Pre-war Chichi Jima (Cholmondeley 1915: 176)

The Tokugawa shogunate had promised Nathaniel to take care of his family even after his death (Tanaka 1997: 151), but it was not realised after all. Soon after the Kanrin Maru investigation, the Japanese government sent migrants to establish its colony in Ōgiura, Chichi Jima. The warship Asahi Maru arrived at Futami Port on 19 September 1862 with more than 30 migrants, mostly from neighbouring Hachijō Island (though it is still more than 700 km away from Chichi Jima). However they soon abandoned Ogasawara and left the island on 28 June 1863. The government found that the Ogasawara occupation had no benefit and would rather produce international conflict, particularly after the Namamugi Incident (14 September 1862) (Tanaka 1997: 182-
Eventually the Tokugawa shogunate came to an end in 1868, after more than 250 years of sovereignty, and a newly established Meiji government would change its foreign policy.

Meanwhile in Chichi Jima, an American named Benjamin Pease had created troubles with the islanders. This treacherous trader or pirate travelled around the Pacific Ocean, even towards China and Japan, and extended his range of activities to Chichi Jima, where he began to agitate the islanders with various deceptions and offences. For instance, Pease deceived an islander Thomas Webb by offering a job that did not actually exist. According to Pease’s advice, Thomas and his family migrated to Asuncion of Mariana Islands, where he was promised to be a manager of sawmill, more than 40 dollars salary per month. However there was no such an employment or factory there; Thomas and his family eventually returned to Chichi Jima after spending all the money, more than 150 dollars, for eight-month migration in Asuncion. During this absence, Pease disposed of Thomas’ house in Susaki and obtained 50 dollars by selling his turtle oil (Ishihara 2007: 219-22). Pease also caused trouble with Nathaniel Savory concerning such an issue as debt repayment, and eventually implied possible murders of Nathaniel and his family (Cholmondeley 1915: 148-51). The terrible misdeeds resulted in the miserable death of Pease; his bloodstained canoe, washed ashore on a beach of Chichi Jima, was found on 9 October 1874 (Ishihara 2007: 252-54).45

41 The incident happened at Namamugi village of Musashi Province [now Tsurumi District of Kanagawa Prefecture]. Japanese *samurai* [the military nobility] from Satsuma Province [now the western half of Kagoshima Prefecture], during their procession to Edo capital [Tokyo], attacked English merchants Charles Lennox Richardson, Woodthorpe Charles Clark, William Marshall, and Marshall’s cousin Margaret Watson Borradail; these foreigners did not make way for the procession—probably without knowing the customary rule in such a case. Richardson was killed and three others were also injured. The incident resulted Anglo-Satsuma War, known also as Bombardment of Kagoshima (15-17 August 1863).

45 It was inferred that Pease’s inmate Spencer killed him (ibid).
On 18 December 1875, the lighthouse tender *Meiji Maru* left the Port of Yokohama for Ogasawara under the order of the Meiji government. The British Consul Russell Robertson soon directed the warship *Curlew* to follow this latest Japanese boat, yet arrived there two days later on 23 December. During this delay, the Japanese emissary Obana Sakusuke compelled the islanders to sign a written pledge: “We, the Chichi Jima residents, request protection from the Japanese government and observe the law to be effective on this island” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1940: 489, cited in Ishihara 2007: 238-39). The envoy also conducted a “recovery” ceremony of Ogasawara to the Japanese administration (Tanaka 1997: 245-46). Robertson reports that Nathaniel’s widow Maria Dilessanto and other residents, numbering 69 on Chichi Jima and three on Haha Jima, rather preferred to be recognised as the ‘Bonin Islanders’; they appreciated the life not belonging to any specific nation since there was no tax obligation (1876: 137-39). Notwithstanding the Japanese colonisation scheme of the Ogasawara Islands commenced again from the following year of 1876.

The Meiji government recruited immigrants to this new territory by providing salaries and other necessary subsidies for settlement. The majority of early migrants were again from the Hachijō Island, yet the salaries and subsidies for the settlement attracted some people from mainland Japan as well. The newly established village office soon prepared social infrastructure, such as a town hall, police station, post office, clinic and school, in the Ōgiura area (Figure 2.63). It was also during this period that the Japanese settlers built the shrine, Ogasawara Sadayori Jinja, on a hill of Ōgiura (Figure 2.64). Thereafter, the island population drastically increased; there were about 30 Japanese

46 There were several marriages, births and newcomers after the Kanrin Maru visit in 1862. The migrants included two Japanese females, who were kidnapped by Benjamin Pease in Yokohama (Tsuji 1995a: 123).
settlers in 1877, yet the census counted 999 inhabitants in 1887, and the residents numbered 4,360 in 1897 (Ishii 1967: 21) (Figure 2.65).

Figure 2.63 Town Hall in Ōgiura, 1877 (Kurata ed. 1984: 45)

Figure 2.64 Pre-war Ogasawara Sadayori Jinja Shrine (Kurata ed. 1984: 9)
In the process of colonisation, the Caucasian/Pacific Islander settlers and their descendants were identified as ‘foreigners’ by the Japanese migrating to their home. In 1877, the village decreed that there would be no guarantee of the rights, property and security of the ‘foreigners,’ and strongly suggested to them to be Japanese citizens. The head officer Obana Sakusuke also bribed the ‘foreigners’ with some gifts such as sake alcohol and sweets, but only five families accepted the proposal, and then the village began to harass those who remained without citizenship. In 1882, upon his appointment as the head officer after Obana, Minami Sadasuke forced the remaining ‘foreigners’ to become Japanese shinmin [obedient citizens]. Even after becoming shinmin, those who were labelled ‘naturalised people [kikajin]’ were identified as abnormal and suspicious, and eventually marginalised especially within the increasing diplomatic tensions approaching the twentieth century (Ishihara 2007: 259-61). There must have been much anxiety, difficulty and trouble in life under the imperial nation with a rapidly growing number of ‘stranger’ Japanese. The arbitrary governance resulted in the mass departure
of Caucasian/Pacific Islander residents for the island of Guam under the American administration; the ‘naturalised people’ of Ogasawara, once numbering more than 120, decreased to 79 in 1913 (Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Navy Department 1944: 36, cited in Ishihara 2007: 304).

In the following year of 1914, the Tokyo Taisho Exhibition employed the ‘naturalised people’ as coffee waitresses/waiters, who were described as “Blacks called kanaka and White castaways” of the Ogasawara Islands. They were part of the attraction as well as other Ogasawara “curiosities,” including the single outrigger canoe unique to the Pacific,\(^{47}\) green sea turtles, Short-tailed Albatrosses, the Ogasawara wild goats, the indigenous Bonin fruit bats, the native \textit{tako no ki} palm \textit{[Pandanus boninensis]} with its fruits, and the tropical flowers of \textit{b\textit{tde b\textit{tde}} [Erythrina variegata]} (Miki 2002: 48-53).

‘Exhibition’ itself is associated with colonial interests towards the others; many world exhibitions have been held since The Great Exhibition took place in Hyde Park, London, from 1 May to 15 October 1851. In the case of this international exhibition held in Ueno Park, Tokyo (20 March-31 July), it featured Japanese colonies extensively, including Sakhalin, Hokkaido, Manchuria, Korea, Taiwan, South Pacific as well as Ogasawara (ibid.: 49) (Figure 2.66). Interestingly, in this exhibition, the islanders were still viewed as friendly exotic/romantic natives belonging to a Japanese colony, as exemplified in the coffee waitresses/waiters from the south sea island. They correspond to the notion of “ideal natives,” what Jane C. Desmond describes about \textit{hapa haole}, or half white Hawaiians; “who are graciously welcoming to outsiders and who present visitors with a nonthreatening, alluring encounter with paradisiacal exoticism” in a

\(^{47}\) The single outrigger canoe is classic Pacific Islander design; this type of canoe is not found in Southeast Asia or East Asia, historically and archaeologically.
context of American colonialism (1999: 4). However, along with inevitable international conflicts followed by the growth of Japanese imperialism, the gaze towards the “ideal natives” had shifted to seeing them as strange, suspicious, disloyal, dangerous and threatening.

Ethnologist Segawa Kiyoko, in her Village Women [Mura no Onna-tachi] (1970), introduces dialogues with an island woman called Kete [real name unknown], whom Segawa met during her stay in Ogasawara in 1931:

Although we are called ijin [literally ‘different people,’ but including connotation of ‘alien’], we already became Japanese citizens. I worked hard for the headquarters [of Imperial Japanese Army on Chichi Jima] and earned as much as five yen per day. But now they say such a spiteful thing as no ijin anymore for the headquarters… If war happens and Japanese army tries to kill the ijin people, won’t my children and [Japanese] husband abandon me, will they? The same thing; I will defend if the foreign army tries to kill my children and husband… I’ve never thought something wrong about Japan. Nevertheless now they say I cannot work for the headquarters because I am ijin, what the hell? After all, they will take my children to serve for the Japanese military sooner or later… (285)
Even though they were not killed, surveillance of so-called ‘ijin’ residents in Ogasawara soon commenced under the name of public peace preservation.48 With their physical appearance and behaviour associated with something ‘foreign,’ they were discriminated against and identified as hazardous elements. Japanese military police [kenpei] began inspecting the naturalised people already in 1929, and thereafter patrolled the houses of ‘possible spies’ almost everyday. Later the army headquarters of Chichi Jima excluded English from the Ogasawara school curriculum, and restricted the use of this enemy’s language [tekisei go] (but the native language of many naturalised families) even at home.49 In 1939, the Japanese colonial government of Korea issued a policy of Sōshi Kaimei that forced Koreans to have Japanese style names. Correspondingly in 1941, ‘Caucasian descendants’ in Ogasawara changed their names by adapting Japanese kanji characters (Ishihara 2007: 365-72).

Figure 2.67 Japanese Warships in Futami Bay, Pre-war Chichi Jima (Cholmondeley 1915: 120)

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48 Prior to this, in 1925, the Empire of Japan enacted the Peace Preservation Law.
49 The clergyman Joseph Gonzales had provided English lessons at St George’s Church, but the class was also closed in the same period (Ishihara 2007: 368-69).
Antagonism between ‘Japanese’ and ‘Bonin Islanders’ also arose in these days before the Pacific War, as anthropologist Mary Shepardson describes:

…boys and young men never went to “Japanese Town [Ōmura area]” alone, because, if Japanese called them “barbarian” or “half-caste” or worse, a fight would follow. “We were taller and stronger and we could lick them,” Fred Savory told us. “We, the Bonin Islanders, never felt inferior to anyone.” “Yes, we got along all right with the Japanese before the war—that is, we did business with them—but we always stayed a little apart.” (1977: 106)

Ishihara also describes from his interview: “If there was a fight in a bar at Ōmura, the naturalised people [kika jin] were likely involved in it. It was almost always ‘kika jin’
versus ‘Hachijō jin’ [the people from the Hachijō Island]” (2007: 375). Such alienations eventually created a sense of displacement within home amongst the naturalised islanders, as Kete told Segawa: “I sometimes think of daring it [migrating to Palau or Saipan]” (1970: 285). As anticipated, Kete and her family eventually left Chichi Jima, but their destination was not Palau or Saipan; it was mainland Japan. They were forced to leave the island home together with other evacuating people from the impending US military campaign. According to Ishihara, Kete received the ‘return permit’ of 1946 as well, but never returned to Ogasawara; she succeeded in her business of selling rice balls [onigiri] during the turmoil after the war (2007: 424). Segawa mentions that Kete managed a restaurant in Yokohama thereafter until her death in 1965 (1970: 290).

Edith Washington must have experienced the visit of military police in her house in Okumura or Yankeetown, and faced discrimination and prejudice as a kika jin. But her composition of “Dance-Song of Reversion [Henkan Ondo]” reminds me that she still preserves favourable sentiments, rather than hostility, towards pre-war island life with Japanese friends. Music and dance narrate stories that lay behind the mainstream historical descriptions of Ishihara, Segawa and Shepardson. With fond memories of

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50 Ishihara also introduces a talk by a descendant of Hachijō immigrants: “I ran away the coastal side swiftly if I needed to get through Okumura [Yankeetown]… It was scaring. But I threw stones if they came to Ōmura” (ibid.: 374).
51 But Long and Inaba (2004) mention that Kete’s sister Agnes Aono was the only person who received the ‘return permit’ other than the ‘Caucasian descendants/relatives’ (15-16). Their parents, Kopepe [known also as Bill Bow] and Depēsu [Elizabeth], were migrants from the Pacific Islands (probably from Gilbert Islands, see also Chapter 5.1), and Kete herself married a Japanese man. Agnes also married a Japanese man, but her husband was killed in the war (ibid.). After being repatriated to Chichi Jima, Agnes lived alone in a small shed located in Byōbudani valley away from Ōmura and Okumura areas.
52 Several ‘Caucasian descendants’ of Ogasawara also chose to stay on mainland Japan, even though they received the ‘return permit’ in 1946. A family of Ogasawara Aisaku [Isaac Gonzales] is one such example, though Aisaku himself eventually returned to Chichi Jima to fill a position of clergyman of St George’s Church.
pre-war Ogasawara, Edith extends her sentiments towards the expatriates, who were dismissed from their island home after the war:

Standing on the beach filled with tamana trees
Old nostalgic, old nostalgic past days
Past days, past days
Old nostalgic past days

It was long, days and months, more than twenty years
Getting older together, getting older together, but don’t forget
Don’t forget, don’t forget
Getting older together, but don’t forget
(Excerpts, see also the lyrics in Appendix A)

Edith Washington is exceptional amongst the ‘Caucasian descendants,’ who often preferred life under American control. She is, of course, sympathetic with her fellow ‘Caucasian descendants’; Edith fully realised their hardships upon the reversion as her children suffered much trouble and discrimination within the foreign administration. However, in our conversations, Edith never made derogatory comments about Japan or Japanese even if we talked about pre-war Ogasawara life experiences (Figure 2.69). She remembers her friends (both Japanese and ‘Caucasian descendants’) with various stories, which are humorous, exciting, and a little sad as well, and thus comprehends Ogasawara from multiple perspectives. Edith experienced forced labour under the Imperial Japanese Army, but also spent her extraordinary days of youth with fellow Japanese on the islands (see Chapter 4.2). By embracing various small stories and reminiscences, Edith extends her sentiments for the larger number of Japanese refugees—as appear in the lyrics of “Dance-Song of Reversion.” Her nostalgia and love towards the islands further locate Ogasawara as the place to be shared and ‘enjoyed’ together with friends, newcomers, and even visitors. The sorrows from yesterdays are

53 Calophyllum inophyllum in scientific name.
still present in Ogasawara life today, yet the islanders overcome the sadness through various music and dance activities, where multiple hidden narratives are inscribed.

Figure 2.69 A View of Pre-war Chichi Jima (Old Postcard)
2.5 Trembling Islands In-Between

Alienated Memories

As expressed in the “Dance-Song of Reversion,” “the wish is granted” after “days and months, more than twenty years” of endurance. The reversion of the Ogasawara Islands was realised on 26 June 1968. But surprisingly, the land of the ‘former Japanese settlers’ was taken over; the ‘Caucasian descendants’ had already constructed their houses there, upon their preceding return in 1946, under the direction of the US Navy authority of that period. Repatriating residents often had to find some rental spaces for re-settlement, while claiming their undeniable right to own properties. The President of Ogasawara Association, Azuhata Takashi, addresses the dwellers of ‘Caucasian descendants’ in Ōmura area: “It is obvious reasoning that a landowner can expel a person who occupies her/his property,” and claims that the Japanese parliament passed laws to remove the occupants after a certain period (Ogasawara Association 2009: 2-3). Pending cases still remain in the courts without possible solution and reconciliation.

Figure 2.70 A View of Chichi Jima, 1950 (Photo Courtesy Washington)
The 23 years of estrangement again alienated the islanders, who hardly recollect histories other than their own memories.

For the ‘Caucasian descendants,’ it would also be the earnest desire to return to their native land, particularly after suffering persecution on mainland Japan, including surveillance, forced labour, and spy scandals due to their physical features:

Finding food was the hard task, because the farmers refused to sell to “barbarians.” Many were forced to steal vegetables from the field after dark… Because of their foreign appearance and their ability to speak English, the islanders were thought to be spies. Jerry Savory, who had gone to Fusan on business for the Japanese company he worked for, was imprisoned for 40 days… Roger Savory was surrounded by farmers with bamboo poles who were determined to kill him because they thought he must have parachuted from an enemy plane; he was too tall for a Japanese. Handsome Matilda Gilley was called up for questioning and released only after she told them she was Italian, an ally. (Shepardson 1977: 108)

The hardships on the mainland increased antagonistic feelings amongst the ‘Caucasian descendants,’ as Shepardson assumes: “We versus they” (ibid.: 109). Such hostile emotions about ‘Japan and Japanese’ remained even after more than two decades and resulted in a campaign to resist the reversion of 1968. Several representatives of the ‘Bonin Islands’ flew to Washington, D.C. and petitioned the officers of the Pentagon; many residents of that time signed in opposition to the return of Japanese administration (Ishihara 2007: 413-15, Shepardson 1977: 111-12).

Ogasawara linguist Daniel Long states: “It thus comes as a surprise to outsiders that the Bonin Islanders adjusted so easily to the return of Japanese after the 1968 reversion,” and supposes: “Under Japanese rule, the Bonin Islanders are enjoying their status—no segregation, no bigotry, no restrictions on their language use or their movement, and (most significantly of all) no war!” (in Shepardson 1998: 210-11). However I still have some reservations about his optimistic statement. For instance, Ishihara suggests
administrative discrimination that excluded English from all public service, and enforced employment contracts and school education only in Japanese. As a result, about 30 per cent of ‘Caucasian descendants’ discarded Japanese citizenship and left their home of Ogasawara within two years (Ishihara 2007: 413-25).\(^{54}\) It is true that some ‘Caucasian descendants’ have adapted to the foreign system and achieved respectable status in Ogasawara society today. But I still have noticed troubles and distresses of the ‘Caucasian descendants’ after the reversion, and have heard several sad stories caused by the arbitrary Japanese administration. Long cites the following statement by an islander Stanley Gilley (born in Chichi Jima soon after the war): “It’s not a question of whether I am Japanese or American—I am a Bonin Islander” (in Shepardson 1998: 214). I have heard the equivalent words from him as well, and rather understood them with his entangled life experiences in-between that eventually excluded both Japan and the US from his identity.\(^{55}\)

\(^{54}\) Upon reversion, the US and Japan agreed to allow the ‘Caucasian descendants’ to be American citizens, if they wished, within the grace period of two years.

\(^{55}\) He was a nice neighbour to me and provided me some valuable information for this thesis.
“I had assumed that I would be able to return, but we could not because those *ijin* folks objected,” a ‘former Japanese settler’ stated: “they said that we teased and harassed them severely” (Ishihara 2007: 309). The “we versus they” conflict again appears in
these statements, but declared from the opposite side against the ‘Caucasian
descendants.’ The Ogasawara refugees, discriminated by race or blood, considered that
the ‘ijin’ people ‘cunningly’ occupied their home; increasing grudge and suspicion
eventually created the hostility towards ‘them.’ Former President of the Ogasawara
Association, Ishii Michinori, declares for the refugees:

After a long period of contact with Japanese, those naturalised people were
almost assimilated already; just like mainland people, they conducted
Japanese annual events and other Japanese social customs. In considering
kinship, it would be hard to explicate the races, since bloods of Caucasian,
kanaka and Japanese were mixed already… I have to declare that it is hard
to identify the naturalised people, that is, it is unfair to discriminate

In anyway, these [naturalised] people are Japanese and should not legally be
differentiated from the other islanders, who are descendants of ethnic
Japanese immigrants… In spite of repeated petitions, the majority of the
islanders, except 135 naturalised people,\(^{56}\) are still not allowed to return.
Therefore the property left behind the islands, as well as the rich and
pleasant life since 1876 when the Japanese immigrants settled and
developed, has been almost abandoned until today. (Ibid.: 29-30)

Egoistic amnesia, intentionally or not, reveals opportunism, essentialisation and
distortion of history—his declarations never refer to the oppression and racism against
the naturalised people, and emphasise the equality only when needed, by marginalising
them as “almost assimilated already.” For Ishii and possibly for many of those ‘former
Japanese settlers,’ the history of Ogasawara would only begin in “1876,” since “we”
had “settled and developed” “the rich and pleasant life” on “our” islands. Even if they
noticed the precursors there, they were seen as being of no account—small minorities
were already assimilated or erased from their memories. Thus, the disclosure of ‘they’
as ‘others’ was intolerable, even more when ‘they’ occupied in ‘our’ sweet home far
away with exclusive privileges.

Ideology and emotion often influence, perhaps unconsciously, one’s interpretation of history, and produce an idiosyncratic past by patching convenient memories together and by neglecting numerous other stories. Therefore the “Dance-Song of Reversion” is exceptional; it conffates ‘our’ experiences with the stories of those ‘other’ refugees away from the islands. Edith recalls in her lyrics; Ogasawara is the beloved home for both ‘Caucasian descendants’ and ‘former Japanese settlers,’ and thus should be shared in ‘our and their’ memories. By extending ‘our’ sentiments to the ‘others,’ the song overcomes the gap between “we versus they”; it recollects and embraces ‘their’ stories in ‘our’ memory beyond the 23 years of separation (Figure 2.73).

Figure 2.73 A Class Reunion of Pre-war Ōmura Elementary School in Chichi Jima, 15 June 1981, Edith Washington on Back, 7th from the Left (Photo Courtesy Washington)
The Japanese popular tune “Spring in a Northern Land [Kitaguni no Haru]” describes nostalgia for a rural home while living in an urban city: “Shall I return, shall I return to that home” (see the lyrics in Appendix A). 57 I was surprised when I heard the melody of this old song, released in 1977, in the reversion festival of Haha Jima, 2009 (Figure 2.74). At the very end of the event, the islanders began to sing this song of nostalgia—making a circle and embracing each other by standing shoulder to shoulder. But the lyrics were not about a northern land; they were modified to tell about the south islands of Ogasawara. It was re-titled “Homesickness Song of Ogasawara [Ogasawara Bōkyō Ka]” that describes the sentiments of the ‘former Japanese settlers,’ who had been excluded from their island home for more than two decades:

> Hermit crabs, snails, and Japanese common toads
> There were also termites and geckos
> Ah, around Ōmura area
> On the beach at Futami, viewing the moon with sake [alcohol]

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57 In 1977, an enka singer Sen Masao (b.1947) released the song, lyrics by Idehaku or Ide Hiromasa (b.1941), music by Endo Minoru (1932-2008), and arrangement by Kyo Kensuke (b.1937).
The drinking party, I see those days when I close my eyes
Shall I return, shall I return to Chichi Jima

When does the boat come to Haha Jima
Having no sake, biting kusaya [a salted-dried and fermented fish]58
Ah, night on Okimura
Praying for the calm ocean for [the boat visit] tomorrow59
We friends spent time together singing songs
Shall I return, shall I return to Haha Jima
(Excerpts, see also the lyrics in Appendix A)

As in the “Dance-Song of Reversion,” the lyrics refer to past Ogasawara life and
express the best wishes for ‘possible return’ to be realised in the near future (Figures
2.75 and 2.76). It is interesting that the song title includes alternative kanji characters
for the term “bōkyō” that connotes ‘crazy-blind’ sentiments in the ‘homesickness’ for
Ogasawara.60 The more than 23 years of life on mainland Japan was inconceivable for
the expatriates, and thus caused ‘crazy-blind homesickness’ for their beloved home of
Ogasawara.

58 Kusaya making was one of the major industries of pre-war Haha Jima, because there were many
immigrants from Izu Islands, a famous kusaya production area.
59 Oki Port of Haha Jima is located in a small open bay, so that the commuting boat could be often
cancelled in rough ocean conditions.
60 In the song title, the term bōkyō is written in both 望郷 [homesickness or nostalgia] as well as 盲狂 [crazy-blind].
As mentioned, the compulsory evacuation of 1944 allowed the refugees to carry only three pieces of luggage into a repatriation ship; they left most of their property behind.

On the mainland, the evacuees were often required to reside in a temple or school, having no relatives there, and desperately living hand to mouth. Ishii reports that the refugees were reluctant to have a permanent job, with an earnest desire and strong belief
to return to the islands, so that their poverty grew continually worse. About a decade after the evacuation, in 1953, 85 per cent of those families found their prolonged temporal life hard. By that year, 399 people amongst 7,711 refugees had already died, including 147 deaths caused by poverty and 12 cases of family suicide (1967: 30-32).

In 1946, SCAP announced that the islands of Okinawa, Amami and Tokara as well as Ogasawara were to be separated from Japan; they were placed under American control. The peoples of these islands experienced hardships alike, but were allowed to return or stay in their home with the exception of Japanese evacuees from Ogasawara.61 After the war, the Ogasawara refugees soon began a campaign for repatriation; already on April 1946, they submitted a return petition to General Douglas MacArthur. Meanwhile, the ‘Caucasian descendants’ separately requested approval of homecoming by presenting themselves as ‘natives of American and European descent’; they left for the island home on October of the same year.62 Preceding this, in July, the Japanese evacuees formed Ogasawara Iwo Islands Refugees Union [Hikiagesha Renmei], which was reorganised, in the following year, as the Repatriation Advancement Union [Kikyō Sokushin Renmei] to protest against exclusion from their island home. Since then, the union had continued the entreaty together with 86 letters addressed towards President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, General Douglas MacArthur, Admirals Arthur W. Radford and Felix Stump, and other officials concerned (Ishii 1967: 37-44, 56-61).

61 Nationality of Okinawa, Amami and Tokara peoples remained as Japanese, as well as the ‘Bonin Islanders’ under the American administration, so that they used a travel certificate, instead of a passport, for an overseas trip including a visit to Japan.
62 “In August of 1946, Fred Savory wrote a letter to the Commander of the Marianas in which he enclosed the names of 93 Bonin Islanders, their ages, sex, places of residence and their English and Japanese names… The State, War, and Navy Coordinating Committee made an exception in the case of the former residents of the Bonin Islands, who were of American and European descent, and their Japanese spouses” (Shepardson 1998: 187-88).
The Treaty of Peace with Japan was signed in San Francisco on 8 September 1951, and Japan regained its sovereignty in the following year. The US government soon abandoned the Tokara Islands on 10 February 1952, and then admitted the reversion of the Amami Islands, due to intense local revolt, on 25 December 1953, calling it “a Christmas present to Japan.” In contrast, the union of Ogasawara refugees requested “repatriation” rather than “reversion” of the islands, in considering Ogasawara’s “unusual condition” compared to Okinawa, Amami and Tokara Islands (ibid.: 63). However the US government refused the repeated petitions by the refugees. In 1952, Admiral Arthur W. Radford invited Ambassador Robert Daniel Murphy to visit the Bonin Islands for inspection (Figure 2.77). During the excursion, Radford argued with the American justice by stating that the Japanese themselves had expelled the inhabitants from Ogasawara, and insisted upon securing an important US military base on these islands. Murphy declares: “My investigation convinced me that Radford’s views were right, and American control of this valuable base is still intact” (1964: 345).

Figure 2.77 The Visit of the Bonin Islands aboard the USS Toledo, 1952, Left to Right: Admirals Overesch, Briscoe, and Radford; Robert Murphy; John Conroy of the US Embassy in Tokyo (Murphy 1964: 254)
Desperation along with the increasing poverty on the mainland led the expatriates to demand compensation for “the hopeless life away from our ancestral land, which holds rich natural environments and abundant resources to be utilised for our own sake” (Ishii 1967: 40). Towards the end of 1953, the union modified its role and began to request “reparation” instead of “repatriation.” It seemed that the shift of strategy was successful. The Japanese government paid the union 17,650,000 yen in the following year, and added further indemnities: 99,000,000 yen in 1955 and 39,990,000 yen in 1956. The Tokyo administrative office, separately from the government, also prepared compensation: 22,000,000 and 15,000,000 yen in 1954 and 1955 respectively. From 15 October to 12 November 1955, the representatives of the union visited the United States to petition the Department of State, Department of Defense, and other relevant administrative offices. Such diplomacy, along with other political negotiations, eventually resulted in a subsidy of 6,000,000 dollars from the US government in 1961. Ishii reports that the enormous reward of 6,000,000 dollars created egoism and antagonism amongst the members; the union was eventually split into four opposite groups seeking their own profits (ibid.: 42-43).

The Ogasawara Iwo Islands Repatriation Advancement Union was officially dissolved in March 1964. It is ironic that a visit to Ogasawara was realised in the next year, under the newly established Ogasawara Association, with the reasoning of paying respect to ancestors’ graves [bosan]. In 1967, Foreign Minister Miki Takeo opened a debate concerning the reversion of Ogasawara, stressing its irrelevance for military purposes

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63 Ishii refers to strong support by Japanese American activist Mike Masaoka and Japanese politician Fukuda Tokuyasu, who became the first President of Ogasawara Association (ibid.: 42).
64 The association was established in 1965 by including politicians and scholars, as well as the refugees. Currently the association opens its membership for anyone who wishes to contribute for Ogasawara in general.
compared to Okinawa. Political Scientist Robert D. Eldridge suggests that American diplomat U. Alexis Johnson utilised this opportunity: in return for discarding Ogasawara, to secure the US bases in Okinawa (2002: 264-68), where major camps of United States Forces Japan still remain today. The Ogasawara Islands were returned in the following year.

The Japanese refugees began to repatriate to their home one after another. However life in Ogasawara was not as satisfactory as imagined in their nostalgia. The returnees had to start their lives over again like the first Japanese immigrants in the nineteenth century. In these early days, without other job opportunities, 56 of 74 returnees were engaged in fishing for their living, but the fisheries almost failed without feasible prospects, as Governor of Tokyo Minobe Ryokichi reported after his inspection in 1969 (Tusji 1995b: 100, 107). In some cases, discouraged wishes for a stable and wealthy life in their home again turned into grudges against and envy of the ‘Caucasian descendants,’ who secured jobs upon the agreement of reversion (Ishihara 2007: 416-18).

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65 The other returnees found jobs in government employment (9 people) and education (2 people) (Tsuji 1995b: 100).
66 But Ogasawara Fishermen’s Union has developed its business later supported by much government subsidy.
67 The United States government requested to protect the livelihood of the ‘Caucasian descendants’ upon the reversion (ibid.).
After more than two decades away from home, the country appeared differently from their memories—it was not a promised land anymore. *A Report on the Ogasawara Former Settlers* [*Ogasawara Shotō Kyū Tōmin ni Kansuru Chōsa*] (Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism 2004) indicates that 656 ‘former Japanese settlers’ had returned to Ogasawara by 1975. This was the peak of the returnees’ number, though more than 7,000 people had resided there in 1940. The report also discloses that the ‘former Japanese settlers,’ including their descendants, constituted only 20.99 per cent of the entire population in 2003; like the ‘Caucasian descendants,’ they belong to a minority group in contemporary Ogasawara society. The words: “First arrivals are the greatest” are arbitrary and not feasible today, yet still meaningful for those oppressed residents to signify their heritage and priority under the major impact of ‘newcomers.’

After the reversion, the Ogasawara Association has extended its activities such as support for people returning home and island promotion (Figure 2.79), in addition to its repatriation petition; there remain refugees who have been unable to return to their
ancestral land even after the reversion. Residence on the island of Iwo Tō, one of the fiercest battlefields during the Pacific War, is still prohibited today on the flimsy pretext of unexploded ordnance and volcanic activity. Since the reversion, the island has been utilised as Iwo Jima Air Base for the Japan Self-Defense Forces and the United States Armed Forces. In such a condition, the Ogasawara Association continues its efforts, and organises a day’s visit to ancestral graves by airplane twice a year in Spring and Fall. The Ogasawara Village also began arranging an Iwo Tō Visit Project in 1997; every year in June, the Oga-maru takes a special schedule to transport the refugees, as well as a limited number of village civilians, for the overnight stay in Iwo Tō. More than 65 years have already passed since forced evacuation, and the hope of repatriation is fading away as the evacuees of 1944 are dying one after another.

The cavernous sense permeates everything on the islands; it should be recognised as a result of various historical experiences of anxiety, agitation, conflict, evacuation, segregation, exclusion, withdrawal, and parting sorrow. The segmented history of

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68 There is no record of a volcanic eruption of Iwo Tō since the first settlement of 1889.
69 In 2009, the village opened only 15 seats for public; preference was given to long-term residents of Ogasawara. Participation cost 30,000 yen.
Ogasawara has created alienation of memories and produced egoistic historical interpretations that exclude other people and their stories. The accumulated sorrow, distress and estrangement have engraved the deep cavernous sense, which still remains in the islanders’ sentiments today.

Another Chichi Jima elder, Sasaki Unosuke, once told me about Ogasawara musical culture: “There is nothing here, there is no substantial history like other places, so that we do not have traditional music or dance; everything is borrowed from or an imitation of others’.” I respect these words derived from his extraordinary life; born in Chichi Jima as a descendant of the ‘former Japanese settlers,’ he had experienced expatriation for more than 20 years, and then have greatly contributed to the island community after the reversion. However I still notice fragments of the past that appear in various forms and practices of Ogasawara musical activities today. “We human beings are all historians,” historian Tessa Morris-Suzuki states in her book The Past within Us [Kako wa Shinanai] (2004: 300), that is, historical practices can be found everywhere in human life. Sasaki Unosuke was not an exception. Soon after his statement above, Unosuke introduced me to a nightly music activity of Okinawan migrants on the beach of Maehama; he described the dance accompanied by the sounds of sanshin [an Okinawan traditional three-stringed lute] with his fond memories of a past Ogasawara.70 I argue that music and dance retain these fragments of the past in their texts, practices, performances, and thus singing and dancing can be utilised as a vital medium to preserve, transmit, recollect and perpetuate memories from the past to the present. Paying careful attention to the past—inscribed in music and dance—will shed light on the history, tradition and identity of Ogasawara, as I explore in the following chapter.

70 Unosuke mentioned that there were a number of Okinawan migrants in pre-war Chichi Jima.
Figure 2.80 Okinawan Eisā Dance Performed at the Island Sports Day 2009
CHAPTER 3
ECHOES OF CORAL SAND

Figure 3.1 Coral Sand of Maehama
3.1 TRACING FRAGMENTS OF THE PAST

**White Beach**

Maehama of Chichi Jima is a small white beach filled with coral sand. It is a local favourite for walking, playing or just staying still. As described in the last chapter, this beach is also the site for the New Year’s Day event; the people enjoy singing, dancing, lottery drawing, watching the performances, and swimming in the cold water here for the first time of the year (Figure 3.2). On nights of the full moon (and if it is not cold or raining), several people come around this beach for kaka drumming and drinking—facing the shiny silver water of Futami Bay. It extends to the island festival park, where numerous musical activities take place throughout the year as well, including the reversion ceremony, bon dance convention, hula festival, and rock music concert. The thatched gazebo Gegege House, adjacent to the beach, is an everyday space for picnics, lei making, ukulele lessons, or just gathering and chatting. The white beach embraces the islanders and their daily life.

*Figure 3.2 Performances of Nanyō Odori and Kaka Drumming at Maehama Beach on the New Year’s Day*
The beach is also a grave of dead coral, which once flourished in Futami Bay and is now piled up here. Still in the water, the descendants of the dead coral sustain their lives; there are about 200 species of coral in Ogasawara (Ogasawara Fishery Centre 2008). Some of them were damaged and already whitened like a single dead body spreading out over Maehama. With subtle environmental changes, overfishing and pollution, coral and its ecology can be easily destroyed. Once lost, it is difficult to restore them. However, coral sand remains as evidence of former lives thriving under the water. It is tangible record of an intangible past—possibly telling stories far away. The dead coral washed on shore makes sounds as if calling to something far away. As I walked around the beach, the coral sand sang under my feet as well. I could see, touch and smell the particles, and imagine the past life of this creature. The coral sand made me think about Ogasawara: its history, people and culture. It would be impossible to trace the precise history of each particle of dead coral; every single body has different stories of its origin, experience, death and post-life. Nevertheless the coral sand still guides us to hidden narratives and distant chronicles.

As Sasaki Unosuke explained, the beach was a performance space for a nightly musical activity of Okinawan migrants in pre-war Chichi Jima. This Okinawan music practice has been lost, yet the islanders still sing and dance on this beach today, and will preserve this favourite place for the future. Just like the coral sand, music and dance retain past stories in its texts, practices and performances, though they might be viewed as ‘inventions of traditions’ from a certain cultural critique or standpoint (see Chapter 6.2 for further arguments). I also observe that no performing art has continually existed on the islands since pre-war period. The current musical activities are recollections of past practices or newly introduced performances. As will be introduced in the
following chapters, music and dance had flourished on the islands until the wartime evacuation. The Japanese military state disturbed and ruined Ogasawara, and eventually removed the people and their culture from the islands. The ensuing US Navy administration further promoted alienation and oblivion of pre-war cultural activities. Music and dance are fragile art forms and easily destroyed by troubled social conditions or arrogant political manipulation—just like whitened coral jolted by environmental changes (Figure 3.3). The dead performing arts cannot be retrieved in their original forms, nevertheless fragments of the past remain in current musical activities of Ogasawara today.

Figure 3.3 Whitened Coral of Futami Bay (Institute of Boninology 2009: 5)

In her book *The Past within Us* (2005), Tessa Morris-Suzuki suggests a sincere approach towards the past within and around us, as described in her concept of “historical truthfulness” as:

…an open-ended and evolving relationship with past events and people. In emphasizing the word ‘truthfulness’ rather than the word ‘truth’, I am trying to shift debate away from the sometimes arid arguments about the existence or non-existence of historical facts, and towards a focus on the process by which people in the present try to make sense of the past… I accept the proposition that history (like the stone) has a life outside the mind of the
observer, but that this life can never fully be captured and expressed by human imagery or language. Rather that debating how far a particular representation of the past is ‘true’—in the sense that it approximates closely to an absolute and finite reality—it may be more useful to try to assess the ‘truthfulness’ of the processes by which people create meaning about the past. (27)

I assume that she proposes this concept to contest the “historiography oblivion” or historical revisionism that aims to obliterate such events as Nazis’ genocide during the Holocaust, the Nanking Massacre of 1937 by Imperial Japanese Army, or the sexual abuses of women by the Japanese military during the Pacific War (known as the comfort women issue). Yet my intention here is rather to approach obscured and neglected memories “to make sense of the past” in current Ogasawara musical activities. The proposition from Morris-Suzuki is still meaningful for this study of music, because it possibly discloses stories behind stories and explicates various human relationships with the past. For this purpose, I am concerned with “the differing representations of the past created by people who view (or viewed) the same set of events from different places, social backgrounds and ideological perspectives” (ibid.: 238). Furthermore my interests extend to past emotions, feelings, sentiments, and their interpretations in the present day, and to critical views towards revisionism and irresponsible expositions of history that are trapped in idiosyncratic ideology, prejudice and delusion. The process of “sincere approach towards the past within and around us” is intricate and demanding, but I commit myself to the historical truthfulness that will explicate different stories about the island music and dance heritage.

Historical truthfulness requires “an attentiveness to the presence of the past within and around us” as Morris-Suzuki argues: “the recognition that we ourselves are shaped by the past, and that knowing the past is therefore essential to knowing ourselves and
others, and indeed to knowing what it is to be human” (ibid.: 238). Within the concept of time flow, it is true that we are all produced by the past, which is piled up successively behind us in chaotic forms. We rarely take notice of our detailed tracks to the present, and then the fragmented pasts remain in disorder. Probably historical truthfulness is the process of acknowledging these fragments of the past that surely influence our life, experience, and historical consciousness of the present. Coral sand again becomes a metaphor for history; it evokes a fragility and temporality, but also implies countless past generations that have sustained vibrant coral under the water until today (Figure 3.4). I stand on the beach of Maehama without knowing the history of each fragment, but this white beach exists there only after numerous narratives of the dead coral. Historical truthfulness calls for our attentiveness towards the existence of coral sand, and invites us to hear their sounds and stories from indefinite pasts.

![Figure 3.4 Vibrant Coral in Futami Bay (Photo Courtesy Tomita)](image)

The past remains in various forms into the present. It appears in a diary, organiser, or on a memo pad. A hard disk drive of a computer stores a huge amount of past activities
and events. An aged object, such as an antique cup, old musical instrument or ruined building, displays the passage of time through its appearance. Furthermore our life itself certifies the antiquity of human beings. Our knowledge is collective property gathered over centuries, and our corporeality retains the experiences of ancestors in the form of habit, custom or tradition. We need to pay careful attention towards things past preserved in these fragments.

Amongst these various pieces of evidence and representations of the past, in this chapter, I am particularly concerned with tangible records: vital media to trace history and memory. Their physical presence or materiality instinctively appeals to our sensibilities to invoke things past, like a historical object in a museum. Besides material objects, a place, space or ecology can also be a tangible record, as suggested by French historian Pierre Nora. His concept *lieux de mémoire* is versatile and includes “topography” as a site of memory (1996, see Chapter 6.1 for further arguments). I argue that the island fauna, flora, soil, ocean, waves, and coral sand are vital spaces, where memories are inscribed, preserved and retrieved. They are tangible traces that enhance our sensibility and consciousness about a past Ogasawara.

The experiences within the islands changed my way of thinking about the past. Various fragments of the past are studded in the tangible materials of the islands, and thus many Ogasawara songs refer to local places, plants and animals with historical consciousness. The “Homesickness Song of Ogasawara,” introduced in the last chapter, is a good example. The song refers to such island features as hermit crabs, snails, common toads, termites, geckos, moon and ocean by embracing nostalgia for a past Ogasawara. These
things described in the song’s lyrics often remain today as tangible records and allow us to invoke intangible pasts of Ogasawara.

As exemplified in the “Homesickness Song of Ogasawara,” song lyrics are useful media for exploring memories and sentiments. Even though the stories described in the form of poetic texts are often ambiguous and possibly include much imagination, they are still significant sources for comprehending history and a larger cultural cosmology. A book *Flower in My Ear: Arts and Ethos of Ifaluk Atoll* (1963) aroused my wish to explore this chapter through song lyrics. The author, anthropologist Edwin Grant Burrows identifies the rhetoric of song lyrics as an intensive art form of emotional expression and explicates the ethos or “the emotional basis of the society (11)” of the Ifaluk people. Similarly, anthropologist Christine R. Yano presents comprehensive analyses of song lyrics in her *Tears of Longing: Nostalgia and the Nation in Japanese Popular Song* (2002). In this book, Yano employs song lyrics of enka [a genre of Japanese popular music], as well as other ethnographic materials, to investigate collective nostalgia that binds a group together and constructs “Japaneseness” as nationhood.

Burrows and Yano show that song lyrics pertain to human sensibilities and often reflect the cosmology of a community or society. In the same way, lyrics of Ogasawara songs preserve profound memories and sentiments from the past to the present, and demonstrate Ogasawara’s historical and cultural cosmology to some degree. Here I return to historical truthfulness. Morris-Suzuki suggests that we should hear multiple voices from different perspectives. In this chapter, I tentatively trace a history of Ogasawara through song lyrics. I admit that this approach is limited and cannot
describe the island history thoroughly. But my aim is rather to exemplify various historical traces inscribed in current musical activities and to present miscellaneous stories hidden behind a larger narrative of history. Historical truthfulness is required to search and collect these fragments of the past from song lyrics, island ecology, and numerous other sources.

As follows, I investigate selected song lyrics and corresponding historical accounts in detail, but leave many other stories for further research. This chapter itself never fully explores Ogasawara history, and thus I call for collaborative efforts, as suggested in the notion of “historical truthfulness.” Morris-Suzuki mentions that it is “an ongoing conversation through which, by engaging with the views of others in different social and special locations (across and within national boundaries), we shape and reshape our understanding of the past” (ibid.: 241). What I demonstrate in this chapter is just an alternative way of thinking about the past. Besides song lyrics, other sources and materials preserve different stories/memories that need to be explored in future studies. Indeed, it is the collective approach that enriches our historical consciousness and understandings other than a single narrative or exclusive discourse. I hope my reflection about song lyrics will advance our conversations for multiplicity, plurality and diversification.

Echoes of coral sand invite us to take part in a hidden journey towards the past. Song lyrics are also not unlike coral particles. I approach Ogasawara song lyrics with truthfulness that possibly illuminates neglected memories and subtle sentiments. The careful study of song lyrics demonstrates a significance of the island geography and ecology as tangible traces of intangible pasts. With numerous stories inscribed in their
lyrics, the island songs present alternative views for Ogasawara history and music tradition.

Figure 3.5 Coral Sand Making Sounds by Washed on Shore of Maehama
3.2 Fantasy versus Imagination

Stories around John and Jinny

Figure 3.6 John Beach, Chichi Jima

Japanese actress and writer Nakayama Chinatsu introduces the first settlement of Ogasawara in the following way: “the castaways settled on an uninhabited island as described in this song [her own composition] ‘Bonin Islands,’ though the lyrics are somewhat dramatised romantically” (2008: 174).

One day, so it was one day, castaways John and Jinny arrived
A little delighted, fell in love and began to settle
Bonin Islands, Bonin Islands…
(Excerpt, verse two, see the original Japanese texts in Appendix A)

Nakayama is a repeated visitor. She has travelled to Ogasawara five times since 2001 when she first visited the islands for scuba diving. Nakayama explains her profound experiences of the “Bonin,” as she calls Ogasawara, by using the words “ni-kōkai [two sailings]”—indicating that she was able to stay on the islands at a time when few
During her vacations, Nakayama discovered such Ogasawara ballads as “Lemon Bush [Remon Bayashi]” and “The Fifth District of Palau [Parao no Go-chôme]” (to be introduced in Chapter 3.4). Much inspired by these local songs, she began to write lyrics telling about the island history. Nakayama mentions that her song “Bonin Islands” has established a considerable reputation on the islands (ibid.: 155). I have heard the song several times during my fieldtrips; it was accompanied by hula or performed instrumentally by a steel orchestra.

It is an interesting attempt to narrate a history of the “Bonin” through song. In 2008, Nakayama published a book A Ribbon Found on the Submarine Walk [Kaichū Sanpo de Hirotta Ribon], which features the lyrics as references of “Bonin” history. However, from my first hearing of the song, I had some reservations about it. The song is fantasy, which is “dramatised romantically,” as she declares herself. The fiction implies that the two castaway lovers became the ‘Adam and Eve’ of the Ogasawara Islands. It possibly includes a false imagination about island history.

Nakayama begins her story with an image of islands uninhabited since their formation. She suggests that there is no evidence of the earliest discovery: “only the ocean knows who found these islands first” (ibid.: 155), as narrated in the first verse of her song “Bonin Islands”:

For a long, long period, there was no one on these islands
A little lonely, empty islands, the islands of mujin [no people]
Bonin Islands, Bonin Islands…
(Excerpt, verse one)

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1 “Ni-kōkai” is a local word to indicate the length of stay in Ogasawara. In this schedule, a visitor does not take the Oga-maru when it leaves first time and stays on the islands until the boat comes back again. So that it usually requires more than ten days for a round trip from the mainland.

2 Japanese folksinger Komuro Hitoshi (b.1943) wrote music for Nakayama’s lyrics.
It is true that there is no precise data for the first human arrival on these islands, but there is archaeological proof of ancient human activities around the islands. In 1920, botanist Nakai Takenoshin reported on ground stone tools, resembling the ancient instruments of neighbouring Mariana Islands, found in Kita Iwo Tō of the Ogasawara Islands (Figure 3.7). Later in 1972, after the reversion, the Tokyo Metropolitan Board of Education organised an excavation team, which dug up hand axes and pebble tools in Chichi Jima, and accessories such as shell ornaments and fishhooks made of serow or cattle bones in Haha Jima. Again in 1991, the Board sent an expedition to Kita Iwo Tō and discovered an archaeological site of human settlement, probably constructed about 2000 B.P., around the Ishino area of the island (Tokyo Metropolitan Board of Education 1992). There were prehistoric immigrants.

The evidence of prehistory does not solve the mystery of how these people with stone tools or decorative items arrived on the islands—we have to utilise our imagination to tell such a story. In his *Beach Crossings: Voyaging Across Times, Cultures, and Self* (2004), historian Greg Dening narrates a similar story of “the first beach crossing” on
Fenua’énata or the Marquesas Islands. He mentions that “the voyage was begun less in crisis than with determined and planned intention” (4) by referring to archaeological discoveries and anthropological knowledge. In the case of Fenua’énata, since the first settlement centuries before, the islanders have preserved such cultural traditions as the vaʻa canoe and its usage that allow us to imagine the great voyage and mass migration, as Dening suggests. However, in the case of Ogasawara, we have no such anthropological/cultural clue since there are no descendants of the people who left the ancient items.

The people who reached the uninhabited islands have disappeared today, but there remain tangible records that arouse our imagination about stories of prehistory. There are various possibilities; their arrival may have been the result of expedition, migration or banishment. Amongst them, the arrival of castaways is one of the most feasible stories, as suggested in Nakayama’s story of John and Jinny. There are several more recent accounts of unexpected arrivals after hazardous sailings. For instance, in 1670, a Japanese boat was driven out to sea and carried to a beach in what is now Oki Port of Haha Jima after 72 days of drifting.3 The captain died soon after the arrival, but six other men constructed a small boat with materials available on the island, travelled towards northward probably through the islands of Chichi Jima and Muko Jima, and finally survived by reaching the inhabited island of Hachijō (Tanaka 1997: 2-7).4

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3 The boat was transporting oranges from Kishū Province [now Wakayama Prefecture] to the capital Edo [Tokyo].
4 The story appears in Strange Episodes [Yūken Shōroku] (publication data unavailable) by Ito Togai (1670-1736). Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716) also introduces the incident to the Western countries through his The History of Japan (1727). In 1675, Tokugawa shogunate sent an expedition ship to search these islands of now Ogasawara. It seems that the troupe discovered Chichi Jima and Haha Jima after wandering around the Pacific Ocean for more than 20 days (Tanaka 1997: 7-9).
Another story, not of the islands of Ogasawara but of the neighbouring island of Tori Shima, is also relevant in considering a probability of accidental settlement. In 1785, a sailor Nomura Chohei drifted to the uninhabited Tori Shima, about 360 km north of Muko Jima, after experiencing a heavy storm. His three companions died within two years, but later some more people arrived after shipwrecks. The castaways collaborated with each other and built infrastructure on the island, such as housing, a reservoir and a road, though they still hoped to return home. In 1797, the 14 survivors escaped from Tori Shima on a handmade boat and eventually arrived at Hachijō Island. In the following year, Nomura returned to his home in Tosa Province [now Kōchi Prefecture] where his fellow villagers were conducting the thirteenth annual ceremony to commemorate his death (Kondo 1996).

In her book, Nakayama also refers to such stories of castaways, and then introduces her dramatised romance between John and Jinny, who “fell in love and began to settle.” This verse is meaningful in that it includes the names of John and Jinny, which suggest the discovery and exploration of the islands by peoples other than Japanese. Already in 1543, the expedition ship San Juan sailed past Chichi Jima and Volcano Islands, which

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5 The Island of Tori Shima belonged to Ogasawara until 1901, but then it was incorporated in Hachijō sub-prefecture.
6 Nomura was on his way back to Tosa Province [now Kōchi Prefecture] from Edo [Tokyo] after transporting the rice dedicated to Tokugawa shogunate.
7 They included boats from Osaka and Satsuma Province [now the western half of Kagoshima Prefecture], arrived on the island of Tori Shima in three and five years later respectively.
8 For instance, Nakayama refers to a group of twelve people who drifted to Tori Shima in 1719; three of them had lived there for 21 years until they escaped to Hachijō Islands (2008: 158). Amongst more than ten accidental arrivals on Tori Shima during the Edo period (1603-1868), the case of Nakahama Manjiro [better known as John Manjiro] is well known. In 1841, a 15-year-old Nakahama was carried away while fishing near the ocean of Tosa Province, and reached to Tori Shima travelling with Kuroshio Current for five days. With four companions, he had survived on the island for 143 days until the American whaler John Howland came across there. While his companions disembarked the whaler in Honolulu, Nakahama continued his voyager with Captain William H. Whitfield to the United States and had lived there until his return to Japan in 1851. Later he was hired as an English interpreter of Tokugawa shogunate and participated in the Kanrin Maru visit to Chichi Jima in 1862 (Nakahama 1936, see also Chapter 2.4).
the Spanish captain Bernardo de la Torre named Farfama and Los Volcanes respectively. Later, in 1639, the Dutch expedition ships the *Engel* and *Graft*, commanded by Hendriken Matthijs Quast and Abel Janszoon Tasman, explored the region in search of legendary islands filled with gold and silver—believed to be located in the Pacific Ocean near Japan. They possibly sailed around the islands of Haha Jima and Chichi Jima, which were named Engel and Graft after their boats (Arima 1990: 22-23). The chart from the third voyage of Captain James Cook (1776-1780) also indicates the island of Iwo Tō as Sulphur Island (Patrick 1950: 1028-29), though Cook himself had already died before his ships sailed around this area.

Without gold or silver, the early explorers saw these islands as worthless. But later, Westerners found commodity in a valuable sea mammal in the ocean around the cluster of isles. The first report of a whaler’s advent was on September 1824, when a British boat named the *Transit* anchored at the small bay that is now Oki Port, Haha Jima. A year later, another British whaling ship the *Supply* visited the uninhabited island of Chichi Jima, and marked its arrival with a wooden engraving put onto a tree. In 1826, a story resembling the ‘John and Jinny’ narrative occurred with the shipwreck of the *William*, also a British whaler, in an inlet of Futami Bay, Chichi Jima. The crewmembers were rescued soon after when the whaler *Timor* passed by, but two men called Wittrein and Petersen (or Peterson) preferred to stay there like ‘Robinson Crusoes’ (Arima 1990: 28-30). The ‘Robinsons’ surprised the British Naval Captain Frederick William Beechey (1796-1856), who came to survey the Pacific Ocean near
Japan with the *Blossom* and landed on the island in 1827 for exploration. In the following year, the Russian explorer Frederic Lutke (1797-1882) visited the island in command of a warship called the *Seniavin*. He was also impressed with the ‘Robinsons’ and reported the castaways’ life in detail, including descriptions of their housing, properties and provisions, in his *Voyage Autour du Monde, 1826-1829* (1835) (Figure 3.8). In Daniel Defoe’s novel *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1719), the hero stays on an uninhabited island for 28 years, but the Wittrein and Petersen left the island within two years abroad on *Seniavin*—they were temporary immigrants just like former Japanese drifters around these islands.

![Figure 3.8 Castaways’ Life Described in Voyage Autour du Monde, 1826-1829 (Lutke 1835)](image)

There were castaways like the ‘John and Jinny,’ who arrived on these small islands. I also admit the possibility of past residency of John and Jinny on Chichi Jima. There are beaches—adjacent to each other yet separated by a cliff—named after John and Jinny,

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9 Beechey’s experiences on the island are recorded in *Narrative of A Voyage to the Pacific and Bering Strait* (1831); he named the island as Peel Island and stuck a copperplate on a tree, declaring British annexation of these islands of now Ogasawara under the name of George IV (cited in Tanaka 1997: 28).
who possibly lived there (Figure 3.9). Matsuki K. (1998) introduces three local tales about John and Jinny: 1) that they were two kanaka good companions who lived on each beach independently; 2) that they were an English man and woman who lived on these beaches individually; 3) that they were two castaway lovers who died separately on these beaches without seeing each other (105-8). These narratives imply the arrival of John and Jinny on the beaches, but unlike the lyrics guided by Nakayama, the local folklore does not describe them as the first settlers nor as the ‘Adam and Eve’ of the Ogasawara Islands.

\[10\] Probably John Beach was named after John Twocrab, who possibly migrated from Tahiti (Long and Inabe eds. 2004: 53, Long and Hashimoto eds. 2005: 244).
Figure 3.9 Map of the Bonin Islands, Jinny Beach on the South/West End of the Island, John Beach is Adjacent to Jinny Beach (Cholmondeley 1915: Inside Front Cover)

The simplified love story very possibly attracts mainlanders and foreigners with its stereotyped romance of the Pacific, similar to the film *The Blue Lagoon.*\(^{11}\) The small

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\(^{11}\) Henry De Vere Stacpoole (1863-1951) published *The Blue Lagoon* in 1908. Later this popular novel was adapted for films three times in 1923, 1949 and 1980. There is a long history of imagined distant, tropical island utopias in European society (see Howe 1977).
south sea island can be a metaphor for paradise, where two castaway lovers settled and created their own nest apart from the rest of the world. Archaeological and historical evidences testify to the early arrivals of human beings to these small isles, and infuse such a myth of the two castaway lovers with an aura of reality. However it remains a fantasy. Many castaways who appeared around the archipelago now called Ogasawara eventually disappeared before the determined and planned migration of 1830.

Several letters, documents and reports tell that the migration of five Caucasians and some twenty people from Hawai‘i in 1830 was not by accident. Cholmondeley describes their departure as follows:

From all accounts, the [Bonin] islands were fruitful; fish and turtle abounded, the climate was warm and genial; and the prospects of opening out some lucrative trade seemed altogether promising… a schooner was fitted out which eventually set sail with Nathaniel [Savory] and four other white men [and also some Hawaiian women and men] on board in the month of May, 1830, and having safely traversed the intervening 3300 miles of open sea, arrived at its destination on June 26, 1830. (1915: 17)

They were not castaways; that is, they planned and prepared to settle on the uninhabited island with prospects. However life on the remote island was filled with anxieties and difficulties, so that many settlers eventually left there, just like the castaways who had arrived at these islands before. It seems that Nathaniel Savory also had an intention to leave, but finally decided to remain on the island with his ‘new family’ even when it became Japanese territory (see Chapter 2.4).

Since his determination, Nathaniel’s descendants have striven to preserve life on the islands. In the same way, other later migrants and their descendants have endeavoured

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12 The number of ‘Hawaiian’ migrants is various in different documents such as: “some twenty-five Hawaiian natives with some women” (Cholmondeley 1915: 17); “20 Hawaiians” (Tanaka 1997: 41); “about 15 Hawaiian men and women” (Arima 1990: 33); “over fifteen Hawaiians, some of them women” (Shepardson 1998: 30).
to perpetuate island life. Even with adequate infrastructure and public service in Ogasawara today, migration to the islands hardly happens with abrupt crossing like a castaway. As described in the previous chapter, many people move to and yet soon leave the islands after completing their work contracts. Other voluntary migrants also have some expectation of leaving in the future, due to financial, family, health, and other imperative reasons. There are various attractive features in Ogasawara, but island life cannot be sustained only by fantasies.

Beyond fantasy, the islanders incorporate and choreograph the song “Bonin Islands” in Ogasawara hula. The dance is the group performance by junior high school students, who describe the line “fell in love and began to settle” with gestures of shaking hands with each other and then touching their hands one after another while changing their positions in a circular movement (Figure 3.10). The fiction created by the composer is far from reality, so that the choreography adapts the story with an image of united and flourishing community of the Ogasawara Islands. In this choreography, ‘John and Jinny’ are not castaway lovers nor ‘Adam and Eve,’ but rather represent the early settlers, who sustained island life by collaborating with family, friends, and even newcomers. The fantasy cannot represent history. However this small story about ‘John and Jinny’ possibly enhances our imagination about Ogasawara’s pasts.
Here I return to Greg Dening, who distinguishes “imagination” from “fantasy” or “fiction” by referring to the first beach crossing of Fenu’a’enata. He argues for the significance of imagination as a means to approach the uncertainties of history. With imagination, Dening expresses respect for the people who had migrated to an uninhabited island and have continued their life until today: “Account for them [the first migrants to Fenu’a’enata] requires imagination. Not fantasy. Imagination” (2004: 164).

*So this most remarkable voyage of discovery and settlement is done. It humbles me as a storyteller that so much of its detail must be conditioned by my uncertainties. That must not force me into fiction. Fiction is too disrespectful of what these first people in the Land have achieved. Fiction is too disrespectful of the generations of archaeologist, anthropologists, linguists, historians and scholars of all descriptions who have helped us know what we know. Fiction is too disrespectful to the thousands of descendants of these first voyagers to the Land who by song, dance and story have clung to the historical truth that two thousand years ago, a hundred generations ago, their ancestors seeded Fenu’a’enata with a living spirit that they had brought across two thousand miles of sea. Besides such blue-water seamanship, the rest of the world are coasters.* (Ibid.: 9, italics in the original)

I do not exclude the possibility of the existence of castaways ‘John and Jinny,’ who “fell in love and began to settle,” but have difficulty accepting Nakayama’s narrative without respect towards other migrants and their descendants, who have sustained life
on this small yet beloved islands. Following the verse about ‘John and Jinny,’ her storytelling becomes ambiguous and suddenly jumps into present-day Ogasawara.

What, what’s happened, only the blue ocean knows
A little delighted, fishes fly and sun sets
Bonin Islands, Bonin Islands…

And, and today, you visit the islands boarding on a white boat
Very much enjoyed, south islands, a village of Tokyo
Bonin Islands, Bonin Islands…
(Excerpts, verses three and four)

The story again reveals the image of “ideal natives,” who present “a nonthreatening, alluring encounter with paradisiacal exoticism” (Desmond 1999: 4, see also Chapter 2.4); the natives welcome your visit on the remote south sea islands, which still belong to Tokyo. The visitors arriving on the white boat Oga-maru will appreciate such a fantasised narrative, but this would not seem appropriate from a local perspective. The islanders preserve their respect for the early settlers and further utilise “imagination” to rework the “fantasy” into their own history, as observed in the hula choreography.

The stories around ‘John and Jinny’ are mysterious, so that we have to utilise our imagination to include these ambiguous narratives in our historical understandings. As discussed in this section, the lyrics of “Bonin Islands” imply many possibilities of island history from prehistory to the present day. The narrative of this song suggests the arrival of human beings on these remote islands many centuries before. The history of castaways ‘arriving and leaving’ indicates the difficulties of ‘settlement,’ and thus signifies the sustainability of island life since 1830 only through considerable struggle.

The hula choreography celebrates the island community as ‘ohana, meaning ‘extended family’ in Hawaiian, since Nathaniel Savory remained in this isolated place with his

13 The word is utilised as the title of annual hula festival of Ogasawara.
family. We also have to acknowledge that ‘John and Jinny’ are not the ‘Adam and Eve’ of Ogasawara; there were many other migrants and their descendants, from the US, Hawai‘i, Micronesia, Japan, and even Europe,\(^\text{14}\) who have bequeathed the islands to the current residents (Figure 3.11).

Besides the song “Bonin Islands,” other island tunes also preserve various small stories that enhance our understandings about Ogasawara’s pasts. However, unlike the “Bonin Islands,” local compositions are often esoteric to outsiders. They often describe the islands by utilising vernacular words and by referring to unique local customs. In many cases, such unknown references preserve various fragments of the past that comprise the island cosmology together with landscape, ocean, wind, fauna and flora (see Chapter 3.1 on the cosmology of Ogasawara). In the following section, I shall introduce song lyrics that articulate localised pasts in their stories.

\(^{14}\) For instance, Joachim Gonzales (see Chapter 2.4) was born in the Brava of Cape Verde Islands, now independent republic but was a territory of Portugal until 1975. The clergyman Ogasawara Aisaku is one of his descendants.
Figure 3.11 The Islanders (Different Faces and Clothes) of Pre-war Ogasawara in Front of St George’s Church (Established in 1909) (Photo Courtesy Washington)
3.3 Island Ecology as Tangible Records

The Only in the World

“Mama’s dishes are treasure: the only ones in the world. Now say together: ‘Gochisō-sama deshita [Thanks for the food].’” This is the last verse of a newly composed piece, “Cooking Mama [Oryōri Mama],” premièred in the ‘Ohana hula festival 2009 (Figure 3.12). A local singer Tamura Midori composed the song to be performed by the children’s hula group in the festival. Midori was born and reared in Kanagawa Prefecture, and then migrated to Ogasawara in her early twenties. She recalled that on her first visit to the islands the beautiful shooting stars enchanted her to move to Ogasawara. Later Midori married another newcomer named Tamura Wako and reared two children on the islands. Currently the couple owns and manages a popular bar/restaurant Bonina in front of Futami Port (Figure 3.13). In addition, they substantially contribute to such local activities as shrine festivals and hula performances.15 Midori is one of the major singers of the hula band Leo Aloha [Voice

15 Tamura Wako supervises the mikoshi procession of the Ōgamiyama shrine festival (see Chapter 5.2).
of Aloha] as well as a member of the local music group Huli Huli Chickens (see Chapter 5.2). Recently she also began to write songs by featuring island nature, people, and their customs; most of them are accompanied by Ogasawara hula. “Cooking Mama” is one such ‘very recent’ composition.

The song “Cooking Mama” is a children’s song telling about a mama preparing delicious dishes for her family. There is nothing special about this daily activity of cooking, but the song implies that current Ogasawara life is closely associated with the island’s past and ecology—by featuring various local specialities in its lyrics:

Mama’s dishes are all delicious indeed
I wish to keep them secret, but only to you, I will teach the specialities
Shima-zushi [island style sushi], pīmaka [vinegared sasayo fish]\(^\text{16}\)
Banana no tenpura [deepfried banana]
Anadako karaage [fried octopus], kame-tama [turtle egg] cake
Sawara no fūgi [cooked intestines of the sawara fish]\(^\text{17}\), and noodle soup
Aippara [sashimi of the aippara fish]\(^\text{18}\)
(Excerpt, verse one, see also the lyrics in Appendix A)

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\(^{16}\) The scientific name for sasayo is *Kyphosus pacificus*.
\(^{17}\) The scientific name for sawara is *Acanthocybium solandri*, known as wahoo in English. The new “Dance-Song of Ogasawara” also features this island favourite fish in its lyrics (see Chapter 5.2).
\(^{18}\) The scientific name for aippara is *Euthynnus affinis*, known as *suma* on the mainland.
All of the dishes appearing in the lyrics were the ones that I had never tasted before visiting Ogasawara, except *shima dōnattsu* [island doughnut] in verse four (see below). The islanders cook these foods by utilising local ingredients of fishes, fruits and plants, so that the outsiders rarely know these food names and their tastes unless they visit Ogasawara.

The specialities of Ogasawara preserve the food cultures of early settlers from the Hachijō, Hawai‘i, and even Western countries. For instance, migrants from Hachijō Island brought *shima-zushi*, which is identical to *sushi* of Japan, but contains mustard [*karashi*] instead of *wasabi* and requires its fish to be soaked in soy sauce before serving. The Hachijō people use various available fish, but in Ogasawara *shima-zushi* is almost exclusively made of the island favourite *sawara* fish. The lyrics also introduce *pī maka*, which is vinegared *sasayo* fish. Hawaiian migrants probably brought this cuisine; the word *pī maka* corresponds to a Hawaiian word *pinika* [vinegar] (Long and Hashimoto eds. 2005: 261). *Danpuren* is another non-Japanese dish; it is a Western-style dumpling but localised as a salty soup with some vegetables (ibid.: 120-21).

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19 *Shima dōnattsu* was probably brought by Okinawan immigrants before the Pacific War. I tasted this style of doughnut in Hawai‘i, when I was involved with the Okinawan community there.
The local foods are a cultural heritage inherited from the past residents, and thus composer Tamura Midori recognises them as the “treasure” and “the only ones in the world” in her lyrics. To prepare these dishes, one must know not only how to cook, but also how to obtain their ingredients, such as the sasayo, the ana-dako [literally ‘hole octopus’], and the tako no mi [seeds of tako no ki pandanus]. They are often not available in the grocery stores, so that one must fish for or gather them. Midori taught me the local hunting/gathering methods for these ingredients. For instance, the sasayo defecates when caught, so you must leave the fish to rinse outside of your boat for a while. The ana-dako often lives in a hole in the rocks around the shores, and you need a special tool called tako-kagi [octopus hook] (Figure 3.15). After hooking up the octopus, you must hit it on a rock several times to stun it; otherwise the octopus will try to escape from your hunting net. The local foods represent island life itself.

20 The scientific name for ana-dako is Octopus oliveri.
21 The scientific name for tako no ki is Pandanus boninensis, indigenous to Ogasawara.
The stew made of turtle is another local food that represents island history and ecology.

The dish appears in the last line of verse four as follows:

There are so many dishes, which mama makes
I cannot name them all, but teach you my favourites in secret
Murrotata [minced muro-aji fish],\textsuperscript{22} tori-meshi [chicken rice]
Hachimai nitsuke [boiled hachimai shellfish]\textsuperscript{23}
Akame no shioyude [stewed akame fish]\textsuperscript{24}
Toge no karaage [fried toge fish]\textsuperscript{25}
Shoppanpin [sourpop],\textsuperscript{26} and shima dōnatsu [island doughnut]
Kame-ni [turtle stew]!
(Excerpt, verse four)

The village restricts the turtle hunting to protect this endangered species of green sea turtles, which once occupied all the beaches of the island, as described in Beechey (1831, cited in Tanaka 1997: 27-28). But the number of turtles soon decreased after human settlement; it became a valuable animal to be protected by a local law codified in

\textsuperscript{22} The scientific name for muro-aji is Decapterus muroadsi.
\textsuperscript{23} The scientific name for hachimai is Acanthopleura planispina.
\textsuperscript{24} The akame is known as the hōseki kintoki on the mainland. The scientific name is Priacanthus hamrur.
\textsuperscript{25} The toge is known as nokogiri-dai on the mainland. The scientific name is Gnathodentex aureolineatus.
\textsuperscript{26} This tropical fruit is better known as the shashappu in Ogasawara. Only a few islanders call this tropical fruit the shoppanpin. The scientific name is Annona muricata.
1836. The code prohibits: turtle hunting by whalers, selling the turtle to them, and feeding livestock with the turtle meat (Ruschenberger 1838: 302). Since these early days of the first settlement, the ways of hunting, slaughtering, cooking, and also preserving the turtle have been devised, improved and handed down until today.

One day in May 2009, Midori informed me that two turtles would be killed in the morning at a shed on Seihyō Kaigan beach (near the Kame Centre). Local restaurant owners buy a turtle together, co-operate to slaughter it, and share the meat. When I arrived at the site around 9 am, one turtle was already chopped up on a large table, and soon a woman began to prepare another body of more than 100 kg, laid upside down on a car tire. The procedure was well organised and practical; the woman cut its carotid artery first, pushed the heart of the turtle many times to pump out its blood, and then separated the fins from the body to avoid possible danger caused by the moving parts. The breast muscle was put aside because it can be eaten raw as kame-sashi [turtle sashimi]. The hard segments such as the fins and plastron, as well as long intestine, were put into a huge pot with hot water constantly fuelled with firewood (Figure 3.16). These boiled sections, along with raw meat separated from the shell, were placed on the table, where several people gathered around to cut and chop them. The preparation was almost done by noon—the two turtles disappeared with only their carapaces remaining (Figure 3.17).

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27 Ruschenberger explains that these early settlers regretted the decrease of turtles as a result of reckless hunting; they were easily captured while lying on a beach as usual before human arrival (ibid.). The turtle, laid upside down, is alive for long on a ship, and so was an important nutrition source for the whalers.
As mentioned, the islanders protect the turtle through hunting restrictions, and further preserve and breed baby turtles in an aquarium. Ogasawara Marine Centre, collaborating with the locals, conducts artificial incubation to increase the number of hatchings when the turtle begins to breed on the island beaches from May to August. After rearing for about a half-year, the centre releases the baby turtles to the ocean; today it has become one of the tourist attractions (see Chapter 2.2). The centre also does research, such as maintaining statistics of the survival and return rates of turtles.
hatched in Ogasawara. Through these activities, the islanders show respect for the green sea turtle, which has sustained and enriched island life from the past to present (Figures 3.18 and 3.19).

Figure 3.18 A Turtle Hunter Riding in an Outrigger Canoe (Isomura 1888: 264)

Figure 3.19 A Child Playing in a Turtle Preserve, Pre-war Ogasawara (Old Postcard)
The *kame-ni* and *kame-sashi* are specialities of the Bonina, as they are of many other local restaurants (Figures 3.20 and 3.21). They become available around early April, after annual licences are issued, until the stock of turtle meat runs out. Even the newcomers, such as Tamura Midori, appreciate the cultural heritage of local foods that have been inherited from past residents and will be transmitted to future generations. Besides *kame-ni* and *kame-sashi*, such dishes as the *shima-zushi, pīmaka, danpuren* also exemplify the dietary customs of the early migrants and further affirm the collective knowledge accumulated on the islands since the first settlement of 1830. The song “Cooking Mama” itself is a very recent composition written by a newcomer, but its song lyrics epitomise extraordinary cultural knowledge and practices of the Ogasawara Islands.

Figure 3.20 *Kame-ni* Served in the Bonina (Photo Courtesy Tamura)
Although the song “Cooking Mama” contains various fragments of the past, it does not tell about musical activities of past Ogasawara. We have to utilise our imagination in search of the island performing arts before the Japanese settlement. There are some documents that suggest local residents, having sung and danced since the first settlement of 1830. For instance, a Hachijō Islander, named Sakujiro, describes musical activities on Haha Jima in his diary, dated 14 March 1862, when he accompanied the representative of Tokugawa shogunate Mizuno Tadanori. The diary says: “Everyday after dinner, those foreigners showed us some performances, which include *uta* singing, *shamisen* plucking, *ken* hands-play, and *oni gokko* tag game, if I describe their Japanese equivalents” (cited in Tanaka 1997: 171) (Figure 3.22). It is impossible to figure out what kinds of music and dance they were, but this document still allows us to imagine these Haha Jima residents singing a song accompanied by an instrument such as the guitar or ukulele. In any case, this diary indicates that the people of Haha Jima

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**Figure 3.21 Kame-sashi Served in the Bonina (Photo Courtesy Tamura)**

28 Possibilities include music and dance of the Gilbert Islands, from where some ‘kanaka’ people migrated to Haha Jima (Obana 1862: 81-83, Ishihara 2007: 202). It is interesting to note that the ukulele was possibly brought to Hawai‘i by Portuguese migrants from the Madeira and also Cape Verde Islands (Nidel 2004: 312), which was the birthplace of Joachim Gonzales, one of the early settlers of Chichi Jima. Hawaiian missionaries were also based in the Gilbert Islands in the 19th century.
practised performing arts even in such a small community of less than twenty people. I could find no account of music and dance of Chichi Jima during this period. However Cholmondeley describes that Nathaniel Savory conducted “the rites of baptism and burial” (1915: 122), which possibly included some chants or singing. It is also conceivable that the migrants from Hawai‘i practised hula and chant, as they retained such Hawaiian customs as fishing on an outrigger canoe, wearing mu‘umu‘u [female clothes], and greeting each other with the word “aloha” (Tsuji 1995a: 37).

Figure 3.22 A Play in Haha Jima after Dinner
(A Picture from the Kanrin Maru Visit in 1862, in Miyamoto)

Ogasawara people today perform hula and Nanyō odori dance transmitted from Hawai‘i and Micronesia respectively. However the origins of these dances are not the putative performances of the early settlers mentioned above; they were rather revived or introduced recently (see Chapters 3.4, 4.1 and 5.1). The musical activities before the Japanese colonisation disappeared after subsequent social upheavals and are hard to trace nowadays. Nevertheless some fragments of the past remain in current Ogasawara musical activities. The song “Cooking Mama” exemplifies that music and dance
comprise the island cosmology together with dietary customs, hunting/gathering practices, fauna and flora, and memories of different migrants. With her singing voice, Tamura Midori testifies to her extraordinary Ogasawara life that is “the only ones in the world” and filled with the “treasures” of island knowledge/experience accumulated from the past to present.

Figure 3.23 Fried Toge Served in the Bonina
The Mystery of Black Canoe

The island canoes are colourfully painted blue, white or red, but there is no canoe painted black around the islands today (Figures 3.25). But strangely enough the “black canoe” appears in song lyrics. Another island singer Sasaki Minako raised this question when she was rehearsing the song “Ogasawara Island [Ogasawara Jima]” for the hula festival ‘Ohana 2009. She used another version of the lyrics, which replaces the words “black canoe [kuroi kanū]” with “black scarecrow [kuroi kakashi].” The mystery was not only about the missing black canoe, but also about these two versions of the lyrics available today in Ogasawara.
Sasaki Minako is currently the hostess of Ogasawara Youth Hostel, where she stayed on her first visit to the islands—Minako is also a newcomer. She did not tell me her romance in detail, yet a story like ‘John and Jinny’ possibly happened and Minako began to settle in Ogasawara. Her husband was not a castaway like John, but Sasaki Hitoshi who is the son of former hostel owner, Sasaki Unosuke (see Chapter 2.5). She reared two boys and a daughter on the islands. While managing the guesthouse with Hitoshi, she also plays music on various occasions as a singer and ukulele player. Minako took a major role as the bandmaster of the hula band in ‘Ohana 2009’ (Figure 3.26).

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29 The family is one of the earliest Japanese migrants of Ogasawara and traces its genealogy in Aoga Shima, Izu Islands. Sasaki Tetsuko, Minako’s mother-in-law, has served as a member of the Ogasawara parliament for many years.
Minako realised that there is a different version of the lyrics for “Ogasawara Island,” but preferred to sing the song with the words “black scarecrow” in the rehearsal sessions. She never saw or heard about a “black canoe” during her extensive life in Ogasawara. The lyrics say:

Coconut tree, pandanus tree and papaya tree
Banana, orange, and seeds of tamana[^30]
Andrew, Biddy and Washington
Straw hat and shorts

Black canoe and red sail
Blue ocean and white coral [sand]
On the small isle in the inlet [Savory Rock]
There are five or six Short-tailed Albatrosses today as usual

There are baby goats in a grove of rubber trees
Calling mother: “Mē mē”
Whistling a tune at the harbour
That’s the captain wearing a yellow vest

Twilight in the village of naturalised people
Lighted ramps here and there
See you Richer and Washington
Good night Andrew and Gonzales

(Sato 1999: 27-28, see the original Japanese lyrics in Appendix A)

[^30]: A large evergreen, *Calophyllum inophyllum* in scientific name.
A famous Japanese poet Sato Hachiro (1903-1973) wrote the lyrics of “Ogasawara Island” in 1918, when he was sent to the Ogasawara reformatory located in Susaki area, Chichi Jima. He actually did not enter the reformatory and lived in a house near the St George’s Church with another poet Fukushi Kojiro (1889-1946), who was acquainted with Hachiro’s father Sato Koroku (1874-1949), also a poet and novelist (Sato 1999: 22-29). Hachiro was much impressed by Ogasawara—its landscape, fauna, flora, people, and their lives. He began to write poetry. “Ogasawara Island” became his first work.

The lyrics of “Ogasawara Island” vary slightly between versions, even in Hachiro’s own publications. For instance, in his autobiography (1978), Hachiro spells ramu pu rather than ranpu (both meaning ‘lump’ yet the first one is historical orthography) and counts the number of Short-tailed Albatrosses “one or two,” not “five or six.” However I could find “black scarecrow” in none of his original publications. The “black scarecrow” appears in a songbook Ogasawara Children Songbook [Ogasawara Kodomo Kashū] (Ohama and Machida eds. 1991: 91), which was locally distributed for elementary school music education. The lyrics, registered with the Japanese Society for Rights of Authors, Composers and Publishers, also adopt the words “black scarecrow” instead of “black canoe” (Suzuki 2003a: 12). Later the music composer Yuyama Akira (b.1932)

31 Hachiro mentions that he was a rascal and arrested before his Ogasawara visit (1999: 22). Tokyo Prefecture established the reformatory in Ogasawara in 1911 to re-educate the failures in favourable environments. However the project was not successful and the reformatory was closed in 1925. See Kamijo (2009: 62-63) for details.
32 The editors of this songbook, Ohama Katsuhiko and Machida Shozo, were elementary school teachers and composed many local songs together; Ohama wrote music for Machida’s lyrics. Their works include one of the islands’ most favourites “Journey of Green Sea Turtle” (see Chapter 5.1).
admitted that the words were misprinted when he published the lyrics with his melody (email communications June and July 2012).33

I wondered why Hachiro would include a scarecrow, which could be found almost everywhere on mainland Japan, as a feature of Ogasawara in his first poem. The lyrics of “Ogasawara Island” illustrate vivid images of the island ecology that has impressed Japanese since the first colonisation of 1860s (as can be seen in the following pictures from the Kanrin Maru visit in 1862, Figures 3.27, 3.28 and 3.29). The experiences within the distinctive islands of Ogasawara inspired the migrants to be poets. They often brought melodies from their places of origin, but modified the lyrics to be appropriate for their new home. The shome bushi and tontoko bushi are good examples (shome and tontoko are vocable phrases used for the interlude). The migrants from the Izu Islands imported these song styles of shome bushi and tontoko bushi to Ogasawara, but the lyrics were modified according to different island settings, as found in “Chichi Jima Shome Bushi,” “Haha Jima Shome Bushi,” “Iwo Tō Shome Bushi” and “Iwo Tō Tontoko Bushi” (Kitaguni 2002: 130-31).34

33 Yuyama said that he adopted the words “black scarecrow” misprinted in Hachiro’s early publication (1953) (ibid.). The word ‘kanū [canoe]’ might be unfamiliar to the public in those days.
34 These songs were recognised as intangible cultural heritage of Ogasawara in 1987, yet are sung only by limited islanders nowadays (ibid.).
Figure 3.27 A View of Ōgiura, Pre-war Chichi Jima (Miyamoto)

Figure 3.28 Toge Fish (Miyamoto)
The migrants also composed new songs by featuring the island ecology and people. For instance, “Dance-Song of Susaki [Susaki Ondo]” (possibly composed during the 1930s, see Chapter 4.3 for details) describes stories around the Susaki area: “thinking about a girl viewing shaded moonlight under the leaves of coconut trees,” “riding in a canoe with my husband in the rough ocean” and “a pleasant assignation in the tamana bush under the cloudy moonlight” (see also the lyrics in Appendix A, music in Appendix C).35 The old “Dance-Song of Ogasawara [Ogasawara Ondo]” is another interesting example (possibly composed in the early 1940s, see Chapter 4.3 for details).36 The lyrics begin with the “long voyage from Tokyo to Ogasawara” and introduce various island place names with their features, such as: “Beyond Kiyose and Okumura, and now Byōbudani, a fine view there is, I see my dear at the foot of the cliffs” (see also the

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35 Edith Washington adopted the music of “Dance-Song of Susaki” for her lyrics “Dance-Song of Reversion” (see Chapter 2.1).
36 There is also the new “Dance-Song of Ogasawara [Ogasawara Ondo]” composed after the reversion (see Chapter 5.2).
lyrics in Appendix A, music in Appendix C). Amongst these song lyrics, “Ogasawara Island” includes the most colourful descriptions as Hachiro reminisces about his visit on Chichi Jima in the following way:

During my five months stay on Chichi Jima [in 1918, Hachiro was about 16 years old], I began to write a poem. The island features and friends turned me into a poet. Blue of the ocean, black of a canoe, white of a cloud; such things moved my heart. I became a friend with the only crow living on the island. I became close to an uncle with a crutch—puffing a pipe all the day. I sang a song together with the children of a Portuguese clergyman [Joseph Gonzales]. These various things I put into the poem. (Cited in Suzuki 2003a: 11) (Figures 3.30 and 3.31)

Life on the island of Chichi Jima was a decisive experience for Hachiro as he declares:

“I owe Ogasawara my life; it made me a poet” (1978: 67).37

37 There are some other writers deeply influenced by Ogasawara ecology. For instance, Kitahara Hakushu (1885-1942) wrote 64 poems including “Ogasawara Guntō [Islands]” (in 1929) and “Bīde Bīde [Erythrina variegata Flowers]” (in 1995). Nakajima Atsushi (1909-1942) also published a collection of 100 poems, entitled “Ogasawara Travel Literature [Ogasawara Kikō]” (in 1976).
Figure 3.30 Children of the Naturalised People with a Goat in Front of St George's Church, Pre-war Chichi Jima (Photo Courtesy Ogasawara)

Figure 3.31 Children of Joseph Gonzales (Photo Courtesy Ogasawara)
The island ecology can be tangible records to trace intangible memories. These song lyrics appeal to the current residents with vivid images of the landscape, fauna, flora, people, and their lifestyles. They provide the views or experiences of the past, including the white coral sand along with blue ocean, pandanus trees upon a hill, a flock of goats in a grove, and the descendants of naturalised people and their customs, that have been preserved from the past until today (Figures 3.32, 3.33 and 3.34). Thus the words “black canoe” became controversial, while the canoe used today all came to be painted blue, white or red.

Figure 3.32 A Moon View under the Tamana Bush, as Described in “Dance-Song of Susaki” [The Photo Actually Taken at Maehama Beach.]
Besides “black canoe,” there is another puzzle in the song “Ogasawara Island.” The Short-tailed Albatrosses disappeared around the island of Chichi Jima, although the birds are described in the lyrics: “On the small isle in the inlet, there are five or six Short-tailed Albatrosses today as usual.” Another island singer Suzuki Naoko (see Chapter 5.2) questioned if there were Short-tailed Albatrosses around Chichi Jima. The
birds never appear today “on the small isle in the inlet” (or Savory Rock in Futami Bay), but there were abundant Short-tailed Albatrosses flying over the islands before the reckless hunting of this species in pre-war Ogasawara (Figure 3.35).

In former times, people travelled around and even settled on uninhabited islands following this profitable slow animal, called *ahō-dori* [literally ‘stupid bird’]. It was easy to capture and kill the Short-tailed Albatrosses, and the feathers were traded at a high price. For instance, Minamitori Shima [literally the ‘South-bird Island’] was once colonised for the purpose of bird hunting. In 1896, Japanese explorer Mizutani

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38 The feathers were mostly used for bedding; the droppings can be a phosphate material.
Shinroku sent 20 people there from Haha Jima and began such projects as gathering bird feathers and droppings (Tsuji 1995a: 194-95). A small village Mizutani, named after the pioneer, was retained until 1933, but the residents eventually abandoned the island as the birds disappeared from there. Another example comes from the island of Tori Shima [literally the ‘Bird Island’], once belonging to Ogasawara. As seen in the island name, it was one of the eminent breeding locations of this species. In 1888, Hachijō Islander Tamaoki Han’emon, with some 50 workers, migrated to Tori Shima seeking the feathers and meat of Short-tailed Albatrosses. The island became prosperous around 1900 with about 300 residents; social infrastructure included an elementary school and light railway to transport the hunted birds (Yamashina Institute for Ornithology). But, as in Minamitori Shima, the hunters/residents left Tori Shima in 1922 after the drastic decrease of bird numbers (Tsuji 1995a: 256).

As in Tori Shima and Minamitori Shima, there was an over-exploitation of the Short-tailed Albatrosses around Chichi Jima, and the hunters even travelled to the Muko Jima Islands following the birds. Once flying around the small isle in the inlet, the Short-tailed Albatrosses disappeared from Ogasawara as a result of reckless hunting (Figure 3.36). In 1949, Ornithologist Oliver Austin, Jr. declared after his survey around the Izu and Ogasawara Islands: “it seems only too likely that Steller’s [Short-tailed] Albatross has become one of the more recent victims of man’s thoughtlessness and greed” (1949: 294). However, in 1951, a staff member of the Tori Shima weather station re-

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39 It belonged to Ogasawara, but was incorporated to Hachijō sub-prefecture in 1901.
40 The island’s active volcano erupted in 1871, 1902, 1939 and 2002. All 125 residents working for bird hunting died with the largest explosion in 1902. But, in the following year, Tamaoki, residing in Tokyo at that time, again sent workers to Tori Shima (ibid.).
41 A travel brochure “Ogasawara—Introduction to the South Island” (1936) features the Short-tailed Albatrosses as well as naturalised “blue eyes” people and green sea turtles (cited in Miki 2002: 35-36). In that year, bird hunting became prohibited around the north area of the Muko Jima Islands (Tsuji 1995a: 277).
discovered the Short-tailed Albatross, which possibly returned from an ocean life after leaving the nest (Yamamoto 2002: 2-3). After a volcanic eruption on Tori Shima in 2002, Yamashina Institute for Ornithology began to reintroduce the birds into the Ogasawara Islands. Cooperating with the Ogasawara Village, the institute has been rearing Short-tailed Albatrosses on the Muko Jima Islands since 2008.

![Figure 3.36 Hunted Bodies of the Short-tailed Albatrosses, Chichi Jima (Old Postcard 1919)](image)

While preserving the Short-tailed Albatrosses, Ogasawara Village has been exterminating the feral goats—another animal that appears in the lyrics of “Ogasawara Island”: “There are baby goats in a grove of rubber trees, calling mother: ‘Mē mē.’”

By 2011, this non-indigenous and invasive species was already extinct from the Ogasawara Islands, except Chichi Jima (Yomiuri Online 2012). During my fieldtrip, I have encountered the feral goats walking around cliffs several times. Also I have heard some interesting episodes about the goats; for instance, high school students captured and barbequed wild goats at the school’s courtyard in past days (interview anonymous).

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42 There is no precise record, but most likely the Caucasian migrants brought the feral goats to the islands before Japanese annexation.
November 2009). Such minor stories, as well as the song lyrics, will have another missing link if the feral goats disappear from the islands.

The outrigger canoe can still be recognised around the beaches of Chichi Jima, and there is an annual canoe race as part of Ogasawara Sadayori Jinja shrine festival in July (see Chapter 5.2). Yet the canoes are colourfully painted today; there is no canoe coated with coal tar as in the past. It was by chance that my neighbour, a ‘Caucasian descendant,’ described the black canoe, which was painted just like a utility pole or railway sleeper with coal tar antiseptic treatment.\(^{43}\) The following picture from the *Kanrin Maru* visit in 1862 also suggests the black canoe appeared in past Ogasawara (Figure 3.37).

![Figure 3.37 A Black Outrigger Canoe (Miyamoto)](image)

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\(^{43}\) He himself has never seen the black canoe, but his grandfather told him that a canoe was treated with coal tar in the past.
By hearing these stories above, it seemed that Minako was fully convinced of the “black canoe” in the lyrics, and began to sing the song as described in the original poem by Sato Hachiro. Such memories become difficult to trace especially after political and social disturbances. Minako’s father-in-law Unosuke still preserves vivid images of past Ogasawara, as he described pre-war Okinawan music activities on Maehama (see Chapter 2.5), but the “black canoe” was not part of his memories. Although he was born and reared in Chichi Jima, Unosuke had been excluded from his home for more than 20 years—he was only about 15 years old when he left the island during the Pacific War. As a result, Unosuke remembers Ogasawara differently from the ‘Caucasian descendants’ who have spent most of their lives on the islands. The estrangement of memories appears even in such a small story of the “black canoe.”

Figure 3.38 An Outrigger Canoe and Islanders in Pre-war Ogasawara (Cholmondeley 1915: 20)

The instances explored above indicate the significance of the island ecology that can be tangible records to trace intangible memories and practices. Life on the Ogasawara

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44 Minako remembered her childhood when the utility pole was still treated with coal tar.
Islands is deeply involved in and influenced by its landscape, oceanscape, climate, fauna and flora. Correspondingly these natural features address the islanders’ sensibilities and appear in local song lyrics. Ogasawara has suffered drastic social and political changes. But the islands still preserve the beauties of ocean, sky, winds, flowers, mountains and beaches, and provide living spaces for turtles, whales, birds and bats, as well as human beings. The precious nature and ecology allow us to access fragmented things past from distance beyond. The song “Ogasawara Island,” described by Sato Hachiro, is not intact, but the life embraced by blue ocean, white coral and pandanus tree are still re-experienced on the island today.

In this section, I have mostly been concerned with temporal distance, that is, things past. In addition, song lyrics can tell stories beyond geographical distance. The Ogasawara people appreciate several foreign songs by extending their sentiments and memories towards others. I recognise that each place has its own distinctive features. Yet, concurrently, various similarities still exist in lives and experiences on different islands and allow the people to conflate their own sentiments with others’. In the following section, I explore several songs that have travelled from Micronesia to Ogasawara. They represent island memories in the Pacific beyond geographical distance.

I introduce a bird, akagashira karasubato [Columba janthina nitens], and a bat, Ogasawara ökōmori [Pteropus pselaphon], as examples of indigenous/endangered species of Ogasawara.
Figure 3.39 Boys in the Canoe, Possibly Including Sato Hachiro (Kurata ed. 1983: 102-3)
3.4 Singing Memories of Others in My Heart

Nanyō Colonial Pasts

The Nanyō odori is a dance unique to Ogasawara. Derived from Micronesia during the Japanese colonial period, the dance called dojin odori [kanaka dance] at that time was localised and retained substantial popularity in pre-war Ogasawara. However, during the Pacific War, it ceased to be performed when the islanders were removed to the mainland. After the reversion, Edith Washington and her co-workers revived the dance, which is now known as Nanyō odori [South Pacific dance] (Figure 3.40) (see Chapter 4.1 also).

The dance comprises a set of five songs: “Urame,” “Before Dawn [Yoake Maeni],” “Uwadoro,” “Gidai” and “Aputairan.” Interestingly these songs are written in different languages including Japanese, English, and some from Micronesia. For instance, the song “Before Dawn” is entirely written in Japanese, although the lyrics are somewhat
awkward. It is about a heartrending love caused by separation: “I would fly for you, if I could” (see below). English words can be recognised in a song entitled “Aputairan”: “Aputairan anadai three times; One two three, one two three; Aputairan of stop,” as well as “left, right” calls during the interludes of march-like movements. Ethnologist Matsuoka Shizuo introduces a song of the Ruk [Chuuk] Islands entitled “Uatorofi,” which corresponds to the “Uwadoro” of Nanyō odori (1943: 581). Musicologist Tanabe Histo also mentions a song from Uman of the Truk [Chuuk] Islands, which can also be identified as “Uwadoro.” He provides a translation of the lyrics as follows: “Caught, caught. I caught a girl on a path. Everyone is waiting for you. Every, everyone is waiting for you. Ah, I hate. I hate too many men there” (1968: 76).

Ethnomusicologist Konishi Junko refers to the lyrics of “Gidai,” which are wholly Carolinian (2008: 30, see the lyrics of these songs in Appendix A).

Although these scholarly works explicate the songs—their origins and meanings—to some degree, the lyrics often remain vocables, or a unit of syllables, for the current residents of Ogasawara. For instance, they recite the lyrics of “Urame” just like an incantation: “Urameu ururti iume, Efanrī itogo oshimāa aā, Wāganri iyauēa uēa uit, Iriē effangāa uenimō.” However these ‘spells’ still invoke a sense of ‘Nanyō,’ or South Pacific, and its colonial past. A member of the Nanyō odori group once explained to me, in our informal conversation, that these lyrics possibly include German words, as well as Japanese, English and Micronesian ones. The mystery remained as the German

46 The awkwardness of the lyrics appears in phraseology such as “okiru to mitara,” which can be understood “when wake up” but usually phrased as “okita toki ni” or “me ga sameata toki ni.”
47 He presents a synopsis of the lyrics: “Caught, caught. I caught a young girl. Why do you say no? My dear is not you” (ibid.).
48 The song is entitled “Kouta [Small Piece]” (ibid.).
words have not been clearly identified, but this member was obviously conscious of the former German occupation of Micronesia.

It was the Spanish Empire that first brought European colonialism to the area known as Micronesia today. Already in the first half of the 16th century, Spaniards sailed around the Pacific Ocean south of Japan, as Bernardo de la Torre and his San Juan appeared around Ogasawara in 1543 (see Chapter 3.2). Later the empire established its colony called Spanish East India (1565-1898), which included the Mariana and Caroline Islands as well as the Philippines. The hegemony of Spain lasted more than three centuries, but was gradually eroded towards the end of the nineteenth century. In 1889, a weakened imperial Spanish discarded and sold the Mariana Islands (except Guam), as well as the Caroline and Marshall Islands (recognised as part of Spanish East India in 1874). It was the German Empire that purchased these islands following the annexation of Nauru in 1888. In 1892, the British Empire declared the Gilbert and Ellice Islands to be protectorates, which eventually became its territory in 1916. The United States also advanced in Micronesia after the Spanish-American War (1898), which resulted in the US hegemony over most of the Spanish colonies including the island of Guam as well as the Philippines, Puerto Rico and Cuba.

Following the Western countries, Japan extended its territories in Asia and the Pacific. In 1871, the newly established Meiji government abolished the Ryukyu Kingdom and annexed its islands, which became Okinawa Prefecture in 1879. The government also declared its occupation of Ogasawara in 1876, and thereafter Japanese began to migrate

49 The territory was part of the Viceroyalty of New Spain based in Mexico City until Mexican independence (1821). Thereafter Madrid directly governed these areas.
50 Prior to this, Japan had shifted from the shogunate to imperialism, known as the Meiji restoration (1868). The Constitution of the Empire of Japan was enforced on 29 November 1890.
to the small south islands. Following Japanese settlement on Chichi Jima (see Chapter 2.4), Orita Seizaburo, from Nī Jima in the Izu Islands, moved to Haha Jima with his family in 1879; it became the first case of Japanese migration there.\(^{51}\) The Volcano Islands remained uninhabited until 1889 when a Chichi Jima islander Arai Kuniyoshi placed ten labourers on the island of Iwo Tō (Tsuji 1995a: 177). Soon in 1891, the Empire of Japan incorporated the Volcano Islands into Ogasawara. The empire also recognised the Marcus Island and Parece Vela [meaning ‘looks like a sail’ in Spanish] as Japanese territory of Minamitori Shima (in 1898) and as Okinotori Shima (in 1931) respectively.

Japanese colonies expanded through several wars and battles such as the first Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) and World War I (1914-1918). The Empire acquired Taiwan after the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895), South Sakhalin after the Treaty of Portsmouth (1905), and Korea after the Japan-Korea Treaty of Annexation (1910).\(^{52}\) After the Treaty of Versailles (1919), the Japanese government was also granted a League of Nations Mandate over German territories in Micronesia and constituted the Nanyō Chō [South Seas Bureau] in Koror on Palau (1922) (Figure 3.41). The Nanyō Chō founded schools in Palau, Saipan, Yap, Chuuk, Pohnpei and Jaluit Atoll, and provided elementary education there in Japanese. In 1921, a national strategic company, the Nanyō Köhatsu [South Pacific Enterprise], was also established.

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\(^{51}\) Preceding this, Englishman George Robinson migrated to Haha Jima with some kanaka people around 1850, but he left the island after competing authority with another Englishman James Moitley. It was Moitley that greeted the representative of Tokugawa shogunate Mizuno Tadanori in 1862. Frederick Rohlf, from Bremen, Germany, moved to Haha Jima in 1866 and later represented the island after Moitley’s death in 1867. Rohlf provided generous support to Orita and his family when they first migrated to Haha Jima (Ishihara 2007: 132-35, Tsuji 1995a: 44, 145-47).

\(^{52}\) This resulted from the Treaty of Shimonoseki, which recognised the independence of Korea from China, but also meant free Japanese interference in Korea.
in accordance with a national policy *nanshin ron* [southward advance doctrine]. The empire progressed the *nanshin ron* to exploit natural resources and business opportunities in the South Pacific and Southeast Asia (Figure 3.42). Under this policy towards the south, nearly 100,000 Japanese had migrated to the area called Nanyō Guntō [South Sea Islands] by 1943.\(^5\)

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\(^5\) The *nanshin ron* itself was already proposed in the 1880s. See Yano T. (1975, 1979) for the *nanshin ron* in detail.

\(^5\) In 1920, there were only 3,671 Japanese (including peoples from Okinawa, Korea and Taiwan) in the Nanyō Guntō. Afterwards the number continued to increase and reached 96,670, about 65 per cent of total residents of the Nanyō Guntō, in 1943 (Tamaki 2002).
An increasing number of Ogasawara Islanders migrated to and settled in the Nanyō Guntō as well (Tsuji 1995a: 265) (Figure 3.43). Josiah Gonzales was one such islander, who pursued better job opportunities and quality of life in the new territory of the South Pacific. Probably around the 1921, Josiah moved to Saipan following his sister, who had married a branch manager of Nanyō Kōhatsu (Figure 3.44). While working for the company, it seems that Josiah became acquainted with the local people and learnt their songs and dances. When his cousin Roderick Uwabe visited him in Saipan, Josiah surprised Roderick with his dance performance leading about 100 islanders. It is unfortunate that Josiah returned to Ogasawara due to sickness and died young in 1935 (Kitaguni 2002: 134-35). His son, who is now the clergyman Ogasawara Aisaku [Isaac Gonzales], was very young at the time and hardly remembers this cheerful father.
(Figure 3.45). Yet the dance transmitted by Josiah is still preserved as Nanyō odori—one of the cultural heritages of Ogasawara today.\textsuperscript{55}

\textbf{Figure 3.43 Japanese Migrants with Local Islanders of Micronesia (Photo Courtesy Ogasawara)}

\textsuperscript{55} Josiah utilised St George’s Church to teach the dance from Micronesia (Josiah, as well as his father Joseph Gonzales, served as the clergyman at the church). Konishi and Nagaoka also introduce affiliations of the “marching dance” with Christianity in a case of Mokil Atoll, Caroline Islands (2008: 15-16).
Figure 3.44 Josiah Gonzales (Centre) at Nanyō Kōhatsu (Photo Courtesy Ogasawara)

Figure 3.45 Josiah and Isaac [Aisaku] at Home (Photo Courtesy Ogasawara)
The dance travelled along with the migrants and transmitted memories of colonial Micronesia. As examined, the song lyrics include words from Japanese and English that represent the rule of Japan, the US and UK in Micronesia. The colonial education suddenly provided for those tōmin [native ‘islanders’ of Nanyō Guntō] appears in the awkwardness of the Japanese phrases. Ethnomusicologist Konishi Junko mentions that the Micronesian children learnt shōka [Westernised Japanese songs] and yūgi [choreographed movements/plays] in the Japanese schools as well (ibid.: 166). Not only the lyrics, but also the choreography of Nanyō odori traces the colonial pasts, especially the hegemonies of Germany and Spain in Micronesia. Together with anthropologist Nagaoka Takuya, Konishi indicates that the “marching dance [kōshin odori],” a prototype of Nanyō odori, includes Western style choreography “in combination with the conceptual inspiration of marching drawn from military drills, possibly by German troops, New Guinean policeman, or visiting shipmen” (2008: 71).

Another possible source of the march-like choreography is the pandanggo that corresponds to fandango brought by Spanish and Filipino soldiers during the Spanish administration period (Bailey 1978: 19-20). Konishi concludes that Micronesians elaborated the dance from Western military practices accompanied by Japanese popular tunes that eventually resulted in Nanyō odori of the Ogasawara Islands (2002: 167).

Although the dance itself was introduced from another place, Nanyō odori can also represent memories of the Ogasawara people that correspond to the colonial pasts of Micronesia to some degree. Such experiences as ‘Japanese occupation,’ ‘migration

56 The “tōmin” is the category allocated for the people of Micronesia; they were not entitled to have Japanese citizenship.
57 The marching dance was widely disseminated around the Pacific along with travelling workers for phosphate mining under German colonial schemes (Smith B. 1998: 717-18).
towards the south’ and ‘encounter with other peoples’ pertain to Ogasawara as part of a larger historical narrative in the South Pacific, and are embedded in Nanyō odori, its lyrics, movements and practices. The dance preserves collective memories of the people, who struggled with dynamic social changes under the politics of nations. By tracing various possible stories inscribed in the music and dance, the current practitioners of Nanyō odori extend their sentiments towards the past of Ogasawara and of Micronesia. Konishi and Nagaoka propose a feasible answer to the enigma of German in the Nanyō odori lyrics. They consider a German abteilung [meaning detachment, department, or battalion, used in military processions] as one of the possible origins of the word aputairan in the lyrics (2008: 12). It would be difficult to confirm the definite source, yet the word aputairan still enhances our imagination and historical understandings about colonial pasts of Nanyō. The dance travelled from past Micronesia, and now appeals to the current residents of Ogasawara across temporal and geographical distances (Figure 3.46).
In addition to the pieces utilised in Nanyō odori, several other songs derived from Micronesia remain in Ogasawara today; they are currently recognised as the island classics [koyō]. The lyrics of these songs are written in Japanese, yet they are often awkward as those of “Before Dawn [Yoake Maeni],” “Because of Oyado [Oyado no Tameni]” is another example of such songs:

Because of oyado, things turned out in this way
Nevertheless I abandon it helplessly

Everyone, if I am wrong
Please do not think so and forgive me

Even if I die, I never forget
The promise between two of us must be realised

(See the original Japanese lyrics in Appendix A, music in Appendix C)
It can be inferred that the song expresses such emotions as resentment, bitterness, regret and sorrow, yet the lyrics avoid telling a specific story. Particularly the term ‘oyado’ is confusing in this context. ‘Yado’ usually describes ‘a place to stay,’ so that it can be translated as ‘lodge,’ ‘inn,’ ‘house’ or ‘station’ in English. But these meanings do not fit the lyrics of this song. Applying the honorific prefix of ‘o,’ ‘oyado’ possibly extends its connotations to ‘belonging’ or ‘obligation,’ and further to a ‘company,’ ‘community’ or ‘country,’ although these are not common usages. The ambiguity of the term ‘oyado’ represents ambivalent experiences and emotions of the peoples, who wrote, sang and transmitted the song under the tremendous power of ‘nation.’

The Ogasawara classics include following songs: “The Fifth District of Palau [Parao no Go-chôme],” “Lemon Bush [Remon Bayashi]” and “A Dugout Canoe [Maruki-bune],” as well as “Because of Oyado.” In 1987, the Tokyo Prefecture recognised these songs as Intangible Cultural Assets of Ogasawara, although they were transmitted from Micronesia when the US Navy took control of the islands. Under the American administration, the Ogasawara Islands were closely affiliated with Micronesia. The island children attended high schools in Guam after the Radford School, and some adult islanders migrated to Micronesia as temporary workers. Able Savory was one such islander, who worked away in Saipan in his twenties and took a major role to bring the three pieces to Ogasawara (Figure 3.47). At a café in Saipan, Able heard another temporary worker, named Jimmy from Palau, singing “The Fifth District of Palau,” “Lemon Bush” and “Because of Oyado.” It seems that Able greatly appreciated these

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58 The Intangible Cultural Assets of Ogasawara also includes the aforementioned “Chichi Jima Shome Bushi,” “Haha Jima Shome Bushi,” “Iwo Tō Shome Bushi,” “Iwo Tō Tontoko Bushi” (see Chapter 3.3), as well as Nanyō odori and its songs.
tunes with Japanese lyrics. He asked for Jimmy’s instruction and memorised them overnight (Kitaguni 2002: 146-49, Konishi 2002: 169).\textsuperscript{59}

The song “A Dugout Canoe” has a different story. It was known as “Angaur Piece [Angauru Kouta],” and was brought by a refugee from Haha Jima, named Okuyama Takazo, who worked abroad for phosphate mining at the Angaur Island.\textsuperscript{60} After the war, SCAP provided the licence to a Japanese mining company to exploit the island (Figure 3.48). The Ogasawara refugees union (see Chapter 2.5) reserved temporary jobs in association with the mining company; several members worked in Angaur and remembered hearing the song called “Angaur Piece” there. According to his brother, Takazo never sang the song on the mainland, yet he began to share the song with Able Savory and other fellow islanders after he returned to Ogasawara in 1969 (Kitaguni 2002: 149-51).\textsuperscript{61} Since then, the song, now known as “A Dugout Canoe,” has been preserved as one of the island favourites (see also Chapter 4.3).

\textsuperscript{59} Able returned Jimmy a Japanese popular song “A Boat Transporting Mail to a Small Island [Kojima Gayoi no Yūbin Sen]” (1955), lyrics by Ueo Miyoshi (biographical data unknown), music by Hirakawa Hideo (1906-1995), first released by Aoki Koichi (b.1926).

\textsuperscript{60} The island is known for the Battle of Angaur (17-30 September 1944).

\textsuperscript{61} Edith Washington told me that she learnt the song “A Dugout Canoe” from another islander before the reversion. In this case, the song had already been transmitted to Ogasawara before Okuyama Takazo returned to the islands.
Ethnomusicologist Konishi Junko further investigates various stories around these songs. For instance, she supposes that a Micronesian student migrant in Palau wrote the song “The Fifth District of Palau.” Two possible names of the composer are Minaga Kiyomasa from Marshall Islands and Imesei from Chuuk.\(^{62}\) In both cases, they were away from their home islands to receive education in the school established by the Japanese colonial rule.\(^{63}\) “Lemon Bush” was renowned as a love song written by a lady of Pohnpei. It tells about a love story between a Japanese policeman (who stationed in Pohnpei) and a local village girl named Maruko—the policeman eventually returned to mainland Japan leaving his girlfriend behind. According to Konishi, these songs with Japanese lyrics retained substantial popularity all over the Micronesia until the 1960s (2003: 7-8). Some of them are still preserved in Micronesia as well as Ogasawara. The

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\(^{62}\) Minaga Kiyomasa, having a Japanese name, was born of a Japanese father and a mother from the Marshall Islands (Kitaguni 2002: 151).

\(^{63}\) The school Mokkō Totei Yōsei Jo [Woodworking Apprentices Training Centre] was an elite institution established by the Japanese government. Students from all over the islands of Micronesia studied there together (Kitaguni 2002: 151).
Ogasawara Islanders Kodaka Tsuneyoshi and Watanabe Toshio report, from the 9th Festival of Pacific Arts in Palau (2004), that some of local elders remember the song “The Fifth District of Palau,” but as “The Fifth District of Koror.” Together with Palau people, the visitors from Ogasawara presented the song as embracing nostalgia for a past Nanyō (2005: 9-11). These island classics affirm affinities between Ogasawara and Micronesia across the boundaries defined by nations.

Ogasawara classics cross borders and appeal to various people over great distance. Even the newcomers to Ogasawara appreciate these songs, as well as Nanyō odori, with their memories of a past Micronesia that illustrate close affiliations and resonances amongst these southern islands. Concurrently they are also about the shadow of the Empire of Japan; the Ogasawara classics reveal the struggles of the islanders who suffered the politics of nation. Interestingly these five songs—“The Fifth District of Palau,” “Lemon Bush,” “A Dugout Canoe,” “Before Dawn” and “Because of Oyado”—can be combined together to create a larger narrative of ‘unattained love.’ Although there is some inconsistency, the following story represents a love possibly occurring in colonial Nanyō.

The story begins with “The Fifth District of Palau.” This is about a romance on the unfamiliar island of Palau, though it could have happened on any island in the South Pacific. A man away from his home finds a beautiful native girl living in the fifth district or chôme (a quintessentially Japanese way of labelling a place—it conveys feelings of the colonial period also). He becomes much attracted to her:

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64 Able Savory transmitted the song as “The Fifth District of Koror,” but later Ogasawara singers adopted the more familiar place name of Palau over Koror in its title (Kitaguni 2002: 151, see below).
She is a pretty girl living in the fifth district of Palau
When I stare her, she shows me very friendly smiles
I am embarrassed by her smiles like that

Sometimes when you go out
Besides makeup, your hips like that
If I glance them, I cannot sleep at all
(See the original Japanese lyrics in Appendix A, music in Appendix C)

The song describes the love felt by boys or young men, who left their homes and
travelled around the south islands under the Japanese colonial scheme. In fact, there
were many romances between migrant boys and local girls in this period of Micronesia
(Konishi 2003: 8).

The story continues. Two lovers paddle across the ocean riding in “A Dugout Canoe,”
as if escaping from the real world; life is now filled with too much trouble and anxiety.
They are half in a dream, and recite the following lyrics:

At the end of the southern sky
On the island with flowers of waves
Forgetting about the troublesome days
We two talk about the love
Just like riding in a dugout canoe

When the moon coloured just like zabon [pomelo]
Rises over the coconut leaves
Hearing the song of native people
Our hearts are dancing, you and me
Just like riding in a dugout canoe

Let the canoe move with the waves
Our bodies are dedicated to the love
Endless love
We two talk in a dream
Just like riding in a dugout canoe
(See the original Japanese lyrics in Appendix A)

The lyrics describe a beautiful romance possibly occurring in the South Pacific, but they
also imply the uncertainty of love—just like riding in a dugout canoe. It is destined that
the two lovers are to be separated.
The girl remembers the kiss embraced by the sweet fragrance of “Lemon Bush.” Her fiancé has returned to home leaving her behind, though they promised to get married and planned to have a honeymoon on Chichi Jima:

Two young lovers live apart
Let’s make a promise when we meet again at another night

Two young lovers are shy before others’ eyes
Let’s talk in the lemon bush, hiding ourselves

Embraced by the sweet fragrance of lemon bush
The moon was watching when we kissed there

When peace comes, we will do kabobo\textsuperscript{65}
Let’s plan to have a honeymoon in Chichi Jima\textsuperscript{66}
(See the original Japanese lyrics in Appendix A)

As mentioned, it is believed that this song is a love story between a Japanese policeman and a local girl of Pohnpei. In this period in Pohnpei, there were many children born to Japanese fathers, but the fathers often left for home and never returned, just like the policeman described in the lyrics (Konishi 2003: 7-8).

The woman left behind invokes anxiety over the whereabouts of her loved one after the separation. She wakes up “Before Dawn” dreaming of her sweetheart far away:

Before dawn, I dreamed of you
When I woke up, I was so exhausted

If possible, I would be a small bird
Sometimes, I fly for you

My heart is so weakened, because of you
I might die soon
(See the original Japanese lyrics in Appendix A)

\textsuperscript{65} There are several interpretations of this word “kabobo,” such as “resolution [kakugo],” “marriage” and “car sex” (Kitaguni 2002: 146-149), but the actual meaning is still unknown.

\textsuperscript{66} Able Savory sang the line with the word ‘Tokyo’ instead of ‘Chichi Jima.’ Kitaguni supposes that the lyrics were modified later in Ogasawara (2002: 147, see below).
The wish is never granted and she feels the presence of oyado that controls her life from behind. The oyado is still anonymous, but the lyrics of “Because of Oyado” are best read after the love story above. “Because of Oyado,” things turn out in this way, nevertheless the woman abandons her wishes helplessly. She realises that this is an unattained love and blames herself: “Everyone, if I am wrong, please do not think so and forgive me.” The resentment in her heart is concealed in the lyrics: “Even if I die, I never forget. The promise between two of us must be realised.”

The above narrative of ‘unattained love’ is my own creation, but similar stories must have occurred in the colonial Micronesia. As a result of the national policy, nearly 100,000 Japanese subjects moved to Nanyō, where less than 50,000 islanders resided. Unlike Okinawans, Taiwanese and Koreans, Micronesians were not entitled to Japanese citizenship and were marginalised as tōmin, or island people, still under the control of the empire. After the repeated defeats of Japan in the Pacific War, the tōmin were left behind and eventually abandoned as described in the narrative of the lyrics above. The shadow of nation lies behind these songs. Because of oyado, things turned out this way, nevertheless these islanders had to endure the politics of nation.

The music travels with migrating people and the story continues to Ogasawara. Able Savory worked in Saipan and brought local songs back to his home. I wonder why Able was so passionate with these tunes with Japanese lyrics that remained in his mind for life. Born in 1929, Able experienced discrimination as an alien in his home of

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67 For instance, in his A History of Showa [Shōwa Shi] (1994), Japanese comic writer Mizuki Shigeru introduces his own story with an island woman of Rabaul. Mizuki left the island of New Britain along with the military withdrawal, and his promise with the islanders “to revisit their village” would be realised only after more than 20 years.
68 Although Koreans and Taiwanese were recognised as Japanese citizens, they had separate family registration systems, which provided the basis for discrimination and exclusion as well.
Ogasawara. Later when he evacuated to the mainland, teenaged Able faced further hardship, and was labelled as a possible spy due to his physical appearance (Ishihara 2007: 376-78). The ‘Caucasian descendants’ could return to their island home soon after the war, yet this meant segregation under the national security policy of the United States. Within such restricted life experiences, Able possibly identified with these ‘awkward’ lyrics that represent entangled experiences of ‘islanders’ in between nations. The narratives of these songs are conflated with his own life experiences and allowed Able to sing the memories of others in his heart (Figure 3.49).  

69 This outstanding ‘seaman’ travelled from Chichi Jima to Haha Jima by windsurfing after being declared as having cancer and expected to die within a month—he was 72 years old at that time (Words-by-Toko 2002). In the following year of 2003, Able passed away.
Probably most of the current Ogasawara Islanders appreciate these songs differently from the original composers or Able Savory, yet narratives described in these lyrics still correspond to the island experiences of Ogasawara today; such lyrics are re-enacted in everyday life as “riding in a canoe,” “dating in a bush,” “encountering visitors,” and “watching the zabon colour moon rising over the coconut leaves.” These shared notions of island lives arouse nostalgia for the South Pacific beyond time and space, and locate Ogasawara as part of ‘Nanyō’ (Figure 3.50). A contemporary song, “The Island of Bonin [Bonin no Shima],” exemplifies such a conflated sense of past, distance and nostalgia, by including song titles of Ogasawara classics in its lyrics:

Unknown flowers blossom on the island of Bonin, waiting for you
Swaying with the sea breeze, [the flowers of] bīde bīde, that is, my heart
The sky and ocean meet over there, just like you and me
Sunshine from the ancient past, today on you, today on me
My heart is dedicated to you, riding on the wind
It wishes to reach you, [the flowers of] bīde bīde, that is, my heart

“A Dugout Canoe” stained by sunset, and moonlight on the “Lemon Bush”
“Before Dawn,” you dreamed, as I dreamed
The island of Bonin, blowing in the wind of tomorrow
The island of Bonin, waving hands, farewell and hello
Now you smile after crying
You smile after crying
(See also the lyrics in Appendix A)

70 Indeed the sense of ‘Nanyō’ is multifarious and ambivalent; Nanyō is about a colonial and native land, but also invokes some sentiments of adoration and nostalgia. See such works by Yano T. (1975, 1979), Peattie (1988) and Dvorak (2011) for further investigation on Nanyō. I also describe ambivalent feelings about Nanyō throughout this thesis, see Chapters 4.1, 4.3 and 5.2, for instances.

71 A mainland musician Ishida Osamu (b.1952) composed the song. He learnt these Ogasawara classics through substantial communications with the island musicians. Ishida plays the guitar for “My Dear Bonin Islands,” sung by Edith Washington, in the locally distributed CD The Wind of Bonin [Bonin no Kaze] (2008).

72 Erythrina variegata in scientific name.
In the lyrics, such images as “a dugout canoe stained by sunset,” “moonlight casting on the lemon bush,” and “dreaming before dawn” are described as shared experiences on the island of Bonin. At the end, the song implies that the sadness expressed in “Because of Oyado” has been resolved: “Now you smile after crying.”

Song lyrics rarely tell a specific or precise story, and probably thus they can appeal to peoples in different periods and places. These Micronesian songs with Japanese lyrics have shifted their meanings and are now appreciated as the island classics of Ogasawara (Figure 3.51). In the process of transmission, the lyrics were also modified to some degree. For instance, “The Fifth District of Palau” was originally titled as “The Fifth District of Koror,” but later the Ogasawara singers renamed the song with the familiar place name of Palau instead of Koror (Kitaguni 2002: 151). Also the honeymoon destination, in the lyrics of “Lemon Bush,” was adapted from ‘Tokyo’ (or ‘Naichi,’

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Figure 3.50 High School Students, Dancing Hula “The Island of Bonin”

73 Although the word ‘maruki-bune’ describes the dugout canoe in general use, it literally means a ‘round wooden boat,’ and can imply the commonly used outrigger canoe in Ogasawara.
meaning mainland Japan) to ‘Chichi Jima,’ probably to appropriate the island as a
favourite travel location (ibid.: 146–49). However these lyrics still preserve shared
experiences and sentiments that have been extended from past Micronesia to Ogasawara
today. The meaning of ‘oyado’ remains enigmatic, but the ambiguous presence of a
powerful ‘oyado’ rather represents various hardships and struggles of the islanders, who
suffered from the politics of nation. The lyrics of the island classics pertain to the
peoples in-between and can be fully realised by ‘singing memories of others within my
heart.’

Figure 3.51 Performance of “A Dugout Canoe” in ‘Ohana Hula Festival 2009"
3.5 REMEMBERING THE PAST WITHIN SONG LYRICS

*Coral Street*

In the previous sections, I have traced island history through several song lyrics. The song “Bonin Islands” suggests various stories of castaways and first settlements to an uninhabited island. The children’s song “Cooking Mama” tells how the islands were populated by various migrants from the West, Hawai‘i and Japan, and celebrates their cultural heritages that have been preserved and perpetuated until today. The mysteries illustrated in “Ogasawara Island” signify the tangible records preserved in the island ecology, in which the people have found the beauty and identity of Ogasawara since the pre-war period. The Nanyō *odori* songs describe how Japanese colonialism extended to the south and locate Ogasawara in close affiliation with Micronesia. The island classics preserve the sentiments and memories of the people, who have suffered the politics of nations and yet sustained life after considerable difficulties. All of these songs travelled beyond time and space, and now appeal to the Ogasawara Islanders.
In this section, I introduce a song telling about Ogasawara soon after the reversion to Japanese administration. Just like the previous songs in this chapter, it preserves various past stories. An early newcomer Ikeda Nozomu wrote about a white “Coral Street,” which impressed him greatly when he migrated, although the street has already disappeared from the islands (Figure 3.52). The song inspired me to write this chapter as ‘Echoes of Coral Sand.’ The coral sand still remains on the beach of Maehama and arouses our nostalgia for the street that existed in the past, as described in the lyrics:

The southwind blows as usual
Long hair is waiving
The white beach is just there
See the breakers over the coconut trees
Coral street, coral street, coral street
I am hearing it

She/he was there too till yesterday
The little beach with white surf
Humming the everyday song
From far away over the ocean
Coral street, coral street, coral street
I am hearing it

Waves, skies and even white clouds
It’s a melody of summer [repeatedly sounding] just like waves
Coral street, coral street, coral street
I am hearing it

(See the original Japanese lyrics in Appendix A, music in Appendix C)

The main street of Chichi Jima was filled with white coral sand from the pre-war period to the early days after the reversion (Matsuki K. 1998: 13) (Figure 3.53). Although the street is paved with asphalt today, the people still remember, or can imagine at least, the white coral street, because there remain tangible traces of white coral sand on the popular Maehama beach.
Since the reversion of 1968, the people who had never seen the islands before began migrating to this remote place. It was the beauty of the environment and surroundings that often attracted many of those ‘newcomers’ to the islands. The composer of “Coral Street” Ikeda Nozomu was one such ‘newcomer,’ who was enchanted by the island ecology distinctive from mainland Japan:

I wrote many songs when I lived in Tokyo [before migrating to Ogasawara], but I felt that my previous compositions do not fit this island. You know, we folksingers were gloomy [not like Ogasawara’s climate]… After coming and living here, I stopped singing songs like yojō-han folk,\textsuperscript{74} which was the mainstream [in the 1970s on the mainland]. See, it is so bright here—the sunshine. Things like that changed my music a lot… I soon composed the song [“Coral Street” after migrating here]. The street was not paved yet—dazzlingly white, especially if it’s sunny. Yeah, I know the road was rather rough, making sounds like “zaku zaku…” when I walked. The island was like that situation [when I settled in Ogasawara]. (Interview January 2010)

It was the island ecology that made him write and sing a song appropriate to Ogasawara. Nozomu admits that his music style corresponds to Japanese popular music: “My songs are not much different from the music you hear in Tokyo” (ibid.). However the lyrics

\textsuperscript{74} Yojō-han folk is a genre of Japanese popular music associated with heartbreak and poverty (represented by a life in a small yojō-han room). It retained substantial popularity during the 1970s on the mainland.
still differentiate his songs from those of the mainland. Without the life experiences in Ogasawara, he could not compose the island favourite “Coral Street.”

The island features have considerably changed with the infrastructure construction after the reversion. The newly established Ogasawara village built a fishing port by reclaiming a shoal in front of Okumura (see Chapter 2.2), renovated Futami Port with a waiting room and other facilities, connected the roads by tunnels from central Ōmura to Ōgiura area, and paved the main street—once filled with white coral sand—with black asphalt. The ‘coral street’ might have become another mystery described in song lyrics, just like the ‘black canoe’ and ‘Short-tailed Albatross,’ but people still remember it within the white beach filled with coral sand.

I contemplate why the song “Coral Street” retains such popularity on the islands. Nozomu told me that he began to sing the song as a request at festivals, parties and gatherings: “Because we had nothing in those days, I performed my own compositions along with some other songs like those of The Ventures, the favourites of the ‘Caucasian descendants’ at that time” (ibid.). After repeated performances of “Coral Street,” the islanders have gradually recognised and appreciated the song, he supposed. However I also see the significance in the presence of the coral sand that spreads over the beach of Maehama today, as the island singers often refer to the coral beach before they sing the song. It is a tangible trace that allows us to imagine the shiny white street—once existed on the island.

Furthermore “Coral Street” represents nostalgia for a past Ogasawara, to which many islanders have lost connection as a result of the entangled history. Most present-day Ogasawara residents have never seen the street filled with coral sand, yet they still
remember it within the song lyrics. The song can be a powerful medium to associate the present Ogasawara with missing parts of the past. It allows the islanders to imagine the past inscribed in daily life. As mentioned, the favourite white beach plays an important role for human ecology on the island as a place to have festivals, gatherings, swimming, walking or just staying still—it embraces the islanders and their culture (Figure 3.54). The song “Coral Street” is exceptional because it satisfies nostalgia towards past Ogasawara by referring to the beach that has been loved and used since the pre-war period.

![Figure 3.54 Coral Beach of Maehama](image)

As explored in this chapter, song lyrics preserve various stories and histories, and invite us to approach past memories and sentiments. Narratives inscribed in song lyrics are often ambiguous and possibly include fantasy, but it is still meaningful to trace fragments of the past in this cultural art form. It should be noted that song lyrics reveal a dual nature between history and fantasy. I utilised the song “Bonin Islands” to exemplify such stereotyped island images as ‘tropical,’ ‘native’ and ‘paradise,’ but other songs introduced in this chapter also reflect the culturally mediated representations of
the Pacific. Moreover song lyrics are often essentialised and leave silences about various episodes behind. For instance, the song “Coral Street” never tells about swarms of frogs jumping around and making the road very slippery when hit by a car.75 Essentialised narratives possibly create idealised images about the past and induce us to faulty interpretations of history. As Dening suggests, we need “imagination” to comprehend uncertain pasts and obscured memories, yet imagination is susceptible to fall into fantasy. Therefore “historical truthfulness” must be applied in dual senses: to encourage imagination for multifaceted narratives, and yet to beware of fantasy dwelling beside imagination (see further arguments in Chapter 6).

The past is slippery just like the coral street, yet we are still implicated with the past in the course of our historical journey. As the coral sand spreads over the beach of Maehama, the past still remains within and around us—as Morris-Suzuki suggests (see Chapter 3.1). With this notion or metaphor of coral sand as the past, I argue that place and surroundings preserve remarkable tangible traces and allow us to make sense of the past into the present. As explored throughout this chapter, human ecology certifies how our life, culture and history are closely related to environment, landscape, fauna and flora. Such songs as “Cooking Mama” and “Ogasawara Island” exemplify sensibilities of human beings towards the nature that is reflected in our life styles, foods, clothing and everyday customs. Human ecology also provides corporeal experiences of the intangible past inscribed in music and dance, such as “a canoe sailing in the bay,” “cooking with island materials,” and “the coral street extending to the white beach.”

The life within the islands links uncertain imaginations about pasts to real experiences of today. Thus the loss of the island ecology becomes problematic for memory

75 During my fieldwork, I also found many frogs stepped on and flattened by a car around the main street.
construction; imagination without corporeal experience is often fragile, deficient, and possibly creates misunderstandings about things past.

In this chapter, I have traced an island history through song lyrics, but such narratives must be comprehended with other sources such as literature, photos, interviews, and field experiences. It should also be noted that song lyrics constitute just part of a larger cultural and historical narrative, and thus need to be evaluated with various human activities, including social structures, communications, livelihood, politics and economics. Indeed this chapter has illustrated how Ogasawara song lyrics cannot be fully realised without knowing other cultural practices and social matters of the islands. As mentioned, song lyrics themselves often include fantasy or fiction as their nature, and possibly draw misrepresentations if reading them as history or ethnography. Such risk would be reduced in seeking historical truthfulness that requires locating song lyrics in a larger cosmology of knowledge.

In addition, musical elements other than song lyrics—such as timbre, rhythm, melody, harmony and instrumentation—are also significant traces, which enrich our historical perceptions as well. These musical elements are culturally shaped and historically constructed art forms, and comprise music as a whole. Amongst these, I am particularly concerned with bodily movements and practices that preserve substantial historical traces, as exemplified in the choreography of Nanyō odori (in Chapter 3.4). Moreover corporeal experiences recapitulate the past into the present and allow us to enact history beyond abstract understandings. In the following chapters, I will further exemplify ‘historiography of performances,’ and explore theoretical arguments on the body and its practices in association with larger issues on history and memory. What I suggest here
is that song lyrics can have extensive expression when singers deliver the words with their voices and dancers illustrate the texts through bodily movements (Figure 3.55). Again coral sand is an insightful metaphor; it can make sounds when washed in the water, dried under the sun, and blown by the wind—as suggested in the lyrics of “Coral Street.” The performances of island music and dance re-enact past narratives inscribed in song lyrics, just as coral sand makes echoes embraced by the island ecology.

Figure 3.55 Nozomu and Midori, Singing “Coral Street” at a Rehearsal of ‘Ohana 2009

Besides the songs introduced in this chapter, many other local tunes also include fragments of the past and reflect the island history in different ways. These songs are often contemporary compositions written by migrants after the reversion, yet still articulate profound knowledge and experiences about Ogasawara, just like “Cooking Mama” written by Tamura Midori. I notice that the island musicians and dancers often increase their talents and expertise after migrating to Ogasawara and within the local lifestyle. Accordingly their works often address—or are dedicated to—the landscape, history, culture and people of Ogasawara. Indeed it is the love towards the islands that permeates Ogasawara musical culture from the past to the present. This love resides with sorrow and is closely associated with the deep cavernous sense, yet fills the islands
with overflowing music and dance. A musical journey continues with historical truthfulness that requires additional small stories to be explored in the form of ethnography. In the following chapters, I explicate that love pertains to the history of the Ogasawara Islands.

Figure 3.56 The Hula Performance of “Coral Street” at ‘Ohana Hula Festival 2009
CHAPTER 4

MY DEAR BONIN ISLANDS

Figure 4.1 Performance of “My Dear Bonin Islands” at ‘Ohana Hula Festival 2009
4.1 The Love within Sorrow

Enjoying Island Life

“So it’s a pity if we can’t enjoy island life!” Edith Washington continued after her declaration: “Since there is nothing on this island…” (Figure 4.2). As discussed in Chapter 2, Ogasawara residents have often experienced the cavernous sense within island life. As a result, they became eager to find something to fill the empty and missing sentiments. Not a few informants told me that there was no entertainment on the island soon after reversion, except drinking and chatting.¹ Consequently the islanders began to sing and dance together as well as enjoying other social activities.² Chapters 4 and 5 are ethnographic documents; they describe Ogasawara and its musical culture with notions of deep sorrow that eventually transforms as extraordinary love—dedicated to this small and remote community.

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¹ Another informant told me that he found his interest in just polishing and shining up a wood brick (found on a beach etc.) every night when he first migrated to Chichi Jima.
² For instance, the islanders love to play such sports as baseball, volleyball and gateball.
The title of this chapter is from a local favourite song “My Dear Bonin Islands” that expresses profound affection towards the islands:

Blessed by the sun, fragrances of flowers  
Bearing the fruit of papaya  
My dear, my dear Bonin Islands  
Ah, tropical Ogasawara

Blue ocean, green hills  
Clear skies, and singing birds  
My dear, my dear Bonin Islands  
Ah, beautiful Ogasawara

Blessing for the peace  
Calling for tomorrow and endless dream  
My dear, my dear Bonin Islands  
Ah, happiness Ogasawara

(See the original Japanese lyrics in Appendix A, music in Appendix C)

These words inspired me to write this chapter. In addition, the following story about the song illustrates the enthusiasm of the islanders for something fun within the cavernous sense. Here I return to Edith Washington, who took a major role for the island musical culture after the reversion in 1968.

Under re-instated Japanese rule, increasing numbers of ‘newcomers’ began migrating to Ogasawara for administrative work and infrastructure construction. To accommodate these employees, Tokyo Metropolitan Government set up a refectory in a village hall where Edith began to work (Figures 4.3 and 4.4).³ Edith told me that she felt a sense of emptiness amongst young migrants, who had never experienced such isolation on a small island before, and so began some musical activities utilising the refectory as an entertainment space. “My Dear Bonin Islands” was one of the songs sung there together with her colleagues.

³ Edith did not intend to work there. One day, she had just a look into the refectory, where several men, including her nephew Able Savory (see Chapter 3.4), were peeling potatoes awkwardly: “So dangerous, almost cutting themselves,” she thought, and began to help them.
A notable Japanese composer Yashima Hideaki (1915-1985) wrote the song “My Dear Bonin Islands.” At that time when the island was still being developed following

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4 Yashima presented his compositions, including “My Dear Bonin Islands” and the new “Dance-Song of Ogasawara” (see Chapter 5.2), at a school gymnasium in February 1979 (Tsuiji 1995b: 379).
reversion, Yashima visited Chichi Jima a couple of times probably to have a vacation or recuperation in the south island. One day, Edith heard that this renowned songwriter from the mainland was staying in a small guesthouse [minshuku] near the village hall. Excited by the news, together with her colleagues, she visited Yashima to learn his composition dedicated to Ogasawara. Soon “My Dear Bonin Islands” became a favourite song sung in the refectory. Yashima was very pleased and gave advice to the group on the singing of the song as well.

It is the fate of island life that most migrants eventually leave Ogasawara. Yashima was a rather short-term resident, and Edith and her colleagues forgot the tune after a while. But one day, they discovered a musical score of “My Dear Bonin Islands” left behind (Figure 4.5). Edith was greatly inspired by this event: “We can recover that beautiful song!” She knew that a teacher at the nursery school, located near her house, could read music. During the lunch break, Edith hurried back home, cooked for children, and ran to the nursery school. The teacher was surprised, but kindly accepted her request and began to play the music on the piano. Edith grabbed the phone connected to the refectory and shouted: “Listen, this is it!” By hearing just the first few notes, she recollected the entire tune and never forgot it. Without these series of events, the song would have been lost and never appeared as one of the island favourites today. In 2008, Ogasawara village produced a CD entitled The Wind of Bonin [Bonin no Kaze] as part of its activities for the 40th anniversary of the reversion (Figure 4.6). The CD features “My Dear Bonin Islands,” sung by Edith Washington, as the opening song, followed by other previously mentioned popular songs, such as “The Island of Bonin,” “Coral Street,” Nanyō odori songs, and Ogasawara classics.
The refectory provided a space for dancing as well as singing. Together with her colleagues, Edith Washington began to practise and enjoy Nanyō _odori_ there. Edith told me that she had no problem singing in front of people, but seriously disliked dancing. Nevertheless, she began to participate in this revival movement of old dance (see Chapter 3.4): “I encouraged them to learn the dance, but they never did so until I
began to dance.” After work, they moved the refectory tables into the corner and began to practise the dance together (Figure 4.7).

![Figure 4.7 Edith, Dancing Together with Her Colleagues after Work (Photo Courtesy Washington)](image)

The pre-war dance, known as the *dojin odori* [native dance], was a male only performance; Edith and other women never performed the dance until the reversion (see Chapter 4.2). It was a returnee Asanuma Masayoshi, who took a major role in reviving the choreography. He had participated in a youth association [*seinen dan*], which facilitated the dance activities in pre-war Ogasawara. After the reversion, Masayoshi began sharing his dance experiences with island fellows at the refectory. The group, now including many female dancers, elaborated the costumes utilising the island flowers and plants, and came to perform the dance on various occasions such as the reversion festival (Figures 4.8, 4.9 and 4.10).
Figure 4.8 Asanuma Masayoshi (Left) with Edith and a School Teacher (Photo Courtesy Washington)

Figure 4.9 Nanyō Odori Group Members in Early Days (Photo Courtesy Washington)
Thereafter the dance became available to all, including females, newcomers and even tourists. “In fact, everyone on the islands was forced to dance,” Edith recalled. She caught the youngsters and newcomers, and made them learn the dance, stating: “In any case, you all have nothing to do here other than dancing!” When the boat arrived at Futami Port, the Nanyō odori group members gathered around the pier and presented the dance for the passengers. Then they asked the visitors: “Thank you for taking the long voyage to visit us. This is the dance you must learn upon landing on this island!” (Kitaguni also introduces a similar story in 2002: 138).

The tradition has continued. In 1981, the group formed Nanyō Odori Preservation Association [Hozon Kai],\(^5\) and since then this official organisation has been providing various activities related to Nanyō odori, including weekly practice sessions, staged performances at festivals, and the farewell dance at the port; these events enrich the island experiences of both residents and visitors. Today the group also presents a dance

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\(^5\) Asanuma Masayoshi became the first president.
workshop, just as Edith strongly encouraged the visitors to learn and practise the dance in past days.

The workshop begins with the explanation of Nanyō odori: its origin, transmission, transition, lyrics and movements. The island dancers often appear in full costume, including a tako no ki pandanus headdress, raffia skirt and flowery leis. The association also prepares plastic headdresses and skirts for the visitors to enhance their feelings of being in the southern islands of Ogasawara (Figure 4.11). The costume has been modified since the first introduction of the dance in pre-war Ogasawara, but still recapitulates the process of dressing as Micronesian dancers of the past, conveys tropical and exotic feelings of the Pacific, and symbolises the dance as cultural heritage derived from Nanyō (compare the pictures, Figures 3.43, 4.9 and 4.12). Instruction in choreography follows the performance experience; the beginners learn the marching movements first, and then practise the dance “Urame” just a little (Figure 4.12). Then the association forces the participants to perform the rest of the dance: “Before Dawn,” “Uwadoro,” “Gidai” and “Aputairan.” Of course, the visitors cannot dance after all, but they try to follow the island dancers with some awkward movements that lead to laughter amongst the party and scattered exclamations: “What is that?” “I haven’t learnt it yet!” “Oh no, turning that way.” Lastly the association announces that the island dancers are available for taking photos together (Figure 4.13). Some participants would feel and realise the colonial overtones behind this practice, but the visitors generally appreciate the workshop. In my observation, the workshop does not intend to replicate colonial views or ambitions; rather it represents the sentiments of the islanders to have a good time and share memories with the visitors (see Chapter 4.2 for further arguments on Nanyō).
Figure 4.11 Visitors, Trying the Nanyō Odori Costume

Figure 4.12 Nanyō Odori Workshop at the Festival Park

Figure 4.13 Taking a Photo with the Visitors
During the summer, the association sends off the visitors with the island dance. Making time while at work, its members somehow gather around the pier, often in full costume, to present the farewell performance. They call to the passengers: “Hope you had a good time in Ogasawara and have a safe voyage. We send out best wishes for our reunion here in Ogasawara!” As described in Chapter 2, Ogasawara life is filled with various sorrows including constant farewells to fellow islanders as well as visitors; thus they cherish the time spent together, and farewell the people with music and dance enjoyed on the islands.

The cavernous sense permeating Ogasawara musical culture eventually produces extraordinary affection towards the islands as the shared space for singing and dancing. The story about “My Dear Bonin Islands” epitomises the enthusiasm of the islanders for something enjoyable after suffering from missing memories and solitude. The revival of Nanyō odori also exemplifies the experience of wanting memories that evokes the counter emotion of yearning for something to fill the cavern. The emptiness after the loss requires music and dance that transform the sorrow into love for Ogasawara and its community.

In this section, I introduced stories from the period after the reversion, particularly episodes around the life of Edith Washington, yet the responsive senses of ‘missing and yearning’ can be observed throughout the island history. The perception of ‘nothing on the island’ demands that the people have various entertainments and enjoy island life together. Many troubles and misfortunes have occurred since the first settlement of 1830, nevertheless the people have preserved and perpetuated the island life by having fun together—including performances of music and dance.
In the following sections of this chapter, I trace back the island musical culture and demonstrate a continued sense of ‘wanting memories’ on the islands. Chapter 4.2 describes musical activities from pre-war Ogasawara to the US Navy period. Chapter 4.3 focuses on how the people retrieved and recreated the island musical culture after the reversion—as introduced in the stories of “My Dear Bonin Islands” and Nanyō odori. Chapter 4.4 is about past musical activities of Iwo Tō and Kitamura, Haha Jima; these memories were often forgotten or erased as the villages were discarded after the war. The narratives in the following sections are rather fragmented and include several personal stories. This form of writing is imperative since various historical and cultural sources have been lost through social and political turmoil. Also, instead of presenting a general and conventional ethnography, I rather prefer to introduce many small stories that better illustrate human sensibilities and sentiments concerning music and dance. The missing accounts may not be recoverable, yet we can still refer to corresponding stories, utilise our imagination, and include lost memories in our historical understandings. These small past stories collectively comprise a larger musical ethnography of ‘love within sorrow’ that also pertains to current musical activities of Ogasawara. The sadness hardly remains itself and possibly induces various relevant sentiments of yearning, empathy, affinity and love—to be further demonstrated and explored in Chapter 5 with contemporary stories of Ogasawara musical culture.
Figure 4.14 Edith with Nanyō Odori Dancers (Photo Courtesy Washington)
4.2 TRACING FRAGMENTS OF PAST MUSICAL CULTURE

Pre-war Ogasawara Musical Activities

Figure 4.15 A Biwa Teacher in Pre-war Okimura, Haha Jima
(Details Unknown, Photo Courtesy Tsuji)

A former islander, Wakazawa Mineo, recalls pre-war Okimura village on Haha Jima:

“There was almost no entertainment after all... at that time, the village people were eager to seek some recreation. Nostalgic memories vividly revive in my mind even after over sixty years” (2003: 52-53). Born in Okimura and reared there until the war evacuation, at the age of 82, Wakazawa prepared a booklet entitled *The Performing Arts of Pre-war Okimura, Haha Jima* [*Senzen Haha Jima Okimura no Minzoku Geinō*] (2003), filled with fond memories of his home. In this section, I introduce pre-war Ogasawara musical culture by referring to this booklet (Figures 4.15 and 4.16). The stories about Okimura, Haha Jima are dominant, but I also present relevant information of Chichi Jima accordingly. Although Wakazawa declares that there was almost no

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6 It was fortunate that a Haha Jima islander Kodaka Tsuneyoshi gave me a copy of this valuable booklet during my fieldwork—if not, I could hardly have traced pre-war Haha Jima musical culture. The descriptions of this booklet are based on the stories from the author’s parents, grandparents, other island elders, as well as his own experiences (ibid.: 57).
entertainment, the booklet actually includes rich information about past musical activities. The people were passionate about having fun, including performances of music and dance, to fill their empty feelings. The following stories about theatre performances and film viewings represent the enthusiasm of the islanders during the pre-war period.

It was around 1930 that a mainland theatrical troupe Nakajima Shinnosuke Ichiza began to visit Haha Jima every winter. The village head officer Inoko Tetsuo invited the troupe after realising that there was little entertainment on the island. In Okimura, the troupe was based at the Noguchi Katsuobushi Factory and presented a show intermittently for a substantial period of time. On the day of the performance, several actors dressed up as marching performers [known as chindonya] and walked around the village street, playing such percussion instruments as bells [kane] and drums [taiko], led

7 Katsuobushi is dried, fermented and smoked bonito. Its production was one of the major industries in pre-war Ogasawara.
by selected children holding flags [hata] for the procession.\(^8\) The procession included several recitatives [or spoken narratives known as kōjyō] that attracted possible guests by briefly introducing the drama of the day (Wakazawa 2003: 53-54).

Several informants from Chichi Jima also remembered the Nakajima Shinnosuke Ichiza; the troupe travelled from mainland Tokyo to the islands of Izu and Ogasawara one after another.\(^9\) They performed such a play as “The Snake with Obsession [Shūnen no Hebi],” which featured a real white snake hung around the neck of the hero. Edith Washington remembered the show; it was so exciting, but was always incomplete and to be continued so as to attract the audience for a successive performance. Another informant recalled his excitement when the troupe distributed paper balloons for children. It seems that this troupe also provided villagers with some acting instruction that resulted in local performances, such as a kabuki play “Five Men of the White-Capped Waves [Shiranami Go-nin Otoko]” by the youth association (interviews anonymous 2009).\(^10\)

In Okimura, instead of the youth association, the people living in a particular district called Enshūmach organised kabuki plays.\(^11\) This district mostly consisted of migrants from Tōto’umi Province [commonly known as Enshū];\(^12\) the region was famous for local kabuki plays. According to Wakazawa, the members of Enshūmach began a theatrical performance, invoking nostalgia for their country of origin. Later the

\(^8\) It was prestigious to be selected as flag-holding children, who received a free ticket for the show as well.
\(^9\) Some of my informants also mentioned that they encountered Nakajima Shinnosuke Ichiza in Chiba and Kanagawa Prefectures when they evacuated to the mainland (interviews anonymous 2009).
\(^10\) The formal title of the play is “A Story of Aoto and Flowery Brocade Pictures [Aoto Zōshi Hana no Nishikie],” written by Kawatake Mokuami II (1816-1893) and premièred as kabuki theatre in 1862.
\(^11\) Pre-war Okimura was subdivided into eight small districts according to their countries of origin and/or periods of migration.
\(^12\) The province occupied now the western half of Shizuoka Prefecture.
villagers became passionate about kabuki theatre and put every effort into the performance. The rehearsals sessions began about a month before the day of production; the performers gathered around the house of the district head Suzuki everyday at 7 pm and practised until late at night. The actors not only mastered their entire roles, but also devised voice qualities, tempos, movements, and other artistic expressions that correspond to their singing/narrating accompanied by the shamisen music [known as gidayū bushi]. If not acting, other villagers contributed to the theatrical activities by bringing night meals [yashoku] and liquor [sake] during the rehearsals, and by preparing the stage sets, props and costumes. This small remote village gradually amassed a considerable stock of such valuables for the theatre as costumes, wigs and props. These public properties were preserved with great care—treated with insect repellent and stored in a special depository. But a fiery air raid during the Pacific War burnt every single item (Wakazawa 2003: 31-35).

Wakazawa also describes film viewings as part of the village entertainment of Okimura. It was around 1933 that the son of a wealthy Okuda family migrated from Tokyo for convalescence and first brought a film projector to Haha Jima. He planned a film viewing only with a few close friends, but the village children never missed such exciting news and thronged to Okuda’s room on the second floor of the inn Kōyō Kan. The floor was too weak to support that many people and collapsed, and the film viewing had to be cancelled. In the year following this incident, the village youth association purchased a projector to have a public film viewing in the grounds of the elementary

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13 Repertoire included famous “The Subscription List [Kanjin Chō],” “Loyal Kuranosuke and His 47 Servants [Kanadehon Chūshingura]” and “Five Men of the White-Capped Waves [Shiranami Go-nin Otoko].”
14 Gidayū bushi is a Japanese musical genre begun by Takemoto Gidayu (1651-1714). The music, composed of the voice and the shamisen [a three-stringed lute], often accompanies bunraku puppet theatre and also kabuki performance.
school. On the day of the movie, the people began gathering around noon to secure a better position for a night show. Almost all villagers attended this exciting event held every other month. Although there were some troubles while viewing with the cheap second-hand machine, the audience never complained and thoroughly enjoyed silent films lent by Ōtsuka Shinema Company of Asakusa, Tokyo. Several amateur villagers acted as a *benshi* [a performer who provided a lively narration/explanation to a silent film]. Although these local *benshi* had no experience or training, the audience still appreciated and applauded their emotive recitatives (ibid.: 55-56).

Wakazawa Toshio, a brother of the booklet author, was one of the amateur Haha Jima *benshi*, who also performed for film viewings on Chichi Jima (Figure 4.17). Edith Washington remembered him very well as a renowned and skilful *benshi* in pre-war Ogasawara.¹⁵ As Toshio acted a *benshi* of Chichi Jima film viewing, different villagers of Ogasawara communicated with each other and often shared recreation experiences. Just as in Haha Jima, on the day of a film viewing, Chichi Jima people prepared their own mats *[goza]*, gathered in the grounds of the elementary school, and enjoyed a silent film with *benshi* narration (interviews anonymous 2009).

¹⁵ After the reversion, Toshio lived in Chichi Jima for a while and often visited Edith along with his friends; they occupied the dining room of her house, drank and sang together. He eventually moved to Hachijō Jima due to job relocation, yet still makes phone calls to Edith occasionally and expresses his nostalgia for Ogasawara and his wish to return.
Another major entertainment of Ogasawara was sumō wrestling, often practised as part of a Shinto ritual [called hōnō-zumō] (Figure 4.18). The wrestling competition with corresponding musical performances retained great popularity in Haha Jima, Chichi Jima, and even Iwo Tō. A few documents describe the hōnō-zumō dedicated to the village shrine of Okimura, called Tsukigaoka Jinja, in detail. About 20 days before the festival, (which took place from 1 to 3 November annually) after work around 7 pm, the selected wrestlers and coaches gathered at the house of Ishii Kikuka in the Shinmachi district, and practised singing and dancing, as well as the wrestling (Wakazawa 2003: 28-31).
Another booklet *Songs of Haha Jima [Haha Jima no Uta], No. 4* (1977), prepared by Haha Jima Primary School, includes the song lyrics of the “Dance-Song of Ise [Ise Ondo],” which accompanied the wrestlers’ procession to the shrine. The lyrics begin with references to the famous Ise Jingū [Shrine] and the port town nearby, called Tsu in Ise Province [now Mie Prefecture], and mention Nagoya and its beautiful castle located on the other side of Ise Bay. Then the lyrics jump to a hill on Haha Jima: “There is the hazy Chibusayama hill [on Haha Jima], now I am thinking of my pretty girl” (see also the lyrics in Appendix A). The Ise Jingū is the primary Shinto shrine of Japan, and was a famous pilgrimage site especially during the Edo period (1603-1868). Accordingly the “Dance-Song of Ise” was disseminated by pilgrims and localised in various regions of Japan. The song also travelled to Ogasawara and was utilised for the *sumo* procession. The reversion festival of Haha Jima in 2009 featured a revival performance of the “Dance-Song of Ise,” but this time sung as a procession song for female dancers (not male *sumo* wrestlers, see also Chapter 5.2).
On the day of the festival, *sumo* wrestlers dressed up with gorgeous belts [*keshō mawashi*] and marched down the main street following a parade float [*dashi*]. During the procession from Shinmachi, located at the foot of Chibusayama hill, towards the shrine near Oki Port, the performers kept on singing and dancing the “Dance-Song of Ise.” After climbing the 96 stairs to the holy house, the wrestlers were purified with sacred words [*norito*] and divine *sake* alcohol [*omiki*]. Then they conducted a ceremony [called *dohyō iri*] circulating around the arena [*dohyō*], accompanied by a *sumō jinku* song, with words such as: “Wearing the belt, [the wrestlers are] performing the *dohyō iri*, they look good indeed, [but] don’t be wrestlers, [it is a pity that they are] struggling in such a small circle of *dohyō* arena” (see also the lyrics in Appendix A).

The ritual was followed by a wrestling competition divided according to classes of strength ranking [*banzuke*], just like professional *sumō* (Haha Jima Primary School 1977, Wakazawa 2003: 28-31).

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16 There are various *sumō jinku* songs, such as “Overwhelming Flowers [*Hana-zukushi*]” and “Overwhelming Mountains [*Yama-zukushi*].” *Jinku* is a popular poetry style in Japanese music.
Amongst the island performing arts introduced in his booklet, Wakazawa fully describes the *dojin odori* [literally meaning ‘native’ or ‘kanaka dance’] that became a prototype of the aforementioned Nanyō *odori*. According to Wakazawa, an Ogasawara Islander Asanuma Kuniyoshi mastered the dance in Micronesia when he worked there during the 1920s, and later disseminated the dance in Okimura around 1932.\(^\text{17}\)

Kuniyoshi was a versatile entertainer, who practised such popular improvised dances as the octopus dance [*tako odori*] and loach scooping [*dojō sukui*],\(^\text{18}\) yet it was *dojin odori* that won the most applause from the islanders. Soon the people asked for Kuniyoshi’s instruction and the dance became one of the favourite performing arts in Okimura.

The dance transmitted by Kuniyoshi included “Urame,” “Uwadoro” and “Gidai,” but excluded “Before Dawn [Yoake Maeni].” Later around 1937, a government officer, Fujikawa Takeo, moved to Okimura as head of the Haha Jima Forestry Agency and began teaching “Before Dawn,” which he had learnt during his youth in Chichi Jima. After that, the dance enjoyed further popularity and was featured in various events including a shrine festival and temple ceremony.

After autumn 1941, Haha Jima became a military island with a batallion of the Imperial Navy stationed in the newly constructed base there. Yet the islanders kept on performing and even entertained the soldiers with the *dojin odori*. For instance, realising the loneliness experienced by soldiers on the remote island, the military headquarters sometimes requested the villagers to present the dance performance in the base. On the days of the Tsukigaoka Jinja shrine festival, the navy extended the curfew

\(^{17}\) Several informants told me that Kuniyoshi might not have travelled to the Nanyō [South Pacific]. In this case, he possibly learnt the dance in Chichi Jima from Josiah Gonzales.

\(^{18}\) The dance is often accompanied by a folk song “Yasugi Bushi” from Yasugi area of Shimane prefecture.
of soldiers to 9 pm and asked the villagers to present the dance earlier in the program. In addition to such formal performances, Wakazawa also describes how the villagers enjoyed dojin odori at alumni parties, family reunions, or just gatherings under the moonlight around the beach street and pier (ibid.: 10-14).

As mentioned, in Chichi Jima, the dojin odori was probably introduced in the early 1920s, when Josiah Gonzales returned to Ogasawara from Micronesia (see Chapter 3.4). Although Josiah died early in 1935, his brother Christopher and brother-in-law Kikuchi Torahiko, both of whom had possibly travelled around the South Pacific as well, provided dance instruction at St George’s Church.19 The aforementioned Asanuma Masayoshi learnt the dance from Christopher and disseminated it after the reversion as Nanyō odori (Kitaguni 2002: 134-37, see also Chapter 4.1).

In pre-war Ogasawara, usually 10 to 15 male dancers, who often imitated native islanders of Micronesia, performed dojin odori. They often painted their bodies and faces black with ink [bokuji], powdered white cosmetic around the eyes, rouged over and around the lips, wore a skirt made of abacá and a headdress knitted of palm leaves. The performance was very masculine. The dancers made heavy sounds by stamping the ground, and by hitting hard their hips, arms and legs so severely that some of them had bruises and sprains after dancing (Kitaguni 2002: 136, Wakazawa 2003: 14-15).

Dojin odori also featured as an interlude of kabuki and other theatrical shows. Kitaguni mentions an interesting local play presented during the shrine festival at the Ōgamiyama

19 Kikuchi Torahiko’s wife Sueka remembers that Josiah, Christopher and Torahiko had often taught the dance in the village youth association when she was an elementary student; it was around 1923-1925. Later around 1940s, there appeared a legendary dancer/instructor called Tsune-pan, possible real name is Okuyama Tsuneji, who managed a bakery [panya] in pre-war Chichi Jima (Kitaguni 2002: 135-37).
Jinja in pre-war Ōmura, Chichi Jima. Around 1923-24, Josiah’s brother Kikuchi Torahiko created a story entitled “Towards the South [Minami e]”; it describes a young Japanese boy, who yearns for and travels to the South and falls in love with a beautiful local Chamorro girl (the story corresponds to my narrative of ‘unattained love’ in Chapter 3.4). In the show, dojin odori was incorporated as one of the scenes of the plot. The current President of Nanyō Odori Association, Takasaki Kikuo, acted in the show and performed dojin odori for the first time; Torahiko had taught him the dance together with a song entitled “Love Song of Natives [Dojin no Koi no Uta]” (Kitaguni 2002: 136-37, interviews anonymous 2009).

The practices of dojin odori are problematic. They include the discriminatory overtones of the word ‘dojin [kanaka].’ The strange makeup and costumes can be seen as mocking the peoples of the South Pacific. Thus the dojin odori was renamed and is now called Nanyō odori, which is performed without black makeup in Chichi Jima today. Scholar of Pacific Islands Studies, Gregory Dvorak, discusses images of dojin and a native girl, such as the one who appeared in the play “Towards the South,” as “the quintessential embodiment of the Japanese colonial desire toward the islands and a symbol for the myth of available, alluring virgin territories into which Japan could launch its expansionist ‘mission’ of nanshin, or southern advance” (2007: 103). As Radhika Mohanram (1999) argues as well, it is undeniable that black body and femaleness convey colonial ambition to seize and occupy the others. Dojin odori is not an exception and can represent the “quintessential embodiment of the Japanese colonial desire.” However I still wonder if only such an invasive motivation created the

20 “Love Song of Natives” is included in Folksongs of Ogasawara (1982) compiled by the Board of Education, Tokyo. The song is hardly sung today.
21 Haha Jima male practitioners still perform the dance with black makeup occasionally (see Chapter 5.2).
practices of *dojin odori*, particularly in the case of Ogasawara. Note that Micronesia is one of the ancestral lands for the ‘Caucasian descendants,’ since Maria Dilessanto (see Chapter 2.4) migrated from Guam. She can be recognised as “the mother of Ogasawara,” to whom almost all ‘Caucasian descendants’ are related (Long and Inaba eds. 2004: 14). In the performance of *Nanyō odori*, I rather observe a complex sentiment of nostalgia that also pertains to admiration and affection towards the South. As I explore throughout this thesis, affinity and empathy with others console the sorrows of small remote islands. In this sense, *Nanyō odori* still expresses Ogasawara’s nostalgia for and connection to the southern islands. By singing and practising the dance derived from Micronesia, the Ogasawara Islanders extended their sentiments towards the South and affirmed their connectedness with other peoples.22

The other performing arts of Ogasawara also allowed the islanders to invoke nostalgia and enhanced the sense of affinity with other places. For instance, *taiko* drumming relieved the difficulties and loneliness of the early migrants from the island of Hachijō with the sounds of their home. Similarly the people who came from mainland Enshū consoled themselves with *kabuki* theatre and further associated Ogasawara with Japanese popular culture. The “Dance-Song of Ise” travelled from the Ise Province and appealed to the islanders with a sense of yearning for the primary shrine of Japan that was religiously connected to the local shrine of Tsukigaoka Jinja in Okimura, Haha.

22 Even in the case of mainland Japan, the sense of *Nanyō* is not exclusively discriminatory and colonial. For instance, a poet Shimazaki Toson (1872–1943) expresses nostalgia for the South in the song “Coconuts [Yashi no Mi]” (it was the first song I have heard on the Ogasawara Islands, see Chapter 2.2). The lyrics are derived from the story by folklorist and novelist Yanagida Kunio (1875–1962), who considered that ethnic Japanese could trace their origin in the South Pacific. See his book *Route on the Sea [Kaijō no Michi]* (1978). Similarly a comic writer Mizuki Shigeru expresses his adoration towards the natives of *Nanyō* in his essays (such as 2002), and still utilises the term *dojin* with respect—*dojin*: the people *[jin]*, who live together with the ground *[do]*. Inomata (2007) also describes *Nanyō* as the place, where complex sentiments of colonial, romantic and nostalgia are inscribed.
Jima. During the summer, the islanders also held the *bon* dance convention that was another relevant reference to mainland Japan.

In the booklet, Wakazawa emphasises the “pioneer spirit based on mutual aid” and “shared appreciation of entertainment” in the remote community. As discussed in Chapter 2, there were conflict, antagonism, injustice and discrimination amongst the residents of pre-war Ogasawara. However, it was also true that the people collaborated with each other and found joy together within the sorrow—often by performing music and dance derived from other places. In considering Ogasawara musical culture, it is important to notice the ‘shared experiences’ and ‘affinity with others’ that pertain to the islands from the past to present. From wartime to the US Navy era, the islanders further experienced loss and estrangement, yet they still sought out ways to relieve the sorrow through music and dance, as we shall see in the following section.

Figure 4.20 President of Nanyō Odori Association, Takasaki Kikuo (Second from Right), Dancing with Edith and Other Friends (Photo Courtesy Washington)
Music travels as people migrate and return home. Not only the islanders, but also short-term residents or temporary visitors have contributed to Ogasawara musical culture, often drowning their sorrows in music and dance. In many cases, migrants eventually leave Ogasawara, but the music sometimes remains on the islands—changing its forms and styles. Here I return to stories of Edith Washington and her experiences with migrating people and travelling music (Figure 4.21). The following episodes illustrate Ogasawara musical experiences that occurred during the wartime and in the context of a post-war politics. The politics around the war created various sorrows that were in turn relieved with music.

Edith recalled her youth when she learnt “Dance-Song of Susaki [Susaki Ondo]” from a migrant military worker (see also Chapter 3.3). In 1932, the Imperial Japanese Navy
began constructing an airport base in the Susaki area, where Edith, then aged about 16 years old, worked in conditions close to those of forced labour—carrying a heavy straw basket \( mokkō \) filled with stones. She remembers that flying rock fragments caused by dynamite explosions reached Ōmura, on the opposite side of Futami Bay. Susaki once had outstanding scenery with caves, hills, shoal, and a sandy beach that was destroyed and eventually flattened to make an airplane runway (Figure 4.22).

Figure 4.22 Stony Susaki Beach Today, Facing to Ōmura

One day, Edith heard news about a clam digging party \( shiohigari \), to celebrate the completion of the airport, at a beach called Takinoura on the other side of the island. Edith and her friends never missed such enjoyment and asked the supervisor to include them in the excursion. The only requirement was to sing a song at the party. She replied: “No problem, it’s my pleasure.” While on the boat travelling to Takinoura, the company learnt the “Dance-Song of Susaki,” probably composed by the supervisor,

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23 Susaki is an area to the west of Ōgiura.
24 After rigorous work and much environmental destruction, the airport was not useful after all due to strong airflows around the area and inadequately short runway (Matsuki K. 1998: 92-93).
25 It is much easier to reach Takinoura beach by boat rather than by climbing up and down hills.
Edith recalled. She was quite impressed with the song that describes stories set against the beauty of Susaki, such as “thinking about a girl viewing shaded moonlight under the leaves of coconut trees,” “riding in a canoe with my husband in the rough ocean” and “a pleasant assignation in a *tamana* bush under the cloudy moonlight” (see also the lyrics in Appendix A)—the scenery could never be restored after the destruction caused by the building of the runway. Although the beautiful landscape was lost, the song was inscribed in Edith’s heart, and later she applied its melody to her own composition, “Dance-Song of Reversion [Henkan Ondo]” (see also Chapter 2.1).

Edith acquired not only a song but also a musical instrument from a migrant. The wife of a manager (named Abe) in charge of tunnel building (of Ōmura Zuidō and Kiyose Zuidō, see Chapter 2.2) became a friend of Edith’s cousin Catherine Savory; and when the Abe family returned to the mainland, the wife left her *tefū-kin* [literally a ‘hand-blow musical instrument’ that is probably the diatonic accordion] with Catherine. Although Catherine owned the instrument, it was Edith who enjoyed the *tefū-kin*, as she stated: “Catherine asked me to try it and I could soon play the instrument while singing.” On those days, Edith often sang Japanese popular tunes such as “Farewell Blues [Wakare no Burūsu].”26 Its lyrics say: “When opening the window, I can see the harbour, the lights of Meriken [American] wharf. Together with night wind, see breeze and love wind, where is that boat going” (see also the lyrics in Appendix A). She reminisced about her youth under much military control—singing “Farewell Blues” accompanied by the *tefū-kin*, perching on her window, viewing Futami Port, and sending off a boat.

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26 Lyrics by Fujiura Ko (1898-1979) and music by Hattori Ryoichi (1907-1993). Legendary singer Awaya Noriko (1907-1999) first released the song in 1937.
On 4 August 1944, the last evacuation boat *Tonegawa Maru* left Ogasawara, (although the boat was sunk from an attack by the US Navy). The Imperial Japanese Army kept 825 male islanders in Ogasawara and made them serve for the military support activities [known as *gunzoku*] (Eldridge 2008: 53-54). When remaining on Chichi Jima as a *gunzoku*, Takasaki Kikuo (who acted in the play “Towards the South”) first heard the “Dance-Song of Ogasawara [Ogasawara Ondo]” sung by soldiers (see also Chapters 3.3). Kikuo was truly impressed with the song, which describes a long voyage from mainland Tokyo followed by various place names of the islands with their features (see the lyrics in Appendix A). He found consolation in the song and wrote down the lyrics. Upon the defeat of Japan, the “Dance-Song of Ogasawara” once disappeared from the islands, as Kikuo was evacuated to the mainland. But later the song was retrieved in

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27 A soldier stationed on the islands probably wrote the song (Suzuki 2001: 1).
28 The Pacific War ended on 15 August 1945, but those people stationed in Ogasawara still remained there without a ship for evacuation (Suzuki 2001: 1). Kikuo left for the mainland in December of the same year.
Ogasawara and consoled the islanders again after the reversion (Suzuki 2001: 1-4, see also Chapter 4.3).

During the period after the war, Edith Washington was living in Taura, Kanagawa Prefecture (see also Chapter 2.1). It was fortunate that the tefū-kin travelled back to the mainland with Catherine’s family; Edith found consolation in playing it during the turmoil after the war. She recalled: “I got very bored in those days. One day, when I was walking down a street, I suddenly heard music that lured me to a public house. People were having a band rehearsal there for a coming local shrine festival.” Edith often describes herself as a person who loves trying out things [monozuki]; she soon became acquainted with the musicians there, joined the band as a singer/tefū-kin player, and performed in the festival. Edith also travelled to a neighbouring town, performed with the band, and earned money by singing for the first time (Figure 4.24).

![Figure 4.24 Edith, Singing Accompanied by the Local Band in Taura (Photo Courtesy Washington)](image)

Such a musical life relieved her empty feelings after the war, but Edith soon experienced another loneliness in her home. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the ‘Caucasian
descendants’ could return to Chichi Jima on 17 October 1946, yet life under American control was also difficult and filled with sorrow. In such a small isolated community, fishing was the only occupation except for military-related work. The islanders established a local corporation, the Bonin Islands Trading Company (BITC),\textsuperscript{29} to secure contact with the rest of the world. They fished for wahoo [sawara] and tuna [maguro] on canoes, sold the fish to Guam through BITC, and earned US dollars to purchase daily commodities (Yamaguchi 2005: 143). With very limited connections to other places, there was no kabuki theatre, dojin odori dance, sumo wrestling performance, bon dance, or taiko drumming anymore.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{fisher.jpg}
\caption{An Ogasawara Fisherman with a Captured Wahoo, the US Navy Period (Photo Courtesy Washington)}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{29} The Bonin Islands Trading Company was reorganised as Ogasawara Co-op after the reversion. The aforementioned Catherine’s husband, Sebori Gorohei, managed the company until Rocky Savory, one of Able’s sons, took over the business.
My ‘Caucasian descendant’ informants often became silent when I asked about musical activities during the US Navy era, and concluded: “Anyway there were not that many people.” However fragmented memories still confirm that some cultural events were held on “The 4th of July [Independence Day]” and “Return Day” on the 17th of October. In daily life, the US Navy presented viewings of American movies; such country music as “The Battle of New Orleans” (1959) heralded the beginning the movies held on the ground of the Radford School. At nighttime, the youngsters often gathered around the Blue Lighthouse, which was the best place for capturing radio; they listened to American popular music through the Far East Network (Suzuki 2003b: 20-21). Also an EM [Enlisted Men’s] Club, commonly known as Ginkōkai [Leucaena leucocephala tree] Club, provided music and drinks every Friday. The jukebox at the club played American popular singers such as Eddie Fisher (1928-2010) and Connie Francis (b.1938). In the club, the customers often strummed the guitar and danced together (ibid., interviews anonymous 2009). Edith told me about bingo games held at the club; she never won a game and always lost money. She continued: “But, you know, there was no entertainment so that the people gathered around such a place to have a little fun.”

Edith was truly depressed in her home with far fewer people than in pre-war Chichi Jima, which had more than 4,000 residents. Besides, her favourite tefū-kin was lost somewhere on the mainland. One day, just before returning to Chichi Jima, Edith had a chance to purchase another tefū-kin, sold in a shop of Yokohama, Kanagawa Prefecture,

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30 “The Battle of New Orleans” is a song written by Jimmy Driftwood (1907-1998), and was first released in 1958.
31 The Far East Network was a radio network provided to US Forces in Japan and its neighbouring areas.
32 The club was exclusively for the navy officers, but opened to the public once a week on Friday.
but could not buy it without a mariner’s certificate [sen’in techō].\textsuperscript{33} She never had a chance to play the instrument thereafter. Instead Edith obtained a radio, which her husband Ned purchased during his visit to Guam. It was a small and simple radio, but captured Japan’s NHK broadcasts well.\textsuperscript{34} Edith recalled that she listened to the program “Radio Melodies [Rajio Kayō] everyday from 4 pm while she was cooking dinner.\textsuperscript{35}

Through the radio, Edith learnt and enjoyed such Japanese popular tunes as “Who Made Such a Woman [Konna Onna ni Dare ga Shita]” (1947) and “Tokyo Boogie Woogie” (1947). The song “Who Made Such a Woman” tells the story of a military nurse who lost her family in an air raid in Tokyo and lived alone as a prostitute [yoru no onna] after the war. The occupation authorities, which controlled Japan after the war, were much concerned about the title; it was thought likely to stir up anti-American feelings. The song was eventually released with the neutral title “Upon the Shooting Stars [Hoshi no Nagare ni]” adapted from the first line of the lyrics (see the lyrics in Appendix A).\textsuperscript{36} However the song became better known under the original title, because the refrain “who made such a woman” strongly appealed to the audience, particularly to women who were prostitutes (Osada 2003: 132-33).

The song “Tokyo Boogie Woogie” was another of Edith’s favourites, but she had difficulty catching the lyrics: “On the radio, you didn’t know when it would be played

\textsuperscript{33} According to Edith, the tefū-kin could be purchased only by the mariners at that period. Although this reasoning is unclear, there were some restrictions for purchasing things soon after the war.

\textsuperscript{34} NHK is abbreviated from Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai [Japan Broadcasting Corporation]. It is the national broadcasting organisation of Japan.

\textsuperscript{35} The radio program began in 1936 under the title “National Melodies [Kokumin Kayō]” and produced many national hit songs. Later around 1940, the program was modified and utilised for exaltation of patriotism towards the war; it was renamed “Our Songs [Warera no Uta] and then “National Chorus [Kokumin Gasshō]” until 1945. After the war, the program was reorganised as Radio Melodies [Rajio Kayō] and again produced many popular songs.

\textsuperscript{36} Lyrics by Shimizu Minoru (1903-1979), music by Tone Ichiro (1918-1991), and first released by Kikuchi Akiko (1924-2002).
What helped her to learn the lyrics was a typhoon. One day after a storm, several Japanese fishing boats took refuge at Futami Port, and Edith made the most of this opportunity. After the church service, she went to the port, greeted the fishermen, and learnt the words of this popular tune from one of them. The lyrics, which include the words: “Echoes beyond the ocean, Tokyo Boogie Woogie,” finally reached Edith, but this was a rare case (see also the lyrics in Appendix A). Edith often learnt the latest Japanese songs through the radio, but just hummed them without complete lyrics.

Edith recalled that when she wrote her lyrics of the “Dance-Song of Reversion”; the words came out with no effort. But this never happened again. It was a crucial moment in her life when she heard about the reversion, after suffering a segregated life with less than 300 people. As described in Chapter 2.1, Edith was delighted with the prospect of reunion with old friends, and must have expected emancipation from the segregation and the revival of various cultural activities. As Edith anticipated in her “Dance-Song of Reversion,” the islands have gradually retrieved past musical genres with the growing number of returnees and newcomers (Figure 4.26). The following section introduces such stories of tracing and recovering past musical genres.

Lyrics by Suzuki Masaru (biographical data unknown), music by Hattori Ryoichi (1907-1993), and first released by Kasagi Shizuko (1914-1985).

It should be noted that the reversion created much trouble as well, particularly amongst the ‘Caucasian descendants.’ Also the Japanese administration still prohibits the Iwo Tō refugees from retuning home (see also Chapter 2.5).
4.3 RETRIEVING MUSICAL CULTURE

Songs Delivered from the Past

As the refugees returned and newcomers began migrating to the islands, Ogasawara musical culture was gradually retrieved, including the Nanyō odori and taiko drumming. The evacuees remembered the pre-war Ogasawara songs and dances, but they hardly practised these island performing arts on the mainland. It was the life within the islands that stimulated the people to practise and enjoy the pre-war musical genres again. This section introduces stories of music and dance that flourished in Ogasawara along with the returnees, newcomers and visitors. The narratives often represent nostalgia for past musical activities that filled the cavernous sense of the islanders after the reversion.

One day when the reversion was about to be realised, Edith received “a bundle of songs [uta no taba]” from a temporary visitor, named Fukuoka Toru, who came to the islands...
with special permission to help conduct worship for ancestors’ graves. The bundle included many local song lyrics transcribed by Takasaki Kikuo, who had been evacuated to the mainland after the war. Edith was so delighted with the bundle sent by Kikuo. The song lyrics, forgotten for many years, allowed Edith to recollect old melodies and increased her nostalgia for past Ogasawara.

Edith remembered every single melody of the song lyrics sent by Kikuo, except one song entitled “Dance-Song of Ogasawara.” As mentioned, the soldiers stationed on Chichi Jima sang this song, and Kikuo transcribed it when he was serving as a military auxiliary in Chichi Jima (see Chapter 4.2). Just like Kikuo, Edith was truly impressed with the lyrics, but could not sing the song for about a decade. In 1978, Kikuo returned to Ogasawara with the melodies of the song, and “Dance-Song of Ogasawara” soon became favourite of the islanders. Life on the island of Chichi Jima at that time was lonely with little entertainment, so that the people revived a bon dance festival featuring the “Dance-Song of Ogasawara” (Suzuki 2001: 3-4) (Figure 4.27).

The bon dance featured such popular Japanese songs as “Dance-Song of Coal Mining [Tankō Bushi]” and “Dance-Song of Tokyo [Tokyo Ondo],” but it was the “Dance-Song of Ogasawara” that the islanders most appreciated at that time: “The lyrics made us feel as if we were travelling around the islands of Ogasawara one after another, a wonderful piece” (ibid.: 4, see the lyrics in Appendix A). However the dance is not practised anymore. Its parochial and lengthy lyrics were the problem; the unfamiliar song composed of ten verses telling about ‘local’ places often excluded tourists from the

39 "Dance-Song of Coal Mining" is in the traditional folksong repertoire of Fukuoka Prefecture, but is also famous and performed nationwide. “Dance-Song of Tokyo” was originally composed as “Dance-Song of Marunouchi [Marunouchi Ondo]” in 1932: lyrics by Saijo Yaso (1892-1970) and music by Nakayama Shinpei (1887-1952), premièred in a bon dance convention at Hibiya Kōen Park, Tokyo.
circle of bon dance. As described in the Nanyō odori activities (see Chapter 4.1), the islanders appreciate shared experiences with the newcomers and visitors, and accordingly the dance gradually lost its popularity. Several elders remembered the dance as including hopping and jumping—such practices can still be observed in choreographies of current Ogasawara bon dance repertoire, such as those of “Dance-Song of Sperm-Whale [Makkō Ondo]” and another newly composed “Dance-Song of Ogasawara [Ogasawara Ondo]” (ibid.: 3-4, see also Chapter 5.2 for current bon dance practices) (Figure 4.28).40

![Figure 4.28 Jumping Dancers in the Bon Dance Festival 2009](image)

The case of Ogasawara classics is slightly different. They describe unfamiliar stories associated with the Nanyō, but the lyrics still appeal to the newcomers and visitors. The narratives about “The Fifth District of Palau [Parao no Go-chôme],” “Lemon Bush [Remon Bayashi]” and “A Dugout Canoe [Maruki-bune]” sound exotic and romantic,

40 An elementary school teacher Yauchi Atsumi, who was appointed in early days after the reversion, choreographed the old “Dance-Song of Ogasawara.” The new “Dance-Song of Ogasawara” was written by Yashima Hideaki, the composer of “My Dear Bonin Island,” probably around 1979 (see also Chapter 4.1).
and inflate nostalgia towards the ‘south sea islands.’ A newcomer, Matsuki Masao, describes his great impression when he first heard these songs:

When I first visited Ogasawara [it was probably around 1972], at a picnic, I heard several songs with great curiosity. Those people, who have Caucasian lineage and have lived on the islands since pre-war period, sang pieces with kanaka melodies. They were actually derived from islands of South Pacific… The melodic motifs with some sorrow, together with Japanese lyrics, match with exotic atmosphere of the south sea island of Ogasawara, where coconut leaves are swaying, I listened to them with rapture. (1980: 3)

Musicologist Kitaguni Yu mentions that Able Savory repeatedly sang these songs from Micronesia in parties or gatherings with his fellow Japanese (2002: 146). She also reports that Okuyama Takazo began sharing the song “A Dugout Canoe” (which he learnt on Angaur Island, Palau) with his friends and colleagues soon after the reversion (ibid.: 149-51, see also Chapter 3.4). Through such repeated expositions, these Micronesian songs came to be recognised as the island classics.

Besides the lyrics, these songs reveal several distinctive musical characteristics. First, they are all written in triple time except “Before Dawn” and “A Dugout Canoe”; second, diatonic scales are applied to relatively disjunctive melodic motifs, while Japanese dance-songs are often written in Japanese pentatonic scales, such as yonanuki tan onkai [a minor scale without the 4th and 7th] (see below, comparison with “Dance-Song of Susaki”); third, rhythmic materials often include swing like accents in melodic and verbal phrases, which allow a singer to rubato, so that the pulses retard or accelerate according to a singer’s musical expression (transcriptions in Figure 4.23, music in Appendix C). The combination of these musical textures, along with the awkward Japanese lyrics, possibly invokes a sense of the exotic for Japanese migrants like Matsuki.
This exotic sense includes fantasised images about the Pacific, but these musical textures also invoke admiration and appreciation rather than embodiment of others related to the colonial desire. A member of Nanyō odori once told me: “I don’t do this dance and sing Micronesian songs, if they were just a production under the Japanese colonial rule. I truly appreciate Micronesian cultural heritage in the performances”
In this context of Ogasawara after the reversion, these Micronesian songs shifted their meanings to represent historical and cultural connections of Ogasawara to other islands in the Pacific. The Ogasawara Islands awkwardly belong to Tokyo Metropolis today, yet the island classics still indicate the in-between-ness of Ogasawara—its remoteness, ecology, and social customs that suggest rapport with the Pacific beyond the nation of Japan.

Since the reversion, the islanders have retrieved music and dance from faded memories and filled the empty feelings of isolation. It is unfortunate that the old “Dance-Song of Ogasawara” lost its popularity, but the song played a significant role in the revival of bon dance practices. Thereafter the islanders have enjoyed dancing together with visitors; the summer bon dance festival is one of the major tourist attractions today. Similarly the Micronesian songs, often being concealed in personal memories, have been shared with migrants and newcomers since the reversion. These songs with awkward lyrics and unfamiliar melodies were well accommodated in Ogasawara, where people with different backgrounds and experiences had to collaborate and sustain life together. Today these songs are recognised as Ogasawara classics and often appreciated together with Nanyō odori and hula performance (Figure 4.30). Past musical activities, which had once disappeared from the islands, became significant sources to fill the cavernous sense of the islands after the reversion. Below, I introduce another performing art of taiko drumming that flourished in pre-war Ogasawara, was lost during

41 Many other performers of Nanyō odori are also conscious of the Japanese colonialism extended to Micronesia, and thus the dance was modified, including the name change, to accommodate life in Ogasawara today. Also, as explored by Konishi and Nagaoka (2008), Nanyō odori is not just a product under the Japanese colonial rule, and preserves various historical traces of Micronesia in its lyrics and movements (see Chapter 3.4).
the US Navy era, was revived after the reversion, and is practised as one of the island’s cultural traditions today.

Figure 4.30 Performance of “Lemon Bush” in ‘Ohana Hula Festival 2009
Just as in the case of other performing arts, only a few practitioners revived *taiko* drumming in Ogasawara. Probably a Haha Jima islander, Sasaki Masaharu, was the first person to perform the *taiko* in Ogasawara after the reversion (Figure 4.31). It was almost involuntarily that he began to play: “I don’t know why but I was eager to hit the drum when I returned.” However there were no drums on the islands at that time, so Masaharu made his own *taiko* by fitting car tires to a drum can. After more than 20 years interruption, the sounds of *taiko* again echoed on Chichi Jima, where Masaharu lived temporarily before re-settling on his home of Okimura, Haha Jima (interview June 2009).

It is interesting that Masaharu had never performed the *taiko* until this time; he retrieved the practices only through his memories of past performances that he had observed in his boyhood. In pre-war Okimura, children were not allowed to hit the *taiko*, yet vivid images of past drumming practices were burned in Masaharu’s mind: “I hated the men’s performance because they drank and hit the drum in a crazy manner. By contrast,
women drummed the *taiko*, wearing Japanese *kimono*, so elegantly and gracefully. I adored the fascinating sounds of female *taiko*.” When he was living on the mainland after the war, Masaharu never thought about hitting the *taiko*, even if the instrument was available to play (ibid.). It was the life within the islands that motivated him to reproduce the sounds of *taiko* from fond memories of past Ogasawara practices.

On February 1973, a ferryboat connecting Chichi Jima and Haha Jima began its regular service twice a week (Tsuji 1995b: 196). Masaharu soon left Chichi Jima for his home when the infrastructure of Haha Jima became sufficient for civilian residency. Since then, he has kept on performing the *taiko* in Haha Jima together with his friends and followers. In Chichi Jima, other *taiko* practitioners appeared. A former *taiko* instructor from Chichi Jima, Okuyama Yasuko (Figure 4.33), introduced two early-day performers: grandpa Take Jī [Sasaki Takeichi] and grandma Otomo no Obāchan [real given name unknown].42 Yasuko often accompanied these precursors to play the basic rhythmic pattern, called *shita byōshi* [lower beats], of the pair drumming. They were originally from Kitamura, Haha Jima, and Minamitori Shima respectively, but lived on Chichi Jima after the reversion, probably because civilians were not allowed to resettle in their old places of residence.43

While Otomo no Obāchan performed only for shrine events, Take Jī “loved to show off” for every event, which bothered the teenage Yasuko; she was rather reluctant to appear in public with little *taiko* experience. Take Jī never taught Yasuko the drumming formally and perplexed her with such words: “Just follow me.” Such performance

42 Take Jī was also famous as Uncle Trumpet [Rappa no Ojisan], who performed the trumpet to send off the boat.
43 Minamitori Shima was abandoned already in 1933 (see Chapter 2.2).
experiences with Take Jî were gradually inscribed into Yasuko’s body and allowed her to acquire *taiko* practices unique to Ogasawara (interview February 2010).

Currently there are two *taiko* groups in Chichi Jima: Hasshôryû Daiko [Eight Shooting Stars’ Taiko] and Bonin Bayashi [Bonin Festival Music]. Between them, the Hasshôryû Daiko traces its origin to such precursors as Take Jî and Okuyama Yasuko. After practising with the skilled performers for many years, Yasuko became one of the prominent figures of Ogasawara *taiko* drumming and held private lessons every week at the village hall [*sonmin kaikan*] once located in Okumura.44 While Yasuko and her students were practising the traditional style of improvisational *taiko*, the elementary school, together with its Parent-Teacher Association (PTA), also began their own *taiko* activities. A school’s music teacher Ohama Katsuhiko directed this group based at the school. Prior to this, Ohama had lived in Haha Jima and learnt the *taiko* from Sasaki

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44 Yasuko began the class at the request of the villagers, especially ‘newcomers.’ She said that she could not really teach, because she had acquired the drumming only through repeated practices with skilled performers. Yasuko said: “the *taiko* practices are inscribed in my body, but they [her students] have to think when drumming; I never did so” (interview February 2010).
Masaharu (see also Chapter 5.1). Unlike Haha Jima taiko practices, in Chichi Jima, Ohama began to teach the taiko in ensemble style [kumi daiko], which was appropriate for the beginner students and their parents. After several years, Ohama left the islands because of job relocation; he was another temporal migrant. The Ogasawara Board of Education asked Yasuko if she could support the school’s taiko activities, so that Hasshōryū Daiko was newly formed by merging two groups (interviews anonymous October 2009, February 2010). Okuyama Yasuko also left the islands several years ago, but her students, such as Tomono Reiko and Odamaki Gyoji continue the Hasshōryū Daiko activities, including lessons for the schoolchildren (Figure 4.34).

Another taiko group, Bonin Bayashi, was newly formed in 1998 to specialise in ritual/festival music [called matsuri bayashi], so that its members play such instruments as the shinobue [flute] and kane [or shō, bell] as well as taiko. Under the direction of a

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45 Ohama Katsuhiko, a prominent figure for Ogasawara musical culture, first migrated to Haha Jima as a music teacher of primary school there. He once left the islands with job relocation, but later returned to Ogasawara as a music teacher of elementary school in Chichi Jima.

46 The local favourite ensemble taiko piece “Chichi Jima” is one of his compositions.

47 Okuyama Yasuko appeared on the stage of the New Year’s Day event 2009 as a special guest, and presented a taiko song accompanied by the drumming, which is one of the traditional taiko performance styles of Ogasawara and also of Hachijō Islands.
newcomer Hirata Seizan, Bonin Bayashi began providing music for shrine rituals and the *bon* dance festival (Figure 4.35). In addition to these activities, the group achieved fame through its farewell performance. On each departure of the *Oga-maru*, the group makes a statement: “We drum the *taiko*, best wishes for your safe voyage and our reunion on the islands,” and performs the newly composed piece “Sperm Whale Drumming [Makkō Daiko].” Although the founder Hirata Seizan left the islands several years ago, under the new leadership of fisherman Takamine Haruo, Bonin Bayashi keeps on contributing to various cultural activities with its *matsuri bayashi* music.

![Figure 4.34 Bonin Bayashi Performance of Matsuri Bayashi Music](image)

Since the *taiko* drumming was revived separately on each island, the performance practices are different in Chichi Jima and Haha Jima today. Under the guidance of Sasaki Masaharu, Haha Jima practitioners preserve the traditional Ogasawara style based on the pre-war female drumming. On the other hand, in Chichi Jima, Take Jī and other precursors performed the *taiko* in Hachijō style (Nagao 2003: 14-16), and further

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48 Hirata Seizan migrated from Edogawa District, Tokyo, to Ogasawara in 1988 (Konishi 2002: 186). He first learnt Ogasawara *taiko* practices and later created his own group of Bonin Bayashi.

49 Hirata Seizan composed this *kumi daiko* piece especially for the farewell performance.
newcomers modified the practices by incorporating mainland performance styles such as the ensemble _taiko_ [kumi daiko]. Nevertheless they still reveal some similar practices that also correspond to the practices of the neighbouring island of Hachijō Jima. I shall now investigate _taiko_ practices of these three islands by tracing fragments of bodily memories.

There is no precise record of when the _taiko_ drumming was first introduced to Ogasawara, but several documents confirm the mass immigration from Hachijō Islands, where the _taiko_ tradition has been preserved and perpetuated probably since the Edo period (1603-1868). The Hachijō settlers began drumming in the new territory, expressing nostalgia for their home island. Wakazawa Mineo describes the _taiko_ practices of pre-war Okimura as follows:

The settlers from Hachijō brought the instrument from their home island and began performing _taiko_ for diversion after various hardships and exploitation in life... In Ogasawara, a big double faceted membranophone called the “festival _taiko_ [matsuri daiko]” is used for the pair drumming style. This style includes improvisational _uwa byōshi_ [upper beats] and basic accompaniment of _shita byōshi_ [lower beats]... The highlight is the skilled arts of stick [bachi] movements that each performer elaborates one’s own actions and performance styles... In pre-war Okimura, _taiko_ performance was featured in a village festival, Buddha’s Birthday held in a temple called Kiyomi Dera, at clam-digging picnics organised by the youth association, and on other occasions such as labourers’ parties, the launch of fishing boats, and celebrations of the catch of big, that is, every celebrative occasion. (2003: 35-37)

As suggested in the quotation above, improvisation is the essence of this _taiko_ tradition, so that performances by each drummer are different and constantly shifting. As a result, the settlers devised their own drumming of ‘Ogasawara _daiko,_’ which reveals divergences from the original drumming of Hachijō Island (ibid.: 35).

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And even, the practices of Hachijō drumming are constantly shifting.
The *taiko* practices have been further modified particularly after the reversion. For instance, the drumming of Haha Jima is rather modest and delicate compared to that of Chichi Jima and Hachijō Jima, as Sasaki Masaharu states: “My style is from pre-war female performers” — the past practice of male “drunken crazy” drumming has now disappeared from Haha Jima. A Japanese *taiko* researcher Nagao Mari explains the similarities between Chichi Jima and Hachijō drumming styles, by referring to the fact that her informants, Sasaki Takeichi [Take Jī] and Otomo Hajime [the son of Otomo no Obāchan], had lived in Minemura village, Hachijō Jima, during and after the war (2003: 14-16). Today in Chichi Jima, the newcomers take responsibility for *taiko* activities. They often prefer to perform in the ensemble *taiko* style, which is composed of fixed rhythmic patterns (not improvisation) and better facilitates the learning of drumming by beginners (Figure 4.35), (although advanced performers still enjoy the improvisation). The *taiko* practices continue to shift, as the island community is transient with constant arrivals and departures.

51 But I have observed that Haha Jima people still drank sake in weekly *taiko* practice sessions.
52 Nagao mentions that Otomo Hajime had learnt the drumming from his aunt, the Hachijō *taiko* virtuoso Inada Kae. She also describes the performance of Take Jī as follows: “While *shita byōshi* continues creating the basic rhythm, he shook his hips or danced with funny movements, and then returned to the drum… Later I figured out that such a comical performance style is from old Hachijō tradition” (2003: 14-16). Take Jī left Ogasawara after the death of his wife (ibid.), and his student Okuyama Yasuko moved to the mainland several years ago due to job relocation. According to Yasuko, Otomo Hajime still lives on Chichi Jima, but he is not active in the *taiko* activities anymore (interview February 2010).
In the above paragraphs, I indicated the dynamics of *taiko* practices, but it is also important to be attentive to fragments of bodily memory that allow the *taiko* practitioners to be aware of the cognate of different drumming styles amongst the islands of Hachijō, Chichi Jima and Haha Jima. The Ogasawara drummers are often conscious of similar practices in divergent performances that are derived from one original source from Hachijō. The film Appendix B1 shows both similarities and differences between drumming styles of the two islands of Ogasawara. The movements of Chichi Jima performers are often dynamic, taking a wider stance and by whirling the sticks. On the other hand, Haha Jima drummers are rather moderate without exaggerated gestures. Nevertheless these two *taiko* styles still share, not only the paired drumming practices, but also some musical motives and idioms that appear in the transcriptions below (Figure 4.36). It is no coincidence that the drumming styles of
Chichi Jima, Haha Jima, and even Hachijō Jima retain similar practices; they are cognate and thus become conscious in the same past.53

I argue that *taiko* practitioners on different islands are conscious of the same source, origin or past, because movements embody a form of memory. In this sense, as they retain similarities between their performances, Ogasawara drummers are led to

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53 It is interesting to compare the words cognate and cognitive: definitions of these two words are relevant to Ogasawara *taiko* practices (cognate—related by family, having the same ancestor, derived from common original source; cognitive—conscious intellectual activities of thinking, reasoning and remembering).
recognise and identify the connection between the drumming styles on the different islands. This consciousness further motivates the performers to affiliate with each other in search of collective practices and remembrance. For instance, Chichi Jima practitioners perform the ensemble piece entitled “Haha Jima,” which is not an improvisation but composed of musical motives often utilised in Haha Jima drumming. Also such events as the reversion festival and cultural exchange parties often feature Hachijō taiko performers and allow the Ogasawara people to experience the sounds of prototype drumming. Although the taiko drumming once disappeared from Ogasawara for more than 20 years, the current island musicians still preserve past practices in their bodies and movements, and remember this performing art by extending their own experiences to the memories of others.

I am conscious about the ‘invention of tradition’ that possibly contests my arguments above. However, particularly in music and dance research, I argue that we need to provide enough ‘attentiveness’ to the body and its practices before applying the ‘invention of tradition’ discourse. I do not neglect ‘change’ or ‘dynamics’ of the taiko drumming, but this genre could never have appeared as it is today without past practices. It is fragments of bodily memory that allowed the people to retrieve the taiko drumming again in Ogasawara. Moreover past practices of the taiko drumming still appear in the current performance, make the practitioners conscious of their cognate performances, and create cultural interactions beyond temporal and geographical distances. Here I return to the statement of Sasaki Masaharu: “I don’t know why but I was eager to hit the drum when I returned.” The taiko drumming possibly filled his cavernous sense by providing connection to others and affinity to the past that created Ogasawara taiko tradition today (see further theoretical arguments in Chapter 6.2).
What Edith Washington desired in her “Dance-Song of Reversion” was realised. With increasing numbers of returnees and newcomers, several musical genres were restored on the islands of Ogasawara. Since then, the past musical practices have helped to fill the cavernous sense of the islands, together with newly introduced performing arts. The instances of musical revivals imply that human beings possibly recollect memories and past practices even after much social disturbance. They also signify how human beings live together with environments and ecology; if the evacuees did not return to Ogasawara, the musical genres of Nanyō odori, taiko drumming and bon dance would never have reappeared on the islands. There are also cases of performing arts that have been obliterated because of limited access to ‘places.’ These stories are difficult to trace and investigate, but, in the following section, I will attempt to describe the lost pre-war musical activities of Iwo Tō and Kitamura, Haha Jima.

Figure 4.37 Lyrics of a Taiko Song Printed on Back of an Original T-shirt
[Sasaki Masaharu Wrote the Lyrics, Based on Past Song Lyrics Sung in Okimura, Haha Jima. They Tell about the Sounds of Taiko Echo around the Haha Jima Island Ecology.]
4.4 Missing Lands, Lost Memories

Imagining the Forbidden Island

Figure 4.38 A Ferry Pier, Pre-war Ōmura, Chichi Jima (Photo Courtesy Tsuji)

I remember that Edith was talking with several friends about pre-war Chichi Jima life, such as taking a ferry at a pier of Ōmura to attend a shrine festival of Ōgiura,\textsuperscript{54} eating rice balls [\textit{oni-giri}] that were made of the rice harvested in a field [\textit{tanbo}] around Kominato area,\textsuperscript{55} and singing a song for Kigen Setsu [11 February, the holiday to celebrate the enthronement of the first emperor Jinmu] at the ceremonial site located near the elementary school.\textsuperscript{56} These places do not exist anymore. However they can be imagined through the related sites that are still accessible in everyday life on Chichi

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\textsuperscript{54} The ferry cost 15 cents [\textit{sen}] for one way from Ōmura to Ōgiura.

\textsuperscript{55} Kominato is an area to the south of Ōgiura. There is no rice field in Ogasawara today.

\textsuperscript{56} Kigen Setsu was enacted in 1873 as one of the four major holidays [called Shidai Setsu] in Japan. The song “Kigen Setsu,” lyrics by Takasaki Masakaze (1836-1912) and music by Isawa Shuji (1851-1917), was released in 1888 and widely disseminated through school education. The holiday was discontinued after the war in 1947, and accordingly the song lost its popularity.
Jima today (Figures 4.38 and 4.39). By referring to various places on the island, past memories can be retrieved.

As explored in Chapter 3, recollecting memories are often collective activities of talking to friends, referring to tangible traces, and performing music and dance. These practices are still possible in Chichi Jima and Okimura, Haha Jima, because people live at the sites and experience the island ecology in daily activities. If the lands were discarded, memories would fade and eventually be lost—just like the cases of Iwo Tō and Kitamura, Haha Jima. Former Iwo Tō and Kitamura residents face difficulties in recalling memories of past days due to limited access to their home. After the war, voluminous records on the Battle of Iwo Jima (19 February-26 March 1945) have been collected and preserved. On the other hand, everyday stories of Iwo Tō have been marginalised and gradually erased without civilian residence on the island since the evacuation of 1944.

Figure 4.39 The Former Ferry Pier, Often Utilised by Sightseeing Boats Today
A fisherman Kikuchi Shigeo, currently living on Chichi Jima, is one of the few male survivals from the island of Iwo Tō. According to him, young male islanders over sixteen years old were advised to remain on Iwo Tō and participate in military activities there [as gunzoku]. Under the direction of the army, Shigeo worked for such a project as digging air-raid shelters to prepare for the impending US military campaign. His fate was to die in the Battle of Iwo Jima together with his classmates. But, on 29 December 1944, Shigeo was suddenly diagnosed as a sick person and took a boat for the mainland. “I had no health problem after all,” he stated in the interview with me, and wondered why only he could avoid the tragedy amongst many others. There is no one who knows the fact anymore (interview November 2009). Since the last evacuation, more than 65 years have gone by and many refugees have died already. Memories of Iwo Tō life are fading without access to the island year after year.

Every year in June, Ogasawara village organises an Iwo Tō visit for the refugees, who conduct worship for ancestors’ graves [bosan] on the island. The village also allows selected journalists and Ogasawara residents to join the tour. I thought it was necessary to visit the island of Iwo Tō in search of past musical activities there, but my petition was never taken seriously. Later in July, a schoolteacher Kawahara Nanae (the island choir director also, see Chapter 5.1) allowed me to participate in a students’ seminar held at the junior high school. The students travelled to Iwo Tō, communicated with the refugees, explored around the island, and shared their experiences in the seminar, which provided me a virtual tour of the forbidden island (Figure 4.40).

Kikuchi Shigeo is one of the most successful fishermen in Ogasawara and served as Union Head of Ogasawara Fishery Association for many years.

The village office disparaged my research as a worthless student project.
The presentations were occupied by the information about the battle, such as detailed statistics and strategies against the US military campaign. It can be inferred that the students mostly visited the places concerning the war, such as the former battlefields, decayed fortifications and the memorial park. Probably they did not realise where the past residential areas were; they were demolished for military purposes and often disappeared in the jungle today. The airbase of the Japan Self-Defence Forces occupies most of Motoyama district, the largest residential area before, as if to represent the politics of memory. Massive war memories often marginalise everyday stories of past Iwo Tō.

Since the last evacuation of 1944, the island has been secured and segregated only for military purposes. Accordingly memories of past Iwo Tō life have been confined, entangled and fading out. However fragments of the past still appeared in the students’ presentations, often through visual images, such as old photographs and the landscape

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59 There existed six residential districts [buraku] in Iwo Tō, including: Motoyama, Higashi, Nishi, Minami, Kita and Chidori.
filmed in videos. For instance, the seminar included a photo session, which featured recreational activities in pre-war Iwo Tō, such as a sumo wrestling tournament, baseball game, and school arts festival—although these accounts remained with brief comments. A video session presented distinctive landscapes such as vapour rising from the sulphur hill [Iōgaoka] and a desolate circle in front of the shrine [Iwo Tō Jinja].60 Such an activity as steaming potatoes at the sulphur hill recapitulates past daily life of Iwo Tō, and the shrine’s precinct indicates ritual ceremonies once occurred there (Figure 4.42). These visual materials sufficiently implied that cultural/musical activities occurred in the past, and further enriched my imagination in facilitating interviews and investigating lost memories.

Figure 4.41 An Elder, Conducting a Ritual for the Shrine, Pre-war Iwo Tō (Kurata ed. 1983: 184)

60 The shrine was re-built after the reversion.
Through the visual information, I could infer that past Iwo Tō islanders retained similar kinds of musical activities that occurred in pre-war Chichi Jima and Haha Jima. Again it was collective efforts that recollected the past musical activities of Iwo Tō. When I interviewed a former Iwo Tō resident Tamura Teruyo, she suddenly made a phone call and began retrieving memories together with one of her friends on the mainland. They confirmed such performing arts as bon dance, sumō wrestling rituals, songs sung at a school sports day, film viewing accompanied by the narrator [benshi], and taiko drumming that echoed during festival occasions (Figure 4.43). Kikuchi Shigeo also mentioned that there was a dance similar to the current Nanyō odori. He explained that the dance was probably derived from Saipan, at where substantial numbers of Iwo Tō islanders worked before the Pacific War (interviews November and December 2009).

As mentioned above, the musical activities of Iwo Tō were relevant to those of Chichi Jima and Haha Jima. Certainly each village preserved its own cultural practices that

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 probable Teruyo was about 10 years old when she left the island of Iwo Tō.
were appropriate to different ecologies and lifestyles, but the islanders still shared such performances as *bon* dance, *taiko* drumming, and the dance derived from Micronesia. Kitamura on Haha Jima was not an exception. The people sang *sumo jink* songs dedicated to the village shrine and danced *dojin odori* wearing a costume made of local flowers and plants. As follows, I shall briefly introduce musical activities of pre-war Kitamura, Haha Jima.

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62 For instance, in the case of Iwo Tō, there were no streams or ponds for fresh water on the island, so the people collected rainwater in a huge tank, where goldfishes were released to remove wigglers. Interestingly there was little need to provide water for a farm, which obtained enough moisture from the morning dew caused by the temperature differences between day and night (interview December 2009).
Travelling to the Discarded Village

Compared to Iwo Tō, Kitamura village is still accessible, though there is no one living there today. One day in June 2009, while I was staying in Haha Jima, I rented a moped and drove through a mountain path to the north of the island for Kitamura—to see if I could find any remains of the former village. According to the information provided by Haha Jima visitor’s office, Kitamura held its own village hall, post office, police station, shrine, and elementary school, as well as fishery facilities for making fermented fish \([kusaya]\) and dried bonito \([katsuobushi]\), the specialities of pre-war Haha Jima. There were more than 400 people residing there. The villagers constructed their houses, with Ogasawara \(birō\) palm leaves on the roofs,\(^{63}\) along the valley extending to a small inlet called Kita Port (Figure 4.44). A creek filled with pure water flowed to the port via the village. The hills around the valley were ploughed over for sugarcane and other crops. The main street continued over the hill and reached to another harbour called Higashi

\(^{63}\) Ogasawara \(birō\) is an indigenous palm tree \([Livistona boninensis]\), locally known as the shuro.
Port, which was often utilised as a whaling station (Figure 4.45). The village was small, but rich with various harvests from the land and ocean, and also filled with music and dance unique to this place.

Figure 4.44 A Map of Haha Jima (Ogasawara Village Tourist Association 2008)
I was surprised when I saw the area of former Kitamura. Almost nothing of human settlement remained there and just jungle spread over along the main street. I could trace the main road, which was paved with asphalt (after the reversion), down to the harbour and found a newly constructed arbour on the beach. I recognised a creek flowing in the jungle filled with mangrove that prevented me from exploring the site. After all, I could find no remains of the former village there, except a decayed pier at the port and several stones around the former elementary school site (Figures 4.47 and 4.48). I recalled what Edith Washington mentioned, when she returned home after the evacuation: “There was almost nothing that remained and the island was covered with jungle.” Without human activities, a living environment is soon eroded and disappears in the wild nature.
Currently no one resides in this area, as mentioned, but there were a few former residents who tried to re-settle in this village after the reversion. In Chichi Jima, I became acquainted with one such person, though he was actually born in Yamanashi Prefecture when his parents from Kitamura were evacuated there. He recalled: “My father hired a fishing boat somewhere and we travelled back to Kitamura,” although the island of Haha Jima was still under construction for the incoming returnees (Kitamura was not included in this re-development). Survival life—farming, fishing, and spending
nighttime under the light of the lamp—lasted for several years. Yet he eventually withdrew from Kitamura, finding better business opportunity in Chichi Jima. It was difficult to re-create a community with only a few people and without infrastructure. I wonder if Ogasawara village supported these returnees of Kitamura; the hamlet might be retrieved somehow.

Although this former settler never experienced pre-war Kitamura life, it seemed that life at the site allowed him to better access memories of past musical/cultural activities there. He mentioned that sumō wrestling was very popular in pre-war Kiramura. Once a year, the wrestlers from Okimura, Kitamura, and also Iwo Tō gathered around Ogasawara Jinja shrine at Ōgiura, Chichi Jima, and contested their strength. In Kitamura area today, the ruin of the shrine called daijingū still remains on the hill (though I could not find it hidden in the jungle), together with a big stone called chikara ishi [strength stone] that was used for sumō training as well as for strength contests in pre-war Kitamura. He also mentioned that the Kitamura village owned original sumō jinku songs. The aforementioned Sasaki Takeichi [Take Jī] remembered the sumō jinku songs of Kiramura and applied them to the revived sumō ritual at the Ōgamiyama Jinja shrine, Ōmura (interview December 2009). The songs travelled with the migrating people and certainly echoed again in Ogasawara, even though the village of Kitamura was abandoned.

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64 He still visits Kitamura occasionally and takes care of his lemon farm located around the village (though I could not find it there).
65 Currently he manages a shop Maruhi in Omura, Chichi Jima, and also acts as the priest of Ōgamiyama Jinja shrine.
66 He noted that every village had its own sumō jinku songs in pre-war Ogasawara.
67 It is unfortunate that these songs are lost today, but a tape recorded by Take Jī might be preserved somewhere in the shrine (ibid.).
Besides the *sumō jinku* songs, there were other original songs of Kitamura. It is an interesting music tradition of Ogasawara that each island, village or area has its own songs that describe local community, places and ecology. The song of “Kitamura Youth Association [Kitamura Seinen Dan]” is one such example (Figure 4.49). A former Kitamura resident Somei Kitaro probably composed this song during the pre-war period. The lyrics were transcribed from Take Jī’s singing. One of my informants, who spent his childhood in Kitamura and migrated to Chichi Jima after the reversion, sang the song for me:

An isolated island, yet belonging to Tokyo  
Our ancestors cultivated  
Ogasawara, with its deep-rooted name  
Filled with benevolence, Chichi [Father] and Haha [Mother]  
In the north of that island of Haha  
Kitamura youth association was born

Filled with green, is Sekimon hill  
Behind that hill, Higashi Port  
How beautiful is it at sunrise  
We are always cheerful  
Motivated with the highest will  
Grandiose, strong and honourable

(Excerpts, see also the lyrics in Appendix A)

Such place names appear in the lyrics as Sekimon [literally means ‘Stone-gate’] hill and adjacent to Higashi Port. After singing the song, he suddenly grabbed a pen, mapped Kitamura, and introduced me to various local places, such as his house in the middle of the village, a hill for the school excursion, and a beach called Akaishihama, where he collected beautiful red stones [*akaishi*] in childhood. The song was closely associated with the geography of Kitamura in his mind and invoked nostalgia for the abandoned village.

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68 A former Kitamura resident Somei Kitaro probably composed this song during the pre-war period. The lyrics were transcribed from Take Jī’s singing.

69 This person is the husband of aforementioned Tamura Teruyo.

70 He also mentioned other Kitamura favourite songs such as “The Song of Big Fish Catching [Tairyō Bushi],” which his father often sang. There were many other local songs for different occasions such as a *bon* dance festival and annual sports day. But he did not remember them well.
This former Kitamura resident also described the village’s *dojin odori*: “When having a dance performance in the school festival [*gakugei kai*], we made a headdress and skirt by tying Ogasawara *bīrō* leaves, also a necklace by stringing vivid yellow seeds of *yarōdo* tree [*Neisosperma nakaianum*].” Such things of singing and dancing were “so much fun” within the small village, “since we had no entertainment other than that.” Another dance he enjoyed was the hip dance [*shirī odori*], in which two dancers put their hips together and hit the opponent in order to tumble each other, along with the
singing of vocable words: “junjun jungara jutte jagan de jure juchure…” However he could not sing the entire song, which he often heard from his late brother. In my interview, he confessed: “It is difficult to recollect these things of the past without having family and friends to share memories.” Missing land creates estrangement of the people, who live separately without home to get together.

The sorrow associated with smallness and remoteness pertained to the communities of the Ogasawara Islands. Since “there was nothing,” the people were eager to find something ‘fun’ and ‘enjoyable’ to fill the cavernous sense within the island life. It should be noted that the cavernous sense is not only about grief, sadness and trouble, but also extends to affection and dignity towards home. As exemplified throughout this chapter, local patriotism often appears in Ogasawara musical culture. Such songs as “Dance-Song of Ise (Okimura version),” “Dance-Song of Susaki” and “Kitamura Youth Association” are closely associated with the island ecology and lifestyle; they express a deep affection for the landscape, fauna and flora of the islands that make these songs unique and distinctive to Ogasawara. That is to say, missing land often results in loss of musical culture and further in obliterated memories, as observed in the cases of Iwo Tō and Kitamura. It should also be noted that the islanders still preserve connections to other places and peoples through their musical activities. The empathy and affinity towards others are very important for the people living in such a remote place. As a matter of fact, it is the connections with others that provided various musical and dance genres to the isolated islands of Ogasawara.

The song “My Dear Bonin Islands” epitomises the island musical features discussed in this chapter. Written by a mainland composer, the song filled the cavernous sense of
the islands with the lyrics dedicated to Ogasawara and its community. “My Dear Bonin Islands” are the place where sentiments of sorrow and love are merged together; the song represents experiences of the entangled community after colonial and postcolonial politics. The Ogasawara Islands remain small and isolated today, and the cavernous sense still exists in this remote community. In the next chapter, I shall describe current island musical activities, which also reveal the love within sorrow—sometimes overwhelmingly.

Figure 4.49 A Song Booklet Distributed in the Reunion Party of Pre-war Ōmura Elementary School, 1994, Entitled “Songs of Ogasawara—the 50th Anniversary Reunion after the Forced Evacuation” [It Includes Such Old Ogasawara Songs as “Dance-Song of Ogasawara,” “Dance-Song of Susaki,” “Dance-Song of Reversion,” and Ogasawara Classics.]
CHAPTER 5
OVERWHELMING LOVE

Figure 5.1 Hula Teacher Yamaguchi Manami and Her Students at ‘Ohana Hula Festival 2009
5.1 Flowers of the Islands

*Overwhelming Fragrances of Flowers*

The year 2008 was special for the Ogasawara community. As one of the projects for the 40th anniversary of the reversion, the village invited various musicians and dancers from overseas as well as the mainland. Kumu Hula Hannah Kia Kalilimoku Kaneakua-Basso was one of those guest artists from Hawai‘i (Figure 5.3). In her workshop on Chichi Jima, she taught some of her own compositions, including “Me Ke Aloha Nui.” The lyrics of this song are written in Hawaiian first, followed by corresponding English texts. In the lyrics, Aunty Hannah translates the phrase “me ke aloha nui” as “with such an overwhelming love,” which I borrowed for the title of this chapter. The Hawaiian word ‘nui’ is usually translated as ‘big,’ ‘large,’ ‘great’ or ‘important,’ and does not include such negative connotations as ‘crushing,’ ‘devastating,’ ‘irresistible,’ ‘compulsive,’ ‘unbearable’ or ‘uncontrollable,’ as implied in the English word ‘overwhelming.’ Later, however, I would realise that the phrase “overwhelming love”
was truly appropriate to describe such an intimate community as the people of the Ogasawara Islands.

![Image: Aunty Hannah in Ogasawara, 2008 (Pua Nani 2008b)]

When Aunty Hannah taught the song in her workshop, the lyrics did not include Japanese translations. But later, the Ogasawara hula group conceived the idea to insert Japanese into the lyrics, following Hawaiian and English texts.\(^1\) The aforementioned island singer/composer, Tamura Midori (see Chapter 3.3), took responsibility for this project. She tried various expressions to better describe “me ke aloha nui” and “with such an overwhelming love” in Japanese, yet eventually remained with the simple wording of “kono ōkina ai o” [literally translated as ‘this big love with’]. However, at that time, Modori was already filled with the “overwhelming love” that troubled, in a sense, high school seniors who were about to leave the islands.

In the last section of this chapter, I will introduce the story of farewell rituals for the high school seniors. What I explain here first is that the song lyrics of “Me Ke Aloha

\(^{1}\) Aunty Hannah generously allowed the Ogasawara hula group to insert Japanese lyrics in her song.
Nui” made me realise the “overwhelming love” permeating the Ogasawara community.

Its English lyrics say:

Oh how lovely, oh how lovely, to behold, to behold
All the many fragrant flowers
With such an overwhelming love

It’s arching, it’s arching, from here, from here
Oh it’s just the rainbow
Followed by a little rain

And so my song is ending, behold the beauty
Of all the many fragrant flowers
With such an overwhelming love
(See also the lyrics in Appendix A)

In a context of Hawaiian lyrics, a flower often implies a person, so that the song “Me Ke Aloha Nui” can be read a story of fragrant people, who are filled with the overwhelming love. The phrase “the rainbow followed by a little rain” can imply various things. Anxieties and troubles inevitably occur and overwhelm our life, but sorrows hardly stand alone and possibly induce such sentiments as empathy, affinity and love. Hawaiian song lyrics are often written in *kaona* [double meaning or veiled language] that allow us to extend (not abuse) an original story to other narratives (Pūkui and Elbert 1986: 130). Just like in Hawai‘i, various difficulties and hardships occurred in Ogasawara under the colonial politics, yet many have sustained their lives and overcome sorrows by dedicating music and dance to their beloved islands. The song “Me Ke Aloha Nui” well represents the love overflowing in a small community filled with ‘flowers.’

The islanders often show their deep affection towards Ogasawara and its community—sometimes too much. I understand that they are proud of the beautiful landscape, unique island culture, and mutual/friendly community, but their emotions and activities
occasionally result in excessive or even aggressive attitudes. A good example is Edith Washington and her fellow Nanyō odori dancers, who forced the visitors to learn the dance upon their landing (see Chapter 4.1). Extraordinary kindness and hospitality enabled them to share the unique island dance with visitors, but such compulsory activities possibly caused trouble for those who did not want to do so. This was the case in the past yet continues today. During my fieldtrip, I have repeatedly experienced such ‘overwhelming’ emotions and activities as to be exemplified in this chapter.

As in the last chapter, I present various island musical activities below. The descriptions are mostly about newly introduced performing arts after the reversion, and focus on contemporary stories rather than past narratives. This section also tells more about the ‘newcomers’ than the other islanders. Although the ‘newcomers’ are not born and reared on the islands, they also express deep affection and respect for Ogasawara and its cultural heritage, and contribute to the island musical activities. Once again evoking the flower metaphor, their musical talents bloom within the islands. Since the reversion, various ‘flowers’ have delivered their ‘fragrances’ of music and dance to this small community. Many of them have left already, but the sweet scents sometimes linger with memories of the ‘flowers,’ and still enrich the island life today.

Following several personal stories, I describe musical events and activities that happened throughout the year of 2009. Musical sessions or practices were held almost everyday, and concerts and festivals occurred one after another; I was truly overwhelmed. The narratives exemplify the island custom or practices to fill the cavernous sense with continuous musical activities. This chapter closes with an account of farewell rituals. Constant flows of people inevitably occur in Ogasawara life, so that
people often employ music and dance to have commemorative ceremonies that create shared experiences and memories. The story about high school seniors is one representative example of such rituals for departure. The impending separation with the island children invoked extraordinary sentiments, and produced excessive musical activities that sometimes overwhelmed the children (Figure 5.4). Together with visual images (provided by the photographs and films, Appendices B1 and B2), I exemplify the “overwhelming love” of the island community that typically appeared in the ritual practices to send off the high school seniors.

Figure 5.4 Ogasawara Hula People, 2010
Since the reversion, many ‘flowers’ have migrated to Ogasawara, contributed to the island musical activities, and yet eventually disappeared, leaving their fragrances of music and dance. The island choir group Call Coconuts [Kōru Yashi no Mi] preserves such fragrances of transient migrants. The Parent-Teacher Association first organised the group, probably several years after the reversion, to have some enjoyment together on the island of boredom. A former islander Takayama Taeko describes the Call Coconuts in her *The Farthest Island in Japan: The Life in Ogasawara, ’75-’85* (1986).

After migrating to Ogasawara together with her husband, Takayama felt that she was descending into neurosis because there was nothing to do on the island: “I just wanted to talk to people.” One day, one of her friends asked her to join in a rehearsal of the Call Coconuts, which had a gathering at the music room of junior high school every week. There were about six to seven people, who were practising choral singing under the direction of the school’s music teacher: “After making loud voice for about one hour

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² Her husband was appointed as a mathematics teacher of the Ogasawara High School (ibid.: 2).
and a half, I felt ease. This is good for reducing stress” (218-19). Time has passed and there were many changes in the group; its members have been constantly shifting along with their job relocations or other reasons. However the Call Coconuts still remains as one of the major musical groups of Chichi Jima and provides some recreation and enjoyment for the islanders. In recent years, the group annually presents a Christmas concert at St George’s Church. During my stay, they held the concert on 4 December 2009 under the direction of Kawahara Nanae, a music teacher of the junior high school (Figures 5.5 and 5.6).

As in the case of Call Coconuts, schoolteachers have often taken a significant role in Ogasawara choir activities. In Haha Jima, a music teacher Ohama Katsuhiko contributed to the singing group there by composing numerous local songs. He migrated to Haha Jima in 1973, appointed to the newly established primary school, and met another newcomer Matsuki Masao, a medical doctor also stationed there (see also

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3 The group still has practice sessions every Wednesday from 7:30 pm to 9:00 pm at the music room of junior high school.
4 She left the islands in March 2011 with job relocation.
Chapter 4.3). By noticing that there were “no local songs,” these newcomers began collaborating to create “new songs of Haha Jima.” Ohama Katsuhiko composed melodies for Matsuki’s song lyrics that tell about: “the things around us; for example, plants, small creatures, fishes, which we see in everyday life” (Matsuki M. 1980: 4).

Various local features appear in their songs, such as “Bīde Bīde,” “Tako no Ki” and “Gajumaru,” which were “appropriate for the island primary education” and adopted into school music curriculum. The “everyday songs” gradually spread amongst the parents through schoolchildren, who enjoyed singing at home as well. In February 1974, by featuring the “new local songs,” the primary school held a choir concert, which most of the islanders attended (ibid.: 5).

Ohama Katsuhiko left Haha Jima in 1978 due to job relocation, but another music teacher appeared on the island and produced one of the representative Haha Jima songs today, entitled “Minamizaki.” The composer Wakabayashi Hidetoshi introduces a story of when he wrote the song (2004). In 1983, after migrating to Haha Jima and residing on the island for about a month, he heard about an attractive place called Minamizaki [South Point] (Figure 5.7), and was tempted to visit the site on holiday. When he arrived, it was truly beautiful place:

The white lilies were comfortably blown by the sea breeze on a gentle green slope. I could see small isles in the distance, and the ocean surrounding the isles was extraordinary clear as if it could reflect the other side of the earth, and seabirds were pleasantly circling upon the ocean. The sky was too blue, so that I was about to play a kage okuri [literally means ‘sending the

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5 Haha Jima clinic was opened on 1 October 1972 (Tsuji 1995b: 187).
6 A flower of Erythrina variegata in scientific name.
7 A pandanus tree known as Pandanus boninensis in scientific name.
8 A tree of Ficus microcarpa in scientific name.
9 The lyrics of these songs are available in Matsuki M. (1980).
10 Matsuki M. mentions that Chichi Jima choir group also featured these songs repeatedly at that time (1980: 5).
shadow’\textsuperscript{11}. I sat on a rock nearby and was entranced by the scenery. (Ibid.: 18)

Facing the enchanting scenery, Wakabayashi began humming unconsciously: “The sounds of waves are calling, Minamizaki…” (see also the lyrics in Appendix A). Soon he wrote down the words and melodies there, and later arranged them as the song “Minamizaki.”\textsuperscript{12} The song was featured in various events and festivals, gradually spread amongst the villagers (ibid.: 18-19), and remains as the local favourite today. Haha Jima choir group presented the song at the Cultural Circle Festival held at the Welfare Centre, Chichi Jima, on 7 February 2009.

![Figure 5.7 A View from Minamizaki, Haha Jima](image)

In 1985, Ohama Katsuhiko returned to Ogasawara, this time as the music teacher of Chichi Jima Elementary School. The living experience within the islands again enabled him to create new Ogasawara tunes, together with his colleague Machida Shozo, who

\textsuperscript{11} “Kage okuri” is a play to reflect one’s own white profile on the sky after staring at the shadow on the ground. It became famous after the fairytale “A Baby Chî and Her Play of Kage Okuri [Chî Chan no Kage Okuri],” written by Aman Kimiko (b.1931), was introduced in an elementary school textbook. See also Aman 1982.

\textsuperscript{12} Wakabayashi uses a penname for this song, “Kasahara Midori”—meaning Ogasawara [O-kasahara] in evergreen [midori].
wrote most of the song lyrics for Ohama’s melodies at that time. Later in 1991, they published a songbook entitled *Ogasawara Children Songbook* (*Ogasawara Kodomo Kashū*), which features various island songs, including Ogasawara classics and other local favourites as well as their own compositions. The songbook was utilised in the school’s music class and distributed amongst the islanders; since then, it has become a valuable source for Ogasawara songs (see also Chapter 3.3).

Ohama/Machida co-produced numerous songs by referring to the island ecology, history and community. They left Ogasawara many years ago, but the islanders still appreciate and often perform Ohama/Machida songs in various occasions. “Grandpa Kopepe [Kopepe Jisan]” is one such song, which tells about a past islander named Kopepe. The lyrics say:

In a small inlet, furling the sail of his canoe
Grandpa is looking into the distance
When smelling a turtle, he closes his eyes
Grandpa Kopepe, sail on, sail on
Grandpa Kopepe, do the turtle hunting
It is already summer out at sea

Grandpa Kopepe has red eyes already
Is it painful with too much salt
Grandpa Kopepe has more white hair
Is it just salt remaining on your hair
The beach of Kopepe is calm today
(Excerpts, see also the lyrics in Appendix A)

Born in 1855, Kopepe [known also as Bill Bow] moved to Ogasawara probably from Nonouti, Gilbert Islands. When naturalised in 1877, he was living on Mukō Jima in the Haha Jima Island Group, but later in 1906, Kopepe moved to Chichi Jima and resided in the Sakaiura area, located on the way from Okumura to Ōgiura. It seemed that he

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13 Ohama Katsuhiko was also involved in school’s *taiko* activities (see Chapter 4.3).
14 The songbook also includes Sato Hachiro’s “Ogasawara Island” (see Chapter 3.3).
placed his canoe on what is now known as Kopepe Beach (named after him, Figure 5.8), and went out to fish sea turtles, sawara [wahoo] and lobsters. Rumour has it that Kopepe became very angry if someone invaded his beach (Matsuki K. 1998: 96-97).

Married another ‘kanaka’ named Depēsu [Elizabeth], Kopepe had nine children, including Kete (see Chapter 2.4), who describes her parents in the following way:

My parents were something like easy-going people, who lived by gathering nuts etc., so that they lost land and other properties, deceived by cunning people… Living in a house like a birdcage, they ate things such as seeds of pandanus [tako no mi] and salted sea turtle [rokkeiki]… We were very easy; my parents just taught us [their children] that you can take anything from outside, but not from inside of the house, something like that. (Cited in Segawa 1970: 281-82)

The song lyrics do not describe these ‘kanaka’ people in detail. They suffered various hardships in pre-war Ogasawara as ijin foreigners, as described in Chapter 2.4 (see also Ishihara 2007: 49-72). However the song still conveys some flavour of the past.

“Grandpa Kopepe” remains as a favourite song by embracing nostalgia for past residents and their lives—the life within the island ecology is still sustained from Kopepe’s days until today.
Amongst numerous compositions of Ohama/Machida, the song “Journey of Green Sea Turtle [Aoumi-game no Tabi]” retains the most popularity in Ogasawara today. It greatly appeals to the islanders’ sentiments by describing the green sea turtle as a metaphor of children, who are destined to leave island home someday. Ogasawara is sometimes called as the “paradise of children” (see such as Takayama 1986: 148-51) with its ideal landscape for children to play and benefits from its attentive community to the children. However this paradise is temporal. Many children leave the islands together with their parents due to work relocation. If not, after graduating the high school, almost all children depart for the mainland to have higher education or job training. Once they have left the islands, there is no guarantee of return with few employment opportunities. Ogasawara is a transient place for children as well.

The song “Journey of Green Sea Turtle” expresses the complex sentiments of the islanders, who send the children with anxiety and bless their possible return someday in the future:
From the beach of the island in summer
Dashing towards the ocean
It is the beginning of the journey of baby sea turtles
Live, live and survive
Each one, every child, when full grown
Come back to this beach someday
(Excerpt, verse one)

The following verses describe the baby sea turtles “facing the storm, chased by a shark, and targeted from the sky by a seabird” (see also the lyrics in Appendix A, music in Appendix C). The islanders realise the children’s hardships after leaving the paradise. They may not return after all, but still send the children with best wishes for their growth in the open sea. Farewell to the children is another fate or sorrow of the island life that eventually transforms into the overwhelming love, as seen in the song lyrics.

The song was adopted in hula choreography and became the ‘must’ performance to close the ‘Ohana hula festival (Figure 5.9).

Figure 5.9 The Hula “Journey of Green Sea Turtle” at ‘Ohana Hula Festival 2009

The influence of schoolteachers extends from choral singing to other island musical activities. In 1992, an experienced bandmaster Ito Naoki migrated to Chichi Jima as a
music teacher, and organised a brass band group, named Swing Blow, with his colleagues and fellow island musicians. Under his direction, the group soon became prominent in the island’s music scene and performed in various festivals and events, including its own recitals. The founder left Ogasawara only after four years, and yet did not arrange anything for the band after his departure: “If it will fail, let’s make it so,” he thought. Since then, migrating people have sustained the brass band activities one after another. In 2007, Ito Naoki returned to Chichi Jima as the schoolmaster of junior high school, and was delighted that the group was still playing music with the instruments he arranged to purchase. However he did not become involved in the band activities this time: “It is not my group anymore and should be appropriately modified for the current performers, otherwise it would be difficult to continue such musical activities on the island with transient residency” (interview December 2009). In 2009, a village officer Ohtsu Gen managed the group, together with another schoolteacher and the bandmaster Ishida Kouichi (Figure 5.10). The group was active and appeared in several island events, including cultural circle festival, reversion festival, as well as its own recitals, and presented such jazz standards as “When You Wish upon a Star,” “Take the ‘A’ Train” and “A Child Is Born.”

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15 Ito Naoki was a professional musician before becoming a schoolteacher. Even after beginning his career in education, he often participated in orchestra performances by request.
16 He mentioned that there were talented musicians on the islands for some reason.
17 Ito Naoki obtained a village subsidy of 2,500,000 yen to purchase necessary instruments for the band.
18 Later, Ito Naoki began participating in the band activities after repeated petition of the current members (personal communications 2013).
19 Ishida Kouichi left the islands on March 2011 with job relocation.
In Ogasawara, new musical activities often begin with great curiosity. Whenever the islanders find someone or something attractive, interesting and fascinating, they rush to benefit from every opportunity, just like Edith Washington discovered and retrieved the song “My Dear Bonin Islands” (see Chapter 4.1). In 2003, the people had another opportunity to have something enjoyable; they heard that a steel orchestra would be formed for the 35th anniversary reversion festival on Chichi Jima.\(^{20}\) The village purchased the steelpan instruments and arranged workshops by inviting instructors from the mainland.\(^{21}\) After intensive practice sessions, the newly formed Bonin Steel Orchestra performed such local favourites as “Urame” and “Lemon Bush” in the festival, together with the guest performance group, Pamberi Steel Orchestra, invited from Trinidad and Tobago.

After the festival, the instructors and guest performers left Ogasawara, and the village also terminated its support to the Bonin Steel Orchestra. However the orchestra

\(^{20}\) It seems that a mainland event company advised this plan.

\(^{21}\) The Panorama Steel Orchestra from the mainland provided instructions for the islanders.
members remained active since they obtained the new toys of steelpans. Also, after watching the festival performance, several people joined the activities and formed another orchestra, named Loco Pan, which began the welcome pan performance [known as nyākō pan]—one of the renowned attractions for visitors today.\textsuperscript{21} In 2008, the 40th anniversary year of the reversion, the village again prepared a subsidy for the steel orchestra.\textsuperscript{23} The group utilised the money to invite pan makers/performers, Tony Guppy and Michael “Manish” Robinson,\textsuperscript{24} and had a workshop for making a set of six large oil drum bass instruments, which have become part of the precious collection of the island steel orchestra. Various difficulties exist in their activities, including instrument maintenance with see breeze, securing a place for practice sessions,\textsuperscript{25} and constantly shifting members as observed in other musical groups. Nevertheless the island musicians have sustained the steel orchestra activities until today. Their performances can be observed in various occasions including island festivals and parties, as well as the welcome performance at the port (Figures 5.11 and 5.12).\textsuperscript{26}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item The group provides the welcome pan performance only when the boat arrives on holidays, due to availability of the members.
\item Other musical groups also received subsidies for their activities. As mentioned, the island hula group invited aunty Hannah from Hawai‘i.
\item Born in Trinidad and Tobago, but they currently live on mainland Japan.
\item They used the Haha-maru waiting room for practice sessions when I was on the island in 2009.
\item The group often performs compositions by Harada Yoshihiro, the director of the Panorama Steel Orchestra, such as “Carnival Is It!” and “My Band.” Harada also arranged such island favourites as “Urame” and “Lemon Bush” for the steel orchestra.
\end{enumerate}
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Figure 5.11 The Bonin Steel Orchestra, Performing at a High School Event, 2009

Figure 5.12 A Welcome Pan Performance by the Loco Pan, 2009
The Islands in Bloom

The Ogasawara Islands are filled with a garland of people, who preserve various fragrances of music and dance. It is amazing that so many talented individuals gather around in such remote islands with less than 2,500 people and produce various musical activities there. However, with my observation, these ‘flowers’ can exert their musical abilities because they find room to express themselves on the islands, and might wither or decay in other places. Since there is ‘nothing,’ a unique talent attributed to each person becomes conspicuous and flourishes in Ogasawara. The followings stories are about the migrants or ‘newcomers,’ whose abilities in music and dance blossomed on the islands.

The composer of “Coral Street,” Ikeda Nozomu (see Chapter 3.5), is one such ‘newcomer’; he contributed to the Ogasawara musical culture, not only as a singer-songwriter, but also as a founding member of an island musical group, Music Lovers.
Association [Ongaku Aikō Kai]. In the mid 1970s, soon after his migration, Nozomu began to participate in musical activities of the ‘Caucasian descendants,’ who enjoyed playing rock ‘n’ roll and country music. They often practised music together at a Quonset hut [called kamaboko heisha], which still remained near the festival park in the early days after the reversion. However the hut was eventually pulled down under the development scheme of the island infrastructure. Nozomu suggested his friends organise an official music institution and negotiate with the village office to provide a space for their practice sessions. Agreeing to support the village’s cultural events, the newly formed association secured a studio located near Okumura, as well as a public address system for a concert. Since then, the Music Lovers Association has contributed island musical activities, including a summer rock concert called Jammin’ and annual Christmas live concerts, by featuring various musical genres, such as rock, folk, reggae, and instrumental (Figure 5.14).

![Island Summer Rock Concert, Jammin’ 2011](image)

While being active in the band activities, Nozomu also produced a new musical instrument of Ogasawara. About ten years after his migration, Nozomu had a chance to
sail a yacht from Sydney to Ogasawara, via New Caledonia, Solomon Islands, the islands of Papua New Guinea, the Caroline and Mariana Islands. During this long voyage, he encountered various peoples and enjoyed their musical events, ceremonies and festivities. In addition, Nozomu recognised several types of slit drum used in different islands in the Pacific and conceived to construct a slit drum of Ogasawara by utilising the local tamana tree.27 He did not know how to make it, but somehow hollowed out a log by a chainsaw and burnt the inside of the instrument. From its sounds, Nozomu named it the kaka and submitted it in a souvenir contest held by the village—the bronze medal was awarded to the new island instrument. However Nozomu was not satisfied: “Because it is a musical instrument, the kaka should make sounds.” He began to play the instrument alone at the festival park: “Kakkaka kakkaka…” Soon the islanders with great curiosity gathered around, made their own instruments, and joined him to make the sounds: “Kakkaka kakkaka…” (Figure 5.15).

The tradition continues today as the full moon kaka [mangetsu kaka]; the people gather around, drink and play the kaka at Maehama beach every full moon (if it is not too cold or raining) facing shiny Futami Bay. The instrument was adopted for the Nanyō odori performance at the 20th reversion festival,28 since then the sounds of kaka have been a necessary element for the dance practice as well (Figure 5.16).

27 Tamana is known as terihaboku on mainland Japan, Calophyllum inophyllum is its scientific name.
28 Ikeda Nozomu has also participated in Nanyō odori activities for many years.
Since the reversion, various musical genres have been retrieved from past practices, and also new musical groups have been formed for the choral singing, brass band, steel orchestra, rock music and kaka drumming. Amongst these, the hula is the most popular musical activity in Ogasawara today. A newcomer, Yamaguchi Manami, began teaching hula incidentally, and later developed her ability as a choreographer within the islands (Figure 5.13). She had studied hula with the aforementioned Aunty Hannah,
while a college student in Hawai‘i, but never thought to be a hula teacher. After earning a degree in Pacific Studies,29 she moved to Ogasawara and began conducting research on green sea turtles and whales around the islands. One day, several years after her migration, Manami encountered a local song entitled “Towards the South Island [Minami no Shima e].”30 The song lyrics include Hawaiian and English words in the refrain: “Aloha ‘oe, oh moonlight” that inspired her to describe them with hula movements (see the lyrics in Appendix A).

In 1997, requested by island musicians, Manami first presented her choreography of hula “Towards the South Island” in the summer rock concert Jammin’. After this première performance, several people came to her and asked for instruction in her dance. Only about ten people appeared in the first lesson held in a village hall in Okumura, but soon more participants filled the room utilised for the hula class. The islanders’ great curiosity meant that Manami was never allowed to remain just as a worker of the Marine Centre. She began to choreograph local songs, such as “Coral Street,” “Journey of Green Sea Turtle” and “My Dear Bonin Islands,” which better facilitated the hula activities of Ogasawara. She said: “Ogasawara people usually do not know places described in Hawaiian song lyrics, such as a town of Kāne‘ohe and the range of Ko‘olau, so that there were some difficulties to teach only Hawaiian hula and there were also increasing demands to dance local Ogasawara songs.”31 The hula choreography shifted from Hawai‘i to Ogasawara by sharing senses of island ecologies, customs and lifestyles (Figure 5.17). Under the direction of Yamaguchi Manami, more than 300

29 The degree required completing studies in natural sciences, humanities and performing arts of the Pacific (interview December 2009).
30 It seems that an islander named Ishii wrote the song, but details are unknown.
31 But Manami still teaches Hawaiian hula that allows her students to learn basic movements and spirit of the dance.
people are involved in the island hula group, named Nā Pua Nani O Makua [The Beautiful Flowers of Father (or ‘Chichi’ in Japanese)]; the annual ‘Ohana hula festival is one of the major events of Ogasawara today.

It is fortunate that various local songs are available for the hula activities today. Following Nozomu, many singer-songwriters appeared on the islands and produced original songs unique to Ogasawara. Suzuki Hajime is one such musician, who presents his own compositions in various events and gatherings (Figure 5.18), while serving as the secretary general of the Institute of Boninology. Such a song as “Stories of the Island [Shima no Kotozute]” represents his works, which are deeply affected by experiences on the island. The song implies human life sustained by the Ogasawara geography and ecology that preserve a long history from its formation: “[Although] human history is still shallow… all stories [of the islands] are [embraced] in the blue of the ocean” (see the lyrics in Appendix A).
Another Hajime’s popular composition is “Gyosan Princess,” which features an island sandal called gyosan [literally ‘fish sandal’]. The lyrics describe the works of the Ogasawara Marine Centre, such as cleaning a turtle’s water tank and searching for turtle eggs on the beach, but the song also appeals to anyone who wears the sandals:

“You’ve got to have this, for the life on the islands [closely associated with the water], the lovely gyosan, the wonderful gyosan” (see the lyrics in Appendix A). As in the lyrics, the sandal is recognised as one of the island specialities nowadays. The song was featured at ‘Ohana 2009, accompanied by hula performance.

Nishimoto Homare is another singer-songwriter, who is also associated with the island hula activities (see also Chapter 2.3). After working as a musician/actor on the mainland for more than ten years, he decided to migrate to the islands in 1998. Homare,

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32 The owner of newly reformed Ogasawara Co-op Sebori Gorohē (the husband of Catherine Savory, see Chapter 4.2) first imported this anti-slipping footwear made of synthetic rubber. It was first named after him as Gorohē zōri [Gorohē’s sandal], yet later became well known as the gyosan since the fishermen preferred to wear it.
33 Referring to Yamaguchi Manami and her colleagues at the Marine Centre.
34 The island shops prepare colourful gyosan as a souvenir today, though only a brown gyosan was available in past days.
35 Another of his compositions, telling about a rainy hill called “Shigureyama,” was also featured at ‘Ohana 2009.
by chance, read an article about Ogasawara, and reaffirmed his identity as an islander—born and reared on one of the islands of Seto Island Sea, called Nao Shima, in Kagawa Prefecture. After migration, Homare was not about to play music anymore, but one day Yamaguchi Manami requested him to write a song for her hula group (Morinaga 2011: 209). With his substantial music background, Homare soon became one of the most prolific and prominent singer-songwriters on the islands (Figure 5.19). Just like Nozomu and Hajime, Homare’s songs often show respect for the island ecology, history, culture and tradition. For instance, his song “Rendezvous,” one of the major hula repertoire pieces today, not only describes the daily experience of “tryst on a beach under the coconut tee on a moonlit night,” but also admires Ogasawara classics by implying the song “Lemon Bush” in its lyrics (see Appendix A and compare the lyrics of both songs that correspond each other). While working as a postman, Homare sings “island songs,” as he calls them, including the classics as well as his own compositions, which were born and preserved within the “Life Ogasawara,” as appeared in the title of his self-produced CD.

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36 The article was about the 20th reversion festival together with several photos, which much impressed Homare at a glance.
37 He first lived in Haha Jima, and later moved to Chichi Jima.
38 He is one of the most active performers of the Ogasawara classics today.
In this section, I introduced island musicians, who have exerted their talents on the islands and contributed to Ogasawara musical culture since the reversion. There were/are more singers and dancers; numerous individuals have appeared and left their fragrances of music and dance on the islands. Indeed, the collective efforts of anonymous people have created the variety of musical activities of Ogasawara today. Also, I have noticed that the island musicians and dancers rarely perform alone; they prefer to collaborate and cooperate with each other to enhance their fragrances of music and dance (see the case of Huli Huli Chickens in Chapter 5.2). It is communal and collective experiences that fill the cavernous sense of the islands. In the next section, I describe various events and festivals that exemplify the significance of shared practices and activities in this small community.

39 For instance, I did not mention flamenco activities that occurred very recently on the islands. Although the flamenco was new in Ogasawara, its group flourished quickly and presented a remarkable Christmas concert on 23 December 2009 (see also Chapter 5.2).
Figure 5.20 The Island Hula Festival ‘Ohana 2011
Contrary to my first impression, the Ogasawara Islands are filled with various events and festivals all year around. However the cavernous sense still pervades the islands. It seems to me that the islanders perform music and dance to console various sorrows in everyday life. The island musical activities often appear as cooperative and collaborative. Singing and dancing enhance shared experience amongst strangers and creates the unity in community. Soon after the reversion, the people began to practise music and dance together, and revived festivals for the bon dance and shrine ceremony. These activities have been enlarged and extended year by year, and today the islanders enjoy numerous musical events that sometimes overwhelm themselves. As follows, I introduce selective island festivities, together with corresponding stories, based on my fieldwork in 2009 (see also Appendix B1, the film “Flowers of the Islands,” which provides visual images of the island musical activities).
The sounds of taiko and Japanese flute [shino-bue] echoed in the morning of New Year’s Day at the shrine located on the Ōgamiyama hill. The Bonin Bayashi dedicated the performance of Nanyō odori songs, such as “Before Dawn,” “Uwadoro” and “Urame,” arranged for a festival music [matsuri bayashi] style. After the ritual at the shrine, Shinto priests moved to Maehama beach to conduct another ritual for the beach opening [umi biraki]. As described in Chapter 2.2, this beach event is one of the major attractions for the tourists and features various musical performances. For instance, in 2009, another taiko group of Hashōryū Daiko presented ensemble taiko drumming, as well as traditional taiko singing by Okuyama Yasuko (see also Chapter 4.3). The hula group Nā Pua Nani O Makua presented such popular island tunes as “Coral Street,” “A Dugout Canoe” and “Precious Thing [Taisetsuna Mono]” (Figure 5.21). The Nanyō odori performance, featuring Ikeda Nozomu as the leading singer, included elementary schoolchildren who jumped in the line of the dancers (Figure 5.22). The kaka performers remained on the stage after the dance and concluded the musical section of the ceremony with their ensemble drumming. The island was bustling with the sounds of music and dance.

40 She temporarily returned to the island for vacation.
41 The song “Precious Thing” is another newly composed song by a former islander Okei [real name Matsuzaki Keiko] (see Chapter 5.3 for details).
42 Taped music, recorded by Ikeda Nozomu, is often utilised for casual Nanyō odori stages, but Nozomu or Edith Washington sometimes features as a live singer in special occasions.
43 The island children learn the dance in the school curriculum.
As the visitors left, the New Year festivities soon calmed down and the island became very quiet. But some music sessions continued for incoming local events, including Cultural Circles Festival held every year in mid-February. This annual festival is unique because it showcases island music groups from both Chichi Jima and Haha Jima. In 2009, the festival was held at Village Welfare Centre in Chichi Jima on 7 February. Three taiko groups of Ogasawara (two from Chichi Jima and one from Haha Jima) contested their skills and performances, and also shared their drumming practices with each other. The choir group of Haha Jima presented their local favourite “Minamizaki” (see Chapter 5.1), while the Bonin Steel Orchestra played island classics of “Lemon Bush” and “Urame.” It is the place to have cultural exchange between the two islands and amongst different music groups. Lastly, dancers from both Chichi Jima and Haha Jima together performed Nanyō odori, featuring Edith Washington as the leading singer (Figure 5.23).

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44 In 2009, Swing Blow also held its annual concert on 17 January at the Village Welfare Centre.
45 The festival is also held in Haha Jima every two or three years. In such a case, Chichi Jima music groups travel to Haha Jima.
46 There is no steel orchestra in Haha Jima.
47 The festival also included the Swing Blow and a group for the taishō goto [Japanese two-stringed zither].
Figure 5.23 Performances of Haha Jima Choir Group, Bonin Steel Orchestra and Nanyo Odori at the Cultural Circle Festival
In March, the graduation/job relocation month in the Japanese calendar, the islands are filled with various gatherings, parties and events for farewell. On each departure of the *Oga-maru*, the crowd occupies Futami Port to send off the people who are leaving the islands. The departure of high school graduates in particular is one of the most memorable and tearful events for many islanders (see Chapter 5.3). In April, some musical groups face difficulties with a substantial decrease in membership, but incoming newcomers usually replenish the numbers. Even in such a transitional season, the islanders keep on performing music and dance. In 2009, I observed two major ceremonies: the 40th anniversary of the Ogasawara High School and the 30th anniversary of the Ogasawara Village, which featured such performances as *taiko* drumming, steel orchestra, Nanyō *odori* and Ogasawara hula (Figure 5.42). President of Nanyō Odori Association, Takasaki Kikuo (see Chapter 4.2), has rarely danced in public recently, yet appeared in the village ceremony and performed together with the association members (Figure 5.43). People are often transient in Ogasawara, but there are also some long-term residents, who have continued contributing to the island musical culture since the pre-war period, such as Edith Washington and Takasaki Kikuo.

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48 A branch of Tokyo Metropolitan Government administered the islands until the village was officially established on 23 April 1979.
During the weeklong holiday called “Golden Week,” from 29 April to 5 May, the islanders share music and dance with increasing numbers of visitors. In accordance with the arrival/departure schedule of the *Oga-maru*, the steel band Loco Pan presented its welcome performance with every boat entry (Figure 5.26), and the Bonin Bayashi sent off the passengers with the “Sperm Whale Drumming” performance as usual. The Nanyō *odori* group also organised a workshop for the tourists at the Ogasawara Visitor
Centre. Meanwhile the islanders also enjoyed singing and dancing for their own pleasure. There were festivities for May Day as well as Lei Day, following Hawaiian custom.\textsuperscript{49} The hula group Nā Puanani O Makua annually holds a Lei Day party to celebrate music, dance, and lei making at the favourite Gegege House on Maehama beach (Figure 5.27). The bar Yankee Town, owned by Edith’s son Rance Washington,\textsuperscript{50} also hosted live concerts for the Music Lovers Association during the Golden Week (Figure 5.28).\textsuperscript{51}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image.png}
\caption{Figure 5.26 The Welcome Performance by the Loco Pan at Futami Port}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{49} Lei Day is Hawaiian equivalent of May Day, yet celebrating the Hawaiian custom of making and wearing lei as well. In Hawai‘i, the favourite “May Day Is Lei Day in Hawaii” (1927), written by Leonard Hawk (1903-1982), is performed widely on the day.

\textsuperscript{50} He returned to the islands after his father Ned died, yet still preserves his American citizenship.

\textsuperscript{51} Besides the Golden Week, the Music Lovers Association often holds a live concert at the Yankee Town.
Figure 5.27 The Lei Day Festivities at the Gegege House
The islanders were restless to prepare for the constant performances; there were some lessons or rehearsals almost every day. These practice sessions were not overly conspicuous, but occurred continuously to sustain the festival islands filled with music and dance. While planning and presenting the major events, the islanders also hold various gatherings and parties. For instance, Ogasawara Youth Hostel treats its guests to a farewell party on the night before the departure of the *Oga-maru*. Nanyō *odorī* is one of the popular performances in the party; the guests have quick instruction and soon dance together with the islanders. The party also features Ogasawara hula; local
dancers present island songs accompanied by the voice of Sasaki Minako. Another place for everyday music is the bar Bonina. Besides a live concert occasionally held there, one could meet island musicians who gather around the bar and begin singing after having several shots. Sasaki Minako often appears in the bar and sings various island tunes together with the hostess Tamura Midori (Figure 5.29). Indeed singing and dancing can happen any place on the islands. Some people meet at Gegege House and practise the ukulele together, and others bring the *taiko* upon a hill and enjoy contesting improvisational drumming with each other. The islands are filled with these miscellaneous musical activities every day.

Figure 5.29 Workers of Bonina Dancing in the Counter, Accompanied by the Voices of Minako and Midori
In late June, one of the major island events takes place: the reversion festival.\textsuperscript{52} In Chichi Jima, the festival was held as early as 1970, yet it was not an annual event until the 40th anniversary in 2008.\textsuperscript{53} On the other hand, in Haha Jima, the people have continued the festival every year since 1974. It is unfortunate that one cannot attend both events held at the same time on different islands. I decided to attend the two-night Haha Jima festival,\textsuperscript{54} and took the boat several days before the event on 27-28 June, expecting to observe practice sessions for the festival also (Figure 5.30). On this trip, towards just about 50 km south, I observed musical activities similar to those on Chichi Jima, but Haha Jima people still preserved their own regionalism and local identity in their performances.

\textsuperscript{52} Besides, in June, the Ogasawara High School organised annual cultural festival called \textit{Bide Sai}, named after the island favourite flower \textit{bide bide} [\textit{Erythrina variegata}].

\textsuperscript{53} In Chichi Jima, the festival was usually held every five years.

\textsuperscript{54} The Chichi Jima reversion festival is only one night event.
I thought that Chichi Jima was very small with only about 2,000 residents, but Haha Jima was far smaller with less than 500 people living in a tiny valley called Okimura area.\textsuperscript{55} The island was exceptionally quiet, so that I again worried if I could obtain enough data. However the islanders were active for the coming festival; I soon encountered their evening practice sessions. For instance, Sasaki Masaharu and his \textit{taiko} fellows were testing the \textit{bon} dance drumming, as well as improvisations, at the waiting room for the \textit{Haha-maru}. Some young people were gathering at the pier and practising the dance to accompany the Japanese popular song “Hotel Pacific” (Figure 5.31).\textsuperscript{56} At the village hall, I observed the Haha Jima hula group Nā Makana No Makuahine [The Gifts of Mother (or ‘Haha’)] preparing for the staged performance in the festival (Figure 5.23).\textsuperscript{57} Hundreds of colourful paper lanterns [\textit{chōchin}] were hanged at the festival site of beach park, called Wakihama Nagisa Kōen, where people were rehearsing the revived “Dance-Song of Ise” performance (Figure 5.33, see also Chapter 4.2). I felt the largest festival was coming soon in this small place.

\textsuperscript{55} According to the village census on 1 January 2009, there were 454 villagers plus 14 short-term residents on Haha Jima (Ogasawara Village 2009).

\textsuperscript{56} The song was released by one of the most famous Japanese bands Southern All Stars in 2000.

\textsuperscript{57} The Nā Makana No Makuahine is affiliated with the Nā Pua Nani O Makua of Chichi Jima, yet still holds its own activities under the direction of Hashimoto Shiho, who has learnt the hula from Yamaguchi Manami before. The group participates in annual ‘Ohana hula festival held in Chichi Jima, but also organises its own hula events in Haha Jima.
Figure 5.31 Practising a Dance at the Pier, Haha Jima

Figure 5.32 A Hula Session in Haha Jima
On 27 June, at about 6:30 pm, people began gathering around the festival site holding their own mats [goza] to sit on the ground (Figure 5.34). There were more than ten temporary stalls [yomise] selling food and drinks, such as fried noodles called yakisoba and carbonated sweet ramune water. When the stage performance began at 7 pm, the festival site was much crowded; it seemed that most Haha Jima residents appeared in the park. The program included various attractions by local entertainers: children offered their taiko drumming and hula; a choir group sang such songs as “My Dear Bonin Islands” and Haha Jima favourite “Minamizaki”; the young people performed the dance “Hotel Pacific” that I had observed at the pier; and even a pianist appeared on stage and played Chopin’s “Polonaise in A-flat Major, Op. 53.” Shortly after 9 pm, a female group began preparing around the stage, wearing Japanese dress [kimono], for the next performance “Dance-Song of Ise,” which was revived from pre-war Okimura practices (see Chapter 4.2). A narrator explained the tradition of the dance-song as follows: “In the pre-war period, sumo wrestlers made a procession in the village while

58 I also noticed some people from Chichi Jima there.
singing/dancing ‘Dance-Song of Ise,’ walked up 96 stairs to the hilltop, and dedicated the sumo wrestling to the shrine located there.” Instead of male wrestlers, this reversion festival featured about 50 females, who made a procession to the stage and then presented another dance, called Awa odori [Awa dance] (Figure 5.35). After the more than two hours of staged attractions, the people enjoyed the bon dance together, making a circle around the sacred tower [yagura]. Usually, on the mainland, this dance is held around 15 July in the lunisolar calendar for a Japanese ritual called obon, which aims to appease ancestors’ spirits. But, anyway in Haha Jima, the people utilise the dance for their own pleasures as well. On this day, they kept on dancing until midnight.

Figure 5.34 Haha Jima Reversion Festival 2009

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59 Awa odori is one of the most famous Japanese bon dances, originally derived from Awa province [now Tokushima Prefecture].

60 In practice, many Japanese conduct the obon ritual around 15 August.
On the next night, people again gathered around the beach park and began staged shows at 7 pm. The program of this evening included guest performers, such as taiko drummers and hula dancers from the island of Hachijō, which suggested historical and cultural relationships between Hachijō and Ogasawara. The performance of Nanyō odori also affirmed the islands’ extended connection to Micronesia. I joined in the Nanyō odori putting black cosmetics [dōran] on my face and body, as other Haha Jima dancers did in accordance with past practices. Yet this makeup caused a discriminatory overtone to a ‘Caucasian/Pacific Islanders descendant,’ who told me: “Are you mocking us with the black face?” Her words made me realise the sensitive issue behind the “black face” that can convey derogatory meanings, even if not intended. The issue further extends to the concept of Nanyō, which was experienced as the lands to be occupied under the Japanese colonial scheme and yet was carelessly discarded after the war. It is required to realise multiple stories and representations reflected in the “black face” of Nanyō odori (see also Chapter 4.2).

61 There is a hula group in Hachijō Island also.
62 But she was still nice to me and gave me a wet towel to wipe the black dōran.
After the staged shows, the people again enjoyed the bon dance. Meanwhile the lyrics of “Homesickness Song of Ogasawara” were displayed on the yagura tower (Figure 5.36, see also Chapter 2.5). This song telling about ‘crazy-blind’ sentiments of the Ogasawara refugees was appropriate to close the ‘reversion’ festival. Holding each other’s shoulders, the people began singing the song from verse four. Verses one, two and three were omitted, because they are about another island of Ogasawara, Chichi Jima. The lyrics move to Haha Jima only after verse four, and again describe various local features and practices (see the lyrics in Appendix A). Regionalism that appears in this performance demonstrates the significance of human ecology and the identity of the island of Haha Jima itself. As seen in the Nanyō odori, taiko drumming and hula performances, the Haha Jima people preserve connections to other places, including Chichi Jima, but they also secure their own beloved landscape and community in this small place. As in the last night, revelries continued until midnight.  

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63 After the bon dance, an island elder Sato Naoto presented his unique performance, entitled “Advertising Balloon [Adobarūn].” The song was originally known as “Ah Nevertheless [Aa Sorenanoni]” (1937), music by Koga Masao (1904-1978), lyrics by Hoshino Sadashi [another name of Sato Hachiro], and first released by Michi Yakko [real name Kubo Someko] (1917-1996). Naoto has been performing the song with his own choreography since the first Haha Jima reversion festival in 1974. The song includes English translation of Japanese lyrics that Naoto had learnt from a schoolteacher while evacuating on mainland Japan (see the lyrics in Appendix A). Today “Advertising Balloon [Adobarūn]” became the necessary performance for festival occasions in Haha Jima (see the performance in Appendix B1).
Regionalism and local identity are also apparent in other areas of Ogasawara. A shrine festival of Ōgiura, Chichi Jima, is a good example of this. The shrine, named after legendary Ogasawara Sadayori, represents the Japanese colonial scheme of the islands, yet also embraces memories of past festivities of this area (Figure 5.37). The festival was revived only a few years ago with the increasing number of residents in Ōgiura area. By referring to the local lifestyle, memories and ecology, the people began celebrating divine Sadayori San again with ritual practices including music and dance.

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64 Since the reversion, a few former Ōgiura residents had conducted a small shrine ceremony every year, but it was not a festival as seen today.
As early as 1593, Ogasawara Sadayori was referred to as the discoverer of the uninhabited islands. Declaring to be the descendant of Sadayori, in 1727, a rōnin [samurai, or the military nobility, but with no obligation], named Ogasawara Sadato, claimed to the shogunate that his ancestor discovered three uninhabited islands in the south of Izu Province, by showing an unknown document entitled *Journal of Uninhabited Islands in the Southeast [Tatsumi Mujin Tō Kī].* The Tokugawa shogunate soon suspected his claim by noticing several irrational arguments and testimonies. Eventually, Sadato was deprived of all his property and expelled from the area directly controlled by the shogunate [tenryō]: “the incident was concluded with the expulsion of imposter…” (Tanaka 1997: 14). However the account, once officially declined, was suddenly highlighted to assert the Japanese occupation of the islands, which was called Bunin Jima [Island of No-people] before the 1860s (Figure 5.38).

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*65 For instance, the government could not find Sadayori in the genealogy of notable Ogasawara clan, except in the pedigree chart submitted by Sadato (Tanaka 1997: 10).*
shogunate appropriated the narrative of discovery, renamed the islands as ‘Ogasawara,’ and certified its legitimacy to ‘re’-annex the islands (Ishihara 2007: 196-97).

In 1877, the Japanese immigrants established the shrine named after the legendary discoverer Ogasawara Sadayori in Ōgiura. Since then, they had conducted annual ritual ceremonies until the Pacific War. Several informants described the past shrine festival in the following ways. The villagers prepared a special turtle stew [kame-ni], which attracted many people from Ōmura and Okumura. The mikoshi [divine palanquin or ark] procession paraded around the Ōgiura and eventually went into the ocean. Sumo wrestlers gathered from other villages of Ogasawara, including Okimura and Kitamura, Haha Jima, and even Iwo Tō, and competed with each other in the tournament. It was one of the most bustling festivities in Ogasawara.

The current residents of Ōgiura are often ‘newcomers,’ who have moved into the area very recently and have no genealogical relations to the former villagers. Nevertheless
vestiges of the past still remain and have an impact on the shrine ceremony today in many ways. Also the people are aware of the repeated negations of the extraordinary voyage in the 16th century, but still admire the legendary person who was revered as the god of Ōgiura, and call him “Sadayori San” with familiarity—just like in the pre-war days. The current practices of the festival 2009 appeared as follows. In the morning of the festival day, 26 July, the people gathered around the shrine and conducted Shinto rituals to invite “Sadayori San” onto the mikoshi (Figure 5.39). Then the mikoshi moved to the Ōgiura beach, where red and white canoes were prepared. Riding on these canoes, the mikoshi sailed around the rock Kaname Iwa, which is located at the rivet [kaname] position of the ‘fan [ōgi]’ shaped beach (Figure 5.40). Meanwhile the turtle stew, made in the regional style, was served for the participants (Figure 5.41). The procession began in the afternoon. The islanders slowly marched around the Ōgiura area, shouldering the mikoshi one after another, accompanied by the festival music by the Bonin Bayashi (Figure 5.42). Finally the procession returned to the beach and entered the water together with the mikoshi (Figure 5.43). The festivities lasted until after 4 pm.

66 Usually a higher honorific of ‘sama’ is applied for the god.
67 On the day before, the islanders also held an annual canoe race as part of the festival (see Chapter 3.3)
68 Kōhaku [red and white] is an auspicious combination of colours and is often utilised for Japanese festivities.
Figure 5.39 The Mikoshi, Decorated with Leis and Local Plants

Figure 5.40 The Mikoshi, Travelling around the Kaname Iwa

Figure 5.41 The Ōgiura Style Turtle Stew Flavoured with Miso, a Traditional Japanese Seasoning
[The ‘Caucasian Descendants’ Usually Use Salt Only for Flavouring the Turtle.]
The accounts of Ogasawara Sadayori reveal arbitrary historical interpretations appropriated to advocate Japanese colonial desires. However the familiar god Sadayori San preserves extended stories beyond the fabrications, and thus represents past cultural practices of Ōgiura also—including the ritual ceremonies at the shrine, the local turtle stew cooking, and the mikoshi procession into the water. These cultural activities enhance consciousness about the localised past, life and ecology, and reinforce the identity of the growing community of Ōgiura today (Figure 5.44). Even if the narrative
of Sadayori’s discovery is not true, it cannot erode other stories preserved in historical and cultural practices of Ōgiura (see further theoretical arguments in Chapter 6.3).

Figure 5.44 The Mikoshi, Returning to the Shrine
Soon after the shrine festival in Ōgiura, a month-long Ogasawara Summer Festival began. In this annual project, various events are to be held one after another, including the rock concert Jammin’, Nanyō odori workshops, starry sky viewing, beach volleyball tournament, and outdoor film screening. Amongst the successive events, the three-night bon dance convention and ‘Ohana hula festival are the highlights of the

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69 The outdoor film screening corresponds to past cultural practices of Ogasawara (see Chapter 4.2).
Ogasawara summer. I shall now describe these two events unique to Ogasawara musical culture.

The *bon* dance convention, from 8 to 10 August (in the case of 2009), is probably the largest event of Ogasawara today. There are many tourists who repeatedly visit the island to participate in the *bon* dance, so that the convention includes popular dance-songs of the mainland such as “Dance-Song of Tokyo [Tokyo Ondo]” and “Dance-Song of Coal Mining [Tankō Bushi]” (see also Chapter 4.3). But the specialities of the event are original tunes of “Dance-Song of Sperm Whale [Makkō Ondo]” and newly composed “Dance-Song of Ogasawara.” Contrary to old “Dance-Song of Ogasawara,” which lost popularity because of its exclusive lyrics (see Chapter 4.3), these recent compositions are largely utilised to give the visitors songs for dancing. For instance, “Dance-Song of Sperm Whale” recapitulates visitors’ experience of Ogasawara:

The long voyage, swaying and rolling towards Ogasawara
Upon arrival, seven colours of the ocean welcome you
*Makkō* [sperm whale], *kekko* [fantastic], Ogasawara
In the centre of the Pacific Ocean
Very small, Ogasawara

*Makkō* [sperm whale], *kekko* [fantastic], Ogasawara
The flowers of dreams blossom, Ogasawara
*Makkō* [sperm whale], *kekko* [fantastic], Ogasawara
Extremely enjoyable, Ogasawara
(Excerpts, see also the lyrics in Appendix A)

The new “Dance-Song of Ogasawara” also appeals to the visitors by featuring another sea creature around the islands, the wahoo [*sawara*]:

It is a dream island, why don’t you come
Flowers, green, and blue ocean

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70 The lyrics tell about local places, which are often not familiar to the visitors.
71 Written by Hirata Seizan (see Chapter 4.3). Whale watching is one of the tourist attractions of Ogasawara today.
72 See also Chapter 3.3 about an island cuisine using the wahoo, called *shima-zushi*. 
The blue ocean
Sawara [wahoos] sawasawa [are all around], Ogasawara
Sawara sawasawa, Ogasawara
(Excerpt, see also the lyrics in Appendix A)

These dance-songs preserve reference to Ogasawara, just like old “Dance-Song of Ogasawara,” but not in an exclusively local manner; they rather invite the visitors to join and enjoy the festivity. In the *bon* dance practices today, the islanders embrace empathy and affinity to others (as appeared in other musical genres of Ogasawara); they seek to share and enjoy the dance together with the visitors. Towards the end of the convention, the popular new “Dance-Song of Ogasawara” was repeatedly performed; the people thoroughly enjoyed the dance—hopping, jumping and shouting together (Figure 5.46).

![Figure 5.46 Jumping Dancers, the New “Dance-Song of Ogasawara”](image)

The *bon* dance convention of 2009 also featured special guests. Iwo Tō staff members of Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force visited Chichi Jima and presented their local performance. The stage, entitled “Island Plover [Shima Chidori],” is based on Awa *odori* [Awa dance] (see above), yet became a unique practice through the transmission processes (Figure 5.47). More than ten years ago, a member from Tokushima
Prefecture [former Awa Province] began the dance at his home with colleagues to console the sentiment of “nothing on the island [of Iwo Tō].” This official soon left the island (since the staff is relocated every alternate year), but the practice remained and was preserved by shifting members one after another. The music and dance also transformed gradually and resulted in the current performance called “Island Plover” (interview anonymous August 2009).

![Image](image.jpg)

**Figure 5.47 “Island Plover” Performance of Iwo Tō**

It is unfortunate that past Iwo Tō musical culture was lost without civilian access to the island. But migrating government workers still preserve some musical activities there to enjoy life in the small, remote and restricted island.\(^{73}\) Just like the other islanders of Ogasawara, the current Iwo Tō residents sing to fill the cavernous sense and dance to seek some connections to others (Figure 5.48).\(^{74}\) They appear not only in Chichi Jima, but also in various festivals and conventions on the mainland with the performance of

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\(^{73}\) The staff members of Iwo Tō also perform Okinawan eisā dance. Just like “Island Plover,” a member from Okinawa began the dance activity, which remained there even after the founder left the island.

\(^{74}\) In 2009, the Iwo Tō staff members also appeared in sumo wrestling tournament held for a shrine festival in November, Chichi Jima (see below).
“Island Plover.” The situation of Iwo Tō is different from Chichi Jima and Haha Jima, particularly without civilian residence, but the people still utilise music and dance that console the sorrows attributed to the island.

Another highlight of Ogasawara summer, the ‘Ohana hula festival, was held on 29 August. The festival featured almost all of the islands’ hula performers, including Haha Jima dancers/musicians. On the day of the show, the people gathered at the festival park before 9 am and began preparing the stage, despite the performance only beginning that evening around 5:30 pm. Just like many other Ogasawara events, the ‘Ohana reveals the aesthetics and sensibility of the islanders in many ways. They collected coral stones from the Maehama beach and placed them together with plants, which shaped the performance space (Figure 5.49). The light bulbs, microphones, speakers, and other facilities were also decorated with various greens to enhance the feelings of the ‘hula event of Ogasawara’ (Figure 5.50). The Ogasawara people learnt or borrowed the dance from Hawai‘i, yet still devise their own ways of enjoying hula—as is apparent

75 For instance, the group participates in Awa odori convention held in Yamato of Kanagawa Prefecture every year.
in their lei making using the island flowers and plants. The lei making practices also reveal consciousness about past Ogasawara, especially in the use of ti leaves. Several people mentioned that the ti tree is not indigenous to Ogasawara; it probably arrived with the Hawaiian migrants in 1830. Along with the recent hula activities, the ti leaf became one of the most popular materials for Ogasawara lei making. In such fragmented memories and practices, the islanders embrace their gratitude and affinity towards the past residents, who possibly brought the ti plants from Hawai‘i (Figure 5.51).

Figure 5.49 Shaping the Performance Space with Coral Stones and Plants

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76 The ‘Caucasian descendants’ of Ogasawara preserve their own tradition of lei making for a funeral or farewell. Some ideas of lei making in Ogasawara hula are also adopted from this tradition of ‘Caucasian descendants.’

77 Cordyline fruticosa in scientific name.

78 They assert that the ti trees were found only from those places, where Hawaiian settlers resided before.

79 In recent years, the islanders often plant and preserve ti trees for lei making.
The ‘Ohana 2009 included 42 hulas, which also represented the island aesthetics, sentiments and memories in many ways. The stage featured such local songs as “Cooking Mama,” “Ogasawara Island” and “Coral Street” (see Chapters 3.3 and 3.5), and demonstrated the lifestyle sustained, together with the island ecology, from the past to present. From Ogasawara classics, “Lemon Bush” and “Dugout Canoe” exemplified the island history closely associated with Micronesia (see Chapter 3.4). The festival also certified its connection to Hawai‘i with several Hawaiian hulas, including Aunty
Hannah’s compositions, such as “Me Ke Aloha Nui” (see Chapter 5.1). The repertoire also included Japanese songs, such as “Smiling Ogasawara ‘Ohana [Ohana Wara Wara]” written by the band Kochi, which visited Ogasawara in 2008. The aforementioned island singer-songwriters, Ikeda Nozomu and Suzuki Hajime (see Chapter 5.1), also appeared on stage and presented their own songs telling about the island features. The climax of the festival was the hula “Riding on the Wind of Mana [Mana no Kaze ni Notte],” in which the high school seniors dedicated their last dance to the island community with sincere gratitude (see Chapter 5.3 for details).

Ogasawara hula is not merely a borrowed performing art from Hawai‘i and also different from the hula activities on mainland Japan. These hula practices of Ogasawara rather epitomise musical culture in this small place—caught as it is in-between locations of more distant memories. The islands of Ogasawara are small with less than 2,500 residents, but still retain their unique landscape, history, culture and society. The people living in this isolated place also maintain their own connections to others beyond time, distance, border and nation. Through hula activities, the islanders extend their sentiments to past Ogasawara residents, Micronesians under the colonial rule, hula practitioners in Hawai‘i, as well as Japanese living on the mainland. These distinguished experiences certify the identity and dignity of Ogasawara itself, and remain as collective memories of this small community. Below, I will further explore ‘our own’ musical culture to be enjoyed only after the hectic island summer.

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80 This professional Japanese band was invited to Ogasawara as part of the project for the 40th anniversary of the reversion. At that time, the band composed and dedicated the song “Smiling Ogasawara ‘Ohana” to the island hula community in token of gratitude (see the song lyrics in Appendix A).

81 The hula is one of the most popular performing arts in Japan, and there are many hula groups on the mainland. See Kurokawa (2004) for hula activities on mainland Japan.
Figure 5.52 The Hula “Journey of Green Sea Turtle,” Finale of the ‘Ohana Hula Festival
After the ‘Ohana hula festival, the island became quiet again. But the people never stopped playing music and dance, saying: “Now it’s our time to enjoy” (Figure 5.53). Thereafter several events happened one after another. I observed a celebration for the elders [known as keirō taikai] at the village welfare hall on 23 September, and the island sports day at the school ground in Ōmura on 3 October. These events included some rare performances of flamenco and Okinawan eisā dance (Figure 5.54), as well as conventional taiko drumming and Nanyō odori. Several parties were also held in the Oga-maru waiting room; they featured island music and dance to treat some special guests, such as Hachijō Islanders and the members of Ogasawara Association (see Chapter 2.5). Various events continued even after summer and without many visitors,

82 Many islanders also left Ogasawara after the summer; it is another major job relocation period in the Japanese calendar.
83 Flamenco was one of the most recently introduced performing arts on the islands. A Japanese bailaora Utsunomiya Rica [the spelling as appeared on the ethics clearance form] temporarily migrated to Ogasawara and began the flamenco activity after having received a request by the islanders. A schoolteacher initiated the eisā dance (for some unknown reason). Since then, this Okinawan dance has remained as one of the sports day activities even after the founder left the islands.
yet it seemed that the islanders were rather relaxed and enjoyed their own local activities.

On these days in the middle of October, I experienced another local event that exemplified island musical activities for farewell. The Chichi Jima musical group, Huli Huli Chickens [Huli-Chiki],\textsuperscript{84} planned and presented a concert together with a Haha Jima resident, Nagahori Shigeru, who was about to retire and leave the islands in the following year.\textsuperscript{85} As a government officer, Shigeru has served Ogasawara and its community for many years. It is one of the ways to spend ‘our own time’ with fewer visitors. The “chickens” arranged their schedule somehow and travelled to Haha Jima for this special event.

Figure 5.54 Eisa Performance at the Island Sports Day

\textsuperscript{84} The group consists of Inoue Naoshi (see Chapter 2.3), Nishimoto Homare, a couple of Suzuki Osamu and Naoko (see Chapter 5.1), and a duo by Sasaki Minako and Tamura Midori (see Chapter 3.3). Midori explained that they are “chickens” who are not brave enough to show off alone, but are happy to be displayed together, just like ‘huli huli chicken,’ a Hawaiian barbecue cuisine often cooked as a whole chicken with a huli huli [end-over-end] rotisserie.

\textsuperscript{85} He was Branch Head of Tokyo Metropolitan Government in Haha Jima at that time.
The concert featured Nagahori Shigeru as a guest performer, as well as another islander Hashimoto Tadashi. It was impressive to me that the Haha Jima musicians preserved many local songs—some of them were written by themselves. The members of the Huli-Chiki learnt these Haha Jima songs beforehand and performed in the concert together with Shigeru (Figure 5.55). One of the Huli-Chiki members said: “We just want to enjoy music together with Shigeru,” but the concert was indeed to celebrate and commemorate the friend, who was leaving the islands. Separation happens inevitably on the islands. The people utilise music and dance to have shared experiences that would be remembered even after being apart (see also Chapter 5.3).

![Figure 5.55 Nagahori Shigeru (Centre), Singing with the Huli-Chiki Members at the Haha Jima Concert](image)

When I returned to Chichi Jima, the Bonin Bayashi had already begun practising for the coming event for Ōgamiyama Jinja. This two-day shrine festival features several attractions including music and dance. While the festival is open to visitors, it primarily

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86 Hashimoto Tadashi is the music director of Haha Jima hula band. His wife, Hashimoto Shiho, is the hula instructor of Haha Jima.
87 For instance, Nagahori Shigeru presented his own composition “Wooden Taiko [Ki no Taiko],” which describes the kaka practices in Haha Jima.
88 The Huli-Chiki members also presented their own compositions.
serves to strength the unity of community by having shared ritual practices and entertainments. The festival began, in the evening of 2 November, with sumō wrestling competitions. It is unfortunate that sumo jinku songs were lost after Take Ji left the islands (see Chapter 4.4), but the wrestlers still conducted the ceremony called dohyō iri, wearing keshō mawashi [decorated belt], accompanied by the sounds of small taiko (Figure 5.56). The sumō tournament included wrestlers from Haha Jima and Iwo Tō (Japan Self-Defense Forces officials) as well as Chichi Jima; they challenged each other’s strength and especially competed with the other islanders.

In the morning of the next day, before 9 am, the ritual for mikoshi procession began. Then, accompanied by the festival music (again performed by the Bonin Bayashi), the procession slowly moved around Ōmura, Okumura and Kiyose areas (Figure 5.57). When the mikoshi returned to the shrine, it was already about 4 pm, but the festivities continued with a karaoke competition, begun at 5:30 pm. About 40 individual/group entries appeared on the stage and competed with their performances—including singing, dancing, original choreographies, and self-made costumes (Figure 5.58). The event lasted until after 9 pm; it was a long day, but it seemed that the islanders thoroughly enjoyed the local festival together.

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89 Probably these local entertainments would not be so enjoyable without knowing the places and people of the islands. For instance, it would be much more exciting to watch the sumō tournament if you were familiar with the wrestlers.

90 Tamura Wako, the husband of Midori, directed the procession.
Figure 5.56 The Dohyō Iri Ceremony, Ōgamiyama Jinja Festival

Figure 5.57 The Mikoshi Procession around Ōmura, Okumura and Kiyose
In late November, another shrine festival was held in Haha Jima. The Haha Jima people preserve their own enjoyment to be dedicated to their local shrine, called Tsukigaoka Jinja. In the morning of 23 November, the small shrine was filled with people for the *mikoshi* procession. In Haha Jima, before the *mikoshi* procession, a children’s marching band [called ‘*chindonya*’] walked around Okimura area first (Figure 5.59). Then, the *mikoshi* toured every place in the local districts slowly, stopped by houses or buildings here and there, and returned to the shrine around 3:30 pm (Figure 5.60). The island became suddenly quiet, yet until the announcement of *taiko* sounds [*fure daiko*] called the people back to the shrine. Soon the crowd occupied the shrine precinct to enjoy the evening convention. The stage included various entertainments such as karaoke singing, *taiko* drumming and *Nanyō odori*. I was particularly interested in the hip-hop dance accompanied by the *taiko* that represented the recent dance fashion conflated with the island music tradition (Figure 5.61). In such a way, young and old enjoy the event together in this small community.

91 This practice corresponds to the pre-war Okimura *chindonya* performance by the Nakajima Shinnosuke Ichiza (see Chapter 4.2).
Figure 5.59 The Children's Marching Band, Okimura, Haha Jima

Figure 5.60 The Mikoshi Procession, Moving under the Favourite Gajumaru Tree [Ficus microcarpa]
In Chichi Jima, the islanders began rushing to play music and dance, as if regretting “our time to enjoy” would soon be over towards the end of the year. Various musical gatherings and parties were held one after another in different sites, including the Oga-maru waiting room, St George’s Church, Gegege House, Welfare Centre, and a village log cabin located in Ōgiura area. Such musical groups as Call Coconuts and Music Lovers Association held their annual Christmas concerts on 4 and 19 December respectively (Figures 5.62 and 5.63). At the bar Bonina, I encountered Huli-Chiki members, including Nishimoto Homare, Suzuki Naoko, Sasaki Minako and Tamura Midori, enjoying music together with hula dancers (Figures 5.64 and 5.65). At another bar, Charlie Brown, the flamenco group presented its Christmas recital on 26 December (Figure 5.66). Meanwhile the practice sessions continued for coming events for the New Year. Again the islands were to be filled with many visitors for a while.

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92 Suzuki Naoko is also a leading figure of the Call Coconuts.
Figure 5.62 Suzuki Naoko (Left) with Call Coconuts Members at the Annual Christmas Concert

Figure 5.63 The Christmas Concert of the Music Lovers Association

Figure 5.64 Nishimoto Homare, Singing at Bonina
Figure 5.65 Suzuki Naoko, Tamura Midori and Sasaki Minako (from Left to Right), Singing at Bonina.

Figure 5.66 The Flamenco Recital, Instructor Utsunomiya Rica at the Centre.
Although it is a small place, numerous musical activities appear on the Ogasawara Islands (Figure 5.67). After experiencing much loss and missing, the islanders gradually retrieved past musical activities and further accommodated additional performing arts to their home. The past still pertains to musical and cultural practices of Ogasawara today, together with the island ecology, lifestyle and community. The current residents often trace fragmented memories by referring to the landscape, fauna and flora, and re-produce or ‘re-enact’ the island life filled with music and dance. These island musical activities are unique to Ogasawara’s history, geography and people, but they also demonstrate various connections to others. When performing hula, \textit{taiko} drumming and Nanyō \textit{odori}, the Ogasawara Islanders extend their sentiments to early Hawaiian settlers, Japanese immigrants and Micronesian people. They seek to
have shared experiences and memories through the musical activities that are gifted by other peoples. Various sorrows still remain in everyday life, but the islanders console their sentiments with affinity, sympathy and affection. Sentiments of loss, longing, nostalgia, affinity and empathy are intricately conflated in Ogasawara musical culture, and eventually transform into the love for their island home. In the next section, I exemplify the ‘overwhelming love’ of Ogasawara through a story of impending separation of island children from their beloved home (Figure 5.67).
5.3 REMEMBERING THE ISLANDS

Sorrows Embraced by Love

Farewell involves ritual practices for separation, but also for memoires and possible reunion. In his book, The Rites of Passage (1960), French folklorist Arnold van Gennep observes the life of individuals as a series of ritualistic passages in transition. The rite of passage continually occurs in Ogasawara with a constant flow of people that impacts upon the island musical activities in multiple and meaningful ways. The farewell practices at Futami Port are a good example. Before presenting the Nanyō odori, the dancers address the passengers: “Hope you enjoyed Ogasawara and come back to the islands in the next year.” Likewise the taiko drummers make a statement: “We send you with the taiko performance, a blessing for your safe voyage and our reunion here in Ogasawara.” As the Oga-maru slowly departs, the crowd, waving their hands, follows the boat towards the edge of the pier. The passengers also wave their hands from the

93 See also Turner (1969) and Turnbull (1983) on ritual theory.
boat and throw leis presented by the islanders. The leis float on the cobalt blue water, as if the passengers’ hearts remain on the islands. The sounds of taiko continue echoing until the boat reaches in the middle of the bay. On every departure, Sasaki Hitoshi, the owner of Ogasawara Youth Hostel, waves a flag until the boat disappears from the sight (Figure 5.70). The word printed on the flag is “itterasshai [see you soon]” rather than “sayonara [good buy]”—hoping the visitors ‘soon come back’ to Ogasawara. Several fishing and sightseeing boats follow the Oga-maru beyond Futami Bay. The practices on boat departure epitomise what van Gennep describes in his rite of passage: préliminaire [separation], liminaire [transition], and postliminaire [reincorporation].

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94 The islanders ask the passengers to throw the leis when the boat is departing. It is one of the island customs.
95 The word “itterasshai” is not used for a long-term farewell in standard Japanese. It is usually used for sending a person, who is soon returning. In Ogasawara, Sasaki Unosuke (the father of Sasaki Hitoshi, see Chapter 2.5) began to use the word, which became popular to send off the Oga-maru passengers. There is another phrase “mata miruyo,” which is literal translation of English “see you again,” and often used amongst the ‘Caucasian descendants.’ The phrase is awkward from a standard Japanese viewpoint, but still utilised in Ogasawara to bless a reunion soon in the future.
The islanders conduct such ritual practices of farewell regularly, even for the temporary visitors. When fellow islanders leave, the parting ceremonies often become extraordinary and sometimes overwhelming. The ‘overwhelming love’ appeared through the ritual practices to send the high school seniors, who were about to leave the islands after graduation (see also the film “Overwhelming Love,” Appendix B2 that corresponds and complements the story of this section). It is the fate that the island children leave Ogasawara at some stage of life. Some of them leave the islands due to employment relocations of their parents and others depart home to have higher education or job training on the mainland. The community sends the children with best wishes for their prospective life in another place and possible return after having substantial experiences—as described in the song lyrics of “Journey of Green Sea Turtle” (see Chapter 5.1). They may not come back after all, but the community members, at least, hope the children will remember the islands. The ritual practices towards the impending separation produce shared experiences amongst the islanders and remain as collective memories of small yet beloved Ogasawara. Memories connect the peoples in distance and separation.

The rite of passage for the island children (which I have observed during my fieldwork) already began in April 2009. One day, Tamura Midori showed me her new song lyrics, expressing gratitude towards the island community: “Thank you, we are here now, thank you for rearing us.” She explained that the song, to be accompanied by hula, would be premièred in the annual ‘Ohana festival, held in August. In recent years, the festival began featuring a student hula before their departure from the islands.

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96 See also Chapter 5.2 in the case of the retirement of Nagahori Shigeru.
Previously students selected a song from existing repertoire, yet in 2009, the group decided to produce an original song for the farewell performance. It was the first time that eight students, who had been involved in hula activities since childhood, were graduating at the same time. Midori took on the responsibility of composing the song and was particularly serious, because her son, Takumi, was one of the graduates to perform the hula in the festival.

Besides the farewell performance, the high school seniors were assigned further obligations in the festival. For instance, Takumi participated in the hula band as a player of the guitar, *djembe* and Okinawan *sanshin*, and was also featured as a dancer for several hulas (Figure 5.71). Other students were also under considerable pressure to sing and dance in the festival, not to mention arranging life plans for the coming year. It would be much easier that experienced adult members played music to accompany the hula, but they rather preferred to teach the students and made them perform in the festival, by repeatedly saying: “This is the last.” In the ritual process, British anthropologist Victor Turner observes the liminality that creates an ambiguous and in-between state (1969: 95); it possibly causes a crisis or a “collapse of order” (Thomassen 2009: 19). If it is not a “collapse of order,” the increasing load towards the festival eventually made Takumi to claim: “I liked hula much, but rather hate it recently.”

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97 For instance, the song “Mele ‘Ohana” (in Reichel 2003) was presented in 2008.
98 There were fewer graduates in each year before.
99 For instance, they had to travel to the mainland, and search for schools and apartments.
100 For instance, the bandmaster Sasaki Minako asked me to teach Takumi the *sanshin*, on which he had almost no experience. But Minako never asked me to play in the festival.
Choreographing the farewell hula also revealed an overwhelming process. The hula instructor Yamaguchi Manami expressed her struggles with the dance: “Of course, I choreograph, but the audience evaluates the hula belonging to the seniors.” She was much concerned about the lyrics, which commemorate various island features and activities, such as “an orange road appearing on the sunset ocean,” “windsurfing on the beach of Maehama” and “sending off the graduates—holding cheering flags on the following boat” (see the lyrics in Appendix A). Together with the seniors, Manami tested various choreographies to “describe our islands and people with the hula movements.” The movements inscribed in the choreography remain as bodily practices of the students; in other words, the hula allows the student to remember and embrace Ogasawara within their bodies, even after they leave and stay separated from the islands (see Chapter 6 for theoretical arguments).

The composer of the farewell song, Tamura Midori, explained to the seniors the meaning of her lyrics: “It is everything about the islands—nature, history, community—that reared you all,” and left the song untitled. After hearing the explanation, the
seniors decided to dedicate the song to Yamaguchi Manami by titling it “Riding on the Wind of Mana [Mana no Kaze ni Notte]”; ‘mana’ implies Manami, but also means ‘supernatural or divine power’ in Hawaiian. In the song lyrics, the seniors found the ‘power of the islands’ that has reared them until today, and embodied the ‘mana’ through their movements—as Manami has taught her students through the islands’ hula activities. In the festival, the seniors performed the hula with sincere gratitude to the islands, which were inscribed in their bodies and memories (Figure 5.72).

Camera flashes sparkled throughout the performance. Towards the end of the song, the female dancers began to cry. Together with this last verse: “Thank you for the overwhelming love,” the dancers dropped their heads for the ovation. Manami entered the stage, hugged each student, and put a lei around her/his neck. The applause seemed endless. It appeared as the grand finale of the ceremony for the students’ departure was coming to a close, but the ritual practises were still in progress. At the end of the show, Manami declared: “This was the seniors’ last dance in ‘Ohana, but they remain on the islands until March next year…”
The rite of passage continued. After the festival, the seniors appeared in various island events and activities, including island sports day, Ōgamiyama shrine festival, Christmas live concert, and New Year’s Day event for the beach opening (Figure 5.73). The community featured the seniors everywhere and in every possible occasion by repeatedly saying: “They cannot participate in the island events next year… This is the last.” In the days after the summer, the seniors sometimes appeared at the bar Bonina and danced hula accompanied by the voices of Minako and Midori, as if to enjoy the rest of the days together. Midori informed me that there would be another event called the “farewell hula [oidashi hula]” in March 2010. I left the islands in January, but returned in March to conclude my field research with the final ceremony just before the students’ departure.

Figure 5.73 The Seniors, Taking the “Last” Photo during the Mikoshi Procession

The “farewell hula” was held on 7 March, soon after the graduation ceremony of the high school. Before noon, the members of hula group began gathering at the festival park one after another. It was rather a casual party to enjoy dancing with some food and

101 Actually Minako rather forced the seniors to dance, but they never declined her request.
102 The word ‘oidashi’ literally means ‘kicking out.’
drinks. Together with juniors, the graduates danced hulas, including “Journey of Green Sea Turtle” and “The Island of Bonin” (see Chapter 3.4). Another favourite hula, performed in this event, was “Precious Thing [Taisetsuna Mono].” The song is particularly appropriate for farewell occasions on the islands, as lyrics tell:

Although many farewells result in tears  
On favourite Chichi Jima  
I wish to dance together hula again

Our hearts continue to be connected beyond distance  
The sky we watched together  
That is my precious thing forever  
(Excerpts)

Again the song describes the life experiences within the islands, such as “sitting on the beach filled with coral sand,” “climbing that big tree on the day when the colour of bide flower becomes the same with the sunset,” and “singing the song of stars together at the place near the stars” (see also the lyrics in Appendix A). Through the hula choreography, the islands are inscribed in the dancing bodies and to be remembered as collective memories of Ogasawara (Figure 5.74). The composer of this song, Matsuzaki Keiko [better known as Okei], already left the islands several years ago, but still preserves association with Ogasawara. She sometimes appears in the island events and presents her “Precious Thing” to be remembered forever. As described in the song lyrics, shared memories about the islands connect the people even after separation in distance. Towards the finale, the event again featured the hula “Riding on the Wind of Mana” that would be another precious thing to be remembered as part of Ogasawara memories.

103 She had lived on the islands for years and had been much involved in hula activities.
I assumed that the farewell hula was the last event. It was not. On 10 March, the bar Bonina was filled with the people, who came to see a live concert featuring the high school band.\textsuperscript{104} Many local musicians also supported the event with extra performances.\textsuperscript{105} The final concert moved the audience to be enthusiastic and also sentimental; some audience members shed tears during the performance. After the last song, the graduates made statements of gratitude and farewell one by one (Figure 5.75). Lastly a female student closed: “Through music, I could meet and become friends with many island fellows… I wish to play music again with you all when I come back to the islands. Thank you.” With big applause, the audience replied her: “Don’t forget.” Separation inevitably occurs on the islands, and thus the people preserve shared time and space as a precious thing. The liminality eventually resolves in the state of “communitas” (Turner 1969: 132) that sometimes results in “dramatic tying together of thought and experience” (Thomassen 2009: 14). The final live concert provided another

\textsuperscript{104} They performed current Japanese popular tunes, such as “AM 11:00” by HY.
\textsuperscript{105} Including Ikeda Nozomu, Nishimoto Homare, and many members of Music Lovers Association.
experience to be remembered in the islands’ collective memories that continue connecting the people beyond distance.

In March, for every departure of the Oga-maru, Futami Port is filled with the people, who wish to farewell and send the graduates. Much photo taking, hugging, cheering and lei offerings occur. As the Oga-maru slowly sets off from the pier, several boats begin chasing it. One of the boats, the Island Queen, hoists red and white cheering flags, as described in the song lyrics “Riding on the Wind of Mana” (Figure 5.76). The juniors keep on calling the names of departing graduates until they are finally separated. Such overwhelming ritual practices continue until the last graduates leave the islands.

My ethnography of Ogasawara musical culture began with the cavernous sense and now ends with remembering the islands. Since there is ‘nothing,’ the people play music and dance, and create collective memories of the islands. The island musical activities can be summarised with the responsive sentiments of ‘missing and yearning,’ that is, ‘wanting memories.’ In Ogasawara, the ritual practices for remembrance often reveal the ‘overwhelming love’ towards the islands. I argue that commemorative ceremonies
and practices lose sense without being backed up by human emotions. Various sentiments of sorrow, resentment, alienation and antagonism have appeared throughout the history of Ogasawara. But the love possibly overwhelms and reconciles the negative sentiments. Music and dance can be vital media to create shared experiences and memories, and further produce affinity and empathy that connect people beyond distance. In the following chapter, I will further explore theoretical issues concerning history, memory, remembrance and sentiment based on my ethnography of Ogasawara musical culture.

Figure 5.76 Chasing the *Oga-maru*, Holding Cheering Flags
CHAPTER 6
WANTING MEMORIES

Figure 6.1 A Lei Floating on the Water, Futami Bay, after the Departure of the Oga-maru
6.1 COLLECTIVE REMEMBRANCE

Voyage into the Ocean of Memories

On 12 March 2010, I terminated my field research and took the boat Oga-maru for mainland Japan. Wanting memories: it was also the beginning of my next voyage into Ogasawara memories away from the islands. As mentioned in Chapter 1, I borrowed the title of the Hawaiian song “Wanting Memories” to outline this thesis. Although the song is based on a Hawaiian theme, its lyrics can extend their implications to Ogasawara in that they convey the senses of ‘missing’ and ‘yearning.’ My ethnography (in previous chapters) described loss, emptiness and separation that evoked an affinity, empathy and love for this small community, and beyond. These senses of ‘missing’ and ‘yearning’ pertain to the issues of collective remembrance (and forgetting); that is, the politics of memories.

In this section, I investigate Ogasawara memories with particular interest in collective remembrance. Beginning with “collective memory,” I consider the politics of memories
that are often implicated in the nation and its historiography. Then I evaluate the concept of “lieux de mémoire,” which possibly extends its meaning toward memories of frontiers and small places. Through these explorations, I delineate Ogasawara memories beyond border, nation and ethnicity. I argue that lost memories cannot be filled by a single or exclusive narrative, and demand multiple stories for collective remembrance.

Studies concerning memory matters are extensive and diverse. Different concepts of memories are elaborated for various issues, cases and arguments, and are further integrated into debates about trauma, amnesia, obliteration, and historical revisionism. It may be effective to distinguish these concepts in developing theories, but the multifariousness also creates a range of approaches which are relatively separate from each other and may incline us to make arbitrary or essentialised interpretations.

It is also important to link diverse theories and ideas in order to make a constructive approach. Particularly for this research on Ogasawara, references to different (and sometimes contradictory) concepts are necessary in considering the multiple layers of the islands’ history and culture. In this sense, I take an eclectic approach to describing Ogasawara memories, rather than framing my arguments under a single concept or theory. My approach is similar to that of French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs and his “collective memory.” I observe memories as shared knowledge and experiences in a family, community or society. As Halbwachs argues:

One is rather astonished when reading psychological treatises that deal with memory to find that people are considered there as isolated beings… Yet it is in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognize, and localize their memories. (1992: 38)
The term ‘collective’ is comprehensive; it implies accumulative processes of remembrance and suits this research on a small place, where multiple memories intersect.

I use the term ‘remembrance’ with its implications of ‘acts of remembering’ and also corresponding ‘act of forgetting,’ i.e., the politics of memories. In this sense, I aim to take my arguments beyond “collective memory.” In collective remembrance, I observe ‘processes’ of remembering and forgetting that occur in dynamic interactions amongst nations, places and peoples, rather than confining ‘memory’ in a single discourse, concept or theory. In collective remembrance, multiple memories interact (and sometimes contest) with each other. This enables us to delineate Ogasawara and its people—expanding to other places and peoples—beyond various boundaries of nation and ethnicity.

I also recognise the criticism of “collective memory.” Its emphasis on a group or society risks marginalising memories of individuals. For instance, Gedi and Elam argue that:

All “collective” terms are problematic – and “collective memory” is no exception – because they are conceived of as having capacities that are in fact actualized only on an individual level, that is, they can only be performed by individuals. (1996: 34)

Anthropologist Jennifer Cole also argues: “Contemporary anthropological and sociological writing on memory tends to share Halbwachs’s dismissal of individual memory, focusing instead on public representation of the past” (2001: 23). These arguments are significant because of their attentiveness on individuals and are also relevant to my research on a small place.
In this study, I focus on individual, miscellaneous and marginalised stories, as well as considering collective interactions of memories in broad perspectives. In other words, I am concerned with how individuals and minorities suffered through colonial powers, but still sustained their own memories and identities in the shadows of larger historical narratives. The ‘unattained love’ (Chapter 3.4) is a typical example of how such small stories were marginalised from the major historiography. The stories inscribed in the song lyrics are evocative and not precise, but still appeal to the sensibilities of the islanders and thus remain as part of Ogasawara musical culture today.

As suggested above, I use the term ‘collective’ to consider interactive processes of individuals or small stories in creating remembrance rather than a ‘memory’ as a single social phenomenon. Gedi and Elam make the criticism that a community or society never retains “a separate, distinct, single organism with a mind, or a will, or a memory of its own,” so that “collective memory” only exists as a tool for the ideological and moralistic needs of society on a “metaphorical level” (1996: 35). On this premise, they claim that: “Halbwachs’ notion of history writing… is rather an intentional formation of the past without any obligation to ‘historical truth,’” that is to say, a “fabricated narrative” or “myth” (ibid.: 40-41). Fabrication and myth would be problematic in historical discourses, but I am more interested in the politics of the “intentional formation of the past” than decisive or exclusive “historical truth.”

Besides fabrication and myth, I argue that imagination is required in our historical practices of “making sense of the past” (as suggested by Dening 2004, see further arguments in the following sections). The fact or evidence is essential for historical thinking, but historiography relying on only ‘historical truth’ never satisfies our
intellectual interests, or rather craving, to know, realise, and further ‘experience’ the past in the present. As I described in previous chapters, the past is often entangled and indefinite, thus we need collective efforts that increase our imagination to connect pieces of fragmented memories and to fill the gaps of historical facts. I agree that on a physical level, an individual/single person remembers the past and interprets history, but the processes of remembering are often communal, collaborative and constructive activities that create ‘shared’ awareness and knowledge of the past: collective remembrance.¹

Halbwachs’ collective memory is still valuable in considering processes of memory construction. It is true that a community or society cannot exist without individuals, but we, as human beings, still retain a sense of belonging by sharing our localities, identities and memories.² However we also have to realise the politics of memories that are implicated in the processes of collective remembrance. When making a narrative or telling a story, ‘forgetting’ inevitably occurs, as Morris-Suzuki states:

…forgetting is produced by the way that stories are told, words are chosen, events are labelled and photographs are chopped… The creation of each ‘album’ or narrative is a process of selection, and therefore of forgetting as well as of remembering. (2012: 35-36)

As suggested by Gedi and Elam (1996) and Cole (2001), it is important to notice that small, miscellaneous and individual stories are often marginalised from major narratives or dominant historiography—often constructed by mass media, public images, political

¹ Marita Sturken, in the studies of media, culture and communication, also argues that cultural communications and their politics produce “cultural memory,” in which personal memories and historical narratives are entangled (1997).
² For instance, Egyptologist Jan Assman utilises the words “cultural memory” to describe the memories of ancient Egypt that permeate Western society, as a whole cultural entity, today (2006).
manipulations and national propaganda. Below, I will further explore memory issues from nation towards frontiers—extensive spaces beyond borders.
The nation is probably one of the most influential unities of people today. It often secures people’s lives, represents identity and evokes patriotism. Social scientist Craig Calhoun insists that: “Nationalism helps locate an experience of belonging in a world of global flows and fears,” and notes how nationalism contests with cosmopolitanism: “we should recognize the continued importance of national solidarity. Even if we wish for a more cosmopolitan world order, we should be realistic enough not to act on mere wishes” (2007: 1). I also value the sense of belonging as one of the features of human nature, and recognise that national solidarity produces continuity, cooperation and collaboration amongst people. However it is also important to notice that the nation possibly creates disorder, oppression and confusion besides the unity or “solidarity.”

In thinking about the islands of Ogasawara, nations often manipulated the small place and entangled the lives of people caught in between nation-states. The islanders suffered various hardships under the politics of nations, including discrimination, forced
evacuation, segregation and alienation that resulted in lost memories and the ‘cavernous sense’ (see Chapter 2). These experiences correspond to a following story introduced by political scientist Kang Sangjung, a zainichi or ethnic Korean in Japan. Kang writes about his uncle, who migrated from the Korean Peninsula during the colonial period, retained Japanese identity in accordance with the national ideology of the Empire, but eventually returned to the peninsula amidst the upheaval after the war—leaving his Japanese wife and child behind. “This episode is in no way uncommon, however; rather it represents the postwar experience of those ‘peninsulars’ who were caught up in this tumult” (2005: 81). Kang continues: “The opportunity to ask my uncle about his memory of the war has now been lost forever. Only one thing is certain that it was ‘Japanese’ national history that obliterated that memory” (ibid.: 81-82). In modern East Asia, the nation arrogantly defined its border, citizens and history through wars and international politics, and created those peoples and places in-between. With opportunistic policies and ideologies, the minor stories and memories were eventually marginalised and neglected in national history.

Political scientist William Connolly argues that national unity “fosters marginalization of vulnerable minorities,” and asserts pluralism that is “defined by multiple sites of potential citizen action, within and above state” (2005: 7). However I still accept Calhoun’s proposition: “We need to respect the importance of belonging to nations and other groupings of human beings smaller than humanity as a whole” (ibid.: 9, italics my own). Besides nations, in this statement, Calhoun recognises “other groupings” that are

3 See Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(s) (Fujitani, White and Yoneyama eds. 2001) for examples of “the politics of remembering—about the structures of power and desire that variously sustain, erase, and transform memories of past events” (2).
possibly related to what Connolly calls “multiple sites of potential citizen action, within and above state.” In my observation of Ogasawara musical culture, I take notice of deep attachment to and affection for the islands, yet also recognise multiple relationships with many others. More accurately, what the Ogasawara Islands belong to is not a single nation: the islanders preserve various historical, genealogical, cultural and social connections that construct the identity of this small place and community.

Beginning with collective memory, my arguments reach to the nation, places and sites, which Halbwachs seldom addresses in his memory discourse. In considering Ogasawara musical culture, it is necessary to take account of ‘place’ as a key factor on the construction of local memories and identity. As explored in Chapter 3, the island geography and ecology are inscribed in Ogasawara song lyrics and embodied through dance movements. Here I refer to French historian Pierre Nora, who elaborates the issue of lieux de mémoire, or sites, locations and even realms of memory: “Lieux de mémoire are complex things. At once natural and artificial, simple and ambiguous, concrete and abstract, they are lieux—places, sites, causes—in three senses: material, symbolic, and functional” (1996: 14). As suggested by Nora, lieux are multiple places for collective remembrance.

Memory is not an individual behaviour in the human brain, but is related to various outer effects that influence our historical practices to explore, trace, evaluate, imagine, modify and retrieve things in the past. By utilising the word lieux, Nora implies a collective approach to tracing memories beyond conventional historiography. The lieux de mémoire invite us to recollect fragments of the past embedded in various places, sites
and locations. Indeed what Nora tries to delineate is the topology of *lieux de mémoire* within the nation of France:

The point of departure, the original idea was… to study national feeling… by analysing the places in which the collective heritage of France was crystallized, the principal *lieux*, in all senses of the word, in which collective memory was rooted, in order to create a vast topology of French symbolism.

(Ibid.: xv)

Nora recognises history as “the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete, of what is no longer” (ibid.: 3), and thus utilises *lieux* to explore collective memories of France that possibly describe the nation better than conventional historiography.

The *lieux de mémoire* provide us alternative views to observe and evaluate memory matters with notions of “material, symbolic, and functional” places. But Nora’s scope remains within French boundaries, is inclined toward nation-oriented narratives, and possibly marginalises the stories around frontiers. Besides the nation, it is also important to explore *lieux de mémoire* that cross over the boundaries of nation. The book *The Places of Memories of East Asia* [*Higashi Ajia no Kioku no Ba*] (Itagaki, Jeong and Iwasaki eds. 2011) is one such example that searches shared memories of East Asia beyond the nation, and explicates chains of histories with a notion of unequal politics. Fourteen essays in the book signify that people’s memories do not exclusively belong to the nation, but are located in many places beyond boundaries.4

Shifting views from the nation to frontier, Tessa Morris-Suzuki proposes a transposed approach to re-consider histories of nation, region and the world, in her *The View from the Frontier: The Modern Experiences of Ainu* [*Henkyō kara Nagameru: Ainu ga*]

4 The essays include such stories of “Rikidōzan”—A famous wrestler of Korean ethnicity who played an active part in Japanese professional wrestling, and “Mount Kumgang”—a mountain located near the border of the two Koreas.
Keiken Suru Kindai] (2000). She recognises the “nation” and “civilisation” as two dominant agencies in modern historiography, which consequently marginalised thousands of people on frontiers—their lives and stories—outside of history. Morris-Suzuki describes the “frontier” as a dynamic space of its own in comparison to a “boundary” of nation. The boundary is a line that must be protected by the law and forces, otherwise it would be invaded. On the other hand, the frontier preserves its own extensive space connected to other places with living and moving people (1-63). With this view from the frontier, she suggests creating places or spaces, where regional, minor and also individual “reminiscences” can reside along with larger national and global levels of history (250).

The Ogasawara Islands are a frontier expanding to other areas and peoples, and preserve their own stories and memories besides a dominant historiography. Through my ethnography, I demonstrated various affinities and empathies in Ogasawara musical culture that extend beyond border and nation. The view from the frontier allows us to see the small stories in-between and to hear multiple voices, and improves our understandings of entangled social, national and global issues. I admit that those peoples around the frontier cannot escape from the politics of nation in the globalising world, and are inevitably implicated in larger social controversies. However these people, living in a small place in-between, still preserve their own extensive space, memory, identity and dignity. We should not neglect these people and their narratives, even if they are fragile, uncertain or incomplete; the collective efforts to hear and comprehend small stories surely enhance our historical, cultural and social views better than authorised and exclusive historiography. I would further argue that these multiple approaches from frontiers enrich our imagination, create empathy and affinity toward
others, and allow us to avoid egoistic interpretations of history, society and international relations.

In this section, I have explored the politics of memory towards collective remembrance. Various interactions of remembering and forgetting produce collective memory of a community, society and nation. The politics of memory often reveal the imposition of a historiography for the majority, authority and nation; accordingly minor or small stories are marginalised and neglected from a larger narrative. Views from the frontier possibly overcome this unequal power relationship in memory constructions. The concept of “frontier” contests the nation with its own dynamic space and people beyond the boundary. The frontier also preserves its own lieux de mémoire, which tell stories veiled under national history and signify the importance of localised historical experiences. Wanting memories: the issue now concerns how to trace minor ‘defective’ memories, which lie behind or beneath a major historiography. I admit that these small stories are often fragmented, ambiguous and incomplete, so that they cannot be accommodated in exclusive historiography strictly based on the truth. We have to investigate different historical practices for collective remembrance, in which we create spaces for individual, minor and regional reminiscences together with national and global levels of history. The concept of “lieux de mémoire” is already insightful, yet we need to further explore how to trace small stories and fragmented memories, and to enhance our historical understandings of things past into the present. In the following section, I refer to Pacific history in search of alternative historical practices, and extend my arguments to performances and bodily memories.
In his book, *Memory, History, Forgetting* (2004), French philosopher Paul Ricoeur explores memory issues from remembering towards forgetting. He first explains the function of and faults in memory, then criticises history as a defective archive or testimony, and finally describes forgetting as an inevitable condition of absence and distance. It is interesting that he eventually arrives at “forgiveness”: “There remains the attempt to recapitulate the entire course of travel in *Memory, History, Forgetting* in light of the spirit of forgiveness” (459). Forgiveness emerges from guilt and reconciliation with the past (412), Ricoeur advises us, but I wonder if we can terminate our voyage of remembrance with forgiveness. Wanting memories: the Ogasawara Islanders suffered entangled and marginalised history, but they never remained with the absence state only and filled the ‘cavernous sense’ with music and dance. Forgetting might be an inevitable part of the process of remembering, but we still struggle to trace things past within and around us. Our voyage around the ocean of memories is endless and expands to multiple formes of storytelling.
The issue now involves how to continue our journey of memories after loss or being cast adrift. I admit that, during my field research, I encountered stories that could not be told or that had to be hidden in order to respect human ethics. I respect the forbidden or restricted precincts of memory, but also wonder if it is possible to accommodate hidden/lost stories in collective remembrance. In such a discourse, accuracy or absoluteness would not be necessary, yet some knowledge or information remains to enhance historical understandings on things past. We still think about the past, even if it is not precise or definite. The past no longer exists in the irreversible flow of time and maybe has never existed as it is perceived today, but still we evoke nostalgia and search fragments of the past in the present.

Collective remembrance is a process to make sense of the past beyond conventional historiography. Here I refer to historian Greg Dening, who suggests “performances” to realise, recollect and mediate things past:

Making sense of what has happened is how we live. We do it in all sorts of ways. We sing it, dance it, carve it, paint it, tell it, write it. We find different ways to make sense of what has happened according to the different occasions of our telling and the different audiences to which we tell it. (1996: xiv)

Performances—such as singing, dancing, carving, painting, telling and writing—are often collective and interactive activities, and provide us alternative ways of making sense of the past, besides historical truth or evidence. Our nostalgia for the past demands performances that possibly embrace lost/hidden memories in collective remembrance.

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5 Here I refer to Boym (2001) for this sentence: “Nostalgia (from nostos—return home, and algia—longing) is a longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed” (XIII).
6 As explored in Chapter 2.3, ‘nostalgia’ is a complex sentiment that is associated with distance, displacement, and an imaginative response to return (see also Shishikura 2007: 119-29 for further arguments).
In his book *Beach Crossing: Voyaging Across Time, Culture, and Self* (2004), Dening exemplifies a brilliant performance that epitomises the practices of Pacific history: the re-enactment of a past Polynesian voyage for migrations across the sea. Hawai‘i born Nainoa Thompson (b.1953) devised “wayfinding” to sail around the Pacific Ocean,\(^7\) navigating the contemporary canoe *Hōkūle‘a*,\(^8\) yet without using modern equipment. He memorised the star chart in his mind, and carefully observed the rising and setting of the sun. Winds, waves and tides unique to each season enhanced his perception of the oceanscape, and Hawaiian birds [*manu kā*] helped lead him to sail the canoe towards the land (176-83).\(^9\)

The endeavour was not a precise replication of a migration voyage of the past. Polynesian ways of navigation were already lost in mythology, so Thompson apprenticed himself to master Mau Piailug (1932-2010), from Satawal of the Caroline Islands, who preserved a traditional wayfinding of Micronesia. To “set in his mind the night skies” (179), Thompson utilised modern technologies such as the planetarium at the Bishop Museum in Honolulu. Furthermore the *Hōkūle‘a* was built of plywood and fibreglass, which were not available to early canoes. However these amendments do not derogate the endeavours and achievements of the voyage. The re-enactment of the past migration rather affirmed historical connections beyond the ocean and enhanced affinity amongst the peoples of the Pacific, as Dening concludes: “The canoe was an icon of all sorts of continuities of identity, an icon of conjoining past and present” (182).

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\(^7\) The term “wayfinding” is often utilised to describe non-instrument methods for traditional voyaging in the Pacific.

\(^8\) The *Hōkūle‘a* was launched in 1975 and took its first voyage in March 1976; the canoe sailed from Hawai‘i to Tahiti under the guidance of a Micronesian navigator Mau Piailug.

\(^9\) Since the first voyage in 1976, the *Hōkūle‘a* has taken various voyages around the Pacific Ocean. In 2007, the canoe sailed from Hawai‘i and visited Japan via Micronesia.
As observed in the case of the re-enactment of a migration voyage, Pacific history is a unique discipline with its extensive methodologies, practices and performances other than Western historiography. In his edited volume, *Remembrance of the Pacific Past: An Invitation to Remake History*, anthropologist Robert Borofsky states:

> How does one make sense of the varied pasts? Materials abound for the projects: There are writings, memories, chants, artifacts, and landscapes waiting to be discovered (and rediscovered)... The past—in our ambiguous knowing of it—does not proclaim its meanings in a single voice. There are multiple voices. (2000: 1)

But in this again lie the politics of memories (or what Borofsky calls “the politics of representations,” 11-20) that create narratives as well as silences. To overcome the inevitable dilemma in relation to objectivity, representation and narration, Borofsky invites us to have “conversations across differences” (29), that is, “collectively thinking with the region’s varied pasts, as a way of weaving new narratives and new conversations” (30).\(^\text{10}\) The multiple voices from different perspectives help resolve the dilemma of the politics of representations, and enrich the Pacific history in its search for collective remembrance.

Indeed Pacific history traces its legacy in multi-voice oriented approaches, but these indigenous methodologies have been marginalised from the ‘history’ based on Western philosophy and civilisation. In her *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (1999), Māori and indigenous researcher Linda Tuhiwai Smith proclaims the “idea of contested stories and multiple discourses about the past, by different communities” (33) in contrast with Western historiography. These historical practices are extensively cultural, geographical, practical and even mythological. In

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\(^{10}\) Historian Paul D’Arcy also emphasises “comparative studies” and “inter-disciplinary interactions” that make Pacific history pertain to anthropology, archeology, linguistics, geography, ecology, and beyond (2008: xli-xlv).
such collective processes, historical narratives are to be merged or conflated into a larger cosmology of knowledge, as Smith argues: “These contested accounts are stored within genealogies, within landscape, within weavings and carvings, even within the personal names that many people carried” (ibid.). To affirm and progress such arguments, we have to decolonise history and search alternative views from “our sea of islands.”

The “our sea of islands” is an influential concept for decolonising the Pacific. In his essay (1993), Epeli Hau‘ofa, in the anthropology of Oceania, emphasises “our” own view of people, geography and history: “There is a gulf of difference between viewing the Pacific as ‘islands in a far sea’ and as ‘a sea of islands’” (7).11 The former view is colonial; it maps each island as an isolated dot with imaginary boundaries that confine “ocean peoples to tiny spaces” (ibid.) both physically and psychologically. Hau‘ofa emphasises the decolonisation of ocean peoples to retrieve “our sea of islands”: Pacific Islanders’ own space and history of Oceania.

“Oceania” connotes a sea of islands with their inhabitants. The world of our ancestors was a large sea full of places to explore, to make their homes in, to breed generations of seafarers like themselves. People raised in this environment were at home with the sea. They played in it as soon as they could walk steadily, they worked in it, they fought on it. They developed great skills for navigating their waters, and the spirit to traverse even the few large gaps that separated their island groups. (8)

This paragraph extends its implication to the “frontier,” that is, “our sea of islands” as expanding and connected space to other places and peoples. I have some reservations about the concept of “Oceania” as a vast area (often with the notion of over one-third of

11 Prior to this, American anthropologist Marshall Sahlins already suggested an alternative historical practice: “different cultural orders have their own modes of historical action, consciousness, and determination—their own historical practice” (1983: 534).
the surface area of the earth). I understand that Hau‘ofa requires the ‘vastness’ to
decolonise the confined mentality of ocean peoples, but smallness itself is not a mark of
inferiority. I have chosen to observe a small place with its own connections and
interactions with many others rather than a part of a larger area or group. Just like the
significance of the “frontier,” the significance of “our sea of islands” lies in the
‘transposed view’ from our own expanding oceanic space. The “our sea of islands”
allows us to realise (or retrieve) various cultural and historical practices beyond Western
traditions of thought.

What Hau‘ofa conceptualises as “Oceania” is an interesting ‘extended’ community of
peoples in contrast with the “nation.” Benedict Anderson, in the Asian context,
describes the nation as “an imagined political community—and imagined as both
inherently limited and sovereign” (1991: 6). The nation is imagined with enclosed
borders, with anonymous fellow-members, and with a dominating authority. Anderson
also identifies “communities” other than the nation and distinguishes them “by the style
in which they are imagined” (ibid.). He refers to Javanese villages with the notion of
connectedness of the people, who preserve “indefinitely stretchable nets of kinship and
clientship” (ibid.) that parallel or correspond to the concept of “Oceania.” I would
further argue that these communities often preserve shared experiences, practices,
customs and skills. These performances demonstrate ‘extended’ relationships over
Oceania, and certify the connectedness of peoples beyond the imagined boundaries of
the nation.

Crossing over the ocean, “our sea of islands” stretches to the small islands south of
Japan, called Ogasawara today. By performing music and dance, the islanders trace
fragments of the past and identify multiple relationships to other places and peoples.\textsuperscript{12} The Ogasawara performances embrace multiple narratives—embedded in the island foods, canoes, coral sand, waves, flowers and festivals—and constitute the ‘extended’ cosmology towards others. Through music and dance, the islanders resolve their ‘want of memories’ into collective remembrance, and further construct their own identity beyond border, nation and ethnicity. By referring to Pacific history, I explored the “performances” that provide us alternative views on things past and enhance our historical understandings beyond conventional historiography. Below, I further explore “performances” as concrete, corporeal, or “bodily practices” that also increase our historical consciousness and experiences towards collective remembrance.

\textsuperscript{12} For instance, the shared \textit{taiko} practices observed amongst Chichi Jima, Haha Jima and Hachijō Jima exemplify an ‘extended’ community connected through bodily experiences (see Chapter 4.3).
History can be conflated into a larger cosmology of knowledge that enriches historical narratives. Hawaiian myth Kumulipo is a good example of this. It is one of the important historical narratives of Hawai`i as implied in the title: the source [kumu] of distance or darkness [lipo], that is, stories of the past. Kumulipo relates the birth of the world to a genealogy of royalty, in association with nature, geography, fauna, flora, social customs, and bodily practices. The narrative of 2012 verses was transmitted by Hawaiian priests [kahuna] in the form of chanting, and preserved amongst the Hawaiian royal families. In such a practice, chanting is not only a mnemonic device, but also enhances human sensibility and embraces things past as corporeal experiences. The narrative of Kumulipo is not always ‘historically’ correct and includes some imagination, but it still enhances our understanding on things past through the art of performative storytelling.

13 King Kalākaua first printed the Kumulipo in 1889 and later his sister Queen Lili`uokalani published its English translation in 1897 (Beckwith ed. 1951: 1-2).
Besides Kumulipo, Hawaiian hula—which exists only with chanting to embody texts or lyrics—is also an expressive art form that preserves the culture, geography and history of Hawai‘i.\footnote{For instance, Hawaiian Kumu Hula Vicky Holt Takamine says: “You can learn those forms [of dance such as modern dance or European ballet] without an understanding of language. But in hula there is no movement without a text, a Hawaiian text. You chant. You dance. But you must know what you are dancing about and that means a knowledge of the Hawaiian language” (quoted in Hall ed. 1996).}

Kumu Hula Maiki Aiu Lake explains hula in the following way:

Hawai‘i is hula and hula is Hawai‘i. This is as true today as it was hundreds of years ago. The history, the culture, biographies of the people, descriptions of the islands, chronicles of events, messages of love and thanks—or scoldings—all this and more is told in the hula that were danced long ago and that are danced today. (Quoted in Ariyoshi 1998: 75)

Here again, history, culture, people and their social customs are merged together into a cosmology of knowledge and remembered within hula movements. Deirdre Sklar, in dance studies, supports Lake’s statement by signifying movement as cultural knowledge:

All movement must be considered as an *embodiment* of cultural knowledge... Movement is an essential aspect of culture that has been undervalued and underexamined, even trivialized. It is time to deal with movement in a culturally sensitive way and to give movement a more central place in the study of culture and culture a more central place in the study of movement... The concrete and sensory, in other words *bodily*, aspects of social life provide the glue that holds world views and cosmologies, values and political convictions, together.” (2001: 30-31, italics in the original)

I argue that the body maintains history in a form of cultural knowledge, and further produces corporeal experiences of things past. The body recapitulates the past through its movements or practices, and recollects memories for collective remembrance. The want of memories calls for music and dance, because singing and dancing shed light on the darkness or distance of the past beyond conventional historiography.
In Chapter 3, I investigated song lyrics in search of fragments of the past. In addition to the lyrics, the music and the dancing bodies also retain various historical traces into the present. However these bodily memories are hard to certify and prove, particularly in academic discourse. In her “Choreographing History,” Susan Leigh Foster, in dance studies, highlights the difficulty in making an agenda on bodily writing in the following way:

How to write a history of this bodily writing, this body we can only know through its writing. How to discover what it has done and then describe its actions in words. Impossible. **Too wild, too chaotic, too insignificant. Vanished, disappeared, evaporated into thinnest air, the body’s habits and idiosyncrasies, even the practices that codify and regiment it, leave only the most disparate residual traces. And any residue left behind rests in fragmented forms within adjacent discursive domains.** (1995: 4, bold letters in the original)

Nonetheless we still endeavour to make sense of the past through our bodies and movements, because we realise that various references to the past remain through bodily writing, as Foster describes:

A body, whether sitting writing or standing thinking or walking talking or running screaming, is a bodily writing. Its habits and stances, gestures and demonstrations, every action of its various regions, areas, and parts—all these emerge out of cultural practices, verbal or not, that construct corporeal meaning. Each of the body’s move, as with all writings, traces the physical fact of movement and also an array of references to conceptual entities and events. (Ibid.: 3)

The body preserves stories in different forms from historical narratives and enhances our understandings of things past as corporeal experiences. Foster recognises that the body changes every day and keeps different records of “bodily writing” (3-4), so that each body preserves individuality. However, just as in collective memory, some practices or habits are shared by a community and transmitted across generations. In fragmented forms of bodily writing, we still recognise collective practices that confirm historical and cultural continuities.
French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu applies the term “habitus,” in his *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977), to describe “the durable installed generative principle of regulated improvisations” that produces collective, reflective and maintainable practices (78). Change or ‘improvisations’ would inevitably occur in the dynamic and often chaotic forms of bodily writing, but the “habitus” rather signifies the coherent practices sustained in a group of people for a substantial period of time. Bourdieu further explains that the habitus is “the product of history” and produces both individual and collective practices “in accordance with the schemes engendered by history” (82). I consider the body also as the product of history; its practices manifest history in various stylised movements and performances. I admit that bodily practices appear in fragmented, miscellaneous and complicated forms, but still assert that the body and its practices preserve extraordinary narratives that fulfil the cavern left by the want of memories.

As described in the previous ethnographic chapters, Ogasawara is a small and isolated place with less than 2,500 residents. However the islands are still celebrated with multiple and sometimes ‘overwhelming’ musical activities that surprised and amazed me. Here I realised that the people were making sense of the past through their bodies and identifying themselves within the various performances of music and dance. Nanyō odori recapitulates the dance practices of colonial Micronesia (see Chapter 3.4), the taiko practices outline the genealogy of drumming derived from Hachijō Island (see Chapter 4.3), and hula performances not only associate Ogasawara with Hawai‘i, but also embody memories of migration, under the politics of nationhood, in its choreography of songs known as ‘island classics’ today (see Chapter 3.4). Singing and dancing are the ‘performances’ for collective remembrance that fill the ‘want’ of
memories caused by entangled history, loss and absence. In search of historical fact, these bodily practices might be imprecise, dubious and unreliable, but they actually tell more stories than a factual narrative, and enhance our historical sensibility, consciousness and imagination for collective remembrance.

In his *How Societies Remember* (1989), sociologist Paul Connerton describes the process of collective remembrance by referring to “commemorative ceremonies” and “bodily practices.” He designates “commemorative ceremonies” in association with “social memory,” that is, rituals or ‘rites of passage’ for collective remembrance, and then extends his argument towards “bodily practices.” The past is “sedimented” into the body and appears as practices that are essential to conduct “commemorative ceremonies,” as Connerton asserts:

My argument is that, if there is such a thing as social memory, we are likely to find it in commemorative ceremonies. Commemorative ceremonies prove to be commemorative (only) in so far as they are performative… Performative memory is bodily. Therefore, I want to argue, there is an aspect of social memory which has been greatly neglected but is absolutely essential: bodily social memory. (71)

Music and dance can be extraordinary performances for collective remembrance: they empower people to recollect things past and further stage commemorative ceremonies for social memory. Ogasawara musical activities reveal ritualistic practices for commemorative ceremonies that commend collective remembrance to fill the want of memories. In this process, history interacts with various cultural and social practices and is merged into a cosmology of knowledge. As Connerton states, these aspects of social remembrance are largely neglected and marginalised in academia. With this research on Ogasawara musical culture, I argue that we should pay more attention to bodily practices in our discourse. Performances console practitioners for their loss,
absence, sorrow, trauma, or emotional vulnerability with corporeal, cooperative and ‘enjoyable’ experiences.

The story of high school seniors (Chapter 5.3) well exemplifies “commemorative ceremonies” and “bodily practices” that occurred in the small remote community of Ogasawara. The preparation for the departure functioned as a ‘rite of passage’ and allowed the islanders to have shared memories after the separation. Through the hula choreography, the high school seniors inscribed Ogasawara—its geography, history, culture and community—within their bodies, and remembered the islands as corporeal experiences. In addition to the hula practices, the other Ogasawara musical activities may also be considered as rituals for collective remembrance. Each musical performance preserves different stories or fragments of the past, illustrates the islands in multiple relationships with many others, and constructs collective memory and identity unique to Ogasawara. These performances could not appear as they are today without Ogasawara’s own history, even if much of that history is tangled, neglected or lost. Various ruptures have occurred throughout the history of Ogasawara, but the people still sustain and celebrate the small island life by singing, dancing, and embracing past memories in their bodily practices. The past remains within and around the islands, and further choreographs cultural and social practices of the Ogasawara Islands today.

Several scholars whom I have communicated with throughout this research referred to the “invention of tradition” after hearing about Ogasawara musical culture. To some degree, I accept this proposition by historian Eric Hobsbawn: “Inventing traditions is… essentially a process of formalization and ritualization, characterized by reference to the past…” (1983: 4). The island musical activities often include the “process of
formalization and ritualization” that utilises the past as reference, and “attempt to establish continuity with the past” (ibid.: 1). However the performances that I have observed in Ogasawara were not “factitious” or “novel situations” (ibid.: 2), as characterised by the Hobsbawm’s “invented traditions.” Here too, I argue that we need to provide greater attention to the body and its practices before too readily applying this influential theory of “invention of tradition.” As discussed throughout this section, the body preserves the past in its practices and performances, and testifies to continuity and cohesion with corporeal experiences. Paul Connerton also elaborates about the bodily memory in the following way:

> Our bodies, which in commemoration stylistically re-enact an image of the past, keep the past also in an entirely effective form in their continuing ability to perform certain skilled actions… Many forms of habitual skilled remembering illustrate a keeping of the past in mind that, without ever advertsing to its historical origin, nevertheless re-enacts the past in our present conduct. In habitual memory the past is, as it was, sedimented in the body.” (1989: 72)

The past sedimented into the body conducts or choreographs commemorative ceremonies, and enhances our historical consciousness, imagination and understandings towards collective remembrance. In his explorations of “bodily practices,” Connerton warns us: “The one-sidedness of the approach which insists upon the invention of traditions results from an inability to see performativity of ritual” (ibid.: 103). I recognise that our bodies are transient and constantly modified through time by accumulated experiences,\(^{15}\) but what I signify here is that there is ‘continuity’ and ‘sustainability’ within constant ‘changes’ or ‘dynamics’ of bodily practices and performances. As Hobsbawm suggests, it is possible to invent or ‘fabricate’ pasts by

\(^{15}\) As Foster says: “Today’s creaking knee is not yesterday’s knee jogged up the hill” (1995: 3).
creating ‘pseudo’ events, ceremonies or performances.\textsuperscript{16} But the historical truthfulness of ceremonies and remembrance needs to be interrogated more deeply and thoroughly in the context of a broader inquiry of the ‘truth’ of history, which is the subject that I explore in the following section.

\textsuperscript{16} It should be noted that the ‘pseudo’ events, ceremonies and performances possibly produce very strong images of delusive pasts with their fabricated bodily experiences.
6.3 Historical Truthfulness

*Beyond the Truth, towards Multiple Narratives*

Figure 6.6 Multiple Images of the Ogasawara Islands
Previous sections of this chapter explored memory issues as a step towards collective remembrance and searched for alternative views beyond conventional historiography. I suggested that we investigate history in a larger cosmology of knowledge, and pointed to the significance of bodily practices and performances as a site that enhances our historical understandings. In such approaches, accuracy of accounts or a definite ‘fact’ is not always necessary, although “historical truthfulness” remains in our consciousness. As proposed by Tessa Morris-Suzuki, historical truthfulness seeks conversations amongst differing representations of the past rather than arid arguments about the existence or non-existence of historical facts (see Chapter 3.1). This means that historical truthfulness even demands of us to be ready to change our own views, ideas, belief and ideology to hear voices from multiple (and sometimes opposite) sides. The past is often entangled and fragmented, so that history becomes controversial if it trusts only a decisive fact or verification. I assert that multiple voices, stories and performances enrich history beyond the mere ‘fact,’ however questions still remain about fantasy, fiction, fabrication and deception of history.

In his Performances (1996), Greg Dening addresses this issue as one of the risks of imagination. Just like Morris-Suzuki, Dening tries to overcome the limits or boundaries of conventional historiography with imagination that allows us to narrate history beyond the truth. He clearly states: “History is not the past. It is the past transformed into something else, story” (34), and utilises plural “histories” by suggesting “the different ways in which we and others make sense of the past” (36-37). Such terms as “ethnohistory” or “poetics of histories” are applied to describe culturally distinct and
socially specific historical practices as well (44). Furthermore Dening captures history as theatre and denies the possibility of truth without experience: “we never know the truth by being told it. We have to experience it in some way… It is theatre in which we experience truth” (101). This metaphor of history as theatre is insightful in indicating the significance of “experience” in our historical consciousness, but is also perilous because the theatre possibly transforms a history and produces stories that are artistic, grandiose, melodramatic, and sometimes fabricated. Dening asserts the value of imagination in the theatre of history, yet concurrently recognises the threat of history-making: “Imagination, like poetry, is risky. It sometimes takes us where we do not want to go” (222).

Throughout this research, I also encountered similar problems. I agree to utilise imagination in historical practices and performances, but also wonder how to distinguish imagination from fantasy or fabrication. For instance, the story of John and Jinny (Chapter 3.2) allows us to imagine various castaways or migrants around the islands, but may also create a fantasy that resembles the stereotyped romance in the Pacific. Another instance is the shrine festival of Ogasawara Sadayori Jinja (Chapter 5.2); even if this is not intended, the festival possibly misrepresents Japanese colonialism as restoring and appropriating the neglected legend of Ogasawara Sadayori as the ‘truth.’ These stories and performances provide a theatre, where the islanders experience history and make sense of the past after the fragmentation or loss of memories. But I also realise that these theatres of history are possibly inclined more to fantasy or fabricated narratives than to an imaginative recreation of history.

What Dening calls “ethnohistory” does not mean “history of primitive or traditional cultures” as it was once recognised (45).
These ambivalent or ‘fabulous’ stories can be differentiated from history by utilising such terms as myth, symbol, icon, sign, metaphor or representation. However it should also be noted that these expressions create an insurmountable gap between ‘history as a discipline’ and ‘other histories of making sense of the past as the nature of human beings.’ In his *Radical Oral History: Historical Practices of Australian Indigenous Aborigines* (2001, 2004 and 2011),¹⁸ Japanese historian Hokari Minoru dares to tackle this unresolved problem between ‘history versus histories.’ He repeatedly suggests that the readers accept Aboriginal stories as history, not myths or fabrications, even if they “involve one bizarre episode after another” (2011: 36).

In his research about the Gurindji people of central Australia, Hokari explains that the following stories are accepted as history. One episode is about a flood that occurred in 1924 at a pastoral station called Wave Hill, where Aborigines were working under poor conditions. The elders elaborated the story: a Gurindji man prayed to the rainbow snake, which reigned over the water, to bring a downpour after severe drought affected the country. The snake granted the wish, but the flood rose so high that it also swept over the pasture and wiped out the cattle there (39-40). Another story is about the visit of the late US President John F. Kennedy to the Gurindji people. The elders told of the president’s promise to support their campaign against Caucasian managers of Wave Hill by declaring war on the United Kingdom (38). As a result, in 1966, Aborigines left the

pasture, lobbied for indigenous rights over the country, and eventually reclaimed the land in 1975.

Historians cannot accept these stories as history because they never believe such a supernatural event caused by the rainbow snake and know full well that President Kennedy did not visit Gurindji country. While realising the facts, Hokari still insists: “we need to explore historical methodologies that are no longer under the binding spell of historical ‘factuality’…” (44). In his radical oral history, Hokari questions “the privileged status of the academic historian” (44), and rejects “the analysis that ‘President Kennedy’ is a metaphor for ‘…[something],’ because the Gurindji elders don’t think of JFK as a metaphor at all” (38). He problematises the politics of “rescuing and being respectful of others,” as appears in the following statement: “They believe it and I respect their value, but I, as a researcher, naturally do not believe such things” (48). In this ‘politics,’ historical experiences of Aborigines are marginalised and eventually excluded from history. We have to take his claim seriously, if “respect” and “analysis” arbitrarily exclude others and create an insurmountable gap between history and histories.

Hokari’s arguments made me reconsider the history of ethnomusicology as experiences and struggles with different ‘musics’ in other cultures. It was around the turn of the twentieth century that European researchers began endeavouring to comprehend unfamiliar or ‘exotic’ musical genres other than Western classical music. They first

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19 It is common to use plural ‘musics’ in ethnomusicological documents, as I use the term several times below. But I actually have some reservations about ‘musics’ in plural, because the term possibly implies an intention to subsume ‘others’ under our system of knowledge as well. Each culture has its own words and concepts that can be translated as ‘music’ in English language, but they are often different in many senses. For instance, English has no word to describe an intricate cosmology of Hawaiian musical arts of mele and hula (see Chapter 6.2).
took comparative approaches, and realised that Western music theory and analysis cannot fully accommodate the musics of others. To solve the problem, the precursors devised new methodologies to compare and incorporate their musics into our system of knowledge. For instance, an English mathematician and philologist Alexander John Ellis proposed the cent, a logarithmic unit of measure used for musical intervals, to evaluate pitches other than twelve-tone equal temperament (Ellis 1885). Erich M. von Hornbostel and Curt Sachs, musicologists of Austria and Germany respectively, designed a musical instrument classification, known as the Hornbostel-Sachs system, according to the nature of sound-producing materials other than conventional arrangements utilised for orchestration (Hornbostel and Sachs 1914). Comparative musicology, as it was called in those days, recognised the differences amongst ‘musics,’ yet often remained ‘comparative’ in that it observed and evaluated other musics from a Western viewpoint. In a sense, comparative musicology still reveals colonial motivation—trying to seize and subsume their musics under Western rules.

American ethnomusicologist Alan P. Merriam indicates that Hornbostel (and other scholars) had already recognised the problem as appeared in the term ‘comparative musicology.’ Merriam cites from Hornbostel: “Because we don’t compare any more than anyone else does” (1977: 192), and argues that “this kind of objection appeared almost as soon as the term itself” (ibid.). However the term ‘comparative musicology’ had still been utilised for more than half a century. In 1950, Dutch ethnomusicologist Jaap Kunst coined the term “ethno-musicology” and first conceptualised the discipline other than the mere comparative study of musics (1950).
Thereafter, this new banner attained a broader appeal amongst the scholars who investigated contemporary approaches other than comparative ones. For instance, Merriam defines ethnomusicology as “the study of music in culture” and signifies “human behavioural processes that are shaped by the values, attitudes, and beliefs of the people who comprise a particular culture” (1964: 6). This “anthropology of music” sought to extend the study of ethnomusicology to alternative views from people who are making music. We can see certain connections between Dening and Merriam: they were interested in human beings, who make sense of the past or make music, and used anthropological approaches to emancipate the study of history or music from conventional discourses.

Another prominent American ethnomusicologist, Mantle Hood, also enlarged the scope of the discipline from the perspective of performance practices. He proposed the concept of “bi-musicality” with emphasis on dual or more performance experiences of other musics. By referring to the diversity of music in the world, Hood indicates a lack of musicality in common, and advises us to learn other musics with their own practices that enhance our understanding of music beyond our own (1960). Hokari is like Hood; both of them signify practices and experiences in our studies of history or music. As Hood learnt gamelan music with substantial fieldwork in Indonesia, Hokari visited a Gurindji community, lived there together with the people, and gradually comprehended historical practices of Aborigines (2011: 32). Through such an approach, Hokari became conscious about the significance of “experiences” that possibly compromise our history with other histories.

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20 Here I refer to Jeff Todd Titon, who defines ethnomusicology as “people making music” (1992: xxi).
21 Dening says: “The histories I write of are mainly a human characteristic, not a technique of inquiry. They are the vernacular of our cultural and social systems” (1996: 35).
By referring to “historical truthfulness” (Morris-Suzuki 2004, 2005), Hokari proposes the concept of “experiential historical truthfulness” to overcome futile and pessimistic arguments concerning the ‘factuality’:

I am focused on the historical experience of human beings, and in examining the human experience of history, it seems to me that the dichotomy between memory/narrative and fact/truth becomes less meaningful… (59)

I agree that the truthfulness towards human experiences changes our way of thinking about the past and guides us to alternative historical practices. Hokari declares: “we academics will become more aware of how beings other than academic historians are maintaining history” (43). As examined in the previous section, human beings make sense of the past through various practices, performances and experiences beyond a single fact or truth. It is important to recognise that these activities still preserve ‘truthfulness,’ and thus can include imaginations and indefinite accounts as part of extensive historical narratives.

Through such arguments, Hokari problematises excessive and exclusive authority of the truth that prevents us from multiple narratives or what he calls the “communication over the gap” towards “cross-culturalizing history.” In search of “communication over the gap,” Hokari contests authorisation or universalisation of history with manipulations of the facts. He refers to historical revisionism, which often appropriates (and further fabricates or makes up) a ‘fact’ to protect its own narrow-minded belief, self-righteous opinion, idiosyncratic ideology, and egoistic political advantage (263-64).22 These historical practices utilise a single fact (or datum) in the politics of memory and create a

22 For instance, Hokari mentions such scholars who decline “Holocaust,” “Nanjing Massacre” and “comfort women” (ibid.).
privileged history that eradicates small stories as defective, mystified, inappropriate and incorrect.

I am in accord with Hokari and argue that the politics towards authorising and universalising history is dangerous in that it prevents communications and multiple conversations. We have to recognise that what we call the truth is often just a single fact or one side of a multifaceted story. If one appropriates a single story to construct a favorable and privileged history, that history is indeed an arbitrary and exclusive fabrication. Hokari explains that historical practices of Gurindji people are basically different from such a fabrication based on a single ‘fact,’ and advances the following argument:

…the Aboriginal historians I dealt with never ‘fabricate whatever history suits them.’ Their history is shared across the Gurindji country and passed down from one generation to the next. If someone suddenly were to fabricate a story, no one would take such a made-up story seriously. No one person thinks to himself/herself, ‘Let’s see, what historical event shall I think up today?’ and then starts telling a new narrative… The Gurindji people are historians in that they re-narrate past incidents and experiences in the present, re-enact them apply their moral, political, spiritual and philosophical analyses and thereby try to learn something from history and communicate that something. It’s true that their historical practice doesn’t meet modern academic history’s criteria of positivist historical ‘factuality,’ but to dismiss it as a ‘free-for-all’ is too barbaric and quick judgment. (47)

Gurindji people are truthful with their historical experiences; they travel around countries, feel the ground, listen to the river, sing for places, dance for animals, and comprehend localised histories in a larger cosmology of knowledge (89-112). These historical practices are not exclusive or authoritative, and are rather cooperative and corporeal to make sense of the past towards collective remembrance.

In her book *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space, and the Dialectics of Memory* (1999), Lisa Yoneyama describes “mnemonic detours” that correspond, in a sense, with the historical
practices of Gurindji people. She explains how the survivors from the Hiroshima atom bomb trace, elaborate, modify and enhance their storytelling with multiple historical experiences. The “detours” are often intricate and extended paths, including visits to ruins and memorials, historical research of the bombing, interactions with other survivors, and talks to public audiences. Through these collective activities, the survivors transcend their individual narratives of the catastrophe beyond a single or personal story. For instance, by following such mnemonic detours, a female survivor became committed to “embrace the voiceless voices of the dead” in her testimonies. Such a practice of speaking “of and for the dead” includes “the mystical task of recuperating the presence of the deceased” (135-36). Yoneyama cautions us: “this mystifying aspiration leads to the various dangers unique to modernity: fascism, wars between nation-states, and commodity fetishism” (144), but concurrently asserts the “ritual of sharing a pathos in synchronicity”. 23

As testimonies for the dead turn into narratives of the dead, the event further allows a ‘community of sympathy’ to emerge between the narrators and the narratees, and thus the perception of a unity between the living and the dead develops. (145-46, italics in the original)

I evaluate the mnemonic detours as ritualistic paths to synchronicity and sympathy rather than mystification processes towards idiosyncratic narratives or dogmatic opinions. Yoneyama cites from Michel de Certeau’s The Practice of Everyday Life (1984): “whereas historiography recounts in the past tense the strategies of instituted powers, these ‘fabulous’ stories offer their audience a repertory of tactics for future use” (112). I argue that these “fabulous” stories are not arbitrary and exclusive fabrications, and rather enrich their storytelling by including anonymous, voiceless or forbidden accounts.

23 Yoneyama cites this expression from Sakai (1995: 131).
As demonstrated throughout this thesis, Ogasawara musical activities can also be considered as mnemonic detours, through which the islanders trace fragments of the past, compensate for lost or forbidden memories, and extend their sentiments towards many others. Here I argue, as Yoneyama suggests, that mnemonic detours are also the passages to sympathy, affinity, empathy and love. Ogasawara musical culture can be fully comprehended in light of these extensive emotions from this small place to many others. By singing and dancing, the islanders enhance the “community of sympathy” with their ancestors, early settlers, migrants around the South Pacific, anonymous composers of old songs, numerous visitors from foreign countries, and the people who withdrew or are about to leave. These performances for collective remembrance preserve “experiential historical truthfulness,” and thus contest an exclusive history based on a single fact or truth.

Through mnemonic detours, the story of John and Jinny extends to many other narratives about past residents, who have bequeathed the islands to the current residents. The hula “Bonin Islands” hardly represents the stereotyped romance in the Pacific, because its choreography embodies various experiences and memories of past Ogasawara besides fantasy (see Chapter 3.2). In the same way, the shrine festival of Ogasawara Sadayori Jinja recapitulates numerous cultural activities of pre-war Ogasawara apart from the fabrication under the Japanese colonial scheme (see Chapter 5.2). I am not sure if I could experience a “rainbow snake” or “President Kennedy” as the Gurindji elders did, but I am certain that I could learn ‘history’ from these stories and increase my historical understandings by visiting their community, by sitting, eating and hunting together with them, and by singing and dancing for the country. “Rainbow snake” and “President Kennedy” are not decisive truths that demand solemn authority
and legitimacy, and rather enrich historical narratives, practices and performances beyond arguments about factuality.24

The question still remains: how do we differentiate imagination from fantasy or fabrication. It would be a matter of truthfulness, and now I can proclaim how we seek truthfulness against an exclusive or authorised historiography. We have to hear multiple voices, and need to be attentive to small stories inscribed in the landscape, cultural practices, music, dance, and other miscellaneous things. I believe that these collective experiences and performances prevent inclinations towards idiosyncratic, self-righteous and exclusive narratives. We still remain with the sincerity (not unconditional faith) towards the historical truth, yet also recognise the insecurity of truth, as Dening declares (1996: 101). The truth is often restricted and insufficient, and hardly satisfies our nostalgia for the past. That is why Dening suggests “imagination” in historical practices, but distinguishes the “imagination” from “fantasy” with the respect towards the truth (see his statements in Chapter 3.2, cited from 2004: 9). As Morris-Suzuki suggests, the historical truthfulness reserves sincerity towards the truth, but further seeks collaborative efforts for “a multitude of differing accounts and images of the past” (2005: 28). These approaches towards multiple narratives never allow a single authoritative historiography and advance our historical practices and performances for collective remembrance.

Throughout this thesis, I have introduced various small stories. They are often ambiguous, imprecise, and include much imagination, but provide extraordinary historical experiences in collective forms. The ‘want’ of memories cannot be fulfilled

24 Hokari declares that the Gurindji people preserve numerous versions of the same story or ‘history’ (2011: 110-12).
simply with factually accurate narratives, and demands multiple historical narratives, practices and performances—including singing and dancing. Now we can better approach what Hokari seeks in “possible communications over the gap” between “history and histories.” History is not an exclusive discipline that rules the past, but expands its knowledge in collaboration with many other cultural practices and performances. Dening asserts: “Our histories might be different. Our histories will always be political. But we each must say to the other: My past is your past and you must make sense of it as you can” (1989: 139). In collective remembrance, we preserve empathy, affinity and love towards many others that enrich humanity as a whole.
CHAPTER 7
OGASAWARA NOSTALGIA

Figure 7.1 A View from Asahiyama Hill, Chichi Jima (in Sepia)
7.1 Conclusion

To conclude this thesis, I begin with the lyrics of “Song of Farewell [Sōbetsu no Uta]” that Edith sent me when I left Ogasawara. I feel that the lyrics epitomise the sentiments of the islanders embraced in their musical activities:

Sing with sincerity, the song of farewell
Sing with enjoyment, the song of farewell
Farewell, farewell, farewell, farewell to you with nostalgia
Farewell, farewell, farewell, farewell to beloved you

Even if we never meet again
Remember our friendship from the past until today
Farewell, farewell, farewell, farewell to you with nostalgia
Farewell, farewell, farewell, farewell to beloved you
(See the original Japanese lyrics in Appendix A)

I remember the places, people and their activities of the Ogasawara Islands as fond memories (Figure 7.2). Since my last visit, there have been changes, many people have left, and some newly arrived. What I have experienced was just a moment in a long

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1 Edith actually sent me two kinds of “Song of Farewell.” The lyrics of another “Song of Farewell,” which she sings in the appendix film B1, are available as “Song of Farewell [Sōbetsu no Uta]” (2) in Appendix A.
temporal flow, but it was an extraordinary moment and will remain as part of collective memories of Ogasawara.

Figure 7.3 Twilight of Ogasawara

We have seen how a ‘cavernous sense’ permeates the Ogasawara Islands. Since the first settlement of 1830, the islanders have suffered various hardships of isolation, colonialism, discrimination, alienation, evacuation, segregation, and lost memories. After the reversion to Japanese administration, Ogasawara life has improved greatly, but its entangled history still casts a shadow on this small remote community today. Due to factors like lack of job opportunities, health or family problems, and anxiety for future life, the people live on the islands with a sense of impermanence; they may have to leave their beloved home someday. Residency on Ogasawara is transient; some leave and others arrive. Ogasawara musical culture has been sustained by this flow of people. As a result, a fracturing of memories has occurred.

Owing to the fracturing of memories, on a surface level, it seems that there is no ‘tradition’ in Ogasawara musical culture. However the island musical activities actually preserve various fragments of the past within the song lyrics, bodily practices and dance
choreographies. The narratives inscribed in music and dance are often ambiguous and imprecise, but still enhance our historical consciousness and understandings. Local Ogasawara song texts exemplify the fragments of the past through their storytelling. The hula “Bonin Islands” implies various possibilities of ‘castaways’ or ‘arrivals’ around the islands, and also suggests how life has been sustained in this small community since the first settlement. The song “Cooking Mama” demonstrates a diversity of cultural heritages inscribed in local foods, and the song “Ogasawara Island” sheds light on stories hidden behind the island ecology. The songs for Nanyō odori represent colonial memories of Micronesia with their lyrics written in multiple languages, and Ogasawara classics recapitulate sentiments of the people who suffered the politics of nation-states. The song “Coral Street” epitomises Ogasawara local songs that become fully meaningful when they are comprehended with miscellaneous past narratives, island geography, social customs, indigenous lifestyle, bodily memories and practices. ‘Echoes of coral sand’ resonate on the islands today, embracing various fragments of the past within song lyrics and performance practices.

As demonstrated through the analyses of song lyrics, music and dance preserve various stories that console the want of memories. Since the pre-war period (and probably since the first settlement), the islanders have eased their sorrows by dedicating music and dance to ‘my dear Bonin Islands.’ For instance, early Haha Jima settlers enjoyed such musical genres as taiko drumming and kabuki theatre with nostalgia for their places of origin. The practices of the “Dance-Song of Ise” and bon dance affirmed the connectedness of this remote community with mainland Japan. Nanyō odori, derived from Micronesia, further expanded the locality of Ogasawara to other islands in the South Pacific. Past residents also composed original song lyrics to tell about places in
their new home, and elaborated Nanyō odori with costumes made of local plants and flowers. The war and postwar politics greatly complicated Ogasawara memories, but the people still have sustained island life by recapitulating or revitalising past musical and dance practices.

The tradition continues today. Some practices have gone, some have changed or been modified, yet some still remain intact. The islanders perform Nanyō odori, taiko drumming and bon dance today as if to reenact a past Ogasawara, and have further adopted other performing arts to compensate for lost memories and to relieve sentiments of sorrow. It should be noted that the newly introduced performing arts are often localised with a ‘sense of Ogasawara’—derived from the island geography, history, lifestyle, customs, and community-based activities. The people are transient in Ogasawara, so that their musical activities are constantly shifting. However some fragrances of music and dance remain with fond memories of past islanders, and possibly spread beyond the ocean as if to confirm affinity with many other places and peoples. Nanyō odori, Ogasawara hula, taiko drumming, bon dance, choral singing, steel orchestra, brass band, rock music: these musical activities demonstrate Ogasawara’s various connections and associations with Micronesia, Hawai‘i, United States, mainland Japan, and even Trinidad and Tobago. The islanders recognise themselves in the multiple relationships inscribed in music and dance. They celebrate their home of Ogasawara by embracing ‘overwhelming love’ that pertains to the island community and also extends to others beyond border and nation. It is the connections to many others that emancipate the islanders from the smallness and isolation, and further affirm identity and dignity of Ogasawara itself. These narratives are all embraced in Ogasawara memories.
Memory matters of Ogasawara can be epitomised as a responsive sense of missing and yearning, that is, ‘wanting memories.’ Lost memories cannot be satisfied only by conventional historiography and thus require collective remembrance. As indicated by Maurice Halbwachs (1992), people collectively construct memories through various interactions in a community or society. Pierre Nora (1996) also suggests investigating memories embedded in various sites or places. More elaborated methodologies or historical practices can be found in Pacific history that utilises geography, ecology, everyday customs, singing and dancing as media to trace fragments of the past. These practices or ‘performances,’ as Greg Dening (1996) describes, often appear imprecise and ambivalent, and include much imagination in our historical consciousness. I admit that imagination is perilous, yet potentially enhances our understanding of things past more than a historiography based on the recording of facts. In these practices, we still remain with sincerity to historical truth, and further seek historical truthfulness to hear multiple voices, narratives and performances. As Morris-Suzuki (2000) suggests, the ‘view from the frontier’ allows us to create places or spaces, where small, regional, and also individual ‘reminiscences’ can reside along with larger historical narratives. In such a discourse, the Ogasawara Islands are not the fringe or margin of the nation, but preserve their own expansive space which links with many others. These small stories and performances collectively fill the want of memories of Ogasawara, and further affirm the identity and dignity of this small place. I do not neglect the nation or nationalism that provides us unity and solidarity, but argue that what human beings belong to is not just a single nation. As in the case of the Ogasawara Islands, we often preserve various connections or ‘bonds’ to many others that are hardly confined by the lines imaginarily drawn in between nations. I believe that the small stories of this thesis provide various alternative views (rather than a single exclusive narrative), exemplify
affinity, empathy and love towards others, and collectively enhance our understandings of humanity as a whole.

The voyage of this thesis is about to end; yet it possibly continues to numerous trips of future studies. For instance, I have only been able to provide limited descriptions of Haha Jima musical culture. The island of Haha Jima reveals similar cultural events and social customs to Chichi Jima, but of course, there are many differences as well. In the case of music and dance, this thesis could not include numerous local songs, which represent geography, history, culture and people’s lifestyles unique to Haha Jima. The island hula group, Nā Makana No Makuahine, appears as a subgroup of Chichi Jima’s Nā Pua Nani O Makua, but the group actually retains its own repertoire and activities including Haha Jima hula festival. There must be various other musical practices and performances, which I could not observe during my short stay in Haha Jima.

Ethnography based on substantial fieldwork on Haha Jima would be one of the possible future studies that could further explicate the musical culture of this small community.

In considering dynamics of culture, it would also be possible to conduct further field research on Chichi Jima after this thesis. As mentioned, the musical culture of Chichi Jima is transient just like its residents, so that what I described are now things of the past. Some have gone, some remain, some newly come, and musical activities continue to shift. When I revisited Chichi Jima in August 2011, there were many changes on the islands already. I was surprised that the Bonin Bayashi had become very active with many new members, while the flamenco activities had ceased after the instructor Utsunomiya Rica left the islands. Tamura Midori intended that the song “Riding on the Wind of Mana” was to be performed annually at the ‘Ohana hula festival, but it has
never been performed after the graduates left the islands. The seniors in the following years have demanded their own songs for the final presentation, so that Midori has written a new graduation song, working with Manami in choreographing hula, every year since then. Farewelling high school graduates with a newly composed song is becoming an annual ritual on the islands after I observed the first case in 2009-10. Ethnography in this thesis can be an interesting comparative source for this graduation ceremony of Ogasawara hula, as well as other musical activities, for future studies.

Finally the discussions in this thesis highlight the importance of the study of ‘travelling music and migrating people.’ As appeared in the case of Ogasawara, music and dance travel with migrants, and appeal to different peoples beyond geographical and temporal distances. For instance, besides the Ogasawara Islanders, many Japanese travelled around the South Pacific during the colonial period, and brought Micronesian dance back to home (see Dvorak 2007). Another example is that of ethnic Koreans, who were forced to migrate from Primorsky Krai to Central Asia during the late 1930s under the politics of the Soviet Union. After their complex historical experiences around the Far East, some of them sing Japanese tunes with Korean lyrics and even perform the songs in klezmer style, learnt from a similarly displaced Jewish musician (see Kyo 2003). These cases of travelling music often illustrate shared human sensibilities amongst different peoples and certify trans-border humanity that exists beyond various boundaries of nation, ethnicity, religion, and other imagined barriers.

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Besides the suggestions above, there are certainly multiple possibilities for future studies that pertain to different kuleana: attributes, expertise and responsibility. I believe that each scholar has a different kuleana, and we, scholars, have to reflect our own abilities, skills, knowledge, and opportunities in our studies. The process might require much patience, imagination and creativity, but every sincere effort will result in a valuable study, I believe. We perform our own kuleana with truthfulness and search a diversity of research possibilities in the future.

My Ogasawara nostalgia continues and certainly reflects on my future studies. Yet it is time to say farewell as in the “Song of Farewell.” Just like myself, many people appeared on this small place and yet eventually left. But sometimes fragrances of music and dance remain; they are to be remembered within musical practices and performances. The Ogasawara Islands have suffered the entangled history that resulted in loss of memories and the cavernous sense. Nevertheless the people, one after another, have sustained the island life until today. Music and dance can be vital media to recollect fragments of the past and to affirm connectedness with many others. In singing and dancing, the islanders preserve overwhelming love that is dedicated to their precious home and also extends to other places and peoples. The island life today could not be realised without many people who have already left the islands. The entangled history, fragmented memories, life within the island ecology, small isolated community, and passing people; they are all about the Ogasawara Islands. The multiple stories inscribed in music certify the identity and dignity of this small place that cannot be confined by the imagined boundaries. Memories connect the people beyond geographical and temporal distances. By embracing many people and things past, today the islanders dedicate musical activities to their beloved home of Ogasawara.
Sing with sincerity, the song of farewell
Sing with enjoyment, the song of farewell
Farewell, farewell, farewell, farewell to you with nostalgia
Farewell, farewell, farewell, farewell to beloved you

Figure 7.4 Farewell Performance of Nanyō Odori at the Night Departure of the Oga-maru
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APPENDIX A: SONG LYRICS

In this appendix, I present song lyrics that have been referred to in the thesis. The original Japanese lyrics follow English translations.

§

Wanting Memories

I am sitting here wanting memories to teach me
To see the beauty in the world through my own eyes
I am sitting here wanting memories to teach me
To see the beauty in the world through my own eyes

You used to rock me in the cradle of your arms
You said you’d hold me till the pains of life were gone
You said you’d comfort me in times like these and now I need you
Now I need you, and you are gone

I am sitting here wanting memories to teach me
To see the beauty in the world through my own eyes
Since you’ve gone and left me, there’s been so little beauty
But I know I saw it clearly through your eyes

Now the world outside is such a cold and bitter place
Here inside I have few things that will console
And when I try to hear your voice above the storms of life
Then I remember all the things that I was told

I am sitting here wanting memories to teach me
To see the beauty in the world through my own eyes
I am sitting here wanting memories to teach me
To see the beauty in the world through my own eyes

I think on the things that made me feel so wonderful when I was young
I think on the things that made me laugh, made me dance, made me sing
I think on the things that made me grow into a being full of pride
I think on these things, for they are true

I am sitting here wanting memories to teach me
To see the beauty in the world through my own eyes
I thought that you were gone, but now I know you’re with me
You are the voice that whispers all I need to hear
I know a please, a thank you, and a smile will take me far
I know that I am you, and you are me, and we are one
I know that who I am is numbered in each grain of sand
I know that I’ve been blessed again, and over again

I am sitting here wanting memories to teach me
To see the beauty in the world through my own eyes
I am sitting here wanting memories to teach me
To see the beauty in the world through my own eyes

(Reichel 1997, the original texts in English)

§

Rabaul Ballad [Rabauru Kouta]
ラバウル小唄

Farewell Rabaul until I come back again
The fleeting tears of this separation blur my eyes
If I see that lovely, nostalgic island
The Southern Cross under the leaves of the palm tree

The boat is departing from the port towards the open sea
My dear girl waving a handkerchief
Still your voice, cry in your heart
Put hands together with thanks

In the sleepless night with the splash of the waves
Let’s talk together on the deck
When I see that sparkling star
The ciger in my mouth is bittersweet

波のしぶきで 眠れぬ夜は
語りあかそよ デッキの上で
星がまたたく あの星見れば
くゎえ煙草も ほろにがい
The setting sun sinks red between the waves
Where the water meets the horizon
Today again, taking the slow South Sea route
The sailor, the seagull

The man you are, she said
To fly my flaming love from the mast
My heart is swaying, yet longing for far away
Today upon the equator, on an island of palms

(Transcribed from You Tube)

§

Dance-Song of Reversion [Henkan Ondo]
返還音頭

The wish is granted and the reversion is coming
Everyone indeed, everyone must be joyful indeed
Joyful, joyful
Everyone must be joyful indeed

Standing on the beach filled with tamana trees [Calophyllum inophyllum]
Old nostalgic, old nostalgic past days
Past days, past days
Old nostalgic past days

タマナ茂れる浜辺に立て
昔なつかし 昔なつかし あの頃を
あの頃を あの頃を
昔なつかし あの頃を
It was long, days and months, more than twenty years
Getting older together, getting older together, but don’t forget
Don’t forget, don’t forget
Getting older together, but don’t forget

Even a traveling swallow eventually comes home
Towards the beloved and yearned for, beloved and yearned for home
Towards home, towards home
Towards the beloved and yearned for home

The home is waiting, opening both arms
The old friends from stories of the past
The old friends, old friends
The old friends from stories of the past

Come, come soon, the crowd of swallows
Waiting for the day of reunion, the day of reunion
Waiting, waiting
Waiting for the day of reunion

両手広げて古巣は待つよ
昔語りし 昔語りし はらからを
はらからを はらからを
昔語りし はらからを

早く来い来いツバメの群れよ
またの逢う日を またの逢う日を 楽しみに
楽しみに 楽しみに
またの逢う日を 楽しみに
Finally the Hinomaru flag of Japan is raised
The flag I revered in the past, revered in the past
The flag, the flag
The flag I revered in the past

And now, everyone, see you soon
Promising the happy reunion, the happy reunion
Promising, promising
Take care and see you soon

(Ogasawara Village Welfare Council 2009: 22-23)

§

Coconut [Yashi no Mi]
椰子の実

From an unknown island far away
A coconut was carried by the sea
Departing from a shore of its home country
How many months was it floating on the water
The original tree is alive and growing
The branches still make shadows
I also sleep on the waves
Alone travelling on the water

Japanese:
旧の木は生いや茂れる
枝はなお影をやなせる
れもまた渚を枕
孤身の浮寝の旅ぞ

Holding the coconut I think about
The sorrow of castaway
Seeing the sun sink into the ocean
Tears overflow in a foreign country

Japanese:
実をとりて胸にあつれば
新なり流離の憂
海の日の沈むを見れば
激り落つ異郷の淚

Thinking on the distant waves
Someday, I wish to return home

Japanese:
思いやる八重の汐々
いずれの日にか国に帰らん

(Transcribed from You Tube)

§

Island Life [Shima Gurashi]
島暮らし

Every morning, I take the way along the beach to my workplace
Riding a moped and humming
Ah, the Oga-maru is in the port
So the island seems to be animated, I feel

Japanese:
毎朝、海沿いの道を職場まで
原チャリ飛ばして鼻歌まじりで
あり、おが丸が港にいるから
何となく島中がにぎやかな感じ
For lunch today at Captain Cook
Will have a crêpe viewing the ocean
Ah, a sudden cloud from the mountains
With a squall, I am detained here for a while

今日のお昼はキャプテンクックで
海を見ながらクレープでも食べよう
ああ、急に山からの雲で
スコールに少しここで足止め

Such island life is ordinary
Yet it will certainly be nostalgic, if I return

こんな島暮らし普通だけど
帰ったらきっと懐かしいんだろうな

The colour of sky gradually and gradually [changes]
This may become the best sunset
Ah, will hurry to the Weather Station
Maybe she will be there too

空の色が少しずつ、少しずつ
とうやらか最高の夕焼けみたい
ああ、急いでウェザーまで行こう
もしかしてあの娘も来ているかもね

Such island life, it is ordinary now
Yet if I return to Tokyo, certainly, certainly
Certainly, certainly, certainly, certainly
Certainly, I will feel nostalgic

こんな島暮らし今は普通だけど
東京に帰ったらきっと、きっと
きっと、きっと、きっと、きっと
きっと懐かしく思えるんだろうな

(Transcribed from my own recording, 17 October 2009)

§
Silver birch trees, blue sky, southerly wind
The hill filled with the kobushi flowers [Magnolia kobus], this is a northern land
Ah, spring in a northern land
In the city, I may not feel the seasons
So my mother sent me the small package
Shall I return, shall I return to that home

Thaw, the stream’s babble, and a log bridge
Larch buds appear, it is a northern land
Ah, spring in a northern land
Neither of us could say ‘love you’
I parted from her five years ago, how is she now
Shall I return, shall I return to that home

Kerria flowers, morning fog, and a water mill
Children’s songs can be heard, it is a northern land
Ah, spring in a northern land
My brother is reticent, just like my father
Maybe they are drinking together sometimes
Shall I return, shall I return to that home
§

Homesickness Song of Ogasawara [Ogasawara Bōkyō Ka]  
小笠原望郷（盲狂）歌

Hermit crabs, snails, and Japanese common toads  
There were also termites and geckos  
Ah, around Ōmura area  
On the beach at Futami, viewing the moon with sake [alcohol]  
The drinking party, I see those days when I close my eyes  
Shall I return, shall I return to Chichi Jima

Yoake [Dawn], Mikazuki [Crescent Moon], and Asahi yama [Morning Sun]  
The nostalgic hills in memories  
Ah, the hills in memories  
Viewing the sunset, he was excited  
Maybe now he is playing with a baby  
Shall I return, shall I return to Chichi Jima

Yaodakiri マイマイ ガマガエル
白蟻にヤモリもいたっけな
ああ 大村のあたり
二見の浜辺で月見の酒と
騒いだあの頃がまぶたに浮かぶ
あの父島へ帰ろかな 帰ろかな

夜明 三日月 旭山
懐かしいあの山想い出の
ああ 想い出の山
夕日眺めて燃えてたあいつも
今ごろ子どもをあやしてるだろな
あの父島へ帰ろかな 帰ろかな
Fishes of akaba [Hilgendorf saucord], mackerel scad
Neko-matagi [Nuchequila nuchalis]
Sea snakes and Asian sheepshead wrass could be fished too
Ah, the strait of Ani Jima
Fishing fellows often talked while drinking
Boasting of their skills and tackle
Shall I return, shall I return to Chichi Jima

When does the boat come to Haha Jima
Having no sake, biting kusaya [a salted-dried and fermented fish]
Ah, night on Okimura
Praying for the calm ocean for [the boat visit] tomorrow
We friends spent time together singing songs
Shall I return, shall I return to Haha Jima

Ginnemu trees [Leucaena leucocephala], tako no ki pandanus [Pandanus boninensis]
A grove of gajyumaru banyan trees [Ficus microcarpa]
Bats and megro birds [Bonin-white eye] were playing also
Ah, forest of Okimura
The village that could be reached through the jungle
It seems that we can drive there today
Shall I return, shall I return to Haha Jima
Looking towards the south, it is Chibusayama hill
Towering there, the rock of morning glory
Ah, the rock of morning glory
Thinking of my lovely wife and baby (girl)
Wrote a letter while drinking sake
Ah, that island is Ogasawara, Ogasawara

(Onomichi Village Welfare Council 2009: 17-18)

§

Bonin Islands
ボニンアイランズ

For a long, long period, there was no one on these islands
A little lonely, empty islands, the islands of mujin [no people]
Bonin Islands, Bonin Islands...

ある日ある日のこと　流れ着いたようジョンとジニー
ちょっと嬉しいよ　恋をして　住み着いた
ボニンアイランズ　ボニンアイランズ...

One day, so it was one day, castaways John and Jinny arrived
A little delighted, fell in love and began to settle
Bonin Islands, Bonin Islands...

何が何があった　青い海だけ知っている
ちょっと嬉しいよ　魚跳ね　日が沈み
ボニンアイランズ　ボニンアイランズ...
And, and today, you visit the islands boarding a white boat
Very much enjoyed, south islands, a village of Tokyo
Bonin Islands, Bonin Islands…

そしてそして今は あなたが白い船でくる
うんと楽しいよ 南の島 東京の村
ボニンアイランズ ボニンアイランズ…

(Nakayama 2008: 155, 174, 189, 298)

§

Cooking Mama [Oryōri Mama]
お料理ママ

Mama’s dishes are all delicious indeed
I wish to keep them secret, but only to you, I will teach the specialities
Shima-zushi [island style sushi], pīmaka [vinegared sasayo fish]
Banana no tenpura [deepfried banana]
Anadako karaage [fried octopus], kame-tama [turtle egg] cake
Sawara no Ḗugi [cooked intestines of the sawara fish], and noodle soup
Aippara [sashimi of the aippara fish]

ママの作ったお料理は どれも本当においしくて
誰にも内緒にしたいけど 特別あなたに教えちゃう
島寿司 ピーマカ パナナの天ぷら
穴ダコ唐揚げ カメタマケーキ
さわらのフーギにヌードルスープ
アイッパラ

The delicious dishes served one after another, they taste like mama’s love love kiss
It is hard to make and soon eaten
Tako no mi tekka miso [fried pandanus seeds flavoured with miso]
Oh, don’t forget danpuren [dumpling]

つぎつぎ出てくるごちそうは ママのラブラブキスの味
作るの大変すぐになくなる タコの実鉄火味噌
おっとっと忘れちゃいけないダンプレン

The song “Coconut” is heard, and the sun is setting slowly
Sake is ready also, so Papa is smiling and happy too

「椰子の実」キンコン鳴り出して お日様ゆっくり沈んでく
お酒の用意も整って パパもニコニコ上機嫌
There are so many dishes, which mama makes
I cannot name them all, but teach you my favourites in secret
Murotata [minced muro-aji fish], tori-meshi [chicken rice]
Hachimai nitsuke [boiled hachimai shellfish]
Akane no shiroyude [stewed akane fish], toge no karaage [fried toge fish]
Shoppanpin [soursop], and shima donatsu [island doughnut]
Kame-ni [turtle stew]!

ママの作ったお料理は まだまだいっぱいあるけれど
中でも私のお気に入り 特別あなたに教えちゃう
ムロタタ 鶏めし はちまい煮付け
赤目の塩ゆで とげの唐揚げ
ショッパンピンに島ドーナッツ
亀煮！

The delicious dishes served one after another, they taste like mama’s love love kiss
It is hard to make and soon eaten
Tako no mi tekka miso [fried pandanus seeds flavoured with miso]
Oh no, it is burnt, “Aiyaiyaiyaiyaiya”

つぎつぎ出てくるごちそうは ママのラブラブキスの味
作りの大変すぐになくなる タコの実鉄火味噌
おっととっと焦がってしまってアイヤイヤイヤイヤ

Although there are many delicious dishes in every county
Mama’s dishes are treasure: the only ones in the world
Now say together: “Gochisō-sama deshita [Thanks for the food]”

いろいろ美味しいお料理は どこの国にもあるけれど
ママの作ったお料理は 世界に一つの宝物
ではご一緒に ごちそうさまでした

(Transcribed from my own recording, 29 August 2009)
Ogasawara Island [Ogasawara Jima]
小笠原島

Coconut tree, pandanus tree and papaya tree
Banana, orange, and seeds of tamana [Calophyllum inophyllum]
Andrew, Biddy and Washington
Straw hat and shorts

やしの木 たこの木 パパヤの木
バナナに オレンジ タマナの実
アンルに ビデヤに ワシントン
麦わらシャッポに 半ズボン

Black canoe and red sail
Blue ocean and white coral [sand]
On the small isle in the inlet [Savory Rock]
There are five or six Short-tailed Albatrosses today as usual

黒いカヌーに 帆が 赤い
海が青くて 白さんご
入り江の中の 小島には
今日も信天翁 五羽六羽

There are baby goats in a grove of rubber trees
Calling their mother: “Me me”
Whistling a tune at the harbour
That’s the captain wearing a yellow vest

ゴムの林にゃ 山羊の子が
メエメエママさん 呼んでいる
波止場で口笛 吹いている
黄色いチョッキの 船長さん

Twilight in the village of naturalised people
Lighted ramps here and there
See you Richer and Washington
Good night Andrew and Gonzales

帰化人村に 日がくれて
あちこちランプが ともります
さよならリーチル ワシントン
おやすみアンル ゴンザレス

(Sato 1999: 27-28)

§
**Dance-Song of Susaki [Susaki Ondo]**

Standing under the leaves of coconut trees, viewing shaded moonlight
Thinking about a girl, indeed missing the girl, crying just like a plover
Crying, crying just like a plover
Missing the girl, crying just like a plover

Wearing the yukata garment, a good feeling
The dance of Susaki, the dance of Susaki, how beautiful is it
Beautiful, beautiful
The dance of Susaki, how beautiful is it

If I would marry, I’d marry only a man from Susaki
Everyone, everyone is pretty
Pretty, pretty
Everyone is pretty

Like sinking in the rough ocean
With my husband, riding in a canoe with my husband
Riding in a canoe, riding in a canoe
Riding in a canoe with my husband
In the *tamana* bush, it is a pleasant assignation
The moon may be jealous, jealous so it is cloudy
Cloudy, cloudy
The moon may be jealous, so it is cloudy

(Old) *Dance-Song of Ogasawara [Ogasawara Ondo]*
(旧) 小笠原音頭

Departing from Tokyo, all the way
Visit, visit the island of Chichi [Father]
The lights of Futami Port can be seen
Everyone, come to Ogasawara
Ah, Chichi Jima, a good place

Beyond Kiyose and Okumura
And now Byōbudani, a fine view there is
I see my dear at the foot of the cliffs
Everyone, come to Ogasawara
Ah, Chichi Jima, a good place
The *kaname* [pivot or centre] of the island, Ōgiura
From Futagoshō towards Susaki
A party of two can visit Zōnohana
Everyone, come to Ogasawara
Ah, Chichi Jima, a good place

Climbing up the curving way to Komagari
Towards the calm beach, Kominato
Crossing the Yatsuse river, then Fukurosawa
Everyone, come to Ogasawara
Ah, Chichi Jima, a good place

From Minamizaki to Tatsumidani
Hatsuneura beach on the other side
Miyanohama beach, the place for blessing
Everyone, come to Ogasawara
Ah, Chichi Jima, a good place

The sunrise there is, Asahiyama hill
Getting through the forest of *tako no ki* pandanus towards Mikazuki[yama] hill
The evening star can be seen at Yoakeyama hill
Everyone, come to Ogasawara
Ah, Chichi Jima, a good place
Sailing from the Tonarihama beach
The rough ocean of wantoen, no big deal
Haha [Mother] is welcoming, Chibusayama hill
Everyone, come to Ogasawara
Ah, Haha Jima, a good place

ハァァー 隣浜から船出して
荒いワントネ何のその
ハァァー 母が招くよ 乳房山
みなおじゃれ小笠原
ハァァー ヨイヤ母島ヨイトコリャセ

Come to see Kitamura, the island of Haha
The village of love, Okimura, in the middle of the island
The celebrated place name, Miyukihama [the Emperor’s visit] beach
Everyone, come to Ogasawara
Ah, Haha Jima, a good place

ハァァー 逢うに北村 母の島
恋の沖村 中の島
ハァァー その名幸 御幸浜
みなおじゃれ小笠原
ハァァー ヨイヤ母島ヨイトコリャセ

The liner, available only once a month
Waiting, waiting for tidings, just like a storm petrel
The nostalgic name, the boat Shibazono [Maru]
Everyone, come to Ogasawara
Ah, Chichi Jima, a good place

ハァァー 月に一度の定期船
便り待ち待ち うみつばめ
ハァァー その名なつかし芝園よ
みなおじゃれ小笠原
ハァァー ヨイヤ父島ヨイトコリャセ
[The islands of] Ani [Older Brother], Otōto [Younger Brother], and Shimai [Sisters]
The Nakōdo [Machmaker] Island arranges the marriage
Flourishing Ogasawara, forever
Everyone, come to Ogasawara
Ah, Chichi [Jima], Haha [Jima], a good place

(Ogasawara Village Welfare Council 2009: 1-3)

§

Before Dawn [Yōake Maeni]

Before dawn, I dreamed of you
When I woke up, I was so exhausted
If possible, I would be a small bird
Sometimes, I fly for you
もしできるなら ああ、小鳥になって
あなたのものへ時々飛んでゆく
My heart is so weakened, because of you
I might die soon
私の心は あなたのために
大変やせた 死ぬかもしれませんが

(Ogasawara Village Welfare Council 2009: 13)

§

Uwadoro
ウワドロ

Uwadorohī ihhihi ihhihī
Uwadorohī ihhihi ihhihī

ウワドロヒー イッピヒー イッピヒー
ウワドロヒー イッピヒー イッピヒー

Uwadorofinemine uegerunga ararenga
Riwatsugurā uegerugatsugura gessemenedekinto

ウワドロフィネミネ ウェケルンガ アラレンガ
リワツグラー ウェケルガツグラ ゲッセメデ ネキント

Oo zauenda rihhiuenda
Rihhihī ihhihī ihhihī

オオ ザウェンダ リッピウェンダ
リッピヒー イッピヒー イヒヒー

Oo zauenda rihhiuenda
Rihhihī ihhihī ihhihī

オオ ザウェンダ リッピウェンダ
リッピヒー イッピヒー イヒヒー

(Ogasawara Village Welfare Council 2009: 14)
§

Gidai
ギダイ

Gidaino uigipinei
Uenna uiya uïya
Yawuiya uïyaga senwaraï

ギダイノ ウイギッピネイ
ウェンナ ウィヤ ウィーヤ
ヤワウィヤ ウィーヤガ センワラウ

Yawuiya henggetui
Regimesse minatyupa
Degirani magayou emashigerē

ヤワウィヤ ヘンゲットウイ
レギメッセ ミナチュパ
デギラニ マガヨウ エマンゲレー

Rőreröre rōre
Rőreransanba
Uēni uēniueninan

ローレローレ ローレ
ローレランサンバ
ウェーニ ウェーニウェーニナン

Rőreröre rōre
Rőreransanba
Uēni uēniueninan

ローレローレ ローレ
ローレランサンバ
ウェーニ ウェーニウェーニナン

(Ogasawara Village Welfare Council 2009: 15)

§
Aputairan
アプタイラン

Aputairan anadai three times
One two three, one two three
Aputairan of stop

アプタイラン アナダイ スリータイムス
ワントゥースリー ワントゥースリー
アプタイラン オブ ストップ

(Ogasawara Village Welfare Council 2009: 16)

§

Because of Oyado [Oyado no Tamen]
おやどのために

Because of oyado, things turned out in this way
Nevertheless I abandon it helplessly

おやどのためにこんなになった
だけれど仕方なくやめましょうね

Everyone, if I am wrong
Please do not think so and forgive me

みなさん私が悪かったら
悪く思わないでゆるしてね

Even if I die, I never forget
The promise between two of us must be realised

私は死んでも忘れはせぬ
二人の約束を守りましょう

(Ogasawara Village Welfare Council 2009: 8)

§
The Fifth District of Palau [Parao no Go-chôme]

She is a pretty girl living in the fifth district of Palau
When I stare her, she shows me very friendly smiles
I am embarrassed by her smiles like that

Sometimes when you go out
Besides makeup, your hips like that
If I glance them, I cannot sleep at all

(Ogasawara Village Welfare Council 2009: 9)

§

A Dugout Canoe [Maruki-bune]

At the end of the southern sky
On the island with flowers of waves
Forgetting about the troublesome days
We two talk about the love
Just like riding in a dugout canoe
When the moon coloured just like zabon [pomelo]  
Rises over the coconut leaves  
Hearing the song of native people  
Our hearts are dancing, you and me  
Just like riding in a dugout canoe

Let the canoe move with the waves  
Our bodies are dedicated to the love  
Endless love  
We two talk in a dream  
Just like riding in a dugout canoe

(Ogasawara Village Welfare Council 2009: 11)

§

Lemon Bush [Remon Bayashi]

Two young lovers live apart  
Let’s make a promise when we meet again at another night

Two young lovers are shy before others’ eyes  
Let’s talk in the lemon bush, hiding ourselves
Embraced by the sweet fragrance of lemon bush
The moon was watching when we kissed there

When peace comes, we will do kabobo
Let’s plan to have a honeymoon in Chichi Jima

(Ogasawara Village Welfare Council 2009: 10)

§

The Island of Bonin [Bonin no Shima]

Unknown flowers blossom on the island of Bonin, waiting for you
Swaying with the sea breeze, [the flowers of] bōde bōde [Erythrina variegata]
That is, my heart

The sky and ocean meet over there, just like you and me
Sunshine from the ancient past, today on you
Today on me

The island of Bonin, blowing in the wind of tomorrow
The island of Bonin, waving hands, farewell and hello
Now you smile after crying
My heart is dedicated to you, riding on the wind
It wishes to reach you, [the flowers of] bīde bīde
That is, my heart

心許したあの日から 尽きぬ思いは風に乗り
あなたに届けと願うのは ビーデビーデよこの心
ビーデビーデよこの心

“A Dugout Canoe” stained by sunset, and moonlight on the “Lemon Bush”
“Before Dawn,” you dreamed
As I dreamed

「丸木舟」夕日に染まり 「レモン林」にお月様
「夜明け前」夢を見たのは あなただけではないはずさ
私だけではないはずさ

The island of Bonin, blowing in the wind of tomorrow
The island of Bonin, waving hands, farewell and hello
Now you smile after crying

ボニンの島 明日の風 吹かれて今は
ボニンの島 手を振るのは さようなら こんにちは
泣いたあなたが笑ってた

You smile after crying

泣いたあなたが笑ってた

(Transcribed from The Wind of Bonin, Ogasawara Shotō Henkan 40 Shūnen Jikkō Inka 2008)
Coral Street [Sango Dōri]

The southwind blows as usual
Long hair is waiving
The white beach is just there
See the breakers over the coconut trees
Coral street, coral street, coral street
I am hearing it

She/he was there too till yesterday
The litte beach with white surf
Humming the everyday song
From far away over the ocean
Coral street, coral street, coral street
I am hearing it

Waves, skies and even white clouds
It’s a melody of summer [repeatedly sounding] just like waves
Coral street, coral street, coral street
I am hearing it

(Transcribed from my own recording, 29 August 2009)
My Dear Bonin Islands
マイ・ディア・ボニン・アイランド

Blessed by the sun, fragrances of flowers
Bearing the fruit of papaya
My dear, my dear Bonin Islands
Ah, tropical Ogasawara

Blue ocean, green hills
Clear skies, and singing birds
My dear, my dear Bonin Islands
Ah, beautiful Ogasawara

Blessing for the peace
Calling for tomorrow and endless dream
My dear, my dear Bonin Islands
Ah, happiness Ogasawara

(Transcribed from The Wind of Bonin, Ogasawara Shotō Henkan 40 Shūnen Jikkō Jinkai 2008)

§

Dance-Song of Ise [Ise Ondo] (Okimura, Haha Jima)
伊勢音頭（母島沖村）

The cities of Ise and Tse depend on each other
Nagoya of Owari Province flourishes because of that castle

伊勢は津で持つ 津は伊勢で持つ
尾張名古屋は あの城で持つ
There is the hazy Chibusayama hill
Now I am thinking of my pretty girl

乳房山には 霞がかかる
かわいいあの娘にゃ あの気がかかる

She is pretty, she looks like botamochi [rice cake dampling]
With kinako [soybean flour], her face will be even better

あの娘よい娘だ ぼたもち顔で
きなこつけたら あのなよい顔

Don’t be wrestlers
They struggle in such a small circle of dohyō arena

すもうさんには なるまいものよ
せまい土俵で あの苦労する

Auspicious, auspicious three times
Crane and turtle [the symbols of auspiciousness] at last, the five pine

めでためにたの 三つ重なければ
末じゃつるかめ あの五本松

(Haha Jima Primary School 1977)

§

Sumō Jinku (Okimura, Haha Jima)
相撲甚句(母島沖村)

Wearing the belt [keshō mawashi], performing the dohyō iri ceremony
The wrestlers look good indeed

どんすそろえて 土俵入りをなさる
おすすめ姿の ほどのよさ

Don’t be wrestlers
Struggling in such a small circle of dohyō arena

すもうさんには なるまいものよ
せまい土俵で 苦労する
I can lose if it is a practice
Tomorrow is the first day of the tournament, never lose it

けいこすもうなら まけてもやるか
あすは初日で まけられぬ

Is it possible to quit sumō
Sumō wrestlers are the world best dandies

すもうやめらりよか すもうやめらりよか
すもうは天下の 男だて

What is the attractive feature of wrestlers
Their hair after practising

すもうとりには どこ見てほれた
けいこもどりの ちらし髪

Wrestlers [sumō tori] are big birds [tori]
Yes, but they don’t have feathers

すもうとりとは おおきなとりよ
とりはとりだが 羽がない

(Haha Jima Primary School 1977)

§

Farewell Blues [Wakare no Burūsu]
別れのブルース

When opening the window
I can see the harbour, the lights of Meriken [American] wharf
Together with night wind, see breeze and love wind
Where is that boat going
Crying heart, the transient love
Dance the blues, it’s a sadness

窓を開ければ 港が見える
メリケン波止場の 灯が見える
夜風 潮風 恋風のせて
今日の出船は どこへ行く
むせぶ心よ はかない恋よ
踊るブルースの 切なさよ
Tattooing the anchor on an arm
Don’t care about even yakuza
Although they use different languages
Sailors are susceptible to love, and sob
Never meet again, our hearts
Dance the blues, such sadness

腕にいかりの いれずみほって
やくざに強い マドロスの
お国言葉は違っていても
恋には弱い すすり泣き
二度と逢えない 心と心
踊るブルースの 切なさよ

(Transcribed from You Tube)

§

Upon the Shooting Stars [Hoshi no Nagare ni]
(Who Made Such a Woman [Konna Onna ni Dare ga Shita])
星の流れに
（こんな女に誰がした）

Upon the shooting stars, I divine my life
Where will I sleep tonight
My heart is not yet devastated
But my tears dry up after many cryings
Who made such a woman

星の流れに身を占って
何処をねぐらの今日の宿
荒む心でいるのじゃないが
泣けて涙も枯れ果てた
こんな女に誰がした
Smoking and whistling
Wandering aimlessly at night
People turn around, and my body becomes thin
The light/shadow of city is lonesome
Who made such a woman

Where is my younger sister, possibly starving
I want to see my mother, even just once
Biting my lips with rouge, I feel sorrow
The night wind blows, just like crying
Who made such a woman

Tokyo Boogie Woogie
東京ブギウギ

Tokyo Boogie Woogie, exciting rhythm
Heart is shaking, moving
Echoes beyond the ocean, Tokyo Boogie Woogie

The dance of boogie is universal
It is the song of a dream for the two of us
Let’s whistle the melody of love and boogie
The song of a burning heart, voices of sweet love
Dance together under the moonlight

燃ゆる心の歌 甘い恋の歌声に
君と踊ろよ 今宵も月の下で

Tokyo Boogie Woogie, exciting rhythm
Heart is shaking, moving
The song of the century, the song of the heart, Tokyo Boogie Woogie

東京ブギウギ リズムうきうき
心ずきずき わくわく
世紀の歌 心の歌 東京ブギウギ

Let’s boogie-woogie, drum the taiko
Dance and sing lively
You and me, happy together, Tokyo Boogie Woogie

さああブギウギ 太鼓たたいて
派手に踊ろよ 歌およ
君も僕も愉快な 東京ブギウギ

If we dance boogie, the world will be one
The same rhythm and melody
Let’s get the rhythm and sing the melody of boogie

ブギを踊れば 世界は一つ
おなじリズムと メロディーよ
手拍子取って歌おう ブギのメロディー

The song of a burning heart, voices of sweet love
Dance together under the starry sky

燃ゆる心の歌 甘い恋の歌声に
君と踊ろよ 今宵も星を浴びて

Tokyo Boogie Woogie, exciting rhythm
Heart is shaking, moving
The song of the world, the song of happiness, Tokyo Boogie Woogie

東京ブギウギ リズムうきうき
心ずきずき わくわく
世界の歌楽しい歌 東京ブギウギ
Boogie-woogie, the song of joy, Tokyo Boogie Woogie
Boogie-woogie, the song of the century, sing, dance, boogie-woogie

(Transcribed from You Tube)

Kitamura Youth Association [Kitamura Seinen Dan]
北村青年団

An isolated island, yet belonging to Tokyo
Our ancestors cultivated
Ogasawara, with its deep-rooted name
Filled with benevolence, Chichi [Father] and Haha [Mother]
In the north of that island of Haha
Kitamura youth association was born

Filled with green, is Sekimon hill
Behind that hill, Higashi Port
How beautiful is it at sunrise
We are always cheerful
Motivated with the highest will
Grandiose, strong and honourable

§
Strong whirling tides, the *wantone*
Soaked in the splashing seawater
Our skin is just like red copper
In the strong arms
Holding the sword of justice
Protect the village of Kitamura

どとうのさか巻くわんとねの
潮のしぶきに浴びせられ
はだは赤どうそのごとく
きたえられたる鉄腕に
正義剣をふりかざし
この北村を守れかし

*(Transcribed from a manuscript reserved by an anonymous informant)*

§

*Me Ke Aloha Nui*
メ・ケ・アロハ・ヌイ

*Ahe nani, ahe nani, keʻike, keʻike*
*O nā puʻa onaona*
*Me ke aloha nui*

Oh how lovely, oh how lovely, to behold, to be hold
All the many fragrant flowers
With such an overwhelming love

とてもかわいい たくさんの花よ
香る花たちと
この大きな愛を

*Ke pʻio, ke pʻio, mai nei, mai nei*
*ʻO ke ānuenue*
*Meke kili hune ua*

It’s arching, it’s arching, from here, from here
Oh it’s just the rainbow
Followed by a little rain

ここから生まれた 大きなにじは
空の向こうまで
霧雨の後に
Ha`ina kapuana, ke `ike i ka nani
O nā pua onaona
Me ke aloha nui

And so my song is ending, behold the beauty
Of all the many fragrant flowers
With such an overwhelming love

(Original texts in Hawaiian and English, the Japanese lyrics by Tamura Midori)

§

Minamizaki

The sounds of waves are calling, Minamizaki
Profiles of the isles reflected on the sky, Minamizaki

Seabirds are flying, high and low
The sounds of waves convey singing voices, Minamizaki

As if preserving the heart of a pure girl
The lily is blossoming as if nestling to the gentle ocean

The sounds of waves are calling, Minamizaki
Profiles of the isles reflected on the sky, Minamizaki

(Wakabayashi 2004: 19)
§

Grandpa Kopepe [Kopepe Jisan]

In a small inlet, furling the sail of his canoe
Grandpa is looking into the distance
When smelling a turtle, he closes his eyes
Grandpa Kopepe, sail on, sail on
Grandpa Kopepe, do the turtle hunting
It is already summer out at sea

In a small cave, placing his canoe
Grandpa is wearing goggles
Finds prawns and jumps into the water
Grandpa Kopepe, dive on, dive on
Grandpa Kopepe, do the prawn fishing
It is already summer out at sea

Standing on the bow of a green canoe
Grandpa holds a spear
A wahoo comes, so he opens his eyes
Grandpa Kopepe, dart it, dart it
Grandpa Kopepe, do the tug of war
It is already summer out at sea
Grandpa Kopepe has red eyes already
Is it painful with too much salt
Grandpa Kopepe has more white hair
Is it just salt remaining on your hair
The beach of Kopepe is calm today too

（Ohama and Machida 1991: 2）

§

Journey of Green Sea Turtle [Aoumi-game no Tabi]
アオウミガメの旅

From the beach of the island in summer
Dashing towards the ocean
It is the beginning of the journey of baby sea turtles
Live, live and survive
Each one, every child, when full grown
Come back to this beach someday

Facing the storm, chased by a shark
And targeted from the sky by a seabird
Towards the north, painful road
Dawn and sunset, and again morning
Each day, everyday, growing up
And again, the journey towards home continues

（Ohama and Machida 1991: 2）
Youthfulness shines on the ocean and sky
Laying hundreds of eggs
Covering them with sand and prayers
Live, live and survive
Each one, every child, when full grown
Come back to this beach someday

(Ohama and Machida eds. 1991: 30)

§

Towards the South Island [Minami no Shima e]

The island of singing waves, oh
Welcomes you, ah
Under the shade of a coconut tree, talk about love
People of solitude sing

Aloha ‘oe, oh moonlight
The time for two of us on the beach
People with blue eyes
Please do not disturb
The night of starry sky, love song
Waves invite you
And tonight, forget the time
I sleep in your hands

星降る夜は 愛の歌
招く波の手 あなたのもとへ
そして今夜は 時をも忘れ
あなたの胸に 眠る

*Aloha 'oe, oh moonlight*
The time for two of us on the beach
People with blue eyes
Please do not disturb

アロハ・オエ おお ムーンライト
波うち際の二人のとき
青いひとみ人よ
どうかこわさないで

(Transcribed from *'Ohana 2009*, Pua Nani 2009)

§

*Stories of the Island [Shima no Kotozute]*
島の言づて

The colour of white is deep, waves rise and fall
All stories are in the blue of the ocean

白の色は深く 波は寄せて返す
言づてはすべて 海の青の中に

Human history is still shallow, waves rise and fall forever
All stories are in the blue of the ocean

人の歴史はまだ浅く 波は永久に寄せる
言づてはすべて 海の青の中に

Human history is still shallow, earth’s memories are deeper far
All stories are in the green of forest

人の歴史はまだ浅く 土の記憶はるか
言づてはすべて 森のみどりの中に
Human history is still shallow, winds circles without cease
All stories are in the red of sunset

Humans lay down layers of history, waves rise and fall
When a long, long period has passed
Stories will surely permeate to the all lives on the islands
Into the heart of every life

(Transcribed from my own recording, 17 October 2009)

§

**Gyosan Princess**
ギョサン・プリンセス

You’ve got to have this for work in the water
You’ve got to have this, the lovely gyosan [fish sandal]

Rubbing sleepy eyes, I see the morning ocean
A boat is heading towards open sea
And monpa flowers [*Heliotropium foertherianum*] shine white

Now wear the gyosan and let’s go to the aquarium
He is calling me in the splashing water under the morning light
You’ve got to have this, for work in the water
You’ve got to have this, the non-slip gyosan

あれじゃなきゃだめ 水槽そうじ
あれじゃなきゃだめ すべらないギョサン

The bright water surface all around the islands
The legendary tekkinbō [rod], it is the tool for an artisan

明るい水面 島々を巡る
伝説のテッキンボウ 職人の道具さ

Walking in the sand, searching for treasure
See the perfect white spheres, the lovely eggs

砂に埋まりながら 宝物さがす
ほらまんまる真っ白 いとしい卵

Return to the soil, and go back to the ocean
Return to the soil, and go back to the ocean

土に帰れ 海へ帰れ
土に帰れ 海へ帰れ

You’ve got to have this, for work on a beach
You’ve got to have this, the lovely gyosan

あれじゃなきゃだめ 浜での調査
あれじゃなきゃだめ うるわしのギョサン

You’ve got to have this, for the life on the islands
You’ve got to have this, the wonderful gyosan

あれじゃなきゃだめ 島の暮らし
あれじゃなきゃだめ 最高的ギョサン

(Transcribed from ‘Ohana 2009, Pua Nani 2009)
Rendezvous
ランデヴー

On a moonlit night, happy rendezvous
Under the shade of a coconut tree, a heart-throbbing rendezvous
After many assignations, my heart
Only you, lovely rendezvous

月夜の晩に ウキウキランデヴー
ヤシの木かげで ドキドキランデヴー
逢瀬重ねて 私の心
あなたのことだけ キュンキュンランデヴー

Run together tracing the moonlight
Our shadows cast on the white sand become one
Bless our forever love

月の光たより二人かけよる
白い砂に映る影は一つに
永遠を願う

Only once in six days, secret rendezvous
Hiding ourselves, thrilling rendezvous
A cloud obscures the moonlight
Our lips come closer, kissing rendezvous

六日に一度の ヒソヒソランデヴー
人目忍んで ハラハラランデヴー
月の光が 雲にかくれる
くちびる寄せて チュチュチュチュランデヴー

The sound of waves can be heard far away
And only heartbeats embrace the world
Bless our forever love

波の音が遠くなってゆくわ
鼓動だけがこの世界つつみこむ
永遠を願う

The happy, heart-throbbing, lovely, secret
Thrilled, kissing, the rendezvous of two of us

ウキウキドキドキ キュンキュンヒソヒソ
ハラハラチュチュチュ 二人のランデヴー
It is a lie that I am scared of the dark night
Forget that we can use words
Bless our forever love, bless forever

夜の闇が怖いなんてウソね
言葉なんて使えること忘れて
永遠を願う 永遠を願う

(Transcribed from Life Ogasawara, Nishimoto)

§

Ah Nevertheless [Aa Sorenannoni]
あゝそれなのに

Today adobarūn [advertising balloon] is in the sky
Perhaps you will be in the company
I think you are very busy
Ah nevertheless, nevertheless
Will quick angry, quick angry
It is naturally

空にゃ今日もアドバルーン
さぞかし会社で今頃は
おいそがしいと思うたに
あゝそれなのに それなのに
ねえ おこるのは おこるのは
あたりまえでしょう

What are you doing now
I feel some sorrow at nightfall
Thinking about you all the time
Ah nevertheless, nevertheless
I am angry, angry
It is naturally

どこで何しているかしら
何か悲哀な日暮れどき
思うはあなたのことばかり
あゝそれなのに それなのに
ねえ おこるのは おこるのは
あたりまえでしょう
The moon is alone in the sky
I am seeing it at window
Sewing absent-mindedly
Ah nevertheless, nevertheless
I am angry, angry
It is naturally

Late at night, I hear footsteps
Strain my ears, heart-throbbing
Are you back? I stand up
Ah nevertheless, nevertheless
I am angry, angry
It is naturally

(Transcribed from You Tube,
English translation of the first verse is transcribed from the performance by Sato Naoto,
in my own recording, 28 June 2009)
Dance-Song of Sperm-Whale [Makkō Ondo]

The long voyage, swaying and rolling towards Ogasawara
Upon arrival, seven colours of the ocean welcome you
Makkō [sperm whale], kekkō [fantastic], Ogasawara
In the centre of the Pacific Ocean
Very small, Ogasawara

Meguro birds [Bonin white-eye], Ogasawara nosuri [Ogasawara buteos]
Ogasawara megabats [Pteropus pselaphon] and
“Red head” wood pigeons [Columba janthina nitens]
On hills and in the greenery, there are many native species on this treasure island
Tako no ki pandanus, munin tree peonies [Melastoma tetramerum]
Green pepe mushrooms [Mycena chlorophos]
Flowers of munin tsutsuji [Rhododendron boninense] and ebineran [Calanthe discolor]
If they are named munin, they belong to our island

If you swim with dolphins, you will feel like a mermaid, as if you were dreaming
Small fishes around coral are just like a flag coloured red, blue and yellow
Sperm whales, humpback whales, and North Pacific right whales
Spinner dolphins, common bottlenose dolphins, and the orcas also come
Everyone is jumping and hopping, Ogasawara

イルカと泳げば 人魚の気分 夢心地
珊瑚の小魚 赤青黄色の旗のよう
マッコウ ザトウに セミクジラ
ハシナガ パンドウ シャチもくる
みんな跳ねてる小笠原
The islands of Father [Chichi], Mother [Haha], Older Brother [Ani] Younger Sister [Imōto], Son-in-law [Muko], and Daughter-in-law [Yome]

The family together enjoys the *bon* dance

Making a circle, holding their hands each other, jumping and hopping

The *bon* dance with “Dance-Song of Sperm-Whale”

Coconut trees are swaying also, Ogasawara

(Transcribed from my own recording, 8 August 2009)

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(Transcribed from my own recording, 8 August 2009)
Mango, papaya, pineapple and banana
I don’t know if your cheeks drop off [a Japanese expression of ‘too delicious’]
I don’t know
Sawara [wahoos] sawasawa [are all around], Ogasawara
Sawara sawasawa, Ogasawara

A turtle lives for ten thousands years [in a Japanese proverb]
By eating turtles, I wish to live like a crane [which lives for a thousand years] at least
At least, like a crane
Sawara [wahoos] sawasawa [are all around], Ogasawara
Sawara sawasawa, Ogasawara

The ocean represents the hospitality of the islanders
It is transparent, you can see the deep bottom
Indeed transparent
Sawara [wahoos] sawasawa [are all around], Ogasawara
Sawara sawasawa, Ogasawara

Hibiscus flowers redden
Just like the love of island girls
The girls’ love
Sawara [wahoos] sawasawa [are all around], Ogasawara
Sawara sawasawa, Ogasawara
The skin of island boys is just like red copper
That attracts girls’ hearts
The girls’ hearts
Sawara [wahoos] sawasawa [are all around], Ogasawara
Sawara sawasawa, Ogasawara

島の男の 赤銅色は
乙女ごころを惑わせる
惑わせる
さわらさわさわ 小笠原
さわらさわさわ 小笠原

Retuning to the port after great fishing
My lovely wife is waiting for me with light makeup
Light makeup
Sawara [wahoos] sawasawa [are all around], Ogasawara
Sawara sawasawa, Ogasawara

大漁大漁で 港へ戻りゃ
愛しい女房は薄化粧
薄化粧
さわらさわさわ 小笠原
さわらさわさわ 小笠原

There is a rough ocean of wantone between the islands of Chichi and Haha
But it cannot prevent our hearts from connecting to each other
Can never prevent
Sawara [wahoos] sawasawa [are all around], Ogasawara
Sawara sawasawa, Ogasawara

父島母島 ワントネあろうと
つなぐ心は動かせぬ
動かせぬ
さわらさわさわ 小笠原
さわらさわさわ 小笠原

(Transcribed from my own recording, 8 August 2009)
Smiling Ogasawara ‘Ohana [Ohana Wara Wara]

On the islands given by God, flowers are swaying
At the garden of flowers, smiling [wara] Ogasawara ‘ohana [family]

神様がくれた島で 優しく花がゆれる
お花畑で笑う オハナワラワラ

The sun rises from the ocean, and again returns to the ocean
On the islands of ‘ohana, flowers are swaying all the time

海から昇る太陽 また海へと帰るよ
オハナの島はいつも お花ひらひら

The sky, ocean, under the moonlight
The sorrow of today disappears with the wind

空 海 月の明かりに照らされた
今日の悲しみは 風に流れてく

Life given by God, to me, to Father [Chichi] and Mother [Haha] too
Dancing in the day of flower, the flowers dance hula

神様がくれた命 私、父も母も
お花日和に踊る お花フラフラ

Today, tomorrow, the day when stars cry too
Flowing tears disappear in the sand

今日 明日 星のしずくが落ちる日も
流した涙は 砂に消えてゆく

The sky, ocean, under the moonlight
The sorrow of today disappears with the wind

空 海 月の明かりに照らされた
今日の悲しみは 風に流れてく

On the islands given by God, flowers are swaying
At a flower garden, smiling Ogasawara ‘ohana
Smiling Ogasawara ‘ohana

神様がくれた島で 優しく花がゆれる
お花畑で笑う オハナワラワラ
オハナワラワラ

(Transcribed from Pua Nani 2008a)
Riding on the Wind of Mana [Mana no Kaze ni Notte]
マナの風に乗って

An orange road appears on the sunset ocean
The brilliant road leading us to our dream far away
Feeling the island summer day on my back
Embraced by the starry sky, I close my eyes

夕暮れの海に オレンジの道ができる
はるかな夢に続く あざやかなこの道
島の夏の日を 背中で感じながら
夜空の星の中で ただ目を閉じる

Cheerleading, Bide school festival: each event I remember
There, numerous smiles are overflowing

チアーリーディング ビー祭 思い出の一つ一つ
数えきれない笑顔たちが ほらあふれている

It is just like a relay race
We send a baton received from past graduates
To juniors with best wishes, and fly to leave
Even if there appears a wall that blocks the road to the future
We will surely overcome it with the power granted from you all

先輩から受け取った リレーのバトンのように
後輩に思いをたくして 私たちは羽ばたく
時には目の前に壁が 未来の道をふさぐけど
みんなからもらったこの力で きっと乗り越える

Sails of windsurfing embellish the ocean
Flowing clouds and winds are bringing the summer
The ordinary days, we spent together, are now far away, I feel
Sorrow remains in my heart

ウィンドサーフィンの セールが海を飾る
流れる雲も風も 夏をはこんでくる
当たり前のように 過ごしてきた毎日が
遠くに感じられて なんだかさびしい

We sent past graduates riding on a boat and holding cheering flags
Now we will be sent off, wipe tears out and let’s move on

先輩たちの見送りに 団旗を持って走った海
今度は僕ら見送られる番さ 涙をふいて進もう
Farewell the scenery I am familiar with
Farewell the colour of ocean I see everyday
Farewell you all just in front of us
It will be for a while, so farewell

さよなら 見慣れた景色
さよなら いつもの海の色
さよなら 今目の前の君
少しの間 さよなら

Thank you, we are here now (we are here)
Thank you for rearing us (thank you)
Till yesterday and from now on too
Thank you for your overwhelming love
Thank you for the overwhelming love

ありがとうございます 今日ある僕を（私たちを）
育ててくれた ありがとうございます（ありがとうございます）
昨日までも そしてこれからも
大きな愛を ありがとうございます
大きな愛を ありがとうございます

(Transcribed from my own recording, 29 August 2009)

§

Precious Thing [Taisetsuna Mono]
大切なものの

On the day when the colour of ocean becomes the same with the sky
Let’s go out, bringing the ukulele
Sitting on the beach filled with coral sand
Sing a song towards the sky

海の色が空と同じになる日
ウクレレもって出かけよう
サンゴダストのビーチに座り
空に向かって歌おう

When we get together, smiles come out
On this favourite island, dance together hula again

みんなが集まれば 笑顔になれる
大好きなこの島で またみんなでフラを踊ろう
On the day when the colour of sky becomes the same with the ocean
Let’s get to the other side of the island
Towards that windy hill
Let’s go, driving a car fast

空の色が海と同じになる日
島の向こうへ出かけよう
風の吹くあの丘に向かって
車飛ばして出かけよう

With many joys, smiles come out
On this favourite island
Dance hula together feeling the winds

うれしいを集めれば 笑顔になれる
大好きなこの島で
風を感じてフラを踊ろう

On the day when the colour of bide flower becomes the same with the sunset
Let’s climb that big tree
At the place near the stars
Let’s sing the song of stars together

ビーデの色が夕日と同じになる日
あの大きな木に登ろう
星に近い場所へ登ったら
みんなで歌おう星の歌

Although many farewells result in tears
On favourite Chichi Jima
I wish to dance together hula again

さよならを集めたら 涙になるけど
大好きな父島で
またみんなでフラを踊りたい

Our hearts continue to be connected beyond distance
The sky we watched together
That is my precious thing forever

どんなに離れてても思いは繋がってゆく
一緒に見たあの空は
ずっと私の大切なもの

(Transcribed from my own recording, 29 August 2009)
**Song of Farewell [Sōbetsu no Uta] (1)**

Sing with sincerity, the song of farewell
Sing with enjoyment, the song of farewell
Farewell, farewell, farewell, farewell to you with nostalgia
Farewell, farewell, farewell, farewell to beloved you

![Japanese text](image)

Even if we never meet again
Remember our friendship from the past until today
Farewell, farewell, farewell, farewell to you with nostalgia
Farewell, farewell, farewell, farewell to beloved you

![Japanese text](image)

(Transcribed from a manuscript gifted to the author, January 2010)

§

**Song of Farewell [Sōbetsu no Uta] (2)**

Our friendship has lasted years, my dear friend
Today we separate, my heart is sad
Ah dear, dear my friend, farewell
Farewell, dear my friend, take care indeed

![Japanese text](image)
Live with sincerity, do your duty in a society
We wait, farewell, for the day we will enjoy together again
Farewell dear friend, dear my friend, farewell
Farewell my friend, take care indeed

人の道をまもり 世のつとめはたし
われらまたん サラバ 又こん楽しき日
サラバ わが友 サラバ わが友
サラバ わが友 いよよ すこやかに

(Transcribed from a manuscript gifted to the author, January 2010)