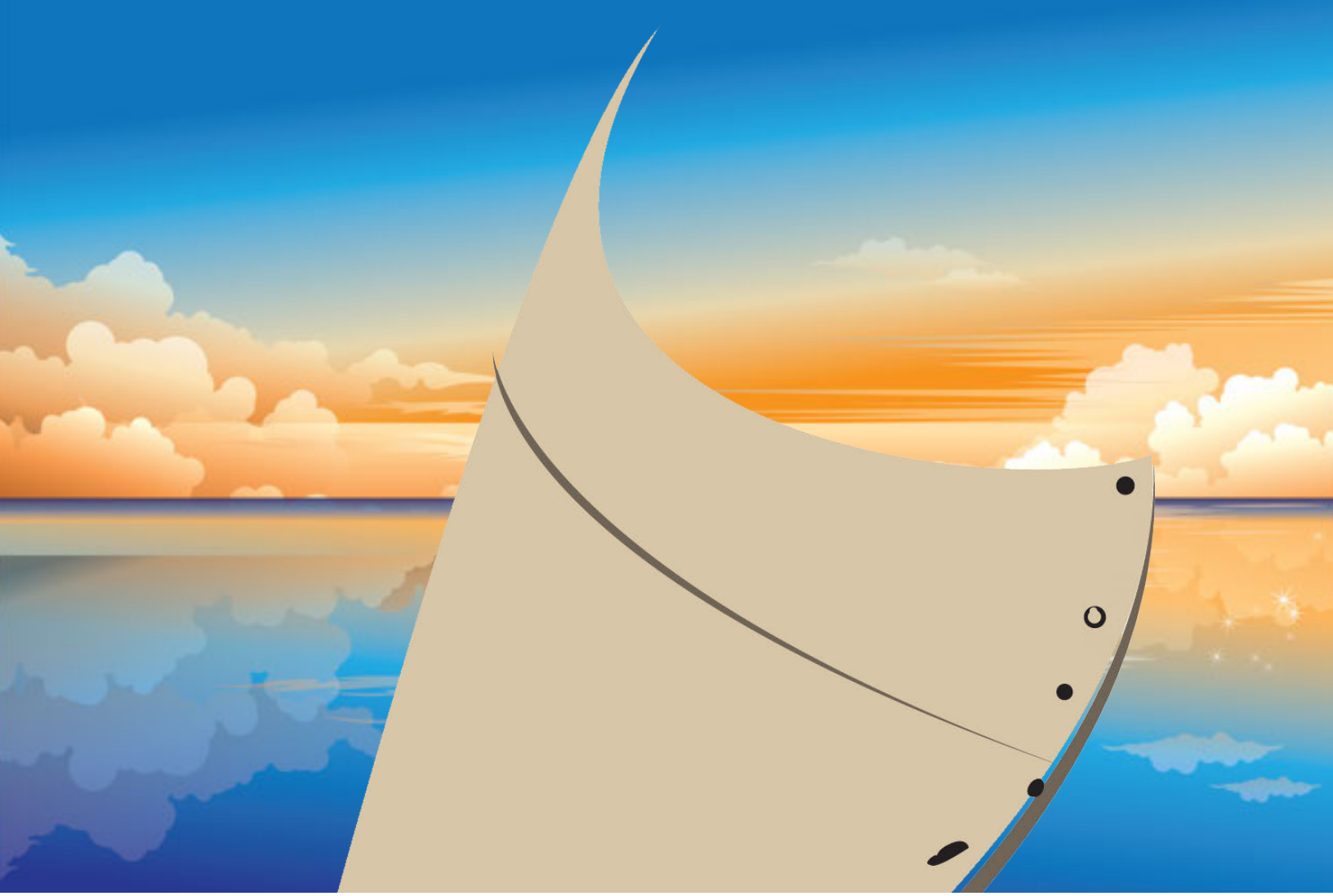

3rd Marianas History Conference

ONE Archipelago, Many Stories: Milestones in Marianas History

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3rd Marianas History Conference

Milestones in Marianas History

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Introduction

By James Perez Viernes, PhD

Hafa adai yan saludu! Welcome to this e-publication of the 3rd Marianas History Conference! The ongoing theme of this important and invigorating annual event "One Archipelago, Many Stories" provides us with a reminder of the stamina of our people, the stamina of our history. For centuries, imperial forces have tried in vain to sever our connections. They have drawn lines on maps. They have imposed ambiguous and differing political statuses time and time again. They have worked to plant seeds that compel us to look outward from our individual islands and on our neighbors, our *mañe'lu*, as "other." But gatherings such as this look in the face of these futile attempts and defy them in ways that demonstrate the potential to build solidarity. Though diversity between our islands, our communities, and our experiences across the Marianas can be vast, it is through embracing our many stories that we can aspire to coming closer to thriving as one archipelago, one people.

Even in the midst of the most trying circumstances, Marianas history and our will to enliven it weather the storms that our pasts and present send our way. The unfortunate arrival of Typhoon Soudelor to the Marianas on August 2, 2015, ultimately led to the cancellation of the 3rd Marianas History Conference. Soudelor's landfall was not just felt in Saipan, but its wrath struck deep in all our islands, if not physically, then through our empathy as we sent our support through relief aid and prayer from a distance. Still, the people of Saipan rose above the devastation that nature handed down to them. They, like Pacific peoples from across the region, demonstrated the strength and resilience that Islanders have sustained for millennia. So too has the Marianas History Conference looked in to the face of disaster, finding new and innovative ways to cope and move forward in the interest of sustaining our stories, our histories. This very publication is a tangible product of that.

Though a physical gathering never materialized, the 3rd Marianas History Conference has much to teach us in our ongoing effort to engage with our pasts through this year's theme of "Milestones in Marianas History." Simply defined, a milestone can be understood as a stone or other physical marker placed along a roadway that indicates the distance in miles between a certain point and a destination. But this literal definition of milestone does little to encapsulate the intent of the Marianas History Conference. It does not reflect developments in the larger discipline of Pacific Islands History. Those developments have embraced a view of history as cyclical and call on historians and others to constantly revisit and reimagine the past and the ways it has come to be understood. Indeed, there is no definitive, singular, or physical destination ahead at which we hope to arrive in our doings of Marianas History. Thus, milestones in the sense of their marking the distance to a destination on a one-way road find little relevance in our efforts.

Milestones, in more fluid or abstract terms, can also refer to significant points, physical or otherwise, that mark the progress, development, or transformation of something. In this sense, there are limitless possibilities as to what constitutes a milestone. In the broader scope of Marianas History, there have been many milestones crossed. This Marianas History Conference has become one venue at which we might reach and even surpass existing milestones, as well as discover new directions and goals toward which we might work in the interest of reclaiming our pasts.

The contributions that follow show much promise in our collective mission of reaching important milestones in Marianas History. They are richly diverse and draw from a wealth of topics, themes, methods, approaches, and perspectives. They span vast expanses of time, from the ancient period many thousands of years ago to our present day. Some challenge more traditional concepts of time in a chronological sense, and demonstrate instead the value of making more fluid and multidirectional connections between seemingly linear epochs of the past and realities that emerge in the present. The contributions that follow are situated in a healthy range of disciplinary traditions to include the sciences, the arts, military history, gender studies, cultural ecology, political studies, and more. They provoke critical engagement with a diverse range of historical sources, from the empirical to the symbolic, the archival to the ethnographic. The diversity that follows is a testament to the richness of Marianas history and the immeasurable potential for new milestones to emerge and to which we might aspire to cross.

Indeed, we have much to be proud of in the efforts of the people of the Mariana Islands and those with a commitment to perpetuating its pasts. Yet, let us not forget that in reaching milestones, we have and will continue to stumble along the way. Those missteps warrant our critical reflection and debate. But we should not allow our debates, disagreements, and divisions hinder us in our growth toward deeper and more intimate knowledge of the past. Let us instead keep our sights on the potential to turn them into productive strides toward many milestones ahead, milestones that will guide us in reclaiming, taking ownership of, and perpetuating our rich and unique pasts. The 3rd Marianas History Conference and those that will follow serve as but one vein through which this resolve might pulse and thrive. Congratulations to the conference planning committee, sponsors, and participants on facing the challenges presented to you in executing this third installment of your annual endeavor. *Biba* Marianas History!

Para Fan Dandan Siha (They Will Play Music)

By LeaAnn Acfalle
Prepared for the 3rd Marianas History Conference and Guampedia

An numa piniti hau tautau
(When you cause a person pain,)
Nanga mana pinitimu
(Wait for pain to come to you;)
Masea apmaman na tiempo
(Thought it be a very long time)
Un apase sa dibimu
(You will pay it as a debt.)

Basta neni nai tumangis,
(Stop your crying, little one,)
Sa un nna tailadse matamu
(For you will hurt your eyes;
Po lo palo gi lago mo
(Save some of your tears,)
Para an matai si nanamo
(For when your mother dies.)

-Chamorro Song Sung to Children[1]

Ancient Chamorros made use of the equivalent of what is widely accepted as a chant, which Chamorros called *lailai*. *Lailais* served various purposes including:

(a) recitations of ancestral history according to their matrilineages
(b) chant of the *makana* invoking the supernatural powers of *manganite* during ritual, to invoke a spell, to sacrifice, to protect or guide a soul
(c) funeral chant and lamentations *(endechas)* enticing the soul of the dying to remain on earth, to return to earth or to guide the soul on its journey
(d) chant to babies or children
(e) chant to accompany and enable work
(f) ceremonial chant
(g) love and courtship chant
(h) chant as conversation or dialog

[1] Clement, Michael R. (2001). *The Ancient Origins of Chamorro Music*. (Appendix C) M.A. Thesis in Micronesian Studies. Mangilao, Guam: RFT-Micronesian Area Research Center at University of Guam.

Lailai as an ancient term for dream, analogous to the Christian concept of 'the Word" (Clement. p. 130). The epigraph above was recorded in 1925, three centuries after Chamorroes were colonized, yet it encompasses many elements of ancient Chamorro culture, (e.g. concept of *chenchule'*/reciprocity, and a matrilineal society). Guam's colonial history drastically changed ancient culture and evolved to what makes up today's culture. Music is no exception. Various eras of music in Guam history have evolved as a result of the political and social climate of the time.

Although the music styles adopted are from genres originating all over the world, elements of "Chamorro culture" can be seen if not in the music or genres themselves, then in the musicians that make and/or play the music. "Music, like identity, is both performance and story, describes the social in the individual and the individual in the social, the mind in the body and the body in the mind; identity, like music, is a matter of both ethics and aesthetics" according to S. Firth in his book "Questions on Cultural Identity.

Does music in Guam reflect Chamorro identity? Three eras of music in Guam will be analyzed to see if music is an inherent part of identity in Guam. The three eras of Guam music that will be explored will be: The Post-World War II era (1940's-1960's), Neo-traditional Chamorro Music (1970's-1980's), and today's era (1990's-present).

Each of these eras will be studied through a theoretical approach, namely Historical Institutionalism, Constructivism, and Rational Choice, respectively. This approach, along with some methodology will be used to see if Chamorro identity has evolved with the introduction of foreign concepts of music and if it largely contributes to society and/or culture, or if the political and social climate of the era affects and changes the identity of the people to different identities.

Music During the Post-WWII Era

Life for Chamorros in Guam drastically changed following World War II. The people were newly liberated from Japan and faced many trials. Adjustments were made to almost every aspect of their lives. Chamorros at the time still spoke Chamorro and were able to sing Chamorro songs amongst themselves. The young generations coming out of WWII, however, were beginning to speak Chamorro less, due to the US re-occupation of Guam and large assimilation of culture according to Michael Clement.

Historical Institutionalism argues that identities are a construct of the political climate and institutions. The main belief is that humans are both norm-abiding and rule following as well as self-interested and rational actors. The behavior and actions of an individual depends on the historical context, political events within that context, and whatever social, economic, and cultural experiences the actor can draw upon to make a decision.

The Americans made many political, economic, social, changes and institutions in Guam following WWII. WWII survivor, Gregorio Tenorio, recalls what life was like following the war, particularly how the music scene in Guam changed. Tenorio was 14 years old when World War II ended. He recalled more American personnel moving to the island, and all of the changes the war brought. He told of how the pre-war "backyard garden markets" changed to "window stores" following the war (the equivalent of mom and pop stores), how styles were changing, transportation via vehicles becoming more the norm, and what particularly was important to Tenorio, the introduction to new genres of music, and the beginning of the availability of different instruments.

Tenorio told of a when he and his friend, Gailey Kamminga, a man imprisoned by for Navy whistling, first obtained a rare banjo and then other instruments and began to play for the many clubs that opened for events, namely new government and military personnel and families that moved to the island. Tenorio played bass guitar in a band called "The Islanders". He recalled how the gigs provided an opportunity for them to make money (anywhere from $10-$50 a week) during the reconstruction period (1944-1950), when it was hard to earn a living in Guam. Tenorio described the introduction of jazz and swing music, along with other genres sung in English and how Chamorro musicians adopted these new styles not only to listen to and enjoy, but to play and have the chance to make a living.

Tenorio later joined the Air Force, playing in a band when he was stationed in Guam in the early 1950's. It was around this time when a new era of Chamorro music emerged. Tenorio discussed how no one recorded music at the time with the intent to sell record and how the availability of such instruments and devices were not accessible to the musicians he was familiar with.

The 1960's was a time where Chamorro musicians began making songs in Chamorro. Although Chamorro was mostly spoken in the home, musicians barely two decades

after the war, began incorporating Chamorro into all of the new genres introduced to the island.

Singing in Chamorro during these years took on the added purpose of cultural activism which is best represented in Jesus Charfauros' "Munga Yo' Ma'Fino Engles" (Don't Speak to Me in English) which was performed by popular local recording artist Johnny Sablan. It was not until 1968 when the Chamorro music recording industry really began with the release of Johnny Sablan's *Dalai Nene,* the first Chamorro LP. Sablan's early albums were in many cases exercises in historical and cultural preservation since he made an effort to revive songs from pre-war Guam and put them on record.

Neo-traditional Chamorro Music

The late 1960's proved a time where many Chamorro artists emerged and began recording songs in Chamorro. The music played was no longer in English and wasn't strictly played for an opportunity to make money, but to reflect on the sentiments of the people. "During the 1980s lowered production cost for cassette-tape recordings resulted in a dramatic increase in the production of Chamorro music. Stars of the 1980s included J.D. Crutch, Gus and Doll, Alexandro Sablan, The Guam Sirenas, Frank Magellan Santos and K.C. DeLeon Guerrero. Since that time many new artists have emerged," according to Clement. The 1980's also saw the emergence of re-created traditional Chamorro dancing, which was often incorporated into the songs written at the time.

Cultural Constructivism argues that culture shapes the reality of a people, institution, government, etc. Cultural Constructivism also argues that studying culture provides the following benefits: Culture frames the context in which politics occurs, culture links individuals and collective identities, culture defines group boundaries and organizes action within and between them, culture provides a framework for interpreting the actions and motives of others, and culture provides resources for political organization and mobilization. The developments following the post-WWII period led to the emergence of pre-war Chamorro culture, evident in the music produced. The production of music was the result of the introduction of recording devices and the opportunities created through the American colonial period.

What also contributed to these growing sentiments was the emergence of Chamorros willing to speak out against land taking by the US.

Land acquisitions displaced more than 11,000 Chamorros, almost half of the indigenous population a heart-rending experience following their liberation from wartime trauma. New military installations in Guam included a Strategic Air Command base, which supported US forces in the Korean War and hosted B-52 bombers that flew thousands of missions in the Vietnam War; a naval base which home ported Polaris nuclear missile submarines and nuclear powered attack submarines in the era of "Mutually Assured Destruction" and a Naval Air Station and top-secret Naval Facility which tracked Soviet naval activity in the Pacific.

Chamorros learned more about self-determination and an idea of how the people felt about the political status was determined in a plebiscite. Frank Quimby wrote, "Reflecting growing public awareness of the UN mandated "self-determination" process sweeping Micronesia and continued concern with the loss of Chamorro culture and primacy, Guam leaders established a Commission on Self-Determination, under the direction of the Governor, to supplant the previous commissions on political status, which had been under the control of the Guam Legislature. The change in terminology and organization structure reflected a growing assertiveness regarding the island's agenda for negotiations."

The late 1980's saw a period where The Commonwealth Act was drafted and worked on by various members of the Government of Guam, Chamorro grassroots groups, and other Chamorros in an attempt for it to be recognized by the US. Governor Ricky Bordallo blamed the "obduracy" of the US for the act never passing US Congress.

The type of music produced and played during this era reflects the open emergence of a Chamorro identity, with its acceptance of colonization. "…for Chamorro culture itself comes and goes with the ebb and flow of colonial currents." according to Dr. Vince Diaz.

Music in Guam Today

A 2010 estimation of the percentage of ethnic Chamorros in Guam totaled to just 37.3%[2]. The post-WWII reconstruction period evidently showed the displacement of the indigenous population, and the growth of a non-indigenous population as a result of many non-American migrants, particularly from East Asian countries, and countries

[2] CIA: World Fact Book https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gq.html

with a Compact of Free Association with the US. The low percentage of indigenous people combined with some assimilation of other ethnic groups resulted in a music scene that cannot entirely be described as a "Chamorro" music scene, but rather a "Guamanian" one, for lack of better word.

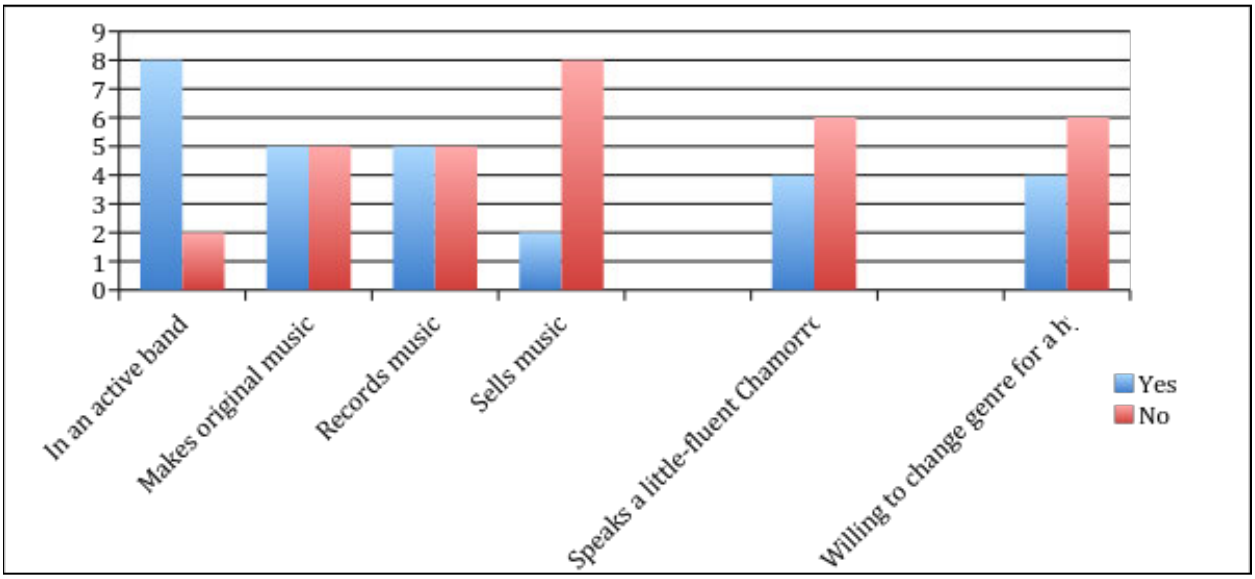
The questions regarding ethnicity, culture, and what constitutes a "Chamorro" have increased well as impact decisions made in regards to self-determination. Since it is hard to cohesively say what encompasses "Guam culture," disregarding what it accepted as indigenous Chamorro culture, it is also difficult to describe the music scene. There is currently no significant political issue that requires the unity of the people, such as a huge self-determination movement, or social issues big enough that there is a unifying factor that could result in music having one modern "identity" or theme. There are several arguments in favor of this happening. One is a Primordialist argument that argues that the ethnically indigenous Chamorro people do not want to share an identity with the immigrants, even those who have made Guam their home for generations. These clashes result in not necessarily an ethnic conflict, but a stagnated attempt at any self-determination movement, or even a significant emergence of modern ethnic Chamorro music.

A survey was conducted with Guam musicians regarding their involvement in the music scene, as well as their opinions on it and identity. The following questions were asked:

- Age, Genres you play
- Are/were you in an active band/acted as a solo artist within the past 4 years (e.g. You have regular gigs, regularly practice to perform, etc.)?
- Does your band make original music?
- Has your band/have you ever recorded music?, If you answered "yes" in the previous question, has your band/have you recorded music with the intent of producing records to sell?
- If you answered "no," please choose one of the following reasons why: Cost of production, Risk of not profiting, Risk of piracy, No interest, All of the above, Other
- Do you speak Chamorro (regardless of ethnicity and indicate if you are not ethnically Chamorro)?
- How important is it to you that songs are written in Chamorro, or are about issues in Guam/Guam culture are written?

- Rate from 1-5 (1 being "least important" and 5 being "most important"), If there was one "Guamanian" or "Chamorro" identity encompassing music, would you be willing to adopt that style/genre if it was not already a style/genre you played?

The questions were asked to musicians that currently have gigs (Guam's standard of being considered an "active musician") that play different genres to gain their insights to the reality of the music scene in Guam today. Many people who were approached to take the survey refused or were apprehensive, so the results definitely do not reflect the entire music scene in Guam, nor would any survey or similar methodology. One can assume the topic was sensitive for musicians, uninteresting, or there was no benefit to take it. The results, however, were diverse, though there were some common themes that will be addressed. Perhaps the survey was subjective since the amount of musicians surveyed only makes a small fraction of the existing number of musicians in Guam.



The people surveyed spanned in age from 21-38 years old. The various types of genres of the surveyed musicians include: Rock, jazz, blues, country, folk, acoustic, reggae, hip hop, pop, and R&B. Although only two of the people interviewed were fluent, many were able to speak some Chamorro. The last question regarding a hypothetical music identity based on culture received mixed responses. Some musicians believe it is wrong to try to embrace something they were not into, while less than half were very interested in that hypothetical identity. More than half of the people surveyed aspire to one day be fluent in Chamorro and write songs in Chamorro, most of which with their own genres of choice. The survey was anonymous.

A fear of piracy is another concern of today's musicians, and serves as another deterrent to not recording and selling music. Rational Choice theory explains the reality of today, focusing on the individual actor's decisions. The outcomes are "the aggregate of individual choices". This usually entails economic or other incentives that certain actions would result in. Rational Choice Theory uses the Exponential Value of Joining a Movement/Making a Decision= (Value of Success) x (Probability of Success) Fixed Cost (Munk). The lack of a solid identity amongst all people living in Guam, at least US citizens, results in a lack of a strong unified music scene, and even a smaller amount of musicians recording music to sell.

Music in Guam and Identity Compared

"The 'decolonization of the Chamoru mind' is a fitting term to apply to the processional steps involving identity crises, cultural resistance and subsequent cultural re-articulation; the last being concerned with artistic production." according to Dr. Judy Flores. The three eras faced very different political, economic, and social circumstances and events that shaped their realities and different music scenes.

The Post-WWII era faced intense American colonization efforts after a few years of Japanese occupation. This era of rebuilding offered a music scene colored by new genres and providing an opportunity for people to play and experience music. The circumstances at the time prevented any sort of immediate indigenous Chamorro cultural emergence or music scene.

The Neo-traditional era allowed for some time to pass following WWII. The political and economic developments made during this time allowed for the musicians in this period to create and play music that encompassed the culture they practiced at home. The political and social climate at the time also contributed to this music scene.

Today's era is the result of many new people moving to Guam, and lack of a significant enough factor to eliminate conflict, resulting in a lack of a single identity. It is difficult to reach a thorough consensus on the indigenous Chamorro culture, as it is with just a "Guam culture". This lack of a unique Guam identity, which differs from the two aforementioned eras, results in various perspectives from today's musicians. The lack of economic investment and opportunities to record music to sell, is one of the main contributing factors as to why musicians are not recording their music. There is an indication, as seen in the Muna Brothers' film, *Talent Town,* that it is possible for there to be a "Guam identity" and a call for Guam talent to be expressed. Identity and

culture compliment each other, but today's Guam does not have a one unified understanding of what encompasses identity and culture. However, but there is still a sizable number of people who realize this reality, and want to change it.

The political, economic, social, and other realities in Guam today, are a result of its longstanding colonial history, globalization, and other events. Different people have different ideas of how to best deal with these realities, but the issues with music and identity in Guam, is just one example of the bigger issues with Guam and its political issues, especially in unifying to accomplish its self-determination.

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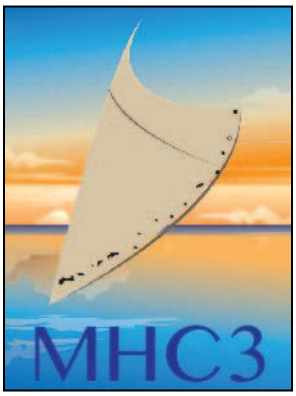

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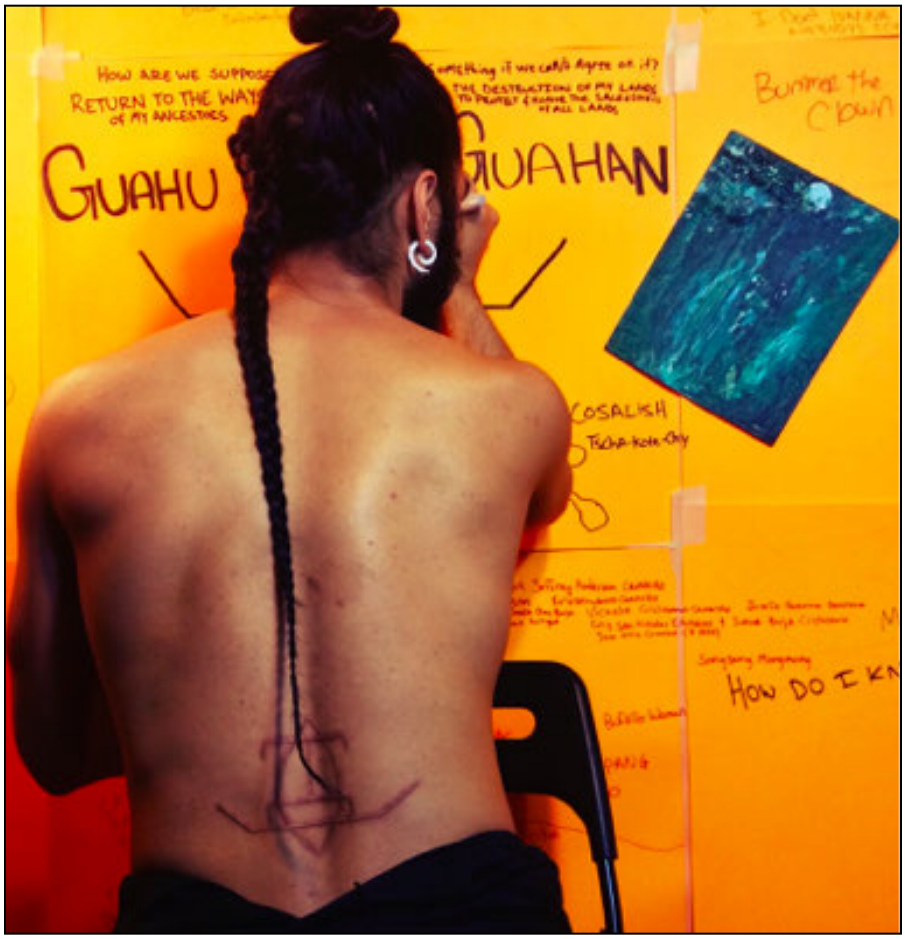
Fakmåta i Hinasson Håya

Awakening the Indigenous Mind: Sound Writing on the Acoustemologies of Hinasson Håya in Guåhu Guåhan and the Sound Potential of Contemporary Chamoru Performance Ritual

By Dåkot-ta Alcantara-Camacho

Prepared for the 3rd Marianas History Conference and Guampedia



Researched and written in Lenapehoking (New York City), Coast Salish and Duwamish Territory (Seattle, WA), Ojibwe and Ho-Chunk Territory (Madison, WI), Ohlone Territory (Bay Area, California), and Cahuilla Territory (Riverside, California)

hinasso /Hēnásoo/

1. **think**
2. **perform**
3. **imagine**

> *The fire crackles as still fresh but dried cedar sings. I listen beyond the song to become the song and let the song become me. Turkey calls from the altar on the other side of the room, a reminder I am praying, breathing, existing in Lenapehoking. The land of the Lenape. I've made an altar to my right, a place of existence for beings being themselves. I don't know what to say. Yet, the not knowing does not produce judgment's silence. Rather, I propel into the present pressed by the desire to let the fire of breathe ignite melody and a series of sounds making meaning dance with the air.*

Knowledge is knowledge, no matter how you get there, or what path you take, wisdom is wisdom. As long as you get to the place you're going, does it matter how you arrive? If we take the metaphor concretely, airplane or horse carriage, we see right away that method does in fact impact the environment. And thus, I have been incredibly weary of giving any credit to theorizing my own performance work through western epistemologies. Yet, I do believe there are those among us who wish to arrive at the same place, a peaceful, balanced, and harmonious world. I honor my genealogy, which in this paper I term *hinasson håya.* In an effort not to foreclose one possibility for the other, I map the methodological convergence of hinasson håya and acoustemology in Guåhu Guåhan through intuitively informed sound writing."Throughout the creative process, I applied the philosophical concept hinasson håya to a framework of acoustemology to develop a working methodology for performing sound acoustemology. In this paper, I will discuss the theoretical and practical uses of sound in performing performative sovereignty, and how listening to sound and soundly listening to ourselves and to others activates inafa'maolek essential to the perpetuity of indigenous sovereignty.

[[
The other day I saw a friend of European descent who I know from our capoeira school comment about my work, "That's so good to hear you're doing that, because so much has been taken away from indigenous people." She is unaware of how her words have made me into a mirror; I'd say we identify as indigenous because despite displacement and everything else we haven't forgotten that we are just like anyone else: from a particular place. We just remember what that place is.

indigenous noun. a person who remembers they are from a place]]

FANEKUNGOK GI HAYA | LISTENING FROM WITHIN LAND

Indigenous, meaning literally, originating in a particular place, has according to a 'use over time' search in Google had a sharp spike in use since 1985, almost doubling in use in the Google Books database. And while, indigenous, although also reserved for flora and fauna, has mostly come to define the populations of people affected by colonialism in particular ways, we are all from a particular place, right? Of course, being 'from' a place can be a complicated statement/question/thought (or whatever it is) considering the geopolitics of the contemporary era, and a history of violent colonialism reverberating throughout the world in each particular place with particular circumstance. As academics, we contend with this question as we decide "whose belly-button we will research, someone else's or our own?" (Kapchan, reference from in- class Lecture)

I have always wanted to deepen my understanding of my own language, down to the meaning of each syllable. I know sound carries a vibration, and such a vibration causes the cochlea to dance inside the body where the organ converts the dance into electric impulses the brain interprets.[1] What happens when the brain no longer 'knows' the dance of particular cochlear vibrations, such as languages foreign to the listener? Knowing, performing, and listening to non-rational knowledge like indigenous lands and peoples has been feminized, suppressed, and discounted. As Kate van Orden suggests, dance music has been linked by Renaissance philosophers to the arousal of immoral conduct, such as eroticism.

This knowing through the dance of the senses, could be considered a form of erotic knowledge "an assertion of the life-force of women; of that creative energy empowered, the knowledge and use of which we are now reclaiming in our language, our history, our dancing, our loving, our work, our lives" (Lorde 1984). The links between femininity and the spiritual realm are long recognized, whereas in most indigenous societies the earth is considered the earth mother, and see disconnection from our mother is seen as the root cause of climate change, nuclear and chemical weapon proliferation, and violence. The reclamation of the erotic as a source of knowledge has been taken up by indigenous peoples, particularly contemporary

[1] This understanding of the working of the ear came from the watching *Auditory Transduction* a National Science Foundation award winning 3-D animation shot film developed by medical illustrator Brandon Pletsch. The video has been posted with permission from Mr. Pletsch to Youtube at the following link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=46aNGGNPm7s

indigenous dance and more broadly performance work which draws upon traditional spiritual teachings, protocols, and knowledges.

Following Kapchan, I argue Guåhu Guåhan sits within this genre of contemporary indigenous performances and by performing Matao acoustemologies creates a space in which "listening is an active conduit for the social transmission and transformation of affect," which can go beyond meaning, activating hinasson håya, the indigenous mind (Kapchan forthcoming). An audience member at the University of Wisconsin-Madison premiere remarked that she felt like a newcomer to a ceremony, and that she didn't understand the language I was speaking, but she felt like she did not need to. When I performed the piece in Ohlone land, a professor of dance commented that he felt the movement between genres (of listening my addition) was seamless and while I moved between poetry, dance, and rap, it all felt like one language of ritual. What about the performance created the possibility to engage in meaning beyond the text?

GUÅ, GUÅHU, AND GUÅHAN | BEING, MY BEING, AND THE PLACE OF EXISTENCE

Guåhu Guåhan began as an exploration of the infinite potential. In the early stages of the development, I conducted solo rehearsals exploring performing the show completely in the Chamorro language. Sometimes I would invite friends and family to experience the rehearsal, and other times I would work solo. I began each rehearsal by making an altar to materially explore the concept of the place of existence. I then made a prayer and an offering of medicines. I would then turn attention to the breathe, letting slow and quiet breaths become longer, louder, and more pronounced. Sometimes words naturally formed from the breath, other times I would invoke sounds from creation stories, chants, or be called to explore the sounds of the title, Guåhu Guåhan. As each method evolved, I would play with syllables mixing and matching the sounds with words prefixes, suffixes, and infixes I am familiar with. This mixing and matching of sounds created a form of "knowing through relations" in which each duplication and reduplication of the sound was an experiment testing the feelings and knowing generated by the sounds in relation to one another. In the figure below, the following idea was explored through sound vocalization and body movement; Guå, meaning existence and the root word of both words Guåhu and Guåhan, can become two different words with distinct meaning, yet conjoining the words one right after the other highlights the disputable difference. Guåhu, literally means my existence though it's often defined as, 'I am the one who," thus to say Guåhu Guåhan, could be expressed as my being is Guåhan. The acoustemological practice

helped generate or rather support this intuitive knowing and remains central to my work as a Matao performance artist, cultural worker, and language teacher. This method of experimentation I would suggest is a hinasson håya methodology for Chamorro language learning which "insists that one does not simply "acquire" knowledge" about the language, "but rather, that one knows through an ongoing cumulative and interactive process of participation and reflection" (Feld 2015). Though traditional-style and cultural dance choreographies are popular in our communities, methodologies for language learning focused on creating spaces to exercise and practice intuitive knowing of the language itself have yet to become mainstream in *fino' håya*[2] language learning communities. Even now reflecting on the experiment above, one could ask questions about the relationship between bodily gestures and listening, and if gestures themselves signal support, or detract from this genre of listening. And thus, from this experiment and series of possible questions, one could further develop choreographic strategies which engage the material body in relation to the sound body as a method of knowing. The post-experiment/post-rehearsal documentation would adequately be described as a genre of sound writing, following Kapchan, writing guå as "resonating through bodies, sentient and non" (Kapchan forthcoming). This relational resonance between human bodies, bodies of water, land bodies etc., also central to Feld's theorization of acoustemology, activates inafa'maolek, interconnectedness and the teaching that all life is sacred, perhaps the most central hinasson håya.

"then i start playing with my toes in realizing i share my ancestor bones and my ancestors bones inside of me and so i start smacking my bones looking for and making sounds with my bones i knock my head a couple of times and laugh then start asking questions and playing with words
gua (holding hands outs)
guagua (like basket)
guaha (justis)
guaHU (points to self)
HU hu hu
IYAHUUUUUUUuu
points sky
upward and back down
AN (touches ground)
AN-HU
AN-AN-AN-AN-hu
TA (motion outward for all of us)
TA-AN-HU
TANO'
GUA hold hand out
AN (touches ground)
Gua hold hand out
HU holds self"
-excerpt from rehearsal journal

[2] Fino' Håya is interchangeable for Chamoru language and literally translates as native language

> *Places speak. I know because I have heard them, or rather heard a place calling to me, and have heard this place for quite some time. I became conscious of the place after I became conscious of the sound. I found a companion in the imagined silence and let the moment take form on the lips of invisible visitors, beings that never left, but became felt again. And, because of this, I felt connected to whoever they are, to whoever I was, to whoever I am. I never wanted to keep this experience to myself, and have always wanted to share this knowing of the unheard, the unseen, the unknown. I believe in magic because I feel it, hear it, know it with my own words.*

As a Matao performing artist, born and raised in Coast Salish Territory (colonial name Washington State) living and studying in Lenapehoking (colonial name New York City) I wish to invoke Guåhan in the metaphorical sense rather than the physically specific place, Guåhan, the place in the ocean, the land once named by Pontan, the first navigator to land upon it's shore. As such, I view myself and my epistemology *hinasson håya* as my ancestors would traveling via canoe. As a Pacific navigator I would view the canoe "to be stationary and the islands to move towards and past" as the 'audience' imagines and remembers their own homelands (Ward and Webb 1973). During the performance, I arrive on stage chanting as my navigating ancestors would chant for safe travels acknowledging the ancestors (of the land/sea), and seeking support for the journey. Traditional navigation relies fundamentally on listening to histories of those before us who have sailed the oceans, and learning to sense the position of the canoe within the dynamic environmental changes of star positions, currents, winds, animal migrations and constant motion. Traditional navigation requires highly skilled listening acts because, "in the face of this rigorous test of nature, all that a navigator could rely upon is "faith in the words" of one's father or grandfather or teacher. It is in this sense that land and sea, and mobility, and all staked in it, are fundamentally discursive and narratological. Thus, indigeneity=time/space/self/ narrative (or story)" (Diaz 2011). From an oceanic perspective, story and narrative live at the root of indigeneity. Freedom of movement through the ocean means the continuity of interdependent trade networks, in which spiritual relationships are maintained through sharing ritual, knowledge, and songs which ensure indigenous sovereignty. By activating *hinasson håya*, Guåhu Guåhan performs performative sovereignty: acknowledging, citing, and re-iterating relational networks which ensure balance between relations. Although performed in the continent of the so-called United States my work takes a cue from Epeli Hau'ofa's now cannonical analytic; the ocean does not

divide us, it connects us; we are not islands in the sea, we are a sea of islands, even here in Turtle Island (Hau'ofa 2008).[3]

So, how does listening to hinasson håya, an epistemology of the land, relate to oceanic navigation? Navigating tools and technologies fundamentally rely on human's relationship to the land. Many canoe-making people require particular ceremonies around the construction of the canoes. Every being, everything has a life force. Natural materials come from the earth, and each culture has their own set of ritual practices to ensure the process maintains inafa'maolek.

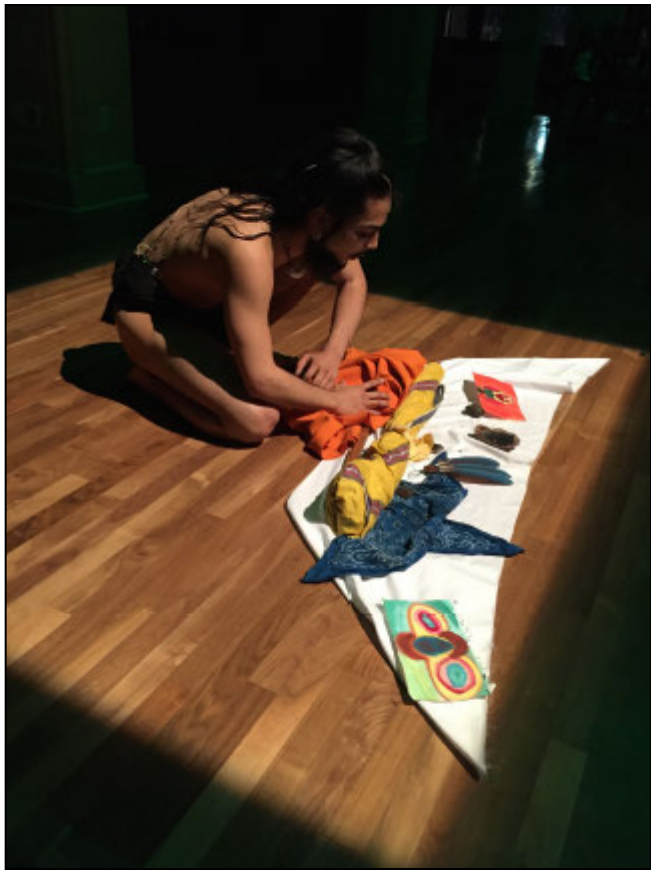


Photo: Guåhu Guåhan performed in Cahuilla Land at Indigenous Choreographers at Riverside May 2015. Photo taken by Jacqueline Shea Murphy.

Particularly in Oceania, the land provides materials for tools required to learn navigation such as star charts. Additionally, in Carolinian tradition of seafaring, navigators use the concept of *pookof* to determine the relationship between the canoe and particular islands (Diaz 2011). Pookof expands the notion of the land below the sea and relates the presence of animal and plant species endemic to particular islands, often present in chants sung as one sails through sea, as a way to listen for the presence of the island itself. According to an elder of the Yakima tribe, a nation near the desert area of so-called Washington State, "A young man would have to fast and meditate in the wilderness for many days. He was taught to sing a certain song as he walked through the woods, asking a tree to bless him with the ownership of a canoe. If the prayers of the young man were answered, a tree would choose him to be a canoe owner and it would sing back to him" (Deloria 1977). Listening to the land and

[3] Turtle Island is an Annishinabeg name for the land which references their creation story where the animals surviving the flood, plant mud from muskrats paw on the Turtles back which spreads far and wide to become the territory of the Annishinabeg. Although creation stories differ across the so-called "US," the reference might be even stronger as it connects the "Pacific Islands" to the "East Coast" mapping the world co-habitating one ocean and one love.

listening for the songs specific beings make, especially in situations in which one wishes to establish a relationship between beings, demonstrates how hinasson håya functions as an acoustemology. Further, hinasson håya demonstrates the practice of inafa'maolek through sounding and listening. The example of the cedar tree, and the navigator listening for the island through the chanting as chart of the sea shows how hinasson håya works as "both a routine condition of dwelling and one that produces consciousness of modes of acoustic attending, of ways of listening for and resounding to presence" (Feld "Acoustemology"). Further, developing hinasson håya as a "social field of listening" in which beings listen to each other completely reconfigures Bourdieu's analysis of the *habitus*, by questioning the construction of a social body distinct from environment and the notion that the environment does not construct the social body (Bourdieu 1977). Thus, listening to the social body as a canoe listening to the currents of migration, especially ones own genealogical migration, settler, arrivant, or otherwise, provides a methodology for reconfiguring a social field of listening capable of reciprocating indigenous welcome songs.[4] Or at the very least, wayfinding ontologies of indigenous subjectivity could at least help people find their way back to the songs we could sing.

[[
I'd say we identify as indigenous because despite displacement and everything else] we haven't forgotten that we are just like anyone else… We just remember what place we're from.

indigenous noun. a person who remembers [they are from a place]]

LÅLAI | CHANT

Can a song ever stop being sung? Can we forget the sounds of our ancestors? How do you hear the body's song when the flesh disappears? Guåhu Guåhan proposes an acoustemological methodology to answer these questions. Often, ancestors are metaphorized and considered ephemeral rather than thought of concretely in the material sense. In Guåhan, we bury our ancestors below our homes, and thus the land is literally composed of our ancestors bones. Our bodies are literally composed of the earth we consume from the air we breathe to the water we drink to the food we digest. When we no longer situate ourselves within the homelands of our ancestors, but rather in a diaspora mapped within the sonic field of listening of another sound body, how then do we listen to home? And if, "listening is an active conduit for the social

[4] I draw the concept of Arrivant from Jodi Byrd's masterful work *Transite of Empir*.

transmission and transformation of affect," what responsibility do we take for the effect of the affect of the home we are listening for? Guåhu Guåhan engages hip hop music alongside chant and spoken word poetry to invoke a performance ritual, and in previous performances almost no local indigenous language has been performed with the minor exception of naming local tribes or traditional names of the territory when known. Guåhu Guåhan attempts to offer a sound to the sound body that does not colonize even as the sounds create a "place through the channeling of vibration and the appropriation of space," nor does Guåhu Guåhan appropriate sounds particular to that place, such as invoking sounds of native birds (Kapchan forthcoming). Rather Guåhu Guåhan performs the role of the navigator upon the shores of a foreign land, singing a song in a new language honoring the ancestors of the land, and every ancestor that guided them there.

Photo: Guåhu Guåhan performed in Cahuilla Land at Indigenous Choreographers at Riverside May 2015. Photo taken by Jack Gray.

Guåhu Guåhan uses music to blow the colonial "place apart, dissipating energy, unraveling lines of tension and force and traveling faster than any other medium" performatively materializing relationships between indigenous nations, a performative sovereignty (Kapchan forthcoming). I contend that the sounds of Guåhu Guåhan perform the function of the bird song in the Bosavi forest; they activate "communications from dead to living, as materializations reflecting absence in and through reverberation. They are the voice of memory and the resonance of ancestry" (Feld 2015). The sounds of Guåhu Guåhan were developed through several deployments of hinasson håya and acoustemological research activations. One in particular formulated the melodies of the chants sung at the beginning of the show. While visiting Duwamish Territory, I organized a ceremonial gathered with a couple of other Chamorro people. Like the rehearsals for Guåhu

Guåhan, if we can even call them rehearsals anymore, the three of us made an altar *a place of existence* and offerings to the spirits. One friend brought tobacco as a way of honoring the people of the land we were praying on. Another friend brought in sticks gathering outside of the Daybreak Star Cultural Center for Urban Indians, during Lukao Fuha, an annual Chamorro New Year's ceremony held in Duwamish Territory. Both of these gestures derive from listening acts which now perform interconnection through ritual. As a closing prayer to our ceremony, we played a recording of the sound of birds from our island of Guåhan as the three of us sang with the birds, of the birds, and for the birds. We explored dynamic shifts, melodies, harmonies, rhythms, weaving each of our voices with the recording for such a long time we forgot that we recorded ourselves. Rather than listening to this performance as colonizing the space to make it our own, we sang to our birds as a way of honoring the presence of our acoustemology in another people's land and offered our songs as a way of forming relationship to local ancestral legacies. This performance methodology works as a possible avenue to explore ancestral connections across genealogies. Rather than building a Guåhan over Coast Salish territory, we used sound as a method of constituting our already present interconnection.

We chose to perform listening acts with the birds as a way of honoring the birds of our island, and our ancient connection to them as our ancestors. For the Bosavi, birds are "[…] *ane mama*, meaning "gone reflections" or "gone reverberations." Birds are absences turned into presence, and a presence that always makes absence audible and visible. Birds are what humans become by achieving death" (Feld 2015). Guåhan is an interesting case study precisely because humans have achieved the near complete extirpation of the native birds. If birds are absences turned into presence, is the absence of birds the presence of a future human absence? As demonstrated in a recent study conducted by five biologists, "[b]irds provide an important ecosystem service when they move seeds from native to degraded forest. In the Marianas, the intact karst forest harbours greater tree species diversity than degraded forest, including many species of cultural importance, and provides habitat for wildlife" and in particular "avian frugivores act as critical links between intact karst forest and degraded forest in the Mariana Islands" (Caves, Jennings, HilleRisLambers, Tewksbury, Rogers 2013). Thus, the decimation of bird species, threatens the survival of the local environment, turning critical cultural practices such as food and traditional medicine gathering into gone reverberations themselves. The decimation of our local food systems needs to be addressed to perpetuate the possibility of Guåhan the physical place sustaining the livelihood of her people. Following the Bosavi, Matao could develop an acoustemological strategy for ecological restoration by tapping into *hinasson håya* to

"create a poetry that imagines how birds feel and speak as absented presences and present absences. [People] become like birds by sounding the emotion of absence into newborn presence" (Feld 2015). We would hope that the performance themselves could conjure a resurgence of indigenous birds and forests. It certainly could be so. The night after premiering Guåhu Guåhan at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, I heard reports of strange sightings of large native birds flying over the island. In the final scene of Guåhu Guåhan, I become like the bird in body. The chant I sing informs my body movements, long arms transforming into wings and back into hands, mapping a continuous contour between my body and that of the birds. This map materially reconstitutes the relationship between the bird song, a phenomena once considered lost in Guåhan, and my body, also once considered lost or, at least, not quite (physically) in Guåhan. After the performance, me and my choreographic director, Jack Gray went to the Eagle Mound atop a hill overlooking Lake Mendota. Unfortunately, the campus began building over the mound. Yet, the spirit of the place lives on. When Jack and I arrived we said a prayer under the medicine tree and laid down to look at the sky. When we got up we found a golden feather. As a way to sound our reciprocity for the gift, we offered a dance on the mound for the eagles, to let the ancestors of this place know we dance to bring all of our forests birds back, from our lands to Ojibwe and Ho-Chunk land. As we finished our dance, one large golden eagle flew into the tree above. We fell to the ground in wonder. The eagle flew across our line of sight behind us to another tree, dancing in the wind as s/he descended. Just then another golden eagle flew into the tree playfully landing on the other eagles head. We sang a gratitude song from Turtle Island, and one in each of our languages as they flew off into the sky.

GUÅHU GUÅHAN | I AM THE PLACE OF EXISTENCE

The name of the show is performative, citing the tenets of hinasson håya to declare not that I carry home on my back, as Gloria Anzaldua has suggested but rather, my being is home and my place of existence is my being. The place of existence can be a physical home/land, of which genealogies descend or with the identification of a birth place, recognizing the unique sound body which exists there. In either formulation, the body of the being itself must be recognized as the source of sound and as a source of sound knowledge. In this country in particular, the indigenous sound body exists very much alive despite the popular culture of non-recognition. The environment itself constructs the sound body, yet human beings choose or choose not to listen. Listening to the land and tapping into *hinasson håya* supports indigenous sovereignty by recognizing the present interconnectedness between us all. By employing *hinasson*

håya to develop a performance ritual, Guåhu Guåhan takes acoustemology as a method to soundly reciprocate indigenous sovereignty practices which might rely on chanting or singing to welcome visitors. Hinasson håya and acoustemology offer insights into how we might dignify every being, every body, every sound body in our listening acts. As we perform our daily lives, the way we listen and what we listen to shapes the social fields of listening and therefore demands our full attentiveness not just what we're saying, but what and how we listen. Further, beyond listening outward, listening inward, particularly to the stories in the body and to the ancestral DNA could develop reciprocal relationships with the land, honoring the lands sound knowledge by honoring one's own. Additionally, acoustemology is a vehicle for understanding subjectivity constantly in motion, much like sound, navigating the sound waves to our ears riding upon the most appropriate currents. And, such a model of subjectivity potentially unlocks sound knowledge as a vehicle to activate *hinasson håya* the indigenous mind.

Performance of Guåhu Guåhan in Lenapehoking at A/P/A Institute New York University. Photo Taken by Roldy Aguero Ablao

Guåhu Guåhan as a performance practice re-materializes the sound body by first changing relationship to the self which then reverberates outwards. Such contemporary indigenous performance work re-formulates the position of the settler/arrivant-subject and locates agency within the way we listen and the way we sound. Guåhu Guåhan successfully brought audiences of humans, birds, and ancestors into

relationship with one another by relying on *hinasson håya* as a framework of necessary possibility. Local issues wavering unresolved politically, such as the proposed construction of energy pipelines across the so-called US, the importation of coal and oil tankers into Coast Salish Territory, the theft of Apache/ Diné lands for mining operations, the thirty-meter telescope on Mauna Awakea, the destruction of Winnimum Wintu ceremonial grounds, the privatization of water and the ensuing drought in California, point to the necessity for devising performative solutions. Guåhu Guåhan works as a sound model activating sound knowledge, acoustemological research methods, locally and trans- locally responsive performances, and the revitalization of indigenous practices. Such a revitalization is crucial to the continuity of *hinasson håya* the indigenous mind. By 'tapping' into the sound body and getting into to 'touch' with ourselves, *hinasson håya* as a performance practice offers one method of transportation back to Guåhan the metaphorical place of existence. The proclamation Guåhu Guåhan I am the Place of Existence sounds off a dedication to the protection of the earth because all our bodies are one. All Life is Sacred. *Inafamaolek! Fakmåta i hinasson Håya!* May the indigenous mind be Awakened.

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Dåkot-ta Alcantara-Camacho, born and raised in Washington State, is of Chamoru (Songsong Tomhom Manggåffan Che' yan Songsong Mongmong Manggåffan Eggeng) and Ilokano (Vigan, Ilocos Sur, Philippines) descent. A graduate fellow at Tisch School of the Arts at New York University, and First Wave Hip Hop Scholar at University of Wisconsin-Madison, Alcantara-Camacho pursues creative forms of community mobilization igniting audiences with passionate connection to indigenous issues. Co-founder of ARKiology Edutainment in 2012, an international network of indigenous pacific creatives, Dåkot-ta has produced hip hop theater shows "Buried Beneath: Bombs and Låtte," music videos "Down for the Movement," released an album "All Life is Sacred" and activated Lukao Fuha, a traditional Chamoru ceremony revived after 400 years.

Trongkon Niyok A Symbol of Settlement, Survival, Sustainability and Self-Determination for the People of Guahan

By Moñeka De Oro
Prepared for the 3rd Marianas History Conference and Guampedia

On Guahan today, the local community has neglected the *niyok's* uses and a nasty invasive species, the rhino beetle, has threatened its survival. Using the multidisciplinary lens of cultural ecology and indigenous story telling, this article will first examine the role of *niyok* in the Chamorro peoples' initial settlement of the remote Western Pacific archipelago. There is a wide breadth of indigenous knowledge surrounding the innumerable uses of *niyok* that has enabled the survival and progress of Chamorro people. Celebrating this knowledge is the second goal of this research endeavor, which will also show how efforts to perpetuate our culture and sustain our resources are acts of self-determination. Much like what is needed to realize decolonization, protecting our vital resources requires an immense educational campaign and achievable action plans at the community level. The final goal of this article is to critique the current response to Guahan's rhino beetle infestation and to provide solutions that will protect the *niyok* for the island's future generations.

Figure 1. Photo from PDN article on Coconut trees getting the axe. Ypao beach Park in Tumon September 2013.

Introduction

A white sandy beach is lined with coconut trees swaying in the gentle trade winds. This picturesque scene is typical of any Pacific island in Micronesia. For thousands of years, coconut trees have provided island people with an assortment of goods, food and shelter, earning the title, "tree of life". Sadly, in September 2007 a biological pest was discovered in Guahan that threatens to eat the life out of this tree. The rhinoceros beetle or

Oryctes rhinoceros was first reported in the tourism center of Tumon. Hundreds of thousands of visitors flock to Tumon every year to enjoy that postcard island scene described above. Rhino beetles, as they are commonly known, basically eat coconut trees alive. Eight years after the initial discovery of this pest at two of Guam's most popular park's Ypao Beach and Asan Beach Park the abundant rows of tall coconut trees, which lined these beaches, were chewed to death by the rhino beetle, leaving government officials no choice but to cut them down.

Rhino beetles have been detected in all of Guam's villages and one local news report stated that the scarab could completely devastate the coconuts on Guam in as little as 30 years. It is a sad state of affairs if a resource that was vital in the settlement and survival of these islands by our ancestors is threatened. A call to action is necessary for every man, woman and child to protect the coconut so that it maybe enjoyed for generations to come.

On Guahan we do not need to look far to see the environmental, social and cultural benefits of decolonization. Our Micronesian brethren in the CNMI, FSM and Palau have all exercised this important human right. As a result, they have done much better at safeguarding their native languages and conserving their natural resources for the future. Americanization and militarization have ravaged Guahan since post WWII. The political capitol Hagåtña is unrecognizable to the *manåmko* who once lived there, and the tourism center of Tumon barely has any native Chamoru landowners left. Additionally unfortunate is that the millions of tourist who flock to Guahan rarely leave with goods or souvenirs made with native resources such as the *niyok* or crafted by native hands, even if the products are labeled "made in Guam".

"Land is our lifeblood. Land is our protector. Land is our mother."
- Frances Ona, King of Meekamui

The coconut tree is a sacred and powerful symbol for all island people. In Bougainville Island, in the Melanesian archipelago of the Solomons the *niyok* is attributed as the source of the successful uprising for independence from Papua New Guinea (PNG). Known as the "Coconut Revolution", the people of Bougainville used jungle guerrilla tactics to close down environmentally harmful mineral mines owned by Australian companies in the mid-to-late 1980s. A decade-long blockade enforced by the PNG government forced the people of Bougainville to return to the land. Years of armed violence and the lack of food and medicine led to the death of nearly 15,000 people by

1994. Gardening and farming became a necessity to sustain the people. The indigenous Bougainvilleans became innovative. In order to survive, they planted crops for food and medicine, and they reengineered cars and electric generators to run off of coconut oil and hydropower. The efforts of the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA) were coined to be "the first eco-revolution". Frances Ona was the leader of the BRA for several years until he died in 2005 and he renamed Bougainville Island to Meekamui which translates into "sacred". It is unlikely that the Chamorros will need to use armed force to exercise their political human right, however, there are many lessons on sustainability and self determination in the wider Pacific region (such as those from Meekamui) that we can draw inspiration from.

Culture is in essence the way we engage with our environment and with others. Hence in Western culture, where scientific thought is bred from, we engage with our surroundings in analytical and deductive manners. Science is driven by empirical data and evidence and seeks to understand processes. The scientific method which can often times disconnect people from the environment is celebrated and has become the standard in classrooms across Micronesian. Much work needs to be done to interject native ways of knowing back into our school systems. For many native and indigenous people, land is viewed as sacred. The connection people have to their environment is not emphasized enough in our modern western education. For first peoples the land, like Frances Ona stated, is holy and is something we rely on, connect with and revere. Instead of seeking to understand or profit from nature's forces, indigenous peoples honor them. Throughout the world, indigenous peoples have lost land and subsequently languages to outside influences and capitalistic pressures. For educators on Guahan in the Micronesian region, it is imperative that we teach our children about the sacredness of life, all that threaten it, and what can be done to protect it.

I Tinituhon In the Beginning The Initial Island Settlement

According to the Chamorro creation myth, the Marianas and the world were born from the supernatural powers of a brother and sister spirit Puntan/Pontan and Fu'una/Fona. This legend reflects deep meanings of the Chamorro society. It demonstrates the importance of the relationship between siblings in protecting the family and its land assets, and it also sets up the matrilineal system that was practiced. Master Chamorro Chanter, Leonard Z. Iriarte, used a simple linguistic analysis of "Pontan" which means old coconut. *Pontan* in Chamorro is the perfect phase in the coconut's life for transoceanic travel and propagation in a new land. In the Chamorro language Fo'na, the corrected linguistic derivative of Fu'una, translates to the "first".

Figure 2. depicts the sibling spirits looking over our people, with the niyok at the center as an offering from the sister spirit to sustain our people and give us life. It conveys the importance of the coconut tree, which has always been a valuable resource that provided food, shelter and sustenance.

In this analysis of the creation story, the coconut is an allegory of the supernatural spirits that the first settlers in the initial colonization revered. This deep symbolism embedded in the coconut tree and hidden in the myth showcases a perception that all peoples' existence is grounded in the natural world.

Some 3,000 to 4,000 years ago, intrepid deep sea voyagers explored and settled these Pacific islands. What drove them from their homes to the vast and open ocean is a mystery. Perhaps their environment was changing, making life difficult; maybe they were pushed out by conquering and competing forces; it could be that these brave people had the inherent urge to wander the world. A synthesis of all these explanations is the most compelling. On their sea faring vessels, the brave explorers brought tree crops such as coconut, breadfruit and bananas, pandanus, as well as a distinct pottery style. When people came here, why they came, what they brought and where exactly they came from has been of great academic interest as it has for all of the Pacific islands. Much of our understanding of the peopling of Marianas and greater Micronesia is based on the sciences and the humanities. Linguistic evidence suggests that Chamorros are Malayo-Polynesians from the Island Southeast Asia region.

In the text *Traditional Micronesian Societies*, the author pieces together and highlights inconsistencies and gaps in the archaeological and botanical records, and uses linguistic and cross-cultural social patterns to conjure our peoples' migration to Micronesia. Glenn Petersen denotes, "widespread movements from island to island accompanied by continuing contacts and connections among islands" lead to the development of different languages and cultures. There are many unique similarities seen throughout the Micronesian region. Our communities "reflect patterns of both divergence, caused by a degree of isolation, and convergence brought about by continued interactions". Islanders through out time have learned to live by the greatest ocean. The ocean has the power to connect and isolate us at once.

Most Pre-Latte settlements in the Marianas depict concentrated coastal settlements, "at the interface of the ocean and land which was the optimal location for easy access to the land for production of staples, and to the ocean for fish and other marine resources needed for protein, according to Vic April. Both the archaeological record and the Chamorro creation myth indicate that the people had to work together to settle and survive in the islands. Since the first brother and sister arrived to the island, the people developed a unique language and culture centered on values of reciprocity (*chenchu'le*), generosity (*geftao*), harmony and cooperation (*inafa'maolek*).

Niyok, Lemmai yan Famalao'an siha Survival and Progress in Micronesia

Although the focus of this article is the *niyok*, an equally ecologically and culturally significant tree for Micronesians is the *lemmai* or breadfruit. As the populations in the regions grew, new foodstuffs were needed to meet the demands of these subsistent and hunter gather societies. Approximately 2,600 years ago, the successful hybridization of the salt-intolerant unseeded breadfruit *A. altili* of Eastern Micronesia with the endemic salt tolerant seeded *A. Mariannensis* found in the Marianas and Palau brought immense cultural changes. The consequences of this productive food stuff are innumerable. Glenn Petersen infers that the "Breadfruit Revolution" coincided with a flourishing cultural period in the archaeological record

Figure 3. J.A. Pellion from Freycinet's Voyage this shows how coconut fibers were important in making ropes and nets for Chamorro fishing communities.

across the region. [1] With this new food stuff, societies grew, became more complex and stratified. A new architectural phenomenon occurred the latte stones in the Marianas emerged along with the stone pillars of Nan Madol in Pohnpei. Megalithic relics also appeared in Palau and Yap during this time period. By focusing on the dispersing and prevalence of the breadfruits in these subsistence island economies, we come to understand the innovation and the interconnectedness of Micronesian peoples.

Another factor that makes Micronesia a cohesive area is the prevalence of matrilineal social structures of modern peoples. The importance and centrality of women's lineages are fundamental to Micronesian life. Women are the vital links that maintain social organization within communities and connections to their clans in other islands. The attempts to trace matrilineal practices and origins and track its applications and expanse are fruitful. A Chuukese husband eloquently stated that his wife "is the outrigger to his canoe". Women in the Marianas today are at the forefront of both issues of environmental conservation and self-determination. These types of pre-historic and cultural similarities in our region also need to be highlighted in classrooms across the region. There is so much that is shared throughout time and space in this region that more educational resources about Micronesian history, culture and environment need to be developed to create a more cohesive political and economic unit. The more interdependent on trade of goods and services our islands are, the easier it will be for us build a more self reliant, sustainable and culturally relevant future. Guahan is seen as the cosmopolitan and economic center of Micronesian. Leaders must do more to reconnect and strengthen our ties to our island brethren throughout our oceanic region.

The Role of the Niyok in Decolonization

Decolonization can be seen as a spectrum of personal and community choices to be healthier and to strengthen our cultural identity in the face of hegemony. The *niyok* and many other plants have helped to heal and prevent illness in the Micronesian region for generations. Many changes have occurred both culturally and environmentally due to the impacts of colonization. Post World War II modernity has brought innumerable transformations to the diet and lifestyle of the Chamorro people. Today 90 percent of food is imported to the island of Guahan. Fishing, hunting and farming are no longer necessary for survival. Modern conveniences and the loss of

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[1] Petersen acknowledges that the "Breadfruit Revolution" analysis is a "simplification of a multitude of more complex processes". To that end this very analysis falls prey to the same aversions. However it does not make these assertions less relevant or significant.

land have disconnected the people from the environment. Many Chamorros on the island no longer have land to call their own. The federal and local government own about 50 percent of the island and Chamorro families only own less than 20 percent of the remaining real estate. Additionally, in regards to the land, there are many toxic sites from military waste that have also attributed to the high rates of cancer. According to the Pacific Island Health Officers Association, non-communicable diseases (NCDs), including obesity, cancer, cardiovascular disease, stroke, diabetes, depression, injury, and arthritis and gout are at epidemic levels for US Affiliated Pacific Islands. (Board Resolution #48-01, Declaration of Health Crisis in the Pacific 2012)

There are more dialysis treatment centers on the island than there are gyms and community gardens. Perpetuating native well being is essential to the healing of the land and of the people. It is preventative care. Returning to a more indigenous way of being is a long-term solution for sustainability of island resources and the health of our people. Celebrating the native knowledge surrounding our natural resources such as the *niyok* will undoubtedly nourish our bodies, minds and spirits. The following section looks at the *niyok's* historical significance and traditional uses that Chamorros can implore today for economic endeavors as well as cultural preservation.

The Tree of Life The Many Traditional Uses of the Niyok

Islanders have relied on the *niyok* since the moment they came to the islands. Every single part of the tree has a name and use. The knowledge held by the islanders was noted by Europeans explorers. Many of its uses were recorded by French explorer, Louis Claude de Freycinet during his 19th century expedition to the Marianas. The husk was important in making sennit cord or rope used in everything from fastening sails and outriggers to canoes, thatching roofs to huts and fishing nets. Coconut fiber rope has qualities that make it very strong and resistant to rotting, even in water. It may have been used in stringing shell jewelry made of *Spondylus* and turtle shell such as the *guinahan famagu'on* or children's wealth necklace. The leaves were woven into an assortment of baskets in different sizes and shapes serving a variety of functions including *katupat* (rice pouch), *hagug* (a large container for food transportation) *balabag (*medium sized container carried at the hip and used with a cover), *guagua'* (fishing basket), hats, *guafak* or floor mats and an array of other goods used daily. The wood from the trunk or *trongko'* can be used in construction of huts. The base of the leaves, or *hayak* were also important in transporting canoes from the land to the ocean as they were laid out on the sand and used as a ramp of sorts. The dried

coconut husk, *puñot* is used in composting materials and when it is burned, the smoke repels mosquitoes and other pests. The shells can also be used as fishing instruments, serving bowls or as cups. The spine of the leaves or *ha'iguas* can be collected and used to make a broom.

Acho' achuman is a noteworthy fishing technique using the coconut shell or *ha'iguas* and the meat or *sensen* is placed together with a chumming sinker tool usually made of smooth limestone rock known as the *poio* or *poyu'*. An example of the fishing tool was excavated at Asan Beach Memorial Park. One family in Luta/Rota is known to continue the practice of this fishing technique that requires a lot of time and patience. A fisherman or woman would essentially feed fish in a deep sea hole and slowly lure fish to shallower depths in the same location over a period of about a month or longer. The closer the fish got to the surface, the easier it was to catch them using a net. The aforementioned family in Rota can trace their *Acho' achuman* tools back nine generations ,and are very guarded about their fishing spots. (John S Castro Jr., personal interview, November 22, 2013)

The coconut meat is used in many dishes like *kelaguen* for flavor or it is used to make milk. *Alaguan*, an ancient dish, is still made today using coconut milk and rice that is often fed to the sick and young children. It is evident through historical documents and its extensive use by *Suruhanu/a* herbal healers that coconut has been very important. The milk can be used to make cream, butter and oil. Coconut oil has many nutritional and medicinal values. Simply rubbing warm coconut oil or *låñan niyok* is said to relieve someone afflicted with a mild stomach ache. *Manha,* or the meat and juice from the young green or

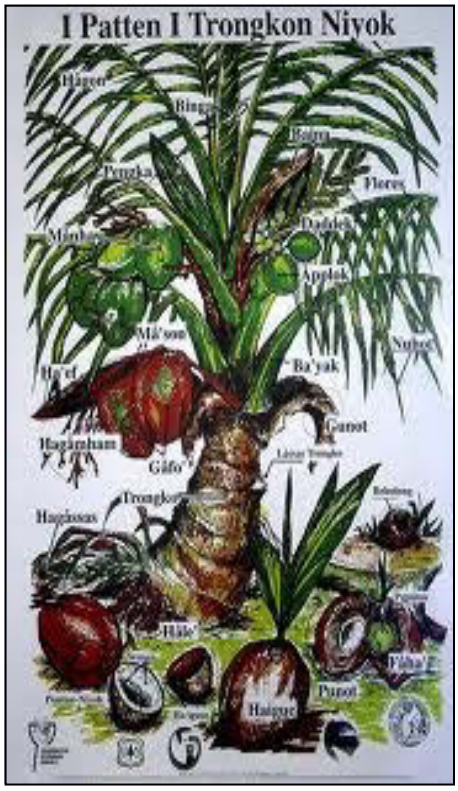

Figure 4. The Parts of the Coconut Tree poster resource created by the Chamoru Studies Division of the Guam Department of Education

Figure 5. Acho' achuman a chumming fishing tool that used coconut shell, meat and coconut sinnet.

orange coconut, also have many beneficial properties for health. The topical application has many skin benefits. Depending on how the oil is processed it is also a more nutritional agent in cooking as it is free of polysaturated transfat. The *hale'*, or roots of the orange species, treats diarrhea. The *dadek,* or premature baby *niyok,* can be used to treat respiratory ailments. *Tuba,* or fermented sap, is a digestive aid and helps to produce breast milk for nursing mothers. *Binaklen tuba,* or vinegar, can treat stings and the *fåhå,* or heart, promotes reproductive health. Another medicinal use of the coconut is using the charcoal from the burnt shell to alleviate toothaches. The shells are often used, too, in the mixing and administering of other herbal remedies. (Emilio Ayuyu personal interview, February 22, 2014)

Figure 6. A man in Saipan picking copra in the 1920's.

Early European colonizers set up copra industries throughout the Micronesian Islands. In the early 20th century, the German and the Japanese colonial powers in the Northern Marianas planted copra plantations as far north as Sarigan, Alamagan and Pagan. Copra plantations were found on Guahan in Inapsan, and Ritidian. In the last few months leading up to WWII when Japanese Imperial forces were most brutal, coconut trees became primary source of nourishment, when families were cut off from food rations. Japanese forces also used the trunks of coconuts for boobie traps in the landing beaches along the American landing beaches in Agat and Asan.

Throughout the course of people living in the Marianas, *niyok* has always been an important part of life on the island. However, today, coconut products such as oil and milk are imported and sold in stores, so the necessity for the new generations to understand how to use the resource is lacking. Traditional knowledge is still intact with the older generation and used by modern day Chamorros. Tapping into this wisdom is an essential task for cultural perpetuation. As a community, we must make commitments to use the resource before we lose it. The rhino beetle has been in Palau since WWII, but Palauans still rely on the coconut, so they manage their trees much better. Decolonization is learning and practicing the many uses of the *niyok* and ways to sustain the resource in the face of the rhino beetle epidemic. The *niyok* has the potential to bring about economic growth, which can help us to realize that we do not need any parent nation to sustain ourselves.

Exporting and marketing to visitors a Guahan brand of coconut oil, coconut sweet treats and products made from the juice, meat, leaves and shells need to be explored. Coconut is a super food and is incredibly trendy in the healthy and wholesome food market. Cars and generators can be reengineered to run off coconut oil, thus reducing our dependence on imported energy sources. The coconut and many other natural resources found in the Marianas should be explored and used to market. The less dependent we are on imported goods the less reliant we are on our colonizers. Decolonization occurs when the people practice self-reliance and are empowered not by the promise of profit and development but by sustainability and cooperation.

Figure 7. A Guahan made coconut oil product from a young entrepreneur.

Education, Eradication and Action Response to the Rhino Beetle and Self-Determination

"For Chamorus what knowledge is more valuable, the wisdom found above or below the neck?"
- Dr. Robert Underwood

Western education relies heavily on reading, writing and creating analysis. The academic process is limiting in that for the most part, it's a cerebral experience. In order to perpetuate traditional knowledge a shift of focused on lived experiences and useful innovation must be made. For the first time ever, the University of Guam offered a traditional weaving class in the Fall semester of 2014 as a part of the Chamoru Studies Program. It is not possible to learn about the *niyok* by just reading about it, it needs to be experienced. Learning can take place in many ways. In order to perpetuate the uses of the *niyok,* students must be prepared to get their hands dirty and get to know the *niyok* on a physical level. Lessons could be based on interacting with the *niyok* in some way, whether it be weaving leaves *tifok,* or husking the coconut *kacha',* or opening and grinding the coconut *kamyu'*, or *tika*, cooking oil, squeezing milk, and *tife' manha* or picking young coconuts. Actions such as these cultivate the students' abilities to sustain themselves and others. It is experiencing the resource with their whole body, using all their senses. In the same respect, self-determination

cannot be realized by asking our colonizers to give it to us. We must make a concerted effort to educate ourselves and consciously strengthen our Chamorro identity through practicing our traditions.

Figure 8. is a photo collage of the coconut trees at Asan Memorial Beach taken in the summer of 2013. Many of the trees have since been cut down and removed. The adult beetles bear holes into the crowns of coconut trees and feed on the sap.

The devastation of the *niyok* by the rhino beetle since 2007 is unfortunate and obvious. National Park Service's War in the Pacific National Historical Park in Asan is one example of the impacts of the scarab on the coconut trees.

This is what causes the distinctive v-shaped cuts in the leaves. Rhino beetles have four life stages: eggs, larvae, pupae and adults. The female rhino beetle lays her eggs in decaying logs and other organic matter. Only adults cause damage. However, it is very important to remove dead coconut trees and other organic material from yards and surrounding areas before adults develop. Rhino beetles have thrived on Guam as it has no predators on the island. There are concerns that it will begin attacking other trees such as the beetle nut and the breadfruit tree. According to Aubrey Moore, of the University of Guam Invasive Species Program, it is highly unlikely that Guam will ever eradicate the rhino beetle. At this point using funds to manage its existing populations and finding economic opportunities for the pest will be a more effective use of funding and personnel time.

A surge of energy from all the people of Guam in the form of community action programs is needed to ensure that these environmental pests are controlled and the *niyok* lives on. There are few community programs and efforts to combat the rhino beetle. The Agana Heights mayor Paul McDonald had some programs for collecting rhino beetle specimens in his village. Concerned citizens in the village of Inarajan are building and sharing bucket traps in order to address the pest. The University of Guam's Invasive Species Eradication Program spearheads the main government response. The program's employees are tasked in tracking, trapping, and developing

new methods of controlling the population of rhino beetle for the entire island. But still, more needs to be done. Every village must take part in these efforts.

The beetles were brought to our island with ornamental plants used in the landscaping of hotels in Tumon. There has been no issued apology or commitment to address the situation from the hotel or landscaping industry. Pressuring these businesses to take responsibility can help to fund a much needed comprehensive community-wide response program that is needed to combat the issue.

Women, having always had power in Micronesian communities, need to have a stronger presence in this effort. Many leaders in the environmental conservation field are women. However the rhino beetle eradication program is mainly staffed by men. The workshops and research reports given by the Rhinoceros Beetle Eradication Project have focused on the rhino beetle and its management. Infusing lessons on the traditional uses of the *niyok* will assist in creating meaningful connections to the resource and lead to its stewardship. UOG's Center for Island Sustainability, along with various cooperative extension programs, can team together with the Chamorro Studies Program and School of Education in creating a curriculum that can be adopted in all the schools around the island. A more concerted effort from the entire island population is needed to truly safeguard the *niyok*.

Preservation of the *niyok* is vital to the continuity of Chamorro identity. The *trongkon niyok* is a prevalent symbol for the culture. Since the first Chamorro settled the Marianas, the *tronkon niyok* has provided its people with food (coconut meat, coconut juice, coconut milk, and palm shoots), shelter (palm fronds and twine), transportation (wooden trunk), fire (husks and wood) and so much more. The *tronkon niyok* is such a powerful symbol that it is even included on the territorial flag of Guahan. Like the Chamorro people, the *tronkon niyok* has a vast root system that keeps the tree grounded. Like the Chamorro people, the *tronkon niyok* will bend to the force of the wind but its flexibility keeps it from falling. The Chamorro people have endured a long history of occupation and colonization and it is the ability to adapt without assimilating that has and will continue to ensure our survival.

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An Archaeological Study of the US Coast Guard Loran Station in San Antonio, Saipan, 1944-1978

By Boyd Dixon, Todd McCurdy
and Richard Schaefer
Cardno, Guam and Hawaii

Prepared for the 3rd Marianas History Conference and Guampedia

The remains of the US Coast Guard Loran station in San Antonio, Saipan were recorded by Cardno archaeologists for N15 Architects during 2014 (Dixon and McCurdy 2015) as part of the Honest Profit resort development, after review by the CNMI Historic Preservation Office. Seventy years earlier in November 1944, construction began of the US Coast Guard Loran Station on Afetna Point near Yellow Beach 2 and 3 (**Figure 1**), the southernmost US Marine Corps invasion beaches during WWII (Rottman 2004).

By then Saipan had been transformed into the first operational B-29 base in the Pacific in late 1944. Isely Field, the present International Airport and former Asilito Airfield, soon saw the arrival of General Curtis LeMay to organize high level bombing of selected Japanese military targets, but not without incurring bombing raids from Japanese Betty Bombers based in Iwo Jima. East Field at Kagman above Laulau and Marpi Point Air Base were also renovated from Japanese air fields for P-47 fighter support during the Tinian invasion, while Kobler Field was built near Isely Field near Agingan Point for support of the B-29s (Denfield and Russell 1984; Farrell 1994).

The first US Coast Guard Loran Station, situated at and north of the modern Pacific Island Club (http://www.loran- history.info/saipan_island/saipan_island.htm), was built with six Quonset huts and smaller support structures near the antennas (**Figure 2**). The transmitting station was paired with Loran stations on Orote Point and Cocos Island on Guam. After the era of CIA training of Taiwan Chinese nationalists on Saipan in the 1950s it was rebuilt with three concrete structures (**Figure 3**), a signal power building, barracks, and a mess hall. It was manned by the US Coast Guard after towers suffered damage during Typhoon Jean in 1968 (**Figure 4**) and the facility was rehabbed in 1969, until decommissioned in January of 1978. The area was reportedly part of a sand mine that partially demolished concrete structures in the late 1980s and then supported a concrete pad for boxing and later fruit sale along Beach Road.

CNMI site SP 6-1035, the former remains of the US Coast Guard Loran station on Saipan, measured 1.78 acres in size within the present Honest Profit resort development area. The site consisted of 17 features: a long rectangular concrete building housing the Loran communication facility with a smaller square concrete building housing a generator (**Figure 5**), a concrete antenna base surrounded by a low concrete block wall with doorway (**Figure 6**), two concrete antenna anchors at the edge of the shoreline within an ironwood grove (**Figure 7**), three concrete pads found at low tide along the shoreline (**Figure 8**), a small concrete pad likely associated with support of a nearby antenna base, a subsurface concrete cesspool with manhole cover near the Loran transmitting building, a small concrete pad likely associated with support of a nearby antenna base, a concrete antenna base surrounded by a low concrete block wall with doorway, a concrete antenna base, a concrete pad or area of poured concrete, another concrete pad or area of poured concrete nearby, a concrete antenna base and large concrete deadman or support, two small discarded concrete pads, another concrete antenna base surrounded by a dismantled concrete block wall, a concrete post or support, and a concrete well with PVC casing.

The antenna base, antenna anchors, and concrete pads at the shoreline are situated outside the development property within public beach access land plainly visible today even after the devastation of Typhoon Soudelor (August 2015), as is a splendid view of the present communication facility on Aguigan Point opposite Tinian (Figure 9). Local residents recount playing baseball as kids with the US Coast Guard members in the 1970s and searching for WWII relics in the sand dunes, the latter a dangerous pastime in this National Historic Landmark District today.

Figures

Figure 1. 25th US Marines Yellow Beach 2, June 15, 1944.

Figure 2. US Coast Guard Loran Station, Afetna Point, 1946.

Figure 3. US Coast Guard Loran Station, 1956. Photo courtesy of Scott Russell.

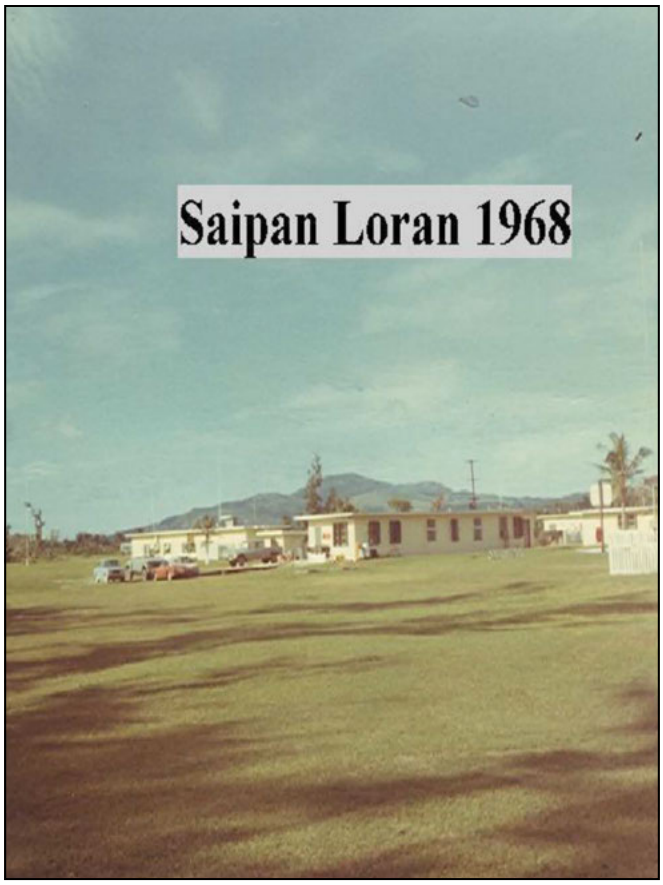

Figure 4. US Coast Guard Loran Station, 1968.

Figure 5. Generator Building. North and west side.

Figure 6. Metal antenna tower base. View to the south.

Figure 7. Metal antenna supports. View to the south.

Figure 8. Concrete pads at old beach landing. View to the west.

Figure 9. Yellow Beach fromAfetna Point today.

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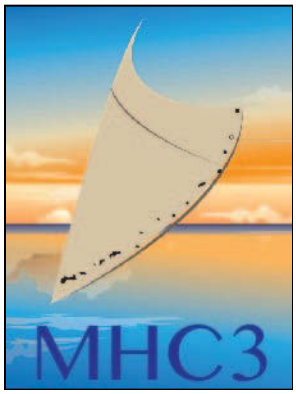
Todd McCurdy has 15 years of archaeological experience and seven years of Project Manager experience in the Pacific. In 2007, he was the Cultural Resources Project Director of Cultural Surveys Hawai'i, Inc., Wailuku, Hawaii until 2011. Afterward he was Director of International Archaeological Research Facility, Inc., Tamuning, Guam. In 2013, he was with Cultural Surveys Cultural Surveys Hawai'i, Inc. and Southeastern Archaeological Research, Inc., HI. McCurdy is currently the Cultural Resources Principal Investigator, Honolulu HI.



Richard Schaefer has 35 years of professional experience including 10 years of Electronic Graphics Specialist experience in cultural resources management. From 2008 to 2014, he was employed at the Naval Facilities Engineering Command. He produced electronic graphics for two major cultural resources projects on Tinian and Guam for IARII. Then from 2010 Schaefer produced electronic graphics for five major cultural resources projects on Guam and two on Tinian and Pagan in the CNMI for Cardno.

The Spanish Reduccion': Minimizing the Power of Chamorro Women

By Judy Flores, PhD
Prepared for the 3rd Marianas History Conference and Guampedia

Women had significant freedom and power in pre-colonial Chamorro society and seemed to be among those with the most to lose by converting to Christianity and its dogma of submission to male authority and lifelong monogamous relationships. Historian Francisco Garcia specifically points out in 1681 the subjugation of Christianized women to their husbands, "whom they recognize as their head and superior" as being a triumph of missionary influence. This paper reviews the historical commentary that describes the power of women and Spanish attempts to undermine the power structure.

Early Encounters and Descriptions
Descriptions of the Chamorro people span a period of over 150 years, beginning with Pigafetta's account of Magellan's 1521 visit and encompassing Garcia's writing which described the early missionization period of 1668 to 1681. An analysis of the various descriptions can give us a general picture of continuity and change within the culture over several generations, during the time when westernization had not yet changed practices to a great extent. These descriptions provide insight into the role of women in ancient Chamorro society.

In an attempt to missionize the natives of the Mariana islands, Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora jumped from a Spanish galleon that stopped briefly in the Marianas and stayed in the island of Luta (Rota) in 1602. He wrote the first account of Chamorro society. Jesuit historian Father Francisco Garcia, who never visited the Marianas, compiled missionary letters and reports into the first history of the mission in the Marianas, which was published in 1683. These two accounts and a few other sources provide information about Chamorro society before it was significantly altered by colonial intrusions. While we must take into account the religious bias contained in these accounts, repeated observations serve to verify and build a story of Chamorro life in the 17th century.

Pigafetta, who wrote about Magellan's visit to Guam in 1521, described the natives:

> They are tawny, but are born white. Their teeth are red and black, for they think that is most beautiful. The women go naked except that they wear a narrow strip of bark as thin as paper, which grows between the tree and the bark of the palm, before their privies. They are good looking and delicately formed, and lighter complexioned than the men; and wear their hair which is exceedingly black, loose and hanging quite down to the ground. The women do not work in the fields but stay in the house, weaving mats, baskets, and other things needed in their houses, from palm leaves. They eat cocoanuts, camotes, birds, figs one palmo in length [bananas], sugarcane, and flying fish, besides other things. They anoint the body and the hair with cocoanut and beneseed oil. Their houses are all built of wood covered with planks and thatched with leaves … and they have floors and windows. The rooms and the beds are all furnished with the most beautiful palmleaf mats. They sleep on palm straw which is very soft and fine. (Nowell, 1962 [1521]: 130)

The most frequent comments referred to the houses and sailing vessels made by the natives. The houses which were constructed on top of these stone foundations were described by Miguel Lopez de Legazpi in 15651, when he stopped in Guam and claimed the Mariana Islands for Spain:

> Their houses are tall, well built and finished, raised one level above the ground on top of some big stone pillars, and upon those they build the granery and have their living room, with rooms and divided areas on either side of the living room. Their sleeping areas are matted like [our] camp beds. As for their high attics where they store their household and personal effects, and the small windows in their rooms, everything is well crafted, something worth seeing because they are made without any tools. These are the houses in which they sleep.
>
> They have other houses, low ones near the ground, where they cook their food, prepare and serve the meals, with their attics where the servants sleep. Both types of houses are covered with palm [shingles].
>
> They have other large houses used as boat sheds, not to live in but used as community halls. They place their large proas and their canoes in the shade there. Each village has one of these sheds. There was one of

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[1] Ferdinand Magellan was the first European to visit the Mariana Islands in 1521. However, his chronicler, Antonio Pigafetta, and successive visitors did not provide descriptions as complete as that of Legazpi.

> them where we took our water, very nice with four naves, made in the shape of a cross, that could hold 200 men, 50 in each wing. They were very spacious, wide and high, and worth seeing. Inside the above, mass was said on the days we were there; there could be seen also some large proas, which they say are meant for crossing the high sea between the islands and which carry a heavy load. (Levesque, 1992: II: 164)

One of the uses of the latte houses was for the *guma' ulitao*[2], meaning "house of young men", where they went to live when they reached puberty. Garcia described the *guma' ulitao* from the perspective of the first missionaries who observed in 1668 that:

> The young men, who are called *urritaos*, are very indecent. They live in the public houses with the unmarried women, whom they buy or rent from their parents for two or three hoops of iron and a few tortoise shells. This does not hinder them from marrying later. The married men are usually content with one woman and do not bother the others. Garcia, [1683] 1994: 171)

Comparative studies of men's houses in other parts of Micronesia show that these houses had a much wider function. The social setting of the *guma' ulita*o would serve as the young man's school in learning the responsibilities of manhood.

The importance of the betel leaf (piper betel), nut (areca catechu), and quicklime in ancient Chamorro society is revealed in this 1602 account:

> 'Whenever they happen to meet, they are very courteous to one another. If they are wearing woven hats, they take them off; then they share their wads of betel leaf, nut, and lime, which they call *sauos*, and which they always carry in small well-made baskets. Should one meet another after his supply has been consumed, he will offer his good will and show him his little empty basket, thereby giving him to understand that it is all gone because he has shared it with many others. The other person will then offer his betel wad; if he has none, he will do the same as the first person. (Driver, [1602] 1983: 213)

The description of the Chamorro practice of coloring their teeth red or black was a reference to their chewing of betel leaf (*Piper betel*), areca (betel) nut (*Areca catechu*), and quicklime, which produces a bright earthy red juice and stains the mouth red.

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[2] Early chronicles spell it as *urritao*, which approximated the way outsiders heard the word. Linguistic research indicates that the pronunciation would be closer to *ulitao*, and this spelling will be used here, except where quoted.

Over time the juice stains the teeth black. Archaeological research has found a few examples of blackened teeth with incised decorations (Cunningham, 1992: 46). An account from the Loaysa expedition in 1526 stated that Chamorros blackened their teeth with the sap of a certain plant (Levesque,1992: I: 465). Dutch Jesuit priest Father Pierre Coomans described the process of staining a woman's front teeth which was practiced in the 1670s:

> In order to do this, they spend some sweat; they mix black coloring with some gum to make it long lasting. They often reserve an entire day to anoint that one tooth; nevertheless, this care and above all this time, taken for this unction will take up as many as 14 days, during which time the teeth must not touch anything. That is why they suffer a continuous torment, with only a funnel, to give sustenance to their body, so as not to die. When the effect has been obtained, the neighbors and friends organize a formal feast, as if as many Ethiopians as teeth had come into the world. (Levesque, [Coomans, 1673] 1992, VI: 75)

The Loaysa account of 1526 further elaborates on the description of the natives:

> The men have good and hard bodies. They walk around naked in the flesh, exhibiting their natures, the women as well as the men, except that the women cover their privy parts in front with some tree leaves in the following manner, by tying a string around their waist and from that string they hang the leaf that swings from side to side in front of their nature. Because sometimes the wind carries away that leaf, they always carry other leaves as spares. Both women and men wear their hair very long and loose. (Levesque, [Urdaneta, 1535] 1992, I: 467)

Shipwreck survivor Sancho told Fray Juan about the customs of the people of the Ladrones as he observed them in 1602:

> 'First, my brother, as you must have noted, all men and women go about completely naked from the day they are born until the day they die. …. They customarily anoint their bodies and hair with coconut oil. The men like their hair to be very black; the women, however, have very flaxen hair, which is naturally so since they do not use lye nor bleaches to make it blonde, unlike the sad and miserable women in our country who are not content with what God has given them. (Driver, [1602] 1983: 207)

Since Pigafetta's account states that both the men and women wore their hair long and black, it must be assumed here that the "flaxen-haired" women of Sancho's time

were practicing a fashion of his particular period, eighty years later. Father Pierre Coomans' description of the 1670s describes the way women bleached their hair:

> They anoint the whole head and their hair with a mixture of lime and oil, then expose themselves to the burning rays of the sun at noon, for hours, rather, for days on end. Whenever the head is burning hot, they sprinkle it with sea water, if you look at it, you show your appreciation. (Levesque, 1992: VI: 75)

Garcia's description of the people in 1668 also says that the women bleached their long hair white, and that the only clothing they wore was an apron of thin bark called *tifis* [*tifi'* in contemporary spelling, which means "pick" *v.*]. The use of *Spondylus* shell became more prevalent during the Latte Period (A.D. 800 to 1600). Burial excavations dated to the Latte and Early-contact Periods indicate that the shell was used as body ornamentation, probably indicating high status and wealth. A particular burial excavated at Ipao was dubbed by the archaeological team as "the Princess of Ipao" because of numerous *Spondylus* beads located on her cranium, throat and in strands from the waist, suggesting that she wore a fiber belt or apron decorated with the beads. (R. Davis, A. Lizama, W. Hernandez; personal communication). Additionally, she was flanked by two 'warriors,' one who had a spear point imbedded in his shoulder. The Ipao burial also showed that *Spondylus* disks were paired according to size and shape so that the concave disks faced each other in a string, with graded sizes from smallest at the back to largest being at the center of the necklace. An Early-contact Period burial excavated at the Hafa Adai Beach Hotel site in Saipan revealed a female with a belt encircling her lower waist made of large *Spondylus* disks. Their position indicated that they were probably affixed to a fiber belt. Above this strand, encircling the waist, was a belt of smaller *Spondylus* beads (Swift and Harper, 1999). A rare account of women's body adornment collaborates the findings of archaeologists and provides some additional information:

> The women have their special feasts, for which they adorn themselves with ornaments on their foreheads, some of flowers like jasmine, and some of valued trinkets and tortoiseshells, hung from a string of red shells that are prized among them as are pearls among us, and of which they make also some waistbands with which they gird themselves, hanging around them some small, well-formed coconuts on some string skirts made of tree roots, with which they finish their costume and adornment, and which seems more bird-cage than dress. (Levesque, 1992: V: 68)

A *chamorri* (high class) woman displayed her wealth with *Spondylus* bead necklaces and by wearing a large plate of turtle shell as a *tifi'* apron, tied around her waist by cords attached through holes cut in the top and bottom of the shell. The value of turtle shell depended upon the way it was obtained. For example, a turtle caught on the beach was not as valuable as a turtle caught in the open ocean under more difficult circumstances. All turtles were first presented to the highest woman of the clan who in turn presented it to the chief (Cunningham, 1992, 82 [from Freycinet, 1829]).

It is believed that women practiced the art of healing with herbs and massage, while the position of *makahna*, one who intervened on behalf of the spirits for healing and other assistance, was generally held by men (Cunningham, 1992: 152).

To summarize, the general consensus throughout these accounts was that Chamorros were generally light-skinned, the men being darker than the women because of their exposure to the sun. They were generally robust and healthy people, who were somewhat larger than the average European. Although hair fashions changed, accounts throughout this period emphasize that blackened teeth were considered beautiful. It is not clear whether men also consistently blackened their teeth throughout this time span, although constant betelnut chewing would create this effect in both sexes. By 1670, it seemed to be a prevalent practice among women, although that does not rule out men from also participating.

Observations in 1521 described both men and women as wearing their hair very long and black. Some men had beards, which are not mentioned in later descriptions. In 1588 men were observed tying their long hair into one or two buns at the top of their heads. By 1668, men's fashion had changed to that of shaving their heads except for a short topknot about the length of a finger at the crown of the head. Beginning in 1602, women were observed with bleached hair, a practice which persisted until at least 1670.

Throughout this time span, men were described as being completely naked. Women were sometimes described as naked, but usually were observed wearing at minimum a leaf (*tifi'*) attached to a cord around their waist, or a piece of paper thin bark (*gunot*) which covered their private parts. In 1596 they were observed wearing a piece of matting which covered them from the waist down. The use of turtle shell plates as an apron suggests that status determined some forms of body adornment. Fragrant flower garlands for women and the use of coconut oil for both sexes indicate that smell as well as visual enhancement of the body was valued.

Women's Work

Fray Juan Pobre described the women as being very skilled at making plaited mats which were used as mattresses, blankets, eating and food drying surfaces, as wrappers in which to present gifts, and to fashion into various kinds of hats (Driver, [1602] 1983: 210). Women baked in the morning and evening, making a kind of pie of breadfruit called *tazca* or *tazga* (Driver, [1602] 1983: 210). While most fishing was done by men, women fished in shallow lagoons and tidal pools, feeling among the rocks and catching the fish by hand. They also gathered shellfish, mollusks, crabs and lobsters from the reef (Cunningham, 1992: 32-5).

Child Rearing and Socialization

"The men and women are hard workers, not lazy, and have little regard for those who do not work" (Driver, [1602] 1983: 210). A mutual support system of reciprocal service involved children from a young age, who participated as well as observed rituals proper to certain activities. They inculcated these values in their children through their own example. Children learned proper social behavior by observing the actions of those around them and imitating them. In this way they probably learned the expressions of courtesy observed by Frey Juan Pobre in 1602: "They are loving by nature and when they greet a person, they kiss on the face and make great signs of affection" (Driver, 1977: 19). Some other courtesies practiced were… "to pass the hand over the breast of the person they are visiting to show great courtesy" (Garcia, [1683] 1994: 169).

Upon reaching puberty a young man became *ulitao* (bachelor) and moved to his mother's clan, under the supervision of his mother's brother. He moved into the *guma' ulitao*, or 'bachelor's house' of the clan, which served as his home from the time of puberty until his marriage (Cunningham, 1992: 183-4). The *ulitao* carried walking sticks which they called *tuna* [*tunas* meaning straight] which were "curiously carved and colored with the root of a plant called *mangu* [mango' turmeric]. At the head of this they affix through a hole three streamers half a yard in length made from the soft bark of the trees with heavy threads in the form of tassels" (Garcia, [1683] 1994: 408). An account by Gonzalo de Vigo [1526] who stayed in the islands for four years, describes the use of the sticks as he observed:

> ...All of them, men and women, generally carry with them, and always so along the footpaths, some mat baskets, very well crafted, and inside them they carry the pinanco [betel wad] that I have said they ate earlier. The bachelor Indians who carry the rods have such a freedom that they may enter the house of whatever married Indian whose wife pleases

> them and make use of her for whatever they like in complete confidence. If by chance, at the time the lad wants to come in, the husband happens to be at home, then, as soon as the other enters, the pinanco baskets are swapped, the husband goes out, and the lad stays inside. The husband cannot go home until he learns that the other one has left. (Levesque, [Urdanetta, 1535, of the 1526 Loaysa expedition] 1992: I: 466)

In the Chamorro system of matrilineal inheritance, a woman's children, because they belonged to her clan, would have a close, loving relationship with her brother, their uncle (mother's brother). A man's eldest sister as well as his mother's eldest sister was held in high esteem because their children were in the line of inheritance after his younger brothers (Cunningham, 1992: 91). There would have been close bonds between these women and children of his clan out of respect for their title as well as for their rank according to age. Fray Juan Pobre stated in another part of his account that "it is the brothers and not the children who are the inheritors" (Driver, [1602] 1983: 215). This statement supports the system of matrilineal inheritance whereby the leadership would pass from an older brother to a younger brother and then to his sister's eldest son. Garcia, in describing the *chamorri* class, states that "the eldest son inherits large estates of coconuts and bananas, as well as other choice properties, and it is not the son of the deceased who inherits his father's estate, but rather the brother or the nephew of the deceased. The heir now changes his name and takes the name of the founder or chief ancestor of the family" ([1683] 1994: 169). What is described here is a matrilineal inheritance system. The fact that the women had great power in Chamorro society is documented in the following example:

> In each family the head is the father or elder relative, but with limited influence. Thus, a son as he grows up neither fears nor respects his father. As with brute animals, the father has this advantage: he has the place where he gives them their food. In the home it is the mother who rules, and the husband does not dare give an order contrary to her wishes or punish the children, because if the woman feels offended, she will either beat the husband or leave him. Then if the wife leaves the house, all the children follow her, knowing no other father than the next husband their mother may take.
>
> ... if a man leaves his wife, it costs him a great deal, for he loses his property and his children. But women can do this at no cost, and they do it often out of jealousy, because if they suspect some unfaithfulness, they can punish them in various ways. Sometimes the aggrieved woman summons the other women of the village. Wearing hats and carrying

> lances they all march to the adulterer's house. If he has crops growing, they destroy them. Then they threaten to run him through with their lances. Finally they throw him out of his house. At other times, the offended wife punishes her husband by leaving him. Then her relatives gather at his house and they carry off everything of value, not even leaving a spear or a mat to sleep on. They leave no more than the shell of the house and sometimes they destroy even that, pulling it all down. If a woman is untrue to her husband, the latter may kill her lover, but the adulteress suffers no penalty. (Garcia, [1683] 1994: 172)

This account tends to give an extreme example, although one which was observed on more than one occasion. There undoubtedly was respect and love among husbands and wives as well as between children and their father. The tenderness Fray Juan Pobre observed with which both parents disciplined their children is an example of the balance created by this type of social structure. This passage, however, points out that men lost a great deal when their wives left them, and it would cost his clan dearly to gather wealth for another bride price should he wish to remarry. Therefore, husbands tended to treat their wives with respect, and his family encouraged his good behavior because of their stake in the marriage as well. Fray Juan's earlier reference stated that the man gives the woman a dowry, which can be construed as a bride price, except that there is no return of the valuables if she decides at any time to leave her husband. In addition, he provides a house for her on his clan land, to which they move when they marry. Note the above statement, "he has the place where he gives them their food", which would indicate virilocal residence.

The sexual freedoms practiced by both unmarried girls and married women have been noted in several chronicles. Ironically, men could lose their wives and property for unfaithfulness. The children clearly belonged to the mother's clan, and went with her if she left her husband. They did not owe allegiance to their father, which indicates that the male model in their life would be from their mother's clan their mother's brother where her sons would go for training in the ways of the clan upon reaching adolescence. This brother, in turn, did not have control of his own children, who belonged to his wife's clan. Therefore, when he died, his heirs would be his nephews his sister's children if he had no younger brother to succeed him. Respect for age required that authority rested with the oldest member of the clan. Likewise, an older brother would have authority over a younger brother.

"The highest rank in an ancient Chamorro society was *maga'lahi*. He was the oldest male *chamorri* in the highest-ranking lineage of the clan that controlled a village. The

highest-ranking woman in the village was the *maga'haga*" (Cunningham, 1992: 91). Wealth and power were, in many ways, determined by the control of land, which was inherited through the mother's line. "A *maga'lahi* who died was succeeded by his brothers in order of birth. If there were no younger living brothers, then his eldest sister's eldest son or his mother's eldest sister's son became chief" (Cunningham, 1992: 91).

Garcia described a system of status differentiation which distinguished lineages of high, middle, and low class, and stated that "For nothing in the world would one of their upper class people, called C*hamorris*, marry the daughter of a commoner, even if she were rich and he poor... In times past parents of the nobility killed sons who married daughters of plebeian families, whether for love or greed... Those of low estate are not permitted to eat or drink in the houses of the nobles or even to go near them. If they need anything they ask for it from a distance" ([1683] 1994: 169).

The role of the women in funerary rites as well as their status in society is given substance in this description:

> They spend these days singing sad songs and having funeral meals around the tumulus which they raise over the grave or near it, decorated with flowers, palms, shells and other objects which they value. The mother of the deceased cuts off a lock of his hair as a memento of her grief, and counts the days after his death by tying a knot each night in a cord she wears around her neck.
>
> These expressions of grief are much more intense at the death of a noble (a *chamori*) or of a well-known matron. In addition to the ordinary rites, they decorate the streets with garlands of palms; they erect triumphal arches and other funeral structures; they destroy coconut trees, burn houses, break up their boats, and hang the torn sails in front of their houses as a sign of grief. They add more verses to their songs, no less tasteful than emotional, which to the rudest hearts would convey a feeling of sorrow, which such expressions as 'From now on life will be a burden, lacking the one who was the life of all, lacking the sun of nobility, the moon that illuminated them in the night of their ignorance; the star of all good fortune; the valor of all battles; the honor of his line, of his village and of his land.' And in this manner until far into the night the praise continues in honor of the dead man, whose sepulchre is crowned with oars, as the sign of a great fisherman, or with lances, the sign of a brave warrior, or with both, if he was both warrior and fisherman. (Garcia, [1683] 1994: 174)

The fact that the death of "a *chamorri* or of a well-known matron" caused similar expressions of grief pointed to the high status of women in Chamorro society. Women, especially if they were among the oldest in the clan, had important roles in funeral and other rituals. In addition to key roles in rituals, women were the makers of mats and other containers used, for example, in funeral wrapping and rice presentation.

The tradition of continued ritual for several days after a death has resonance in contemporary practices. In contemporary Chamorro Catholic society, nine days of prayer, including songs and the serving of food, is practiced by the family of the deceased. The verses of the rosary are led by a prayer leader, or *techa*, (usually a woman) who starts each rosary verse and is joined in chorus by the participants (Souder, 1992: 69; personal observations). The first missionaries may have used the Chamorro penchant for verse and chants to overlay Catholic traditions. Or Chamorros may have adapted certain church traditions to conform to traditional practices. In the same way, the tradition of carrying the body to 'visit' homes is practiced today. In many cases, the coffin containing the deceased will be taken from the mortuary to lie in his or her home for a few hours before being taken to the church for viewing prior to a cemetery burial.

The high status of women is revealed in their legend of creation whereby they claimed that the first man, *Puntan* was born without a father and only one sister. When he was near death, he called his sister and ordered that out of his belly the sky be made; that out of his lice and their eggs...be made the stars in the firmament, from his eyebrows originated the sun and the moon, and out of his eyelashes the rainbows. From his shoulders the earth was made, and from his ribs and bones the trees were to grow; from his hair came branches and green grasses, his bladder became the sea, and the lower extremities the banana trees and the reeds. His intestines became the sea straits and the ports... The close relationship between sister and brother takes precedence, and portrays the sister as the active agent over the more passive role of her brother.

Fray Juan makes a remark about not worshipping idols but rather "ancestral locations," but does not elaborate further. Such a practice would conform to the surviving belief that the ancestral spirits reside in the jungle, in specific places most often associated with the banyan tree. Land was passed down through generations of clan members, and was therefore ancestral land. Like the surviving belief of asking permission to pass near the ancestors who reside in the banyan tree, ancient Chamorros probably asked permission to enter the ancestral lands of another clan (Cunningham, 1992: 100).

Garcia notes the importance of the *Lalas* rock formation which was believed to be the origin of mankind (1683: 406). The villagers of *Fu'uña* situated near this rock took pride in their association with the creation legend and obviously gained prestige and perhaps tributary gifts due to the importance of this ancestral location. According to Fray Antonio, there was an annual celebration at this rock, "whence they all go each year for a fiesta" (Driver, [1596] 1977: 21). Several chroniclers state that the Chamorros had no religion, probably referring to the lack of edifices dedicated to worship of any deity. They did, however, have specialists in the manipulation of and intervention between the physical and spiritual world, called *makahnas* [contemporary spelling]. Although every family evidently kept skulls and performed rituals with them, the *makahnas* were reported to have many skulls with which they conferred regularly. As opposed to individual clan members who revered and talked to their *antes* or ancestors, a *makahna* could commune with *anites* spirits of clans other than his own and who could be malicious to members outside their clan (Cunningham, 1992: 100). *Makahnas* promised health, rain, successful fishing, and similar benefits by invoking the skulls of dead persons that they kept in little baskets in their house (Garcia, [1683] 1994: 174).

The timing of this historic conjunction of Chamorro culture with Western influence determined the successive development of these people. Chamorros faced a powerful outside influence on their culture in 1668 when Spanish Catholic missionaries came to the Marianas to stay. The role of Chamorro women was drastically changed.

Spanish Missionization Practices

When Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores arrived on Guam in 1668 to establish a mission, his party of fifty people, including priests, lay ministers, and soldiers, was welcomed (Rogers, 1995: 45-7; Garcia, [1683] 1994: 177) Quipuha (*Kepuha* in contemporary spelling), the *maga'lahi* of Hagåtña, was intent on keeping the mission in his village, and it soon became evident that San Vitores was expected to remain in Hagåtña. He therefore stayed in Quipuha's village for the first two months and sent his priests and lay assistants to other villages in Guam and to Rota, Tinian and Saipan to set up missions there. At first, village chiefs vied for the honor of hosting a missionary in their village (Garcia, [1683] 1994: 178-180). It is likely that Quipuha increased his prestige as well as perceptions of his power due to his association with the Spaniards. After a few weeks, however, the Chamorros began to resist attempted changes imposed by the missionaries on their way of life. In order to understand the events in this historical conjunction it is important to analyze the perspectives and practices of

seventeenth century Spanish Catholic missionaries in contrast to the social activities and beliefs of Chamorros as revealed in the previous ethnographic reconstruction. The Garcia account, written from the perspective of a Spanish Catholic priest of the Jesuit religious order in 1681 (and first published in 1683), provides an account of how the ideology of his world clashed with those of the Chamorros. Initially, he and his missionaries were usually well received in the villages, but as weeks passed "in many places he was badly received by the villagers and treated as an enemy who came to take the lives of their children. Sometimes while preaching he saw the lances being aimed to run him through" (*Garcia*: 203).

The first clash of values came when the missionaries insisted on baptizing all members of Chamorro society, which meant that *manachang* received the same blessings and benefits as the *chamorri*. "Father San Vitores refused to baptize even one noble until they promised not to oppose the conversion and baptism of the plebeians" (*ibid*.: 188). Another condition for baptism was that they banish from their homes any signs of idolatry. "He made them bury the skulls and bones of their ancestors, and he burned the images which they had made of wood and had even carved on trees". A third condition was that the villagers destroy their *guma' ulitao*, or men's house (*Garcia*: 393), which the missionaries condemned because of the sexual freedoms between young men and women which were practiced there. They also insisted that the new converts cast aside their pagan beliefs and supplications to their *antes*, and worked in several ways to substitute these beliefs with Christian incantations and practices. By requiring that all children attend catechism classes, they instilled beliefs in the children who in turn influenced their parents. An example, in an account given by Garcia (and keeping in mind his agenda in the writing of it), one young son of a *chamorri* who had been converted was fishing with his father:

> The father saw a fish which the natives like very much called "*guatafe'* (*sic*) and without stopping to think, he was carried away by the old custom and began to invoke his anites, to gain their help in catching the fish. The boy was distressed at this, and weeping, said: "Father, don't call to these enemies. You won't catch anything." The father answered: "What can I say?" "Invoke Jesus and Mary and you will catch the fish." He did so, and he had scarcely uttered these sweet names when he caught the fish. Then he came running to our house with his son, singing praises to Jesus and Mary, and telling what had happened to himself and his son and asking pardon for his thoughtlessness. (Garcia, [1683] 1994: 205-6)

This account is an example of how missionaries worked to substitute or overlay Christian doctrine on indigenous beliefs. It also show how Chamorros themselves made transitions which substituted old practices with new ones into their daily lives.

There was marked resistance to the destruction of the *guma' ulitao* (*Garcia:* 393), and after open warfare broke out, some villages began to rebuild them (*ibid*.: 482). These men's houses were an important institution in Chamorro society, far beyond their use as places of sexual liaisons for young men and women. Traditional Chamorro society based on matrilineal descent and virilocal residence required that a young man at the age of puberty move to his mother's clan, where he was under the care of his mother's brother and lived in the men's house until his marriage. Without the men's house, a young man had no place to go. Many societies in the Pacific had prescriptions against the association of opposite sex siblings after the age of puberty. Such tabus in Chamorro society would prohibit a young man from remaining in the household where his sisters lived. The destruction of the *guma' ulitao* disrupted the kinship system. When codes of propriety become challenged, society itself is threatened. The only substitution offered by the missionaries was that of the boy's school, *San Juan de Letran*, established by Father San Vitores, which was only for selected boys who showed promise in learning Christian doctrine (Garcia, [1683] 1994: 205). This school did not serve the same purpose as the men's house, and therefore did not provide the training in specialized crafts as well as other skills needed to develop a man's sense of worth in the community. The destruction of the *guma' ulitao* presented a drastic break with tradition without an adequate Christian cognate practice to provide for the transition. Such threats to the basic social structure of Chamorro life continued to fuel the resistance.

The requirement that the converts cast aside their former beliefs, superstitions and incantations was a direct undermining of the power of the *makahnas*, who used their influence to turn people against the missionaries. The *makahnas* helped to agitate and increase the tempest, angry as they were, because Father San Vitores had deprived them of the authority and veneration they had formerly enjoyed, revealing the futility of invoking the *anites*, as they called them. (Garcia, [1683] 1994: 234)

The missionaries' insistence on baptizing babies, especially those close to death, in order to ensure "the eternal life of the infants" provided a rallying point around which leaders of the resistance could incite rebellion. The people began to associate the baptism of their babies with potential death, since so many had died following the application of holy water. Accounts tell of many instances when, upon learning of the

approach of a missionary to their village, women and children fled to the hills and the priests were met with angry warriors accusing them of being child killers with their poison water (Garcia, [1683] 1994: 213, 362, 366-7). The missionaries attributed this resistance to the Chinese shipwreck survivor, Choco, who they said spread the word that the baptismal water was poison and that they were especially intent on killing the children (*ibid*.:190, 360, 364).

In the space of a year from the arrival of Padre San Vitores significant changes had taken place, both from the point of view of the missionaries and in the responses of the Chamorro people. Missionary accounts give glowing reports of more than thirteen thousand baptisms and more than twenty thousand catechumens throughout the Marianas (Garcia, [1683] 1994: 209). Missions had been established in several villages on Guam, in Rota, Tinian and Saipan. Islands further north had been visited and converts claimed from them as well. A church of wood and thatch had been built in Hagåtña, and a school for boys to learn Christian doctrine was established (*ibid*.: 205). Large numbers of children throughout the islands attended catechism twice weekly and could recite Christian doctrine translated into their own language. Signs of idolatry had been destroyed, as had men's houses in the villages which had embraced Christianity.

Chamorro initial responses to the arrival of the missionaries had been welcoming and generous. They called the visitors *guirragos* (*gilagos*), meaning "of or from the north[3]" [overseas], and called Padre San Vitores *Ma'gas Padre* (Pale' in contemporary pronunciation), meaning "great priest" (*ibid*.: 222, 169). *Maga'lahi* Quipuha had given them land in Hagåtña on which to build a church and had initially increased his prestige by hosting Padre San Vitores in his village. Other *maga'lahi* vied for the honor of hosting missionaries. They received gifts of iron and items of clothing. It is likely that they hoped to be the recipients of new knowledge brought by the missionaries, the possession of which would increase their power and prestige (Rogers, 1995: 48). The reason for the high number of converts reported by the missionaries was that "the natives thoroughly enjoyed the ceremony, and, being delighted with the rosaries which they were given to wear around their necks, presented themselves again and again for baptism, unrecognized by the Padres until long after" (Rogers, 1995: 48). Quipuha was

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[3] See Cunningham, 1998; Solenberger, 1953; and Levesque, 1992: V: 388, who clarify Chamorro direction terminology. *Lago*, in Chamorro, means "seaward", and when facing seaward the direction to the right is called *katan* and to the left is called *luchan*. *Haya* refers to "landward" or "inland."

the first adult to be baptized, and encouraged other nobles to do the same. In doing so, they reluctantly consented to these same privileges for the *manachang*. Those who accepted Christianity gave up their skulls and wooden idols, and seriously attempted to put aside their old beliefs and to take up new ones. Quipuha and other *chamorri* mentioned in the chronicles (Garcia, [1683] 1994: 235) continued their friendship and remained Christians throughout the rest of their lives. Many more are listed as leaders of the resistance. By the end of the first year, the strains of such drastic change in Chamorro society brought on by the demands of the missionaries were evident. *Manachang* undoubtedly benefited from Christianity because traditional restrictions on their freedom of action were significantly weakened. The degree of loyalty each had with his *chamorri* benefactor would determine if one sided with or against the Spanish in the coming years. The *makahnas* were undoubtedly against the missionaries and helped to incite the resistance (*Garcia,* 234: 239-40). The young boys who attended the boy's schools, and later the girls who attended similar schools for girls would be faced with mixed loyalties, torn between the new Christian ways and their loyalty to their parents and clans. The children who were most loyal to the missionaries influenced the way their parents would respond to the increasing rift between missionary and native (Hezel, 1982: 130). They either induced their parents to side with the missionaries or became the cause of greater rifts between those who tried to adhere to old practices and those who embraced new ones.

By the 1680s two distinct camps existed among the Chamorro population: those who had converted to Christianity, accepted Spanish authority and sympathized with the mission, and the "rebels" from outlying areas on Guam and the northern islands who continued to resist Spanish authority. A significant minority of the population supported the priests and the Spanish forces (Hezel, 1982: 136). Although the chronicles do not specify divisions along socio-political lines, it is easy to imagine that *makahnas* who were disfranchised and *chamorri* who had not gained access to privileged association with the Spaniards would align themselves against them. Another possibility is that lower status chiefs and villagers used their alliances with the Spaniards as a way to 'pay back' (*emmok*) traditional enemies (Cunningham, 1999: personal communication). *Chamorri* who supported the mission were those who had established associations with the missionaries and felt that they had a stake in maintaining their safety, most likely through increased prestige and privileges or the education of their children. The *manachang* who would have the most to gain through Christianization and simultaneous breakdown of the social hierarchy may have made up the bulk of support for the Spaniards.

Women, who had significant freedom and power in Chamorro society, seemed to be among those with the most to lose by converting to Christianity and its dogma of submission to male authority and lifelong monogamous relationships. Garcia notes marriages between Chamorro women and lay assistants of the mission as early as 1676, and of Christianized young women and men being married by the church (*Garcia,* 455, 458, 480). He specifically points out in 1681 the subjugation of Christianized women to their husbands, "whom they recognize as their head and superior" as being a triumph of missionary influence (*ibid*.: 508). While there was evidence of resistance from *chamorri* women (Rogers, 1995: 54), they too succumbed to conquest and colonization. Laura Souder presents an analysis that explains how Catholicism redefined the Chamorro woman's role in society:

> While the introduction of Catholicism marked a turning point in the Chamorro female experience, it nevertheless established a "framework" which allowed women to continue their powerful roles as mothers and teachers within the limited confines of their homes and the church. So despite the devaluation and loss of power women experienced in the political sphere and in terms of patriarchal notions, the Catholic Church reinforced the Chamorro woman's position in the family. Because she had direct and continuous access to the colonial power structure through her active participation in the religious life of the community--this being the most important institution in Spanish colonial times--she was able to regain some of her former status. (Souder, 1992: 68)

Exhaustion from diseases that severely decimated the population, and demoralization from twenty-five years of war against the Spaniards resulted in conquest and pacification by 1700. The indigenous population estimated at about 40,000 in the Marianas at the time of first contact in 1521 had been reduced by war and disease to 3,539 Chamorros by 1710 (Hezel, 1982: 133). The remaining inhabitants of the Marianas, except for about 300 left in Rota (and a few who remained in Saipan until about 1740), were rounded up and resettled in Guam. Estimates in 1783 listed the Chamorro population at 1,500, and "the remaining women refused to bear children for fear of having them treated as slaves" (Carano and Sanchez, 1968: 104). The continuation of the Chamorro culture rested upon this small group of survivors. Laura Souder describes the resulting Chamorro ethnic mix:

> The Galleon traders between Mexico and the Philippines made regular stopovers on Guam. Expeditions from Russia, France, England, and America visited the island throughout the centuries under Spanish rule. American whalers called at Guam's port. These Filipino, Mexican,

> and assorted Western influences contributed to the cultural hybrid which became characteristic of the Chamorro way of life. Intermarriages between Chamorro women and men of other races resulted in miscegenation. Spanish colonial influences are still quite evident in Chamorro beliefs and practices today. (Souder, 1992: 32)

Despite the miscegenation of the Chamorro people by the 18th century, the people of the Mariana Islands still proudly proclaim their native Chamorro heritage and practice a system of beliefs that connect them to their indigenous past. The power of the Chamorro women sustained their culture through the bleak era of the reduccion'. While they regenerated their race through intermarriage with outsiders, the women raised their children to practice traditions that were relevant to their continued survival and helped them adapt to new realities in their changing world.

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Chamorro Origins and the Importance of Archaeological Context

By Rosalind L. Hunter-Anderson, PhD
and Joanne E. Eakin, MA
Prepared for the 3rd Marianas History Conference and Guampedia

Abstract: *Archaeologists and geneticists have begun to collaborate in studying Pacific Island population origins and past social and biological relationships with other groups. Chamorro origins have been part of this research, yet models based on contemporary genetic data have been limited by incomplete archaeological information. Unwarranted assumptions borrowed from linguistics have further compromised these efforts. Our paper corrects these assumptions and provides the appropriate archaeological context for building better accounts of Marianas population history.*

The archaeological context includes the islands' prehistoric mortuary chronology. Human interments are not associated with the earliest human presence in the Marianas. The earliest burials, which were found at the Naton Beach Site in Guam and dated to approximately 2,500 years ago, did not occur until 500-1000 years after groups of marine foragers arrived in the Marianas archipelago. To understand Chamorro origins, we explore the implications of this very long "mortuary gap" between initial human presence and the first known cemetery at Naton. We also show how genetic and other detailed analyses of the burials from Naton can help elucidate the complex population history of the Marianas and other Pacific Islands.

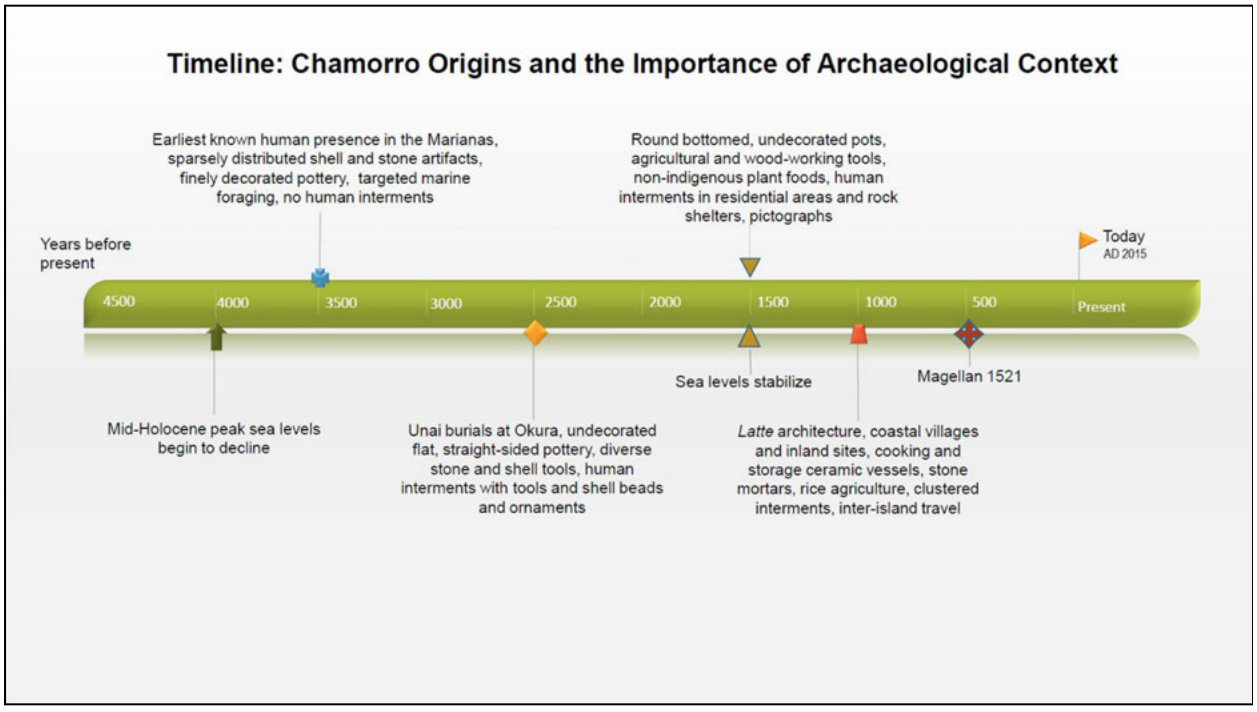
Introduction

Archaeological excavations over the last several decades have revealed a complex prehistoric record of human presence in the Marianas beginning c. 3,500 years ago. Powerful new laboratory techniques in biology are contributing to the study of prehistoric Pacific Island groups, including the indigenous Chamorros. For example, geneticist Miguel Vilar and colleagues (2013) recently analyzed samples of modern Chamorro DNA and have proposed a gene-based model of Chamorro origins, which they believe is supported by linguistics and archaeology. A review of the Marianas prehistoric sequence, summarized below, reveals problems with the Vilar model that could have been avoided had the relevant archaeological data been fully considered.

A Brief History of Human Time…in the Marianas

The oldest material traces of human activities in Remote Oceania occur in the Mariana Islands, and these ancient sites have been dated by radiocarbon methods to c. 3,500-3,000 years ago (Carson 2014). Deeply buried along former shorelines on Guam, Saipan, and Tinian, the archaeological evidence includes sparse assemblages of broken shell and stone artifacts, fish bones and food shell remains all suggesting short-term stays by small groups targeting marine resources. Also found in the mixed cultural deposits are tiny beads and other marine shell ornaments in various stages of manufacture, and the tools used to make them. Numerous fragments from small ceramic pots, a few finely decorated, are part of the assemblages. However, no skeletal remains have been found, so we do not know what the first people to visit the Marianas looked like or the age and sex composition of these groups. Since the earliest ceramics closely resemble pottery that was in widespread use at the time in Island Southeast Asia (ISEA), these people likely came from that biologically, culturally, and linguistically diverse region and were active participants in the vast trading systems of ISEA.

The timeline below shows major developments within the Marianas occupation sequence, which illustrate its cultural complexity. While people arrived c. 3500 years ago, human interment began one millennium later, and the late prehistoric era, marked by *latte* architecture and other ancestral Chamorro traits such as rice cultivation, occupies a relatively short portion of the sequence.



The environmental context for the archaeological changes that occurred c. 2,500 years ago includes significant sea level decline from its mid-Holocene peak (Nunn and Carson 2015:Table 1). As beaches widened, there was more room at the coasts, and some sites were located near river mouths where cultivable wetlands had developed. More diverse stone and shell tool assemblages and sites with pits and hearths all suggest that people were engaged in a greater variety of activities than previously. Ceramic decorations were much simpler and eventually disappeared altogether; meanwhile, a new pottery type arose: a robust, undecorated, flat-bottomed, straight-sided cooking pan (Moore 2002). The adoption of this ceramic form, which remained in use for several centuries, may indicate a different social context for food preparation and consumption had developed (Moore and Hunter-Anderson 1999).

Along with these technological changes came the first human interments. The "mortuary gap" was effectively closed at the Naton Beach Site in Tumon, Guam. The oldest layer, estimated to date from 2,500-1,500 years ago, contained well over 100 individuals of all ages and both sexes (Walth 2013). Several of the burials included shell beads and other ornaments, large oyster shells, colored pigments, and well-made stone and shell tools combinations of what archaeologists call "grave goods" interpreted as socially significant within the cultural system of the time.

By 1,500 years ago, the seas were stable at current levels, and all the islands of western, central and eastern Micronesia had been settled (Rainbird 2004). In the Marianas, broad beaches provided ample space for residences and gardens, and a few inland sites were used, as well. The large, pan-like ceramics were out, round-bottomed pots were in, and stone and shell artifact assemblages now included various agricultural and wood-working tools. Human burials were placed mainly in residential areas, others in or near rock shelters. At least one pictograph cave site was in use at an inland location on Guam (Hunter-Anderson et al. 2013).

Five hundred years later, c. 1,000 years ago, the Latte Period began. Stone pillar and capstone architecture unique to the Marianas became common throughout the archipelago as far north as Pagan, ceasing only after Spanish colonial government was firmly established in the 18th century and a new settlement system was in place (Rogers 1995). In the larger Latte Period coastal villages, thick refuse deposits accumulated, and multiple burials were placed near *latte* supported houses, suggesting lineage continuity over time (Stodder et al. 2014). Less elaborate *latte* sites were emplaced at inland locales, always near reliable water sources. The shallow refuse

deposits at these smaller sites, first noted by Reinman (1977), suggest short occupation times, perhaps seasonal visits for gardening and collecting wild resources. A variety of cooking and storage vessels, as well as large stone mortars were adopted. By c. 1350 C.E., the horticultural repertory included rice (Hunter-Anderson et al. 1995) and a variety of tree and root crops, supplemented by pelagic and inshore fish and shellfish (Moore 2015). Inter-island canoe travel was essential to maintain this geographically widespread cultural system first encountered by Europeans during Magellan's trans-Pacific expedition in 1521.

Problems with a Gene-Based Model of Chamorro Origins

Recently, Vilar and colleagues studied maternally inherited DNA in contemporary Chamorros and found that these individuals are genetically distinct from neighboring island populations but show strong affinities with ISEA groups. To account for the patterning in their data, the researchers presented a model of Chamorro population origins:

> "These patterns suggest a small founding population had reached and settled the Marianas from ISEA by 4,000 ybp, and developed unique mutations in isolation. A second migration from ISEA may have arrived around 1,000 ybp, introducing the latte pillars, rice agriculture and the homogeneous minority B4 lineage" (Vilar et al. 2013:116).

While this model accommodates the genetic findings reported by Vilar et al, it falls short of being a reliable account of Marianas population history as revealed in the archaeological record.

Human Advent in the Marianas

According to the Vilar model, people from ISEA had "settled" the Marianas "by 4,000 ybp" (years before present) and remained isolated there for over two thousand years. However, the idea of migration for settlement and long isolation is unsupported archaeologically, as is the"by 4,000 ybp" dating of human advent in the islands. This particular phrasing for dating human advent implies that the "founding population" had migrated to the Marianas even before 4,000 ybp. We suspect that this may be a compromise date between the relatively narrow archaeologically derived range of c. 3,500-3,000 years ago and the very wide gene-based date range that extends from the late Holocene, c. 3,500 ybp, backwards to more than 5,000 ybp. To justify the use of "by 4.000 ybp," certain "indirect evidence" from paleontology was cited, an apparent effort to pull the gene-based dating estimate closer to the radiocarbon-based, younger archaeological dates. The indirect, paleontological evidence comes from microscopic

analysis of sediment cores, where counts of charcoal particles and savanna species pollen markedly increase about 4,200 years ago (Vilar et al. 2012:116 citing Rainbird 2004 [sic]). The spikes of charcoal and pollen were taken by the analysts, Athens and Ward (2009) as indicators of a major landscape change from forest to grasslands c. 4,300 ypb..

Given the lack of independent evidence for human presence on Guam as early as 4,300 years ago, the inference of human-set fires is tenuous at best (Hunter-Anderson 2009). Regional paleo-climate research has shown that the mid-Holocene was an arid and hot period, peaking c. 6,000 ybp in the western Pacific (Hunter-Anderson 2009:132-133). Evidence of fires dated c. 4,500 years ago has been found in then-uninhabited Fiji (Nunn et al. 2001). After the mid-Holocene, present climate regimes became established, including more strongly seasonal rainfall patterns and more frequent El Nino drought events. These natural factors are more likely to be responsible for fires and vegetation/landscape shifts than human-set fires that got out of control.

Another reason to reject a pre-archaeological date for human advent in the Marianas comes from marine geology. Radiometric dating of coastal limestone markers of former sea levels indicate that about 4,300 years ago, the mid-Holocene peak sea levels began to recede around the islands (Dickinson 2001; Nunn and Carson 2015). During the ensuing centuries, sandy deposits covered the dead and exposed reef platforms. Eventually, narrow beaches formed, and people did come. But were they coming to settle in the islands and remain isolated from outside contact for thousands of years until the *latte*-building era as the Vilar model suggests?

Settlement for Migration

Unfortunately for the idea of early migration for settlement, the cultural deposits dated between 3,500 and 3,000 years lack any evidence for this process having occurred no clearly differentiated living space into different activity zones and, importantly, no site enlargement over time to accommodate population growth. The sparse and broken artifacts, the emphasis on marine food remains, and the absence of human interments all suggest impermanency intermittent visitations by small groups of marine foragers, not isolated pioneers.

The archaeologically evident lack of population growth after human arrival in the Marianas is understandable. A full-time marine subsistence focus was not possible due to the low carrying capacity of the islands. Geographer Tim Bayliss-Smith (1975:13) studied Fiji's reefs and calculated that for a productive reef zone about 200 km wide, "...a fisher-gatherer community of 30 persons would require some 17.2 km as a minimum for subsistence." Applying Bayliss-Smith's formula to the reef zones of Guam, Rota, Tinian, and Saipan today yields a carrying capacity of 516. However, a 200 km wide reef zone is unrealistic for these islands c. 3,500-3,000 ybp because the reefs then were intermittent, extremely narrow, and more of the coastlines were sheer limestone cliffs. A more likely carrying capacity for marine foraging in the southern islands was probably between 129 and 172 persons. Such a small human population divided among the southern islands trying to live full-time there 3,500 years ago would be highly vulnerable to failure, yet the archaeological signs of marine foraging persist for many centuries. A plausible solution for this conundrum is that these marine foragers were intermittent visitors rather than permanent residents whose population somehow failed to grow.

Isolation

The Vilar model assumes the first people in the Marianas were migrants who remained isolated from outside contact for thousands of years. If so, why did customs usually associated with social interactions in complex societies, such as using small decorated pots and making a variety of personal ornaments, persist for many centuries after arriving in these uninhabited islands? We would expect isolated colonists to drop these socially inappropriate customs within a couple of generations at most, yet the archaeological record testifies they did no such thing. A reasonable conclusion is that the first people in the Marianas were not permanent residents but highly mobile, active participants in socially complex social interactions in the ISEA region. Pollen and other archaeological evidence has been found indicating the presence of nonindigenous tropical plants which cannot have arrived in the Marianas on their own, centuries before the *latte* era (Moore 2015). By c. 1,500 years ago, a time when inland sites had become more common and coastal occupations were enlarging, local dependence upon agriculture is apparent in the archaeological record. Was the population finally increasing intrinsically or through in-migration?

From ecological principles, in-migration is more likely. Due to the small size of the islands, their naturally low plant and animal diversity, and extreme vulnerability to typhoons, earthquakes and droughts, the Marianas were initially what ecologists (e.g.,

Pulliam 2000) call a"sink habitat" for human groups. As such, the islands could not sustain a viable human population over time. However, in theory and in fact, sink habitats can be modified to make them livable by a colonizing population. This is accomplished by importing the appropriate skills and technology and enough people to apply these subsidies consistently over time. The adaptive shift from targeted marine foraging by people whose cultural orientation was to the complex social systems of ISEA, to a Marianas-oriented mixed fishing and agricultural subsistence system culminating in the *latte* era, was accomplished through such essential human subsidies. The decline in sea level, which increased cultivable land area as well as provided more living space than before, would have helped to make the islands suitable for permanent human habitation.

Linguistics

Linguistic classifications of Chamorro agree that it belongs within the western division of Malayo-Polynesian languages (Reid 2002). More specifically, some researchers claim Chamorro's closest language "relatives" are in the Philippines while others find them in the Greater Sundas, including Sulawesi. While citing a discredited model for the dispersal of Austronesian languages by agriculturalists coming from Taiwan as evidence that the initial settlers of the Marianas spoke Chamorro, Vilar and colleagues also cite more recent linguistic work on Chamorro which claims it developed in southern ISEA (Wouk and Ross 2002). However, they ignore pertinent arguments against this claim and for a northern Philippines linguistic connection. We suggest that available historical linguistic models for Chamorro, all of which lack an awareness of the Marianas archaeological record that casts doubts on their initial premise of language dispersal by agriculturalists, cannot be cited as supporting gene-based origin scenarios except in the most general way, namely, that ISEA is the likely geographic and cultural source area for all Pacific Islanders. In this context it is important to acknowledge the independence of language and biological traits.

The complex Marianas archaeological record suggests the possibility that more than one population, speaking different languages, was sequentially present in the islands, with Chamorro developing its distinctiveness as well as its apparent borrowings from other languages, including Palauan, during the *latte* era. Immigration to the Marianas by Caroline Islanders and other groups, for a variety of reasons, are recent examples of inter-cultural encounters and exchange processes that likely also operated in the past, as the uniformitarian principle allows.

Changing pottery styles and different modes of mortuary treatment, especially on islands where immigration and inter-cultural exchanges are always a possibility and sometimes a necessity, can reflect differences in the geographic and cultural origins of their practitioners. As noted during our review of the Marianas archaeological sequence, human interments are absent from sites created by marine foragers during the first thousand years. Then comes the Naton Beach Site cemetery in Tumon, Guam. Three hundred sixty-seven individuals were excavated and later analyzed in the laboratory. On the basis of their burial placement within the site, two temporally distinct groups were defined, an earlier group of 155 attributed to the middle PreLatte Period that began c. 800 B.C.E., and a later group of 212 individuals, interred during the Latte Period and early European contact era. Our focus here is on the early mortuary gap closers.

Significance of the Naton Cemetery: Differences and Similarities in the Two Burial Populations

The Naton cemetery, with its earliest known burials in the Marianas, signals a cultural reorganization, an adaptive shift from the previous pattern of intermittent visitation by marine foragers to a more sedentary settlement system, marked by land burial and the beginnings of agriculture where plot ownership becomes important. Intriguing differences between the early burials and those dated to the Latte Period have been found, again raising the issue of Chamorro origins. Were the early burials at Naton the direct ancestors of today's Chamorros, who developed appropriate adaptations to the limited resources of the islands, culminating in the Latte Period cultural system? Or were these groups present for a while but later replaced by other people more directly related to the modern Chamorros?

As predicted by Eakin (DeFant and Eakin 2009), and reported by Walth et al. (2013),there were many differences between Naton's Unai and Latte skeletal characteristics and mortuary behaviors. Descriptive and metric analyses revealed significant differences in the size and dimensions of cranial bones, post-cranial bones, and dentition; the frequencies of non-metric dental traits also differ. Decreases in tooth dimensions and certain cranial measurements between the Unai and Latte groups were noted that could reflect changes in diet and food processing, assuming a continuum of occupation, or possibly introductions by a new population. Significant increases in long bone diameters or circumferences, incidence and types of dental wear, and changes in the locations of degenerative joint disease resulting from wear and tear suggest changes in activities and occupational patterns. Unlike Latte burials,

Unai burials were deep in white sterile sand below the darker, culturally enriched soils of the Latte Period, and many individuals were buried with elaborate shell bracelets and necklaces and other artifacts burial treatments not seen in Latte Period graves.

While there are significant differences between the two Naton skeletal assemblages, there are also many similarities. The Naton group as a whole fits fairly well within ranges of variation for size and robusticity when compared with other local skeletal populations. Betel nut use, though not common, was present among the Unai, as was incised dentition. Interments were predominately on an east-west axis for both groups. Unai burials were clustered in a manner similar to those of the Latte Period, and this clustering may have been based on burial in accordance with family space and/or structures. This clustering is significant. Among tropical subsistence agriculturalists, ownership is regulated through kinship affiliations, such as clans. The practice of multiple cluster interments at Naton that occurred over several centuries may represent a legitimizing tactic for clan or lineage claims on real property (plots and gathering locales).

Does the introduction of new foods, new ways of food production and preparation, and eventually, *latte* architecture, indicate one or more replacement groups coming to Guam, or were there cumulative changes to the Unai maternal lineages over time, with ongoing contributions of new ideas and DNA from ISEA sea nomads who continued to venture to the Marianas?

An Ancient DNA Analysis of Unai Burials from Naton

To address these questions, we, along with colleagues in the U.K., plan to apply high precision dating and ancient DNA analysis to a sample of Unai Naton burials. The first phase of the project will quickly determine the feasibility of ancient DNA analysis on selected dentitions by testing for the presence of nitrogen, an indicator that DNA is present. The tests will be performed at the Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art, Oxford University. Assuming positive results during Phase 1, Phase 2 will involve extraction and analysis of mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) of the samples that tested positive, at the Department of Biological Sciences, University of Huddersfield. mtDNA is inherited down the female line of descent without recombination, such that accumulating mutations define the maternal genealogy of an individual. Analysis of mtDNA allows inferences about both the source and the timing of colonization events by tracing maternal lineages in new populations to their source

and, using the molecular clock to estimate the time depth from the diversity that has arisen within founder lineages in the new habitat.

It is well known that mtDNA is more abundant in the body than nuclear DNA and therefore has a better chance of being detected and extracted in very old bones and teeth, especially those that have been subjected to tropical weather and soil conditions, as in the Marianas. Large databases of mtDNA in modern and prehistoric populations have accumulated over the last several years, providing a firm basis for comparison with the results of our project. Through comparative mtDNA analysis using these databases, the Naton results will indicate Guam's earliest burial population's biological relationships with contemporary Chamorros as well as other Pacific and ISEA groups.

Several studies have shown that modern Chamorros share a genetic heritage, called the "Polynesian motif", with contemporary groups in ISEA, Melanesia, and the Pacific Islands. Vilar and colleagues have identified an extremely rare "Chamorro motif" consisting of the Polynesian motif plus a transition mutation unique to Chamorros from Guam and Rota. Although rare in modern Chamorro populations, this genetic marker may have been more common earlier, and we will test for this possibility in the Naton samples. Its absence among the Naton samples could indicate that it developed or was introduced into the Marianas after the Late Unai Period at Naton. Its presence could indicate biological continuity between the Naton population and late prehistoric/historic Chamorros.

Using Accelerator Mass Spectrometry (AMS), which requires only a very small sample compared to standard radiocarbon assay, AMS dating of tooth samples will help refine the dating estimates for the earliest burials at Naton and will also help determine the beginning of the practice of land burial on Guam. If funding is available, we will directly date one or more of the Naton samples. This project is a preliminary study in which we hope to find that DNA is still present in adequate amounts for a reliable analysis. Successful extraction of ancient DNA, interpreted within the relevant archaeological context as provided here, will help clarify local and regional population history, including dispersal patterns within western Micronesia and ISEA.

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Finding Apolonia

A case study in assembling Direct, Indirect and Negative Evidence in the search for her parents

By Jillette Torre Leon Guerrero

Prepared for the 3rd Marianas History Conference and Guampedia

Introduction

Proving the parentage of individuals born in Guam during the 1800s is difficult, and in some cases, appears impossible. Finding any written documentation for those born during this period is a challenging endeavor. This is because much of the written documentation for this period did not survive. Guam's turbulent history, the tropical climate and the devastation of World War II are responsible for the dearth of information.[1] [2] This presents a challenge to genealogists and requires them to use creative strategies to assemble evidence in support of their research. Unless a hidden cache of historical documents is found to bridge this gap, this will continue to confound genealogists and historians for years to come.

In Guam, many families do not know much about their ancestors that lived in the early 1800s. One significant event that may have contributed to this situation was the worldwide influenza pandemic in 1918-19. Brought to Guam on board the military transport ship the USS Logan, the "Spanish Flu" killed more than 6 percent of the island population.[3] The very young and the elderly were especially vulnerable. Because of the high rate of mortality in the elderly, it has been said that over 80% of those who spoke Spanish perished because of the epidemic.[4] While this event brought an abrupt halt to the use of the Spanish language on Guam, it is also believed to have hindered

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[1] Safford, W.E., "The Mariana Islands Notes compiled by W. E. Safford: From Documents in the Archives at Agaña, the Capital of Guam, from early Voyages found in the Libraries of San Francisco, California," (bound transcript 1901, Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam) p. IV-V.

[2] O.R. Lodge, "Attach Preparations," *The Recapture of Guam*, (Fredericksburg: Awani Press Inc., 1988), 33.

[3] Shanks, G.D., Hussell, T. and Brundage, "Epidemiological isolation causing variable mortality in island populations during the 1918-1920 influenza pandemic", *Influenza and Other Respiratory Viruses*, 6 (January 2012) 417-423.

[4] Julius Sullivan, "Men of Navarre," *The Phoenix Rises* (New York: Seraphic Mass Association, 1957), 118-119.

the transmission of family histories from one generation to the next. For today's elderly, it is not uncommon for Guam residents to not know who their great grandparents were. For those that do, they know very little about their lives. This was the case with Apolonia Ada.

Apolonia Ada

Apolonia was born about 1861-3. She gave birth to a daughter named "Josefa" around 1885 when she was 22 years old. The father of Josefa is unknown. Apolonia later married Juan de la Torre y Acosta and bore him four children: Soledad, Vicenta, Juan and Felicita. She died between 1941-1944. She has been associated with several surnames including Ada, Cruz, Reyes, and Torre. Her surviving grandchildren know very little else about her. With this in mind, a search for written evidence of Apolonia Ada was launched with the hopes of uncovering her family origins.

Research Objective

The objective of the research was to determine who Apolonia's parents were. The first place to start was to investigate the various names associated with her. In order to understand the significance of her name, a review of the naming traditions in Guam is in order.

What's in a Name? Naming traditions in Guam

Naming traditions in Guam are confusing. The indigenous people of Guam, the Chamorro people, did not traditionally have surnames.[5] When the Spanish arrived in 1668 and began baptizing the population, Chamorro natives were given Christian first names and their Chamorro names became their last name. This meant that siblings all had different last names.[6]

During the Spanish period, the Hispanic naming system was followed. Wives did not take their husband's surname. Children many times were given composite names. Jose Maria for a male would be a composite first name. Maria Angelica would be a composite first name for a girl. This creates problems when searching for individuals

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[5] 1727 Census of the Mariana Islands, "Padron General de las Islas Marianas 1728," Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, Mangilao, Guam.

[6] Garcia, Francisco, S.J. "He Distributes His Companions throughout the Islands and the Baptism of Adults Begins," *The Life and Martyrdom of the Venerable Father Diego Luis de San Vitores*, S.J., James A. McDonough, S.J., editor (Mangilao: Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, 2004), 188-189, particularly 188.

as either name could be recorded. Hispanic surnames were compound names comprised of their mother and father's surnames. Sometime they were conjoined with the conjunction "y". In the Spanish tradition the paternal name came first followed by the maternal name. The Portuguese tradition was the opposite the maternal name came second and the paternal name last. In cases where parents weren't married, children usually carried their mother's surname (s).[7]

When Guam was ceded to the US in 1898, the Americans eventually introduced a different naming pattern. In many cases, the maternal surname became the middle name and the paternal surname became the last name. In some cases, compound surnames like de Leon Guerrero were shortened to "de Leon" or "Guerrero". In many cases the particles: de, de la, de los and the copulative conjunction "y" were lost. During this period many were known to change their names to make it easier to get employment with the American administration. Some used their maternal names as a last name instead of their paternal name. Some were known to completely change their name and siblings in one family were known to each spell their names differently. This can be attributed to the Naval Government's order that all adults learn to write their names. The law stipulated that, "any citizen may procure from the Government a suitable sample of his or her written name for use as a copy to be imitated in practice and instruction."[8] It can be assumed that those in the government that were teaching the residents to write their name had no idea of the correct spelling or Spanish naming tradition.

Apolonia in the Historical Record

There is much confusion about Apolonia's name. Her name has been recorded as "Apolonia Ada de la Cruz", "Apolonia Reyes Ada" and "Apolonia Ada".[9] [10] [11]

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[7] Jillette Torre Leon-Guerrero, "Genealogy: Challenges, Tools and Techniques," *1st Marianas History Conference,* 2 (June 2012), e-journal (http://issuu.com/guampedia/docs/marianas_oral_genealogy_history/1?e=1294219/5924647 : accessed 14 November 2014), especially pages 14-18.

[8] US. Naval Administration of Guam. General Order No. 13., 23 January 1903.

[9] Chamorro Roots Genealogy Project . "Genealogy Library" members-only database, Chamorro Roots Database (http://www.chamorroroots.com: accessed 14 November 2014), Lineage report for person ID #13939, Apolonia Reyes Ada.

[10] "International Genealogical Index (IGI)," database, FamilySearch (http://familysearch.org/pal:/MM(.2.1/9NQM-PC : accessed 14 November 2014), entry for Apolonia Ada Cruz.

[11] 1920 census of Guam, "Censo Oficial de 1920 Guam," for Agaña, page 101, household 880 for Apolonia Ada; Archivo de los Padres Capuchinos, Aragon-Cantabria Burlada, Navarra, Spain, 1921.

The earliest instance of Apolonia is found in the 1897 Spanish Census. According to this document Apolonia was born about 1863.[12] She is found in the household of Francisco de la Cruz along with 7 others. Although the document indicates that all are the children of Francisco de la Cruz, a widower, the two youngest are known to be Apolonia's children.

The next document that we find Apolonia recorded in is the 1920 Guam Church Census.[13] She appears as Apolonia Ada and is now married to Juan de la Torre Acosta (61). This is Juan's second marriage as he is listed as the widower of Vicenta Borja. Recorded along with the couple are their children: Soleded (26), Vicenta (23), Juan (20) and Felicitias (18). Josefa, (31) is also recorded as the natural child of Apolonia. Josefa and Soledad were first recorded along with Apolonia in the 1897 Spanish census in the household of Francisco de la Cruz. From this we learn that Soledad was born prior to the marriage of Juan and Apolonia. The father of Josefa is unknown.

The 1920 US Census for the Island of Guam records the same family as such: Juan A La Torre (60), Apolonia A. La Torre (58), Josefa (34), Soledad (22), Vicenta (20), Juan (18), Felicitias (16). All are recorded with the surname "La Torre".[14]

Table 1: Apolonia in Historical Records

Name	Age	Date	Head of Household/ Document	Others	Source
Apolonia [No indication of surname but assumed to be de la Cruz]	34	1897	Francisco de la Cruz (67) [entry indicates that Francisco is the father of Apolonia]	Children of Head of Household: Vicente (36) Jose (24) Tomas (20) Manuel (17) Ana (18) Josefa (12) Soledad (8)	1897 Spanish Census page 99-78b

[12] 1897 census of Guam "Padron de Almas: Año de 1897" for city of Agaña, Barrio of Tepungan page 99-78b, household of Francisco de la Cruz, widower, Apolonia Ada; Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, Mangilao, Guam.

[13] 1920 Church Census, of Guam, "Censo Oficial de 1920 Guam," for Agaña, p. 103, household 880, Apolonia Ada.

[14] 1920 US Census, The Island of Guam, population schedule, Agaña City, p37b, dwelling 129, Family 145, Apolonia A. La Torre, digital image, Ancestry.com (http://www.ancestry.com: accessed 14 November 2014); citing NARA microfilm publication T625, roll 2032.

Apolonia Ada	59	1920	Juan de la Torre Acosta (61)	Children: Soledad (26) Vicenta (23) Juan (20) Felicitas (18) Josefa (31)	1920 Guam Church Census page 103
Apolonia A. La Torre	58	1920	Juan A. La Torre (60)	Children: Soledad (22) Vicenta (20) Juan (18), Felicitas (16) Josefa (32)	1920 US Census San Vitores Street Agaña City The Island of Guam
Apolonia A. de la Torre	54 [67]	1930	Juan Acosta de la Torre (71)	Children: Soledad (35) Felicita (26)	1930 US Census Machananao Barrio, The Island of Guam
Apolonia A. Torre	76	1940	Juan A. Torre (80)	Stepdaughter of head of household: Josefa Ada (49) "Servant?" Teresita Cruz (10)	1940 US Census Barrio San Antonio Agaña, The Island of Guam
Appollonia Reyes Ada		1988	Death Announcement of Vicenta Ada Torre Leon Guerrero	Family members in announcement: Juan Acosta Torre Josefa Ada Reyes Felicta Torre Munoz Soledad Ada Torre Juan Ada Torre	Pacific Daily News 10/15/1988 page 10
Apolonia Reyes Ada		2003	Death Announcement of Felicita Torre Munoz	Family members in announcement: Juan Acosta Torre Josefa Ada Torre Soledad Ada Torre Vicenta Torre Leon Guerrero Juan Ada Torre	Pacific Daily News 9/10/2003 page 25

Apolonia Ada Cruz		2009	De la Torre Family Tree [indicates that Apolonia's parents are Fabian de la Cruz and Juliana Ada]	Juan Acosta de la Torre Soledad Ada Torre Vicenta Ada Torre Juan Ada Torre Felicita Ada Torre, Josefa Ada	Tronkon y Familian Francisco de la Torre yan Maria Acosta by Joaquin Torre 23 Oct. 2009

In the 1930 US Census Juan Acosta de la Torre (71) is recorded with Apolonia A. de la Torre (54), Soledad (35), and Felicita (26) in Machananao.[15] It is known that Vicenta and Juan had married by this time and no longer lived with the family. Josefa is listed as the head of a household in Agaña [Hagåtña].[16] Many families had two households during this period. One located in the capital city of Agaña, and another in a rural area. This was the case with the de la Torre family. It appears that Josefa [*recorded as Josefa A. Torre*] kept the house in Agaña while the rest of the family was with Juan and Apolonia in Machananao, where the family farm was located.

The 1940 US Census records Apolonia A. Torre along with Juan A. Torre and her daughter, Josefa.[17] Josefa Ada (49) is listed as step-daughter to Juan. Another person, 10 year- old Teresita Cruz, is listed as "servant?" It is more likely that Teresita was a niece or granddaughter of Apolonia who was living with the elderly couple to help them out. A common practice in Guam at the time was that one daughter would remain single to live with and care for elderly parents. It appears that Josefa fulfilled this duty. In other cases young children (many times nieces and nephews) would live with extended family members to help out with household, farming or other duties

[15] 1930 US Census, The Island of Guam, population schedule, Machananao, Agaña, p31A, dwelling 284, Family 306, Apolonia A. de la Torre, digital image, Ancestry.com (http://www.ancestry.com: accessed 14 November 2014); citing NARA microfilm publication T626, roll 2629.

[16] 1930 US Census, The Island of Guam, population schedule, Agaña, p42A, dwelling 346, Family 402, Josefa A. Torre, digital image, Ancestry.com (http://www.ancestry.com: accessed 14 November 2014); citing NARA microfilm publication T626, roll 2629.

[17] 1940 US Census, The Island of Guam, population schedule, Agaña, p4A, dwelling 113, Family 30, Apolonia A. Torre, digital image, Ancestry.com (http://www.ancestry.com: accessed 14 November 2014); citing NARA microfilm publication T627, roll 4643.

that the family was involved in. The host family would take the children as their own and provide for their welfare and education.[18] [19]

A search through the Guam News Letter index for the period 1914 - 1921 and the Guam Judicial records index for the period 1807-1935. Neither mentions Apolonia Ada, Apolonia Cruz, Apolonia de la Cruz, Apolonia Reyes or Apolonia Torre or Apolonia de la Torre.[20] [21]

No death records for Apolonia were found. She died during the Japanese occupation of Guam [WWII] and the exact location of her last resting place is not known. During the war she lived in the household of her daughter. Justo Torre Leon Guerrero, her grandson remembers her death but was not allowed to go to the funeral. He believes that she was buried on what is now federal land, and houses the US Air Force base in Yigo, Guam.[22] The area is restricted and access is prohibited. It is not known if the burials located there were moved to another location after the war.

Moving forward, the next place we find reference to Apolonia, is in the Guam People Data Cards compiled by Anthropologist Jane H. Underwood between 1965-1992.[23] She is simply listed Apolonia Ada and is found along with Juan Acosta de la Torre [*who is incorrectly recorded as Juan Acosta de la Torres*] and children: Josefa, Soledad, Juan, Vicenta and Felicita.

Another mention of Apolonia is found in the death and funeral announcements of two of her daughters, Vicenta and Felicita. Death announcements for her daughters Josefa and Soledad and son Juan were not found. Vicenta Ada Torre Leon Guerrero passed away in 1988. In her death announcement her mother is recorded as Appollonia Reyes

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[18] Leon-Guerrero, "Genealogy: Challenges, Tools and Techniques," page 19.

[19] Thompson, Laura, "The Native Culture of the Mariana Islands," *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin* 185, (1945) : 18.

[20] Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, "Familian Chamorro Genealogy Database Index: *Guam Newsletter* 1914-1921," Richard Flores Taitano Micronesian Area Research Center (http://ns.gov.gu/genealogy : accessed 14 November 2014)

[21] Brunal-Perry, Omaira, editor., "Index of Guam Judicial Records," CD-ROM (Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, 1995)

[22] Personal interview with Justo Torre Leon Guerrero, June 15, 2009

[23] Jane H. Underwood Papers Series Guam People Data Cards A to Babauta, Manuscript collection, Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, Mangilao, Guam.

Ada. In 2003, the death announcement of Felicita Torre Munoz, Apolonia Reyes Ada is listed as the mother of the decedent.[24] [25]

This appears to be a mistake on the part of the funeral home that prepared the announcements for publication. The surviving grandchildren have no recollection of their grandmother being from the Reyes clan. There was an Ada family that married into the Reyes clan. Perhaps the drafter of the funeral announcements mistook this family for the family of Apolonia. All of the evidence gathered so far does not support a "Reyes," as a viable option for Apolonia's maternal line. A visit was made to the funeral home but personnel said that all records prior to the 1990s were lost in a typhoon.

Only one other item was found for Apolonia. It is a photo that is believed by the family to be of Apolonia and her two eldest daughters, Josefa and Soledad. It was originally published in an article entitled *General Schroeder and American Rule in Guam* by the Reverend Francis E. Price in the *Independent Magazine* in 1903.[26] The caption of the photo reads, 'Chamorro "Wash women"'. It was later published in a pictorial history of Guam in 1986.[27] According to family members, it was incorrectly captioned and has created even more confusion about this ancestor. The caption reads, *"These women, posing in front of their employer's house, were nicknamed 'Vicenta Eslau.' They are, from left, Rosa, Dolores, and Victoria."* When the author of the book was contacted recently he could not remember where he obtained the photo or who identified those in the image. The photo in question was identified by Herbert and Emilie Johnston and given to the author of this study in 2010. Emilie was the first curator of the Micronesian Area Research Center's photographic collection and Herbert was the grandson of Apolonia's husband, Juan de la Torre y Acosta. They were both confident that the photo was of Apolonia and her eldest daughters. Unfortunately both have passed on and we cannot confirm where they obtained the photo. When the photo is shown to the surviving grandchildren of Apolonia they all agree that they recognize

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[24] "Vicenta Ada Torre Leon Guerrero Death and Funeral Announcement," Pacific Daily News, 15 October 1988, Agaña Guam.

[25] "Felicita Torre Muñoz In Loving Memory," Pacific Daily News, 10 September 2003, Agaña Guam.

[26] Available online at (http://www.digitalhistoryproject.com/2012/11/general-schroeder-and-american-rule-in.html)

[27] Don Farrell, "The First Naval Administration," The Pictorial History of Guam: Americanization 1898-1918, Phyllis Koontz, editor (Tamuning: Micronesian Productions, 1984), 94.

Apolonia, Josefa and Soledad. For this reason, we believe that the photo is a photo of Apolonia, Josefa and Soledad.

Although we have found no direct evidence for the birth name of Apolonia, we have assembled evidence that gives us some insight into Apolonia's life.

Image 1: This photo is reportedly of Apolonia Ada and her daughters Josefa and Soledad about 1903.

Fabian and Francisco de la Cruz

Numerous family trees published in recent years both online and in book form have indicated that Apolonia's parents are Fabian de la Cruz and Juliana Ada.[28] In many cases she is listed as Apolonia Ada Cruz.[29] In this study, we could find no direct historical evidence of Fabian de la Cruz and Juliana Ada as Apolonia's parents. In fact, many of these family trees have grouped the children of Francisco de la Cruz listed in the 1897 Spanish census incorrectly as the children of Fabian de la Cruz. It is possible that many of these were grouped based on the combination of the "Ada," and "de la Cruz" surnames.[30]

In order to shed some light on this situation we compared the families of Fabian de la Cruz and Francisco de la Cruz. [no other composite Cruz Ada families were found]

Table 2: Comparison of Cruz Ada families

Fabian de la Cruz (64, widower) **1897 Census page 99-4a**	**Francisco de la Cruz** (67, widower) **1897 Census page 99-78b**
Children	*Children*
Manuel (29)	Vicente (36)
Ana (25)	Jose (24)
Felipe (21)	Tomas (20)
Juan (20)	Manuel (17)
	Ana (18)
Margarita de la Cruz (65 sister?)	Apolonia (34)
Antonio de la Cruz (37 nephew?)	Josefa (12, daughter of Apolonia)
	Soledad (3, daughter of Apolonia)

In the 1897 Spanish census we find Fabian de la Cruz, a 64 year-old widower along with 4 children: Manuel (29), Ana (25) Felipe (21) and Juan (20). Margarita de la Cruz

[28] Torre, Joaquin Aflague, "Tronkon y Familian Francisco de la Torre yan Maria Acosta," p.1; Descendant Report to Torre family members, 23 October 2009; photocopy held by author.

[29] ibid.

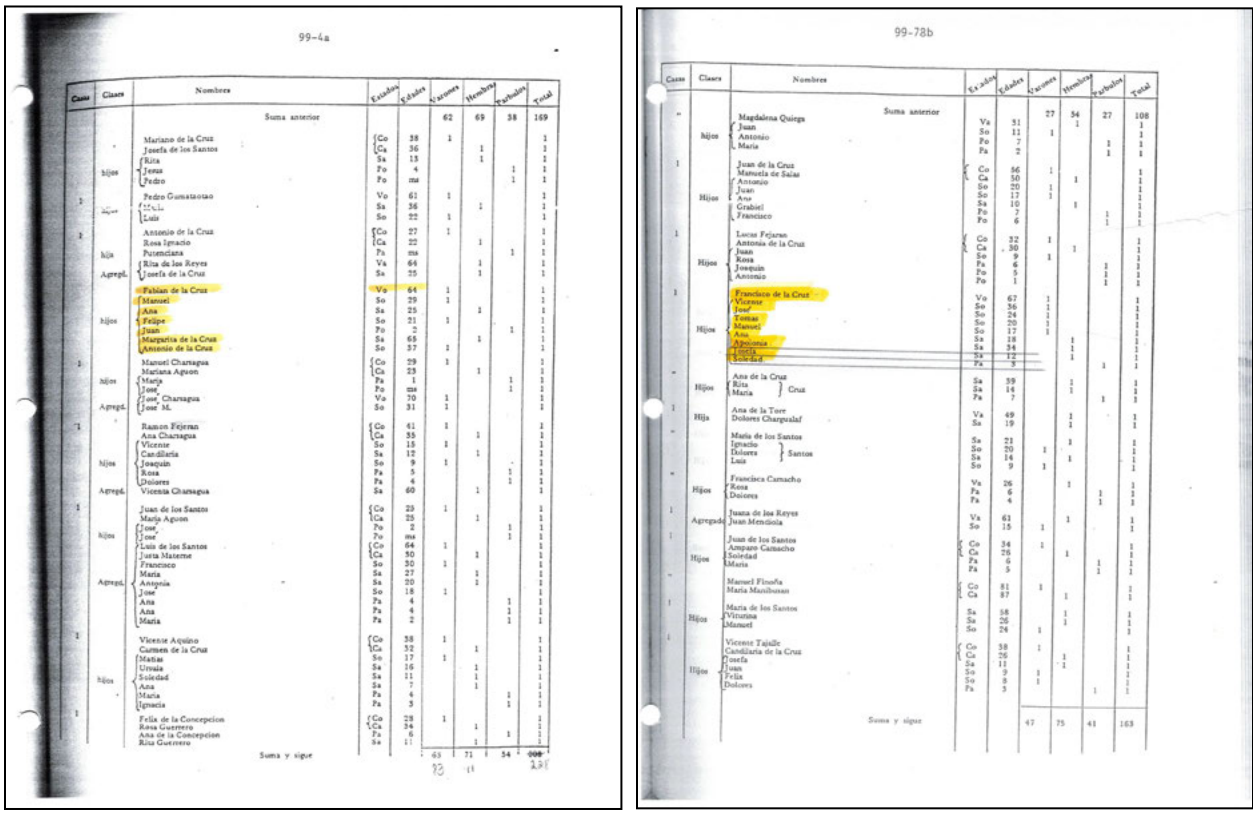
[30] Geni.com, People search, database (http://www.geni.com : 14 November 2014) Search for Fabian de la Cruz.

(65) is believed to be his unmarried sister and her son, Antonio (37). We find mention of Fabian next in the 1920 Church census as the father of Felipe de la Cruz Ada.

In the same census we have the children of 67 year-old widower, Francisco de la Cruz, as: Vicente (36), Apolonia (34), Jose (24), Tomas (20), Manuel (17), and Ana (18). Incorrectly classified as Francisco's children, are Josefa (12) and Soledad (3), who we know are the children of Apolonia.

From the information in Table 2 we can see that Apolonia, at age 34, fits better age wise into the family of Francisco de la Cruz.

Francisco de la Cruz is recorded as the father of Apolonia in the earliest document. He is a widower and there is no indication of the name of his wife. The census does not reveal his maternal surname. While Apolonia is listed as his daughter, there is no indication in the document as to the children's maternal surname. It can be assumed that their paternal surname is "de la Cruz" since Francisco is listed as their father. But this may not be the case if he did not marry their mother. In that case, they would carry their mother's surname.



The 1897 Spanish Census records both Fabian and Francisco de la Cruz with their families.

The judicial records index was searched for Francisco de la Cruz.[31] Prenuptial agreements were often used during this time period to ensure that property owned by each spouse prior to marriage, did not become community property. If a prenuptial agreement was found it would reveal the wife of Francisco de la Cruz. The search revealed 175 entries. None were for prenuptial agreements. Most of the documents were for Francisco de la Cruz y Martinez. Also listed was Francisco de la Cruz y Benavente, and Francisco de la Cruz y Salas. There were also several recorded as only Francisco de la Cruz. From past experience, each document would have to be reviewed in order to determine if there was any mention of other family members of the Francisco de la Cruz noted in the index. This is painstaking work as most of the documents are in Spanish and require translation. Because of time limitations this was not pursued.

Apolonia's Siblings

In order to determine if the children's mother was an "Ada" we searched for Francisco's children in the historical record with the combination surname of Cruz and Ada. If they followed the naming patterns of the time, their compound surname would have been either de la Cruz Ada or Ada Cruz [if they followed the American naming pattern.] We searched for both de la Cruz and just Cruz since the practice of dropping the preposition was common at the time. If Francisco did not marry the children's mother, then "Ada" would be their last name. Because the Ada family was very small, all instances of "Ada" were checked. The search revealed candidates for all of Apolonia's siblings. All carried the Cruz Ada or Ada Cruz name.

During this period the 1897 Spanish census, the Guam judicial records and the 1920 Church census used the Spanish naming pattern while all US census documents used the American naming pattern. It is interesting that even the early American judicial records used the Spanish naming pattern. This is very confusing for the researcher.

Vicente de la Cruz y Ada was found in several judicial records for the years 1901 and 1903.[32] We also found him referenced in the 1920 Church census as the late husband of Basilia Camacho Taitano.[33] Because he died before 1920 we were not able to find any further references for him in the historical record and could not confirm his age. For this reason it is uncertain if this is the brother of Apolonia. While it appears

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[31] Brunal-Perry., "Index of Guam Judicial Records."

[32] ibid.

[33] 1920 Church census page 158

plausible that this is Apolonia's brother, we cannot be certain. The fact that on the same page of the census we find Manuel Cruz Ada [Spanish naming pattern with the "de la" omitted] of the same age as Apolonia's brother seems to add credence to the possibility. Manuel is married to Maria Aflague. We also find Manuel listed as Manuel A. Cruz [American naming pattern] in the 1920 US census married to Maria A. Cruz. They are listed along with six children.[34] This is the same person and appears to be Apolonia's brother. Manuel, the son of Fabian de la Cruz, was not found in the church census but he was found in the 1920 US census as Manuel A. Cruz.[35] He is the same age as Fabian's son Manuel. He is enumerated along with his wife, Ana M. and two children.

Jose and Tomas Cruz Ada, also appear in the 1920 Church census, both are the right age to be Apolonia's brothers.[36] According to this document, Jose married Candelaria de la Torre Acosta, the sister of Juan de la Torre Acosta who married Vicenta Ada Torre, Apolonia's daughter. Jose is also found in the 1920 US Census listed along with his wife Candelaria T. and 5 children.[37] This finding establishes a close relationship between the de la Torre Acosta and the de la Cruz families.

Tomas also was found in the 1920 Church census and the US census.[38] In the US census he is listed alongside his wife, Ana Leon Guerrero, who was also recorded with him in the 1920 Church census. The couple have 7 children. This is another indication of allied families as Apolonia's daughter, Vicenta, would also marry into the Leon Guerrero family.

Ana de la Cruz Ada was found in the 1920 church census and was a good candidate to be Apolonia's sister.[39] She is listed along with Ignacio Cruz Manibusan and five children. Unfortunately, her age was not given. According to the census Ana's eldest child was born in 1908. The mean age for women to marry in Guam at the time was

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[34] 1920 US Census, Piti, Agaña, Guam., pop.sch. p.15A, dwell. 24, fam. 24, Manuel A. Cruz.

[35] 1920 US Census, Anigua, Agaña, Guam., pop.sch. p. 6B, dwell. 44, fam. 49, Manuel A. Cruz.

[36] 1920 Church census page 88.

[37] 1920 US Census, Agaña, Guam, pop. sch., p. 29A, dwell.231, fam. 269, Jose A. and Candelaria T. Cruz.

[38] 1920 US Census, Agaña, Guam, pop. sch., dwell. 280, fam.322, Tomas A. Cruz and Ana L.G.

[39] 1920 Church census page 161.

21.5 years old.[40] If she married at 22, it is possible that she gave birth to her first child in 1908. Fabian de la Cruz also had a daughter named Ana. She was 7 years older than Apolonia's sister, Ana. This means that both were of childbearing age in 1908. This makes it difficult to determine which Ana is mentioned in the census.

Because Apolonia's siblings appeared to have carried the Cruz Ada/Ada Cruz name, and because there were only two families in the historical documentation with de la Cruz or Cruz as the paternal line and Ada as the maternal line, it is evident that Francisco and an unnamed "Ada" parented Apolonia's younger siblings. It is possible that Fabian de la Cruz and Francisco were brothers and married Juliana and her unnamed sister. Due to an absence of records for the time period we may never know if this is the case. Church records would normally be a good source for this type of information but those records were lost in the destruction of the Agaña Cathedral during WWII.

The Ada Question

The question remains, why did most recordings of Apolonia list only Ada? If her elder brother Vicente went by the surname Ada we could conjecture that Francisco had not married her mother before she was born. But we cannot confirm this since there was no age information for the Vicente de la Cruz y Ada that was found in the 1920 Church census and we have not found a Vicente Ada of the correct age in the records. All the rest of her siblings appeared to have carried the Cruz Ada surnames. It could also be possible that Francisco was not actually her father. The question regarding the name, Apolonia Reyes Ada, in her daughter's death announcements is still unsolved. Or perhaps it was simply a recording error. The records for Apolonia start in 1897, only a year before the US Navy took over the administration of the island. It was a time of change that is reflected in the confusing naming patterns of the island. Because of this, today there are siblings in one family that spell their name differently.[41]

The first source that was found for Apolonia is the 1897 Spanish census. It is not uniform in the recording of names. In most cases the children's names are listed below the parents and it is assumed that they follow the Spanish naming pattern. In most cases this has proven to be correct. In some cases, the surname is actually

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[40] Underwood, Jane H., "Effects of the 1918 Influenza Pandemic Mortality Experience on Subsequent Fertility of the Native Population of Guam," *Micronesica* 19 (December 1983): 1-9, specifically 7.

[41] Personal interview with Jerome Fejerang, 13 April 2012.

indicated, especially if only one parent is in the household. There doesn't appear to be a uniform reason for this other than the desire of the recorder. For the villages in Southern Guam, the names are written using the copulative conjunction "y," while in Northern Guam the maternal surname is not indicated at all.

Because of these irregularities and unless more documents become available, we may never know the true origins of Apolonia. But based on the following evidence, we can reasonably assume that her mother was an Ada. There is also compelling evidence to suggest that Francisco de la Cruz is her father and not Fabian de la Cruz.

Summary of Evidence

Table 3: Summary of Evidence to support each possible name

	Apolonia Ada	**Apolonia de la Cruz**	**Apolonia Reyes**
Direct Evidence	1920 Church Census		Death notices of her daughters
Indirect Evidence	"A" is her middle initial in: 1920 US Census 1930 US Census 1940 US Census Death notices of daughters has "Apolonia Reyes Ada" Naming Patterns: All her children carried the Ada de la Torre surname.	1897 Spanish Census lists her as the child of Francisco de la Cruz. All of her younger siblings carried the Ada Cruz surname	
Negative Evidence		"A" is her middle initial in: 1920 US Census 1930 US Census 1940 US Census Death notices of daughters Names of her children	Not supported by her living descendants

Table 4: Summary of Evidence to support each candidate for Apolonia's father

	Francisco de la Cruz	**Fabian de la Cruz**	**Unknown Reyes**
Direct Evidence	1897 Church census		Death Notices
Indirect Evidence	Her younger siblings carried the Ada Cruz surname	Her younger siblings carried the Ada Cruz surname	
Negative Evidence	Death Notices	Absence of direct evidence	Not supported by living descendants

There is compelling evidence to indicate that Apolonia is the child of an unnamed Ada who was the wife of Francisco de la Cruz. It is not clear if Francisco is Apolonia's birth father. It is also not clear what is the relationship between Francisco and Fabian de la Cruz.

This case study reveals the challenges that researchers face in searching for evidence of familial lineages in Guam and the Northern Marianas. While this research centered on family and records based in Guam, interviews with family members here indicate a need to research records and possible family links in Saipan. The 1897 Spanish census of the Mariana Islands includes the island of Guam and Rota. It is not certain if the census ever included the islands of Tinian and Saipan, or if the records for those islands were simply lost. For this reason, a search of possible connections in Saipan needs to be undertaken. To date we have located at least one possible candidate in Saipan who has agreed to have their DNA tested in the hopes of finding a connection with Apolonia's descendants in Guam.

While this study has shed some light on Apolonia, it has raised more questions than it has answered. In spite of this, evidence and information gathered during this study have given new direction to the search for her origins.

Jillette Leon-Guerrero has a BA in Anthropology from the University of Guam, an MA in Human Relations from the University of Oklahoma and a certificate in Genealogical Research from Boston University. In 2013 she produced a television special documenting the search for "John Paris," a resident of Guam who left the island in the late 1800s and settled in Kauai, Hawai'i. She is currently working toward professional certification from the Board for Certification of Genealogists®. She is also the President of Guamology Inc., a Guam-based publishing company. She provides consulting services for Guampedia.com, the War in the Pacific National Historical Park, and various other Guam organizations. Active in community service organizations, Leon-Guerrero currently serves on the Board of Regents of the University of Guam; is the Registrar of the Mariana Islands Chapter, NSDAR and is a past-President of the Guam Women's Club.

World War II American Intelligence of the Mariana Islands

By Dave Lotz
Prepared for the 3rd Marianas History Conference and Guampedia

Intelligence is defined as the ability to learn and understand or to deal with the new or trying situations. The intent of this paper is to describe selected components of the American intelligence efforts directed at the Mariana Islands as it relates to World War II. This presentation is divided into three components:

- Efforts of the pre-war period from the 1920s to 1941
- Pre-invasion of 1941 through 1944
- The products of the Joint Intelligence Center, Pacific Ocean Area (JOCPAC)

Efforts of the pre-war period from the 1917 to 1941

Early US Navy acquisition of information on the Japanese Mandated Mariana Islands, now the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, is revealed in a folder of accumulated documents discovered in the National Archives in Washington, DC. commencing July 18, 1917, from Naval Station, Guam. A selection of documents revealed a wide variety of collected information.

For instance in 1921, M. F. Malcom reported "a modern 6 inch pedestrian gun is reported to have been recently installed on the island of Saipan." These and subsequent reports were all recorded on official Office of Naval Intelligence forms and assigned a file number.

The next year, Jose Roberto, an aide to the Governor of Guam, provided a photograph taken from apparently Mount Tapochao toward Tinian.

Perhaps more intriguing was the visits by Hans Hornbostel to Saipan, Tinian, Aguijan, and Rota from 1924 to 1926. While Hornbostel was an employee of the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, Hawaii, he was actually working for the Office of Naval Intelligence. His frequent reports found their way into the archives of the Office of Naval Intelligence.

A variety of additional sources of information on the islands was collected. For instance the Japanese publication, *Umino-Nihon, Maritime Japan*, of 1927 contained as article stating that Rear Admiral Takahashi, IJN retired, recently visited Saipan to survey a site for a harbor. This was recorded on a Naval Attaché's Blank, (form N.N.I. 96 Revised Nov. 1-21).

In 1933, the Curator of the Zoological Museum at Stanford University, Albert William Herre visited Saipan with the Pacific Fisheries Expedition. He secretly made a report on Japanese military barracks, officers' quarters, an aviation field, and the presence of anti-aircraft guns.

Various additional reports from visitors to the Japanese Mandated Mariana Islands also found their way into the folder as evident by several interesting examples. A July 1933 visit to Saipan by W. H. Towner provided an extensive listing of construction and military units. The August 1933 report by Jose Roberto reported on the construction of Aslito Airfield. The next year, Francisco Flores reported on the evacuation of natives from a portion of Rota. Then in October 1934, various reports stated the grounding of a ship on Saipan and on railroad construction on Saipan and Rota.

An important source of intelligence was obtained by the USS *Gold Star*, AG 12, the Guam station ship, on yearly voyages to Yokohama from Guam and return. This included both visual and communications intelligence. For instance the voyage from Yokohama to Guam in August of 1934 happened to steam within sight of Hachijo Jima, Chichi Jima, Haha Jima, Farallon de Pajaros, Maug, Asuncion, Agrihan, Pagan, Alamagan, Guguan, Sarigan, Anatahan, Saipan, Tinian, Aguijan, and Rota from the 16th to the 20th. Radiomen on-board monitored nearby Japanese ships and shore stations.

In 1934, two intrepid American travel writers, Willard and Mary Price, visited the Japanese Mandated Islands aboard *Yokohama Maru* and went ashore on many islands including Saipan and Tinian. Two years later Williard Price published a book about the trip titled *Pacific Adventure*. Incredibly one chapter was even titled "How to Become a Spy."

With the appearance of the Pan American Airways Clippers in the mid-1930s of flights from San Francisco to Manila that stopped at Guam, a new opportunity for spying arose. While taking off and landing in Apra Harbor on Guam, occasional "overflights"

of Rota resulted. The Clippers were also used to transport the radio intercepts from the US Navy radio intercept station at Libugon.

The Libugon Radio Station recorded Japanese communications from atop the hill at Libugon, beside Nimitz Hill on Guam. While recording Japanese communications for decrypting in the mainland, the station also conducted traffic analysis from many Japanese naval units in the area. This occurred at Libugon from the early 1930s until the station was seized by the Japanese in the invasion of Guam on December 10, 1941.

Other available sources of information contributed to intelligence on the Japanese islands. This included the US Navy Hydrographic Office's publication *Sailing Directions for the Pacific Islands* and several navigation charts produced by the Hydrographic Office on the Japanese Mariana Islands.

Pre-invasion of 1941 through 1944

December 7, 1941 swiftly changed the dimensions of intelligence in the Pacific Ocean for the US Navy. Sources of intelligence were transformed and the necessity for information became acute. Suddenly, personnel who had recently departed Guam, prior to the start of hostilities, became valuable sources of information on the island. Commander R. F. Armknecht (CEC) UNS was such as individual since he had departed the island in November having been the Navy's Public Officer for Guam. He eventually was assigned to the Office of Naval Intelligence in 1943, wrote ninety percent of ONI 99 *Strategic Study of Guam,* constructed a model of the island for planning the invasion of Guam, and assisted in briefing the assault troops.

Five Navy nurses, that were captured in the Japanese invasion of Guam, were repatriated on the SS *Gripsholm* on July 24, 1942 at Portuguese East Africa. Upon landing in New York City on August 24 they were immediately questioned by the Federal Bureau Libugonof Investigation, the Office of Naval Intelligence, and Army Intelligence. Chamorro stewards in the US Navy, who had recently departed Guam, were an additional source of valuable information regarding the island.

Throughout the war the Naval Security Group, the same Navy unit that operated the Libugon Radio Station on Guam, continued to monitor, decrypt, and translate Japanese radio communications. Listening posts in December 1943 operated at Bainbridge Island, Washington; Imperial Beach, California; Wahiawa, Hawaii; in Australia; and on board ships.

Combat intelligence provided a wealth of information on the Japanese military and the Mariana Islands. Documents were retrieved as a result of assaults on islands in Micronesia by the US forces and from downed Japanese ships and aircraft. Japanese prisoners that were captured were subject to interrogation and were a valuable source of military information on the enemy. In one instance on April 18, 1944, crewmen from the US Navy submarine *Tambor* boarded a Japanese ship, *Shinko Maru No. 3*, on a voyage to Wake Island and obtained Japanese radio codes.

Photographs, taken through periscopes from submerged US Navy submarines of possible landing beaches of primarily the main islands of the Mariana Islands, contributed to the pre-invasion intelligence of the islands. Periscope photographs were taken as follows over the first two years of the war:

- *Cuttlefish* in May 1942 of Saipan
- *Flying Fish* in January 1943 of Saipan
- *Flying Fish* in February 1943 of Tinian
- *Flying Fish* in March 1943 of Pagan
- *Permit* in May 1943 of Almagan and Pagan
- *Tunny* in June 1943 of Tinian
- *Gudgeon* in September 1943 of Saipan
- *Mingo* in October 1943 of Rota
- *Scorpion* on October 1943 of Pagan
- *Kingfish* in March 1944 of Anatahan

Then in April 1944 the submarine *Greenling* devoted an entire mission to periscope photographic reconnaissance of shorelines of Saipan, Tinian, and Guam.

For Saipan and Tinian the following are the dates in April 1944 and shoreline sections for Greenling photography:

- 2nd Saipan: Marpi Point to Kagman Point
- 3rd Saipan Kagman Point to Laulau Bay
- 9th Saipan: Naftan Point to Laulau Bay
- 10th Tinian: Laolao Point
- 17th Tinian: Suharon to Gurguan Point

- 18th Tinian: Massalog Point to Asiga Point
- 21st Tinian: Massalog Point to Marpo Point
- 23rd Saipan: Marpo Point to Tanapag Harbor
- 27th Tinian: Faibus San Hilo Point to Ushi Point

For Guam the following are the dates in April 1944 and shoreline sections for *Greenling* photography:

- 5th Talofofo Bay to Cocos Islands
- 6th Cocos Island to Facpi Point
- 7th Ritidian Point to Hanum
- 11th Ritidian Point to Lafac Point
- 12th Fadian Point to Ypao Point
- 13th Ritidian Point to Achae Point
- 14th Facpi Point to Haputo Point
- 15th Puntan dos Amantes to Cabras Island

Concurrently, aerial photography missions were accomplished from April to July 1944 by US Navy photographic PB4Y-1s escorted by US Army Air Force gunship B-24s flown west from Eniwetok and return to Los Negros to the south. In all nine missions were flown as follows:

- 18 April: Saipan, Tinian, and Aguijan
- 25 April: Guam
- 7 May: Guam
- 22 May: Rota
- 25 May: Pagan
- 29 May: Guam and Saipan
- 5 June: Guam
- 4 July: Guam
- 5 July: Tinian

Then just a few days prior to the actual invasions, US Navy carrier aircraft flew shoreline oblique photographic missions along the invasion beaches.

Events occurred that presented opportunities to acquire valuable intelligence of Japanese military plans. On April 1, 1944 a Japanese Kawanishi H8K2 Emily flying boat crashed offshore of Cebu in the Philippines carrying Rear Admiral Fukudome. He was carrying the Japanese defensive plans for the Mariana Islands which upon his death quickly fell into the hands of Filipino Guerrillas and swiftly into American military intelligence hands in Australia and Hawaii.

Intelligence gathering continued during the US invasions of the three Mariana Islands of Saipan, Guam, and Tinian. This included the utilization of US Navy Underwater Demolition Teams who conducted reconnaissance of the invasion reefs and beaches just days prior to the landing of American forces. Also, men from Malesso, Guam embarked in an outrigged canoe and reached an offshore US Navy vessel to provide information on the location of Japanese forces on the island. Once ashore military intelligence units continued to acquire Japanese documents and to interrogate Japanese prisoners. Uniquely on Saipan, virtually intact Japanese Mitsubishi A6M Zeros were captured at Aslito Field, transported to the beach, placed on barges, and hoisted on transports offshore destined for the mainland US for evaluation at US Navy air stations.

Others, too, contributed toward intelligence of the islands. A series of US Navy civil affairs handbooks was compiled under the direction of George Murdock at Columbia University. Of the eleven handbooks produced one was for the Mandated Marianas Islands. Topics covered in this book included the following:

- Geography
- Resources
- History
- People
- Customs
- Organized Groups
- Government
- Law and Justice
- Public Safety
- Public Welfare

- Health and Sanitation
- Education and Propaganda
- Communications
- Public utilities
- Transportation
- Food production
- Industry
- Labor
- Property and Exchange
- Finance

Another document produced is the previously mentioned February 1, 1944 ONI 99 *Strategic Study of Guam* that covered the following topics:

- Brief
- Military Geography
- Oceanography, Coasts, and Landing Places
- Climate and Meteorology
- Port Facilities
- Communication and Transportation
- Cities and Towns
- Resources and Trade
- People and Government
- Defense

Products of the Joint Intelligence Center, Pacific Ocean Area (JOCPAC)

Joint Intelligence Center, Pacific Ocean Area (JOCPAC), at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, collected from numerous sources information and produced various documents for the use of the invasion forces. For the Mariana Islands, the following were their products:

	Number:	Title:	Date:
1.	7-44	Marianas	25 January 1944
2.	34-44	Saipan, Tinian, and Rota	
3.	42-44	Pagan and Minor Marianas	
4.	42A-44	Air Target Maps and Photos - Pagan and Minor Marianas	
5.	52-44	Guam (vols I and II)	15 April 1944
6.	52A-44	Air Target Maps and Photos - Guam	15 April 1944
7.	66-44	Target Survey - Saipan	
8.	66A-44	Air Target Maps and Photos- Saipan	10 May 1944
9.	67-44	Target Survey - Tinian	
10.	67A-44	Air Target Maps and Photos - Tinian, Rota	10 May 1944
11.	73-44	Saipan, Tinian, and Rota	10 May 1944
12.	77A-44	Gridded Air Target Maps and Photos - Saipan, Tinian, Aguijan	15 May 1944
13.	77B-44	Air Target Maps and Photos - Saipan, Tinian, Aguijan	
14.	79A-44	Gridded Air Target Maps - Guam	
15.	79B-44	Air Target Maps and Photos - Guam	
16.	85A-44	Gridded Air target Maps - Rota	
17.	85B-44	Air Target Maps and Photos - Rota	

These documents were essential for planning and plotting the movements of the US invasion units and to call in gunfire and aerial support on the three islands of Saipan, Tinian, and Guam.

Thus long term and short intelligence for a wide variety of sources effectively collected and distributed by a central office were a critical component in the successful invasions of Saipan, Tinian and Guam in the summer of 1944.

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The Abandonment and the Inevitable: The Final Three Months before the Japanese Invasion of Guam in World War II

By Daniel Owen
Prepared for the 3rd Marianas History Conference and Guampedia

I based my theme for this paper, "The Defense of and the Aftermath of War on Guam" after having read the morning's news for May 1, 2015.

While relevant in subject matter, WAR, I will nonetheless approach the presentation from one angle which may have not been previously analyzed (from what I have researched) and to expand on some of my personal family accounts which were not detailed in my thesis.

First however, I would be remiss if I did not mention several reasons I chose my thesis topic and to thank the following; Dr. Dirk Ballendorf, wherever you are in the heavens, for his personal conviction to remember history and in particular, the oral testaments of shared moments from those who lived through Guam's history. To my wife and family thank you for your perseverance during my endeavor.

May 1, 2015, marked the 40th anniversary to the end of the Vietnam War. For some the war has been over for quite some time for those warriors who never made it back, or for those who were left behind, grieving never ended and I only pray for their reconciliation of the event. For some, the end of the Vietnam War started another kind of war, an internal one, one for which many are still trying to reconcile and recover from and sadly enough, never will. For some it marked the beginning of the end as the scars of the country keep repeating itself in other world conflicts. And for others still, it marked the beginning of another war, that of memory, those of scars, some believe betrayal but, for me, it marked the beginning of my scanty understanding of how the lives of some survivors, my mother in particular, of World War II were still coping with the wounds of World War II.

I was a third year college student getting ready to leave my apartment when the phone rang. My sister, in near tears, was reluctant to start talking and with a slight clearing of her throat began with some trepidation, a "kind" of reluctance just where to begin still at the same time began to explain. Calm down sis, what's going on? Catch your breath, start over, what's going on," I asked her. "It's mom. I can't get her to stop crying, hyper-ventilating and she just will not stop crying and keeps asking for you," she said. "What is causing her emotions to run like this? Put her on the phone let me talk to her and see what the matter is," I said. "Well Danny, before I give her the phone the problem is she thinks it's the war again!" was her response. "The War? What do mean the War? World War II! What? I don't understand, what do mean World War II? How can she be thinking this?" I asked. "Here, here is the phone but she thinks seeing all the Vietnamese coming in by plane are the Japanese invading the island again, maybe, just maybe I hope, she will listen to you," my sister said.

"Mom? Mom? Mom!" All the while, I'm hearing the same wailing that my sister was explaining to me, uncontrollable crying, sniffling, coughing, "Mom? Mom, mom! Calm down, mom, please, let's calm down so we can talk. I'm here now, let's talk about this for a while, and talk about what you are feeling and why you are crying so much calm down enough so we can talk about this. Mom, I reassured her, mom, there is no war,

the war is over." "Yes there is Danny. They are coming back," my mother says. "Thousands of them all here in Guam, there invading again! They're on Guam!" In-between the crying once more which has started back up again and the coughing-slurring, as she is uttering, "They're back! They have come back! The Japanese have landed again!" We stumble through the conversation but still she is insisting the Japanese have returned.

As I read the Pacific Daily News on May 1, 2015 mom's identification with the issue is on the front page; Operation New Life. There it is, the evacuation 40 years prior was stirring up memories for my mother at the time of the Vietnamese evacuation. There it was on page one, an anniversary collage of 40 years in pictures and stories of the Vietnamese refugees as they deplaned and were being bussed around to various locations, hospitals and refuge camp's of Guam. Evacuating from a nightmare and Guam USA was one of the repatriation processing locations prior to heading to the US mainland and or a new home for those Vietnamese deciding to stay on Guam hoping if not praying for decency and a chance to live in peace.

So, now I'm reminiscing back to the late 1960's when tourists from Japan had begun to arrive into Guam in large numbers and recalling the altruistic (antics) of a woman, my mother, who lived through the invasion, occupation, liberation and who was now, sporadically, but vividly recalling the living memories and what sounded like obvious atrocities she or my grandmother hardly mentioned while growing up ~ hardly if ever spoke of or shared with me until much later in their lives.

It's 1967. My mother's head is leaning out from my Volkswagen and yelling at the newly arrived tourists as they gawked at the scenery of Latte Stone Park and watching more crossing Saylor St. over to the park and now I'm recalling her cursing in both Japanese and Chamorro, yelling if not screaming, "Go home, we don't want you here" again, cursing in Chamorro and Japanese, waving her fist as if this would send the tourists running. "Mom, mom! Please, what are you doing? Why are you acting this way? Why are you saying these things? These are only tourists, coming from Japan here to enjoy themselves," I told her. "Danny, let's go home, these people are bad they do not belong here," she said, cursing still as we start the drive up San Ramon Hill to Agana Heights, trying to muster as much speed as I could in that old '65 Volkswagen.

Now its 1972. My mother and grandmother's scars were surfacing more frequent and vivid in detail. At first I thought perhaps it was the series of strokes affecting my mother that she suffered in the late 1960's. Maybe this had something to do with it, but

her doctor advised otherwise. "Strokes might impair mobility, speech even partial paralysis however; long term memories would not be affected by a stroke, particularly if the patient was still able to verbalize coherently even if only sometimes," her doctor told me.

Now I'm remembering 1982 sitting in our outdoor garage as we are listening and trying to catch a glimpse of the fireworks from Guam's Liberation day celebration that year. From out of no-where comes; "This is what war sounds like." What do you mean mom?" I ask. "This is what war sounds like, you hear the "boom" that goes off after the fireworks has exploded? Especially if in succession, one after the other and as the end of the display is closing, the recurrent; rat-tat- rat-ta-tat-rat-ta-tat of successive mini-explosions towards the end of displays when you know the "show" is coming to an end? When the fireworks and booming noises are in unison, one right after the other?" She turns towards me and is looking at me saying - this is how war sounds, when the soldiers are shooting each other, when the cannons from the ships are exploding on the island as if they were rain drops when the machine gun fires constantly and doesn't know what the bullets are hitting or who they were killing." Mom, mom, this was so long ago! Are the fireworks really that real? Is it realistic of the war for you? "Danny this is what war sounds like".

She continued, "The lights and aura from the fireworks itself are beautiful ~ but it's the BOOM after the flash of sparkling lights that is haunting it is this sound, the sound of war, the Ka-BOOM after the display that wakes me at night and makes me want to run and hide".

Mom and grandmother hardly, if ever, talked about the war while I was growing up. The fact is the family had very close Japanese friends who were living on Guam prior to and after the war and held them in high regard. These were Japanese who were on Guam prior to the war. Some were even born here. These Japanese were different from those we know now. They lived on Guam, spoke the Chamorro language, ate the same food and some were even relatives as result of marriage and or common law arrangements. And still, those who invaded Guam and interned the Chamorros, tortured the Chamorros, imprisoned the Chamorros, abused the Chamorros, maimed the Chamorros, killed the Chamorros, befriended the Chamorros, fed the Chamorros and even wed the Chamorros were considered heroes and villains. Some were considered villains by their own lot for what they had done prior to the American invasion especially those who became more desperate after the Americans started

assaulting Guam from the sea and air and finally during the re-occupation of Guam by the US.

What I just spoke of was the humanitarian tragedy. The tragedy of a time when fellow Chamorro's harbored resentment toward each other during and after the Japanese invasion, in some cases even after the Marianas were liberated from the Japanese Empire. Chamorros who refused to have any type of relationship with fellow Chamorros who lived on Guam and Saipan, some despite lineage, against those Chamorros who were a part of the pre-invasion and subsequent siege and not from Guam.

Let us talk now as if the US Congress had authorized the appropriations to build a "Fortress Guam" as had been suggested and documented in my master's thesis by some of those who were in command insisting loudly that Guam become reinforced in a significant manner. Complete with airfields (which Guam had none capable to have supported heavy fighter A/C squadrons or bombers) a harbor capable of birthing warships and reinforced gun emplacements overlooking the beach's of Asan, Agat and Agana; battalion's of armed forces of all branches stationed throughout the island but more particular; Sumay, San Ramon (Agana Heights) Nimitz Hill and Harmon.

Now think Pearl Harbor. The aerial assault on Hawaii focused on Pearl Harbor, Kaneohe and minor military installations surrounding Pearl Harbor. The Japanese focus on the tethered US fleet at Pearl Harbor. The civilian population as a whole was not strafed, bombed or otherwise directly impacted. The losses of civilian life were those assigned and or working on military installations. The assault proved how susceptible and vulnerable the mighty US Naval force had become. While ominous signs of war globally and more specific in the Pacific were everywhere, and documented thoroughly, the US Congress was more entangled with a European theater which was consuming all of its generals and admirals as their Japanese counter parts were traversing thousands of miles over open ocean unfettered and island hoping what the Empire was convinced was its belief of hegemony throughout the Pacific.

Now imagine an entrenched enemy who had occupied its colony, the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas, (CNMI) for over 50 years and was only 120 miles away in Saipan, or Guam's closest CNMI neighbor Rota, at 60 miles away both with readied airfields and a fleet of warships within one week's journey away from its homeland Japan or its fortified colony of Chuuk (Truk).

Now envision the battles of Bougainville, Corregidor, Solomon Islands, the Bataan death march, Iwo Jima and closer to US strongholds, the battle for Midway and now even closer to home, Guam and Saipan had the Empire began its assault after all this build-up of the US armed forces returning to capture back Guam and defeat the enemy its Empire and its satellite of Saipan, which until then was still a colony of Japan.

A true invasion on a massive scale of Guam would undoubtedly have happened had the Guam station been granted what the US Congress failed to do; realize a "Fortress Guam".

The invasion by the Empire of Japan against "Fortress Guam" would simply have been devastating. Hand-to-hand combat would have been had. At all costs there would have been "boots on the ground" invading forces trying to secure a beachfront, destroy its capital, and destroy the island in its ambition to secure the westernmost US outpost amid what the US thought of as a "Japanese Lake".

This Japanese invasion I speak of would have had very similar consequences in its destruction as when Guam was invaded by the US military in trying to "recapture" Guam from the Empire of Japan. The annihilation of Guam by the US while somewhat surgical and limited to strategic locations for the most part, would have none-the-less taken its toll on the civilian population given the "pounding" Guam took once the US had returned seeking retribution for Japan's hostilities.

With an enemy only 120 nautical miles away, Saipan to Guam, the enemy would have landed a full scale invasion without thought to civilian casualty much less military.

When Japan invaded Guam the battle only lasted a few hours. The enemy was ashore in as much time and the capital was secured without the need for total destruction of infrastructure and surrounding villages. US military facilities on Guam were also destroyed on that frightful morning of 08 Dec. 1941. The destruction, however, was by US military, so as not to hand over its resources to an enemy known for not taking prisoners if it did not warrant so.

In the three-n-half years of occupation, the Empire of Japan managed to dig in on Guam, quite literally. Spider caves still picket the cliff lines of Agana, reinforced concrete bunkers built along its western seawall, gun emplacements overlooking Asan

beach, Agana and the like, an aircraft landing field capable of short and long range aircraft, numerous other concrete bunkers such as what is found on Nimitz Hill, Latte Stone Park only complimented an Army which had mapped, surveyed and encamped itself.

Whether or not Guam was reinforced, built up or any other military jargon one might use to have described a fortified Guam, at this point is pure conjecture regarding the wars outcome. What is known about pre-invasion Guam; there were no definitive plans or plausible options regarding how to handle the true civilian community and the dependents of the US military personnel who were stationed on Guam prior to the war, was never factored!

The facts pointed out in my master's thesis proved that the US could have evacuated any number of civilians who wanted out. For a variety of personal reasons not all civilians would have evacuated given an opportunity to do so. There were those interviewed who wanted to leave; those with ambivalent feelings of such thoughts; those who were truly undecided but would have wanted their own family members evacuated and then; those who would have held their ground and under no circumstances, including the thought of an invasion or sacrifice of life which would have motivated their evacuation.

The following accounts detail the evacuations immediately preceding the war. *Honolulu Star Bulletin* 25 September spoke of the "the evacuation of 30,000 persons a month from Hawaii to the mainland could be made available"; 17 October *Star Bulletin*, "orders have been sent out to approximately 50 American vessels in the Western Pacific to proceed to Manila, Honolulu and other friendly ports"; 22 October *Star Bulletin*, "tomorrow the Tatuta Maru will bring from Japan 305 American citizens leaving Japan because of the threat of war…all but five of these are Americans of Japanese ancestry"; 05 November the *Honolulu Advertiser* reported, "the Taiyo Maru, NYK sent to Hawaii from Japan on a special voyage to take home . . . 450 travelers, mostly Japanese will board the Liner"; 26 November by the *Advertiser*, "the foreign office announced that the Tauta Maru will sail from Yokohama 02 Dec and arrive at Los Angeles 14 December and Balboa on the 24th. The delay in sailing was intended to permit American evacuees to sail"; even as late as the 3rd of December by the *Advertiser* "sixty Japanese nationals, long-time residents of the US stranded here [in Tokyo] during temporary visits, sailed . . . today for Los Angeles."

The people of Guam have been under three foreign administrations: Spanish for more than three hundred years, American for more than one hundred, and Japanese for two and a half years. Each of these foreign administrations imposed their political will and cultural values upon the Chamorros. And each time, Chamorros survived and have maintained a semblance of their cultural distinction, their "roots". As a way of describing and embodying the determination and energy of the Chamorro people historian, Robert F. Rogers, in his book, Destiny's Landfall uses a metaphorical concept of traditional historiography by drawing on A.B. Schmookler's The Parable of The Tribes: The Problem of Power in Social Evolution. This articulation of survival or better, cultural durability, under superimposed cultural and political values, is used by Rogers to draw parallels of survival and social evolution by the Chamorro people.

The colonial administrations of the past superimposed their cultural values on the Chamorros, and through these experiences, resistance is known that Chamorro women in early Spanish times, aborted children rather than have them reared as inferior Spaniards (Souder, L.M.T. Daughters of the island: Contemporary Chamorro women organizers of Guam). In the early American period, Chamorro men were enlisting in the US Navy in numbers so great the enlistment had to be limited to prevent workforce depopulation and their goal, to achieve the material means for a better life. And, during the Japanese occupation, the tenacious Chamorro sustained life itself the very best way they knew how.

The goal of the people in each of these instances was to keep their identity and yet improve their lot in life. Although these examples are extreme and different in kind, they are related in that they represent a cultural determination to preserve what is intrinsically theirs, or an inherent right of all people everywhere. Through these historical experiences, the people of Guam have identified mostly with the Americans because both peoples are committed to "the pursuit of happiness," and, together with the maintenance of human dignity and rights, have been able to preserve their unique cultural identity as Chamorros. Although one could easily argue that quantifying this opinion would certainly be an arduous task in some regards, if not daunting without argument, it can be said however, that under the American administration, abortions have never been used as a means of rebellion, nor do we have documentation of Chamorros from Guam seeking Spanish or Japanese citizenship; and there is no documentation that Chamorros wanted to leave Guam to become residents in the respective countries.

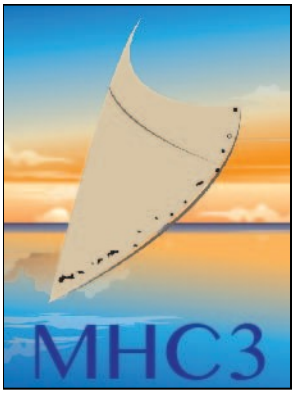
The failure of the US Government to believe in the integrity of its own military forces, as well as in its strategic planners regarding the defense of Guam was a paradox which enabled the Japanese to easily affect a military occupation of the island. Moreover, that the US would allow a known hostile foreign power to occupy its own territory was and still is today for this author, puzzling. Simply stated, the US was just not prepared to defend Guam for whatever its reasons were.

The inconsistencies and paradoxes, which I have described in my thesis, have been central themes throughout this particular effort. My intention has been to identify and draw parallels of the Chamorro peoples with the often used The Parable of the Tribes by Schmookler that; "despite [the] differences superimposed upon US [the Chamorro people] by experiences, the bond of shared natural values remains [and still is] embedded within US[all] (Schmookler).

The juxtaposition of fortification verses non-fortification, and the evacuation of only US citizens and not Chamorro military dependents or those who so desired evacuation, regardless of heritage, is for this author, a tragedy. Because of political and military expediency, US isolationism, inadequate resources and non-allocated funds, all contributed to the misfortune of Guam. The Chamorros relied on their own cultural resiliency to pull the people of Guam through the occupation of all three Colonial Powers.

These ambiguities and uncertainties of how Guam was to be handled, is generally known and accepted today to some degree. However, the Chamorros, as an ethnic group, were only expecting parity in terms of protection from the Japanese invasion and subsequent occupation. The calamity of World War II was only one story of what is Guam and in whole or part, what was, what it is and what has become a recurring theme in **"the Guam story"** (my emphasis) since 1898.

Again, in the end, had the general civilian population been afforded the opportunity to evacuate or better yet, escape Guam, and perhaps more than anything because even then, Guam was a wholly owned unincorporated Territory (colony) of the US, surely some lives would have changed forever rather than living in and having to prepare on nearly a daily basis for the unknown eventuality and Guam's: The Final Three Months Before the Invasion of Guam in World War II.



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Hurao Revisited: Hypocrisy and Double Standards in Contemporary Histories and Historiographies of Guam

By James Perez Viernes, PhD

Prepared for the 3rd Marianas History Conference and Guampedia

Maga'låhi Hurao stands out as one of the leading figures in history employed in contemporary anti-colonial struggles in Guam. The *maga'låhi* has been documented as having mobilized two thousand warriors in an effort to oust Spanish Catholic missionaries from the Marianas, and for his delivery of an inspirational speech of resistance whose impact reverberates well into the present. Hurao's famous speech has been published in multiple languages, is posted in places of prominence in modern Guam, and has even been delivered on the floor of the US Congress. His image is proudly displayed in a variety of places, from the walls of the Guam International Airport to t-shirts and bumper stickers throughout the island. He is a bona fide symbol of contemporary Chamorro pride and the ongoing quest of Guam's native people to reclaim, in various forms, the sovereignty it lost many centuries ago.

For me, the legendary Hurao and his rousing speech never really entered into my critical consciousness until I found myself thousands of miles away from Guam, well into my adulthood, and surrounded by people who had very little, if any, knowledge about the Mariana Islands or the Chamorro people. It was the Fall 2006 semester, and my very first as a graduate student at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. I had enrolled in an upper-division undergraduate course in Pacific Islands History, hoping to solidify a good foundation from which to approach my master's coursework in Pacific Islands Studies in the coming semesters. We wrestled with various events, themes, and problems of history that semester, ranging from the settling of the islands by ancient peoples to political and cultural upheavals in Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Hawai'i and everywhere in between. It was our discussion of early European exploration of the Pacific, however, that had perhaps the greatest impression on me as a budding Chamorro historian. It was under the umbrella of this larger discussion of foreign explorations and intrusions in the Pacific that our professor compelled us to consider what he coined, "Death and Dispossession on Guam."

I had waited with anticipation for the day to arrive when my home island of Guam would take center stage in class, having noticed the topic in the syllabus schedule several weeks in advance. Of the assigned readings for the day, I noticed that one was the Speech of *Maga'låhi* Hurao. Admittedly, I blew this assignment off. I knew about the speech, skimmed over it for assignments I'd completed as an undergraduate student at the University of Guam, and saw reference to it here and there over time. "No need to worry. I got this." Or so I thought.

During the class session during which "Death and Dispossession on Guam" was a subtheme, our professor encouraged us to appreciate and respect Hurao's speech for the ways in which it reflected indigenous agency and resistance. Our professor positioned the speech as one of many examples that clearly challenge biased Eurocentric accounts canonical histories that all too often situate the first European explorers to arrive in the Pacific as civilized and valiant adventurers, and indigenous peoples as savage and aggressive natives who were too ignorant to appreciate the modernity landing on their shores. Hurao's speech further proved useful as a source that challenges the existing historical canon which frames Pacific Islanders as passive, silent, defeated, and even extinct as a result of foreign intrusions. The speech serves as an excellent tool to help students question the dominant understandings of the past beyond the Eurocentric biases and perspectives that permeate the canon.

Beaming with pride as the only student in that classroom with a genealogical tie to the island and people of focus in the discussion, my internal celebration was short lived. Just as our class discussion seemed to have arrived at the conclusion that Hurao's speech served as a powerful and influential example of counter-canonical historiography, the professor said something to the effect of, "Now, what if I told you that this speech may have never happened?" To say the least, my professor's question threw the proverbial wrench into the inner workings of my understanding and celebration of Hurao. How could this professor even suggest that what I had long understood to be a fine specimen of active Chamorro resistance to Spanish conquest might in fact be no more than a myth or, at best, historical speculation? Yet, the lessons in critical historical analysis that he went on to provide using Hurao's speech proved fair, insightful, and relevant to the course's objective of training students to view narratives of the past carefully and critically.

Beyond the counter-canonical dimensions of the Hurao speech, it is further useful in provoking critical questioning of historical sources for their accuracy and completeness. Indeed, European accounts specific to the Marianas have often been

replete with confusion. Specific events and words have been attributed to the wrong individuals, and the accuracy of specific details were at the mercy of a particular chronicler at a given time. But beyond questions of who exactly said what, Hurao's speech offers a useful tool for questioning what is lost, gained, and transformed when events undergo several translations between languages and over considerable periods of time. In this case, the speech is a good tool for questioning potential inaccuracies and loopholes inherent to the evolution of Hurao's speech. Its supposed delivery in spoken Chamorro, and subsequent translations into written Spanish, French, English, and then back to Chamorro between the late 1600s and more recent years have no doubt lent to the transformation of words, phrases, and perhaps even specific content.

Despite what initially felt like a rude historical awakening, I have grown to appreciate my professor's employment of the Hurao speech in that class because it taught me never to take anything for granted or to accept anything at face value in attempts to reconstruct the past. My appreciation of this historical lesson influenced my own approach to and employment of Hurao's speech. I too incorporate it in my own teaching of Guam history at the University of Guam. Following the example of my mentor, I require students to read Hurao's speech, and encourage my students to question its accuracy, completeness, and significance in much the same way that my graduate school professor did. Yet, more and more, the need to continue to interrogate Hurao and his place in Chamorro history and historiography has surfaced at the foreground of contemporary historical inquiry in Guam; and in ways far more complex than serving as a site of contestation in the way of linguistic translation or the specifics of historical fact.

Rebel Under Fire: Contestations Over a 17th Century Chamorro Maga'låhi

The University of Guam Micronesian Area Research Center is slated to publish *History of the Mariana Islands*, a valuable first-hand account of those with lived experience of the late 17th century in the Mariana Islands. This translated historical account, whose authorship is largely attributed to Jesuit priests Luis de Morales and Charles Le Gobien, provides an important account of Maga'låhi Hurao's rebellion and speech. Thus, this forthcoming publication shows much potential as a valuable primary source that promises to broaden our understandings of the earlier cross-cultural encounters between Chamorros, Europeans, and others during the initial Spanish conquest of the Marianas. Moreover, it can more usefully serve as an important resource that provokes questions relevant to our contemporary approaches to and understandings of Guam, Marianas, and Pacific Islands history.

Several have been swift in dismissing the feasibility of Hurao as the actual person who uttered the now infamous speech. Historian Robert F. Rogers has argued that Hurao, his efforts, and his speech were quite possibly confused with those of another maga'låhi known in historical accounts as Aguarin or Agualin.[1] Still, many others have been notably hasty in denying the accuracy of the speech as it has been recorded or the very fact that it was uttered at all. Rogers contends that Hurao's speech was made up in its entirety by Le Gobien.[2] Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, editor of *History of the Mariana Islands,* similarly asserts that "It is probable that Hurao never pronounced the famous 1670 speech" at all.[3] The inclination of contemporary historians to doubt the accuracy and authenticity of Hurao and his words has resulted in a trend that relegates the maga'låhi and his words to a mere state of patronizing symbolism. In his prologue to *History of the Mariana Islands,* Joan-Pau Rubiés notes, "… the most notable element of Hurao's speech is not the analysis of the historical process, but rather its rhetorical elaboration…"[4] He goes on to express, "I believe it is important to insist on the rhetorical character of Hurao's supposed speech. …The speech must be interpreted in its broad narrative context, as a dramatic counterpoint to a fundamentally apologetic, and even hagiographic, text."[5]

Rubiés rightfully notes the importance of transcending the obsessive nitpicking characteristic of empiricist approaches to the past. Such approaches that harp on the particulars of historical facts, or what he calls the historical process, fail to appreciate resources for the broader implications they have on understanding complex pasts. Nevertheless, any complete dismissal of Hurao and his speech as simply symbolic rhetoric that offers a counter point to stifling hagiographies that dominate narratives of the past is questionable. The simple fact remains that Hurao was able to mobilize his fellow islanders in the thousands and unify them in a common cause. And whether the speech he delivered was captured verbatim by foreign observers or embellished with the creative license of these chroniclers becomes a largely moot point that obscures the reality of Hurao's leadership and impact on history. The very act of Hurao

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[1] Robert F. Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall: A History of Guam* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995), 52.

[2] Ibid., 52.

[3] Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, "Introduction," *History of the Mariana Islands*, Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, ed. (Mangilao: Micronesian Area Research Center, forthcoming), 95.

[4] Joan-Pau Rubiés, "Prologue: Apologetics and Ethnography in *History of the Mariana Islands*," *History of the Mariana Islands*, Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, ed. (Mangilao: Micronesian Area Research Center, forthcoming), 16.

[5] Ibid.,18-19.

gathering a significant number of warriors and inspiring them to invest their loyalties, and indeed their very lives, in asserting, defending, and reclaiming a sense of peoplehood in the face of violent and forceful foreign conquest speaks loudly to the resistance efforts of Chamorros, not symbolically, but in very real and quantifiable ways.

Hurao's successful efforts to rally a force of men were not random, emotional, or uncalculated outbursts by a people lacking foresight or organization, as many of his detractors would argue. Rather, Hurao's ability to mobilize two thousand warriors and influence them to endorse his cause was rooted in and facilitated by extensive and complex socio-cultural networks and values. As Rogers acknowledges, Hurao "…took his time in the customary Chamorro manner. Gifts had to be exchanged, *chenchule'* obligations talked over, and food laid out by Hurao…" in order to garner support in the thousands.[6] This, in and of itself, speaks to the extent to which Hurao was an influential figure in his society, possessed the skill necessary to lead and inspire the masses, and contributed to the making of his people's history, not symbolically or through far-fetched speculation, but as documented fact.

The proclivity of some to doubt Hurao's ability to mobilize a significant force through speech further speaks to an arrogance among some who have posited the complete implausibility and even impossibility of a 17th century Chamorro possessing the rhetorical skill to deliver an oratory so eloquent, so inspiring, and so influential. Coello de la Rosa's contention that Hurao and other maga'låhi of the time were "imbued with the power of the word" by foreign chroniclers proves particularly disturbing.[7] In his interpretation of accounts specific to the early conquest of the Marianas, several members of conquering parties

> …used the *good savage* as a rhetorical device through which to critique the behavior of the Spanish conquerors and colonists during the wars of religion. In a similar vein, Father Morales appears sympathetic towards the tragic loss experienced by the Chamorro through the words that he attributes to … Chamorro leaders. Without justifying their barbaric use of violence, Morales' understanding regarding the natives' resistance was a call of attention to the Crown and the Council of the Indies towards the failure of the Jesuit missionaries' attempt at

[6] Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall,* 52.

[7] Coello de la Rosa, "Introduction," 82.

> imposing a peaceful project of evangelization as a first step in the full incorporation of infidel nations into the Catholic monarchy.[8]

Here, Hurao in particular and Chamorros more broadly are robbed of their historical agency and minimized to mere "rhetorical devices" of supposedly enlightened and forward thinking foreigners who grew critical of the imperial motives which they became implicated in advancing. Moreover, the ability of Chamorros to see through Jesuit efforts to implant Catholicism as a larger project of embedding Spanish colonial authority is completely obscured, and instead attributed to the ability of Fr. Morales to recognize this as part of the evangelization mission.

Analysis that favors the prospect that Hurao and other Chamorros of the time were mere pawns behind which Fr. Morales and others might hide in a ploy to safely critique the evangelization mission in the Marianas is problematic. Moreover, the assertion that Chamorro resistance and oratory skill was a result of what foreign chroniclers imbued on native peoples is even more suspicious. In the earliest accounts of the Marianas, indigenous Chamorros were documented as thriving within a largely oral culture, and contemporary characterizations of Chamorro culture continue to feature its orality prominently. And so it stands to reason that any individual from this culture would have some acumen for oral communication skills. More so, one who is vested with prestige and authority by the very nature of his status as a maga'låhi such as Hurao would surely have had advanced oratorical skill. Coello de la Rosa concedes that "…since oratory was a traditional art form cultivated by Chamorro leaders, as in other cultures across the Pacific, it is not unlikely that [Hurao] pronounced a speech whose content was revealed to the Jesuit missionaries."[9] Still, he exercises caution in too overtly giving credit to Hurao for his spoken abilities and their impact, noting that "…the truth is that that speech was recorded in writing by Father Luis de Morales, before it could be turned into a major symbol and reference of Chamorro identity."[10] Given the prominence of oratory in Chamorro culture, it is curious that many continue to insist on the absurdity that a man like Hurao could employ skillful and eloquent oratory as a means of inspiring large scale resistance without the assistance of foreign men and their pens.

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[8] Ibid., 82-83.

[9] Ibid., 95-96.

[10] Ibid., 96.

While so many have been quick to doubt the ability of a 17th century Chamorro to speak so articulately and evocatively, it is even more peculiar that many who insist on the absurdity of such ability continue to uncritically accept the documented last words of foreigners in the islands. The details surrounding the death of Diego Luis de San Vitores who led the first Catholic mission to the Marianas offers a clear example. Despite the gruesome and violent circumstances surrounding what the historiography has framed as his "martyrdom," the Spanish aristocrat-turned-missionary is documented as valiantly and eloquently proclaiming as his last words to his frenzied killers, something to the effect of, "may God have mercy on your soul!"[11] San Vitores is not the only man of God who, in the midst of violent attacks by Chamorro detractors, is documented as uttering such selfless and profound final words. Indeed, the historiography tells us that Fr. Manuel de Solórzano, whose death in 1684 has also been memorialized in the context of "martyrdom," let out "…a great sigh and, elevating his eyes to heaven, begged Our Lord to forgive this wretch. He then died with the sentiments of tender love and gratitude toward God."[12] One has to wonder why the native Hurao's words have become so susceptible to attack. Meanwhile, those of European and other foreign missionaries, whose supposed parting words are arguably even more dubious than the maga'låhi's, are not subject to the same scrutiny.

The doubts cast on Hurao in recent decades are compounded by suppositions that he, and Chamorros in general, could not have possibly possessed a comprehension of concepts such as liberty, nationalism, and freedom which are key elements of Hurao's speech. Such historians and others have been all too quick to align these concepts to the great civilizations of Europe and the Age of Enlightenment. Yet proponents of this analysis conveniently forget that such concepts, though not articulated using the same words, are largely parallel to elements of the Chamorro cultural framework that far predates many civilizations in Europe and the philosophical revolution of Enlightenment.

Even at its most fundamental level, the overarching cultural philosophy of inafa'maolek rests in concepts relating to interdependence and pursuing communal good and harmony. That interdependence and pursuit of communal good was largely disrupted by the swift imposition of Catholicism and the disease, warfare, and societal demoralization it engendered. Still, many choose to attribute Hurao's rallying for

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[11] Rogers, Destiny's Landfall, 57.

[12] David Atienza, "Who Was Father Solórzano," *The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Archdiocese of Agaña Guam* (France: Editions Du Signe, 2015), 215.

Chamorro solidarity, independence, and freedom to the European Enlightenment and its central concerns of liberty, reason, and challenging the hegemony of religion and nation. Yet, Hurao and many others who resisted that disruption, preferring instead the social, cultural, and spiritual order that preceded it, seem to embody what can only be understood as a natural human response to any forced and traumatic change. Hurao demonstrated foresight as a leader by recognizing the devastation that Catholicism and a formal Spanish presence in the Marianas would have. Yet many dismiss his efforts, and instead celebrate Jesuits who, by writing their personal politics into historical accounts, arise in narratives as enlightened and forward thinking. These historiographical tendencies deny the reality of a native people resolute about preserving their independence and livelihood, both in the past and in light of an ongoing colonial history in the Marianas.

Those staunchly pessimistic to the fact that a man like Hurao would have been able to mobilize significant resistance through capable and eloquent oratory seem largely selective in the "realities" of the past to which they choose to subscribe. While a significant number of naysayers have remained adamantly opposed to the notion that Hurao could have been able to assemble such a significant number of supporters and doubtful of his ability to inspire them with his words, their cynicism seems to overlook a larger historical record. That record suggests that events surrounding the Hurao account were not necessarily confined to one singular, isolated, or improbable uprising. Indeed, the uprising instigated by *Maga'låhi* Hula (spelled Hula or Yura in some accounts) provides a compelling case in point. His 1684 uprising, which resulted in the death of Solórzano, was comprised of dozens of warriors and was incited through a rousing speech that mirrors Hurao's with regard to a call to reclaim the land from those who sought to occupy it.[13]

The rebellion of Maga'låhi Agualin provides yet another parallel to a seemingly frequent trend in the late 17th century of influential Chamorro leaders inspiring uprisings with their words. Agualin's ability to mobilize Chamorros from multiple settlements to include Tarisay, Orote, Sumay, and Agosan was achieved when, "This man, when he saw how well they agreed to join the revolt against the Spanish, made a speech which, though barbarous, had enough substance to persuade them…With such

[13] Victoria-Lola Leon Guerrero, "Yula Sparked an Uprising," *Guampedia,* http://www.guampedia.com/yula/ (accessed December 2, 2015).

persuasive words Agualin convinced the said towns to rise against the Spanish."[14] Those persuasive words monopolized on concepts that were likewise embraced by both Hurao and Yula, specific to the questioning of the so-called advantages brought to the Marianas by Europeans and references to pre-European contact prosperity and freedom. Growing cynicism surrounding Hurao seemingly overlooks the accounts of Hula and Agualin. Between Hurao, Hula, and Agualin, who led three separate rebellions, whose speeches were documented by three individual chroniclers, and whose uprisings occurred at different points in time, resounding doubt specific to Hurao begs the question: are cynics attempting to reject all instances of Chamorro resistance and oratory entirely and dismiss them as fabrications and the political machinations of contemporary anti-colonial Chamorros, or is it just Hurao with whom naysayers have a problem?

Scratching at the Surface: Larger Problems in Contemporary Histories and Historiographies of Guam

Affronts to the authenticity of Hurao and the seeming obsession over the particulars of fact surrounding this historical figure and his agency mirror larger trends in the historiography related to the Marianas and the manner in which written history has been interpreted. Such trends are replete with hypocrisy and double standards that at once glorify the presumably benevolent and pious missions of European evangelists in the Pacific in the name of Christian virtue and salvation, yet at other times employ malicious and dishonorable violence, force, and cultural upheaval at the expense of the native livelihoods and well-being. That hypocrisy is brazenly manifest in Guam today amid persistent efforts to sanitize histories of Spanish Catholic conquest these many centuries later.

Attempts to canonize, quite literally, Spain's history in Guam have become prevalent in recent efforts to elevate the islands' most infamous missionary, Diego Luis de San Vitores, to sainthood. In compliance with a directive from the Archdiocese of Agaña, all Catholic Masses in Guam either begin or end with the recitation of the prayer for the cause of San Vitores' sainthood. While devout Catholics in island parishes can be heard loudly reciting the prescribed prayer, still many others remain silent in their pews. As one devout Catholic in his sixties once remarked to me, "why should I pray

[14] "Chapter 60. An Indian Named Aguarin Incites the Indians of That District, and Persuades Them to Finish Off the Spaniards," *History of Micronesia: A Collection of Source Documents*, Rodrigue Lévesque, trans. (Quebec: Lévesque Publishers, 1999), 450, 452.

for San Vitores? I'll just keep my mouth shut. I don't want to be involved in that."[15] I have witnessed this silent protest and have heard similar commentary from fellow Chamorro Catholics each Sunday at Mass over the last two years. It permeates the church, and despite the mechanical recitation of the prayer mandated by the archdiocese, still many others throughout island parishes have expressed the resolve to not "be involved in that."[16]

Despite what may seem like a small and silent number of Chamorros in contemporary Guam with increasing ambivalence toward the history of Spanish colonizers and catechists, recent efforts by the Archdiocese of Agaña to re-write, or more aptly, reinforce the prevailing historiography of the church in Guam suggest a growing concern over the ways in which that history is to be understood. And those efforts have been saturated with the double standards and hypocrisies that have become all too common to the doings of Marianas history. The recent return of the skull of Solórzano provides a clear case in point.

The return of Solórzano's skull to Guam proves ironic when considering how the early missionaries who came to Guam responded to Chamorro practices of preserving ancestor skulls and other bones within their homes for veneration. Appalled and repulsed by these practices, Spanish missionaries and their companions are widely documented as engaging in the desecration of such relics in an attempt to rid the islands of a presumably evil and primitive practice. Father Francis X. Hezel, a Jesuit priest, longtime resident of Micronesia, and historian acknowledges, albeit in a glaringly underplayed and cursory manner, the penchant that such visitors had for desecrating sacred bones. As he notes, "The missionaries may have been a bit too confrontational as they went around destroying the skulls they found near houses."[17]

But the response of Catholic missionaries to ancestral bone veneration in the late 1600s would take a complete turn centuries later, when at a solemn Mass held on December 30, 2014, what was once viewed with abhorrence by the Church was then

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[15] In communication with the author, November 17, 2015.

[16] For a more thorough and extensive discussion on the extent to which Chamorro Catholics endorse or reject the cause of sainthood for Diego Luis de San Vitores, and the complexity of responses to such canonization efforts, see Vicente M. Diaz, *Repositioning the Missionary: Rewriting the Histories of Colonialism, Native Catholicism, and Indigeneity in Guam* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010).

[17] Francis X. Hezel, "What Was He Up Against: The Old Religion," *The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Archdiocese of Agaña Guam* (France: Editions Du Signe, 2015), 210.

celebrated with deep solemnity. Through the efforts of his descendant, as well as Guam-based scholars, church officials, and others, Solórzano's skull was welcomed into the Dulce Nombre de Maria Cathedral Basilica in Guam as part of the "Reconciliation of Our Historical Woundedness incurred in 17th Century Guam and the Mariana Islands."[18] Here, what was on display for those in attendance was not so much a skull. Rather, it was the hypocrisy and double standard enshrined in the writing of Guam history that was laid bare a historiography in which native peoples of the island are forever enshrined as savage, bone worshiping barbarians in the 17th century, while Catholics in the 21st century pay church sanctioned homage to bones in the comfort of the cathedral. The efforts to celebrate Solórzano's skull raise questions as to whose woundedness was actually being reconciled, and on whose terms.

Double standards and hypocrisy in the historiography of the Guam are not confined to the ways in which Hurao has been debated, nor are they limited to the particular case of Solórzano and his skull. They permeate the historiography as fixtures that speak to the larger history of foreign domination in the islands and the ongoing efforts of some to deny the upheaval such domination facilitated. Hezel and Spanish anthropologist David Atienza employ these double standards prominently in adding historical context to the visually rich commemorative book published in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of the Archdiocese of Agaña. In an effort to understate the impact of the Spanish conquest of the Marianas, Hezel notes that "…the losses of Chamorro people through the 1670s totaled only 60 lives…"[19] Hezel turns a seemingly blind eye here to the massive depopulation of the Marianas during which disease and other factors led to a loss of far more than sixty people as a direct result of the islands' first sustained presence of foreigners. Moreover, I have always found the employment of the adverb "only" in reference to death rates offensive and absurd. I have often used the analogy "Well, I only stabbed you six times, not eight, so it wasn't that bad" to highlight the absurdity of such arguments.

Mirroring Hezel's attempts to diminish the negative and violent impact of Spain's Catholic conquest in Guam, Atienza characterizes Solórzano's legacy specifically noting that "Today we might well question the missionary's approach and the methods

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[18] Anthony Apuron, "A Message from the Archbishop," *The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Archdiocese of Agaña Guam* (France: Editions Du Signe, 2015), 216.
[19] Francis X. Hezel, "Early Violence," *The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Archdiocese of Agaña Guam* (France: Editions Du Signe, 2015), 212.

he endorsed, but his zeal and love for the people of the Marianas cannot be denied.[20] Atienza's highlighting of Solórzano's zeal and love proposes a provocative prospect when considering the broader context of Guam historiography. Apart from the case of Solórzano, zeal and love for God and country have been employed as a means of rationalizing and vindicating a myriad of historical wrongs resulting from Spanish conquest. In these contexts, love and zeal offer solid justification for a violent and disruptive evangelization mission, and any colonial mission that followed. Meanwhile, love and zeal do not hold the same weight when considering Chamorro figures, both in history and in the present, and their resolve to sustain a way of life. After all, the love and zeal held for ancestors and expressed through the veneration of their bones simply do not bear the same influence in the prevailing historiography, and instead, is employed in ways that fashion Chamorros as backward, primitive, and uncivilized. Moreover, love and zeal for peoplehood and lives free of foreign domination held by a resistant Hurao and many others like him are simply not sufficient for many contemporary historians to subscribe to the possibility or feasibility of Chamorros being active and powerful historical agents.

Indeed, the case of Solórzano's skull, renewed efforts by the Catholic Church and others to sanitize histories of violent and disruptive conquest in the Marianas, and the debates about Hurao's authenticity speak to larger hypocrisies and double standards in the broader scope of Guam, Marianas, and Chamorro history. It highlights the ongoing privileging of foreign men, as well as European political, religious, and economic imperatives, while persistently demoralizing, devaluing, and obscuring Chamorros and their contributions to their islands' pasts. Attempts to uplift these historical agents out of obscurity, as has been the case with Hurao, have often resulted in expeditious and sometimes sharp backlashes that seek to implant doubt or even discredit and deny altogether such efforts.

The hypocrisy and double standards of the current historiography relevant to Guam and the Marianas, and as manifested by ongoing debate over Maga'låhi Hurao and his speech should strike us as troubling and alarming in the wake of growth and development in the practice of broader Pacific Islands history during the last half of the twentieth century and well into the present. The prominence of persistent Eurocentric histories and apologetic hagiographies that marginalize indigenous historical experience and agency should, in light of such growth and development, be

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[20] David Atienza, "Who Was Father Solórzano," *The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Archdiocese of Agaña Guam* (France: Editions Du Signe, 2015), 215.

an antiquated remnant of old from which we have evolved. The larger arena of Pacific Islands History embraced this evolution beginning in the 1950s when J.W. (Jim) Davidson proposed a new approach that "…displaced imperial history as the dominant paradigm and focused instead on 'culture contacts,' 'multicultural situations,' and 'indigenous initiatives'."[21] In light of this development and growth in the academy, scholars Brij Lal and Doug Munro argue that what have been considered foundational texts in Pacific Islands history have taken on new meaning and status. In their estimation, "They are transitions in a never-ending cycle of reinterpretations and new understandings that stretch in to the future rather than solidifying at present. … Pacific Islands historiography [will] continue to be marked by successive and merging strands of interpretation and dominant discourse."[22]

Ongoing efforts to deny the very existence of Hurao or attribute his speech entirely to the wisdom, creative license, and philosophical foresight of foreign men, as well as current efforts by the Catholic Church in Guam to preserve the virtue of its not-so-virtuous 17th century conquest of the Marianas clearly regress the growth and development that has been long cultivated in Pacific Islands historiography. These efforts bear little, if any, semblance to current trends in Pacific Islands History toward reinterpretations and new understandings that transcend what has become accepted in the present. As Munro and Lal rightfully caution, "…we cannot with justice rebuke a previous generation of historians for being moved by, or reacting against, the political and intellectual climate of which they were a part and for not, in consequence, being able to anticipate the intellectual fashions or moral imperatives of a future generation."[23] Indeed, to fault any individual of the 17th or any previous century for failing to live up to the social, political, cultural and other norms of the present offers little in the way of evolving our understanding the past. Yet, to staunchly insist on enlivening, defending, and perpetuating histories of exploitation in the present is equally detrimental to our growth as a community intent on knowing our past. Current tendencies to defend and uplift imperial forces and their agendas while continuing to marginalize, silence, or devalue Chamorros, their triumphs, their failures, and their contributions to the history of the Marianas is a trend that we can no longer afford to embrace.

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[21] Brij V. Lal and Doug Munro, "The Text in Its Contexts: An Introduction," *Texts and Contexts: Reflections in Pacific Islands Historiography*, Doug Munro and Brij V. Lal, eds. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 2.

[22] Ibid., 8.

[23] Ibid., 9.

Though serious problems exist at present when considering the histories and historiographies of the Marianas and the so-called "truths" they engender about the past, there is much promise in growing away from the established binaries that pit Chamorro against outsider, and that privilege foreign conquest over indigenous stamina. Much of that promise rests in our willingness to engage in uncomfortable and difficult confrontations and discussions that, although seemingly combative to what we may hold dear (i.e., religion, indigineity, national affiliation, etc.), have the potential to crack spaces and discourses wide open. In doing so, those spaces and discourses have the potential to facilitate expanded and surprising truths about the past. Only when we can open and venture into these spaces of ambivalence and transcend whatever insularity we have grown accustomed to can we grow closer to histories and historiographies that are not so much about us versus them, but more so, about a productive and provocative arena of multiple voices and perspectives. Those voices and perspectives, unlike that which is the case at present, do not necessarily need to be in constant contrast with each other, but perhaps, in complimentary and, at times, overlapping concert in ways that highlight the complex richness of our past.

Whether one subscribes to the possibility that a man named Hurao once inspired his fellow Chamorros with a rousing speech, or one rejects any such possibility entirely, what chroniclers chose to document in their many accounts bears great significance to us in any effort to reconcile the past and the numerous contestations over its retelling. As Hurao is thought to have uttered, "They regard our histories as fables and fiction. Don't we have the same right to equally regard as fictitious what they teach us and preach as incontestable truth?"[24] Through an ever-critical consciousness, with healthy skepticism, and a greater investment of time and dialogue, perhaps we can begin to answer, these many centuries later, this call made by a man once called Hurao to never yield in our questioning and reinterpretation of the past and the many ways it has been written.

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[24] Luis de Morales and Charles Le Gobien, *History of the Mariana Islands*, Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, ed. (Mangilao: Micronesian Area Research Center, forthcoming), 188.

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