MINISTERIO
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Heritage Stonework

in Micronesia

International
Conference on

November 14-15, 2007
Micronesian Ballroom
Guam Hilton Hotel

SPANISH PROGRAM
FOR CULTURAL COOPERATION
with the collaboration of the
GUAM PRESERVATION TRUST
and the
HISTORIC RESOURCES DIVISION,
DEPARTMENT OF PARKS
AND RECREATION

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Hagåtña: Seat of Government of the Spanish Mariana Islands 1668-1898

By Marjorie G. Driver

The Place Where the Priests Landed

The story of the Spanish settlement in the Marianas begins with the San Diego, arriving, as it did, from Acapulco on the eve of the feast of Saint Anthony, June 16,1668. To the surprise of the islanders, since ships usually took on water and provisioned off the southern coast at Umata-Jati (today, Cetti Bay) this ship anchored off Hagåtña, near the little island of Alupang.

1668 Nueva Costa de San Antonio

Aboard ship, Brother Marcelo Ansaldo, a Jesuit traveling on to the Philippines, sketched the shoreline from Alupang Island to Adelup Point, marking the place where the priests landed. He labeled the map *"La nueva costa* de *San Antonio"* (The New Coast of San Antonio) and reported that the village was located there, "across from a stream of fresh water." In time, Hagåtña colonial district of San Antonio developed on the north side of the stream of fresh water, the original bed of the Hagåtña River.

A *Camarin* on the ocean side of the river

Here, in a *camarin,* a shed-like barracks building, on a narrow strip of land between the beach and the Hagåtña River, Father San Vitores established the fist seat of Spanish authority in the Marianas. But within three years of his arrival, native discontent had become such a threat that the small group of missionaries and thirty-two soldiers constructed a stockade. For the first time, the religious and the military had separate quarters, but the fortification was still on the narrow strip of land on the ocean side of the Hagåtña River.

The death of Fr. San Vitores in 1672 weakened the leadership of the Jesuits, since they were forced to depend on the military for their personal safety and that of the mission. This now required an experienced military commander.

1681 Presidio de las Islas Marianas, Saravia, First Royal Governor

In 1681, what had been a Jesuit mission protected by a military outpost officially became the *Presidio de las Islas Marianas,* a change of administrative status that coincided with the arrival from Spain of the first royally appointed

governor, Antonio de Saravia (1681-83).

1683 Fort Guadalupe, on the inland plateau side of river

During his first two years, 1681-82, Governor Saravia built a stone fort, *Santa Maria de Guadalupe,* with quarters inside for the governor. Now, for the first time in fourteen years, the seat of Spanish authority in the Marianas was on the plateau side of the Hagåtña River, and the fort was the first official seat of government and residence of the Governor of the Presidio of the Mariana Islands. It marked the emergence of the governorship as the primary office in the archipelago and was the precursor of the *Palacio* in later years.

Governor Saravia died in 1683. His successor, Damian de Esplana (1683-96), arrived on the first supply ship to reach the Marianas directly from the Philippines. This historic event inaugurated a shorter alternate supply route that alleviated the colony's complete dependence on the galleons arriving from Acapulco.

1684 Uprising

Within a year, Saravia's new fort had its defenses tested when the last major uprising on Guam broke out on a Sunday morning in June 1684, a few weeks after the galleon had passed.

The attack came as the missionaries and troops were heading for mass and by the time peace was restored, more than twenty people had been killed, including five missionaries, and Governor Esplana himself had been left for dead.

1684 Umatac Palacio: Shipping interests

Esplana survived the attempt on his life, but spent most of his long tenure as governor in Umatac, the port where the galleons from Acapulco and the supply ships from Cavite called, and where he could oversee the unloading of the *Presidio's situado*, the silver subsidy from Acapulco, the supplies arriving from Manila, and his own extensive private business interests. Protected by a contingent of soldiers, he may have felt safer there in the large governor's residence, the Palacio that he constructed on the shores of the bay.

King Carlos II signed a royal decree, dated 30 March 1686, that designated the "*pueblo of San Ygnacio de Agaña*, which is where the governor lives and where the Presidio is located," be granted the status of *Ciudad* (City). At the same time the village of Umatac was honored with the title *Villa,* meaning a village that enjoyed special privileges.

Meanwhile, Captain Joseph Quiroga, the commandant of the Presidio, remained in Hagåtña at Fort Guadalupe until it was destroyed by a powerful typhoon in November 1693.

1693 Typhoon and the destruction of *Fort Guadalupe*

After Fort Guadalupe was destroyed by the typhoon and the surging tidal seas, the presidial compound was moved inland toward the cliff that runs behind Hagåtña. During the next dozen years or so, three short-term governors followed Esplana and probably lived in or near the newly established garrison compound.

With the appointment of Governor Manuel Arguelles (1706-09), mamposteria buildings were constructed, including a church with three naves and an adequate two-story home for the governor and his family. The building known as the *Casa de Retiro* may have been constructed around this time. It was the residence for out-going governors during the period of their *residencia,* the judicial procedure that took place before they left the island for the Philippines. The building survived into the mid- to- late 1800s as the *Tienda* and as the office of the *Administrador de Hacienda.*

The *Palacio* in Umatac continued as the focal point of Governor Jose Antonio Pimentel's eleven-year administration (1709-20) and that of his successor Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle (1720-25), both of whom were involved in profitable business ventures associated with the Acapulco galleons and the Cavite supply ships.

1720 The vulnerability of Merizo Bay

But, in 1720, an event with far-reaching implications took place in Merizo Bay, where the annual Cavite supply ship awaited favorable seasonal wind changes for its return trip to the Philippines. The *San Andres* lay at anchor when the English privateer Clipperton sailed into the bay and attacked it. This action exposed the vulnerability of Merizo Bay as a safe layover anchorage.

1730s Apra Harbor's development and the English privateers

By 1730 the activities of English privateers in the Pacific posed ever-increasing threats to Spanish ships plying the Manila-Acapulco run, especially on their return voyage via the Marianas when they carried large shipments of silver, including the *situados* (subsidies) for the Presidios in the Marianas and the Philippines.

The next two governors were naval officers, sent to investigate safer

anchorages in the Marianas. The ship that brought the governor in 1734 was the first to anchor at Apra and her pilots the first to sound and map the harbor. Three years later, Fort San Luis was built near the beach at Sumay on the Orote Peninsula.

When the development of a defensive and protective military posture at Apra Harbor became the focal responsibility of the island's governors, their presence in the Hagåtña-Apra area was imperative, and this required proper and adequate living quarters in Hagåtña, the capital city.

1744 The Palacio in Hagåtña

In 1744, during the administration of Governor Fernandez de Cardenas (1740-46), a new Palacio was constructed in Hagåtña, in the location of today's Spanish ruins in the Plaza de España. This building was the seat of government for 142 years, surviving earthquakes, devastating typhoons, and the administrations of thirty governors. Although the building was not always well maintained, its longevity speaks well for the skilled Presidio workmen who built it, the materials selected, and the solid foundation on which it stood.

1751, 1756 Governor Olavide's new forts

During the next twenty years Spain re-fortified and strengthened her defenses in the Marianas against her European enemies, especially the British. Since little had been done to protect the island and the capital city after the destruction of Saravia's Fort Guadalupe in 1693, Governor Henrique Olavide (1749-56) constructed a new fort, San Fernando, in the same location in 1751. A few years later, in 1756, he built Fort Santo Angel on the large rock formation at the north entrance to Umatac Bay.

1766 Shipping via the Cape of Good Hope

1769 Jesuits expelled. Recollects arrive

As threats to Spain's Pacific lifeline intensified, ships touching at Guam from Acapulco and Cavite became less frequent, and when the alternate route from Manila to Cadiz via the Cape of Good Hope became a reality in 1766, the isolation of the Marianas increased. Three years later, the Jesuit missionaries who had served the islanders since the time of Father San Vitores were expelled and replaced by Augustinian Recollect friars.

A powerful earthquake in 1779 damaged the old colonial buildings in Hagåtña, including the church, the Palacio, and the Colegio. The church and the Palacio were repaired, but the Colegio was so badly damaged that it was rebuilt,

apparently, in the same location. This new Colegio building was not replaced until 1896,117 years later.

1794 War in Europe: Governor Manuel Muro

When Manuel Muro (1794-1802) assumed the governorship in the summer of 1794 he faced extreme difficulties. A prolonged drought caused a serious food shortage; a devastating fire struck Hagåtña; and a terrible epidemic caused many deaths.

Muro arrived from Spain with his young bride, *dona* Maria Agueda del Camino, and perhaps in an effort to please her and make the aging Palacio a more comfortable home, he added doors to the main entrance, rebuilt three rooms and added several new ones.

Behind the Palacio he constructed a handsome 72 feet high masonry watchtower, the Atalaya, that overlooked the Presidio compound and the boat landing. Around the back of the Palacio, he constructed a mamposteria wall about 142 feet long and more than 9 feet high and, within the walls, a mamposteria *gallinero* (chicken house) roofed with tiles. Also behind the Palacio and also of mamposteria, a corral nearly 5,000 feet in circumference enclosed the Presidio's livestock. Ruins of these walls may be seen today in the Plaza area.

In 1799 Governor Muro demolished old Fort San Fernando near the beach and constructed Fort San Rafael in the same location. Governor Saravia's Fort Guadalupe and its two successors protected the City of Agana (now spelled Hagåtña), the seat of authority in the Spanish Marianas, for nearly two hundred years.

1802 Muro's Palacio

The Palacio, as renovated by Muro, was an impressive two-storey *mamposteria* building situated in a pleasant part of the city, behind a large grove of breadfruit trees. In front, the road leading to the landing place crossed the newly built (and still standing) bridge, with its carved plaque of San Antonio de Padua over the keystone.

According to Haswell, a visitor in 1802, the mansion was constructed in the old Spanish style with stores on the first floor. The living quarters were on the second, with twenty-foot high ceilings and a reception chamber nearly 100 feet long and forty feet wide, well ornamented with lamps, paintings, etc. At each end of the reception area were private apartments and across the front ran a wide balcony that reached from one end of the house to the other.

The Cuartel, the guardroom and barracks, built in 1734, could house a large number of men. It was to the west of the Palacio; the church, a squat barn-like building with a low bell-tower was to the north, the officers' homes, on the main street nearby, were roomy, airy, and two stories high, the *bodegas* (lower apartments) being used to keep cattle.

Muro's legacy Spanish Hagåtña

What remains of "Spanish Agaña" is largely the legacy of Manuel Muro: Fort Santa Agueda, at Apugan, named in honor of his wife; the handsome ruined archways of the Almacen, with it war-battered plaque; the Tolai Acho, the little stone bridge honoring San Antonio; the high walls with inverted archways behind the Azotea; and the range of low walls with the tile-embedded pillar capitals that runs behind the ruins in the Plaza de España Turn of the 1800s Outsiders and Whalers With the turn of the nineteenth century, outside forces continued to press the Spanish Marianas.

1829 A local uprising

It fell to Governor Jose Medinilla (1812-22) to deal with the growing presence of whaling ships and their disruptive crews, as they and other foreigners sought residence and business opportunities in the Mariana Islands.

In 1829, during his second term, Medinilla was faced with a popular uprising whose objective was to assassinate the governor and everyone else in the Palacio. Some of the malcontents requested that foreigners be permitted to sell goods without restrictions; others demanded the freedom to work or not to work on public projects. All weapons were removed from the homes of the suspects and, to protect the Palacio, a parapet was constructed on the Azotea and mounted with three stone-throwing mortars.

Among the rebelling native sons were members of the most influential and educated families. They intended to capture Fort Santa Cruz and the brigantine in Apra Harbor; the powder magazine on the hillside behind the Palacio, near present-day Government House; the government *Almacenes* (warehouses), and the kegs of rum in the Palacio's *bodegas.* All the Spanish defenders and sympathizers were to be killed.

The aftermath: Punishment and exile

At the height of the insurrection, in the middle of the night, fifteen *ingleses*

(Anglos) were rounded up, shackled, and sent to the deserted island of Aguiguan on two Carolinians *buncas* (canoes). The sergeants guarding them were instructed to throw them overboard if they attempted to escape. Eighty-nine local residents and several Filipinos were captured and held in the city. Among the worst rabble-rousers, sixteen were sent to Rota in chains; thirty-four were shipped to Tinian on an English whaler, the rest were held in irons, stocks, and shackles in the barracks, the jail, and in the *bodgeas* of the Palacio.

As of 5 August 1829, seventy-eight rebels had been arrested and sixteen exiled. At a later unknown date, Governor Medinilla absolved them, and they most likely returned to Guam.

Captain Villalobos: Island defenses - Danger of internal revolt

Within a few months of the Hagåtña revolt, Governor General Ricafort sent Captain of the Artillery Ramon de Villalobos to the Marianas to report on the island's defenses.

Perhaps with the 1829 disturbance in mind, Governor Villalobos (1831-35) warned that Spain should be aware of the danger of internal revolt in Guam, whether perpetrated by natives or foreigners, including large numbers of disorderly whalers. A governor must guard against violations of the law and inflict prudent and rigorous punishment when they occurred. Weapons must not be permitted at Umatac, and subversive individuals must be isolated, as was done with those exiled to Aguiguan, Rota, and Tinian.

As far as the city's defenses were concerned, Villalobos expanded on Medinilla's attempt to protect the seat of government by installing a parapet and guns on the Palacio's *Azotea.* As an artillery officer familiar with military strategies, he dug a moat seven feet deep and constructed a semi-circular fortification with several cannons in front of the Palacio.

1855 Felipe de la Corte

When Felipe de la Corte (1855-66) took over the governorship in 1855, he came with a special mandate: to carry out a detailed study of the economic potential of the island. Spain was eager to make the islands self-supporting and rid itself of a burden it could no longer easily sustain. Perhaps the only governor of the Spanish nobility, he was well educated, a competent engineer and lawyer who had spent years in the Philippines. Before the end of his assignment, he completed what is the most thorough and comprehensive study of the Mariana Islands during the Spanish Administration. His *Memoria descriptive e historica de las Islas Marianas,* compiled and written in the Palacio from the records in the

government archives there, is a testimonial to the extensive nature of the data kept by Spanish administrators.

1855 Epidemic: Prisoners as manpower

The smallpox epidemic that broke out on Guam in 1855, early in Governor de la Corte's administration, claimed the lives of more than 4,000 people, about half the population. In 1856, faced with a lack of able-bodied workers, the governor requested that two companies of *presidiarios* be sent from Manila, but it was somewhat later that 100 arrived to assist the Presidio, especially with farming and public works projects. In 1860 a penal institution was established under the jurisdiction of the Presidio de la Marianas. It was abolished in 1892.

1871 Governor Ibanez: State of the Palacio - a thatch roof

In Hagåtña, by now a Philippine provincial capital city, the Palacio was more than 100 years old, as were other government buildings deteriorating around the plaza.

When Governor Luis Ibanez y Garcia (1871-73) arrived in Hagåtña, he found the roof of the Palacio in extremely poor condition. A typhoon in 1872 so damaged it that Ibanez found it necessary to construct a thatched covering over the tile roof to make it habitable. During his short tenure, the energetic governor carried out several construction projects: A substantial wooden bridge was constructed over the Hagåtña River between the *barrios* of San Nicolas and San Antonio; a *pantalan*, or wharf, was built at Punta Piti; the upstairs of the *Almacen* was converted into a hospital; a new building, the Tribunal, was constructed across from the *Palacio* as a townhall and jail.

He also began to demolish old Fort San Rafael, know as the *Castillo,* built near the beach by Governor Muro in 1799. The materials were to be used to construct the addition on the north side of the *Cuartel,* the *Pabellones,* a structure that was to be used as living quarters for officers of the *Presidio,* and later for officers of the penal institution.

1873 Old tiles from Umatac

It took another typhoon in September 1873 and a new governor, Eduardo Beaumont, to finally take action. In Hagåtña, the typhoon destroyed Ibanez's makeshift thatch roof covering. In Umatac, the old Palacio built around 1684 was nearly two hundred years old and had suffered such severe typhoon damage that Governor Beaumont had the old tiles salvaged and brought to Hagåtña to be utilized on the roof of the Palacio.

1875-80 Governor Bravo and the *Deportados*

Between 1870 and 1877 large numbers of political exiles were sent to the Marianas. More than 700 eventually were sent to Guam and Saipan, some to Rota, as well. The various groups of *deportados* inflicted great hardship on the completely unprepared populace, local people and colonial administrators.

For a detailed account of this period, please refer to Carlos Madrid's excellent account in his recently published *Beyond Distances. Governance, Politics and Deportation in the Mariana* Islands from 1870 to 1877.

1884 The assassination of Governor Pazos: Native discontent

Several years later, when Governor Angel de Pazos arrived in early 1884, although there were two new buildings around the Plaza, a municipal building called the *Tribunal* and the *Escuela* de *Ninas,* a girls' school, both built in the l870s, the much older buildings were decrepit and showing their age. The colony's capital had fallen into disrepair and decay, perhaps adding to the uneasiness of the community.

Among the local populace, the underlying discontent first manifested in the uprising of 1829 once again erupted in violence. This time, a Chamorro guard, Juan de Salas, as part of a conspiracy, shot and killed Governor Pazos as he returned home from his evening walk. After only three months in office, Spain's representative was assassinated in the very building that had been the seat of Spanish authority for almost one hundred and fifty years.

1884 Governor Olive: The demolition of the 1744 Palacio

The new governor, Colonel Francisco Olive y Garcia (1784-87), arrived in November and was appalled at the sad state of neglect of the colony. He arrived on a military transport with additional troops and an engineer commissioned to inspect all public buildings and report on needed repairs. It was not long before it was determined that Spain's image must be enhanced and the concerns of the people more closely addressed. The old 1744 Palacio, the symbol and seat of Spanish government in the Marianas, had to be replaced. Its timbers were rotted, the roof construction was defective, and during the rainy season the leaks were such that the building was almost uninhabitable.[t]

1888 Governor Solano: The new Palacio

The demolition of the 142 year-old Palacio was completed after the arrival of Governor Enrique Solano in July 1887. The new building, designed by don Enrique Soto, a Spanish Army engineer and architect, stood on the same

foundation as the old Palacio. On 25 February 1888, the cornerstone for the new building was blessed by the pastor of the Hagåtña parish church, Fr. Aniceto Ibanez del Carmen. By Christmas 1889, for the first time since 1744, the capital city of Agaiia had a new building to symbolize Spanish authority in the Mariana Islands and a new residence and office for its governing representative.

1891 Governor Santos: Palacio's roof problems

The building was brand new but problems with the Palacio's roof persisted. The pitch of the new roof was flatter, adjusted to the positioning of sheets of zinc roofing that had been ordered from Manila, but had not arrived. Consequently, the tiles from the old building and those salvaged from the Umatac ruins were remounted on the new structure. By 1891, Governor Luis Santos (1891-92) complained to his superiors that there were so many leaks that one could hardly live there, and the constant dripping of water down the walls was washing away sand and lime, leaving the coral blocks of the *mamposteria* walls exposed. Just two years old, Santos warned Manila that if repairs were not made immediately, a good building would soon be destroyed.

1898 The End of the Spanish Administration

As the century wound down and the Spanish-American War ended Spain's presence in Guam, the new Palacio, the seat of government and Spanish authority in the islands for more than two centuries, was barely ten years old, though roofed with some seventeenth century tiles from Umatac.

By February 1899, no Spanish flags flew over Hagåtña and no Spanish coat of arms graced the entrance to the Palacio.

Spanish Guam was no longer

Today, the ruins in the Plaza de España are reminders of Guam's Hispanic heritage, and the beautifully mounted old Spanish coat of arms at the inside entrance to Government House evokes the historical role of the Palacio in the Spanish Marianas.

The Restoration and Development of Intramuros in Manila

By Jaime C. Laya, Ph.D.

Background

Intramuros is the Walled City of Manila. For almost 400 years until its destruction in 1945, it was the seat of power -- political, religious and military. The country's oldest universities and colleges were located there, as were homes of the powerful and the wealthy. Built beginning in the late 1500s, its fortifications (or "*muralla*") were enlarged, strengthened and otherwise improved over the ensuing 250 years, particularly after the British Occupation of the Philippines in 1762-64, during the Seven Years' War. By the 19th century, powerful artillery had rendered the ancient defenses useless and work on the fortifications ceased. Soon after the Philippines became a colony of the United States in 1898, much of the *muralla* along the Pasig River was pulled down to make way for warehouses. Openings were cut in the walls to ease traffic. The top of the walls became a promenade. Famed American architect and urban planner Daniel H. Burnham prepared a master plan for Manila in 1904; the moat became the Sunken Garden, a major feature of Manila's civic center and parks network.

The Walled City, including about a third of the still extant walls, was destroyed in February 1945, at the close of World War II, torched by the Japanese and shelled by the returning Americans. San Agustín Church survived, but everything else was lost. The Americans bulldozed away all the ruins except those of the churches and two major government buildings (*Ayuntamiento* and *Intendencia*, respectively the city hall and central finance offices of the Spanish Regime), leaving Intramuros featureless land for years. Only the Augustinians and the Colegio de San Juan de Letrán stayed among the religious orders and schools. In time, the Cathedral, the *Intendencia* and part of Fort Santiago were reconstructed more or less to their old external appearance, but modern multi-story buildings and warehouses rose along with them. Unfortunately, the Intendencia burned down in 1979 and became a ruin once again.

The *muralla* was largely ignored until 1966 when President Ferdinand E. Marcos, on suggestion of First Lady Imelda Romualdez Marcos, issued Ex-

ecutive Order No. 18 creating the Intramuros Restoration Committee. The Committee refurbished the principal gates and a destroyed section of the wall near Puerta Isabel II. On initiative again of Mrs. Marcos, a second effort at restoration took place in 1978. The major services of the Armed Forces of the Philippines – GHQ, army, navy, air force, marines, and police – were called to help. An area was assigned to each service and working under the direction of Mrs. Helen Espino, wife of the AFP Chief of Staff and the ladies of the service chiefs, the AFP Team uncovered buried structures and sections of the moat from under piles of earth and parking lots. In both instances, the National Historical Institute guided the work.

Systematic and continuing restoration and development began with the issuance of Presidential Decree No. 1616 "Creating the 'Intramuros Administration' for purposes of restoring and administering the development of Intramuros," signed into law by President Marcos on April 10, 1979.

This paper describes mainly work done from 1979 to 1986, when the present author was Action Officer of the Intramuros Administration. By that time, IA's initial goals had been attained. Most of the fortifications had been restored, an "old town" area (Plaza San Luis) had been built and was operational, a collection of colonial period art had been formed and a house-museum (Casa Manila) opened, festivals and events were ongoing, income-producing activities initiated, and most importantly for the long term, urban development plans and policies, and building regulations were in place.

The Case for Preservation, Restoration and Development

During the American Regime, Intramuros fortifications gave Manila a unique character and beauty. Grand public buildings – Post Office, Metropolitan Theater, Manila City Hall, Legislative Building, and Finance Building – lined a wide boulevard along the Sunken Garden and the *muralla* of Intramuros. The area was to Manila as the Mall is to Washington D.C., the Ringstrasse to Vienna, the Jardin des Tuileries and Champs Elysées to Paris.

Aesthetics were forgotten in the post-war struggle for survival. Part of the Sunken Garden was treated as idle land and became grassland, bus terminal, even a smoking garbage dump. More openings were cut through the walls and sections dismantled for building stone. Until the 1960s when the inhabitants were resettled, Intramuros was a giant squatter colony. Public opinion was divided, whether or not Intramuros and its fortifi-

cations should be restored, whether the money would be better spent elsewhere.

Intramuros was a symbol of foreign domination, having been the seat of Spanish colonial power. On the other hand, Spaniards (including the religious whose abuses helped fuel the Philippine Revolution) brought economically useful plants; agricultural technology including the plow; a system of government and law; printing and writing using the Roman alphabet; and in general, the arts, culture and belief systems of the West. Structures, including the *muralla*, were built by Filipino labor and enriched with Filipino creativity. Native leaders, scientists, artists, and revolutionary heroes were educated in Intramuros schools. Thousands suffered imprisonment, torture and death in Fort Santiago during the Philippine Revolution and during the Japanese Occupation. Thousands more perished in the destruction of Intramuros in 1945. Intramuros is hallowed ground. Not least, recovering something of Manila's pre-war beauty, thereby raising civic pride, would be a worthy end in itself.

A visit to Intramuros illustrates social and political history and such subjects as art; civil, domestic and military architecture; social and economic history; religion. Spanish Regime structures are Filipino-Hispanic. They have Spanish elements certainly, but are distinctively Philippine, suited to the climate and using local material. Intramuros is part of Philippine history and its restoration not only evokes an era of the Philippines' past, but also helps revive lost skills and crafts. In the world of globalization, culture and tangible cultural heritage are among the elements that make a country distinctive. Without these, cities all over the world would be poor imitations of Western cities, with fast food outlets, malls, cars and traffic, billboards.

From a purely economic standpoint, tangible cultural heritage can be a tourist draw. Many countries have beaches and tropical weather, but a country's people and culture are unique and can become destinations in their own right. As an attraction, Intramuros is exceptional. The *muralla* silhouetted against the sunset is an icon long associated with Manila. More visitors inevitably mean more restaurants, hotels, souvenir and handicraft shops, and more jobs.

Colonial period structures and fortifications are carefully preserved in many countries, highlights of their tourism programs. The United States and Canada preserve the architectural heritage of British, French and

Spanish rule. Spanish Mission Churches in California, Texas and New Mexico are carefully preserved and maintained, attracting steady streams of visitors. The old sections of numerous cities – Mexico City, Havana, New Orleans, Singapore – are protected and continue to be centers of urban life.

The city of St. Augustine in Florida, the oldest in the United States, capitalizes on its Spanish colonial past. People visit the 17th century Castillo de San Marcos and a historic district with some three dozen small buildings (mainly late 19th to early 20th century houses) and about the same number of reconstructions built in the mid-1960s. Some are museums with costumed guides and with blacksmiths, candle makers, and other traditional trades people at work, others are shops. The city attracts some two million people each year, enticed to spend an extra day or two beyond a beach holiday at Fort Lauderdale or Miami, or a visit to Disney World or Cape Canaveral.

The same is true for Malacca, Singapore, Jakarta, Macao, and elsewhere in Asia. In Nanjing, China, Ming and Qing Dynasty buildings in the square and streets adjoining the Temple to Confucius have been refurbished, restored or reconstructed. It is now a lively district, with handicraft and souvenir shops, restaurants, cafes, and other retail establishments. A visit to the place is a main feature of a Nanjing tour, a prime destination of local visitors (including young children and students) and foreign tourists alike.

A decision was made long ago to grant Intramuros special distinction as a historical district. Commonwealth Act No. 171 was enacted in 1936 "adopting the Spanish colonial type of architecture on all buildings to be constructed, altered or repaired in the District of Intramuros." This was reiterated after War by Republic Act No. 597, passed in 1951 making Fort Santiago a national monument, directing the restoration of the walls, and reiterating that new construction conform to "the Spanish style of architecture of the proper period."

Interpretation and enforcement of the laws were not consistent and Intramuros architecture was already modernizing even prior to its destruction in 1945. In the post-war rebuilding, even more and taller buildings were constructed with little or no Hispanic feel. A fresh effort was made with the creation of the Intramuros Administration in 1979.

The Intramuros Administration

Certain parcels of government real estate had been transferred to the Land Bank of the Philippines to help finance the land reform program, including the site on Plaza de Roma (formerly Plaza Mayor and Plaza McKinley) that was occupied by the palace of Spanish Governors General and that had been vacant since the big 1863 earthquake destroyed the palace. The Land Bank decided to build an office condominium thereon and began digging on the foundations in 1978.

Objections were raised that the large building would overwhelm the nearby Cathedral, but construction was already up to the second floor when the matter reached President Marcos' attention. He ordered construction suspended, but it was finally decided that work had gone too far and that it would be too costly to change plans in midstream. Work resumed and the present tall and bulky Palacio del Gobernador Condominium is the result.

The incident led to the issuance of P.D. No. 1616 creating the Intramuros Administration ("IA" or "Administration"), later amended with the issuance of P.D. No. 1748 (December 10, 1980), herewith included as Annex "A". The Administration was charged with: (a) the restoration and maintenance of the Intramuros fortifications and other government property within Intramuros, including public places and (b) the zoning and orderly development of the Walled City as a historical district, including approval of building and construction plans. Landowners were encouraged to build within established guidelines and owners of existing buildings were encouraged to improve at least the façades.

The new office was given the authority, among others: (a) to grant incentives to investments made within Intramuros, including tourism and manufacturing or commercial operations compatible with the district's historical character, (b) to grant real property tax discounts and incentives, financial assistance and grants to property owners wishing to renovate existing property to conform with approved architectural standards, (c) to operate museums, art galleries, theaters, and other cultural or educational facilities, (d) construct, lease, sell and operate shopping and commercial facilities, (e) operate guided tours and offer related tourism services. To fulfill its functions, IA was given the authority to expropriate property, to receive donations and to utilize its income. Donations made to IA were exempted from donors' tax and were fully deductible by the donors for income tax purposes.

The Decree in effect excluded Intramuros from the authority of the City of Manila insofar as building plan approvals and certain public services were concerned. Its Charter accordingly made the Administration the only national government agency with a wide range of powers covering construction of both public and private structures within the territory of a local government.

The Administration was placed within the Ministry of Human Settlements (headed by Mrs. Marcos who was Minister) and decision making was vested in a Board of Administrators that consisted of the Minister of Human Settlements as Chairman and as members, the Mayor of the City of Manila, the Executive Director of the National Historical Institute, the IA Administrator, and other persons designated by the President of the Philippines. The Ministry of Human Settlements was dissolved in 1986 and IA is currently under the Department of Tourism.

No Administrator was appointed, but the present author, then Minister of the Budget, was concurrently named IA Action Officer. There were seven (7) divisions in the initial organization: Urban Planning, Walls and Fortifications, Museum, Festivals and Events, Research and Publications, Business, and Administrative. Technical Committees were created, among others for the review of proposed private building plans, inter-agency coordination and the building of a cultural-commercial complex (Plaza San Luis).

Planning and Design

In 1949, the Philippine and Spanish government had agreed to exchange expert advisers in various fields, including the mutual promotion of tourism. Among other things, it was agreed that Spanish tourism and heritage preservation experts would help prepare an Intramuros development plan. A Mission was dispatched to Manila and the *Plan de Ordenación Turística de Intramuros de Manila* was submitted in October 1973. The plan made detailed recommendations on the nature and type of allowable construction within the Walled City. Intramuros would be divided into zones including a historical-monumental zone; cultural and recreational zone; low, medium and high buildability zones; and a hotel zone. Each zone would have prescribed land use and building specifications. A wide and shallow reflecting pool was to be built against the *muralla* reminiscent of the old moat. An outdoor amphitheater would be built on the Parián revellín.

The plan was approved in principle by President Marcos under Letter of Instructions No. 733 issued in August 1978. However, changing conditions had made certain elements of the original plan impractical and the Administration had to take these into account. An updated plan was submitted and was approved by the President in December 1979. The more detailed implementing document, "Rules and Regulations Governing the Development of Intramuros," was approved on April 27, 1981, signed by Mrs. Marcos as Chairperson of the Intramuros Administration.

The drafting of P.D. No. 1616 had taken into account experience here and abroad, completed studies including the Spanish Plan, and suggestions of historians, antiquarians, property owners, and other interested parties. P.D. No. 1616 accordingly anticipated and provided for a number of major undertakings: (a) the restoration of the fortifications; (b) the regulation of land use and of new construction, (c) the creation of an "old town" area with recreated buildings, intended as a commercial and museum complex, (d) the establishment of museums on the arts of the Spanish colonial period, (e) revitalizing cultural life in public spaces, and (f) the initiation of income producing activities.

Much preparatory work had to be done before actual restoration work could begin. Exposed structures and ruins had to be surveyed and documented. Archaeological work was necessary to identify buried structures and establish their condition. Soil tests were needed to ensure the stability of any restored structures. Water, drainage and electrical systems had to be designed. Archival and library research was needed to help identify and visualize the original appearance of each component of the fortifications. Stone and other material had to be sourced and workmen trained. A database of existing buildings and of land ownership needed to be compiled. The rules and regulations setting out development guidelines applicable to private landowners, including zoning, architectural standards, and construction, had to be prepared. The re-entry of squatters had to be contained.

Quickly completed projects were therefore started to keep public interest alive. The plazas were restored and cultural events were organized. Gate chambers were made into small museums, showing colonial period artwork, furniture, architectural details, and other objects from the collections intended for the planned museums. A military exhibit was mounted inside an intact powder magazine at Baluarte de San Andrés.

Research and Publications

A great deal of time would have been saved had as-built drawings been available, but there was no staff, funds or time to do archival work in Spain or Mexico. However, Fr. Luis Merino, O.S.A., a Spanish priest-historian who had extensively studied primary documents in Spain and the Philippines, guided the research and generously allowed full access to his library that included copies of archival documents. Having spent must of his life in Intramuros, Fr. Merino bequeathed many documents to IA when he passed away in 1986.

The staff relied heavily on microfilms and photocopies of plans in Spanish archives and on books like Maria Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo Spinola, *Arquitectura Española en Filipinas (1565-1800)* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, 1959); Pedro Ortiz Armengol, *Intramuros de Manila* (Madrid: Ediciónes de Cultura Hispánica, 1958); and Emma Blair and Alexander James Robertson, editors, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* (Cleveland, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark & Co., 1903-09; reprinted Manila: Cacho Hermanos, Inc., 1973).

Díaz-Trechuelo traced the history of the Intramuros fortifications with maps and architectural plans at the Archivo General de Indias, Archivo de Simancas, Museo Naval, and other Spanish sources. Ortiz Armengol (who later became Spanish Ambassador to the Philippines) wrote on the history of Intramuros and its major institutions, illustrated with details from a "bird's eye" view of the Walled City and its suburbs as they were in the 1730s. Commissioned by Don Fernando Valdés Tamón (*Gobernador y Capitán General* from 1729 to 1739) and dedicated to King Felipe V, the topographic view was drawn by Antonio Fernández de Roxas and showed minute details of the fortifications, each building in Intramuros and Binondo, and even *nipa* huts in the villages across the moat. An exact copy of the map was published in 1984 (Madrid: Ortiz Molina).

The National Library, the Records Management and Archives Office (RMAO), the López Library and Museum, the University of Santo Tomas Library and Archives, the U.S. Library of Congress, the U.S. National Archives, and other sources yielded useful material. It was a pleasant surprise to discover a trove of 19th century homes' architectural plans at RMAO, which was excellent reference for the "old town" project and for property owners and their architects. The material collected was gathered into the IA Library, named the Fr. Luis Merino, O.S.A. Library.

A publications program was initiated to educate the general public and to call attention to the project. Titles published included guides to Intramuros and Casa Manila; a compilation of photographs and excerpts from old accounts of the Walled City by J.C. Laya and E.B. Gatbonton, *Intramuros of Memory* (1983); monographs on colonial period arts and culture, e.g., *Venerated Virgins of Intramuros* by C.G. Manabat, *Philippine Religious Imagery in Ivory* by E.B. Gatbonton, *Damian Domingo* by S. Ongpin, *Sanctuary Silver* by M. Tinio, Jr.; and books of general interest -- an unpublished 1905 manuscript on seditious plays of the time by Arthur Stanley Riggs, *The Filipino Drama* (1981) and an unpublished biography of national hero José Rizal by the hero's grand niece Asunción López-Rizal Bantug, *Lolo José* (1982).

Important specialized studies were also published: Luis Merino, O.S.A., *El Cabildo Secular: Aspectos Fundacionales y Administrativos* (1983) on the governance of the City of Manila from the 16th to the 19th century and E.B. Gatbonton, *Bastión de San Diego* (1983). The latter is a model of its kind that presents the Baluarte's history using archival records, plans and other primary sources; describes the archaeological excavations performed and conclusions reached, accompanied by detailed drawings, documentation methodology; photographs, and restoration work done.

Development Approach

One alternative was to see to the faithful recreation of Intramuros like what was done in Warsaw. The Nazis had deliberately destroyed Warsaw and after the war, Poland recreated the old town to the last tile. It was not feasible to follow this model due to cost, the possibility of prolonged litigation and the doubtful advisability of such a government land development project. The risks and complexities involved led to an approach that combined government land acquisition and building, and regulation of private building.

More than half of Intramuros land was privately owned, much of it vacant. Modern buildings had already been erected all over, including four universities, a high school, a bank, a newspaper plant, and the Ministry of Labor on tall buildings along the *muralla* on the east and south. Tall buildings similarly crowded the north side of Intramuros, both within and outside the walls. It was possible to recover some of the Walled City's old appearance only on the side facing Manila Bay, along the former Paseo de Maria Cristina (now Bonifacio Drive). The location also suggested the idea

of a light and sound show highlighting the muralla and the towers and domes of San Agustín and the Cathedral.

There were just a few properties bordering the fortifications between Baluarte de San Diego on the south end and Fort Santiago on the north. It was still possible to envision a row of restored buildings immediately behind the *muralla* even as there were taller and modern buildings behind.

Going north from San Diego and the site of the Beaterio de la Compañia were a warehouse and the Ministry of Public Works soil-testing laboratory. Beyond them past Puerta de Sta. Lucía, were the ruins of a 1930s building that had been built on the site of the Augustinian Casa Procuración (Provincial House), followed by more warehouses over the ruins of the Ateneo de Manila and the Jesuit San Ignacio Church and convent. The ruins of the Archbishop's Palace were next and further on were more government property (including the already built Palacio del Gobernador Condominium).

San Diego was already under IA control. The Monetary Board approved the Central Bank purchase of the Beaterio site. The façades of buildings originally in the area have since been recreated by the Department of Tourism. The company that owned the 1930s building agreed to rebuild to its original 19th century appearance. Though of concrete rather than wood, the resulting ECJ Building is an ideal for others to follow. The Ministry of Human Settlements bought the old site of the Ateneo de Manila, intending to build a condominium using the school's 19th century façade. The Administration bought the ruins of San Ignacio Church and convent across the street, then the office of Allied Warehouse, for a planned museum of colonial art. The Archdiocese of Manila constructed an office building on the site of the Archbishop's Palace to approved specifications. The approach has succeeded in recovering some of the old panorama from the former Paseo de Maria Cristina.

Private construction in other areas of Intramuros has meant case-to-case discussions with private owners and their architects. The scale and proportions of buildings are sometimes off and many buildings are clones of the three story Casa Manila building, but through the Administration's efforts, the old ambience of Intramuros has gradually emerged.

The Plazas

Refurbishing the old public areas inside the Walled City was an obvious early project, being highly visible, easy to do and quickly completed. At-

tention was given to Plaza de Roma in front of the Cathedral, Plaza Sampalucan and Plaza España along busy streets, and the less conspicuous Plaza de Sto. Tomás and Plaza Willard (named after an American Justice).

Plaza de Roma used to have trees, clipped shrubbery, fountains and pools, and was surrounded by a wrought iron fence. At its center was a life-size bronze statue (originally gilded) of King Carlos IV, erected in gratitude for brining smallpox vaccine to the country. By 1979, much of the plaza had been cemented and the old features removed. The statue of Carlos IV had been replaced by a modern metal sculpture honoring the martyr priests (Fr. Gomez, Burgos and Zamora) whose execution had helped spark the Philippine Revolution. Commissioned from famous sculptor Solomon Saprid, it was erected in 1972 on the centenary of the heroes' execution. Carlos IV was left standing on a Fort Santiago sidewalk.

The restoration of the Plaza meant displacing a monument to revolutionary heroes with that of a Spanish King, obviously a delicate matter. The solution was to transfer the modern statue to a more prominent location, on the busy and wide avenue fronting what is now the National Gallery of Art. The new installation symbolically incorporated granite blocks taken from the ruins of the old Palace of the Spanish Governors General. As expected, the event appeared in newspaper front pages, but the more prominent site and more impressive design of the relocated monument calmed public agitation. Even the sculptor was pleased.

A small plaza called Plaza Sampalucan (literally, where *sampaloc* or tamarind trees grow) was bare land that someone had already fenced off. The Administration reclaimed the place and made it into a small park planted with *sampaloc* trees. Regretfully, the already grown trees were cut down some fifteen years later, in 1995, to provide a more spacious setting for a new monument in honor of the Intramuros war dead.

Plaza de Sto. Tomás, in pre-war years a neat little palm-lined precinct, was a muddy parking lot. So was Plaza Willard. Both were made attractive pocket parks. Plaza España, which had already been spruced up a nearby company, received *piedra china* paving. A monument to King Felipe II was erected there, unveiled in 2000 by Queen Sofia of Spain.

It turned out that old-style iron street lamps were still being manufactured in Spain. Lampposts of design identical or similar to those appearing in old photographs were ordered and installed in the Plazas and other

appropriate locations. All the plazas were almost completely redone by the Administration's first anniversary.

On a related matter, it was decided to follow the old practice of mounting ceramic tiles on the ground floor walls of buildings at street corners, spelling out street names one tile per letter. A ceramics factory heretofore manufacturing mainly bathroom tiles accepted a special order. Within six months, all suitable corners were graced with street names like those of yesteryear.

The "Old Town" – Plaza San Luis

The development of an "old town" was part of the plan from the beginning. The idea was to create a place with the ambiance of old Manila – not necessarily of Intramuros – but alive with restaurants, cafes, shops, and a museum. (Only religious and official events enlivened Intramuros in the old days.) With San Agustín Church as the only old building in Intramuros, it was logical to locate the old town project facing the church atrium.

Buildings of modern design already occupied two sides of the atrium, but the feel of old Manila could still be recovered with a row of "old" houses perpendicular to the church façade. The desired property was empty space where churchgoers parked. The owner, a Chinese gentleman named Mr. Soriano, agreed to sell at a fair price, realizing that the block behind, which he also owned, would rise in value once the development was complete.

The property consisted of seven (7) lots and the decision was made to build one house per lot, with different façades drawn from Filipino-Hispanic architecture of the 17th to the 19th centuries. Inner courts were linked and a little theater (the "Teatrillo") and a parking basement built beneath. The complex was named Barrio (later "Plaza") San Luis after one of the four barrios into which Intramuros was originally divided.

The three-story structure erected at the corner of Gral. Luna and Real Streets was based on a photograph of a house that stood on Calle Jaboneros in the San Nicolas business district across the Pasig River. The façade of the middle house was that of a house that used to be just a few blocks away. The exterior of the third house was that of the 1890s Vicente Cuyugan house in Ermita. The Cuyugan house no longer exists, but its architectural drawings survive at the RMAO. Around the corner on Real Street is a neo-classic house that is part of a boutique hotel. Its fa-

çade reproduced an illustration in an 1825 manuscript in the library of Madrid's Palacio Real published by Justa Moreno Garbayo, *Fiestas en Manila, Año 1825* (Madrid: Editorial Patrimonio Nacional, 1977). The façades and architectural detailing of the other structures are after surviving colonial period homes in Manila, Vigan and elsewhere.

Ground floors were designed for handicraft and antique shops, and cafes. The two upper floors of the corner house were for the Casa Manila Museum. The second floors of the two adjoining houses were leased to a restaurant ("Los Hidalgos"). An attic became a nightclub ("Los Gatos").

The Restoration of the Fortifications

Roughly trapezoid-shaped, Intramuros occupied about 64 hectares and was protected by some 4.5 kilometers of fortifications – curtain wall, *baluarte, baluartillo, revellín, reducto*, and moats (Annex "B" reproduces an 1850 map). Manila Bay was on the west, the Pasig River on the north, and an open area to the east and south, part of which later became the Jardín Botanico. The fortifications have been described as among the world's largest surviving medieval (more accurately, baroque) military installations. Everything – material used; location in relation to each other; height and slope of walls; width, direction and angles of openings; the parapets, ramps and other elements – was precisely designed to repel any invader.

Fort Santiago was a triangular complex at the mouth of the Pasig River and strong baluarte or bastions were built at strategic locations. Baluarte de Sto. Domingo or "de los Almacenes" (demolished in 1903) was upstream from Fort Santiago; Baluarte de San Gabriel was where the wall turned south; Baluarte de Dilao (or "de San Lorenzo") was midway to Baluarte de San Andrés (or "de San Nicolás") that was where the wall turned west; Baluarte de San Diego was where the wall reached the sea and turned north; and the smaller Baluarte de la Plana (or Baluarte or Luneta "de Sta. Ysabel") was midway to Fort Santiago.

Curtain walls, in places 22 meters high and 8 meters thick, connected the baluarte. There were Gates on all sides. Puerta de los Almacenes and Puerta de Santo Domingo (both on the part of the walls demolished in 1903) and Puerta Isabel II opened onto the river; Puerta del Parián leading to the Parián trading area, the Puente de España and the Binondo business district faced east, Puerta Real faced south, and Puerta de Sta. Lucía and Puerta del Postigo faced the sea. Parián and Real were each behind a

revellín. Smaller gates led to the Pasig River at Fort Santiago (Postigo de la Ntra. Sra. de la Soledad) and to the Revellín de los Recoletos (Postigo de Recoletos, now sealed).

Little bulwarks (baluartillo) strengthened the long curtain wall on the west. The 1730s Fernández de Roxas map shows five baluartillo between San Diego and Fort Santiago – named San Eugenio, San José, Sta. Ysabel, San Juan, and San Francisco. Later, a baluarte was built on the foundations of Baluartillo de Sta. Ysabel, but the other four survive.

Between the landside baluarte were revellín – large outworks shaped like angled half-moons – Revellín del Parián, Revellín de Dilao (or "de los Recoletos"), and Revellín de la Puerta Real. Reducto or fortín (small U-shaped structures with a stone building within and reached through a baluartillo) were added after the 1762-64 British Occupation. Reducto named San Pedro and San Miguel were connected by wooden bridges to Baluartillo de San Eugenio and San Francisco, respectively.

An inner moat reached the very foot of baluarte and curtain walls and an outer moat was beyond the revellín. A wide road, La Calzada, bordered the outer moat. Beyond it was flat empty space (the glacis) that provided clear firing lines to an approaching enemy. There had been villages along the moat prior to 1762. British troops used these villages' stone houses and churches as staging point in the Intramuros assault, and breached the south-facing wall near Baluarte de San Diego. After the British left, a large area was cleared and the inhabitants resettled, leaving open the area where Liwasang Bonifacio, Taft Avenue, Padre Burgos Drive, Mehan Garden, Rizal Park, the Manila City Hall and the other nearby public buildings now are.

While restoration was still at the planning and design phase, relatively simple projects were undertaken, both to have some visible progress and to train workers for the more complex work to follow. Weeds, shrubs and small trees that were eating at the walls were eradicated with herbicide; they used to be pulled out by the roots, causing further damage. The moat and bridges at Fort Santiago, Real and Parián were completed. Baluarte de San Diego was stabilized. Stone blocks on parapets and exterior faces of baluarte and wall had eroded, loosened, fallen, or been blasted off by wartime artillery. Parts of the muralla had also been improperly repaired, e.g., cement had been plastered and scored to simulate

stone blocks, cylindrical land boundary markers (*mojón*) had been used to fill some gaps. These were all redone.

Excavation, Documentation, Materials and Technical Training

The muralla had been reworked and altered throughout the 350-odd years of the Spanish Regime. The British had easily captured Intramuros in 1762, and defenses were extensively strengthened after they left in 1764. Among others, Puerta Real was relocated behind a new revellín. A wider, thicker and higher revellín was built over the former small rectangular outwork at Parián. Reducto were built to strengthen the sea-facing wall. To help interpret the ruins and stones uncovered in the excavation and to guide the restoration, it was necessary to establish what was built and when and how the structures looked at various times in the past.

Extant plans in the Spanish archives (as described and illustrated by Díaz-Trechuelo) appear to be only those that were submitted to and approved by the King. These were not necessarily followed in actual construction. The printing of the Díaz-Trechuelo and Ortiz Armengol books, too, was not the best. Available plans and drawings, therefore, were useful guides but restoration work had to rely heavily or archaeological findings and pre-1945 photographs.

From the beginning, the intention was to observe the standards and guidelines of the International Charter for the Conservation and Preservation of Monuments and Sites (the "Venice Charter") of 1964 that established general principles covering restoration, excavations and documentation, cross referenced to international principles of excavation adopted by UNESCO in 1956.

National Museum staff supervised archaeological work on the fortifications. Work was carefully documented, a task that involved photographing, measuring, drawing, numbering, storing, and reassembling stones. Particular care was taken to preserve worked objects like moldings and carvings. Technicians also helped devise solutions for waterproofing chambers, installing lights and plumbing, eradicating foliage from the walls, preserving woodwork.

New stone and mortar had to match the old ones not only for appearance's sake but more importantly, also to ensure that the effects of rain and the capillary action of ground water were properly controlled and did no damage. The National Museum helped formulate mortar suitable for each area, which were some proportion of lime, sand and a little cement.

The fortifications were of soft and porous adobe stone (volcanic tuff) quarried upstream of the Pasig in Makati, an area that is now completely built up. Stone of similar characteristics was found in Balagtas, Norzagaray and Sta. Maria in Bulacan, 40-50 kilometers north of Manila. Then producing stones the size of a loaf of bread, the quarries had to be reconfigured to yield blocks that were maybe thirty or forty times larger. Crews of workmen had to be trained to quarry, to shape and to lay in place the huge stones needed for the walls.

Coordination with other government agencies was a must. To protect both the newly restored fortifications and the structures within the Walled City, drainage was improved with the help of the Ministry of Public Works. Representations were also made to stop repairing streets and solving flooding by adding fresh overlay of asphalt or concrete on top of old layers, which meant rising street levels and sinking *muralla*. There was a bus terminal on the moat of Baluarte de Dilao to be relocated by the Ministry of Transport and Communication. Treasure hunters wanted to dig at Fort Santiago and elsewhere, requiring police vigilance.

The restoration work done in the first years of the Intramuros Administration (1979-86) is described below, beginning with Fort Santiago at the mouth of the Pasig River and proceeding in a clockwise circuit along the perimeter of the Walled City.

Fort Santiago

The Fort was destroyed during World War II but one building had been partly restored and made the Rizal Shrine. The grounds were landscaped with a modern fountain.

Entry to the Fort used to be through an impressive Gate with a central wood bas-relief of Santiago Matamoros – St. James the Greater on a rearing horse, with Moors underfoot. The Gate and the building behind it were casualties of the Battle of Manila. Only a truncated ruin was left, leaving the large Plaza Moriones (formerly “de Armas” or ”de la Fuerza”) without a focal point. The Administration decided to restore the Gate, partly financed by a donation from Gen. Carlos P. Romulo. In the absence of any as-built plans, the reconstruction of the missing upper half and the reproduction of the large central wood bas-relief were based on a study of the surviving stonework and old photographs. The bridge across the moat was restored and the moat, which could no longer be connected to the river, became a closed pool.

The Reducto de San Miguel, entered through the Baluartillo de San Francisco, was largely intact. It had lost its roof, which was easily restored. The Reducto was made into a memorial chapel where the remains of the civilian dead found during excavation work were placed.

The simple iron fence separating Plaza Moriones from the rest of Intramuros had disappeared, but the Vicente Madrigal family donated an elaborate 19th century European wrought iron fence that used to be in their old Paco district home. The fence closed off Plaza Moriones once again.

The Office of the President ordered excavations at Fort Santiago on at least two occasions, to look for Japanese treasure. The first was conducted about 1982 under President Ferdinand E. Marcos and the second about 1987 under President Corazon C. Aquino. Neither effort was reportedly successful, but the digging succeeded in exposing the inner courts or "*plazas baxas*" at the Plataforma de Sta. Bárbara, the fort's strongest part.

Puerta Isabel II

The 1903 demolition along the Pasig River left only about 150 meters of curtain wall, containing large vaulted chambers and Puerta Isabel II. The War left the Gate and various chambers mostly intact, but caused a twenty-meter gap in the wall near San Gabriel. The 1966 restoration made the gap into the *Terraza de la Reina*. The National Historical Institute restored some chambers in 1975. IA completed the restoration of the chambers and the deck. The Puerta Isabel II chambers housed the IA office and temporary exhibits in the first years of its existence. The chambers are currently leased to bars and eateries. One hopes that their kitchens, plumbing and utilities are causing no damage.

San Gabriel- Parián -Dilao

In 1945, American forces had directed heavy artillery fire on Intramuros from Quezon Bridge on the northeast, beyond Puerta del Parián. The *muralla* from San Gabriel all the way to Dilao was badly damaged, with the Parián revellín and gate taking direct hits. The curtain wall towards Dilao was pulverized to ground level and the Dilao itself was little more than a pile of earth. Later builders of nearby buildings helped themselves to much of the surviving stone. The moat area was high with World War II debris and accumulated garbage. A large paved area was a bus terminal.

The Parián gate façade had been repaired in the 1966 restoration and the premises were subsequently occupied by a police station and the Ministry of Public Works motor pool. The AFP Team arranged for their relocation and uncovered two stone bridges, one between the Gate and its revellín and the other leading out from the revellín.

Work on Parián-Dilao was on a grand scale. Close to 60,000 tons of earth, rubble and garbage were hauled away. Some 300 meters of curtain wall, the stone bridges and the wooden drawbridges across the moat, were restored. The revellín and its low protective wall (falsabraga) were excavated, revealing the 17th century structure beneath the larger post-British invasion construction. The whole was restored (and the old structure reburied after being strengthened), taking into account the plans, archaeological findings and old photographs. A 1960s stone staircase leading up the wall was replaced by a historically accurate ramp.

The earthwork in the revellín was graded in accordance with the original plans and the area recovered its appearance as a military fortification. The moat could not be reinstated, but earth was leveled to about the former water level, thus showing the muralla to almost its full height. The street behind was also lowered to show the original height of the wall on its inner side. With a reflecting pool, the place would have been at least as impressive as the Imperial Palace walls and moat in Tokyo.

No detailed plans of the heavily damaged Baluarte de Dilao were found and its walls, parapets and platform were restored using archaeological findings and old photographs.

The baluarte all had picturesque garita at their points. These were small stone or brick sentry posts with room enough to shelter one or two soldiers from the sun and rain. The original garita at San Andrés was still in place, but the others had lost theirs. The missing ones were rebuilt, though the brick garita at Dilao (reconstructed from a photograph) turned out to be disproportionately large and had to be done over.

San Andrés -Puerta Real- San Diego

Baluarte de San Andrés was in relatively good shape and work involved mainly the conservation of the ruins, reconstruction of the platform and repair of the parapets. Only re-tiling of the roof was needed at a still intact *almacén de pólvora* (gunpowder magazine) within the baluarte.

Aurora Garden (the former Revellín de Dilao), occupied by tennis courts in pre-war years, survived the war with relatively little damage. It now houses a bonsai garden society. Illegally parked vehicles are towed and impounded in the moat area behnd.

After 1986, someone else took over San Andrés and "restored" it to its present questionable form. Among others, the ramp from the street makes a sharp turn by a rebuilt *cuerpo de guardia* building. Bringing up anything like cannon would not have been easy. A large moat-level opening was also made at the baluarte's neck, said as being for cargo. The 1730s Fernández de Roxas map shows no such opening, which leads directly to a ramp that goes straight up to the platform. Such construction would have gravely weakened San Andrés and would have been unsuitable for cargo. To reach the street, any incoming cargo would need to be hauled up one ramp and down another, past a bottleneck at the top. It would have been Intramuros' largest opening, far larger than Puerta de los Almacenes that was the gate for cargo, being on the Pasig River, by the customs house and the royal warehouses. It is just as well that the opening is now concealed from view by a banana grove.

After 1764, Puerta Real was relocated about a hundred meters to the west, behind its own Revellín de la Puerta Real (or "de Bagumbayan"). The revellín was the pre-war Manila aquarium and was rehabilitated by the Zonta Club in the 1970s. The AFP Team excavated the aquarium parking lot and uncovered the revellín's curving stone bridge. IA removed miscellaneous additions, waterproofed the deck, finished a pool under the bridge, and replaced cobblestones on the passages and large *piedra china* paving on the main bridge to the Gate.

Baluarte San Diego is an interesting puzzle. The small round Fort Ntra. Sra. de Guía was built there in the late 1500s. Over the next 250 or so years, it had been repaired, partly torn down, renovated, enlarged, strengthened, and reshaped into its present appearance. An 1850 engraving illustrates a smoking foundry (*fundición*) there. In 1904, the Americans covered everything up with sand and erected temporary military buildings on top. Sometime after the War, a miniature Statue of Liberty was erected near the baluarte's tip, though it was gone when the AFP Team started work.

The AFP Team, IA and the National Museum uncovered three concentric circular walls. It seems that these were part of a rain water system and

the outermost may have belonged to the original round fort. A Japanese cannon was also fund half-buried -- bolted in place, aimed at the Rizal Monument and still with live ammunition. After conserving and stabilizing the visible structures, IA carefully restored the baluarte's south-facing outside wall and parapets that had been extensively damaged during World War II.

The Seaside Muralla – San Diego to Fort Santiago

The west side of the fortifications was untouched by the war, but Puerta de Sta. Lucía was demolished soon after, evidently to speed the removal of the ruined city's bulldozed rubble. An extension of Calle Real took up the old opening and about half of the chambers on both sides. IA restored the gate, carefully shaping and laying adobe blocks with keystone arches, vaults and domes. The stone bridge to the seashore beneath the asphalt was fully restored.

At Reducto de San Pedro, IA rebuilt the stairs, ramps and parapets and retiled the roof. Work on Baluartillo de San Eugenio (named thus in the Fernández de Roxas map but called San José in other sources) consisted of cleaning and re-pointing adobe grouting, removing the deck's concrete slab (possibly part of No. One Victoria Street, Gen. Douglas MacArthur's Philippine Commonwealth headquarters). The wooden bridge to the Reducto was restored.

Calle Anda had been extended through Baluarte de la Plana to ease the movement of cargo trucks and container vans. Closing the street and patching the gap with stone and brick was easy enough. The closure of the Anda and Real extensions, as well as the arching over of three other openings in the walls, effectively stopped large vehicles from entering Intramuros. Puerta del Postigo was unharmed by war and had been refurbished in 1966. IA excavated and restored the stone bridge leading out to the seashore.

Baluarte de Sto. Domingo – A Major New Project

Baluarte de Sto. Domingo along the Pasig River, demolished more than a hundred years ago, is being restored with a Japanese Government Grant. The project was conceptualized by Sen. Richard J. Gordon, who continues to take an active interest in Intramuros.

The Sunken Garden

Most of the former moat has been mostly a golf course since the 1920s. While P.D. No. 1616 gives the Intramuros Administration authority over the Sunken Garden, its jurisdiction has been exercised in practice only over the stone structures. The Philippine Tourism Authority has been in charge of the facility, named Club Intramuros, for several decades now.

The golf clubhouse, its parking lot and other facilities are on the moat area adjacent to Fort Santiago's outside wall. Its fairways, greens and water hazards occupy almost all of the Sunken Garden. The water hazards are half a dozen small ponds and beautifully evoke the moat of olden times. However, other features obscure and endanger the restorations.

Till the early 1980s, the golf course was roughly at the level of the moat, which was just above sea level. Intramuros' drains emptied into the moat and the city had been flood-free. When the moat was filled in the early 20th century, the Sunken Garden was still lower than the inner city and the old equilibrium was maintained.

The golf course was therefore soggy and even flooded in heavy rain and when it was renovated in the 1980s, the golf course's ground level was raised, blocking the drains and reversing water flow. Instead of city water draining to the moat, moat water began draining into the city. San Agustín was flooded for the first time in living memory. To eliminate city flooding, street levels were raised to redirect flood water elsewhere, i.e., back to the golf course. The golf course's level was thereupon raised further, not only worsening the flooding inside Intramuros, but also reducing the visible height of the walls' exterior face. Parts of the muralla, in their outer or inner faces or both, are consequently even lower than many suburban fences. One can only hope that the escalation ceases.

IA had successfully arranged the relocation of most of the bus terminal near Baluarte de Dilao and had hauled away massive quantities of earth from the Parián moat. The golf course has since expanded and soil has been hauled back to create elevated golf greens all the way to Parián. A large drainage outlet at San Andres was blocked, causing flooding at Recoletos. Earth has also been dumped directly against the Baluarte de Dilao, which is therefore half-buried. Unsightly stores, too, are practically on top of the restored Parián *falsabraga*.

Puerta del Postigo and its bridge are almost hidden from Bonifacio Drive by elevated golf greens and hummocks. The nearby Baluartillo de San Juan is practically invisible, concealed by a massive concrete bridge

across A. Soriano Street (formerly Aduana) built for golfers and their carts. Green plastic nets have been mounted on tall metal poles treble the height of the walls, to snare wayward balls and to protect passersby, nearby buildings and mercifully the stonework, from golf ball hits. The golf course is floodlit at night, allowing golfers to enjoy their game well into the evening. The muralla is unlit and obscured by the glare.

A low bougainvillea hedge used to keep intruders out. It has been replaced by a tall wrought iron fence with thin columns like those that surrounded pre-war villas. The domestic-looking fence is regretfully out-of-period, out-of-scale and inconsistent with the mighty fortifications. Vines and shrubbery block the view from the avenues that parallel the muralla, although for the same reason, golfers walk from tee to green in a delightful sylvan setting.

With all the improvements, golfers have an all-weather and all-hours golf course at the heart of the bustling city. For now, the authorities seem to have decided that golf attracts more tourists than does tangible cultural heritage.

Museums

Museums were planned, one to exhibit furniture and furnishings and to illustrate the lifestyle of an upper class 19th century family and another to present the art of the colonial period, which was mostly religious in character -- *santo* (religious images) for both church and home worship. Collections were formed for the two museums over a five or six year period, but even before the museums could be built, selected objects were already exhibited where possible: Puerta Isabel II (*santo*, furniture and other objects), the powder magazine at Baluarte de San Andrés (cannon and other military equipment) and Puerta Real (church silver).

Casa Manila

The decorative arts and lifestyle museum is Casa Manila within Plaza San Luis. It is a house-museum, inspired by similar institutions abroad, e.g., the Frick Collection in New York and in particular the Willet Holthuysen Museum of Amsterdam. The latter is a rich man's home built in the 17th century and willed to the city, fully furnished, at the end of the 19th century.

Casa Manila is the product of the combined talent and imagination of architects, antiquarians and *aficionados*. It is on the two upper floors of the

three-story corner house at Plaza San Luis, built partly using stone, woodwork and decorative elements from demolished homes. It was painted using the bright colors common in late 19th century Manila. Buildings with more than two floors, with shops on the ground floor, were more characteristic of the Binondo and San Nicolas business districts, but the museum eminently succeeds in fulfilling its raison d'etre, which is to display colonial period furniture and furnishings in an evocative setting.

The museum's interior was designed with a story line -- the original house was built in the early 19th century, renovated by an 1880s owner, and was lived in till the 1920s. Noteworthy among the museum's contents are a neo-gothic altar and household saints in the family chapel, a Venetian chandelier and an ersatz (wooden) fireplace that came from a late 19th century home; bric a brac and European furniture that were de rigueur in homes of the wealthy, a gigantic mirrored wardrobe that had been brought to a suburb in the 1930s from the owners' old Intramuros home, the portrait of Governor General Ramón Blanco's daughter dressed as Minerva painted by the 19th century prize winning artist Juan Luna. The museum collection also has jewelry, textiles (embroidered *piña* clothes), silver, and other household objects.

Objects not exhibited at Casa Manila have been lent to the San Agustín Museum, the National Museum and the National Historical Institute for museums and shrines outside Manila, including those in Taal, Batangas and Malolos, Bulacan.

Museum of Colonial Art

The IA collection of the colonial arts was formed over a period of four or five years, from both purchases and donations. It is now one of the best collections of Philippine colonial period *santo*, silver, paintings, jewelry, and like objects. The plan was to rebuild the late 19th century San Ignacio Church and convent as a colonial arts museum. The site has been acquired and architectural drawings completed, but construction has yet to begin. In the meantime, many pieces have been lent to the San Agustín Museum, including important pieces of furniture and a magnificent gilded *retablo* that was at the 18th century chapel of the Colegio de San José Recoletos in Cebu City. The *retablo* was partly donated by the Antonio Bantug family.

Festivals and Events

Cultural events were designed to help bring life back to Intramuros, even as Plaza San Luis and other property development activities were still unrealized. A series of Saturday evening concerts began at the newly landscaped Puerta Real revellín and garden. Held during the dry season (November to April), the performances proved to be a success. The series was discontinued after 1986, but events continued to be held at San Diego, Parián and other places. Puerta Real and other suitable locations in Intramuros have also been used for state entertainments and for wedding receptions, filming and other private events.

Religious pageantry was an important part of life in old Intramuros. During Holy Week, pious thousands went on *Visita Iglesia* to seven churches, walking from one to the next. Churches also had lavish processions with large images on *carrozas* (floats) retelling the public life and passion of Christ. Feast days of the venerated saints of the various churches and religious orders were also celebrated with processions. By 1979, however, there were only parish activities at San Agustín Church.

On IA's initiative, Intramuros processions were revived as religious and cultural activities. A procession was held in December 1979 in honor of the Immaculate Conception, the patroness of the Philippines. Mrs. Marcos was *Hermana Mayor*. A Holy Wednesday procession was started but was discontinued, since there are numerous Holy Week activities elsewhere. The Marian procession, however, still attracts great commitment. The Cofradía de la Inmaculada Concepción was organized and in December 2007 will sponsor the 29th procession of the unbroken series, with more than 90 images and thousands of devotees expected.

Then Secretary of Tourism (now Senator) Richard J. Gordon gave high priority to Intramuros as a visitor destination. Under his leadership, the Department installed an indoor sound and light show and organized exhibits and presentations from the provinces, under its "WOW Philippines" program. Events continue to be held in the Clamshell Pavilion, a tent at the site of the old Ateneo.

Business Activities

The curtain wall between Puerta del Parián and Baluarte de Dilao had been pulverized in 1945. The original had bricked-up vaulted chambers. It was rebuilt with the vaulted chambers modified to provide for small shops catering to the needs of the students of two large universities across the street. The reconstruction, called *Tiendas del Parián*, provided for the

necessary electricity, air conditioning, water, and plumbing connections. A kiosk was also built on vacant government property on busy A. Soriano Street, and rented out to food concessionaires.

For several years now, the chambers of Puerta Isabel II have been occupied by bars and restaurants. The *almacén de pólvora* at Baluarte de San Andrés was briefly a disco; its restored platform almost became a kind of permanent flea market were it not for adverse public opinion.

Grants and Other Activities

P.D. No. 1616 authorizes the Administration to give grants to qualified recipients and to undertake projects outside of Intramuros. Since 1945, San Agustín Church had no roof and GI sheets had been laid directly on top of the stone vault over the nave. IA gave a grant to help construct a proper tile roof. Technical assistance and funding from IA helped restore the late 19th century Cavite home of revolutionary General Baldomero Aguinaldo, which had been donated to government by his descendants, the family of former Prime Minister Cesar Virata.

Also noteworthy are: (a) archaeological excavations conducted by IA and the National Museum at the Ayuntamiento site, that yielded artifacts of the 17th and 18th vintage and that shed light on early construction techniques, e.g., large upended pots buried to reduce the damp; and (b) a recommendation approved by President Marcos authorizing the restoration of the Ayuntamiento and Intendencia for the National Treasury and the National Archives, respectively. The main reception room and principal staircase of the Intendencia have been recreated.

Acknowledgments

The restoration and development of Intramuros received attention and support from President Ferdinand E. Marcos and the First Lady Imelda Romualdez Marcos who was the Chairperson of the Intramuros Administration Board. The drafting of P.D. No. 1616 and the conceptualization, planning, research, restoration, museum development and other work, was done by a team headed by the present author, who was Action Officer until 1986.

Work was a team effort and responsibilities shifted from time to time. From the creation of the Administration in 1979 and until 1983, Esperanza B. Gatbonton was in charge of general management, headed the research and publications division and had overall responsibility for fortifi-

cations work. Restoration plans of all the baluarte were complete by the time E.B. Gatbonton left the Administration. Rosary L. Benitez then took over general management.

Restoration work on the muralla required various skills and depending on the complexity of the project, a project team could include a Project Officer, Project Architect, Researcher, Archaeologist, Structural Engineer, Construction Supervisor, Draftsman, and Inspector.

Maximum activity in the restoration of the fortifications took place in 1979-86. While still with IA, Esperanza B. Gatbonton was Project Officer and Researcher for all fortifications work. Arch. Felix N. Imperial, Jr. headed the fortifications and restoration division. He worked with Arch. Augusto Rustia, Arch. Rene Luis Mata, Arch. Roland Manio, and Engr. Joseph Reyes, who played key roles in the major restoration projects. Danilo Panganiban was Construction Supervisor for all projects and was in charge of workmen training.

Other senior members of project teams included the following: Fort Santiago – Architect Oscar Villaruz; Puerta Isabel II – Juan Cera, Jr.; Puerta del Parián – Dr. Eusebio Dizon, Tedoro Eribal, Jr.; Baluarte de Dilao – E. Dizon, Engr. Gregorio Origenes, Gregorio Licaros III; Baluarte de San Andrés – Arch. Wilhelmina de las Alas and E. Dizon; O. Villaruz; Baluarte de San Diego – Engr. Emilio Morales, Armando Buenaventura, Miguel Acción, Ernesto Maloles, Helen Hosillos, Geoffrey Garcia; Reducto de San Pedro and Baluartillo de San Eugenio – O. Villaruz; Puerta de Sta. Lucia – Walter Stamatelaky. Arch. Ramón Ma. Zaragoza was involved at a later stage in the restoration of Dilao and San Andrés. Arch. Carlos da Silva and Arch. F.N. Imperial, Jr., while with the National Historical Institute, assisted in the 1966 and 1978 restorations.

Arch. José Ramón Faustmann designed the Plaza San Luis complex, the Casa Manila Museum and the proposed colonial arts museum at San Ignacio. Arch. W.A. de las Alas restored Plaza de Roma and other public squares and was project manager of Plaza San Luis, construction of which was by F.F. Cruz, Jr., Inc. Arch. Cristina V. Turalba, R.L. Benitez and Asteya M. Santiago were in charge of urban planning; Fr. Luis Merino, O.S.A. was consultant for research; Arch. J. R. Faustmann and Arch. R. Ma. Zaragoza reviewed building plans and recommended on the issuance of permits; Martín I. Tinio, Jr., Davíd Baradas, Concepción Cortez, and Arturo de Santos (with E.B. Gatbonton and C.A. Escudero) formed the mu-

seum collections and worked on the exhibits and interior design of Casa Manila. Frances Arespacochaga took looked after the museum and its collections.

Conrado A. Escudero has been in charge of the Marian Procession since 1979; Zenas Reyes Lozada produced Puerta Real Evenings and saw to good relations with the media; Remberto Lozada took on the difficult and often rough job of rules enforcement, particularly traffic and squatter control; Marcia E. Sandovál helped in landscaping; Dominador Torres and Alfredo Xerés-Burgos took care of business activities; and Lourdes Evangelista, Natividád Agawin and Lina Armeña, who were on part time assignment from the Ministry of the Budget, kept administrative matters running smoothly.

The National Museum gave full assistance, particularly its Office in Charge Alfredo Evangelista, Assistant Director Jesús Peralta, Laboratory head Engr. Orlando Abinión, and technical staff members Dr. Eusebio Dizon and Arch. Oscar Villaruz. The Records Management and Archives Office, through its Director Rosalina Concepción and researchers Miguel Guerrero and Telesforo Peralta, provided a wealth of information that guided the work.

Conclusion

The restoration and development of the Walled City as a historical district is the responsibility of the Intramuros Administration, an agency under the Department of Tourism. The fortifications, Fort Santiago and the Manila Cathedral have been restored. San Agustín Church, the only building that survived the destruction of Intramuros in 1945, retains its religious function and is carefully protected as a cultural and historical monument inscribed on the UNESCO list of world heritage sites. Plaza San Luis has been built as a cultural-commercial development appropriate for Intramuros' unique place in Philippine history. The old moat provides welcome greenery at the heart of populous Manila. The district is zoned and new construction is carefully regulated.

Intramuros is a special place that calls to mind close to 400 years of Philippine history. It teaches lessons not only on political and social history, but also on the artistry and industry of their ancestors, on civil engineering, architecture and military history. Adapted to modern life, the old city continues to occupy a central place at the heart of Manila's cultural, spiritual, and tourist and economic life.

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Jaime C. Laya, Ph.D., is Chairman of Philtrust Bank and is Independent Director of various corporations and foundations. He was responsible for the formation of the Intramuros Administration and was its Action Officer from 1979 to 1986, concurrently with other government responsibilities, successively as Minister of the Budget; Governor of the Central Bank of the Philippines; and Minister of Education, Culture and Sports. In 1996-2001, he served as Chairman of the National Commission for Culture and the Arts

On leaving full time government service in 1986, Dr. Laya founded and until his retirement in 2004 was Chairman and Senior Partner of Laya Mananghaya & Co., which by then had become one of the Philippines' largest accounting and management consulting firms and member firm of KPMG International.

Annex A

Presidential Decree No. 1616 Creating the "Intramuros Administration" for Purposes of Restoring and Administering the Development of Intramuros (as Amended by Presidential Decree No. 1748)

Section 1. *Creation of the Intramuros Administration.* There is hereby created an agency to be known as the Intramuros Administration, under the direct control and supervision of the Ministry of Human Settlements. The Administration shall be responsible for the orderly restoration and development of Intramuros as a monument to the Hispanic period of Philippine history. As such, it shall ensure that the general appearance of Intramuros shall conform with the Philippine-Spanish architecture of the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century.

Section 2. *Organization of the Administration.* The Administration shall be directed by a Board of Administrators, consisting of the Minister of Human Settlements as Chairman, and as Members, the Mayor of the City of Manila, the Executive Director of the National Historical Institute, the Administrator, and such persons as the President may designate. Its Executive Officer shall be an Administrator, who shall have the same qualifications, privileges and rank of a Deputy Minister. The Administration shall be organized and staffed in accordance with applicable budget and compensation laws: Provided, That it shall be authorized to engage the services of architectural, historical, tourism, and other consultants necessary for its work: Provided, Further, That the President may designate Heads of Ministries of the national government to serve on the Board in an ex-officio capacity; Provided, Finally, That the members of the Board shall receive per diems for each Board Meeting actually attended by them, at rates and subject to such maximum monthly amount as may be approved under P.D. No. 985.

The Board of Administrators shall be responsible for the policies and activities of the Administration. The Administrator shall report to the Board and shall be delegated such authority as the Board may decide.

There shall be an Architectural Committee and such other Committees as may be created by the Board of Administrators, to advise the Administration on the architectural or other policy.

Section 3. *Functions and Powers.* The Administration shall have the following functions and powers:

(a) Formulate, coordinate and/or execute policies on the implementation of all programs, projects and activities of the government affecting or relating to Intramuros;

(b) Enter into contracts with any private persons or entity or any government agency, either domestic or foreign, whenever neces-

sary for the effective discharge of its functions and responsibilities under such terms and conditions as it may deem proper and reasonable;

(c) Acquire through sale, expropriation or other means, hold real and personal property as it may deem necessary or convenient in the successful prosecution of its work, and lease, mortgage, sell, alienate, or otherwise dispose of such personal and real property;

(d) Receive, take and hold by bequest, device, donation, gift, purchase, or lease, from foreign or domestic sources, either absolutely or in trust for any of its purposes, any asset, grant or property, real or personal subject to such limitations as are provided in existing laws and regulations; to convey such assets, grant or property, invest and reinvest the same and deal with and expand its assets and income in such manner as will best promote its objectives;

(e) Initiate, plan, undertake and supervise the restoration, upkeep and maintenance of the Intramuros Walls, including the *ravelins*, moat, Sunken Garden and public places or areas, plazas, streets and other government-owned or managed properties situated within Intramuros;

(f) Prepare, adopt, revise and enforce such rules and regulations, implementing guidelines and standards as are necessary for the effective regulation of the land use and development activities in Intramuros of both the government and private entities and for the implementation of the Intramuros Plan, including, but not limited to development rules and regulations pertaining to the following:

1. Land use allocation, use of buildings, their height, dimensions, architectural style and designs and other specifications of the building construction to be undertaken therein;
2. Traffic management, street usage and other related matters;
3. Size and character of display signs, advertising billboards, and other external signs and advertisements in buildings, in open spaces, lots or roads;
4. Supervision and control of all activities involving archaeological diggings, excavations and exploration within Intramuros including the use, disposition, registration and maintenance of archaeological findings and discoveries;

(g) Expropriate properties within Intramuros;

(h) Sponsor, conduct, or otherwise assist and support festivals and cultural activities in Intramuros, and charge and collect admission fees to the restored Gates and other attractions operated by the Administration;

(i) Give grants, contributions and donations for the restoration, repair or maintenance of historic structures in Intramuros, including San Agustin Church, and of structures outside of Intramuros which are of similar nature and character as those which existed in Intramuros, for the conduct of historical, architectural, archaeological and other research, and for other purposes in furtherance of its objectives;

(j) Prescribe and collect reasonable amounts to be charged as filing fees, inspection fees, permit fees, and other administrative or service fees necessary for the effective enforcement of its laws and regulatory measures, to be used and disbursed by it in the manner determined by it to promote its objectives;

(k) Exercise all powers necessary or incidental to the attainment of the objectives of this Decree.

Section 4. *Transfer of Administration and Properties.* The ownership of the properties of national government agencies located within Intramuros shall, upon agreement with the agencies concerned, be transferred to the Administration. The properties of government corporations, on the other hand, shall, subject to mutually acceptable terms and conditions, be sold to the Administration. In the case of government financial institutions, sale to the Administration of their properties shall also include acquired assets within Intramuros.

The Administration of Fort Santiago, the Sunken Garden, the Municipal Golf Links, including concessions within the Sunken Garden and elsewhere on public land and other public properties in Intramuros, are hereby transferred to the Administration, without prejudice to the operation of the Municipal Golf Links by the City of Manila or other organization as may be approved.

All proposed transactions affecting private properties within Intramuros shall be registered with the Administration. The Administration shall, in the case of sale, have the right of first refusal.

Section 5. *Operation of Facilities.* The Administration may operate museums, art galleries, theaters, and other cultural/educational facilities that are incidental and suitable to the attainment of its objectives: Provided, That the Administration may operate such facilities, either directly or through existing institutions such as the National Museum, the Cultural Center of the Philippines, the National Library, and other agencies of the Government.

Section 6. *Commercial Activities*. The Administration may directly, or in association with public or private enterprises, construct, lease, sell and otherwise operate, shopping and commercial facilities in Intramuros. It may likewise operate guided tours and other related tourism services.

Section 7. *Locational Clearance, Construction and other Permits.* All locational clearances and construction permits for the development of lands, introduction of improvements, and the use, change of use, construction, repair, alteration or reconstruction of buildings within Intramuros and other forms of permits such as for excavations or archaeological diggings shall be issued by the Administration on the basis of the approved Intramuros Development Plan, its architectural development standards and other implementing rules and regulations. The Administration may seek the assistance of Manila and Metro Manila offices insofar as the minimum standards of safety of buildings, electrical, plumbing and drainage requirements are concerned.

No structure, including stone walls, fences, light or other fixtures, steps and paving shall be erected, altered, restored, moved or demolished within Intramuros without the Administration's Certificate of Appropriateness as to external architectural features and its congruity with the historic district, including style, general design and arrangement, types of windows, doors, light and other fixtures and signs, material and location of advertisements and bill posters.

The provisions of P.D. No. 1096, otherwise known as the National Building Code and other related laws which are not inconsistent with this Decree and the rules and regulations promulgated by the Administration shall have a suppletory effect to this law and to the development control regulations promulgated by the Administration.

Section 8. *Building Modifications*. The Administration shall, after a transitory period fixed by it and approved by the President (Prime Minister), require in its rules and regulations the owners of existing buildings and

structures within Intramuros to modify their architectural structure and design in order to conform to the design and architectural standards adopted by the Administration: Provided, That subject to the availability of funds, the Administration may utilize its funds to undertake the modification of existing buildings, whether publicly or privately owned, with or without the requirement of reimbursement by the owner, depending on mutually acceptable terms and conditions, so as to modify their external appearance to comply with approved structure and designs, and, Provided, Further, That no changes in the façade or external appearance of any existing buildings and structures in Intramuros, including ruins, shall be made without the approval of the Administration.

Owners, lessees or other persons with any interest in the property who voluntarily undertake at their own expense the modifications of buildings and structures in Intramuros to conform to the architectural design standards of the Administration shall qualify to apply for the incentives, financial assistance and grants to be provided for in a program of incentives of the Administration.

Section 9. *Maintenance of Roads and other Utilities and Services.* The budgetary allocation for the maintenance of national and local roads and the provision and maintenance of other public utilities and services such as water and electricity within Intramuros shall be released to the Administration, which shall undertake such services directly or by arrangement with the appropriate Ministry, the City of Manila, or with private parties capable to undertaking the work, subject to applicable government rules and regulations.

Section 10. *Traffic Management.* The Administration shall control the nature, volume and schedule of traffic, parking and the access of private and public vehicles into Intramuros. For this purpose, the Administration shall prepare the appropriate traffic plan and the implementing rules and regulations thereto. Furthermore, review and approval of public transportation routes going through Intramuros shall be subject to the concurrence of the Administration.

Section 11. *Construction Work.* Construction and other civil works may be undertaken directly by the Administration or with the assistance of the Ministry of Public Works, Transportation and Communication, the City of Manila, or by private contractors, subject to applicable government rules and regulations.

Section 12. *Real Property Tax Discount.* The Administration, in consultation with the Minister of Finance, may extend discounts on real property assessments situated within Intramuros, so as to encourage the private sector to engage in the construction of duly approved facilities: Provided, That such incentives shall apply only to new construction and to improvements of existing building that conform to the Administration's architectural specifications.

Section 13. *Investment Incentives.* The Administration, in consultation with the Minister of Industry or the Minister of Tourism as the case may be and subject to the approval of the President (Prime Minister), may extend investment incentives and other forms of [encouragement] to industries and enterprises established in Intramuros in accordance with the Intramuros Development Plan: Provided, That the industries to be allowed to operate in Intramuros shall be limited to those that are consistent and compatible with the historical character of Intramuros and shall furthermore not be the source of air, noise, water, or other types of pollution.

Section 14. *Appropriations*. The appropriations pertaining to Intramuros which are in the budgets of the National Historical Institute and the National Parks Development Committee, are hereby transferred to the Administration. The Minister of Human Settlements may fund additional operating and capital expenditures out of the appropriations provided for the Ministry of Human Settlements in Batas Pambansa Blg. 1.

Section 15. *Revolving Fund*. The Administration is authorized to establish a Revolving Fund into which shall accrue revenues from operating and commercial transactions undertaken by the Administration. Such revenues shall be automatically appropriated to cover expenses incurred in such commercial operations, subject to pertinent budget, compensation, accounting, and audit law and regulations.

Section 16. *Domestic and Foreign Loans.* The Administration is authorized to borrow funds from domestic or foreign sources, subject to applicable laws and regulations and the approval of the Minister of Finance.

Section 17. *Grants, Contributions and Donations.*

(a) The Administration is authorized to accept and receive grants, contributions and donations from domestic and foreign sources, government or private. These may be obligated and disbursed or used in such manner as the Administration may, in the exercise of sound discretion, deem best to promote and accelerate

the restoration program or enhance the maintenance of historical structures and facilities in Intramuros, or contribute to their development and preservation, or otherwise attain the objectives of the Administration.

(b) All grants and donations to the Administration shall be exempt from donors and all other taxes that are or may be imposed by the government in case of donations and shall be fully deductible for income tax purposes. All monetary contributions and the equivalent monetary value of works of art, antiques, manuscripts, books, or other articles of cultural, historical or scientific significance donated to the Administration shall be tax exempt and deductible from the taxable income of the donor.

(c) Donations *mortis causa* of art objects, antiques, treasures and relics, historical houses or parts thereof or similar properties made to the Administration shall be excluded in the determination of the net estate of the donor. Furthermore, the full value of the donation shall be credited for purposes of paying estate taxes due from the estate of the decedent: Provided, That the value of the donation shall be subject to the joint approval of the Administration and the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

Section 18. *Eminent Domain.* The Administration shall be exempt from the payment of documentary stamp tax, registration fees and other taxes, dues and fees incidental to the issuance of title to it of property acquired through sale or expropriation. Should expropriation proceedings be resorted to, the Administration shall likewise be exempt from all court fees. Said expropriation proceedings may be maintained by and in the name of the Administration and it may proceed in the manner provided by law.

Section 19. *Effectivity of Decisions of the Administration.* Any decision, order or ruling by the Administration in any application, complaint or issue filed or brought before it shall become final and executory after the lapse of fifteen (15) days from its receipt by the affected party. It is appealable only to the President of the Philippines whose decision shall be final.

Section 20. *Rule Making Functions.* The Administration shall promulgate such rules and regulations as may be necessary to implement this Decree and to enforce the policies, orders and resolutions of the Administration. These rules and regulations shall be signed and promulgated by the Board

and shall take effect fifteen (15) days after its promulgation once in at least two newspapers of general circulation.

Section 21. *Visitorial* Powers. The Administration, through its authorized officers or representative shall have the power to conduct an ocular inspection of any ongoing construction or existing building or structure to determine whether the development or activity conforms to the use, standards and specifications prescribed by the government. Any violation of such specifications provided for in its rules and regulations shall be dealt with in the Section dealing with penalties.

Section 22. *Authority to Organize Inter-Agency Committees.* The Administration or its designated representative is hereby authorized to organize and convene an inter-agency committee or committees with representatives coming from the appropriate government agencies an private entities to serve as consultative or recommendatory bodies on such matters as the Administration may deem necessary to be referred to it.

Section 23. *Deputization of Officials.* The Administration may deputize any official or agency of the government to perform any of its specific functions or activities.

Section 24. *Penalties.*

(a) Any person or establishment who violates any provision of this Decree, or any policy, order, decision, ruling or regulation of the Administration shall be subject to a penalty to be imposed by the appropriate court ranging from a fine of One Thousand Pesos (P1,000.00) to Fifty Thousand Pesos (P50,000.00) or imprisonment of not exceeding six years or both at the discretion of the court. This shall be without prejudice to any administrative fines and penalties that the Administration may prescribe in its rules and regulations, including the revocation or cancellation of locational or construction permit and the suspension of construction and/or the demolition of illegal construction.

(b) The Administration is hereby authorized to impose a fine not exceeding Thirty Thousand pesos (P30,000.00) for violation of this Decree or any of the policies, orders, rules and regulations promulgated by it or any of the terms and conditions provided for in the permit or license granted by it. It may furthermore, after due notice has been given, consider any violation as a con-

tinuing one and subject to a daily penalty for as long as the illegal act or condition exists.

(c) The Administration may, furthermore, in the enforcement of its decisions and in the exercise of its regulatory functions, secure the assistance of or deputize the appropriate enforcing officials, such as the building official of the City of Manila and other local police officers. It may, when the need arises, establish its own enforcement arm or demolition team to strengthen its enforcement powers.

Section 25. *Effects of Laws, Decrees and Ordinances.* All existing laws, decrees, Acts, Letters of Instruction, Executive Orders, city and metropolitan Ordinances and/or portions thereof which are inconsistent or in conflict with this Act and the approved Development Plan of Intramuros including its implementing rules and regulations shall be considered modified accordingly. In the case of future laws, they must expressly provide for the repeal or amendment of the charter or of specified provisions of the charter of the Administration or its rules and regulations.

Section 26. *Separability Clause*. If, for any reason, any section or provision of this Decree is declared to be unconstitutional or invalid, other sections or provision thereof which are not affected thereby shall continue in full force and effect.

Section 27. *Effectivity.* This Decree shall take effect immediately.

Done in the City of Manila, this 10th day of April, in the year of Our Lord, nineteen hundred and seventy-nine.

Revitalizing Historic Inalahan

By Judith S. Flores, PhD

This paper provides a brief history of the ancient village of Inarajan, Guam; and notes significant historic structures and period elements of the vernacular architecture. Challenges and issues of revitalizing the district are related with respect to community participation in the proposed development for cultural tourism.

Introduction

My home is in Inarajan Village. I grew up there in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Houses were so close together that one could hear their neighbors' conversation. The street was our playground, where children played ball and *ka'diding* (a form of hopscotch). We greeted our elders with a respectful *manginge* (sniffing of the elder's hand to receive their blessing), and we quickly obeyed if Auntie or Uncle sent us on an errand. We had a basketball court built by volunteer labor, and the whole village turned out to cheer our basketball players during games. Boys grew up knowing how to use a *machete* to harvest the abundance from the jungle; and girls were proud to clean their family homes and polish their *ifil* wood floors with the coconut *skuiyi* until it shined. It was a long drive to Hagåtña, so we entertained ourselves at the little movie theater along the bayside, and we listened to the stories and songs of our elders in the quiet, dark nights. Life revolved around San Jose Church, and social events were family celebrations of *fiestas*, *nobenas*, weddings, christenings, and funerals.

Mom and Pop stores provided everything we needed, from rice, flour and sugar to colorful cloth that we bought and took to the village seamstress to sew our clothes. The village bakery used the *hotnu* – the dome-shaped Spanish oven – to bake bread. The delicious smell drifted all over the neighborhood and people lined up to wait for the bread to come out of the oven. Inalahan in the 1960s was a bustling village of about 3000 people, most of who lived in the village proper.

Spanish-Period History

Spanish missionaries laid out the streets of this village in 1680. There was a typhoon in November 1680 that destroyed most of the homes in Guam. The Spanish missionaries used this opportunity to move the people into six centers: Inapsan, Pago, Agat, Merizo, Umatac, and Inarajan. After the Spanish conquered the native population Governor Quiroga then went into the northern islands (called Gani isles) to catch rebels who had fled there and to bring everyone back to live on Guam. Inalahan and other southern villages were resettled with captives from Gani in April of 1699 (Hezel, 1989, p. 13). To insure control of these natives, the Spanish governor encouraged their own people, such as retired soldiers who had married Chamorro women, to settle in Inalahan by offering them land. They also offered land to those who converted to Christianity.

The ancestors of present-day Inalahan people are descended from this mixture of a few remaining local people, mixed with the Gani people from the northern Mariana Islands and Spanish mixtures from Mexico and the Philippines.

While all families were required to build a house and live in Inalahan to be near the church, people still farmed their clan lands in the surrounding area. The men and older boys would often live and work on their ranches (called *lanchos*) from Monday to Saturday. They would return to their village home on Saturday evening in order to go to Mass and spend Sunday with their families. In this way, the ancestral land tenure remained pretty much in tact since the establishment of Inalahan as a village.

The original structures in Inarajan began as simple thatched homes, built on poles, with a bamboo floor raised above the ground about one to two meters. As time went on, some homes began to use local *ifil* hardwood for floors and walls. More well-to-do families added a thick rock and lime cement wall around the poles, and added massive staircases and raised terraces in the back for outside kitchens. This Spanish introduction of rock and lime mortar construction is called *manposteria.* This is the type of house that exists today in the historic district.

Description of the Village

Inarajan has the largest concentration of homes that were built in the early 1900s because the village was spared from intense bombing during World War II. Generations of the same family have lived here for over 300 years. The houses were built close together, with about 8 houses to each block, bordered by Salai Haya (presently San Jose Street) and Salai Lagu (presently Pale' Duenas Street). The hill defines the boundaries of the village on the inland (Haya) side, with one or two houses extending from Salai Haya partially up the hillside. As families grew, a second house was often built in front or back of the first house. The Duenas family owns large parcels of land from Salai Haya extending back into the hills. Families with village property along the hillside can almost always trace their family heritage back to the Duenas family. Houses also filled the area between Salai Lagu (Pale' Duenas Street) to the shore along Inarajan Bay. This was the lowest part of the flood plain that comprises Inarajan Village, and was less desirable property. Families built their houses on wooden poles to help protect them from sea surges and river flooding during typhoons. Many of the original families who lived along the shore where Gef Pa'go Cultural Village is located can trace their ancestry back to the Meno family.

San Jose Church

The Jesuit missionaries built the first church in Inalahan and named it “Patriarka San Jose Esposo de la Virgen Maria”. The first church was made of wood with a thatch roof, and it was quickly burned by rebels (Garcia, 1683, p. 179). By 1769, the third church built on this spot was a stone-and-mortar *mamposteria* building with a thatched roof

(Haynes & Wuerch, 1993, pp.9; 17-20). As with all Spanish Catholic villages, the church was the most prominent feature in the village.

The quaint gothic-style church of today was designed by Father Bernabe de Caseda and built by the villagers under his leadership between 1937 and 1940. Sand was shoveled by hand from nearby beaches and carried by trucks or jeeps to the site. Older men with building expertise supervised the younger men to mix cement by hand and carry the mortar by buckets to those working on the building. The iron rebar and other construction materials were often Navy surplus items. Builders Lino Chargualaf, Ignacio Taimanglo and Jesus Crisostomo, among others, were instrumental in building the church. Ignacio Taimanglo recalled that a ramp made of coconut tree poles extended from the hill behind the church to the height of the steeple. Workers moved building materials by wheelbarrow along that ramp to build the tower. Very few men were brave enough to climb to the heights of the tower or steeple, but in four year's time the construction was completed without the use of any construction machinery.

St. Joseph Church was damaged by Japanese and American air attacks during World War II, and repaired by villagers after the war. In 1949, it was damaged by typhoon Allyn and repaired again (Carano, 1974, pp. 12-13). Major structural repairs were made in the 1970s, when it was determined that the walls needed support. At this time the buttresses were added. The 8.1 earthquake in 1993 further damaged the church and demanded its reconstruction. Under a grant from the Guam Preservation Trust, Saint Joseph Church was completely rehabilitated to its present appearance and re-dedicated in 1997.

The gothic-style decoration on the colonnades, arches and balustrades was done through the ingenuity of the builders. They formed the molds from whatever materials they had. From that learning experience Jesus Crisostomo went on to create many other decorative concrete motifs. An example of his work can be seen on the archway over the entrance walkway. The delicate arch is decorated on its underside by a repeat *fleur-de-lis* style motif consisting of three circles made by a simple home-made mold. Latte-shaped pillars support the arch. He created this when the church underwent major repairs in the 1970s (Jesus Crisostomo interview 1987).

Significance of Historic Inalahan Structures

At the time of its nomination to the National Register of Historic Places in 1974, the nomination report listed sixty-six significant structures. Eighteen dated from 1901 to 1925. Another thirteen were built before World War II. Another 35 were built immediately after the war and were similar in character to the earlier homes. The village as a whole represents the urban and architectural scale that was once common

on the island (1974 National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form, p. 2, Item 7). According to the National Register Nomination Form statement:

> Inarajan Historic Architectural District is the last major remaining example of the urban and architectural scale that was once prevalent throughout the island. The main structures of the village are perhaps the last hope of preserving examples of the "village dwelling" that developed during the latter part of the 19th and early part of the 20th century. This development is unique to Guam and can be traced back to the prehistoric structures.
>
> The residences of Inarajan have evolved through centuries of tropical structures. As the dwellings evolved they incorporated some construction methods of the 17th through 19th centuries, some colonial Spanish details, and various types of building materials available during the 20th century. (1974, Item 8)

The older remaining buildings resemble the form and type of construction used in thatch pole structures. The floor was elevated off the ground approximately one meter in older thatch dwellings. Later this height increased to 1-1/2 to 2 meters, effectively creating a 2-storey building. The ground floor was earthen, and the second floor, framed and planked with *ifil* wood (*intsia bijuga)*, became the main living area. A second type of residential pole structure evolved, which enclosed the lower level with thick walls of *mamposteria.* The Spanish introduced this building style in the 17th century. It is a rubble type of construction using coral rocks and lime mortar obtained from burning coral to form quicklime (*afok*). This enclosed area became known as the *bodega* because it was used for storage of rice, tobacco and other food.

The Modernization Since 1970

The village began to change in the 1970s, when those who owned houses along the bayside were offered half-acre lots in the hills of nearby Malojloj in exchange for their little Inarajan lots. Gradually the bayside area became vacant. This is where Gef Pa'go Chamorro Cultural Village now stands.

Television first came to Inarajan in the 1960s. At first it was a great social affair. The first families who owned televisions opened their homes to village children to watch "Gunsmoke" and "I Love Lucy". The local television station sponsored a nightly rosary hour, and parents knelt with their children to pray with the *techas* (prayer leaders) on television.

Between Supertyphoons Karen in 1962 and Pamela in 1976 the landscape in most of the island began to change. Bank financers required that people rebuild their homes

with concrete walls and roofs to withstand these natural disasters. These new homeowners soon found that concrete boxes with small windows were too hot, so they began to air condition their homes. By the late 1970s most homes had air conditioning and televisions. Even those who lived in our wooden homes in Inarajan closed their windows and doors, turned on their air conditioners and focused on their television shows. By the 1980s children decided it was too hot to play outdoors, and the streets were no longer their playground.

The Exodus

Inalahan village today is virtually a ghost town. On each of the five blocks that comprise the historic district, an average of two houses out of the former eight houses are occupied. More than half of the sixty-six significant historical structures noted in 1974 no longer exist. What caused this exodus of families from their ancestral homes? My observations and discussions with others have revealed some of these reasons:

- People moved to be closer to where they worked and shopped
- Families wanted to follow the American Dream of 2000 square-foot homes on half-acre lots
- It wasn't "cool" or modern to live in old-fashioned wooden houses
- Titles of many historic homes were still in the name of deceased parents or grandparents – it was easier to go buy a new house than to try to settle the estate among dozens of heirs
- Clear titles are required for bank financing; therefore few people could afford to repair homes or to rebuild on family property
- Banks would only finance concrete houses with concrete roofs because insurance companies won't insure wood frame, metal roof houses for typhoons.
- It was hard to get property surveys done because the triangulation points were too far away from the village. This made surveys very expensive if not impossible.
- Neighbors all over the district dispute boundary lines because there is no village-wide survey map.

The designation of Inalahan as a historic district was both good and bad for the continued existence of the village. It was good for the fact that it deterred people from tearing down historic buildings. Laws are in place that require applicants for demolition or building permits to be cleared by the Historic Preservation Office. This helped retain the historic scale and character of Inalahan. It became frozen in time – a relic of the early 20th century vernacular architecture. However, relics deteriorate if not properly preserved and maintained. Successive typhoons caused the destruction of several buildings. Fortunately, the Guam Preservation Trust was able to work with families of 13 homes to rehabilitate some of the most significant structures, including the San Jose Church. But the Trust can only help those who have clear title to their properties. Sadly, many of the homes rehabilitated by GPT were damaged by

typhoons or poorly maintained by owners. Many of these rehabilitated homes have joined the list of abandoned buildings.

Property owners don't like to sell their ancestral lands. This has been good for the continued connection of generations of families to their village. However, many properties have been abandoned for more than a generation. Connections are being lost. Would it be best if these properties could be sold to others interested in revitalizing the village? Without clear title, these properties cannot even be sold.

Lack of information about this historic designation also contributed to the decline of the village. Building contractors didn't have sufficient knowledge of the historic district regulations, so they often refused to take building jobs in the district. For example, the lot sizes in the district are all substandard. Contractors would look at the lot and tell the owner that they needed eight-foot setbacks from the road, which didn't leave enough room on the lot to build a house! They didn't know that owners in the historic district could apply for waivers of these setback regulations.

Its more expensive to rebuild in the historic district than to build a new house elsewhere. A case in point is the Fred Meno two-story house on San Jose Street. This house was built in the early 1950s, featuring a concrete ground floor *bodega* and a second-floor living area with concrete walls, back and front balconies, metal roof, wood floors and an exterior, concrete staircase and landing. Like most post-war homes, the roofline was not as steep as the pre-war houses. This house lost some of its roof in Typhoon Chata'an in 2002. Fred was granted a Small Business Loan of $50,000 to repair the house. He secured an architect and a contractor and he applied for a building permit. The Historic Preservation Office told him that the roofline had to be redesigned to a steeper grade because the house was located in the historic district. So he spent about $5,000 to re-design the roof. But then the structural engineers determined that a steeper roof would put too much stress on the walls, and they would have to be strengthened by posts running from the roof into the foundation. Digging into the foundation would require the cost of hiring an archaeologist to monitor the excavation. If, in the likely event that significant artifacts were found in the excavation, he would have to pay more money for archaeological recovery work. He gave up and abandoned the house. Presently, the house has deteriorated so badly that it is probably beyond repair.

Revitalization Efforts

In 2004, Gef Pa'go was awarded a two-year grant of over $400,000 to train interns in two areas that would help revitalize historic Inalahan. Hospitality and Tourism interns would learn how to demonstrate traditional crafts, tell about their village history, and provide hospitality services in the historic district. Historic Building interns would be trained and certified in basic carpentry, with a focus on learning the building methods

and styles of the historic district. Both trainee groups had classroom training sessions as well as on-the-job training at Gef Pa'go Cultural Village and in the historic buildings in Inalahan. Over the course of the two-year project we trained 5 hospitality interns and 11 historic building interns. Our goal was to rehabilitate three historic buildings that could then be used for guest houses and retail spaces.

The Building Interns first learned to build the pole thatch huts in Gef Pa'go Park. Then, they moved on to the job of replacing the roof of the pavilion, which turned into a major re-construction job that resulted in the pavilion you see at Gef Pa'go today. The interns then tackled an emergency replacement of termite-infested wood in the historic Isabel L.G. Cruz house, which we use as our office. We documented each step of the process, where they tore down water-damaged 1970s panel board to reveal the original Japanese fir wood paneling in the walls. They replaced termite-infested beams that supported the upstairs floor (a post-war addition of U.S. lumber as opposed to *ifil* used in the original structure.) They discovered that an original ceiling beam was sagging by 3 inches, so they installed a support beam that went from the *bodega* floor to the main floor ceiling. They learned finishing, caulking, painting, and created moulding to cover exposed electrical wiring.

The George Flores House was originally intended for minor repairs to rehabilitate the upstairs as a vacation rental and the ground floor as a retail space. During the course of our project it was determined that the kitchen roof, which had been exposed since a typhoon in 2000, needed to be changed due to extensive water damage. Water flowing through the exposed roof had eventually rotted out the kitchen floor. Engineers determined that there was structural damage that required professional construction beyond the capabilities of our interns. Our building interns concentrated on cleaning out the *bodega* that had historically served as a retail store. They stripped away water-damaged paneling on walls and the ceiling that had been added in the 1970s, exposing *mamposteria* walls and original *ifil* support poles. Inspection by engineers revealed that the *ifil* poles were rotted through at the floor level due to constant damp rise from the concrete floor. However, concrete beams that were added in the 1970s supported the upper floor. The interns removed inactive termite-damaged wood from the ceiling, stabilized and cleaned the area. This building continues to deteriorate.

Joe Flores House became the rehabilitation project, which resulted in the goal of establishing a guest rental house. Most of the 11 interns participated in this final project of replacing plumbing, repairing plaster, upgrading electrical wiring, replacing damaged wood, painting, tiling and polishing. At the end of the project, it became a vacation rental advertised on the Gef Pa'go website. It was subsequently returned to the owner, who rented it to a young couple who love the idea of living in a historic home that has all the modern comforts added. This project serves as a model of how

we can attract a new generation of professional people to eventually occupy and rehabilitate the historic district.

The Juan and Patrona C. Meno House was intended to be the major accomplishment of this ambitious two-year project. However, we discovered that two years is only long enough to complete the planning for the project, the architectural and engineering work, and the identification of wood materials similar to those used in the existing homes, such as *ifil* and other tropical woods. The preliminary work included extensive meetings with the surviving heirs of this house, to help them designate an administrator for this property, which is still in the name of their deceased parents. This project is one example of the way titles to ancestral properties might be resolved. We are encouraging them to form a family non-profit organization that would administer future income from the property for scholarships or other purposes that would benefit future generations.

Conclusion: Recommendations to Support Revitalization

The issues discussed in this presentation need to be resolved if Historic Inalahan is to survive with any significant structures intact. Depending on the action we take now, Inalahan can be a ghetto area where no one wants to live; or it can be the greatest cultural treasure of Guam, with rehabilitated homes for not only visitors to stay but for our own people to raise their children. It can be a source of pride for the present and future generations of Inarajan families, where all our island youth can come to learn about their Chamorro roots, their colonial heritage; their language and traditional arts and crafts. It can be a source of jobs in cultural tourism, historic building repair and related services. We've got to move forward for this village to survive and thrive. My recommendations include the following:

- Develop a master plan that includes land surveys, infrastructure plans and economic development sustained by cultural tourism and related services
- Educate the residents and property owners about the advantages of living and building in the historic district. Emphasize the positive and show ways to overcome obstacles through brochures, checklists, fliers, talks at local schools and other promotional activities.
- Provide agents or provide a staff person at the mayor's office – a person who is immediately and locally accessible - to address issues related to the historic district.
- Provide guidelines and checklists of procedures needed to build in the historic district
- Develop model structural elements and architectural features that builders can use for rehabilitation in the district – window and door styles, hardware, recommended materials and applications

- Provide financial assistance and /or incentives to those who invest in historic properties – partnerships with banks and insurance companies, tax deductions for investments
- Promote the strength and viability of traditional wood construction – the best proof is the existence of these houses for over a century!

Preservation for Our Souls: Lessons from University of Guam Students at Historic Inalahan

By Anne Perez Hattori, Ph.D.
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University of Guam

Dangkulu na saina ma'ase to Señores Jose Rodriguez and Carlos Madrid of the Spanish Program for Cultural Cooperation, as well as the Guam Preservation Trust staff – Executive Director Joe Quinata, as well as Ruby Santos, Rosanna Barcinas, and Felix Benavente -- for their tremendous work in organizing this Conference, as well as for inviting me to participate. This gathering gives us all an opportunity to take a break from the frenzy of our daily lives and reflect upon what we've accomplished in the past, what we're presently working on, and where our future is headed. The Chamorro people have long understood the importance of this process of integrating the past, the present, and the future, in particular, the necessity of knowing one's history. This Chamorro appreciation for history, what we in academia might call an epistemology of history, opposes the classic Western notion of history as the past, as what's behind us. It is encapsulated in the word *mo'na* and I will attempt to explain my thoughts on this.

Mo'na literally means "front" or "in front of," referring to what we can see standing before our very eyes. *Mo'na* also appears in the word *taotaomo'na*, our ancestors, literally, the people in front. According to this definition, our ancestors and, therefore, our history, are situated not behind us, not *taotaotatte*, but rather, in front of us, *taotaomo'na.* Thus in this Chamorro epistemology, history lies always in front of us, navigating us to the future. Looking ahead is essential; without looking in front of us, we would walk into ditches or drive toward oncoming vehicles. And looking ahead, *mo'na*, means knowing your history.

There are many lessons to be learned here. It tells us that history guides our future, but it also tells us that knowing and preserving our history is essential, not simply to make tourists happy, but rather because of a true need to look before we leap, to remember the past and grow from it.

This view of history can be found in islands across the Pacific, each one signaling the importance to islanders of history and historic preservation. In past decades, many publications and conference presentations have corroborated this. Yet the past decade of research in Micronesia has also shown that the islanders have frequently found themselves at odds with academics and preservationists, often possessing conflicting definitions of what it means to be historically significant.[1] A recent publication by Jon O'Neill and Dirk Spennemann asserts that, throughout Micronesia, islanders "share a strong sense of dissatisfaction with current historic preservation practices."[2] This 2006 publication reported the results of a Historic Preservation survey that was disseminated throughout the US-affiliated islands in Micronesia.[3]

I myself had responded to that survey and I was one of those respondents critical of historic preservation. For me, particularly after I was hired at UOG in 1999 and began teaching many History of Guam sections, I had become interested in connecting my students to their historic island and region. I wanted to find ways to help them see their history all around them, to appreciate that the footsteps of their everyday lives took them across historic grounds all over Guam. But more importantly, I wanted them to see themselves in their island's history, to see that they themselves are products of Guam's unique past. I looked to the existing historical markers, those on the National or Local Register, as well as historical monuments, museums, and landmarks. I thought these would be useful tools for connecting students to their island's long and rich past, and therefore, to their present-day complicated, multi-layered cultural identities.

What I found, however, was quite disappointing, monuments and landmarks that paid tribute, not to Chamorros, but to Spaniards, Japanese, and Americans who had colonized Guam. In these historic places, other people's successes and sacrifices were commemorated,

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[1] Lin Poyer, "Defining History Across Cultures: Islander and Outsider Contrasts." *Isla: A Journal of Micronesian Studies* 1:1, Rainy Season 1992, 73-89.

[2] O'Neill and Spenneman assert that, although both HPOs and the US National Park Service are evaluated as being ineffective in fulfilling their core responsibility of historic preservation, greatest dissatisfaction was lodged against local governments (Jon O'Neill and Dirk HR Spennemann, "Perceptions of Micronesians on the Efectiveness of the Historic Preservation Programs, *Micronesian Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences* 5:1/2, 2006, 544).

[3] The article noted that the responses showed "a strong level of consistency … regardless of ethnicity, age, gender, and origin" (O'Neill and Spennemann, 544). O'Neill and Spennemann, however, do not give specific criticisms, nor does it propose ways to improve Historic Preservation practices.

some in celebration, others in mourning. I was not, and am not, opposed to Guam's many historic structures that owe their design and construction to Guam's various colonial rulers because, indeed, part of our very uniqueness is precisely this long and dense colonial history that has resulted in Spanish, German, Japanese and American influences on the island. Rather, what disappointed me was that the stories accompanying these sites typically failed to reflect the active participation of Chamorros in the history of their own island. Neither the interpretative signage nor the other explanatory sources such as brochures, pamphlets, and websites, included Chamorros and the ways in which these forts, plazas, and battle sites touched their daily lives. I would, in fact, suggest that in doing so many of these historic sites contribute to Guam's ongoing colonization, burying Chamorros and Chamorro history deeper and deeper beneath the stories of other people on our land and showcasing the island as a place that welcomes others to come and leave their marks on our body, our island. In looking at Guam's historic places, few and far between did I see, read, or hear stories of Chamorro participation, determination, and survival.[4]

Despite my dissatisfaction, I still remain optimistic that things do change over time and those of us present today actually have power to make changes. We have the power to prioritize and select which sites get restored. We have the power to ensure that historic sites on our islands represent the past in ways that honor the experiences of the islanders and their roles in their own history. As Kelly Marsh and Dirk Spennemann express in "Bridging the Gap: Reflecting Chamorro in Historic Structures," "It is incumbent upon historians and historic preservationists to reconnect Chamorros to their history long-denied them—to uncover the Chamorro stories within these [historic] structures, to help Chamorros see themselves and their ancestors reflected in them."[5]

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[4] In a paper that was published in 2006, I asserted that history – not only history as it has occurred, but also history as it has been preserved in documents and structures -- has enacted violence against the Chamorro people, in part by romanticizing and celebrating the colonial history of the island, rather than positioning or even acknowledging its role in undermining Chamorro cultural, political, and economic sovereignty. See "The Politics of Preservation: Historical Memory and the Division of the Mariana Islands." *Micronesian Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences* 5:1/2, November 2006, 1-4.

[5] Kelly Marsh and Dirk HR Spennemann, "Bridging the Gap: Reflecting Chamorro in Historic Structures," poster presentation, International Conference on Stonework Heritage in Micronesia, November 14-15, 2007, Guam.

In my search for islander-centered historic structures, I realized that, thankfully, not all of Guam's historic markers are testimonies to some Walt Disney wonderful world of colonialism. Two, in particular, stand out in my mind– the Asan Bay Overlook of the War in the Pacific Park, built in 1994, on the 50th Anniversary of Guam's "Liberation" from World War II, specifically to honor Chamorro suffering during the war.

The other is the project you've just heard about from Dr. Judy Flores, the Historic District of Inalahan, encompassing St. Joseph's Church and the historic homes within the village. The designation of "historic district" was endowed upon Inalahan in 1977 by the US government, officially listing the site on the US National Register of Historic Places. The church, built in the 1930s by the villagers who donated not only their financial resources to pay for all of the construction materials, but also their labor, serves as the focal point of the historic district, and a cluster of homes fills out the site. Some of the homes are more than 100 years old and thus it represents the oldest inhabited village on Guam.

Both of these historic places, one under the purview of the National Park Service and the other under the guidance of the Historic Inalahan Foundation, tell stories that highlight the Chamorro people, their encounters with "others," their challenges through the best and worst of times, and their on-going survival to this day.

Thus in my continual journey as a teacher to engage my students in their own history, I decided to bring them out of their comfortable air-conditioned classroom in order to answer for themselves some basic historical questions. These are questions such as: What do we choose to remember? Specifically, which historic sites are selected for preservation? That is, how have Guam's people selected what is worthy of our remembrance, what becomes a part of our remembered past? Secondly, how do we remember? That is, what are some of the ways in which we, today, remember our past and what kinds of history lessons do we learn from historic sites? Finally, how can they, as students and as residents of the island, contribute to these processes of historical remembrance and preservation?

Armed with these questions, I began engaging my History of Guam students in a service-learning project – providing service by volunteering their labor, while also learning through an educational experience. Thus far, they have donated over 400 labor hours to the Historic Inalahan

Foundation in this spirit of service-learning. These students are, for the most part, first year students, aged 18 to 19, although we do get our fair share of non-traditional students.

It was for several reasons that I selected the Historic District of Inalahan. Firstly, it is a Historic District, recognized on the National Register of Historic Places, and thus it offered opportunities to discuss, observe, and critique what it means to be a registered historic place. Secondly, Inalahan has been the recipient of numerous Guam Preservation Trust grants and thus it offered students the opportunity to see for themselves the ways in which Guam's "Historic Sites" are being preserved today. Thirdly, the Historic Inalahan Foundation and the Gef Pa'go Cultural Center, under the sound leadership of Dr. Judy Flores, is a well-run organization with an endless amount of work to do and a staff of dedicated employees and volunteers who act as work supervisors. Because of their well-run organization and the leadership of people such as Mr. Carlos Paulino, their Maintenance Supervisor, and Mr. Rudy Sabares, a construction apprentice, I can confidently bring 30 to 40 students at a time and know that their services will be well utilized. Fourthly, and most importantly, I selected this site because, in my view, it exemplifies the best of what historic preservation can mean. On the one hand, it is a rich historic location that allows for discussions across hundreds, even thousands, of years of history, from precolonial Chamorro society, to Spanish colonial rule, through the early American influences, to World War II, and finally, to modern Guam. At the same, however, in one small village, amidst thousands of years of history, it is also a dynamic representation of living, breathing villagers, going about their daily lives, not in some pickled, touristic sense, but as modern people juggling the challenges of the past, present, and future. It is not a monument to Spanish, American, or Japanese colonialism, but rather, a tribute to Chamorro survival alongside generations of Spanish, American, and Japanese influence.

In the remainder of my paper, I want to share with you some details of the project's organization in the hopes that you might be inspired to do similar projects. If you are teachers, then think about engaging your students. If you work in the Historic Preservation field, then think about making partnerships with teachers, in the schools or colleges or at UOG. If neither of this applies to you, then maybe you can engage your village or community organization or even your children's classes. In my

experience, the results of this activity have been far more profound than my greatest expectations.

So here is what we do. Initially, a few class days before their trip to Inalahan, students are introduced to the Guam Preservation Trust via a lively and detailed presentation by Rosanna Barcinas of the Guam Preservation Trust staff. She comes with a slide show that defines and explains historic preservation and that describes the various projects that the Trust has funded, including details about specific sites within Inalahan. Thus even before their trip to Inalahan, students have already heard a bit about historic preservation, about the village, and about the challenging politics of historic preservation and preservation funding. Once they arrive at the village, I invariably overhear them talking amongst themselves saying, "Oh, isn't that one of the historic homes? Is that the Cruz house? Oh, wow, look at the church!" Although they may have driven down this same road tens or even hundreds of times in their lives, never before have they seen it in quite the same way.

The work begins promptly at 9 am with Dr. Flores and her staff immediately assigning students into different groups, each with a specific task and under the leadership of a work supervisor. These tasks range from picking up trash around the village, to weeding and cleaning up in and around the historic structures, to cleaning up the shoreline to ease some of the problems associated with rising sea levels. Students are given mops and brooms, gloves, trash bags, paintbrushes, machetes, shovels, rakes, wheelbarrows, and, at the end of the day, thanks to Guam Preservation Trust, a plate lunch prepared by *Kusinan Gadao* that enables them to refresh, regenerate, and appreciate the value of their sweat. It is the deliciously fitting culmination to a sweet labor of love.

Following the outing, I ask the students to write an anonymous reaction paper that reflects upon their experience. I ask them to be brutally honest, in order to guide me in modifying the project for future classes. In my presentation today, I will share some of the comments in these assessment essays, quoting their words directly, and, in the spirit of this Conference, even preserving their grammatical errors.

Social Outcomes

The day results in a range of benefits. For some students, especially those new to Guam, it serves as both a touristic opportunity as well as a cultural immersion experience. For others, the drive down south gives

them a chance to visit a village they wouldn't otherwise, and indeed, every semester, I have a handful of students who have never before ventured to the southern part of the island.

For others, the outing becomes an important social event in their semester, a welcome opportunity to make friends. One student wrote that the event was "worthwhile because I got to know my classmates and meet new people, people that I wouldn't have talked to." This social aspect helps me, as well, because following this event, students do come back to the classroom with a stronger bond and greater affection for one another. Amazingly, in three short hours, they begin to forge a community of their own.

A Pedagogical Tool

As their instructor, the outing serves as a powerful learning tool in a number of ways. It provides students with a valuable hands-on opportunity to experience history, in addition to reading about it in their assignments and hearing about it in class lectures. For some students, it is an opportunity to do something out of the ordinary, one writing, "As students we are constantly stuck in the cycle of waking up, going to a classroom, taking notes, going home, and studying. Having an excursion outside of the classroom both helps reinforce whatever lesson is being taught and takes away the mundane everyday classroom experience."

Others note its instructive benefits, one of them writing, "From an educational stance I got to see first hand how the historic buildings were constructed. An individual cannot completely understand things like "Mamposteria" unless you see it for yourself." Many students expressed ideas such as this one that stated, "In the classroom we learn through lecture and visuals, but it is different to smell, feel and see what history is and how [Guam] has changed." One expressed that "The drive and hard work we did in the houses was worth it because I was there to see and touch the history of our island." Thus, there is no doubt in my mind that students derive educational value from the experience. Specifically, I want to share four key areas of educational learning.

Lesson 1: Learning about Inalahan

I call the first of these educational lessons, "Learning about Inalahan." One of my students who actually lives in Inalahan wrote, "Although I've lived there my whole life, just from this last visit I learned more than I

ever had about my own village." Many of the students similarly comment that they were previously unaware of Inalahan's history and significance.

The students express, in different ways, that the village has touched them, one student writing, "Who knew Guam had such a beautiful place?" while another expressed, "While visiting the houses and restored projects I was struck with the beautiful uniqueness of each building." Many students thanked the Guam Preservation Trust for its role in restoring St. Joseph's Church, as well as the numerous homes, one writing, "The Guam Preservation Trust did a wonderful job restoring this beautiful church. Just walking into the church gave me a sense of all the history that our church and our island has been through." Another student wrote, referring to the Ana Leon Guerrero home, "As I entered the home, history jumped right out at me." Inalahan indubitably leaves its marks on the students who increase their knowledge and appreciation of this village's history.

Lesson 2: Learning the Value of Historic Preservation

The second lesson I call "Learning the value of historic preservation." One student summed this point up well, writing, "Historic preservation has to be taught. It is a learning process to realize that without the past there would be no future." Another similarly expressed, "I learned why it is important to have knowledge in both history and historic preservation. Both work together hand in hand. Without historic preservation the people of our future will not know of their history, and without any awareness of their history people are bound to make the same recurring mistakes."

Another powerful response reads, "My understanding of the importance of historic preservation has always been present, although through the activities it has been enhanced by simply standing, walking and breathing in the buildings where Guam's history had taken place and a whole new appreciation has taken birth in me and continues to grow." The vast majority of the students share that, although they were previously only vaguely aware, if at all, of what historic preservation was all about, after the visit, they have become avid supporters who now understand in more specific terms both the benefits and challenges of preservation work. Coming to terms with this knowledge enriches many of them in this learning process.

Lesson 3: Learning and Appreciating Guam's History and Culture:

The outing is also an opportunity to "Learn and Appreciate Guam's History and Culture." For many of the students, their time in Inalahan enables them to contemplate broader questions about the island. One wrote, The experience "helps the students appreciate their history – a history so rich and old, it bewilders even an outsider such as myself." Another expressed that the day "helped me to realize the magnitude of how much our history matters to everyone living in the present day."

Some serious concerns also emerge, one student writing, "I hope that this field trip will allow other people to go through and recognize what I did ... because it seems to me that many Chamorros do not even know their cultural history or background." Students also point to the living aspects of culture that they saw and felt so vibrantly in Inalahan. One student stated, "Our field trip to Gef Pa'go was a success not only in the preservation of the site but as a learning tool for all people, not just Chamorros, to help teach who the Chamorro people are." Some express that the very act of preserving history is a vehicle for keeping it alive. One wrote of "how much love the household gives to community" and assessed that "Historic preservation keeps the culture and lineage of the families preserved."

Other lessons about Chamorro culture also emerge. One wrote, "I have lived on Guam for over 15 years now and I believe I learned a lot about this island and culture.... I learned that the Chamorro people were more than a tight society that just came together and improved their village. They cared for one another and treated one another as family. It was more of a family effort to keep the village thriving [, full of]pride and improvements. For example, when the Inarahan people came together, kids, moms, dads, uncles and so on, to build their beloved church." Similarly, another wrote, "I have gained tons of respect and awe toward the island that I currently reside in because I had the opportunity to be part of the historic preservation in Inalahan."

One student who brought her son and daughter along for the day wrote, "I am ashamed to say that it took a class trip to really get in touch with my culture. I am not only glad for the experience, I am happy my children were able to experience it with me." Many students realized how much hard work goes into preservation, maintenance and stabilization. One wrote, "My hands on experience has showed me how much work it needs to keep a landscape beautiful. I love the south, the beaches and the

sights, it's just amazing! To keep it this way, me and everyone else needs to work together and help clean up."

Similarly, another stated, "I know that the 'yard work' we did was nothing at all compared to the rigorous work that the villagers did in the past, but it gave me a better understanding of the responsibilities of the villagers and why it is important to continue their work."

Students generally saw Inalahan as illustrative of the larger Guam story. For example, one wrote, "These buildings are indicative of a strong people.... It is extremely important to emphasize how and why the indigenous people of Guam persevered through the worst of hardships and change to the current generations." Thus from an educational perspective, students undoubtedly learn about history and culture, ranging from gaining a sheer appreciation for its age and depth, to an understanding of the dynamics of community-building and home maintenance, to the still-vibrant displays of dedication, teamwork, and physical labor..

Lesson 4: Taking Care of Our Future

And although this project is explicitly about the past, many students also looked toward the future, writing statements such as "I have learned that we need to take care of our island....The Guam Preservation Trust has really done a great job ... but we can't just rely on them to take care of our island. The people of Guam need to work together and maintain our history and culture."

They acknowledged that a successful future requires hard work, one student writing, "I was part of the group that had to pick up all the debris from the shore. It was disgusting,... but someone's got to do the dirty work. We all just got to suck it up if we really do cherish our home." Another student wrote, "Before, I was passive about historic preservation – I was all for the idea, but not enough that I would actually participate. But after going to the historic site and seeing it, it makes me wonder if we are doing enough." In fact, the main suggestion that I received in the essays was this recurring critique. As another student wrote, "I would recommend adding additional site visits and projects, so that both the students and the community of Guam may gain and grow in cultural knowledge and awareness. This would be an important move in the effort for cultural and historic preservation."

In their essays, many of the students express that while they care about Guam and its future, they also care deeply about its past and efforts to preserve it well.

An Emotional Experience

On top of some of these lessons learned, students also shared many emotional responses to their day, some of which you've already been hearing. In many of the essays, students expressed that in contributing their labor, they felt a "sense of accomplishment." One student wrote, "Even though I was just cleaning, I felt that I was part of something bigger." Arriving in their separate cars as individual students, they leave three hours later, realizing that they had collectively contributed to something meaningful. Another wrote, "The process of historic preservation is one that takes time, especially as things need to be stabilized first. Knowing that I was able to contribute something good and be a part of that process is a good feeling." Many of the students say that they felt "lucky" to have had this small, yet moving, opportunity. Many of them also actually use the word "fun" to describe their day, and a number voiced the opinion written by one that said it was "cool to go and help clean up the village."

One student elaborately described, "I was assigned to pick up trash. Other than that, I also dug up the dirt from a ditch because every time it rained, the place was flooded. After that, I shoveled some other little rocks to cover the lower parts of the ground, so it can block the water outside. Personally, I thought the works were so heavy and difficult. I was exhausted completely, and I really enjoyed the trip.... The day was exciting and educational."

Many of the student essays pinpoint other forms of personal satisfaction. One student shared, "The visit to Inalahan raised my sense of pride and respect for my culture and my island" and numerous other essays made similar comments. Another student wrote, "I left Inarajan with a sense of pride .... This service-learning project is necessary because it inspires new outlooks as it has done for me."

Thus on behalf of my students, I want to thank Dr. Flores and her staff at Gef Pa'go and the Historic Inalahan Foundation. I also wish to extend a *dangkulu na si yu'us ma'ase* to Joe Quinata, Executive Director of the Guam Preservation Trust, and his staff – Rosanna Barcinas, Ruby Santos, and Felix. You have all extended your hospitality and expended your

resources to impress the young, developing, impressionable minds of these students, our island's future leaders. It gives them a lucky chance to smell, touch, see, hear, and feel their history and they appreciate it as an opportunity to learn and absorb some of Guam's historical and cultural treasures. In addition to this, at the end of the day, it has also been an opportunity to nurture their souls, instilling pride in themselves and their island and a sense of accomplishment, adding self-confidence and self-respect as people who have survived many storms over many years and who are now contributors to the next chapter of Guam's history. The experience dignifies their home as a beautiful place of history and culture, a place that they can be proud to call home. In the Historic District of Inalahan, these students encounter a living historic site that reminds them that in order to move successfully into the future, we must always look ahead, *mo'na,* and remember our past.

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The Resurrection of Nuestra Señora de la Soledad*

By Richard K. Olmo

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(*La Soledad would be considered a '*Batería a barbeta'*, and would have also been considered a '*Batería cruzante'* in conjunction with Santo Angel and San José.)

Introduction

In 1994 I had the good fortune to be involved in an ambitious project that included the partial restoration of Fort Soledad, an early 19th Century military structure, built during Guam's Spanish Period by Governor Alexandro Parreño. At the time, I was employed by a contract firm named International Archaeological Research Institute, Inc., that had had conversations concerning archaeology at the fort with the project architect, in early 1991. But, like so many projects of grand scope, it took several years of planning and coordination before it was initiated. My participation in the project came about not only through this connection, but also as a result of my wife's participation in a field archaeology class at the University of Guam being taught by Dr. Hiro Kurashina. At the time, Dr. Kurashina was the director of the Micronesian Area Research Center (MARC), home to the Spanish Documents Collection. This collection, under the knowledgeable administration of Marjorie Driver, provided one of the foundations for historical research on Soledad, and the other structures that were once considered part of the project.

I refer to this as a project of grand scope, because, as originally conceived, it involved a total of seven Spanish Period sites, all located in southern Guam. Along with Soledad, three other batteries, Santo Angel, San Jose, and Nuestra Señora del Carmen (later, referred to as Santa Barbara); the original San Dionisio church; the Legaspi cross; and, the Merizo Conbento were included. In addition to the restoration or reconstruction of these structures, training in historic stonework and mamposteria construction techniques, for local workers, was built into the work plan, with discussions to formalize the training held with representatives from Guam Community College. The project concept called for interpretive signage, guided tours, a visitor center, and living-history interpretive programs once the restorations were completed. In addition to the architects and archaeologists from Guam, architects, archaeologists, and

artisans from Mexico and Spain were slated to be involved. The Guam Historic Preservation Trust was the funding body for the project. At the time, Joe Quinata was its director, and he took great personal interest in the project and helped it along at many junctures. While a number of unfortunate factors converged that militated against realization of the full project, a substantial portion of Soledad was restored, and later, through a different project with different architects and no archaeological input, the Conbento was refurbished.

My particular contribution to the original project was developing archaeological research designs and conducting excavations in support of the architectural restorations. Accurate architectural restoration of historic structures was predicated upon assaying and understanding the surviving ruins; obtaining substantial information from archival sources; developing a knowledge of period structures, building materials and construction techniques; judicious use of testing laboratories and materials scientists; accessing specialists in the construction techniques of the time period; and, the vision to take all of the disparate parts and make sense of them in a final construction. In the absence of detailed drawings, builder's plans, as-builts, or period photographs three local sources of information were extensively mined: the MARC archives, the existing ruins, and their associated archaeology.

A review of the Spanish Period forts on Guam had previously been conducted in 1979. It was initiated by Sister Felicia Plaza, M.M.B. who, along with Father Thomas B. McGrath, S.J. and Sister Yolanda Delgadillo, M.M.B., published a report which provided information on 14 forts using archival sources, recent air photographs, and location visits. The report, entitled *Spanish Forts of Guam,* gives detailed information on Nuestra Señora de la Soledad abstracted from the reports of official and unofficial visitors to the battery during the early 19th Century. A synopsis of this information is provided below. (Also referenced is a 1994 companion piece to this report, entitled, *Architectural Sketches of the Spanish Era Forts of Guam*, co-authored by Marjorie C. Driver and Omaira Brunal-Perry).

Historical Synopsis

A gun emplacement was situated on the hilltop know as Chalan Aniti prior to the construction of the Soledad battery. The battery was constructed during Governor Parreño's administration (1806-1812), prior to 1810. It contained "a barbette with guns mounted, a guardroom, quarters for the officers and men, and an ammunition storage room" (Delgadillo, *et al*. 1979:52). A report from 1818 stated that it had six cannons, while one from 1819 contains a problematic drawing showing four cannons in place at embrasures. Survey by Medinilla in 1826 declared the battery as "useless but there were two bronze

cannons ready for service" (*Ibid*). An 1833 report stated that the masonry walls were beginning to crumble, the roof was off the quarters building, and the cannons were fixed in a single direction (suggesting that they were no longer on wheeled carriages). By 1845 no cannons were mounted at the battery, and it had fallen into increasing ruin.

Prior Archaeological Work

Professional archaeological excavations investigated portions of La Soledad during the spring of 1984. These were reported on in June of that year (Moore and McNerney, 1984). It appears from their discussions that restoration of the structure was also being considered at this time. An area of approximately 21 m^2 was excavated, and a total of 247 historic artifacts were recovered (excluding American Period materials). The bulk of the artifact collection (207 pieces) consisted of clay tile fragments. No military artifacts were found, nor were any artifacts recovered which conclusively supported interpretations of room use within the *bodega* (the stores/quarters building).

Moore and McNerney generated a series of research questions prior to conducting their excavations. These were divided into questions needed to address "restoration and stabilization" concerns [I], and those needed to address "archaeological and interpretive issues" [II] (*Ibid.*). The questions and the answers arrived at are reproduced below.

[I.]

Q1. What is the condition and configuration of footings and foundations below the ground's surface?

A1. Excavations at several locations indicated that basalt was used as a foundation material upon which coralline rocks were placed. Further, the steep slope at the north wall was prepared for construction by a series of basalt terraces. Structurally, the subsurface portions of the walls are in good condition.

Q2. Are there additional rooms or structures adjoining the fort which are not visible as ruins or are not shown on early plans?

A2. Although the investigations were limited to testing, it is unlikely that there are as yet undiscovered structural features at the fort. Archival research also supports this inference.

Q3. Is the large depression outside the west fort wall a modern disturbance or is it a feature associated with the Spanish occupation of the fort?

A3. Lack of time and dense vegetation in this depression prevented excavation. However, local informants indicated that this was a bomb crater from W. W. II.

Q4. What is the depression inside the fort walls?

A4. Both excavation and local informants verified this depression as a bomb crater from World War II.

Q5. What type of roofing materials were used on the soldiers' quarters?

A5. Clay tile probably set in a bed of plaster.

Q6. How far did the roof project beyond the walls?

A6. This question was not fully answered; however, the abundance of tile fragments on the east edge of the support wall suggests that it may have projected to the edge of this wall.

Q7. Were there other interior partitions?

A7. Other interior walls were not defined; however, excavations in the center room did identify limestone post supports.

Q8. What type of flooring was in the soldiers' quarters?

A8. All rooms were covered with plaster.

Q9. Was there a powder magazine or arsenal associated with the fort?

A9. It was thought that the depression in the south portion of the fort may have been the remains of a semi-subterranean arsenal similar to Fort Santa Cruz (Delgadillo et al. 1979:35). Archival research supported by archaeology indicates that the south room of the soldiers' quarters was the arsenal.

[II]

Q1. What was the extent (if any) of non-Spanish use of the fort during and after the Spanish occupation?

A1. Archaeological evidence suggesting the nature of the occupation from 1820 to 1898 is lacking. Archival evidence indicates semi-abandonment. The artifactual material in the soldiers' quarters which may have answered this question was post 1940's.

Q2. Was there a permanent garrison at the fort or was it only occupied in time of need?

A2. Test excavations produced scant domestic or military artifacts. It would appear that intense permanent residential occupation did not occur during the Spanish period. However, there is the possibility that there is a dump, as yet undiscovered, beyond the immediate fort area. If this is the case, it would change this interpretation.

Q3. Will the material culture be representative of a Spanish military site?

A3. Other than nails, there were no artifacts which could be assigned with any certainty to the Spanish period and no military artifacts were recovered.

Q4. Will the datable artifacts correlate with the historical period of Spanish occupation?

A4. The nails probably date to the Spanish occupation, and after more research the two glazed earthenware sherds previously described may represent the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Q5. Will there be nonperishable hardware items (metal hinges, gun parts, etc.) that will aid in interpreting perishable materials?

A5. The nails indicate the use of wood for doors, window and door moldings, posts and rafters.

The lack of artifacts dating from the Spanish use of the fort led to the conclusion that it was only occupied or used immediate to the times of need. Specifically, the fort was manned when government ships were at anchorage or when the port was under threat by foreign powers. But, it is also likely that few artifacts might be expected when searching within the sub-floor of a building which once had a masonry and tile floor finish. During its use the *bodega* may have been swept out regularly, and any items dropped may have easily been seen and recovered by their owner. If the battery was abandoned or used only on rare occasion after c. 1830, useful items (e.g. the roof and floor tiles; dimensioned wood) remaining at the *bodega* may have been curated for use by government officials or other persons from the village of Umatac. Additionally, post abandonment digging for "treasure" within the *bodega* may also have removed what few artifacts remained inside.

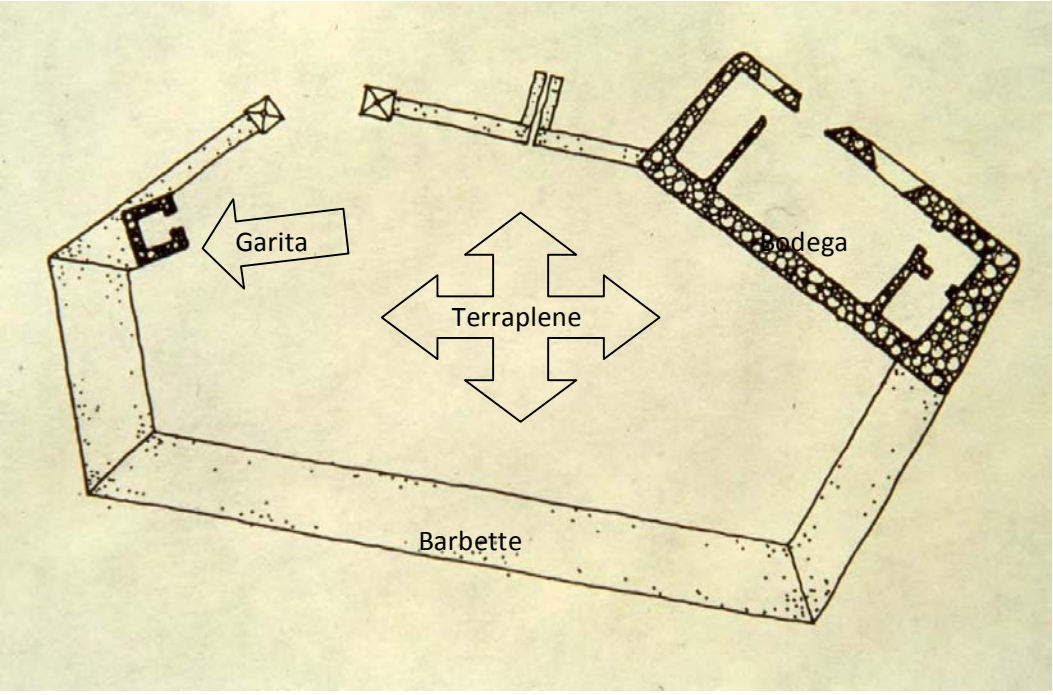

Figure 1. Architectural Plan View of Bateria Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, with sections labeled. This is one of the original reconstruction plans drawn by Alarife, after some of the archaeological work had revealed the terraplene drain.

1994 Reconstruction Project

Overall administration for the reconstruction project was provided by a partnership combining the talents of three architects, Gary Ashford, E. Logan Wagner, and Jorge Loyzaga, operating as *Alarife*. *Alarife* is a Spanish word derived from the Arabic *al'arisha*, meaning architect or builder. Prior to my involvement with the project other archaeologists were invited to participate. Fundacion Cultural Yucatan archaeologists, Luis Millet y Camara and Rafael Burgos y Villanueva, whose area of specialization includes Spanish colonial structures, were brought to Guam and asked to evaluate the structures. They brainstormed with *Alarife* on the course of the project, and conducted preliminary testing at Soledad.

The first structure we investigated was the Batería Nuestra Señora de la Soledad. It was the most representative of the Period structures, the one that would have the strongest impact once completed, and the most accessible.

> ***"From the initial discussions leading to our agreement, it has been generally agreed that Fort Soledad should be fully restored to establish the highest standards for future efforts and develop a data base for management and cost control purposes." Alarife Restoration Plan, dated 2/22/95***

In February 1994, Señores Millet and Burgos spent several days at Soledad, measuring structural elements, excavating in the room block referred to as the *bodega*, and assessing the overall site. They were aided on one Saturday by Dr. Hiro Kurashina and students from his Archaeological Field Methods class, as well as other interested parties from the local archaeological and historic preservation community. A 1 m by 1 m grid was established within the *bodega*, with a stake placed in the northwest corner of the north room serving as the local (main) datum. The field crews excavated in 5 cm levels in the effort to uncover the original floor. Because of my consulting firm's planned, future involvement, my colleague Dave Russell and I coordinated this work.

Figure 2. Photograph of the University of Guam's archaeology field school students, excavating in the bodega.

Although the thrust of the proposed archaeological excavations was directed towards revealing details of construction, some portion of the investigation needed to address questions stemming from the use of the battery during the 1800s, and by other governments and peoples subsequent to its abandonment. In this way the requirements of Guam's Historic Preservation laws and the goals of sound archaeological management of this important historic resource could be balanced with the goals of the restoration architects.

The possibility of a nearby trash dump had been raised by Moore and McNerney (see II:A2, above). However, Millet thought this possibility remote, suggesting that little trash would have been generated at the fort, and that what little there was may have been thrown over the cliff to the west.

As a result of these brief investigations, Señor Millet suggested the following construction sequence for the *bodega* floor. The extension of stuccoed wall below the floor level indicated that the floor was started once the walls had been built and stuccoed. First, a soil subfloor was created, with the occasional placement of flat tile fragments as leveling guides. Once the subfloor was finished a lime mortar was spread over the subfloor, and flat clay tiles were laid in this to surface the floor. Due to a variety of post construction disturbances, little of the original floor remains intact within the *bodega*. Millet expected that better preserved sections of floor would be intercepted in room corners, and that when exposed, the proposed construction sequence could be better evaluated. Millet also questioned the conclusion drawn by Moore and McNerney that the roof was covered by flat tiles. Instead, he believed that the few pieces of curved tiles recovered in the excavation represented the roof covering, and that the flat tiles recovered were for the floor.

Figure 3. We see details of the floor construction in this photograph of the unit excavated by Luis Millet in the main room of the bodega. Fragments of flat tiles are exposed beneath the mortar layer. These are thought to have been used as leveling aids. The intact mortar was encountered in the area adjacent to the walls, as Millet predicted.

Millet described several unknowns which had to be explored to satisfy architectural restoration needs. Although the *bodega* floor construction sequence appeared to be understood, it was based upon the findings of a single unit, and that same sequence might not have been used throughout the entire *bodega*. This conclusion needed to be tested. In addition, some limestone blocks were located by Moore and McNerney on the floor of the main room which might have been piers for timber posts supporting the roof. The entire floor needed to be exposed to reveal these and any other floor features.

The south room appeared to be more structurally complex than either the main or north rooms, and its features needed to be fully exposed. Allowing that Moore and McNerney's assessment of the flat tiles as roof elements was in error, the roof construction (i.e. form) needed to be better understood. The construction of the low bench, located immediately adjacent to the *bodega,* along the outside of the east wall, needed to be revealed. It was unclear if the exterior finish of the north wall of the *bodega* truncated at the present ground surface, or extended below it. This needed to be resolved. The function of the partial enclosure, adjacent to, and outside of the south wall of the bodega was a complete unknown. Millet also indicated the need to determine the construction of the main parapet walls, whose base was obscured by soil at the time of initial testing.

Archaeological work within the *bodega* was therefore still necessary to clarify some of the architectural questions which remained, and it might also reveal if the south room was used for powder storage as was previously suggested. It is important to note that all of the iron nails recovered in 1984 was encountered in the central room. Because of the potential for sparks, iron was usually deliberately excluded from construction of a powder magazine. Wooden pegs or copper nails were most often used as fasteners for the wooden flooring and the shelving common to these rooms. For similar reasons, copper or wooden hoops were used to confine the staves of powder kegs (Hume 1969:186).

In addition to Millet's observations, it seemed from archival data that parapet evolution may have occurred during the lifespan of the battery. Originally cannon, probably mounted on sturdy, small- wheeled, barbette carriages, would have been placed on the Plaza de Armas or esplanade (*terraplene)* and fired over the low wall of the parapet. If, in addition to the earlier description the representation from 1819 was also accurate, then the parapet was subsequently increased in height in places, creating merlons, and providing for the cannon to be fired through the associated embrasures. No evidence of either merlons or embrasures was extant at the site. The remaining walls appeared as the low ramparts suggested by the original description.

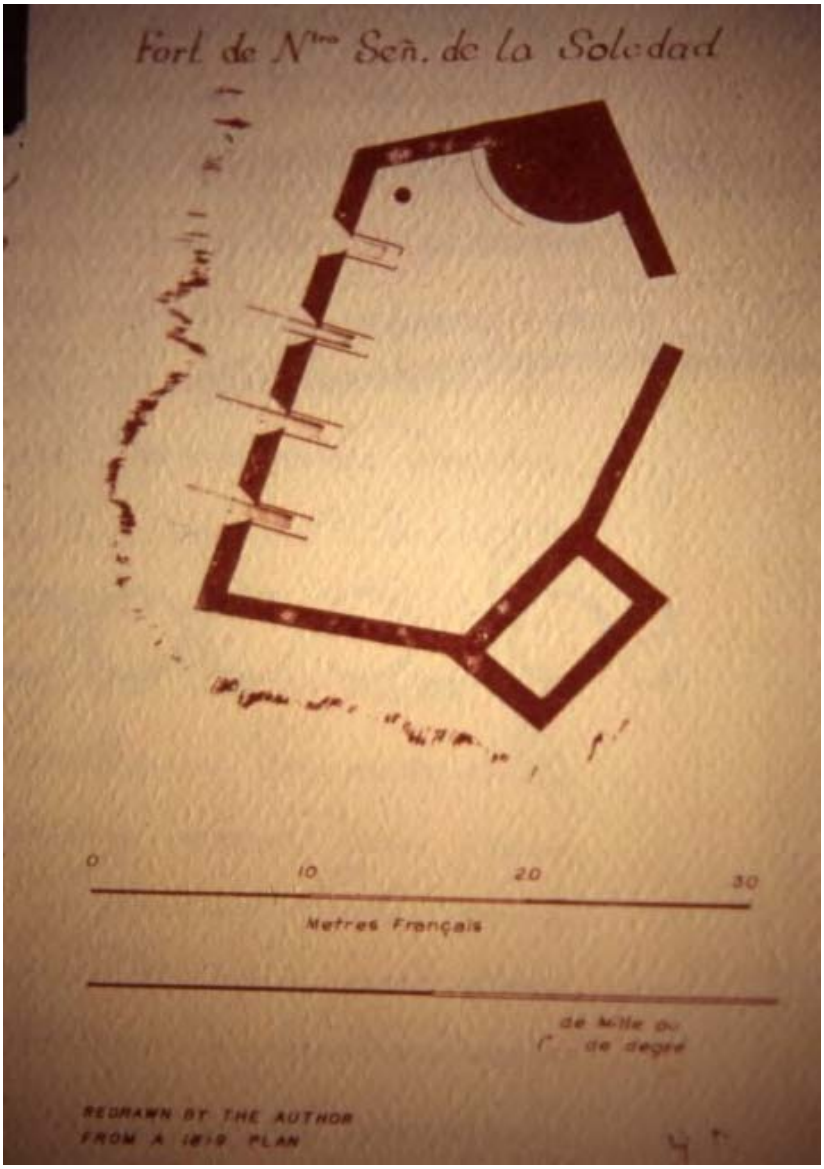

Figure 4. This is the drawing of "Fort" Soledad made during the Freycinet expedition. It shows merlons and embrasures in the west wall. The drawing is reproduced from the Delgadillo, et al. volume, Spanish Forts of Guam, referenced earlier.

We suspected that the removal of grass from the *terraplene* (firing platform) of the esplanade might provide another way to address the question of the number and placement of cannon. A cannon has considerable recoil when fired, and although this characteristic is used to advantage by the cannoneer by providing muzzle access to load the next shot, a variety of methods are employed to arrest the cannon from moving too far backward on the *terraplene,* and to allow it to be quickly maneuvered back into its original firing position. Since the *terraplene* is contiguous with the esplanade at Soledad, some type of stop would have to have been set in place to break the cannon's movement past a particular point. The stop may have been a large timber, or it may have been chains attached to the cannon's carriage and anchored to a pin set in the *terraplene.* Either way, holes in the flagstone floor of the *terraplene* would have been required to fix these devices. It was thought possible that a careful

inspection of the flagstone surfaces after clearing the grass cover might reveal such features.

The plan of the battery drawn during Freycinet's visit showed four cannons, all trained over the west parapet, yet, a year earlier, six cannons were reported at the site. From a tactical standpoint it would be odd if no cannons were angled to fire over the north parapet to provide for *enfilade* fire with Santo Angel or San José (hence fulfilling the role of *batería cruzante*), thus protecting the mouth of the bay.

The associated question of parapet form could be satisfied by excavations on the outside edge of the fort's walls, to investigate areas where wall remnants might have fallen and come to rest. If extended to the base of the walls the excavations might also encounter builder's trenches. Builder's trenches often provide clues to both the construction, and the lives of the builders. Excavations adjacent to both barbette and *bodega* walls, if deep enough to intersect the original foundation trenches, might reveal some of this information.

It was clear that additional excavation and archival research was required to address the questions resulting from Millet's assessment of the restoration needs, the unanswered or partly answered questions remaining from those posed by Moore and McNerney, questions related to apparent inconsistencies in the archival sources, as well as those which had newly emerged. These questions (Q) are explicitly stated below along with the archaeological strategy (S) which was employed to develop the data required; (F) presents the findings.

Q 1: Is the floor construction sequence proposed by Sr. Luis Millet, consisting of tamped earth with occasional leveling tiles, covered by a thin layer of lime mortar, which is in turn covered by rectangular tiles set in mortar and grouted, valid for the bodega?

S 1: The interior floors of the bodega and the *garita* were excavated.

F 1: The construction sequence suggested by Sr. Millet, still appears to be generally accurate for the building interiors. A well preserved mortar base was found in both the north and south rooms. The central room contained very few areas where the mortar base was found intact, these were mainly adjacent to the interior wall of the north room. An additional finding is that where the mortar base was preserved it was found to be contiguous with the adjacent wall stucco, when it remained. Floor tiles were found in place on their mortar base in the *garita*. Although no complete tile remained in place, in either the *garita* or the bodega, the outlines of whole tiles were preserved in the bed mortar of the floor of the *garita*, and the dimensions of these tiles were recovered.

Figure 5. This is a photograph of the interior floor of the garita, showing the tile fragments remaining along the north and west walls. This was the first instance where we encountered floor tiles in their original positions.

Figure 6. Detail of garita floor. The faint, raised, rectilinear grid pattern is made by a lip of mortar that had squeezed up between the tiles when the garita was paved. Revealing this delicate feature allowed us to estimate the dimensions of a complete tile. None had been found intact in the garita.

A small area of the central room floor, adjacent to the north interior wall, contains a number of fragments of curved roof tile set in the mortar base. The reasons for this are not clear at the present time, and this area needs to be more fully investigated.

Q 2: What remains of floor features within the three rooms of the bodega?

S 2: Excavation of the entire floor of the bodega.

F 2: In the north room, near the northwest corner, the mortar base course displays a series of regularly spaced oval depressions, each measuring approximately 8 cm along the major axis. These are areas where the mortar is

actually depressed rather than gouged. If these were common across the floor of the entire room, we would propose that they indicate preparation of the mortar base to provide better anchoring for the floor tiles. However, these are infrequent throughout the room.

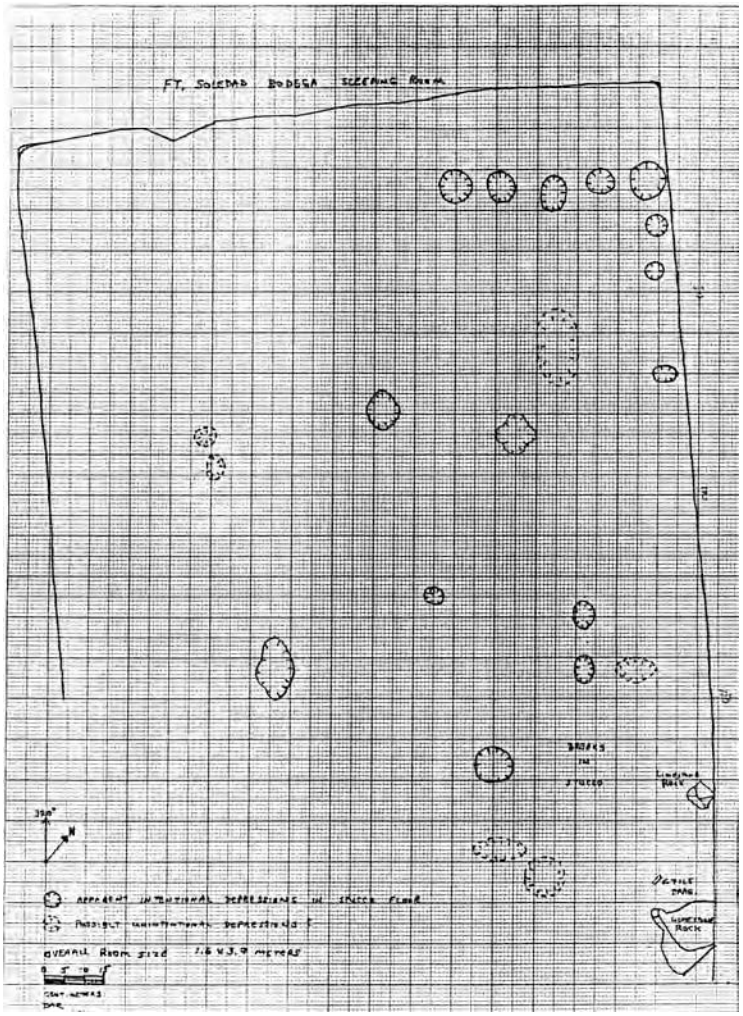

Figure 7. Field drawing of the floor features found in the north room of the bodega. Numerous depressions were observed in the floor mortar that did not lend themselves to ready interpretation. These were clearly impressions made while the mortar was still plastic, and not due to post-construction damage.

The central room contains the remains of five stone blocks (a sixth is proposed to have existed). Three of these are spaced along the west wall, and two through the center of the room, one each against the north and south walls. A missing sixth block is believed to have been in the middle of the room, in line with the end blocks. These may have been piers designed to support a raised wooden floor, or perhaps basal supports for posts holding up the main ceiling joists.

The south room is divided into two compartments; an antechamber is separated from an inner chamber by a stone threshold, indicating the presence of an interior door. The inner chamber contains stone footings, adjacent to the east and west walls, which have rectangular troughs cut into their upper surfaces.

We believe that these troughs were cut to accept dimensioned lumber that formed the floor joists for a raised wooden floor.

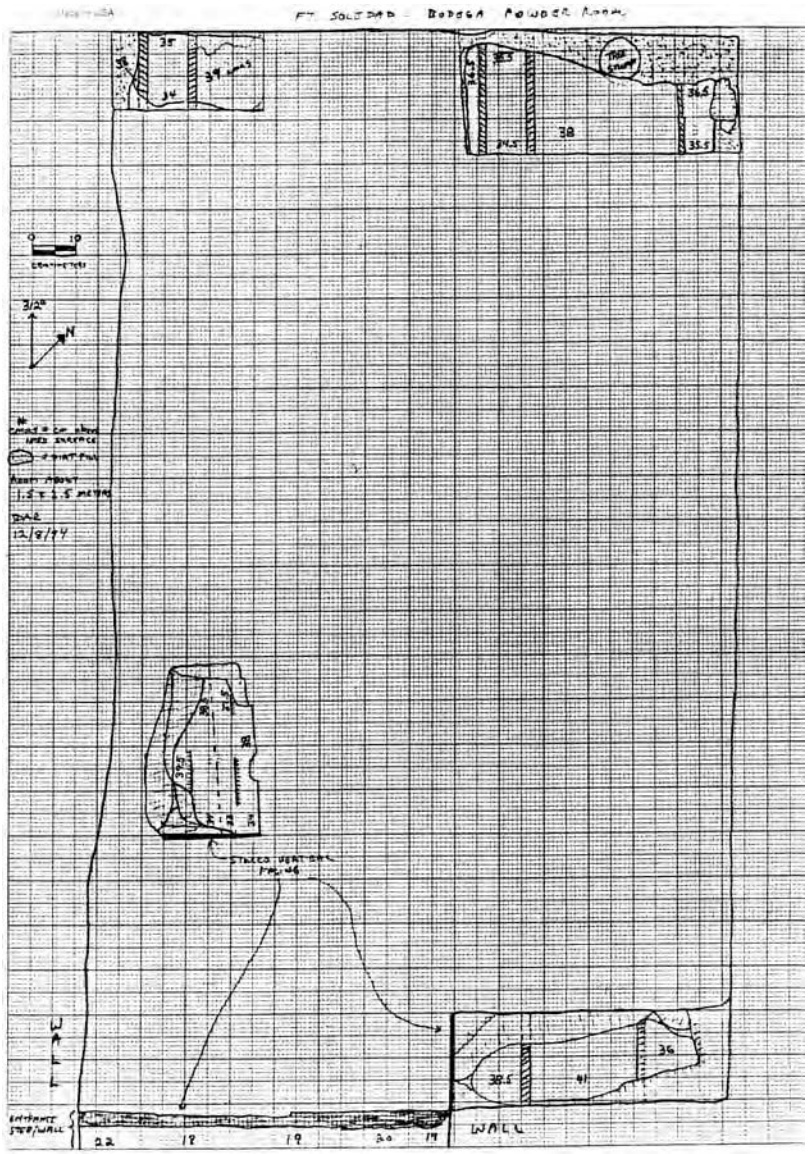

Figure 8. Detailed drawing of the interior chamber of the south room, interpreted to be the powder magazine. Limestone blocks used as piers to hold floor joists are shown around the perimeter. The joist grooves are still visible in the top surfaces of these blocks. In addition to the raised floor, the absence of iron artifacts (and their potential to cause sparks) supports the use of this room to store gun powder.

Q 3: Can room use/purpose be ascertained from the discovery and analysis of features and/or artifacts in room fill?

S 3: Map features and artifact distributions, analyze features and artifacts found in rooms.

F 3: With the exception of the south room, the floor features in the remainder of the bodega, and the few artifacts recovered give no clear indication of room use. In the south room, the raised floor, coupled with the interior door, and the absence of a window, suggest that it was used for powder storage. Rooms with these attributes were commonly used to store gun powder in period construction. The double door provided protection against theft, accidental ignition of the gun powder, and some limited protection for occupants of the

other rooms in the event of blasts. Both doors were found to open inwards, again, probably a blast safeguard. The raised floor was designed to keep the powder from becoming wet from water wicked up from the damp ground, or driven in by typhoons. The absence of a window also helped to keep water from entering the room.

Several cut, square nails were recovered from the soils screened from the central room, and a fragment of decorated wall stucco was recovered from the north room soils. Both the central and north rooms exhibit some wall decoration in place. In the central room it can be found on the east wall, south of the entryway; in the north room it is near its northwest corner. The square nails might have been used in almost any wooden construction, architectural element or furniture. The decorated stucco, coupled with the fact that these rooms have windows, suggests that they may have been used for other than storage. Given the size of the central room, this may have been the administrative center for the battery. Given its size, it is suspected that the north room functioned as a bedroom, for use by the duty officer. The partial sub-grade location of this structure kept it cooler and made it a more pleasant place for "administrating" and siestas.

Q 4: Was there a stone pavement leading to the bodega doorway?

S 4: Excavate trenches outside of the doorway designed to intersect any path features.

F 4: An echelon shaped trench excavated across the approach to the bodega doorway failed to encounter the remains of any developed pathway, stone, or otherwise.

Figure 9. Trench designed to test for the possibility that a paved pathway led to the entrance to the bodega. No indications were encountered that such a feature ever existed.

Q 5: What was the function of the area enclosed by the low, rock wall adjacent to the south wall of the bodega?

S 5: Excavate a controlled unit within this portion of the structure.

F 5: The excavation unit placed within this rock enclosure found only wall construction debris, principally two lenses of excess lime mortar. The structure appears to have been part of the buttressing for the south outside wall of the bodega. In form, it may have been a simple recumbent curve, similar to that observed at the Alamo in Texas.

Q 6: Is the slope adjacent to the north wall of the bodega contemporaneous with its construction, and does the exterior facing stonework truncate in intercepting the slope, or, is the wall faced below the current ground level?

S 6: Excavate a trench adjacent to the exterior of the north bodega wall.

F 6: The slope adjacent to the outside north wall of the bodega is not the surface which existed at the time of battery construction. Up to 60 centimeters of recent soil blankets the original slope. The top ~15-18 cm of the original slope is covered with a mixture of soil and limestone fragments. The fragments are believed to have resulted from the dressing and shaping of the esplanade pavers, and these may have been purposefully spread over the ground surface to provide a more erosion resistant surface and one that afforded greater traction.

Figure 10. Photograph of the exterior of the north wall of the bodega showing the excavation trench. While the stucco had long eroded from most of the exposed surfaces of the outer walls, it had been preserved, below grade, by soil emplaced sometime in the early 20th Century. We proposed that the immediate, post-construction topography was recoverable by measuring the lower interface between stuccoed and non-stuccoed portions of the outer walls. The excavations also revealed that the foundation, at least in this location, was basalt. Basalt does not appear at the surface in battery construction.

The wall extends for another 1.5 meters below the existing ground surface, and the stucco continues for another 80 centimeters below the present surface. The extent of the stucco is believed to represent the former extent of the exposed wall. The wall is composed of coralline limestone, and rests on a base course of basaltic rock. This information is useful if it is desired to restore the battery's site lines.

Q 7: What is the construction and purpose of the low bench adjacent to the east wall of the bodega?

S 7: Examine the low bench in detail. Excavate units and trenches adjacent to it.

F 7: The low bench appears to be constructed of shaped and sized limestone cobbles set in lime mortar. Stucco is preserved on some surfaces indicating that the bench had a smooth finish. The bench was constructed subsequent to the completion of the adjacent bodega wall, and abuts it rather than keys into it. The area in front of the bench, to the south of the bodega entrance, apparently had a mortar floor. Actually two floors were found in this area indicating two periods of floor construction. A lower floor was found separated from the upper floor by approximately 20 cm of fill. We believe that the lower floor was original and a design error, and that the upper floor is the modification

made to remedy the problem of the bench being uncomfortably high for the sitter. It is proposed that the bench was positioned to function as a buttress for the adjacent bodega wall and a seat for persons stationed at, or visiting, the battery.

Q 8: Is there any evidence for roof construction found on the outside of the structure, particularly to the east of the bodega?

S 8: Excavate trenches perpendicular to the east bodega wall.

F 8: With the exception of locating curved roof tiles in soils adjacent to the east bodega wall and the bench, no direct evidence for roof construction was encountered. It is suspected that the bench outside of the east wall would only have survived (and been useful) if the roof extended over it. The same may be true for the outside masonry floor. This suggests that the roofline extended well away from the supporting wall.

Q 9: Are artifacts located outside of, but near to the bodega which might reflect its use?

S 9: Sift soils excavated from the units and trenches placed outside of the bodega.

F 9: No period artifacts were encountered in soils outside of the bodega that reflect its former use.

Q 10: Is there evidence to support merlon and embrasure construction of the parapet (barbette), as is indicated in the Freycinet expedition sketches?

S 10: Closely examine the remaining barbette walls and the esplanade inside of the walls. Excavate adjacent to the outside of the barbette walls looking for anomalous wall fall.

F 10: Examination of the walls, and excavations adjacent to the outside edge of the barbette, encountered no evidence in support of a merlon and embrasure parapet wall form. Examination of esplanade features in the area adjacent to the barbette indicates that a simple barbette was the finished construction. We believe that historic drawings showing merlon and embrasure features are based on artist's conceptions and expectations rather than reality. In addition, the construction method for the barbette walls was found to vary from the initial assumption of mamposteria. Where mamposteria construction is the equivalent of rubble core masonry, the core of the barbette walls was found to be tamped earth.

Figure 11. Crew checks downhill adjacent to the west side of the barbette, searching for wall-fall features consistent with merlons and embrasures. No evidence was found, despite the extensive clearing of the vegetated slope.

Tamped earth construction is consistent with the construction of parapet walls starting in the 16th Century. During the siege of Pisa by the Florentines, the Pisan ring wall was failing under Florentine cannon fire. Recognizing that they had to build a secondary wall they quickly constructed one of earth. This wall absorbed the same cannon fire that had destroyed the solid, outer stone wall (McNeill, 1982:90).

Figure 12. View to south along west barbette remnant. The soil core is clearly visible.

Q 11: Is it possible to determine the number and placement of cannon at the battery.

S 11: Expose the terraplene (esplanade), and examine it for primary and secondary features associated with cannon.

Figure 13. View to the south showing the crew removing soil and grass from the terraplene. The man on the right is using a *fusiño.*

F 11: The entire terraplene was cleared of covering vegetation, mainly grasses. At least 6 notches, purposely cut in the limestone pavers, were revealed through this process (damaged and missing stones make it unclear if others existed). Three of these are rectangular and three irregularly shaped. The notches are found along the west side of the terraplene, in the north half of the battery. We believe that the notches are associated with anchoring devices to impede cannon recoil, and thus are spaced where cannon were positioned.

Q 12: Is it possible to develop information about the individuals who constructed the battery?

S 12: Sift soils recovered from site excavations, examine period documents, propose additional excavations with the hope of finding a period dump.

F 12: No artifacts were recovered from site soils that refer to persons involved in battery construction. Such information will have to come from archival materials or possibly from excavations within the village of Umatac. At this time it appears that both the workers and the soldiers who staffed the battery (probably one and the same) were domiciled in Umatac. The battery is a short walk from the village.

Q 13: What can be determined about the people who used the battery and the activities which took place there?

S 13: Sift soils recovered from site excavations, examine period documents, propose additional excavations with the hope of finding a period dump.

F 13: The artifacts which have been recovered are principally construction materials or debris. Trenches located outside of the structure succeeded in encountering a construction dump, but this yielded only rock debris. Except for the architectural and construction decision-making of the battery, evidence for other aspects of early 19th Century colonial Spanish life at Umatac is lacking in the site assemblage. This must be recovered from archival and historical documents, and possibly, directed excavations within Umatac.

As anticipated based upon prior archaeological investigations at Soledad, construction related artifacts are preserved while other cultural artifacts are missing. The remaining archaeological work involves detailed mapping/drawing of the floor features in the *garita*, and the floor features of the bodega interior; excavation, screening and sample recovery from the construction dump encountered in backhoe trench #2; excavation of the remaining stratigraphic control wall outside of the north bodega wall; excavation of the soil beneath the removed concrete walkway; completion of the detailed map of the terraplene pavers; drawing measured cross-sections through walls, parapet, and floors, and excavation of a stratigraphic unit through the esplanade.

How the archaeological findings were used by the restoration architects in the reconstruction of the Bateria. For the 13 points, the numbering matches the research questions listed above.

1. Floor construction sequence and form.

a. to determine the materials needs for full restoration.

b. to determine the time requirements for completing this phase of the restoration work.

c. to determine that the timing of wall resurfacing needed to coincide with floor restoration.

2. Bodega floor features revealed.

a. A new design with a raised wooden floor over the west half of the central room of the bodega was drafted.

b. The exact positioning of the raised wooden floor in the south bodega room was drafted. The layout of the floorboards was determined, and the exact

size of the floor joists for this room was determined, based upon the archaeologist's measurements.

c. The depressed areas in the floor of the north room were considered by the restoration architects as indicators of furniture placement. This would be important to the interpretive design.

3. Room features and artifacts.

a. The archaeological findings of the special floor and access situation for the south room allowed the architects to restore it as the powder magazine.

b. The measurements at the doorways allowed door placement and opening direction to be determined.

c. Uncovering decorated wall plaster in both the central and north rooms allowed these to be considered as rooms that would have been occupied as opposed to storage rooms. Function was suggested based upon room size and orientation to access. Function permitted ideas on interpretive design to be formulated.

4. The lack of a developed pathway leading to the bodega entrance.

a. Although anticipated by the restoration architects as characteristic of comparable period structures, no finding of a pathway contributed to the 'true' and resource specific design formulated for bodega restoration.

5. Buttress outside south end of bodega.

a. An accurate reconstruction of the facade was made possible by the exposure of the rubble at the south end and its identification as a buttress. The south wall of the bodega is a bit thicker than the north wall, and had a greater free standing area. This led to the need for greater support than had been used at the north wall. The north wall had a similar buttress, although it was reduced in volume. The two buttresses flanking the east wall were designed with visual symmetry in mind.

6. Identification of the original topography adjacent to the bodega and east wall of the *bateria*.

a. Based upon our locating the original ground surface, the architects were able to plan the restoration of the landscape and give greater context to the *bateria*. The visual integrity of the site could be restored which would have the effect of re-establishing the psychological impact of the *bateria*.

b. Uncovering the layer of construction debris at the interface between the old surface and the modern fill also helped explain how the builders dealt

with waste materials. It was recycled as a slope-stabilizing medium, and may have helped keep weeds in control.

7. The east wall bench was found to function as both a buttress and a seat.

a. One of the critical aspects of bodega restoration was roof construction. The finding that the bench served as a buttress helped the architects to understand the ways in which roof related stress on the east bodega wall was accommodated. It also provided a minimum for the distance the roof extended from the wall line.

8. Exposure of the masonry floor adjacent to the bench.

a. The extent of the masonry floor allowed the architects to determine the maximal distance the roof extended beyond the wall line.

9. Failure to find non-architectural artifacts in area excavations.

a. This was an important discovery with respect to the development of the interpretive plan because of the emphasis it placed upon the connection between Umatac Village and the *bateria*. People appear to have spent very little time at the *bateria*, and if there was a garrison, it was undoubtedly in Umatac.

10. Data found did not support merlon and embrasure parapet construction, and the barbette walls were not mamposteria as originally thought.

a. The one sketch of the *bateria* from the Freycinet expedition is obviously in error, and points out the problem associated with relying upon supposed "eye-witness" accounts without verifying them. A reconstruction based upon available historic documents could have produced a false representation of the *bateria*.

b. The barbette walls were originally filled with tamped earth. The earth used for wall fill contains local soils with hygroscopic clays. Because these clays tend to shrink and swell when wetted, this construction method contributed to the destruction of the barbette walls, once the protective stucco had eroded.

11. Exposure, measurement and mapping of the terraplene (esplanade).

a. Exposure of the esplanade surface provided the architects with the cannon positions at the *bateria*. All were positioned near the northwest end of the esplanade. It suggests that the only trouble expected by the Spanish would have been a raider attacking the Galleon, or trying to enter Umatac Bay. The cannon were positioned to provide enfilade fire with Santo Angel and San Jose. The anchoring slots also support claims for only a small number of cannon at the *bateria*.

b. Exposure of the esplanade surface revealed that the Flag pole illustrated in the drawing from the Freycinet expedition, was either incorrectly placed by the artist, or not structurally integrated with the esplanade. This affects reconstruction design.

c. The detailed measurement and mapping of the esplanade also allowed the architects to design the proper stone size and placement to fill in the areas of missing pavers. This is one of the more important aspects of the reconstruction, as the esplanade surface is devoid of any stucco, and the paver pattern is fully exposed. An inaccurate reconstruction of the esplanade would be easily seen.

12.,13. Sifting of the excavated soils, and archival research, proposal for additional excavations.

a. Site soils were devoid of non-architectural artifacts. This greatly affects the interpretive plan, as it must be developed based upon off-site excavations, purely on historical documents, or some combination of the two. The best location for off-site excavations is Umatac Village. Pertinent historical documents were collected by the architects for use in developing the interpretive plan and in providing support information for the final project reports.

Figure 14. This is a photograph of the canteros (stone masons) from Mexico, who were contracted for the Soledad restoration. The white-haired gentleman in the first rowr is Augustin Flores, a master builder, who was responsible for constructing the kiln, and making the lime mortar. Jose Luis Nequis, in the white shirt behind Flores, was the supervisor for the stonework.

Alarife had coordinated with a group of specialists in period construction techniques from Mexico, to come to Guam, to reconstruct Soledad. Arrangements were made to house them in Malesso, and they arrived several weeks before the archaeological work was completed. It was important for the masons to arrive in time to take care of some of the logistical aspects of their work. It had been decided to reconstruct the battery using original materials and techniques whenever possible. The limestone used for original construction was dead coral reef, and the lime mortar and stucco used in construction were produced locally, also probably from dead coral. This coral is part of the Merizo Limestone, which is found within the near-shore waters surrounding the island. Identifying limestone of sufficient quality, removing it, and transporting it to Soledad took numerous trips. It also required permission from a number of agencies.

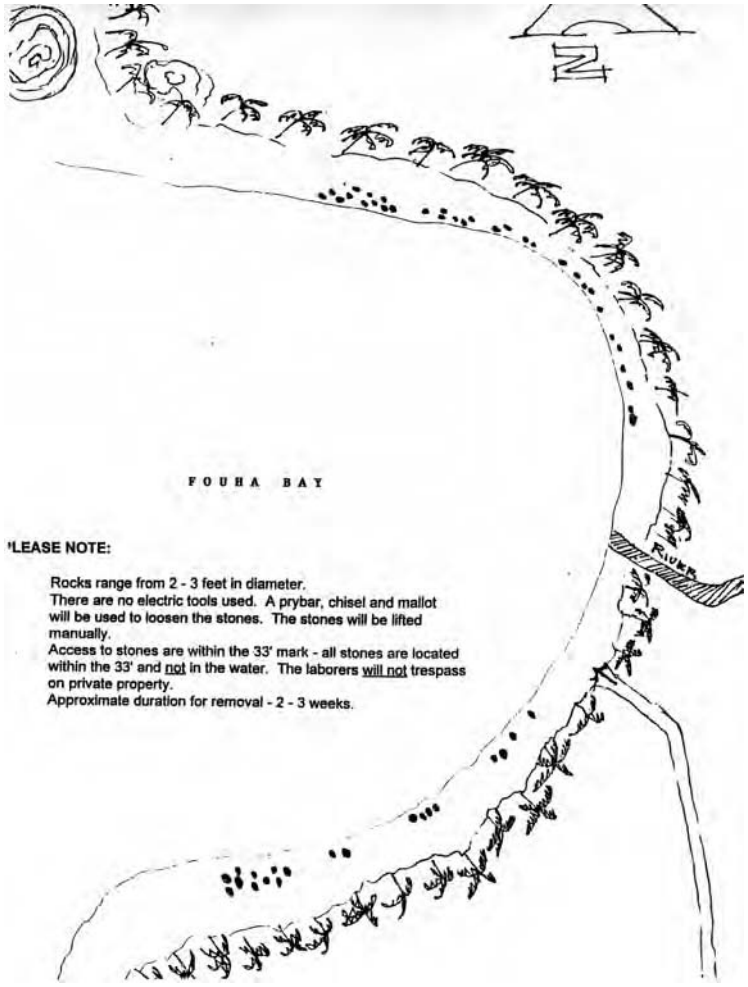

Figure 15. This is an Alarife generated sketch map of Fouha Bay, a main source area for the limestone used in the reconstruction of Soledad. This map was an attachment to a June 9, 1995 letter from Richard Reed, restoration architect to the Guam Preservation Trust, to Michael W. Kuhlman, Director, Department of Agriculture, petitioning for access to raw materials from Fouha Bay.

The following quote illustrates the difficulty in obtaining raw material, specifically rock, to be used at Soledad. It is an excerpt from an April 27, 1995 letter addressed to the Guam Preservation Trust, from Alarife principal, E. Logan Wagner.

> ***"An inventory of coral that has been secured and worked by the masons indicates that we will need five times as much coral than we have right now. Jose Luis Nequis has identified where more can come from. But due to the intimidating treatment given by the Parks and Recreation Department they are reluctant to secure the coral on their own, even though we had a green light from the environmental Department in Guam.***
>
> ***I need you and the Trust to please help solve this issue, or if not, consider dropping the esplanade from the scope of the contract."***

When Jose Luis Nequis surveyed Fouha Bay for stone to work with, he already had a good understanding of the resource. Both Jose Luis and Nicanor Nequis had conducted a pilot project at the San Antonio Bridge, in Hagåtña. One of the buttresses on the south side of the bridge needed repairs, and since it was made from the same limestone as Soledad, it offered the opportunity for the

canteros to test both materials and working conditions. The test also gave the community, and the Guam Preservation Trust, a glimpse of the technical skills and artistry that the *canteros* would bring to the project.

Figure 16. Photograph of Nicanor and Jose Luis Nequis in Hagåtña, dressing stone to repair one of the San Antonio Bridge buttresses. The characteristic tools of the mason, a level table, mallet, chisel, and square can be observed in this photograph.

There are several aspects of the repair work done on the buttress that attest to the quality of the *cantero's* skills, and their keen eyes as artists. The replaced stones blend in perfectly with the original stone in color (now that they have weathered) and texture, the latter reflecting selection of rock with the right characteristics. The lines are even, and the symmetry of the buttress is unblemished. What is equally impressive is that under closer inspection, the tool marks on the new stones cannot be distinguished from those on the originals.

A great quantity of rock was trucked to Soledad, since all of the stonework was to take place at the site. According to the work plan, the terraplene, barbette walls and *garita* were to be finished before work would start on the bodega. The reason for this was that the bodega would require carpentry in addition to masonry, and with the threat of rain and typhoons, the roof (a wood and tile structure) had to be in place before the interior walls and floor could be

finished. Consequently, only those portions of the structure that were purely stone were part of the initial phase of the project. In addition to the stone dressed for repairing the terraplene, enough rock had to be brought in to restore the barbette walls, and the *garita*. It was important for the *canteros* to have access to the site to make measurements and to try stones as they were near completion. It also gave the public the opportunity to watch the *canteros* at work in the restoration process.

Figure 17. This photograph shows a portion of the worksite, under the trees near the east side of Soledad. Work tables surround the materials pile, and on weekends and many week days, the public surrounded the work tables.

While the *canteros* organized the stonework, Augustin Flores selected a location for the kiln that would be used to produce the mortar for the mamposteria, and the lime for stucco.

Figure 18. This photograph shows the kiln constructed to manufacture the mortar and stucco for the Soledad restoration.

As is evident in the photograph, the kiln was/is a substantial structure. Refractory brick was purchased, and concrete, steel I-beams and rebar were used in its construction. In a first appraisal, it appears to be much more substantial than is necessary for the work done at Soledad. However, when it is considered that Soledad, itself, was a pilot project for the restoration of the other Spanish period structures listed in the Introduction, then it should be clear that this kiln was supposed to provide service for all of those restorations. It is unfortunate that the project ended long before any of that work could be realized. The kiln stands in mute testimony to what might have been.

Figure 19. This is a photograph of the testing area that was used for the lime that was manufactured on site. Different qualities were needed for the stucco than were required for the mortar to be used in mamposteria construction.

Figure 20. Photograph of one of the canteros fitting stones into the terraplene. Not only did the masons have to dress the stones, but they also had to prepare the base course. Note the mix of stone sizes and the intricate joinery, both in keeping with the original workmanship.

Before the barbette walls were reconstructed, the *canteros* created a mock-up so that they could determine materials needs and work through any design problems that might arise. This was done on site, but away from the battery, in close proximity to the work area. Although the original barbette walls were found to be earth-filled structures, consistent with their proper defensive function, it was decided that the new walls would be mamposteria (i.e. rubble-filled). This departure from the original was calculated to give greater longevity to the new walls, particularly if there was a lapse in the maintenance of the surface stucco. The battery has received no new stucco since it was completed in the mid 1990's.

Figure 21. Photograph of one of the mock-ups of the finished barbette wall. This was built at a 1 to 1 scale.

Figure 22. Photograph of work on the northwest barbette corner.

Figure 23. Photograph of the completed, west barbette wall prior to being stuccoed. Work on the garita has yet to start. This is the same stretch of wall that is pictured in Figures 12, and 22.

The most complete remnant of the original barbette wall was along the south perimeter. Only the inner, terraplene portion remained. It was incorporated into the finished wall on that side, and was left un-stuccoed, so that it would stand as a past reference. The width of the wall was determined by the existing foundation. The slope of the finished surface was modeled after the barbette wall from Fort Santa Cruz, which formerly protected Apra's inner harbor. All that remains of this structure are a few photographs and drawings. The Navy demolished this fort during its expansion of facilities in Apra Harbor. A photograph showing the barbette wall is reproduced below.

Figure 24. This is one of several photographs in the MARC archives that pictures Fort Santa Cruz before World War II. It shows a section of the barbette wall. The fort survived the war, but not post-war construction.

The restoration of the *garita* went quickest, in part because the structure is small, and in part because minimal work was needed. The same was true for the low walls flanking the entry to the terraplene. These can be seen in the background in Figure 20, to the right of the *garita*.

The finishing work for this phase of the restoration included decorative stonework, and surfacing the barbette and the *garita* with stucco. Ball finials on top of pier caps were placed at the ends of the low stone walls to either side of the terraplene entry. A similar ball finial was fitted at the top of the *garita*, thus unifying the construction. Once the stuccoing was completed, work at the site ended. Within two weeks, the *canteros* had returned to Mexico, and the site was vandalized.

Soledad had been vandalized over the years, some of it cosmetic, and some more damaging. Among the earlier vandalism, Graffiti had been spray painted onto the *garita*, and a large heart had been incised into the wall of the north room of the bodega. These are shown below.

While we might understand the connection between vandalism, and a sometimes abandoned and often neglected ruin, we were unprepared for the damage that was visited on the restoration. Someone took a small sledge-hammer and broke each of the finials, including the one atop the *garita*. Then, that person systematically chipped off the inner edge of the stucco along the west barbette wall.

Figure 25. Photograph of the inner edge of the barbette showing the stucco that was chipped off by vandals. The sledge used in the damage was left at the site.

Figure 26. Close-up photograph of the broken ball finial on the gate pier cap.

Figure 27. Photograph of the broken ball finial on the top of the garita.

Figure 28. Photograph of damage to the southeast corner of the garita.

Figure 29. This photograph shows post-restoration graffiti and damage to the northwest corner of the garita.

While it might be easy to write off the vandalism as the opportunistic work of adolescent morons, the way in which the damage was done, particularly the removal of the upslope stucco from the edge of the barbette wall, and the corners from the *garita*, suggests that more thought went into this destructive activity. The vandalism mimicked, and consequently will hasten the work of weathering at the site. Weathering loves corners and edges, and naturally attacks these first. The nature of the destruction only makes the work of nature that much easier. It appears that the vandal was not only making an immediate statement, but did so in such a way, that the elements would continue the discourse. And, these were not the only attacks on the work done at Soledad. At the time, a letter to the editor of the Pacific Daily News was printed, and the author decried the restoration, saying that we had destroyed the site. Taking the physical damage (and the hubris of leaving the offending instrument behind) with the written attack, strongly suggested that there was more than an undercurrent of displeasure with the project, in some quarters.

If, as the letter writer said, the restoration of Soledad had destroyed it, then what was the "it" that they were referring to? Two possibilities come to mind, both of which pertain to people's perceptions of Soledad, first, the structure as a ruin, and secondly, the structure as a symbol of its time. Many people have grown up with Soledad as a ruin. It has been a ruin for at least 6 generations,

and therefore has been a constant in the memory of everyone alive today. Who can assess the many attachments that people place on this enduring edifice? How do we judge if our changes to the structure brought offense? In *The Past is a Foreign Country*, David Lowenthal comments on the cult of ruins,

> ***"First valued as residues of a splendid past and tokens of true antiquity, ruins later attracted interest for their own sake. The patina of age became an adjunct to worthy sentiments and then a canon of taste, a prime ingredient of Romantic scenery. Time was felt to 'ripen' artifacts, the marks of age to enhance art and architecture. Picturesque taste enshrined ruins as consummate exemplars of the irregular, the accidental, and the natural; for the sake of pleasing decay houses were deliberately made ruinous and new ruins manufactured. In the nineteenth century even antique sculptural fragments came to seem beautiful, and mutilated torsos and heads were preferred to intact originals." (1993:148)***

If, however, it was Soledad as a symbol of its time that was at issue, then our restoration efforts, clearly aimed at bringing Soledad back to its former glory, were the problem. We had not just stabilized the site, thus only arresting time, but, we were on the road to turning back the clock. Soledad originally stood as a sentinel to protect the galleons during their Pacific voyage. It also stood as a representative of the Spanish government. Were this like post-WWII Europe, where German bunkers still dot the coasts of France, and where many people still have first-hand memories of the German occupation, then perhaps the following, from Paul Virilio, might be applicable,

> ***"Many riverains told me that these concrete landmarks frightened them and called back too many bad memories, many fantasies too, because the reality of the German occupation was elsewhere, most often in banal administrative lodgings for the Gestapo; but the blockhouses were the symbols of soldiery. " (1994:13)***

But, considering that the more recent occupations, by the American and the Japanese militaries has surely eclipsed the negative aspects of Spanish colonization, it is somewhat difficult to believe that either of these roles still arouses a negative passion in the population. I doubt that we will ever know why the damage occurred, but it is an event that all of the forethought that went into the project failed to consider as a possibility.

Postscript

The grand project that was outlined in the beginning was never realized. Too many disparate forces came together and the project unraveled. It was worthy, and conceptually it represented the holistic way in which the historic sites should be approached. If it is tried again, then there is ample documentation and institutional memory to understand what went wrong, and what needs to be done to avoid the same in the future.

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Appendix: Summary Table

The following table lists completed archaeological tasks with the relevant architectural responses. All of the archaeological work accomplished at Soledad contributed to architectural design decisions. Much of the archaeological work was oriented towards developing strategies to deal with Bodega reconstruction. The Bodega was considered from the start to be the most complicated element of the *bateria*, and the one that would take the greatest amount of investigation to fully understand. As work progressed on the Bodega, two aspects remained elusive; the roof construction details, and the people who were originally associated with the *bateria*. The only roof elements found were curved clay tiles, although notches for roof joists can be observed in the remaining Bodega walls. The roof is believed to have projected beyond the edge of the east wall bench seat, but not as far as the end of the outer masonry floor.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL TASK	ARCHITECTURAL RESPONSE
1. Excavate Bodega Interior. Vegetation and debris was cleared from each room. The interior was gridded and excavated in 1 meter square units. All excavated soils were screened for their artifact content. All floor features were measured and mapped in detail.	**Reconstruct floor using stucco sub-floor, and tiles**; feather tile set mortar into wall stucco; **construct raised wood floors** in south room and portion of central room. Interpretive design to include **powder storage** room accessories in the south room, **administrative** accessories in the central room, and **bedroom** accessories in the north room.
2. Excavate Bodega Exterior Trenches were excavated adjacent to the north, south, and east walls; perpendicular to the east wall; and, away from the entryway.	**Reconstruct buttresses** outside of north and south walls. **Restore original topography** based upon north wall exposure. **Restore east wall bench** as bench/buttress. **Restore mortar floor** to east of bench. **Terminate roof overhang** past the bench edge. **Do not build path** to entry way.
3. Sieve Site Soils Soils were screened through 1/4" mesh. Artifacts were collected from the screen lag for laboratory analysis.	**Use** period information from **archival sources** and other documents for the interpretive plan. **Consider** recommending **off-site excavations** in the older portions of Umatac village to recover period artifacts and midden.
4. Excavate Parapet Walls Trenches were excavated adjacent to the north, west, and south parapet walls; and the east edge of the esplanade. The interior of the west parapet wall was excavated.	**Reconstruct parapet walls as true barbette walls.** Rebuild these as mamposteria walls for greater longevity. Construct low, **non-barbette walls along the east edge of the esplanade,** adjacent to the entry. These are standard stone and mortar construction.
5. Expose, Measure and Map Esplanade Vegetation and soil were removed from the esplanade surface. Cut cavities were cleaned out. The esplanade was measured, and a stone by stone detailed map was created. A 2-meter square unit was excavated, through the esplanade, to the original prepared base.	**Reconstruct missing sections of esplanade**. Create new pavers based upon the scale attributes of surrounding stones. **Reset** the **existing pavers** to restore rainwater flow parameters. **Raise** the **northwest corner** of the esplanade to the original position. **Cluster cannons in northwest 1/4** of the esplanade. Locate the flagpole off of the esplanade.

The Use Of Primary Sources In The Study Of House Construction And Social Realities In Guam, 1884-1898

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Introduction

Guam and the Mariana Islands represent an exceptional case for the writing of its history, since besides archaeological data or anthropological studies, researchers are provided with written sources from 1521 onwards, especially for the later part of the 19th Century. This allows the extraction of information on political, economic and cultural realities that may serve to analyze several historical aspects. Extracting useful information from these documents requires a careful and critical reading, detailed analysis and a historic contextualization to provide a proper understanding of their meanings.

Much of the sources of the last three decades of the nineteenth century - mostly administrative documents and memoirs, legal proceedings, preliminary reports, regular bureaucratic communications, etc- usually refer to Hagåtña, to a lesser extent to other villages of Guam, and to a lesser extent to the remaining populations of the archipelago. Certain documents contain information of value, for instance about the main features of the civil or vernacular architecture built in Guam during the last third of the nineteenth century. The potential value of such documents as repositories of a historical database is enormous, since they bear certain details that may serve as reference in the future for curators, architects, or cultural agents who want to understand the long history of the islands.

It must be kept in mind that in many cases we find documents written by colonial officials, and therefore the vision incorporated in them, the references to priorities of the population, or other elements related to the indigenous people, must be properly evaluated beyond the explicit narration of the document. By doing so, we prevent the incorporation to our narrative of the mainstream discourse of official colonial agents. At the same time, we avoid the mistake of discarding historical data of huge

ethnographic and historical value, simply because the sources were written by colonial officers.

Timeframe and types of houses

The period which we believe is more representative and interesting reaches between 1884 and 1899. The first date, since it marks the events associated with the assassination of Governor Angel de Pazos, in December 2, 1884, events that had represented a commotion in Hagåtña. It is also related to the 1885 "Crisis of the Carolines" between Spain and Germany. Such year would mark a further increase in communications between Manila, the capital of Marianas, Yap and Pohnpei, with a steam ship connecting the islands every three months. From the years 1884-1887, the population of Guam would experience an acceleration of economic processes put in place after the economic reforms of Ricafort (1828) related to commerce and market economy, very gradual over the last years of the 19th Century but that would be accelerated after 1899 and the American colonial administration.

The second date is due to a practical need: access to sources at our disposal. However, during the early decades of the twentieth century and at least until World War II, the characteristics of civil architecture in Marianas will continue to manifest elements common to those of the previous century. Those common elements, maintained at different colonial periods, reflect a degree of autonomy on the part of the population of Marianas in the application criteria for construction or elements of ornate.

As seen in this photo taken in Saipan in the 1930´s Chamorro homes had construction styles, materials and proportions on its own, regardless the colonial period in which they were built.

This article will attempt to answer the question of whether the written sources can contribute to a better understanding of the features and elements of such architecture. And to show that the question can be responded positively, we will offer a series of references of an 1886 document.

In 1818, 70 years before our time period, French traveler Claude de Freycinet described the common houses of modern Chamorros:

> *"... a modern house, of the sort still used by the majority of the natives. It is clear enough that it is a sort of imitation of a European house. As in the dwellings already discussed, its floor is raised above ground level, but only two or three feet. In shape the structure is rectangular, 18 feet long and 10 feet across, and divided into two unequal parts or areas. One of these, which is half the size of the other, constitutes the sleeping quarters of the heads of the family. It is next to the principal room, to which a door leads in. Two little windows permit the entry of air and light. This room is, at once, a sitting room, a dining room, and a*

bedroom for children. It receives daylight through two side doors or exits, both provided with ladders or steps, built of wood like the rest of the structure. The roof is covered with palm leaves, placed tightly enough together to prevent any water from entering".[1]

In the late 19th Century, two types of homes appear to be more common in Hagåtña, depending on the materials used for its construction: those of stone, and those of wood or bamboo and nipa. The masonry houses, or "materiales fuertes", (strong materials) as they were referred then, were by far the most expensive to build. They were also more resistant to weather, but probably much more expensive to maintain. As for roofing, some masonry houses could have tiles, some had nipa. The houses with tiled roofs were relatively numerous, and back then they were no longer modern, but old. By the end of the century and according to the legislation then, modern houses had to had zinc, which was more durable and easy to replace.

But often, the law was more a theoretical code than a reality, and zinc was so costly that even the government palace of Hagåtña had to use old tiles rescued from a building in ruins in Umatac, instead of the modern zinc plates for which it was designed. The manufacture of tiles had fallen into disuse in Guam, even though many houses preserved it, along with small ornamental details that were reminiscent of the distant "madre patria" or metropolis. Ironically, the disappearance of tile manufacturing and its replacement with processed materials such as zinc, contributed to the increase of dependency of products from abroad: unlike tiles, zinc could not be produced in Guam.

[1] Freycinet, Louis Claude de: *An Account of the Corvette L'Uranie's Sojourn at the Mariana Islands, 1819*. Translated by Glynn Barratt. 2003. CNMI Divission of Historic Preservation. pp. 114-115

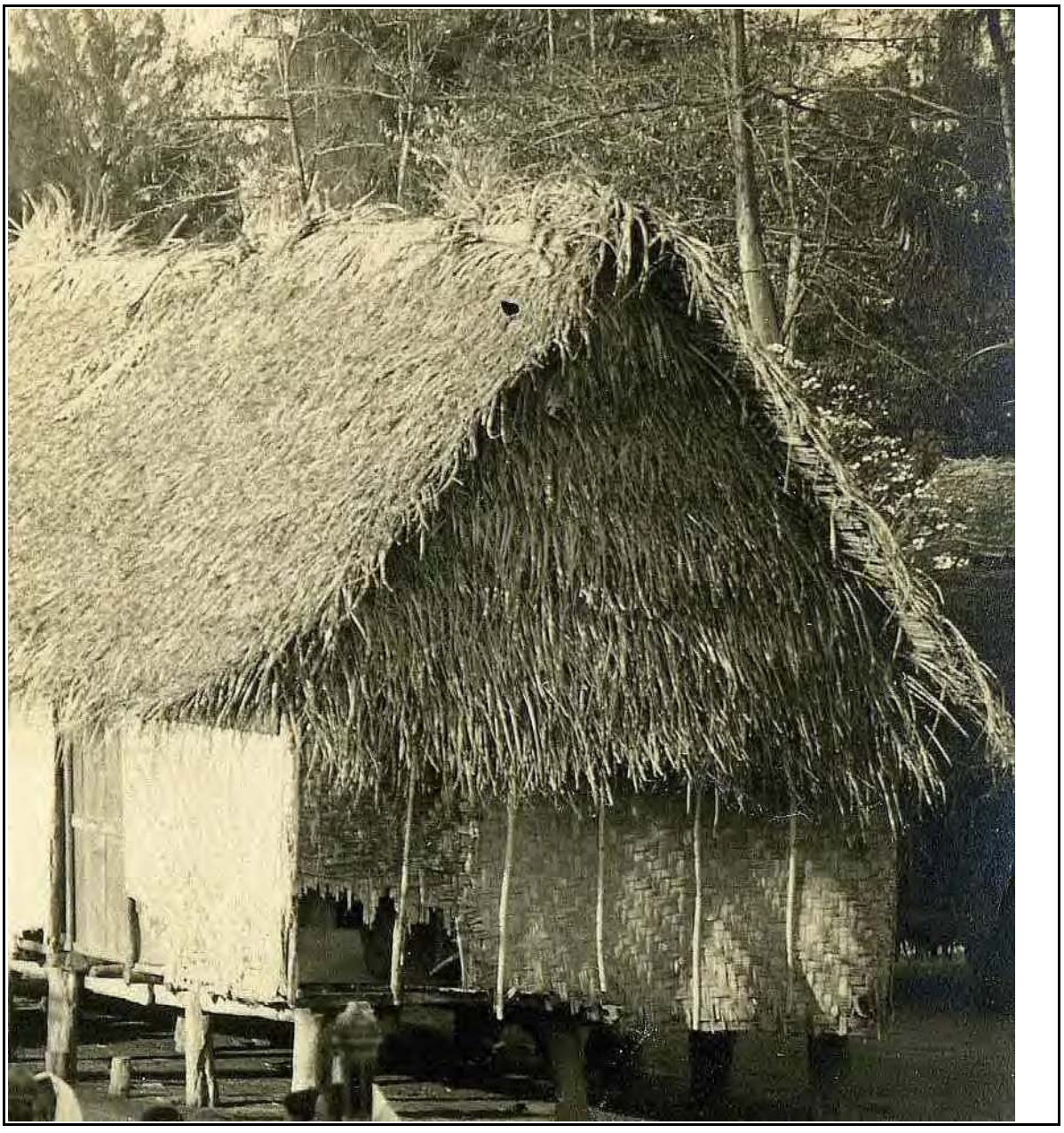
In Hagåtña some houses with tiled roofs had this discreet ornamental detail, to be found also in Spain but not in the Philippines.

The houses of wood or nipa were the vast majority of private homes of Guam, being of materials easier to transport and treat than the stone. The houses of wood and bamboo represented a much lower cost than others, and could be built, maintained and rebuilt much more effectively. The introduction of zinc to the islands facilitated its use in small pieces to make a top juncture on the roof that protected the house from rainwater leaks. This cover was called *Pupung* in Chamorro.

A combination of the two types of houses would be those with the foundation and bodega built out of stone, with the remaining walls made out of wood, similar to what still can be seen in that beautiful example of 1901, the Leon Guerrero house in Inarajan.

On the years following the assassination of Pazos we can glimpse a series of daily realities in relation to the construction of houses, ovens, furniture and other accessories. When Governor Francisco Olive took over the government of the province, he was undoubtedly aware of the serious state of affairs in Hagåtña, and he presented a paternal *bando* or edict to

all the indigenous authorities of the islands, with detailed instructions and laws on virtually all spheres of public life. We are referring to the edict *Bando General de policia Urbana y Rural*, of 1886, one of the key documents that sheds light on the subject of our study, on social life in Guam. A copy of this edict is kept in the National Archives of the Philippines. [2]



[2] PNA, Marianas 1880-1897. SDS- 4358. *Bando General de policía Urbana y Rural*. Agaña, 1 September, 1886. 175 pages.

Homes of wood and nipa were easier to repair than masonry houses, although not without cost.

Governor Olive was an officer of extensive experience in the Philippines, and amateur writer who had an intense romantic relationship with a Chamorro woman, whose son was legitimized.[3] It was therefore an officer with social connections at its disposal to get an informed assessment of the realities and needs of the island, "*as it is my duty as an official of the State and as honest man*" [4], although such duty actually implied a full assumption of the colonial policies and values.

As an in-depth study of the 175 pages of the document would require a specific publication, we shall confine ourselves to selected references, incumbent to our topic, as testimony of the potential that written sources have to increase our knowledge of Chamorro culture and 19th Century Guam.

Houses and Timber

In the section "Montes, Maderas, Leñas, Frutos y Roturas" (Forest, timber, firewood, fruits and cultivations) of Olive´s edict, we find some passages relevant to shortage of timber:[5]

> *"... Today they are no areas* [...] *except in almost inaccessible sites, which prove the neglecting,* [and] *lack of foresight in adopting on time a reserve zone that avoided the lamentable shortage of construction timber that now is noted on accessible sites. Regarding what has been cut, and better said cut without need, is proven by those houses half built, which have wasted many good wood, not foreseeing those who undertook the work to cover it until they have means to complete it, preventing timber from rotting, as has happened with several houses in Hagåtña and its neighbourhoods, whose rotten skeletons reflect the punishable abandonment of having them for many years exposed to weather. "*

[3] According to testimonies of the descendants, collected by the author in Guam in 2002.
[4] *Bando general...* p. 3
[5] Words in [brackets] were added to clarify the sense of some sentences.

"This must be normalized in accordance with existing regulations for forests [...] *in order to avoid the complete disappearance of timber for construction, which would be fatal consequences for these islands in a more or less distant future"*

"... The Municipal authorities and principales of the villages are those who have to know the forests and ensure their conservation, taking special care to issue reports on cuts and cultives, and that those [cuts] *do not harm the repopulation of the forests, and those* [cultives] *do not take place where there is usable timber, especially for construction."*

“Article 2. Those who need to cut some [wood], *must request it to the Government through an application, in which they will specify the amount, type, size of the pieces, place where they are found, period in which they will be cut, and end use."*

"Article 3. These licenses will be free of charge and will be granted only to: those who need to repair the house in which they live, or construct a new one if they don’t have one, or for <u>their</u> farm implements, or for one or two bancas *at <u>their</u> exclusive service;* [According to] *Article 26 of the Reglament of Forests, and clarifying Royal Order of May 11, 1886.*
Neighbours without license may cut firewood for domestic use as well, and with license if it is for stakes for fishing pens. And being mangrove very scanty in these islands, the stakes for such fishing pens may be cut, in the absence of Mangrove, out of Angilao, Macpunao, Panao, Catol, Guayabo and other [trees] *not suitable for timber (...)”*

"*Transitory orders. Article 1. Having some neighbours cut timber from State forests, undoubtedly because of lack of knowledge or by an oversight of the regulations, and in view of the harm that would be caused upon them in case its seizure takes place, taking into account that they have not done so by malice, time is given until 1 January 1887 for those who have such timber, to use it*

for their benefit in accordance with the spirit of the letter of Article 26 of the Regulations of Forests (...)" [6]

The preceding paragraphs shows that to get timber for the construction of a house was not as easy task as it might appear. Appropriate wood was getting harder to obtain. The conditions of the island determined that for Chamorro housing, maximization of resources and materials was a must. Under the section "Casas" (Houses) of the same document, we find references to the construction of houses and their alleged state of neglect:

"*Specifically in the Marianas, it is noted that in general there is an unfortunate abandonment regarding the houses caused by negligence, since having the materials, construction, repair and maintenance of houses depend upon work, and that who does not work is indolent and lazy. But not only there are a large number of houses in poor condition and even repugnant state, but there is also a lack of them to a greater or lesser degree in some villages, especially in Agat, which causes that many people live in overcrowded houses with the subsequent harm to morality and hygiene. Besides lack of houses, in general those standing are dirty inside so much that is repugnant to enter into some*".

The reader familiar with the colonial language will not be surprised to find the usual accusations or the release of responsibilities upon the indigenous population, so common in colonial societies. Easy identifiable are the aspirations of the authorities, self perceived as representatives of public respectability, to have control over the morality of the inhabitants. Such values promoted and justified social intrusiveness. However, we can establish that in the period of our study there was a problem of housing in Hagåtña, where life was relatively expensive for an average family. Perhaps as a result of that, the population of Agat had grown since the mid-century, and showed more than other villages the housing shortage referred in the edict of Olive. Given such a shortage, sometimes more than one marriage would share house, which ruled against government's dispositions. Thus, in the *Bando general* we read:

[6] *Bando general...* páginas 39 y 41.

"Article 1. In order to prevent the agglomeration of many people in one house, and a fortiori, when they belong to more than one family, since the houses in general do not meet the hygienic conditions needed by their limited capacity; it is henceforth prohibited that more than a couple[7] *residing in a house, therefore the head of the family must proceed with the construction of a separate house, either of stone, wood, bamboo and coconut wood, with capacity enough for people would live in it.*

Article 2. For the construction of bamboo houses the following rules will be observed:

1º The floor must be one metre in height from the street.

2º They will have at least two rooms, in order to prevent persons of opposite sex sleeping in the same room.

3º Houses´ interior and exterior must be coated of saguales,[8] *preserving the residents from wind and water, which otherwise enters through the joint canes.*

4º The kitchens will be in the ground, separated far enough from the house to prevent fire.

5º The courtyards will have banana trees or other useful trees planted, which besides is of good use, will also facilitate the abovementioned [protection from weather].

Article 3. All houses, no matter the material of which they are constructed, must be maintained by their owners in good condition, and should have the courtyards as previously stated, well terraced, cleaned and fenced, if they have the capacity planting in them in addition to bananas or other trees, whatever vegetables they prefer, something that besides beautification, serves of immediate benefit.

Article 4. Nobody can build a house, even owning the plot, without prior knowledge of the Government of the Province, so that the Assistant of Public Works or someone designated by

[7] The original reads "matrimonios" or married couple, referring to a family unit.

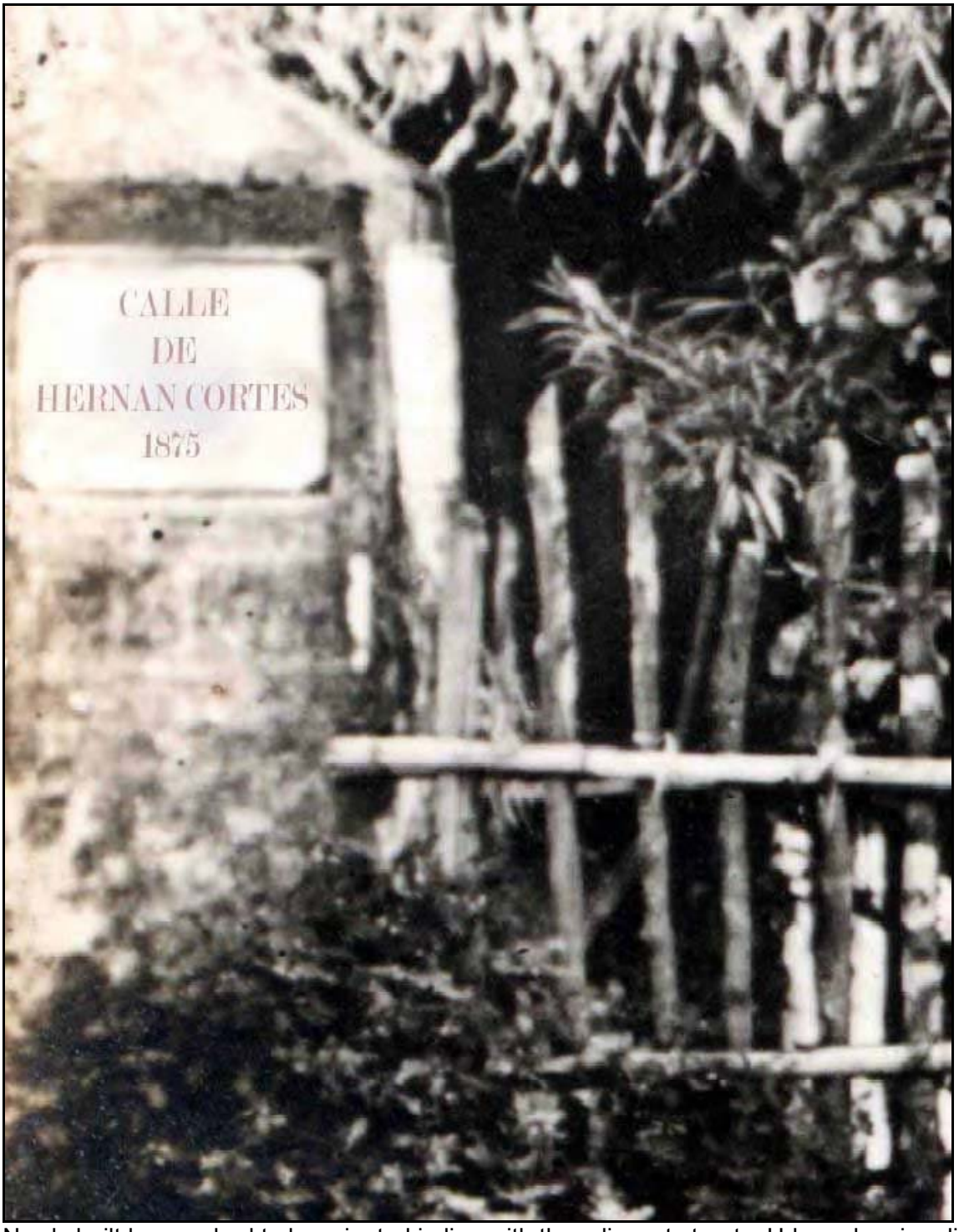
[8] *Saguale*: Tagalog word incorporated both into Chamorro and into Spanish. In Spanish it meant a fabric made from strips of a plant. A dictionary of English-chamorro (Topping, Ogo, Dungca, 1975) defines *saguale'* as a thatched house, whose fabric is made from *karisu*, a type of bamboo that is produced mainly in muddy areas.

him can mark the line where it will be established in order to be in line with the adjacent streets.

Article 5. Owners or tenants of a house will whitewash it at least once a year, in December, under a fine of 1 peso to defaulters.

Article 6. It is not permitted to have in the railings of the balconies or sill of the windows, pots or other objects whose fall may harm a passerby, under the fine of 0.25 pesos per offender, without prejudice to the pertinent costs of the injures caused"[9]

[9] *Bando General...* pp. 20-23



Newly built houses had to be oriented in line with the adjacent streets. Urban planning did exist in the Hagåtña of the late 19th Century.

Thin walls

"... Besides, I recommend that the houses that are not of wood or mampostería, have the dindines[10] well adjusted, and covered by well weaved saguale, for the ocupants to be well protected from the open air; as well as that houses of wood have the plank joints covered with strips, and all houses internally whitened and clean ... "

Furniture

"*They* [the houses] *also lack most of the most indispensable furniture. The accessories or kitchens that are usually behind the backs of the houses show the greatest abandonment, because there are some houses even of masonry, which have roofless kitchens at least for the last year and a half (...)"*[11]

We do not need to emphasize that the author, as a man of his era, was applying is own criteria, using standards out of context that could or could not be in line with those of the Chamorros, in relation to furniture, comfort, and so on. Hence, we should not conclude by his statement that the referred individuals were have-nots. What a 19th Century officer meant by referring to "*the most essential furniture*," does not necessarily correspond to what a resident of Guam deemed necessary, desirable or essential. Notwithstanding the foregoing, we must also keep in mind that a majority of the population of Guam lived in conditions of subsistence.

Regarding furniture, we can add that Spanish-style, Hispano-Filipino or European furniture was not rare in affluent homes. They could have been purchased abroad or made on island. Besides, even then it was already in practice the custom of buying at cost the furniture or belongings of whoever Spanish official (the *haulies* of that time) leaving the island after fulfilling a term.

Ovens

The outdoor ovens or *hotnos*, although undoubtedly much more abundant than they are today, most probably were a valuable asset, since not all houses had one. This is extracted from a reference on page 36 of that *Bando general*, where we find the following rule aimed specifically at those houses that had ovens:

[10] *Dindin*: Thin wall, partition.
[11] *Bando General*... p 21v.

"*Article 1. For houses that have an oven, the owners or tenants must take care that the ember extracted after use is perfectly extinguished, in order to prevent fire, being responsible for any accident occurring as a result of their carelessness*".

Erecting and paying for a house

Community work to fulfil the needs of close and not so close relatives, was part of the complex and efficient social network regulating the private lives of the inhabitants of Guam. In addition to collaborating family members, and although many officials insisted in their writings that Chamorros had not learned professional skills, and that everyone was a little bit of everything, it is also true that many Chamorros had specialized professions, such as construction. Even in 1852, more than 30 years before the period of our study, there are references to people like Rafael Castro and José Flores as masons, and Justo Baza and Ignacio Fernandez as master carpenters, whose professional skills are proven by the fact that the government commissioned them to recognize "*according to their understanding*" official buildings owned by the State, [12] who had specific regulations for the tropics. In relation to the proportions of the masonry walls, any private house that was built in accordance with the rules against earthquakes established in 1880, should have walls measuring in wide at least one fifth of its height.

The official or public buildings, (such as the masonry walls of the Church of Merizo in 1852, whose thickness was of about 83.59 centimeters) were built to resist as long as possible and to cost as little as possible. Thus, to maximize available resources was also a necessity for the administration, something that allow us to understand why construction techniques learned in the exercise of official work, were put into service of vernacular construction: those techniques simply worked.

Finally, what was the price of a house? In 1886, there were homes of 100 pesos, but it goes without saying that the higher the quality of materials, the higher the price, so houses could reach 1,000, 1,500 or even 2,000

[12] PNA, Marianas 1850-1880. SDS-4345. Exp 7. *Inventario y tasación de edificios y fortalezas de las islas Marianas*. Agaña, 31 December, 1852.

pesos for a newly built masonry house. [13] To get an idea of what this price meant at that time, lets quote that a working day of tax was valued in 0.30 cents, at least in accordance with Article 35 of the Regulations of Polos (taxes) and services, which stated that each polista should receive a compensation of 0.30 cents per day.[14] Another example: one day in prison was equivalent to 0.50 cents of fine, as revealed by the fines imposed by the government in times of Olive.

Conclusion

The society of Guam in the late 19th Century, subject as many other territories in the Pacific to a colonial system in which values were predetermined by the hegemonic culture, was experiencing a process of change very different from the rest of the territories of Oceania.

The distinctive features of the case of Marianas in relation to other Pacific nations evolve around the fact that the Chamorro society had experienced exogenous influences from much earlier date than any other place: early invasion, dramatic demographic crisis, changes in social, political and religious habits, slow repopulation, etc. While other societies in the Pacific were beginning to confront those changes, the inhabitants of Marianas who lived in the second half of the 19th Century were already descendants of people who had experienced them. The families living in Guam were immersed in a society subjected to challenges governed by their own responses, the result of years of autonomous experience across terms of successive administrators.

In this process of slow and gradual change, not surprisingly the construction of civilian buildings reflect in one way or another unique features, specific to Guam, part of the Chamorro culture, regardless the origin of the techniques or materials that perhaps were exogenous in origin, but finally were the result of indigenous modification and assumption.

The society of Hagåtña was subjected to economic constraints whose origins and causes fall beyond the subject of this brief paper, but among the consequences we can infer the autonomy of the indigenous population

[13] Olive García, Francisco: *The Mariana Islands 1884-1887. Random Notes*. Second Edition, Translated and Annotated by Marjorie G. Driver. Marc, Guam. 2006. P. 119.
[14] Olive García, Francisco: *The Mariana Islands 1884-1887. Random Notes*. Second Edition, Translated and Annotated by Marjorie G. Driver. Marc, Guam. 2006. P. 115.

in taking decisions to resolve or alleviate individual and collective needs, as is the construction of private homes.

Through the eyes of outsiders who assumed that nature delivered everything effortlessly, Guam was an earthly paradise where its people lived handed over to leisure and laziness. We have discussed how such statements conflict with historical data that reveals that as the 19th Century progressed and the population of Hagåtña gradually increased, timber suitable for building houses was becoming harder to obtain, in other words more expensive, since its collection was linked to a series of technical difficulties (identify them, carrying it from distant forest, transform it into planks, etc.), in which family involvement and participation was instrumental. But house building also implied certain administrative processes, especially if using timber from public lands, since a formal application to the authorities must be submitted, free of cost but specifying the type of wood, its location, amount and size of the logs. In a society where not every one new how to read or write, such an application would have to be prepared by a friend, relative, of hired individual, what certainly implied additional costs, whether socially or economically. Getting the wood, as well as prevent it from deteriorating, was an expensive process. The rural life in Guam required sacrifices and hard work.

The information that can be obtained trough a systematic and critic scrutiny of the appropriate documentation, may allow us in the future to expand current knowledge about this topic.

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Considering Structures

By Rosanna P. Barcinas
Guam Preservation Trust Program Officer

As a Cathedral grade school student in the ‘70s, we had to run around the Plaza de España in Hagåtña to exercise. My focus was to not trip over the flame tree roots like Johnnie who lost a tooth the day before. At Academy of Our Lady in the ‘80s, if you sat in the right place in the Kiosko, you could stay hidden from your teachers when you wanted to sneak a cigarette. My focus was to wave my arms inconspicuously to dissipate the smoke.

I would sometimes think about my Grandpa Perez playing his trumpet in the Navy band. I knew this history of the Kiosko because my grandma told me about it. I knew no history of the Plaza because Guam History was never taught to my generation.

Why are these structures here? Who built them? How did they build them and why? Why should we even care about them? I prefer to see, touch, feel history for myself, rather than read about it in history books. These historical structures are physical, tangible links to our past. We're not limited to just looking at pictures of what used to be.

In Tan Ana Leon Guerrero's 1901 house, located within the Historic District of Inalahan, I can poke my finger through the bullet holes in her ifit flooring, evidence of bullet strafing from World War II, which is evidence that this house, this family, survived a great ordeal. I can see the old Romex AC/DC wiring running along the interior walls of her living room—evidence that this house was built before electrical power came to Guam.

As a program officer with the Guam Preservation Trust, my focus now is to answer these questions. The Guam Preservation Trust is a nonprofit, public corporation responsible for restoring historic structures. The Trust researches and educates the public not only about these historic structures but also the people who built them, the reasons they were erected and the activities that occurred inside them, as this is just as significant as the buildings themselves.

Because of this belief, the Trust also funds and manages projects in areas such as ethnography, oral history and archeology. Our enabling legislation, created by former Sen. Elizabeth Arriola in 1992, not only outlines the needed intention of our office, it identifies a funding source that has allowed the Trust to complete the restoration of 14 structures, numerous archaeological studies, video documentaries and publications. Building permit fees collected in Guam come to the Trust, whether they come from building a hotel or an extension to a home. We believe it extremely appropriate that these forces of change help preserve our past.

One recently completed endeavor of the Trust was an international conference: "Stonework Heritage in Micronesia," held at the Hilton Guam Resort and Spa in November 2007. The possibility of a conference like this occurring here was discussed 10 years ago. The signing of the Valladolid Agreement in 1998, named for the hosting city in Spain, marked the beginning of a positive, formal relationship between Spain and its former territories in an effort to foster good relations among all. Representatives from Guam, Palau, the Federated States of Micronesia, the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas and others agreed that highlighting the positive aspects of our shared histories was the direction to take this millennium. Representing Guam at this signing were Chamorro language expert Dr. Katherine Aguon, former Sen. John Aguon and historian Tony Palomo.

As adirect result of the Valladolid Agreement, the Kingdom of Spain's Ministry of Culture established the Instituto de Cervantes in Manila. The Instituto funds and manages the Spanish Program for Cultural Cooperation, which funds projects highlighting such shared histories. Spanish scholar and co-organizer of the conference, Carlos Madrid, writes:

> *"In light of the cultural and historic relations of Spain with Guam, the Northern Mariana Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia and Palau, the Spanish Program for Cultural Cooperation with the collaboration of the Guam Preservation Trust and the Historic Resources Division, Department of Parks and Recreation, organized this International Conference on Stonework Heritage in Micronesia."*

"Merriam-Webster's Dictionary defines stonework as, 'a structure or part built of stone' and 'the shaping, preparation or setting of stone.' It also defines heritage as the 'property that descends to an heir' or 'something transmitted by or acquired from a predecessor.' Therefore, we refer to Stonework Heritage as the historic legacy of structures made of stone.

"Cultural heritage represents one of the most significant aspects of the identity of a nation and its material manifestation across eras and periods. The physical presence of a historic structure is a visible testimony of the past that contributes to the maintenance of the collective identity of a community.

"The Micronesian region is significantly rich and diverse in cultural heritage. By incorporating it into a collective appreciation, we are better prepared to move forward for the new challenges of the future. In a world wherein cultural tourism is growing in importance and numbers, the historic heritage of Micronesia represents an economic venue for sustained development."

The conference presenters included experts and individuals in the Micronesian region, the Philippines and Spain, who were directed to present papers on stone heritage and issues such as the challenges in its conservation, restoration techniques, contemporary tourist potential and appreciation among the community. The eventual publication of this call for papers will serve to increase bibliographic materials, serving as a reference and to raise awareness about appreciation for historic properties.

Director Jose R. Rodriguez, the general coordinator of the Instituto de Cervantes, which administers the Spanish Program for Cultural Cooperation, began the international conference with a brief history of the Instituto and reiterated Spain's commitment to funding projects focused on positive relations between Spain and her former colonies.

Madrid offered the chronological framework established by historic times in 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, considering structures related to the Spanish colonial era in the Pacific. Early 20th century architecture was also included, as it referred to the historic districts of Hagåtña and

Inarajan highlighting Chamorro vernacular architecture, due to its historical and cultural significance. The geographic framework of this conference was limited to the territories of the Micronesian region that have stonework heritage built during the defined timeframe.

Department of Parks and Recreation's Historic Resources Division historian, Toni Ramirez, began the conference with a detailed slide presentation noting Guam's historical ties with Spain, the Philippines and Mexico with an emphasis of sites and structures listed on the Guam and National Register such as Fort Soledad in Umatac and the Taleyfac stone bridge in Agat. Ramirez reminded the conference attendees that Guam has historical ties with Spain that are not erasable. "They're almost indelible; they are a part of the identity of the Chamorro people," Ramirez said.

Scott Russell, noted historian of Northern Mariana Islands and former NMI Historic Preservation officer, presented "*Stonework Structures of the Spanish Era in the Northern Marianas*." Russell shared rarely seen photos of stone structures in Saipan, Rota and Tinian, many of which we can only read about because of the heavy destruction of these sites during World War II. Sadly, the buildings remaining have little chance of surviving without funding for their restoration.

Maita Maronilla-Reyes, a chemist conservation consultant with the University of Santo Thomas' Center for Conservation of Cultural Property and Environment in the Tropics reminds us that to understand the building, we need to first understand its composition. Maronilla-Reyes said that while conservation is to stabilize the condition of the stone, restoration is an attempt to bring back deteriorated stone and structure to their original form, shape and condition.

Stone conservation in a tropical setting is challenging because of several factors such as an accelerated deterioration in hot and humid climates; cracks in the building from seismic activity become deterioration sites for vegetation or rodents to settle in; and frequent flooding complicates the situation even further.

Another expert from Manila, architect Michael Manalo, presented "*Selected Uses of Lime in Heritage Buildings: Construction and*

Conservation." Michael argued that lime-based building materials were the most indispensable for construction use during the Spanish colonial period in the Philippines and the same goes for Guam. Lime comes from either limestone or seashells. He also discussed the cycle of lime. When lime is prepared with sand it creates a mortar mix that is durable and highly porous.

Following the technical presentations from our friends in Manila, day two brought more attention to Guam. Marjorie Driver, curator of the Spanish collections housed within the University of Guam's Micronesian Area Research Center, gave us glimpses of life in Guam during the Spanish Colonial Era dating 1668 to 1898, noting that mamposteria construction was introduced in Guam in the early 1700s.

Like the Romans introduced this method to the Spanish, the Spanish introduced stone construction to Guam and the Philippines. Mamposteria is the method of building limestone walls consisting of two parallel rows of coral rubble with infill of sand, shell and small stones. A limestone mortar mix is applied to the interior and exterior walls for moisture protection and aesthetics.

One of the oldest mamposteria structures still standing, still in use by the parish priest serving the parishes of Malesso' and Umatac, is the Malesso' Kombento. Built in 1856 to honor those who lost their lives in a small pox epidemic that year, the Kombento was abandoned in 1987 and restored in 2000 by the Guam Preservation Trust. This Kombento is an excellent example of mamposteria construction from that era.

"In a world wherein cultural tourism is growing in importance and numbers, the historic heritage of Micronesia represents an economic venue for sustained development."

Chairman of the Guam Historic Review Board for over 20 years and the founding chairman of the Guam Preservation Trust, Jack Jones offered elements of *"Chamorro Vernacular Architecture."* These are architectural elements of a home that your regular Chamorro family would have built at the turn of the 19th century. Elements such as the steepness of the roof, open balcony, raised floors, wide stairwell and the use of ifit as a main building material are all defining features of homes dominating our village

landscape pre-World War II. The Historic District of Inalahan is the only village with homes reminiscent of this prewar era.

Visiting Philippine preservationist, Dr. Jaime Laya, discussed the *"Restoration and Development of Intramuros in Manila."* He notes how these famed walls were once the seat of government for 400 years, yet fell victim to severe American bombing in 1945. Initialized via presidential decree in the 1960s and through efforts of the Intramuros Administration, Intramuros has been revitalized to house reconstructed homes and restaurants.

New developments within the historic walls boast museums, stores and income-producing festivals. "Intramuros is part of Philippine history and its restoration not only evokes an era of the Philippine's past, but also could help revive some lost skills and crafts," he said. Dr. Laya argues that buildings built during the Spanish regime are not Spanish but Philippine-Hispanic. In agreeing with Dr. Laya, these remaining stone structures in Guam may have been built during the Spanish era but they are Chamorro structures, used and built by Chamorros.

Revitalization efforts such as these are also occurring within the Historic District of Inalahan, thanks to the nonprofit organization, Historic Inalahan Foundation. Consultant Dr. July Flores offered a history of the maintenance efforts taken to stabilize historic pre-war homes such as those of Joseph Flores, George Flores and Isabel Cruz. In this world of globalization, tangible cultural elements are what make a country distinctive.

Quoting historian Kelly Marsh, University of Guam history professor Anne Hattori shared, "It is incumbent upon historians and historic preservationists to reconnect Chamorros to their history long denied them—to uncover the Chamorro stories within these historic structures, to help Chamorros see themselves and their ancestors reflected in them." In an effort to help her students uncover Chamorro stories from historic structures, Dr. Hattori has been including them in a "Service Learning" program where the students learn about historic structures in the classroom as well as visit and assist in stabilization efforts at an actual site.

What collective stories are told from stone structures in Guam, in Micronesia, in the Philippines and in Spain? Discussions of available building materials, indigenous and introduced building methods versus the evolution of both, the effects of climate and neglect on these structures are just a few of those stories. But the larger, more meaningful story is of interconnectedness among our countries and cultures and the need for continued collaboration.

Rosanna Barcinas, Guam Preservation Trust Program Officer, with Jose R. Rodriguez, the general coordinator of the Instituto de Cervantes, which administers the Spanish Program for Cultural Cooperation.

Editor's Note: This essay about the Stonework Conference was first written for GU magazine.

Bridging the gap

Reflecting Chamorro in historic structures

Kelly G Marsh & Dirk HR Spennemann, School of Environmental Sciences, Charles Sturt University, Albury, Australia

The Gap

Chamorros have been written out of and disconnected from their history in many ways. For example, the label the “Spanish Era” is both limiting and misleading as it obscures the Chamorro in their 400 years of complex interaction with the Spanish (1521-1898). History texts have traditionally placed Catholic missionaries, colonial officials, and foreign visitors on center stage, while the Chamorro were relegated to the periphery. The depopulation, intermarriage and migration during Spanish colonization (1700-1898), caused some to claim that the Chamorro no longer existed. Indeed, for a time, one signboard stated that the Chamorro *latte* (stone house pillars) were crafted by an ‘unknown race’ who had lived there ‘centuries ago.’

Though some steps at rectifying that situation have been taken, more work needs to be done in rethinking, reclaiming and relabelling the thousands of years of continuous Chamorro history in the Mariana Islands.

Structures

Structures, in the historic preservation sense, refer to public works and other features constructed for purposes other than shelter. Bridges, roadside shrines, sentry boxes, garden houses, ovens, bell towers, roads, forts, walls, dykes and more are examples of structures that were built in the Mariana Islands between 1668 and 1898.

Structures are often presented to the public as sterile, pristine, romantic versions of themselves, stripped of the people which give them their true meaning and context. However, if one looks at Guam and the Northern Mariana Island’s pictorial history closely, one will find the Chamorro. Together, these pictures create a story that shows that in reality Chamorros have not been absent, silent or in the background of their own islands’ history.

Reflecting the Chamorro, producing structures

Chamorros have centuries of connection with Spanish-influenced structures. In fact, some have speculated that Chamorro *latte* and *lusong* (stone mortar), were used at times as building material for such structures or that the elongated, “wall” *latte* on Luta reflects Chamorro experimentation with Spanish architectural features.

Chamorro and Spanish construction merged over time. Spanish structures were Chamorrocized, adapting thatch roofs and other Chamorro features while Chamorros added the *mamposteria*, tiled roofs, and Spanish aesthetic elements to their already well-developed construction skills and styles.

Chamorros took this knowledge with them as they settled and resettled areas, leaving their fingerprints on those structures and those landscapes.

Reflecting the Chamorro, culturally embedded

• *As resistors*: Throughout the Spanish colonial regime, Chamorros staged major offenses along roads or at forts, burned various structures and buildings, attempted coups, and assassinated a Spanish governor at the Plaza de España.

• *As leaders, guards, police men and more*: Chamorros held many positions in the Spanish colonial government, from the *gobernadorcillo* (mayor) managing village affairs from his office to the militia men performing drills on the Plaza de España.

• *As a vibrant people living daily life*: Chamorro voices filtered into structures as they steered carabao pulling carts, children called out produce for sale, the faithful prayed during processions or graveside at a funeral, and crowds ushered excited murmurs or shouts of encouragement while attending public proclamations, celebrations and games.

Bridging the Gap

It is incumbent upon historians and historic preservationists to reconnect Chamorros to their history long-denied them—to uncover the Chamorro stories within these structures, to help Chamorros see themselves and their ancestors reflected in them. This will begin to bridge the gap. But, ultimately, only Chamorro can decide what roles these structures play as part of their heritage.

Chamorros also share history with some of the Spanish historic structures that exist around the world. Chamorros ventured to the rest of Micronesia, Chamorros resettled in Spain, and Chamorros have also long voyaged to the Philippines. As time continues, more of these sorts of historic connections are likely to be (re-)discovered.

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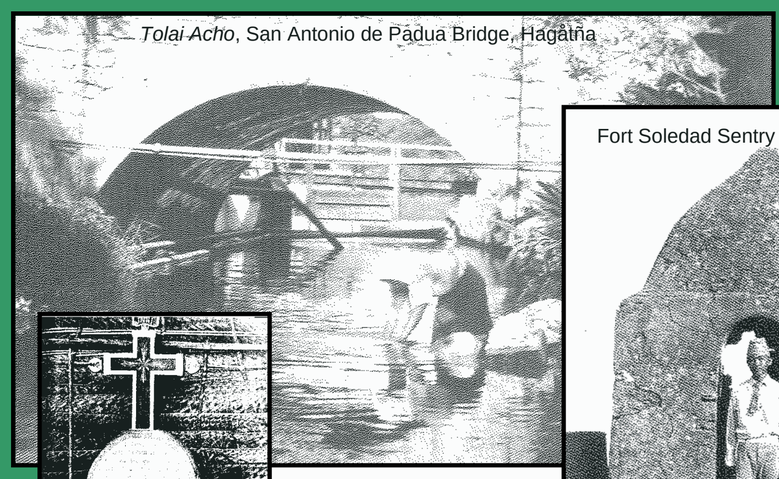
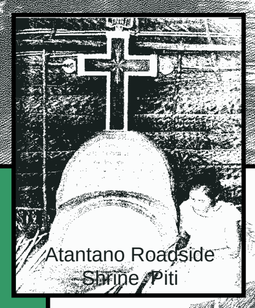
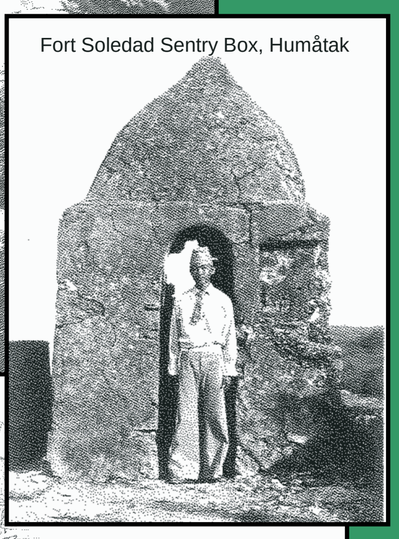


Tolai Acho, San Antonio de Padua Bridge, Hagåtña



Atantano Roadside Shrine, Piti

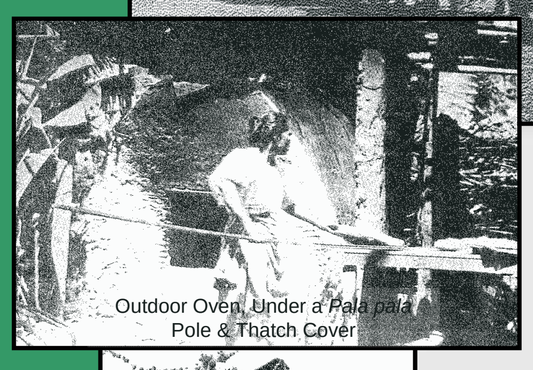


Fort Soledad Sentry Box, Humåtak

Pedro ‘Pete’ Cruz & Vicente ‘Ben’ Chargualaf, defending Guam during WWII, Plaza de España, Hagåtña

Pala pala Pole & Thatch Cover Protecting a Roadside Shrine

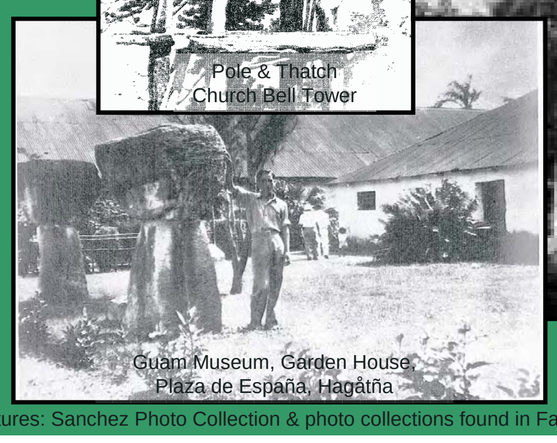
Carabao Racing, Plaza de España, Hagåtña



Outdoor Oven, Under a *Pala pala* Pole & Thatch Cover

Malesso’ Bell Tower

Pole & Thatch Church Bell Tower



Guam Museum, Garden House, Plaza de España, Hagåtña

Pictures: Sanchez Photo Collection & photo collections found in Farrell, Don A (1991) *The Sacrifice 1919-1943*

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In the light of the cultural and historic relations of Spain with Guam, Northern Mariana Islands, Federated States of Micronesia and Palau, the **Spanish Program for Cultural Cooperation**, with the collaboration of the **Guam Preservation Trust and the Historic Resources Division, Department of Parks and Recreation**, hosts this *International Conference on Stonework Heritage in Micronesia*.

The Micronesian Region is significantly rich and diverse in Cultural Heritage. By incorporating it into a collective appreciation, we are better prepared to move forward for the new challenges of the future. In a world wherein cultural tourism is growing in importance and numbers, the Historic Heritage of Micronesia represents an economic venue for sustained development.

UNESCO's Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity and Tourism

Article 7

Creation draws on the roots of cultural tradition, but flourishes in contact with other cultures. For this reason, heritage in all its forms must be preserved, enhanced and handed on to future generations as a record of human experience and aspirations, so as to foster creativity in all its diversity and to inspire genuine dialogue among cultures.

MINISTERIO DE CULTURA

SPANISH PROGRAM FOR CULTURAL COOPERATION

GUAM PRESERVATION TRUST