5th Marianas History Conference

ONE Archipelago, Many Stories: Navigating 500 Years of Cross-Cultural Contact

Day 7 – Day 10

Thursday, February 25 – Sunday, February 28

Book 4 of 4

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5th Marianas History Conference

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Panel: Celebrating Heritage

Burego' Joyful Christmas Celebration

By Mrs. Cheryl and Dr. Lawrence Cunningham

Abstract: *Burego' was a joyful custom of masquerading during the Christmas season. This custom was introduced during Spanish colonial times and was practiced until the early 1960s in southern Guahan. Like Christmas customs the world over it incorporated indigenous practices. A description of this Joyful Burego' Celebration is based on the personal experiences of Dr. Judy S. Flores and the interviews of Pale' Eric Forbes and Dr. Lawrence J. Cunningham. In addition a photograph from Luta and an illustration from Inalahan will be presented. Colonial cultural appropriation and abandonment will also be discussed.*

O' Come All Ye Faithful, Joyful and Triumphant!

It was the Eve before Christmas and all through the house I smelled the fragrance of *bonelas dagu* and I'm singing carols to my spouse.

When out in the street I heard such joyful clamor. I sent John boy to the porch to see what's the matter. John Boy said "Is that a young lady dressed as a *lanchero*? Is that Joe dressed in a woman's mestiza?" Then John boy reported another teenager wearing a mask and a gunny sack. He asked "Are those *taotaomo'na* wearing white sheets with black smudges on their faces? Who is that *gunot* masked man and those mustached *banditos* in a sombrero? Who's that 9 foot giant? Is he on stilts? He's scaring the angels, Joseph, Mary and baby Jesus! No wonder those boys are throwing eggs at him!" What was going on?John boy just didn't know. When I heard from the outdoor kitchen - "It's just *burego*'".

Burego' was a joyful CHamoru Christmas celebration in the Mariana Islands. Young people, but primarily teenagers, masqueraded and went house to house in their costumes. There was bawdy and risqué banter between the people who came out on their porch and the revelers. My wife came out from the kitchen with a tray of *bonelos dagu* to share with the masqueraders.

District officer Georg Fritz took this photograph in Luta, December 24, circa 1905. This photo is courtesy of Pale' Eric Forbes and The Micronesia Area Research Center, University of Guam. The caption for this BUREGO' IN THE MARIANA ISLANDS photograph is

Christmas Game. The fun of *burego'* was guessing the masquerader's identity and joking about their costumes.

Artist and scholar, Dr. Judy Flores, observed *burego'* in Inalajan, Guahan in 1957 or 58. Based on her recollections she created this fantastic Illustration.

Some masks were made from *gunot*, the fibrous burlap like material from the coconut tree.

Almost everyone I interviewed said that they looked forward to the owner of the house sharing food with them, especially *bonelos dagu* which they ate as they went from house to house in their neighborhoods. In Humatac, Guam the masquerading teenagers went from house to house and collected a whole plate of fiesta food, and then went to mid-night Mass and after Mass on Christmas morning they sat in a circle near the church and ate the food they had collected.

In one southern village I was startled to hear that *burego'* was where some young men first saw their baby girl or boy. If a young man fathered a child out of wedlock sometimes the young man's girlfriend's father would not let him near the house and might even threaten him with a machete thus preventing him from seeing his newborn. Nevertheless, on

Christmas Eve if the young man masqueraded, he could come upon the porch and view his beautiful child held in his girlfriend's arms. This happened even if his masquerade wasn't good enough to disguise his identity. On Christmas Eve there was sort of a truce and a time of peace and joy in the celebration of the birth of Jesus.

Almost everyone agreed that *burego'* was celebrated on Christmas Eve, but Pale' Eric Forbes found that on Saipan it may have been during the Christmas season but not necessarily on Christmas Eve. In Santa Rita, a village transplanted from Sumay, *burego'* was celebrated on Christmas Eve, New Years Eve and the Feast of Three Kings. But the biggest celebration, by far, was on Christmas Eve.

Burego' was a Spanish custom adopted in the Marianas around the 1700s. The Spanish appropriated this custom from the Roman's. The roots of *burego'* came to Spain from the Roman custom of saturnalia. Saturnalia was a winter solstice festival for the god Saturn. Saturn was the Roman god of agriculture, wealth and plenty. Saturnalia was a riotous time of revelry. Children acted like parents and parents acted like children. Slaves dressed as masters and masters dressed as slaves. There was cross dressing.

Kantan Chamorrita - Inalahan

When Romans adopted Christianity they showed their agency by incorporating saturnalia into the celebration of the birth of Christ. The Roman government accepted this pagan solstice celebration because it facilitated the acceptance of Christianity and strengthened their authority. Over the years the Spanish, as the Italians, have abandoned the practice of saturnalia but not before Spain introduced this practice to the Mariana Islands. In the southern villages of Guahan this custom seems to have been abandoned in the 1960s.

The CHamorus demonstrated their agency by incorporating their indigenous solstice customs into the adoption of *burego'*. The solstice is the harvest time for *dagu* and the sharing of food is a fundamental CHamoru value. Indeed the indigenous custom of sharing food, and especially *dagu*, is still practiced even after *burego'* was abandoned. There may be some other ancient CHamoru customs included in the custom of *burego'*. For example, the risqué teasing between males and females is well documented in the extemporaneous poetry in the CHamorrita. This art form, in turn, can be traced back to the ancient custom of *mari*, that is, competitive debate, and to women dancers. The historical record states that a group of 10-12 CHamoru women would surround a high ranking chief and that they would banter back and forth as they danced in place.

The practice of the CHamorrita continues to the present. For example, in Dr. William M. Peck's publication "I Speak The Beginning," he includes some ribald metaphoric banter between a woman and her husband. Dr. Peck also recorded the women of Luta in January of 1981. It took two weeks for the women to weave a *guafak* canopy to shade Pope John Paul II

when he celebrated Mass on West O'Brien Drive near the Basilica Cathedral in Hagatna. While the women wove the pandanus canopy they continuously created four-line poetry and it was frequently risqué teasing. I have witnessed my UOG People's and Cultures of the Pacific students tease one another. Indeed we learned that clowning is a common cultural practice in the rest of Micronesia and Polynesia. I am pleased to report that the CHamorrita and somewhat raunchy CHamorrita is still practiced today as performed at the Inalahan Senior Citizen Center in 2014.

In ancient CHamoru times the only role reversal and masquerading I've found is when an angry wife and her friends donned men's hats and took up their weapons. However, there did not seem to be any effort to conceal one's identity. It was intended to embarrass the woman's husband. I wanted to make this presentation because I need your help to find written and historical evidence, that I probably missed, of *burego'* in Laguas History.

I want to know why *burego'* was practiced in the Marianas long after it was forgotten in Spain. There is a theory of diffusion in anthropology that contends that the farther a custom spreads from its origin the more likely it will be authentically practiced. Could this apply to *burego'* in the Marianas?

I am also curious about the function of *burego'* in the CHamoru culture and why this custom was abandoned. At first I speculated that the church may have thought this custom was too profane for the Christmas season and may have discouraged the practice of *burego'*. Pale' Eric Forbes searched the church archives and publications and did not find any evidence to support my speculation.

I did find that there is a well documented belief that oppressive societies frequently have a carefully controlled and limited safety valve, such as saturnalia. Dr. Samuel Betances told me this was true of slavery in the United States. He said that Frederick Douglass reports in his auto-biography that when he was a slave in Maryland there was a week between Christmas day and New Years day when the slaves were allowed to drink all the liquor they wanted and go wild. Frederick Douglass makes it clear this license for one week was not to encourage liberty but to reinforce bondage. Could *burego'* have been such a safety valve in the Marianas?

I spoke with people from Santa Rita, Hagat, Humatac and Inalajan who participated in *burego'*. Was *burego'* abandoned because of Americanization? Alejo Flores of Santa Rita suggested that *burego'* was replaced when American style Halloween and Thanksgiving celebrations were adopted. Could *burego'* have been abandoned because of the end of American and Spanish military rule?

When I asked Manual Afaisen, of Inalajan, why they gave up this joyful *burego'* custom, he replied, "1950, Organic Act, Santa Claus nai!" The Organic Act was not self-determination, but it did end three centuries of Spanish and then American military rule. Could it be that that small measure of self-government meant that the oppression was no longer so severe and thus removed the cultural function of *burego'*?

I was intrigued by the custom of *burego'*. I was fascinated with another example that colonization does not take place without the incorporation of the indigenous practices and values. It is encouraging to learn that colonial appropriations can be discarded when they no longer serve a meaningful purpose. Michael Yellowbird, Professor of Sociology at North Dakota University, might see this as no more than bailing out the ocean with a coconut shell cup but still a minor example of the term he coined Neuro-Decolonization.

I look forward to your comments and help on these issues. I want to particularly thank and acknowledge all that helped with this presentation.

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Dolores Flores Paulino
Dr. William M. Peck
Dr. Rebecca A. Stephenson
Dr. Monique C. Storie
Richard Flores Micronesian Area Research Center

Let me leave you with this poem that encapsulates much of the significance and inspiration of what I've learned as a student of Marianas history and culture:

Through colonization,
Through pandemics and wars,
Surviving yet and joyfully, flourishingly,
Never ever giving up.
CHamorus O CHamorus.

Lawrence J. Cunningham, Ed.D. has over a half century as a researcher, writer and teacher of geology, ethnology, history, natural history and traditional seafaring and navigation in Micronesia. Cheryl Cunningham is married to Dr. Lawrence.

Celebrating 340 Years

The History of Saint Joseph Parish of Inalahan

By Dr. Judith S. Flores
Research Associate, RFT-MARC

Abstract: *This narrative is inspired by oral histories that have been passed from generation to generation since 1680, held by the people of Inalahan and recorded by William (Bill) Meno Paulino. Among the youngest of 19 children, Bill lived with his aging parents well into adulthood, absorbing the stories they told - and writing them in his journal. His writing reflects idioms and philosophies as expressed by elders of the early 1900s. By the 1970s this combination of deep CHamoru linguistic knowledge together with oral histories was rare; and the stories were quickly slipping away with the passing of Inalahan elders. The presentation will show the collaborative efforts of the Researcher and the Oral Historian to place events into historical context, examining particular oral histories including that of the people of Fu'una who were relocated to Inalahan; and of the arrival of the statue of Saint Joseph by Spanish military boat. Their collaboration will provide the historical content of a commemorative book that celebrates 2020 as the 340th Jubilee Year of Saint Joseph's Church in Inalahan.*

Introduction

In 2018, our pastor, Father Joseph Anore, introduced the idea of celebrating 340 years since the founding of St. Joseph's Church in Inalahan; to take place in 2020 with many special events planned throughout the year. What a challenging year 2020 turned out to be, with repeated lockdowns due to the COVID-19 pandemic! But under his perseverance, the various committees made necessary adjustments and carried out several events that continued into 2021. The most enduring project has been the publication of a commemorative book that will tell the amazing history of Saint Joseph's Church. Our purpose for writing this book includes the following goals:

- To rekindle the spirit of faith, faithfulness and festivity in our parish
- To revive traditional practices that inform our Catholic culture
- To tell our story from the perspectives of our own parishioners

The committee felt strongly that our parishioners must be the primary voice in telling our stories. This emphasis was stressed by one of St. Joseph's Parish Council members in the early 1990s when they began planning for the annual Fiesta of Saint Joseph, Husband of Mary. Edward M. Crisostomo proposed the idea of telling the story of the arrival of the statue of Saint Joseph to Inalahan to establish the first church. That story had been passed down

from generation to generation and was still remembered by a few members of the Council. They decided to create a reenactment of the event based on oral accounts.

Oral histories and traditional practices of our Inalahan village parish have resisted the encroachment of American lifestyles better than most other municipalities in our island. Several factors have contributed to the persistence of oral accounts and traditional practices into contemporary times. These factors bridged the major event of World War II that changed our island way of life so drastically. Elders even today define time as "before the War" and "after the War". While most of Guam's population moved into the second half of the 20th century embracing western lifestyles, those in the rural south were able to retain more of their traditional lifestyles. Inalahan was less affected by loss of farm lands taken for military use and was not subjected to an American military presence so pervasive near the bases in central and northern Guam. These factors helped the people of Inalahan keep their traditions:

- Farming and fishing continued as either the main occupation or to supplement income from cash jobs with the military or local government
- Parish and family celebratory events continued to enforce traditional and reciprocal relationships - focus remained on family and community
- Stories told by elders continued to enlighten and entertain youth until the introduction of television in the 1970s changed family forms of entertainment
- Traditional arts and folkways were revived in the 1970s through the first Chamoru cultural center in Inalahan, Lanchon Antigo, extending knowledge to a new generation

Father Joseph assembled members of the Commemorative Book Committee in late 2019. He selected committee members from community elders with historical knowledge and writing experience together with young university graduates with skills in writing, visual communication, graphic technology and marketing, all proud residents of Inalahan and Saint Joseph's parish. This mix of generations and skills has enabled the committee to complete the manuscript, pending photos and comments from our parishioners. The committee members are:

Tihu Lujan, Chief Editor, Writer/Photographer
Fr. Joseph Anore, Content Advisor
Bill M. Paulino, Oral Historian and Writer, Liturgical Music Director
Judy S. Flores, Folklorist, Research Historian, Writer and Editor
Alana Chargualaf, PIO/Community Outreach, Writer and Photographer
Rose N. Cruz, Writing Contributor and Community outreach
Destiny Cruz, Visual Communications and Web Technology
Cabrini Cruz, Graphic/Layout Artist

Dora C. Perez, Marketing Committee Representative

The Committee met monthly until the March, 2020 COVID-19 pandemic lockdown, then continued to meet via Zoom. Bill Paulino and Judy Flores focused on the historical accounts, drawing on oral histories that both of them had personally collected in the 1970s to 1990s. Judy focused on research documents that corroborated and verified oral accounts. Bill Paulino's reach into the past was enhanced by the stories he heard from his parents during his formative years. Among the youngest of 19 children, he lived into adulthood with his aging parents and absorbed their stories along with their responses to life's challenges and rewards. This included their strong religious beliefs and interpretation of scriptures and local lore. Although he was born after the War, CHamoru was Bill's first language, making his reach into the past especially valuable in its literal translation from CHamoru to English. This style of writing has been preserved because of the unique insight his words provide to readers of this book.

The Importance of Oral Accounts

Oral histories throughout Micronesia are well-known archives of accumulated knowledge. They have been instrumental in the preservation of such valuable information as canoe building and ocean navigation. Many islands guarded their knowledge through secret language only known to practitioners of particular arts. In the Mariana Islands oral histories were known to have persisted through the transmission of poetry, debate and songs[1]. Pacific scholar David Hanlon wrote in 1980 about the importance of Pacific islanders' oral accounts in the search for better understanding of their histories:

> Recent work with oral accounts has shown them to be surprisingly detailed and consistent with written accounts of the same event. Anthropologists have long noted the strenuous efforts taken to preserve the integrity of island legends and stories. Knowledge is not cheap, especially in island societies. It only remains for those of us from the outside to take the time to listen.[2]

The Committee's goal is to balance village oral accounts with scholarly research practices that help to verify oral histories. This approach allows our parishioners to contribute their

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[1] William Peck. (1981). *I speak the beginning: Anthology of surviving poetry of the Northern Mariana Islands.* Saipan: Commonwealth Council for Arts & Culture.
Laura M.T. Souder. (1993). "Kantan Chamorrita: Traditional Chamorro poetry, past and future." *Manoa*, 5:1: summer.

[2] David Hanlon, PhD. (1980). "Recording History in Micronesia", GLIMPSES OF MICRONESIA. Vol 20/1-Spring. Agana: Glimpses of Guam, Inc. p. 11.

voices to the telling of Inalahan's history. Their stories need to be passed on to future generations, to revitalize pride in the accomplishments of their ancestors, and to help inspire future endeavors and heroic virtues. In a world that has become so secular, these stories will help provide examples of responses grounded in faith and faithfulness.

Approach

The book will be approximately 300 pages, hardcover, including archival and contemporary photos. It will be divided into three main sections:

1. THE HISTORY OF ST. JOSEPH'S CHURCH
    - How St. Joseph Became our Patron Saint
    - Our Never-Ending Story of Repairs and Rebuilding
    - Our Church Stature, Devotions, and Fiestas
    - The Priests of St. Joseph's
    - Sisters of Mercy Established in Inalahan
    - Commissioners and Mayors of Inalahan

2. THE PARISHIONERS OF SAINT JOSEPH'S
    - Parishioners of Saint Joseph's - Photo Essays and Comments
    - Families of St. Joseph's
    - Ministries of St. Joseph's
    - Parish Events and Traditions
    - Amazing Stories of Past Parishioners

3. JUBILEE ACTIVITIES
    - Kickoff Motorcade and Mass, March 7, 2020
    - Raising of Memorial Umbrellas
    - Coconut King and Royal Court Live on Facebook
    - Honorees Dinner (pending 2021)
    - Father Duenas Memorial Statue (pending 2021)
    - Adjustments to COVID-19 Pandemic

The main focus of this paper will be on **Section 1 - THE HISTORY OF SAINT JOSEPH'S CHURCH**. My approach will be to present examples of Saint Joseph's history as remembered in oral accounts and verified through historical references. I see my role more as an editor than as a writer of this history, although my research contributes to the stories. I take responsibility for any errors in reporting resources incorrectly. In keeping with the Committee's goal of telling our parishioner's stories from their point of view, it is important

to edit for story clarity without taking away the colloquialisms and common phrases literally translated in the original writing. Bill M. Paulino contributed much of the original writing, based on oral accounts he had collected and from the stories he heard from his parents and elders. Members of our committee contributed to particular sections, and guest writers contributed stories about their ancestors. They are named under the title of their writing contribution.

The manamko (elders) referenced in the narrative deserve to be recognized by name, for their gifts of storytelling and passing the oral accounts to our generation. Without their steadfast storytelling, this history of our village would be lost. Interviewees were Maria Naputi Mantanona, Juan Cepeda and Rosa Meno Paulino, Oliva Paulino Pinaula, Jose L.G. Paulino, Jesus M. Crisostomo and his son Edward Crisostomo, Enrique Paulino Naputi, Francisco Meno Naputi, Sister Catherine Quintanilla, Sister Maria Quintanilla, Josefina Q. Taimanglo, Rosa Meno Duenas, Isabel Leon Guerrero, Maria M. Crisostomo, Lourdes M. Taitague, Vicente M. Meno and Consolacion (Chong) Fejeran Garrido. Interviews took place over a period of more than 20 years, from 1970 to 1996, collected by Bill M. and Mary L.G. Paulino, Edward M. Crisostomo, and Judy S. Flores.

How Saint Joseph Became Inalahan's Patron Saint

Example and Analysis

This chapter in the Saint Joseph's Jubilee Commemorative book focuses on the arrival of Saint Joseph's statue to the shores of Inalahan in December of 1680. Historical documents written by Catholic missionaries report the following:

- Joseph Quiroga led Spanish troops to drive people they called "rebels" from their villages in the hills and coastal areas - called the period of Spanish-CHamoru wars.
- A great typhoon on November 11, 1680, destroyed most of the island's homes and crops. This provided the opportunity for Spanish officials and clergy to persuade the people to relocate to coastal villages where they could attend church masses regularly.[3] Umåtac, Hågat, Målesso, and Inalåhan were designated.
- Missionary documents name a few of the villages that were destroyed during battles. Villages such as På'a to the south, Tarufo'fo and Picpuc to the north, and Fu'na from the hills, for example, were relocated to these new villages.[4]
- In December of 1680, a church was begun at Inarajan, "in which many were assembled from the southern part of the island, as well as people from the settlements in the hills,

[3]Garcia, F., S.J. ([1683] 2004). *Life and martyrdom of the venerable Father Diego Luis De SanVitores of the Society of Jesus*. Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam. P. 500.

[4]Ibid. P. 483

and on the beaches. This church was dedicated to San Jose, Esposo de la Virgin Maria."[5] The faithful built the first church of wood frame and thatch, with woven karisu grass walls. Rebels almost immediately burned it down. The faithful of the new parish quickly rebuilt it, and that building stood until 1693 when it was destroyed by a typhoon. By 1769 there was a stone church with thatched roof.[6]

1993 Reenactment: Choir with Bill Paulino and members of the Christian Mothers sing and pray.

These stark documents written in missionary reports and letters state brief details of the founding of Inalahan parish and its dedication to Saint Joseph, Husband of Mary. It leaves a lot of unanswered questions. There is no known documentation as to how the original Saint Joseph statue, that graces our church even today, came to our church.

Oral accounts of the founding of Saint Joseph Church are richly detailed and answer questions as to how the statue was brought to Inalahan, and who facilitated and enabled this first church to be established. Oral accounts contain the concerns of the people of Inalahan as a strange boat approaches, and of their responses to the situation according to cultural practices.

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[5]Ibid, P. 500

[6]Haynes and Wuerch. (1993). Historical Survey of the Spanish Mission Sites on Guam 1669-1800, 2nd Ed. Micronesian Area Research Center Educational Series no. 9. Mangilao: University of Guam.

Let us examine the oral accounts collected and narrated during the first Reenactment of the Arrival of Saint Joseph's Statue as staged in 1993, and subsequent reenactments to date:

The Reenactment takes place at about 2 pm on the Saturday Feast Day of Saint Joseph, The Worker[7], on the shores of Inarajan Bay. The original statue of Saint Joseph is placed on a boat with an escort of military volunteers and our parish priest. This group is meant to replicate the clergy and Spanish military escorts that would have accompanied the original statue.

To protect our precious statue, the boat usually remains inside the bay. The journey starts at the mouth of the bay near Gadao's Cave and proceeds across the bay towards the landing site while the following story is recited by a selected narrator[8]. The Christian Mothers Confraternity gather on the shore to say prayers prior to the narration. Multiple Kulo (Conch shells) are blown by volunteer youths as the boat nears the shore.

Upon landing of the statue, traditional Chamorro chanters provide ancient chants as the statue is carried to the decorated karosa. The following narration, written by Bill M. Paulino, takes place prior to the appearance of the boat and is timed to end as the boat begins its journey into the bay:

The Story of the Original Statue Of St. Joseph, the Husband of Mary
In the name of the Father,
And of the Son,
And of the Holy Spirit. Amen!

Today is a very special day here in our parish village. We are gathered here not only in honor St. Joseph as our patron and advocate, but to celebrate again the re-enactment of the original statue of St. Joseph that was brought into this village more than three hundred years ago and received lovingly by the CHamoru natives.

"I mañaina-ta nu i manantigu siha", *our ancestors, named this parish village, "I Sensong San Jose" or the "Village of San Jose". It was a name that they used in the hope that all generations to come would not forget that St. Joseph became the guardian and protector of the people here. They*

[7] Saint Joseph, Husband of Mary, is celebrated on March 19 with a mass, procession and Na'taotao Tumanu dinner. Since 1948, the more festive celebration is held for Saint Joseph The Worker, the last Saturday of April or 1st Saturday of May. The Parish has chosen to have the Reenactment as part of the celebration of this larger Fiesta. Bill Paulino was very careful to make note of this in the Narrative.

[8] A reigning island-wide queen from our village or other recognized village award winner is selected to read. Alana Chargualaf first narrated in 2017 and has continued the role in 2018 and 2019.

went through a period of wars and demoralization, but with St. Joseph's intercession, he gave them a heart to turn to God above all things, even in the midst of danger. This was the impetus that made them do all things to protect this original statue of St. Joseph. As parishioners of St. Joseph Church, we must do everything possible to continue to protect this statue that stands beautifully in our church.

Let us all take a moment and thank God for our CHamoru ancestors, "I manantigu na mañaina-ta siha", who told and retold how the original statue of St. Joseph, the Husband of Mary, arrived in this village. We also thank God for the Jesuit missionaries as the first pastors and subsequent administrators of our church from 1680-1875. They dedicated our church in honor of "San Jose, Esposo de la Virgin Maria" or "St. Joseph, the Spouse of Virgin Maria". We also thank God for Fr. Joseph Anore for taking profound interest to continue the celebration of this reenactment.

We, the generation of today, all have the duty to preserve this identity for all the generations to come. Without this story told and retold, over many years, we would not be here today to commemorate this special day in our history that marked "St. Joseph, the Husband of Mary" as our patron saint of our parish village.

To commemorate this special day in our lives, we are very thankful to God for the preservation, over hundreds of years, of this original statue that was brought into this village from Spain and placed in the little church in Fu'na[9]*. The statue of St. Joseph resided in Fu'na in a little chapel that was built by the baptized natives with the missionary priests.*

The re-organization, by mandate of Spain, forced people to be moved out of Fu'na to prevent more bloodshed between the CHamoru natives and the Spanish soldiers. This move was very heartbreaking and demoralizing for the CHamoru people. It was indeed heart-wrenching for them to abandon their little village and way of life in Fu'na. Despite their hardship, they continued to hope in God through the intercession of St. Joseph and the Blessed Lady. As soon as they were settled here in Inalahan Village, they built a church in honor of St. Joseph.

Stories from our manamko' told of the ship carrying the original statue of St. Joseph that tried to make its way into Umatac, but it failed because the heavy wind and rain and grinding water currents did not allow entry into the bay.

The ship then continued to sail to Malesso. Again, rough waters and relentless rain with typhoon force wind would not permit entrance into this area.

The Ship Then Headed to Inalahan

Before the fishermen and other natives spotted the ship, the elders described the wind as of typhoon force; and rain, smashing tree branches and knocking down trees across the village.

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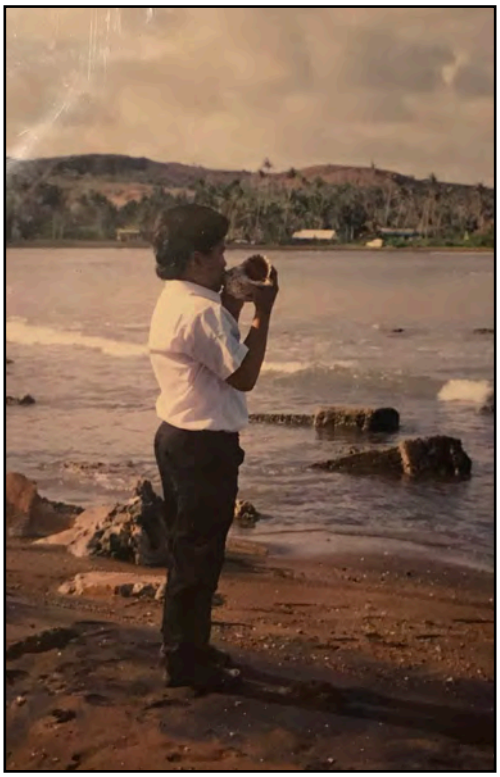
[9] Fu'na has been pronounced and spelled various ways over time. Bill heard it from his elders as simply "Funa". Spelling in Spanish documents is quoted as written. Today, CHamoru linguists have suggested that this refers to the legendary first woman, Fotna, meaning First.

Suddenly, these natural forces ceased and everything became calm. This allowed the ship to enter Inalahan bay. Our elders described this as a "miracle". Others described it as "i grasian Yu'os" or "the grace of God" that allowed this ship to make its way without any problem into our bay.

According to our manamko, the natives at that time were not sure that this was a friendly visit to their village when this strange ship appeared. The fishermen, without hesitation, paddled their galaide' into the deep water to assess the venture of this ship into the village. The fishermen noticed from the signal of the ship's crews that they had no intention of harming anyone, but came in peace with a gift to the people.

As the fishermen noticed that these visitors had no intention to harm anyone, they returned to shore with the good news to the other natives that it would be a peaceful visit of strangers from afar.

The men blew in unison the trumpet-shell horn - the "Kulo"- for the other natives to gather around the bay shore to greet their visitors. The natives' apprehension or fear of the unknown visitors faded as they heard the sound of the Kulo. *According to our manamko', when the Kulo was blown in unison, it means good news or good things have come and people must come together to share it with one another. This is known in the culture of the CHamoru people as inagofli'e' or the sharing of good things with one another.*



Reenactment 1993- Kulu Blower at Inalahan Bay to welcome boat carrying St. Joseph Statue. Photo courtesy of Bill and Mary Paulino.

Knowing then that the visitors of their village came in peace, the natives stood by the shore, ready to welcome them. As the ship moved slowly into the shoreline, they chanted songs that required two groups to respond to each other as their sign of peace to welcome the strangers in their land. When the ship finally came to rest in the water near the shoreline, crews got off the ship and carefully took down the statue of St. Joseph. The natives chanted songs as the statue was being carried to the shore.

Procession of Christian Mothers and Choir during the Reenactment of 1993.
Photo courtesy of Bill and Mary Paulino.

The natives prepared a small feast for their visitors. They knew that ship's crews were hungry. The elders prepared food and water for the strangers. The young women and children gathered some flowers. Particularly, they chose the "flores chute'" - the indigenous plumeria flowers of the island - as a sign of welcoming strangers to their land. **This is known in our CHamoru culture as "inafa'maolek", meaning to care and help others without counting the cost**. *The flowers of the "chute'" had a beautiful fragrance, and young women wore the flowers in their long hair at social gatherings.*

The women and children stood along the way and tossed the flowers reverently to accept the gift of the statue of St. Joseph for this parish village. They welcomed their visitors lovingly and had them feast with food and drink before they processed with the statue to the newly-built church of pole-frame and thatch.

Many of the baptized natives processed behind the crew carrying the statue of St. Joseph. **A number of the baptized men took the lead of the procession, in memory of their lost village of Fu'na.**

Unfortunately, it did not last long. This church was burned to the ground, but the natives saved the statue. They rebuilt the church and persistently asked the missionaries that the new church would also be dedicated in honor of St. Joseph as their patron saint.

March 19th of each year marks the celebration of St. Joseph, the Husband of Mary in this village. In 1947, three years after World War II, the feast of St. Joseph, the Worker was added as the second feast of this parish village. This feast came about as a result of the church being condemned to be demolished by the "Military Rule" of the island after World War II. It was deemed unsafe after the war. The people raised the necessary funds and repaired the church; and again, the original statue of St. Joseph was returned to its home. We thank God for the diligent efforts of Monsignor Oscar Calvo, the parishioners, Commissioner Joaquin S.N. Diego, and the Coconut Festival Queen Contest that raised the necessary funds to reclaim and repair the church. These are amazing gifts from our Lord, and we pray that it will continue to be celebrated by generation after generation. Our manamko' stated that the Feast of St. Joseph, the Worker should have been celebrated hundreds of years ago, because St. Joseph and our Blessed Lady were always their guardians and custodians of their souls. Also, they felt strongly the prayers of St. Joseph and our Blessed Lady gave them much hope in God for their safety during the war.

These two feasts that our parish celebrates each year were given much care, preparation, and devotion across the faith community for many, many years in this village. Indeed, it is a challenge for all of us in today's society to keep them vibrantly alive not only in our hearts, but in what we do for these feasts.

St. Joseph is here to stay in this village. Our manamko' believed that God had always meant for St. Joseph to be with us in this village. Our manamko' would always say, "To know that St. Joseph is with us is to know also that our Blessed Lady is with us". Indeed, this is great faith in God.

Pale' Duenas, who was the pastor of San Jose from 1940-1944, continued to let people know that God was with them, despite being in the midst of danger during the war. He asked people to place their trust in God and never lose hope. He told the parishioners that St. Joseph was there to protect them just like he did for the Holy Family. He told them also that our Blessed Lady would not cease praying for them.

Today, this original statue of St. Joseph still remains in our church. Let us call on him, St. Joseph, the Husband of Mary and the Worker, not only as our patron saint, but as our father, our protector, our counselor and to lead us to the hearts of Jesus and His Mother Mary!

Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit. Amen!

Thank you for your presence here today. May God help us keep this history as a treasure in our hearts and in the hearts of all generations to come.
(END OF NARRATIVE)

This narrative shows how oral accounts can often preserve details that are of importance to those telling their story. In this case, the missionary documents failed to record details that were important to local storytellers. Oral accounts provide answers, reasons, and details:

- How did the statue arrive and why was this important?
- Who is credited for facilitating the activity and why?
- What can we learn about local culture and protocol in this encounter?

How Did the Statue Arrive and Why Was This Important?

Missionary reports were very brief about the fact that a church was built in Inalahan and dedicated to Saint Joseph, Husband of Mary. It seems that the missionary writer(s) assumed that the action was controlled by the Spanish authorities and clergy. The oral accounts acknowledge the "gift" of Saint Joseph as Inalahan's patron saint, but they provide agency to God and Nature and to the people of Fu'na who had been relocated to Inalahan. The miracle of natural events - the violent storm that threatened the journey of the boat carrying Saint Joseph's statue - and of God's intervention of calm waters when it reached Inalahan Bay, has transmitted the importance of Saint Joseph as the patron saint of Inalahan. Oral accounts assure that Saint Joseph was destined to be our patron saint.

Who Is Credited for Facilitating the Activity and Why?

The oral accounts give credit to the people of Fu'na for making Saint Joseph welcome in Inalahan. Among the most prevalent themes in the oral accounts is the ancient relationship of Inalahan with the lost village of Fu'na. All of Bill's interviewees expressed those memories; and there is a section of the village that they indicated as being the homes of the people from Fu'na. Missionary documents verify the narrative statement: *"The statue of St. Joseph resided in Fu'na in a little chapel that was built by the baptized natives with the missionary priests."* The 1683 *Life and Martyrdom of Diego Luis de San Vitores, S.J.* by Francisco Garcia, S.J., told of a chapel to Saint Joseph that was built in the village of Fu'na. (P. 403). The Annual Letter of 1673-74 reports that Father Ezquerra went to the mission of San Jose de Funa at the beginning of 1674, baptised people in the surrounding mountains, and spent the night in the village of Ati, which the Spanish call Port San Antonio.[10]

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[10]R. Levesque. (1995). *History of Micronesia, vol. 5. p. 207.* Gatineau, Canada: Levesque Publications

A footnote in the same Garcia book says that "Fuuna appears to have been a favorite name with the *Marianos*, since there was a village called Fuuna on Rota, another on Guam, [north] of Umatac Bay near Fouha Point to the north of Fouha Bay [Spelled "Fuha" on map]. Father Lopez's 1700 map of Guam shows also a small island in the vicinity of Orote Point, also called Fuuna."(P. 208).

Garcia's history reports in detail the location of Fu'na where Saint Joseph's chapel was built:

Fu'una is celebrated among these natives, because they point out a rock there from which they believe that all men had their origin. It is near several harbors, and from one cape that points west northwest and which rises 36 to 48 feet above the sea, one can see at a great distance the ships that sail from Nueva Espana to the Philippines. (a footnote says "The rock is Lalas Rock at Chalan Anite Point."). (P. 403).

Place names on this map show an island near Agat at Orote called Funa, which was obliterated during the Spanish-CHamoru wars; a second Funa appears in later maps at Fouha (Fuha) point. Map courtesy of Dr. Carlos Madrid. Map courtesy of Micronesian Area Research Center University of Guam Press, Latte Project. 2020

What Can We Learn About Local Culture and Protocol in This Encounter?

The narrative is very informative in the ways of island society; of discerning the intensions of unknown visitors and of broadcasting this information to their fellow islanders. When peaceful intensions of the visitors are determined, protocols for traditional welcome are

Lalas Rock, or Acho Fuha, believed to be the site of creation. The San Jose Mission at Fu'na is described as located at the top of the high cape that rises from the beach on the right. Photo courtesy of Anthony R. Ramiriz of the Guam Museum, 1998.

launched. Invariably, such protocols include chants or songs of welcome and the serving of food.

The kulo blown in unison signified good news and the opportunity for facing each other in friendship: Inagofli'e. The kulo (trumpet shell) has been used throughout Oceania to send messages over distances beyond the reach of the human voice. Its trumpet sound denotes a ceremonial atmosphere.

They chanted songs that required two groups to respond to each other as their sign of peace. In CHamoru society, this would be the call-and-response practice of impromptu verse-making, called "Mari" in ancient times and today called Kantan CHamorita.

The natives prepared a small feast for their visitors. They knew that the ship's crews were hungry.

The serving of food to visitors is embedded in islander society, across Micronesia and all of Oceania. It a pervasive expression of islander hospitality especially to seafaring visitors who could possibly be hungry and malnourished, depending on the length of their journey. This essence of CHamoru hospitality is known as "inafa'maolek", a basic value of CHamoru

cultural practice. This same cultural value applies in the use of flowers to honor or to welcome.

Lastly, the entire narrative format is representative of the way public discourse is traditionally framed. First is the prayer or tribute to God and to those who have contributed to the event. Second, the purpose for the gathering is stated. The body or content of the narrative is contained in the third section. Often, as is the case here, an explanation of pertinent parts of the narrative are further explained or elaborated at the end. In this case, there was a major switch in the timing of this reenactment, which caused a confusion between Saint Joseph, Husband of Mary (celebrated March 19th each year), and that of Saint Joseph The Worker, whose fiesta celebration became more prominent after World War II. Furthermore, our dearly-beloved martyr, Father Jesus Baza Duenas, is noted for his devotion to our Saint Joseph statue during World War II and for the spiritual comfort he provided for his parishioners. Lastly, the recitation ends with a prayer and proclamation for our patron Saint Joseph.

Conclusion

We hope that this example and analysis of one subchapter in the forthcoming Saint Joseph Jubilee commemorative book will help a wider audience understand the importance of contributing their voice to the story. This is a work in progress as we continue to gather stories from our legacy of amazing parishioners. Our committee members continue to collect photos and testimonies from Inalahan families. These families now live all over our island and beyond our shores. We welcome contributions from those who have roots in Inalahan village. Story submissions, comments about any of the chapters, and family photographs may be submitted to Facebook/Saint Joseph Guam or to the Rectory Office, 828-8102.

Zoom recording on following page.

Zoom Recording

Presentation Slides

CELEBRATING SAINT JOSEPH'S 340TH JUBILEE: TELLING OUR STORIES

by JUDITH S. FLORES, Ph.D
Marianas History Conference 2021

Introduction

In 2018, our pastor, Father Joseph Anore, introduced the idea of celebrating

340 years since the founding of St. Joseph's Church in Inalahan;

to take place in 2020 with many special events planned throughout the year. What a challenging year 2020 turned out to be, with repeated lockdowns due to the COVID-19 pandemic! But under his perseverance, the various committees made necessary adjustments and carried out several events that continued into 2021. The most enduring project has been

the publication of a commemorative book that will tell the amazing history of Saint Joseph's Church. Our purpose for writing this book includes the following goals:

- **To rekindle the spirit of faith, faithfulness and festivity in our parish**
- **To revive traditional practices that inform our Catholic culture**
- **To tell our story from the perspectives of our own parishioners**

ORAL HISTORIES HAVE SURVIVED IN INALAHAN DUE TO THESE FACTORS:

- **Farming and fishing continued as either the main occupation or to supplement cash jobs**
- **Parish and family celebratory events continued to enforce traditional & reciprocal relationships - focus remained on family and community**
- **Stories told by elders continued to enlighten and entertain youth until the introduction of television in the 1970s changed family forms of entertainment**
- **Traditional arts and folkways were revived in the 1970s through the fir Chamoru cultural center in Inalahan, Lanchon Antigo, extending knowledge to a new generation**

Commemorative Book Committee

Tihu Lujan, Chief Editor, Writer/Photographer

Fr. Joseph Anore, Content Advisor

Bill M. Paulino, Oral Historian and Writer, Liturgical Music Director

Judy S. Flores, Folklorist, Research Historian, Writer and Editor

Alana Chargualaf, PIO/Community Outreach, Writer and Photographer

Rose N. Cruz, Writing Contributor and Community outreach

Destiny Cruz, Visual Communications and Web Technology

Cabrini Cruz, Graphic/Layout Artist

Dora C. Perez, Marketing Committee Representative

The Importance of Oral Accounts

- **Oral histories throughout Micronesia are well-known archives of accumulated knowledge.**
- **Instrumental in the preservation of such valuable information as canoe building and ocean navigation.**
- **Many islands guarded their knowledge through secret language only known to practitioners of particular arts.**
- **In the Mariana Islands oral histories were known to have persisted through the transmission of poetry, debate and songs**

Pacific scholar David Hanlon wrote in 1980 about the importance of Pacific islanders' oral accounts in the search for better understanding of their histories:

Recent work with oral accounts has shown them to be surprisingly detailed and consistent with written accounts of the same event. Anthropologists have long noted the strenuous efforts taken to preserve the integrity of island legends and stories. Knowledge is not cheap, especially in island societies. It only remains for those of us from the outside to take the time to listen.

The Committee's goal is to balance village oral accounts with scholarly research practices that help to verify oral histories.

- **This approach allows our parishioners to contribute their voices to the telling of Inalahan's history.**
- **Their stories need to be passed on to future generations, to revitalize pride in the accomplishments of their ancestors, and to help inspire future endeavors and heroic virtues.**
- **In a world that has become so secular, these stories will help provide examples of responses grounded in faith and faithfulness.**

Approach:

300 pages, hardcover, including archival and contemporary photos. It will be divided into three main sections:

1. **THE HISTORY OF SAINT JOSEPH CHURCH**

2. **THE PARISHIONERS OF SAINT JOSEPH'S**

3. **JUBILEE ACTIVITIES**

The main focus of this paper will be on Section 1 - **THE HISTORY OF SAINT JOSEPH'S CHURCH.**

- **How St. Joseph Became our Patron Saint**
- **Our Never-Ending Story of Repairs and Rebuilding**
- **Our Church Stature, Devotions, and Fiestas**
- **The Priests of St. Joseph's**
- **Sisters of Mercy Established in Inalahan**
- **Commissioners and Mayors of Inalahan**

My approach will be to present examples of Saint Joseph's history as remembered in oral accounts and verified through historical references.

The main focus of this paper will be on Section 1 -
THE HISTORY OF SAINT JOSEPH'S CHURCH.
Specifically on Chapter 1:

- **HOW ST. JOSEPH BECAME OUR PATRON SAINT**

My approach will be to present examples of Saint Joseph's history as remembered in oral accounts and verified through historical references.

HOW SAINT JOSEPH BECAME INALAHAN'S PATRON SAINT:
Example and Analysis

This chapter in the Saint Joseph's Jubilee Commemorative book focuses on the arrival of Saint Joseph's statue to the shores of Inalahan in December of 1680. Historical documents written by Catholic missionaries report the following:

- **Joseph Quiroga led Spanish troops to drive people they called "rebels" from their villages in the hills and coastal areas - called the period of Spanish-CHamoru wars.**

- **A great typhoon on November 11, 1680, destroyed most of the island's homes and crops. This provided the opportunity for Spanish officials and clergy to persuade the people to relocate to coastal villages where they could attend church masses regularly.**
- **Umåtac, Hågat, Målesso, and Inalåhan were designated.** Garcia, F., S.J. ([1683] 2004). *Life and martyrdom of the venerable Father Diego Luis De SanVitores of the Society of Jesus*. Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam. P. 483

- Missionary documents name a few of the villages that were destroyed during battles. Villages such as **På'a to the south, Tarufo'fo and Picpuc to the north, and Fu'una from the hills, for example, were relocated to these new villages.** Garcia, F., S.J. ([1683] 2004). *Life and martyrdom of the venerable Father Diego Luis De SanVitores of the Society of Jesus*. Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam. P. 500.

- **In December of 1680, a church was begun at Inarajan, "in which many were assembled from the southern part of the island, as well as people from the settlements in the hills, and on the beaches. This church was dedicated to San Jose, Esposo de la Virgin Maria."** The faithful built the first church of wood frame and thatch, with woven karisu grass walls. Rebels almost immediately burned it down. The faithful of the new parish quickly rebuilt it, and that building stood until 1693 when it was destroyed by a typhoon. By 1769 there was a stone church with thatched roof.

Haynes and Wuerch. (1993). Historical Survey of the Spanish Mission Sites on Guam 1669-1800, 2nd Ed. Micronesian Area Research Center Educational Series no. 9. Mangilao: University of Guam.

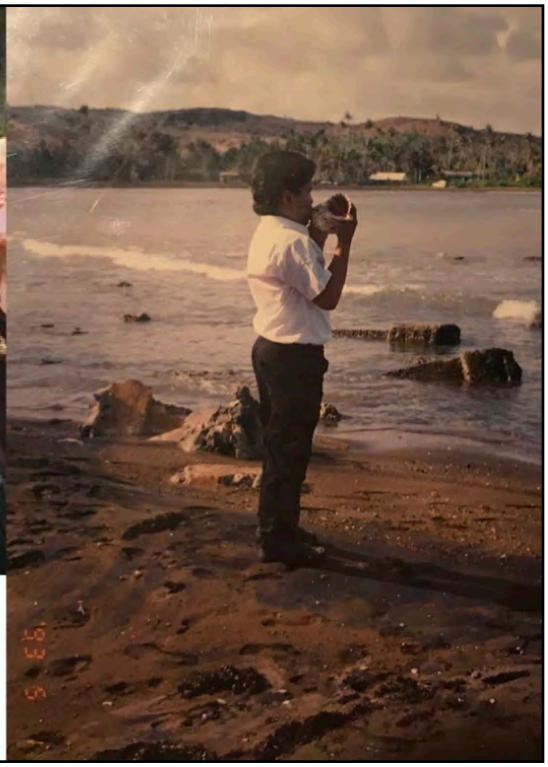
WRITTEN HISTORY FROM OUTSIDERS:

A. These stark documents written in missionary reports and letters state brief details of the founding of Inalahan parish and its dedication to Saint Joseph, Husband of Mary.
B. It leaves a lot of unanswered questions.
C. There is no known documentation as to how the original Saint Joseph statue, that graces our church even today, came to our church.

ORAL ACCOUNTS FROM LOCAL SOURCES:

A. Richly detailed and answer questions as to how the statue was brought to Inalahan, and
B. Who facilitated and enabled this first church to be established.
C. Oral accounts contain the concerns of the people of Inalahan as a strange boat approaches, and of their
D. Responses to the situation according to cultural practices.

Reenactment of the Arrival of Saint Joseph's Statue as staged in 2019:



Kulu blower, 2019, above and **1993 (**right)

ORAL ACCOUNT:

The re-organization, by mandate of Spain, forced people to be ***moved out of Fu'una*** *to prevent more bloodshed between the CHamoru natives and the Spanish soldiers. This move was very heartbreaking and demoralizing for the CHamoru people. It was indeed heart-wrenching for them to abandon their little village and way of life in Fu'una. Despite their hardship, they continued to hope in God through the intercession of St. Joseph and the Blessed Lady.* ***As soon as they were settled here in Inalahan Village, they built a church in honor of St. Joseph.***

MISSIONARY REPORT in Garcia's 1683 publication:

"The statue of St. Joseph resided in Fu'una in a little chapel that was built by the baptized natives with the missionary priests."

The 1683 *Life and Martyrdom of Diego Luis de San Vitores, S.J.* by Francisco Garcia, S.J., told of a chapel to Saint Joseph that was built in the village of Fu'na. (P. 403)

ORAL ACCOUNT:

Stories from our manamko' were told that the ship carrying the original statue of St. Joseph tried to make its way into Umatac, but it failed because the heavy wind and rain and grinding water currents did not allow entry into the bay.

The ship then continued to sail to Malesso. Again, rough waters and relentless rain with typhoon force wind would not permit entrance into this area.

ORAL ACCOUNT:

The ship then headed to Inalahan. Before the fishermen and other natives spotted the ship, the elders described the wind as of typhoon force; and rain, smashing tree branches and knocking down trees across the village.

Suddenly, these natural forces ceased and everything became calm. This allowed the ship to enter Inalahan bay. Our elders described this as a "miracle". Others described it as "i grasian Yu'os" or "the grace of God" that allowed this ship to make its way without any problem into our bay.

When the ship finally came to rest in the water near the shoreline, crews got off the ship and carefully took down the statue of St. Joseph. The natives chanted songs as the statue was being carried to the shore. 2019

Many of the baptized natives processed behind the crew carrying the statue of St. Joseph. A number of the baptized men took the lead of the procession to the church, in memory of their lost village of Fu'na.

Reenactment Procession to Church, 1993

Garcia's history reports in detail the location of Fu'na where Saint Joseph's chapel was built:

> **Fuuna is celebrated among these natives, because they point out a rock there from which they believe that all men had their origin. It is near several harbors, and from one cape that points west northwest and which rises 36 to 48 feet above the sea, one can see at a great distance the ships that sail from Nueva Espana to the Philippines. (a footnote says "The rock is Lalas Rock at Chalan Anite Point."). (P. 403).**

In Conclusion:

This narrative shows how oral accounts can often preserve details that are of importance to those telling their story. In this case, the missionary documents failed to record details that were important to local historians. **Oral accounts provide answers, reasons, and details:**

- **How did the statue arrive and why was this important?**
  The oral accounts give agency to God and Nature and to the people of Fu'na who had been relocated to Inalahan.
  Oral accounts assure that Saint Joseph was destined to be our patron saint.
- **Who is credited for facilitating the activity and why?**
  The oral accounts give credit to the people of Fu'na for making Saint Joseph welcome in Inalahan. Among the most prevalent themes in the oral accounts is the ancient relationship of Inalahan with the lost village of Fu'na. All of Bill's interviewees expressed those memories.

What Can We Learn About Local Culture and Protocol In This Encounter?

The narrative is very informative in the ways of island society; of discerning the intensions of unknown visitors and of broadcasting this information to their fellow islanders. When peaceful intensions of the visitors are determined, protocols for traditional welcome are launched. Invariably, such protocols include chants or songs of welcome and the serving of food.

The Commemorative Book Committee hopes you will support this book with your critical feedback, contribution of parishioner stories and photos, and by purchasing this book.

Submissions may be made on our Facebook page:
SAINT JOSEPH GUAM

SI YU'OS MA'ASE!

Judy S. Flores, PhD, is a folklorist, historian, teacher, and visual artist who has lived and worked in the island of Guam since 1957. She grew up in the southern village of Inarajan, and speaks fluent Chamorro. She taught secondary school art for 10 years, then served as folklorist for the Guam arts council for another 10 years. She helped found Gef Pa'go, Guam's only living museum of Chamorro culture; serving successively as advisor, director and president over a 20-year period. She earned a second MA in Micronesian Studies from the University of Guam; and PhD in Arts of Oceania from the University of East Anglia in Norwich, England. She returned to teach at the University of Guam, from which she retired in 2005. She is widely recognized as a professional visual artist of batik paintings that depict Guam's culture and history that can be seen in many of Guam's public buildings. Her community art includes beautifying her home village of Inalahan.

Slinging Stones and Fanoghe Chamoru

Past Present and Future

By Roman Dela Cruz

ACHO Marianas TASA (traditions Affirming our Seafaring Ancestry) Fokai Industries and Grasshopper Inc

Abstract: *This will be a segmented discussion on the stone slinging among ancestral Chamorros and its evolution today. We will discuss the 1521 centennial commemoration from the perspective of our slinging community and how this has motivated a re-ignition with slinging and a prosperous connection with sport slinging of the Balearic Islands. We will conclude with some long discussed ideas on how the Mariana Islands and Chamorros around the world can optimize and capitalize from a cultural embrace and the strategic development of our slinging persona.*

Zoom Recording

Roman Dela Cruz is a representative of ACHO Marianas, TEAM GUAM: He was an Official Competitor at Tir de Fona Internacionale in Mallorca from 2017-2019.

Panel: Musical Traditions

Long Term Effects of Colonization on Music
Transformation and Adaptation

By Lynne Jessup Michael
CNMI Public School System

Abstract: *As with other aspects of culture, music of the Chamorro people has been transformed by colonial influences. Vestiges of influences can still be found in the vocal music of Chamorros, although even the traditional vocal music is disappearing. Using old written documents and recordings, evidence of specific musical elements is still apparent. Scale structure, vocal ornamentation, song forms and even lyrics all provide evidence of connections to the main colonial occupations. Children's games dating back to the Spanish era, the pentatonic scale structure used in Japanese music, the American pop melodies and lyrics of the 1950's, all have left their imprint on the vocal music of the Chamorro culture.*

Acculturation and adaptation began for the Chamorro culture with the Spanish. The first Europeans who sailed to the Mariana Islands made no mention of the music. As Dr. Taitano pointed out in her presentation on Tuesday, the historical narratives of that period constitute "archival silence" meaning that the lack of documentation of this important aspect of culture has been erased or silenced.

The first mention of Chamorro music was made by Father Peter Coomans [1] who described feasts where the Chamorros danced and sang, with accompanying gestures and a type of castanets. Coomans also mentioned poetic songs that told of fables or myths, and funeral songs sung during a seven-day period of mourning.

When the Catholic missionaries arrived, they discouraged what they thought of as pagan music. Father Diego de Luis de Sanvitores in his account *Mission in the Marianas*.[2] also documented the music. He described "twelve or thirteen women forming a circle and singing in verses their histories and antiquities, with point and harmony of three voices, sopranos, contraltos, and falsettos, with the tenor taken by one of the men." He was critical of their

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[1] Coomans, Fr. Peter *History of the Mission in the Mariana Islands: 1667 – 1673* Translated and Edited by Rodrigue Levesque, Occasional Papers Series No. 4 Division of Historic Preservation Saipan 1997 p. 4, 16

[2] Barret, Ward, translator. *Mission in the Marianas: An Account of Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores and his Companions 1669-1670* Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press 1975.

singing of Puntan who may have been the first man, describing those songs as "bad verses" and said that there were "antique fables and deeds of ancestors sung at celebrations". At funerals he noted that they sang "melancholy songs" and "dirges that were ingenious and deeply felt". However, his attitude was that the indigenous music was pagan and should be supplanted with religious music. Children were taught songs to honor the Holy Virgin Mary our Mother at divine services in the Royal Chapel of Mary.

Charles Le Gobien[3], a French Jesuit priest, in 1700 wrote:

> "At first the natives shyly held back upon the arrival of the ships and did not want to come aboard. Sanvitores, however, encouraged them to sing the litany of the Virgin and soon they approached, mixed with the Spaniards and sang with them. Upon entrance into the villages, "Christ's Message" was sung, which had been translated by Sanvitores into Chamorro verses. All came and listened because they loved the singing. During their festivities, twelve or thirteen richly decorated women form a circle. Without moving from their place, they sing the songs of their poets with grace and schooling which would please even in Europe. In the hands, they have small shells resembling castanets. All onlookers, however, are charmed by the expressive bearing and movements which accompany the singing. The men also entertained themselves with dancing and competitions. In jumping, running and wrestling they proved their strength. They recounted the adventures of their forefathers and recited the songs of their poets. With their subjugation, these pagan customs disappeared and spiritual songs resounded in place of the impure secular singing."[4]

Le Gobien also stated that the missionaries taught the seminary students to play European musical instruments. Father Garcia Salgado, the rector of the Agana church hired someone to teach the students to sing the mass on Saturdays and on some feast days.[5] Thus, much of the Chamorro vocal music was lost due to the emphasis on the music of the Catholic church.

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[3] Le Gobien, Charles. Histoire des isles Marianes nouvellement converties à la religion chrestienne et de la mort glorieuse des premiers missionnaires qui y ont prêché la foy

[4] Quoted by Fritz, Georg in *The Chamorro, A History and Ethnography of the Marianas*. 1904. P. 22. Reprinted by the Division of Historic Preservation, Saipan 1986. P. 46

[5] Hezel, Francis X. *Micronesia, Winds of Change* 1979 Omnibus Program for Social Studies and Cultural Heritage. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Education Department Saipan. p. 48

Not all music, however, was related to the church. One type of music that endures through time is children's songs and games which are passed along by word of mouth from generation to generation. An example is the coconut passing game "Ambas Clap" which I recorded on Rota in 1987. Many of the words no longer have any meaning and are probably a mixture of languages. I played this song for a group of music educators in San Diego, and one woman identified it as a Mexican song. It is most likely that it was taught to Chamorro children during the Spanish colonial era and still survives today.

Example 1: "Ambas Clap" sung by Maria Taitano and Consolacion Calvo. Recorded in 1987.

Jacques Arago visited the Mariana Islands in 1819. He wrote extensively and published his observations in *Narrative of a Voyage Around the World*.[6] He stated that:

> Music is one of the most agreeable amusements of the inhabitants of the Mariannes; they sing the moment they awake, they sing during the hours of rest, and they fall asleep singing. Their airs are languishing, harmonious, and for three voices. There are also two or three boleros and some seguidillas, but in general they prefer that which lulls and composes to that which animates and enlivens; and their singing may be considered in some measure an emblem of their life. [7]

The most well-known vocal music of the Chamorro people is the Chamorrita. It too has changed over time. What remains of this long-standing vocal tradition is the words, the poetic form, and a basic melodic pattern. Traditionally, it was a song used as a flirtation between young men and women, often while they were working in the fields, weaving palm fronds, net fishing, husking corn, grinding coconuts or other communal work. Two singers, often a young man and a young woman, would toss verses back and forth, improvising new words upon the previous verse sung by the other person as a way to show wit and humor and the singer's ability. It incorporated layers of meanings or double meanings , figurative expressions and slang expressions that only the younger generation understood.[8] It was also a way to transmit hidden messages, not only among the young people, but later during the Japanese era to send messages the Japanese would not understand. Usually the man began

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[6] Arago, Jacques *Narrative of a Voyage Around the World.* London Treuttel and Wurtz 1823.

[7] Ibid Part II The Marianne Islands Guam Agana Letters LXXXVIII CIII. Letter CI page 49

[8] Flores, Judy, n.d. *Chamorrita Songs and Related Poetic Chants* University of Guam MI 502: ProSeminar, Micronesian History Term Paper.

the song and the woman responded. Sometimes others joined in at the end of a line. The last person on Rota who was able to improvise in this manner was Bartola Ogo.

Repetition is a method singers incorporate when improvising lyrics, to give them time to think up new lines. Some Chamorritas use repetition this way, repeating the last line of one verse in the first line of the next verse. In his Chamorrita "*Dingu I kompanirå-mu*" Isidro Manglonå repeats part of line 1 in line 3. Another trait Chamorritas have in common with other improvised vocal forms is that often successive verses within one song do not relate to each other. For example, the song "*Estabasesseso-hau mage*" as sung by Ursula Atalig begins with the first four verses connected by topic, but the next six verses are all independent of each other.

Chamorrita is definitely not a narrative form. Sometimes stories or events are alluded to, but more in terms of a personal allusion rather than a method of telling a story. The subject matter is personal, most often dealing with love, courtship, marriage or abandonment and the loss of love.

The poetic form is a quatrain, or four-line verse. In her research, Kim Bailey compared the verses to the romance form of Spain and Mexico. She described the form as quatrains of two octosyllabic couplets. There are two eight syllable couplets per quatrain, however many examples sound more like two longer phrases that are rhyming couplets. Isidro Manglona of Rota, took only one breath and held only two notes in each verse. Other singers, possibly due to their age, breathed three times in one verse. Examining the lyrics, rhyme scheme and melodic contour help determine the general form.

The rhyme schemes are not always consistent. Occasionally lines one and three rhyme, but in almost every case, lines two and four rhyme. Other rhyme schemes include all four lines rhyming (AAAA), alternating rhymes (ABAB) or AABA form. These are not common patterns however, and the lines could be construed as not four, but two lines that rhyme rhyming couplets. Musically, this could be true, as the melodic line would indicate two musical statements rather than four.

Examining the melodic structure reveals a strong Spanish influence. Much of Spanish folk music is in the Phrygian scale or mode, rather than the major minor scales which are the standard scale structures of Western European art music.

The Spanish Phrygian scale employs half steps between the tonic note and the second, between the fifth and sixth degrees of the scale and the sixth and seventh degrees. This is an

incorporation of the Arabic modal system introduced to Spain by the Moors.[9] Some listeners, unfamiliar with Spanish folk music have mistakenly thought that the Chamorro singer was singing "out of tune". It is well to remember that music of other cultures do not have the same musical structure as Western European art music. Another Moorish influence in Spanish music is the use of vocal ornamentation, embellishment, melisma, slides and other performance practices. These techniques were also audible in the singing style of some of the older recorded Chamorro singers.

Example 2. Vocal ornamentation and the flattened sixth degree of the scale can be heard at the end of the phrase in the Chamorrita "*Dingu I Kumpanirå-mu*" sung by Isidro Manglona.

Referring back to Arago's account, he stated that the Chamorros sang *boleros* and some *seguidillas*. These two musical forms are from the fandango family of music from Spain. As a dance, the fandango was a courtship dance which may have Moorish origins. As a vocal form, (*cante*) *fandangos* were serious (*soleareas*), intermediate (*fandango*), or light (*alegrias* and *bulerias*). The fandango was sung in *coplas*, or couplets, and were in the Phrygian mode. The subject matter was improvised and was satirical, religious or romantic. [10] *Bulerias* were also improvised in three or four eight syllable verses in the Phyrigian mode.[11] In the Chamorro culture, the term fandango is the name for the party the night before a wedding. The use of the term is a strong linguistic clue that the Chamorrita is closely tied to Spanish folk music. All of these musical similarities point to the close ties between the Spanish flamenco style and Chamorritas.

The German occupation of Rota was quite brief. Their musical influence is much more evident in the marching dances found in other areas of Micronesia, especially the Marshall Islands where the dance is called *leep*, and in Palau where it is called *matumatong*. However, Georg Fritz, the District Captain in Saipan, was very interested in Chamorro culture. In a letter to his parents in 1902, Georg Fritz recounted dancing and singing at a wedding on Rota. The dancing including a Scottish polka and the waltz was accompanied by a concertina and violin. He also mentioned German songs that were sung at every mass. In his *The*

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[9] Manuel, Peter 1986. Evolution and Structure in Flamenco Harmony. *Columbia University Libraries*. current.musicology.42.manuel.46-57.pdf. Accessed 2 February 2021.

[10] Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopedia. "Fandango". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Invalid Date. Accessed 11 February 2021.

[11] *Flamenco One*. "Bulería."

Chamorro A History and Ethnography of the Mariana Islands [12] he discussed the Chamorro love of music and observed that at every feast there was music, singing and dancing. He noted that at fandangos while the people were eating an orchestra which included a violin, accordion, guitar and triangle and perhaps an organ performed. After eating, the dancing started. He noted that the dances were all European, including polkas, mazurkas, *contre* dances and the Spanish fandango, danced by the wedding couple.

In reference to vocal music, he wrote down the lyrics to a song which he thought was the only remaining Chamorro song. The words are very similar to the existing Chamorritas of the 20th Century. He thought he had heard the same song in South America. This is again evidence of the Spanish influence on Chamorro music.

Referring back to children's music, the Chamorro game "Esta Bala Para" has exactly the same game instructions as a German children's game "Die Goldene Bruck" which is still played in Germany. There is a similar game in Colombia called "El puente esta quebrado". The English version is "London Bridge".

Example 3. "Esta Bala Para" sung by Ana Songao Inos

Strong musical influence is evident from the Japanese era. "Hotaru No Hikari" was very popular in Japan in the 1930's and is still sung today. It is an interesting example of cross cultural musical transmission because it was introduced to Japan from Scotland in 1881. The scale is pentatonic, the same as much Japanese music which made it easily adaptable to Japanese music. You may recognize the tune as "Auld Lang Syne".

Example 4. "Hotaru No Hikari" sung by Rainaldo Manglona

Some songs maintained the Japanese melody, but new Chamorro lyrics were given to them. An example is "Floris Rosa".

Example: 5. "Floris Rosa" sung by Isidro Manglona.

Many other Japanese folk songs were taught to Rotanese school children including hiking songs, humorous songs, war songs, and traditional story songs. Mr. Albert Toves sang several of these.

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[12] Fritz p. 47.

Ex. 6. "Moshi Moshi Kameyo" sung by Albert Toves.

He also recalled other songs that allude to being homesick for Japan.

When World War II ended, and Americans brought their influence to the Mariana Islands, they brought their folk and popular music with them. An example of an American folk song with new Chamorro lyrics is "Palasyon Riku" which is sung to the tune of "The Old Folks at Home"

Example 7. "Palasyon Riku" sung by Rainaldo Mangloña

Since that time, many popular melodies have been given lyrics in Chamorro, either as translations of the original lyrics, or new words "Si Nana Gi Familia" sung by Johnny Sablan used the tune of "How Much Is that Doggie In the Window?" a popular 1950's song. With new words, it was a dedication to mothers. You can still hear it sung on You Tube![13]

As with other aspects of tradition, music changes with the influences of other cultures, borrowing melody, harmony, instruments, lyrics and form and adapting it to the current music of the culture.

Zoom Recording

[13] "Johnny Sablan Si Nana Gi Familia." *YouTube*.

Michael studied ethnomusicology at the University of Washington and did her fieldwork in The Gambia, West Africa where she worked for the Oral History and Antiquities Division of the government. Her focus of study was the Mandinka balafon, resulting in the publication of her book The Mandinka Balafon An Introduction with Notation for Teaching. She moved to Rota in 1986, and since then published The Ramayana, as told by Lynne Jessup, and Memories and Music: The Japanese Era on Rota.

The Matua's Song

A Musico-Linguistic Approach to Decolonizing Chamorro Music History

By Michael Clement, Sr.

Abstract: *Having been the first Pacific Island that Magellan set foot on in 1521, and being the only island stopover for the Manila Galleons, Guam has benefitted from early documented impressions of its ancient music. Spanish colonization/ missionization began in 1668. One pre-contact ceremonial song was observed and was notated by the Jesuits. It's pre-Chamorro origins have remained unknown until now. When played on indigenous instruments, the melody gives a general Indonesian feeling. The lyrics are in the Chamorro language. Ethnomusicology articles on Java and Sumatran music customs give some relevant word meanings. Further research into Indonesian verb formations revealed one word that connects Chamorro and Indonesian betel nut traditions; it confirms the ceremonial nature of the Chamorro song and connects the Chamorro song to Indonesian origins, c. 700-1000 CE. This conclusion is supported by current Chamorro DNA results and migration, the archeology of the Chamorro latte stone, Indonesian rice, Chamorro linguistics, herbal medicine and ancient social custom. It provides a factual basis for ancient Chamorro music history and for further research in authentic music and dance.*

Zoom Recording

Presenter biography not submitted for publication.

Refaluwasch and Chamorro Children's Songs

Music of Resilience, Adaptation, and Identity

By Melanie Hangca
Northern Marianas Humanities Council

Abstract: *The importance of an indigenous musical oeuvre in shaping cultural identity is undisputed. However, an informed understanding of our musical history is hampered by both a dearth of surviving pre-war music and by the devastating effects of colonial influence. Researchers have tried to address this problem by preserving what history endures. Much work has been devoted to documenting local music. We lack representation in formal education, both at home and abroad. We also lack public awareness of indigenous stylistic markers. I conducted interviews, obtaining chants, songs, their lyrics, translations to analyze and transcribe, limiting scope to WWII-era children's songs. I created a multicultural music unit. I found that much music employs adapted melodies, 18th century western European choral tradition, and instruments. I also found that our unique indigenous musical contributions include, lyric improvisation, witty humor, syncopation over duple and triple meter. I presented my findings and shared the unit with various school districts across the country and locally. A second, general public online presentation was received positively, with over a thousand views in 2 days. Overall, I conclude that there is still much work to be done to bridge the knowledge gap about our cultural identity through our musical heritage.*

Zoom Recording

Melanie Hangca is a Music Educator who was born and raised on Saipan. She has a master's degree in Education from Lesley University in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Love for Performing Arts was instilled in her by her family and culture. Melanie promotes resilience and cultural identity through children's folk music and the indigenous language of the Chamorro and Refaluwasch people. Melanie began teaching in 2002. Currently she teaches General Music in Kent School District, Washington.

5th Marianas History Conference

Day 8: Friday, February 26

Panel: WWII Imprisonments

Camp Chulu

From Tragedy to Triumph

By Don Farrell
Historian

Abstract: *Tinian was captured from Japan by US forces in July 1944. Of the 17,000 Japanese and Koreans who had been living in Tinian in 1943, 11,500 were put in "protective custody." A Civil Patrol established by the 18th Naval Construction Battalion was responsible for their immediate care during the invasion. The refugees were in shock, half-naked, thirsty, starving and infected with a variety of diseases after surviving six weeks of air and naval bombardment. Camp Chulu was officially established on July 30, 1944, in the pre-war farming village of Chulu. The Seabees continued to improve the camp with many of the refugees helping, while Military Government Civil Affairs personnel oversaw all phases of camp development and operations. The civilians were repatriatriated by July 1946 in healthy condition, including the many infants born in the camp. Supported by original documents from Seabee, US Marine Corps, and US Military Government Civil Affairs files, this essay tells the story of the Camp's evolution from a barbed-wire stockade with Marine Corps guards to a self-sustaining civilian community with an internal economy and an elected government. It is a story of a tragedy of war transformed into a triumph of human resilience, through good will and common sense.*

King then ordered Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, Commander-in-Chief, Pacific Ocean Areas, to provide for the welfare of civilians living in areas captured by the United States Navy during the forthcoming Central Pacific Campaign. Nimitz subsequently established a command structure to accomplish that task. Among the first positions created by Nimitz was "Atoll or Island Commander." The island commander would be responsible for implementing every task order detailed in his island's base-development plan, within the priorities assigned to each task, as assigned by Commander, Forward Areas, Vice Adm. John Hoover. To assure the system worked, King *requested* a bi-weekly report from Nimitz on each Atoll and Island Command.

In April 1944, Admiral Nimitz called planners to Pearl Harbor to prepare for the proposed June 15 invasion of the Marianas. Major General James Underhill, USMC, was named Tinian Island Commander. Underhill, Deputy Commander 4th Marine Division, was an obvious choice as he was already scheduled for the invasions of both Saipan and Tinian. After capturing Saipan and Tinian, General Underhill would assume the position of Island

Commander, Tinian. Then, while "mopping up" the hundreds of Japanese soldiers and sailors left hiding in the caves, he would be responsible for providing minimum "humanitarian relief" to whatever civilians survived the battle. Underhill's primary responsibility, however, was to ensure the timely completion of B-29 bases, as identified in the Tinian Base Development Plan. The war was not over for either the refugees or American military.

General Underhill would work most closely with Captain Paul J. Halloran, Officer-in-Charge, 6th Naval Construction Brigade. As a veteran combat engineer, Halloran was selected for the difficult task of turning a small island in the western Pacific into the largest airbase in the world. It is worth noting that the Seabees accomplished this miracle of construction and demonstrated the compassion to take care of thousands of stranded civilians friend or foe at the same time.

Captain Halloran, USN, knew the Seabee organization as well as any. He selected the 18th Naval Construction Battalion to provide the men for what he called the Tinian Civil Patrol, perhaps because its commanding officer, Commander L. E. Tull, had served with honor during WWI and then built churches in South Africa until returning to active duty in 1942 (Historical Data of 18th USN Construction Battalion on Tinian, Mariana Islands, as of 1 May 1945. Seabee Archives; *Odyssey of the 18th Naval Construction Battalion*. San Francisco, CA.: Chwabachier-Frey Co., 1946; Richard, Dorothy E., Lieutenant Commander, USN., *United States Naval Administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands*. Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, 1957, p. 533, Vol. 1.).

It should be noted that the British-American Combined Chiefs had also established a policy that "only minimum economic relief would be necessary for the rehabilitation of occupied and liberated territories during the period of military operations." In the opinion of the Combined Chiefs, it was not the Army's task to provide a more generous standard of assistance (Millett, *Army Service Forces*, p. 71.).

The Marianas campaign was divided into a northern attack force and a southern attack force. The first included Saipan and Tinian, the second was solely Guam. Civilians on Guam would be treated differently from those on Saipan and Tinian, because as soon as Guam was recaptured, it would automatically return to its prewar political status as a US Territory, with the entire island considered Naval Station Guam. The prewar US Naval Administration of Guam would resume. Saipan and Tinian, however, would become "captured enemy territory" with an unknown international political future. Saipan was different from Tinian, because there were no Chamorros or Carolinians on Tinian at the time of its capture only Japanese and Koreans. Okinawans constituted about 60-70 percent of the Japanese population.

Koreans formed a significant, but much smaller, percentage of the total and would be treated as persons of a country expected to become independent after the war.

Unlike Guam, which had been under US Navy rule since 1899, the Northern Mariana Islands had been under civilian administration during both the German and Japanese eras, except for a short interlude with the Imperial Japanese Navy between 1914 and 1921. The Oriental Development Company (Tōyō Takushoku), a quasi-government economic development authority, invested heavily in the development of a sugar industry in the Northern Mariana Islands. It had become very successful, drawing a large workforce and private investors from Japan (especially Okinawa), Korea, and even Guam. The annual sugar harvest festival, held in December, filled all the hotels on Tinian. As of April 15, 1944, there were 16,029 civilians on Tinian. Of those, 1,658 were evacuated from Tinian before the invasion, leaving 14,371 in the path of the American invasion forces. When repatriation began in February 1946, there were 12,031 civilians in Camp Chulu. The remaining 2,000 had committed suicide or died of disease or wounds (Astroth, Alexander. *Mass Suicides on Saipan and Tinian, 1944: An Examination of the Civilian Deaths in Historical Context*. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 2019, p. 30-43, 164-65; Peattie, Mark R. *Nan'yo: The Rise and Fall of the Japanese in Micronesia, 1885-1945*. Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 1988, p. 124.).

The prosperity of Tinian came tumbling down on February 22, 1944. Fighter aircraft and dive bombers from Admiral Mark Mitscher's fast carrier task force aircraft came swooping in, destroying the sugar and alcohol factories, the communications station, any ships in the harbor, the Japanese airfield at Hagoi, and "targets of opportunity." Within two days, the people of Tinian lost their livelihoods and their friends, family lay dead in the streets (collateral damage), and they had lost communication with the outside world. The very rich and the very poor suddenly discovered the true meaning of equality. Then came nearly four months of hot days and dark nights preparing for the inevitable invasion. When it came, it arrived with a vengeance fast and hard. There was more strafing and bombing, and then giant shells from battleship guns. The people on Tinian suffered through five more weeks of air and naval bombardment during the capture of Saipan, before the Marines crossed the channel.

On Jig-Day Tinian, July 24, 1944, the 2nd and 4th Marine Divisions stormed ashore at *Unai Babui* (White 1) and *Unai Chulu* (White 2). Landing with them were the combat elements of the 18th and 121st Naval Construction Battalions, as Marines. No civilians were encountered at the beachhead. The 18th Naval Construction Battalion civil patrol landed on July 28 just as a typhoon was setting in. They discovered 300 civilians being held in "protective custody" by a Marine Corps military police unit at what would become 100th Street and 8th Avenue,

just north of the prewar farming village of Chulu. (This village has been referred to in many WWII books as Churo, after the Japanese pronunciation. Herein, it is referred to as Chulu, as it had been named by the indigenous Chamorros.) The Chulu Village area was chosen because it had undamaged concrete water cisterns standing among the old farm houses and the rubble of the village center. These could be cleaned and chlorinated for water storage when the chlorine arrived. Some of the damaged houses could be covered with tarps to at least keep the refugees out of the rain and sun. Lieutenants Johnson and Pekarsky of the 18th NCB civilian patrol then assembled two collapsible 3,000-gallon storage tanks they had managed to "procure" on Saipan. The Seabees salvaged some wood-burning stoves, tin dishes, cooking pots, some old clothing, and a small stash of food in the rubble of Hagoi Airfield and East Hagoi Village to feed and clothe the civilians. The stockade was finally established just down 8th Avenue at 96th Street. Initially, it was only a one-mile-square of sugarcane, dozed flat, and enclosed with a barbed wire fence.

It is hard to imagine what went through the minds of the civilians as they walked or were hauled in trucks to Camp Chulu. They were literally dead-tired, filthy, hungry, and thirsty. Hundreds of dead Japanese military and civilians lay rotting on the ground, along with dead cows, pigs, and goats. Their once peaceful Pacific paradise had been destroyed, along with everything they owned. They were surprised, perhaps even shocked, by the good treatment they received from the Seabees (who were still in Marine Corps uniforms at the time), and began to question the precepts they had been taught since childhood.

The biggest problem for the Marines and the Seabees was determining who was really a civilian and who was a Japanese soldier or sailor disguised in civilian clothes. The Marines established a detention center where each refugee was interrogated by a Japanese- or Korean-speaking civil-affairs officer. General Underhill made Company A, 1st Battalion, 29th Marines, responsible for operating the detention center where refugees were initially interviewed and entered into the record books. By regulation, the internees had to be delivered to Camp Chulu within twenty-four hours.

POWs were locked in a Marine stockade. Under Marine guard, they were forced to bury their dead countrymen. To prevent disease, in locations where large numbers of Japanese lay dead, the Seabees dug a trench with a bulldozer. The dead were then placed into the trench, dusted with DDT, and covered with dirt.

Civilian refugees were catalogued by ethnicity and asked about their professional backgrounds. Nurses were needed at the dispensary.

The 18th Seabees, naturally, were the first to request workers from the camp. Electricians and mechanics were needed to help build their own camp. Working with the Seabees, they helped find damaged Japanese water trucks and flat beds, eventually providing eleven functional vehicles for work at Camp Chulu. At the same time, they salvaged anything else that might be needed in the camp until such time as the standard issue supplies arrived. All workers were paid a nominal hourly wage by the Navy.

By July 29, the number of civilians in custody had risen to 900. Using the one cargo truck and one recon vehicle that had been landed, the Seabees began moving the refugees from surrender sites to the camp area. Others constructed ninety tarpaulin shelters and provided the refugees with adequate drinking water and food. Salvage crews scrounged native grub hoes, rakes, pitchforks, cane knives, saws, hammers, shovels, and picks and stored them in a fenced off area within the camp. They built two latrines and a temporary dispensary for the stockade. Thanks to Halloran's foresight, they delivered the first drum of Hagoi purified water to the dispensary and hauled water to the camp with two salvaged tank trucks.

Col. William Capers James, USMC, the Deputy Chief Civil Affairs Officer (DCCA), arrived on Tinian from the battle for Saipan and was assigned to Island Command with three officers and two enlisted men from the 2nd Marine Division and three officers and one enlisted man from the 4th Marine Division. Jones' staff delivered sodium arsenate and diesel oil to the Camp Chulu stockade for sanitation and declared the civil-affairs office officially open. Thus, the Marine Corps took charge of Camp Chulu the Tinian refugee stockade.

The fly population on Tinian had grown exponentially since Jig Day. It was due to a variety of breeding grounds: spoiling enemy food stores, unburied or improperly buried dead animals, dead enemy bodies, manure piles, and military and civilian latrines. To alleviate the problem, the latrine pits at Camp Chulu, as with military camps, were burned with oil every day. Sodium arsenate was also sprayed into the latrines and nearby shrubbery.

The refugees knew the locations of caves where stocks of food and supplies had been hidden before the battle for Tinian began. At first, they were reluctant to work with the Americans. Then, one identified a cave but would not enter. Guessing that the cave might be booby trapped, Seabees carefully cleared the cave, then called out, "Come and get it!" They found sacks of rice and brown sugar and a variety of canned goods such as shrimp, squid, cherries, and some biscuits. These were hauled back to Camp Chulu to be cooked and rationed by the refugees themselves. Some might call this indoctrination teaching them to be democratic. It

didn't matter to the Seabees. They were grossly understaffed, and it helped them get the job done.

To encourage refugees to remember the location of more food supplies, the Seabees decided to allow them to keep whatever each could carry away "on his person" at the end of the day; the rest went into the general stockpile for distribution. Unfortunately, this privilege led to a hefty supply of volunteers to search for food and few for the other jobs at hand. The practice was discontinued.

Roaming livestock cattle, goats, and some hogs were also a problem for the sanitation teams. Some had become collateral damage during the fighting and left to rot. Others had been shot at night by skittish guards and left to rot. Attempts to corral the feral animals failed.

General Underhill established Tinian Island Command Headquarters on July 30, Jig-Day plus 6, two days before the battle for Tinian ended. All Japanese prisoners of war who had been captured up to that point were moved to Saipan. The 4th Marine Division civil-affairs team arrived with Underhill, bringing to Camp Chulu four language officers, two medical corps officers, six civil-affairs officers, two storekeepers, one yeoman, four hospital corpsmen, and one driver along with one jeep, three trucks, food, tarpaulins, and other supplies (Richard, *Naval Administration*, vol. 1, p. 535.).

Island Command reported daily on the number of internees available for working parties the next day. Units that requested work parties from Camp Chulu had to provide their own guards and assume responsibility for safeguarding and feeding the internees while away from the Camp. All the while, the 18th Naval Construction Battalion utilized a specially trained patrol to search for more refugees. Japanese and Korean labor bosses were appointed to help process the workers.

Camp Chulu was divided into one section for the Japanese and another for the Koreans. A wise move, since the Koreans had a tendency to get even with Japanese who might have mistreated them before the battle.

Nine camp kitchens were constructed by Japanese refugees for their use, while the Koreans built three kitchens for themselves. Some refugees proved to be highly talented tinsmiths, and manufactured cooking utensils that could not be scrounged.

By August 1, 1944, the day Tinian was declared secure, some 1,590 civilians had been hauled to Camp Chulu. There were 3,291 by the 2nd and 7,664 by the 3rd. There was no way the detention center could process those kinds of numbers in one day. Only a fraction of the pre-designated equipment for the care of refugees had arrived on Tinian. While the Japanese experienced kind treatment from the Americans, they felt sick about their friends and family members who had committed suicide (H. F. Mertens, CCM, Seabee Overseas Correspondent, attached to the 50th Naval Construction Battalion, 6th Naval Construction Brigade, filed on March 15, 1945; War Diaries, Report on Garrison Forces, Tinian, Phase 1, Fold 3.).

Fortunately, the Seabees and their refugee helpers discovered that some crops planted in the Chulu area before the invasion could be salvaged and new crops planted. General Underhill quickly approved this activity.

Captain Halloran created a hand-written list of thirteen items that needed attention at Camp Chulu. Underhill cut back extensively on Halloran's wish list. He directed Halloran to "fix up whatever latrines they could for the civilians, which will not necessarily be exactly as desired." Underhill wrote, "Note: This whole place is temporary. Decision to make location permanent cannot be made as yet. First work must be towards enabling operations to be performed in probably crude conditions to be improved as possible later."

The island medical officer advised Underhill that, "the number of man-days lost due to dengue will be impressive (if something is not done to stop it). An average of 946 treatments per day have been administered to the camp dispensaries, of which there are two, one for Japanese and one for Koreans. There have been 142 deaths in the camp, and fifty-six in the hospital, mostly from gunshot wounds, tetanus, malnutrition, dysentery, pneumonia and gas gangrene." The lack of medical attention for the civilians was an "embarrassment to the combat troops, and the Garrison Forces," he wrote.

A dispensary was landed and set up on August 4 and began to take patients on August 8. Twenty-two volunteer girls (all but one Japanese) were brought from Civil Affairs to act as helpers on the wards. They arrived fresh from the stockade; their only possessions were the clothes they were wearing. Two tents were erected for these volunteers, with a cot and blanket for each a lot more than they had in the caves. A screened bathing place was erected for them. They eventually received donated clothing from the Red Cross. In spite of the conditions, they did their work cheerfully and well. Most were interested in learning to speak English and in finding out about America and the American way of doing things. A plan was set in place to begin a nursing school (Seabee Archives, Box 47, File 5.).

Meanwhile, the dispensary was gradually expanded to 300 beds to care for 1,635 civilian patients (Richard, *Naval Administration*, p. 537; Military Government Field Report No. 57, "Excerpts from Medical Report, Tinian, 10 August to 31 August 1944", October, 1944, Navy Department Chief of Naval Operations Central Division, Military Government Section, Washington 25, D.C.).

By August 5, the Seabees had salvaged enough lumber and tin to complete fifteen shelters a day, each large enough for eighty civilians at ten sq. ft. per person. By the 8th, the Seabees had established a chain of command within Camp Chulu that incorporated civilian labor sort of with separate division leaders for construction, sheet-metal work, sanitation, signage, water, food salvage, and truck salvage.

As early as August 10, the 18th Seabees had begun repairing a salvaged Japanese electrical plant. They fixed it and installed sufficient lines to give light to civil affairs headquarters and the hospital. They eventually generated and distributed electricity to the entire camp all from salvaged Japanese materials. At that time, working civilians were receiving twenty-six ounces of food per day; those not working received nineteen ounces of mostly captured food stores. There was enough water to allot everyone two gallons per day for bathing.

As a result of the progressive actions taken by both the Seabees and the Marines at Camp Chulu, the military government was able to begin collecting fresh fruits and vegetables (pumpkins, cucumbers, eggplants, gourds, taro, leeks, and papayas) from island gardens by August 24. There wasn't much of it, but it was healthy and the product of their own hands with help from Seabees and Marines.

On August 21, Underhill directed James to appoint a board to consider many issues concerning the civilians: housing, supervision, instruction, and "whether the population should farm for the military government as hired labor or be allowed the use of land on which to raise crops for sale and their own consumption . . . establishment of business for those capable of farming, what to do with all the orphans (Box 22, Series I, Subseries S, Seabee Archives; 1240/JLU-djm, Serial no. 269-44.)."

According to the board, about 10,600 civilians were living in Camp Chulu. The report noted that the majority of the population was "composed of peoples of a lower social caste than the homeland (*naichi*) Japanese" . . . who looked down on the Okinawans and Koreans as racially inferior. The Okinawans had been brought to the island for their farming abilities. Although the Okinawans recognized their second-class role on pre-war Tinian; they, in turn, looked down on the Koreans as being of a lesser race.

Among the board recommendations was the total re-establishment of civil government at Camp Chulu, altered to fit present conditions on the island. Employment of the civilians should be left with the Japanese and Korean officials, under the supervision of the military government. Similarly, the rehabilitation of agriculture should be left in the hands of the Japanese and Korean farm laborers. Supplying seeds and additional tools should be given consideration. Because the civilian workers would be paid, management wanted to tax their income "to defray the expenses of the local government and public services among the civilian population." The board wanted to expand the camp over a wider area to enable vegetable and melon farming. This would allow the women and older children to work on the farms. Surplus crops beyond the needs of the civil population should be sold to the military. The fishing industry should be promoted as a possible supplement source for both civilian and military diets. Fishing boats and gear could be provided to fishermen to be paid for out of the proceeds of their catches. The board also noted that a significant number of Japanese, both military and civilian, still remained at large on the island.

The board further recommended that the native (meaning Japanese) medical profession be re-established, with emphasis upon preventative medicine, and that the Japanese or Korean doctors should function on a public health basis and be paid a salary. Further, it was recommended that the Koreans be permitted to carry on their own schooling using the Korean language.

Under command of Underhill, Camp Chulu was officially established on August 31, 1944, thirty days after the island had been declared secure. Of the 10,639 civilians counted then, 8,278 were Japanese (mostly Okinawans), 2,357 Koreans, and four Chinese. Half were children under fifteen, and about half of those had been orphaned by the invasion. Many orphans had already been adopted.

Seabees laid out a permanent camp plan that increased the camp area to 1,350 acres (including agricultural lots). Utilizing refugee labor, 190 buildings were erected 135 for Japanese and Okinawans and 55 for Koreans with 80 people to a building. Rising from the ashes of war, a farming village was growing, nurtured by American military personnel (Richard, *Naval Administration*, p. 536-537.).

Among the first orders signed by General Underhill, Captain Halloran was authorized to build a true hospital for the civilians in Camp Chulu. Working with the refugees themselves, the Seabees had the first framed hospital tents erected by September 1, including surgical, dental, and laboratory facilities.

The labor regulations for Camp Chulu were published and posted in all languages in the camp on September 2:

> Every able-bodied man over 16 years of age will report at his labor office daily at 0545 for muster; All workmen will stay together and in close formation while going to and coming from work and whenever going in a body; All workmen who eat their noon meal at the labor kitchen in the civilian camp will remain within the labor kitchen compound until the guard in charge calls for his working party; Any workman who is sick will report that fact, in person, to his labor office; No worker will retain for his personal use any article of food, clothing, any tools, cooking utensil or any other useful article which he finds. Every such article will be turned over to the military guard immediately; No worker will leave his working party without permission from the guard; No workman will join or go out on a labor party until he has been check out by his labor officer; No workman will under any circumstances or in any manner pass any article over, through, or under the civilian stockade fence; The names of workmen who do not work while on the work detail will be reported to their respective labor offices; All workmen who ride on trucks must ride in the main body of the truck and shall not ride on the running boards, fenders, side boards, or tail gate of the vehicle; No workman will negotiate or deal with any member of the Armed Forces of the United States with respect to any properly, goods, or personal services. Workmen are prohibited from asking for and accepting any money, cigarettes, or any property or goods of any kind whatsoever (Richard, *Naval Administration*, p. 582-583.).

Seabee sanitation experts cleaned and chlorinated Japanese gas tanks to make them fit for water. Each held between 730 and 1,300 gallons. Huge flatbed trucks carried these tanks from the Hagoi water purification plant and back to Camp Chulu, emptying their loads into concrete cisterns outside of destroyed Japanese houses. These had also been freshly cleaned and chlorinated. Soon, the refugees were receiving a full seven gallons of water per person per day.

General Underhill established the Island Sanitation Section of the 6th Naval Construction Brigade on September 6, 1944. It consisted of forty-five Seabees and one-hundred Japanese laborers. There had been 104 deaths in Camp Chulu the previous month, seventy-nine of them children under the age of five. The most frequent causes were bronco-pneumonia, beriberi, marasmus, and bacillary dysentery. There were also forty births that month.

Children under the age of eight were given a full course of triple typhoid vaccine. Those over eight years old received a booster inoculation, while those showing no vaccination scar were vaccinated with cowpox vaccine. When it was discovered that nearly nine percent of the deaths in the camp were caused by tuberculosis, a program was instituted to test everyone in the camp for TB. A forty-two-bed tuberculosis ward was established at the hospital. A nursing school was established during the latter part of September to take advantage of the trained medical personnel found in Camp Chulu that included doctors, dentists, nurses, and nurses' aides. The infant mortality rate remained high. There were two reasons for this: ignorance and fear of separation. An effort was made to educate the parents and allay their fears of American doctors (Box 47, File 16, Navy Department, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, 27 October 1944; Seabee Archives.).

Interestingly, Lt. Commander Malcomb MacLean, USN, a senior civil-affairs officer from Headquarters, Tenth Army, inspected operations on Saipan for one week. He spent one day (September 17, 1944) on Tinian inspecting Camp Chulu and the Tinian military government Civil Affairs department. He found the situation on Saipan to be bad thousands of refugees, including Chamorros and Carolinians, surviving without adequate food, shelter, clothing, and medical attention.

On the other hand, MacLean noted that the Camp Chulu site was in pretty good condition, except that for the hard limestone substrate that made it very difficult to dig sufficient latrines. He noted that between thirty and forty percent of all civilians brought into the camp were sick. MacLean complimented Civil Affairs for the cooperative effort between Tinian Island Command and the Seabees. Most important, the civil-affairs personnel were able to put large numbers of civilian to work at garrison jobs: the 10,674 civilians in Camp Chulu had provided 44,546 man-days of labor for the combat and garrison forces in the month of August alone. Getting the laborers paid was a problem; and many had to wait, with some concern, to see if they actually would get paid for their labor. When paid, they used the money to buy goods at the camp trade store. The finance officer on Tinian had brought currency with him but could not get ashore for nine days because no one on his ship was willing to guard the currency (Military Government Civil Affairs files, report dated September 25.).

The Tinian military government began assigning civilians to police their own camp on September 20, 1944. By General Order No. 5-44, military guards would no longer provide surveillance over the civilians residing at Camp Chulu. The civilian police would provide their own internal security, with the exceptions of traffic control and protection of US Government property. The military police would continue to provide protection for Camp

Chulu from outside. The civilian police force would be responsible for enforcing all camp proclamations, orders, and regulations. Nonetheless, the civilian population was reminded to remain inside the fence unless escorted by military personnel. The civilian police would have no control over military personnel but would report violations to the appropriate military personnel (Tinian Military Government files, September 18, 1944.).

Because some Japanese were still causing problems within the camp, a separate area was set aside for "recalcitrant Japanese."

During the first ten days of indigenous police operations, there were fewer minor infractions of camp regulations, and civilian morale improved. A re-screening program produced twenty-seven Japanese and one Korean prisoner of war hiding among the civilians. They were delivered to the provost marshal for movement to Saipan (Richard *Naval Administration*, p. 558.).

The basic Camp Chulu rules were posted in Japanese and Korean. These were undoubtedly similar, if not identical, to camp rules elsewhere:

- Dwellings and the areas around them were to be kept clean and well policed; inspections would ensure cleanliness and neatness.
- Fires were to be made only in special area provided, not in or near any dwellings.
- Curfew was set from 9:30 P.M. to sunrise. All lights and fires must be extinguished during this period (except fires in *suijis* for cooking of breakfast).
- All persons had to remain in their dwellings during the curfew, except for going to the latrine or in emergencies, and quiet had to be maintained.
- Building materials had to remain within the camp.
- Food and water could not be wasted.
- All persons had to respect the personal, martial, and property rights of the others.
- All acts were forbidden which tended to disturb the peace and good order (Richard, *Naval Administration*, p. 558-559.).

Sanitation work was gradually being turned over to selected civilian workers, under supervision of the Medical Department. In addition to sanitation improvements, other areas were looking better as well:

- Children under three years of age were receiving milk three times per day.
- Brick stoves fired with diesel fuel had been constructed.
- Farming was steadily improving. Some 36,500 pounds of onions, rape leaf, eggplant, squash, melons, and beans had been harvested in September from about 110 cultivated acres.

- The trade store was nearing completion; and blacksmith, tin, bicycle, barber, and shoe-repair shops were operating.
- Some 2,530 civilians were working seven days per week, eight hours per day.
- About 1,830 Japanese boys and 410 Korean boys were enrolled in the scouting program.
- Sixty-nine shelters had been constructed in September, bringing the total to 157.
- Some sixty tons of rice, sugar, molasses, salt, shoyu, and miso were salvaged, primarily from the sugar mill.
- Twenty-five US officers and 282 enlisted men were working at Camp Chulu (Advanced Base Summary, Sept. 30, 1944, Field Liaison and Records, Base Maintenance, Box 24).

Food Production the Foreign Economic Administration

President Roosevelt had established the Foreign Economic Administration (FEA) on September 25, 1943, to relieve friction between US agencies operating abroad. Commander W. P. Thomas, USNR, was directed to conduct a survey of Saipan, Tinian, and Guam to determine if large-scale farming was a realistic possibility as a food supply for the civilians and military personnel in the Marianas. The project would be overseen by the Foreign Economic Agency. Mr. Ashley C. Browne, FEA Representative, was directed to work with Commander Thomas. Beginning on October 3, 1944, they inspected conditions on all three islands, interviewing Japanese, Okinawans, and Koreans on Tinian. Their report indicated that favorable results were possible.

Commander Thomas and Mr. Brown determined that Tinian "offers by far the most favorable conditions for large scale vegetable growing. The island is relatively flat and the lands reasonably smooth." They reminded higher command that during the Japanese administration, 18,000 acres of Tinian had been under production. To return to that level of production, some 150 US personnel would be needed, along with civilian labor. Also, all wild cattle, hogs, and goats would have to be rounded up. The job fell to the 18th Naval Construction Battalion (NCBR-6, Box 5, Seabee Archives).

Although the FEA had established a priority for the cultivation of 3,000 acres of Tinian's rich soil, progress was very slow. Twenty-three Seabees who had experience in agriculture were identified and sent to Tinian with the advance party to establish these farms. Shortly after, the FEA team arrived on Tinian. They identified Marpo Valley for their major farming effort. This would be supervised by FEA representative Harold E. Pearson. The Seabees assigned to support the FEA project were managed by Chief Petty Officer Curtis J. Spalding. Japanese laborers (probably Okinawans) were set to work cutting the sugarcane that covered the area and hauling it away in trucks borrowed from the Navy and Marine Corps driven by FEA personnel, of course.

Because fish were needed to increase the protein diet of both the civilian refugees and the troops on the ground, a study of potential fishing operations was conducted. Before the war, some 100 Japanese — primarily Okinawans — were engaged in commercial fishing. Fifteen longline fishermen caught some 50 tons of fish per year.

At General Underhill's direction, another board of officers convened to study the question of where best to build farms for Camp Chulu. They had met on October 3rd — the day the federal FEA inspectors had inspected Tinian — and reported their conclusions to Underhill on October 7th. The result was a list of pre-invasion village homes in the Chulu Village area that were still standing and needed only moderate repairs. Once the rubble was cleared and the cisterns cleaned, a group of workers could feed themselves from their own gardens, with some assistance from the Seabees.

Admiral Hoover recommended increasing the priority for food production and establishing large-scale vegetable farms on Saipan, Tinian, and Guam. Tinian farms would encompass up to 5,200 acres. Servicemen and civilians alike wanted fresh vegetables. If the FEA would manage it and provide all the basic supplies, why not? With Admiral Hoover's signature, it was a go. It would become, perhaps, the best non-military military operation of the Pacific War!

An FEA representative on Tinian began working with refugees gathering pineapple plants from around old farmhouses and then replanting them in fresh soil on Pena Plateau. With proper watering, they soon produced suckers which were, themselves, planted. The new generation of plants produced excellent, sweet pineapples. With 10,000 plants in the ground, the pineapple farm became profitable for the refugees, who had formed an agricultural cooperative, and was also very much enjoyed by the troops (F. P. Organ Y1c, USNR, Oversees Correspondent.).

Only three FEA representatives had arrived on Tinian. Of the twenty-five Seabees that had been requested, none had been loaned officially to FEA. Thus far, only 175 acres had been cleared, and fewer than 100 acres were planted. However, from these few acres, 14,350 pounds of fresh vegetables had been collected. The total civilian population at this time was 11,132, so Hoover recommended that the project receive a higher priority rating.

Civil-affairs personnel were encouraging development of private businesses within Camp Chulu. Thirty-six business licenses had been issued by August 31, 1944, and fourteen

privately owned shops were in operation. This is only one month after the island was declared secure.

On the medical front, the nursing program at Camp Chulu was being pushed forward by Lt. William G. Payne (MC), USN. He submitted a formal prospectus and curriculum for a civilian nurses training school at Tinian on October 31, 1944. Although graduates from this school would eventually be repatriated to their home countries, the war was expected to last another year or so. Training these civilian nurses would provide a needed medical workforce for the refugees until the end of the war. And, at least, they would go home with a good indoctrination in American medicine.

The incidents of communicable diseases dropped significantly. About 1,700 students were attending the first eight grades. Approximately 550 Boy Scouts were attending voluntary classes in English, arithmetic, natural science, and geography.

Apparently, Admiral Hoover's remonstrations proved fruitful, literally. On November 4, 1944, FEA field operations began on Tinian, though with very little manpower. The 135th NCB was directed to provide all gasoline, oil, and other supplies required by the FEA as well as to house and feed the FEA detachment. However, the FEA did not supply a meaningful workforce until May 1945.

The Tinian fishing fleet employed two Higgins Boats converted for offshore fishing. The Japanese built two small sailboats for inshore fishing, with the markings "Military Government" stenciled in eight-inch letters along the side.

Admiral Nimitz, Military Governor of the Mariana Islands, set the civilian wage scales to be implemented on all three islands, effective December 1.

Mess boys, orderlies, office boys, runners, scullery maids, and others in similar occupations, male or female, under eighteen (18) years of age	$.25 per day
Common female labor	$.25 to $.35 per day
Common male labor	$.35 per day
Skilled labor, skilled clerks, teachers, policemen, firemen, nurses, artificers, assistant administrative department heads, labor foremen	$.50 per day

Master technicians, foreman-interpreters of labor details, head clerks, administrative department heads, interpreters, head nurses, and managers of civilian enterprises	$20 per month
Doctors, dentists, and administrative personnel as approved by the Deputy Chief Civil Affairs Officer	$20 to $30 per month

These funds were payable in Hawaiian Series US currency and regular US coins. No discrimination in conditions of employment was permitted.

> Island Command reminded all agencies taking advantage of the civilian labor force that they should be treated in accordance with American standards in a firm but fair manner. "Japanese civilian workers are enemy nationals, but they are NOT prisoners of war and should not be referred to as such. Koreans shall be regarded as citizens of a nation to be restored to sovereignty in due course. All civilians are working on a voluntary basis and are paid for their labor. The work day was set at 0700 to 1600 [7:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M.], with all labor groups returned to their camp prior to 1630 [4:30 P.M.] daily. All labor shall be requested and used on a seven-day-a-week basis.

They were to get 15-minute breaks, morning and afternoon, with a one-hour lunch break.

Each Seabee battalion supply officer was responsible for requisitioning civilian labor from the civilian labor office located at military government headquarters. The battalion would have to furnish transportation for the personnel to and from the Civilian Labor Office.

Change of Command

With B-29s scheduled to land on Tinian shortly, the 4th Division back in Maui, and the last of the 2nd Marine Division preparing to leave, a change of command was in order. Major General Underhill had achieved his primary goal: North Field was ready to receive Superfortresses, on time. He was relieved as Island Commander on November 28, 1944, and reassigned as deputy commander of Fleet Marine Force, Pacific.

Maj. Gen. Underhill, USMC, was replaced by Brig. Gen. Frederick von Harten Kimble, USAAF, effective January 10, 1945. Kimble would report to Admiral Hoover, as had Underhill. Colonel H. S. Fuller, USAAF, relieved Colonel James, USMC, as Deputy Island

Commander. Because good standards had been set by Underhill and James, not much change took place in the management of Camp Chulu under Kimble and Fuller (Richard, *Naval Administration*, p. 539.).

On December 2, the Seabees provided shelter to some 300 Korean Christians so that their new minister, Chaplain Benjamin L. Davis, a lieutenant from the 67th NCB and former pastor of the First Baptist Church of Springfield, Missouri, could hold services. His sermons were translated from English to Japanese by a Japanese internee, then from Japanese into Korean by a Korean internee.

As promised, Admiral Hoover increased the priority for vegetable production on December 19:

> The Island Commanders are directed to render such assistance to the farming project as will insure the earliest practicable accomplishment of the objectives, namely the supply of fresh produce to the garrison forces. It is desired that you: Charge the Class I island distributing organization with the responsibility of picking up and distribution of produce and render monthly reports to ComFwdArea [Admiral Hoover] and to FEA of the quantities picked up and distributed; Designate a Navy Disbursing Officer to pay for the native civilian labor and charge same to Pay, Subsistence and Transportation; Until such time as the military personnel supplies for this project are able to function as a separate military unit, assign these personnel to an appropriate organization for housekeeping, feeding, and military control; Designate a service unit to supply FEA with gas, oil and other supplies as needed.

In view of the importance of this project, as expressed by higher authority [Admiral King], ComFwdArea recommends the assignment of the FEA vegetable growing project and personnel to Island Commander, G-4 Section, in early stages of its development (NCBR-6, Box 5, Seabee Archives).

The 107th Seabees were called upon to build livestock facilities including corrals, animal shelters, water troughs, and slaughter accommodations with accompanying coolers, sterilizers, and a waste disposal system.

Admiral King took it upon himself to forward a request from Tinian to the appropriate officials to establish a permanent 200-bed hospital within Camp Chulu, implying his support. It was largely based on a report by the Tinian Island medical officer, Lt. William G. Paine, to

Island Commander Underhill, dated October 30, 1944. In it he had requested a 200-bed, Civil Affairs Hospital for Camp Chulu, with all the necessary equipment. He also recommended the establishment of a nursing school at the facility. Paine wrote:

> Every attempt should be made to establish a Nurses Training School on a firm basis, for it has much to contribute to the welfare of the civilian community. Students are being drawn from the upper case of Japanese who possess certain minimum education requirements. Such girls have been accustomed to a fairly high standard of living. It appears advisable to improve the living conditions of the nurses above the average for the civilian community and to provide certain other personal advantages in order to (1) make the profession of nursing attractive; (2) afford them some standing in the civilian community: and (3), offer them some recompense for the arduous labors involved. It is, therefore, recommended that the following be made available for staff and student nurses: (1) adequate living quarters; (2) lockers for stowage of personal gear; (3) bathing facilities, with piped water to nurses' living quarters; (4) toilet articles, mess gear, clothing or the materials for make clothes. It is recommended further that, under the present wage scale, nurses be compensated at the following rate: (1) Chief Nurse: 50 cents per day; (2) Assistant Chief Nurse: 40 cents per day; (3) Staff Nurses: 35 cents per day.

Paine reminded General Kimble of the services provided by these young ladies shortly after Camp Chulu began organizing. Paine stated:

> The volunteer nurses were given quarters and subsisted on the hospital grounds. Two shifts of twelve hours each were set up and the nurses assigned to wards. The nurses were given identifying badges showing their name, number and the ward to which they were assigned. Two tents were erected for the nurses and each girl was provided with an issued blanket and a cot of a canvas litter raised off the ground. Shoes and clothing in limited amounts were secured for them through civil affairs and the Red Cross. They proved very ingenious in making their own clothes from scrap materials, such as making skirts from the pieced together bottoms of trousers cut off to make shorts. Under clothes were even made from mosquito net remnants. It was difficult to supply them with soap, tooth brushes and paste and toweling. Even a few needles and a spool of thread were supplied with difficulty. In spite of a lack of supplies, limited facilities and necessary crowding their standard of personal cleanliness and neatness remain high and they kept their quarters in a ship-shape manner.

> Their diet was limited to the hospital fare of rice three times a day supplemented with dried fish or vegetables and occasional fresh vegetables.
>
> There has been no feeling of hostility or animosity expressed by either war or action between the staff and the volunteer nurses. They seem to treat the war and its effect upon civilians as some great calamity of nature, to be endured in silence and without protest (Navy Department, Office of the Chief of Naval Operation, Washington, 25, D.C., Serial no. 0247813, 21 December 1944, Navy Civil Affairs).

The term "civil affairs" was discontinued on December 28 and replaced with "military government." "The Island Commander will be hereafter referred to as the 'Chief Military Government Officer,' when referring to his powers regarding the civilian population, and the Deputy Chief Civil Affairs Officer, now referred to as the 'Deputy Chief Military Government Officer' (NCBR-6, Box 7, Seabee Archives)."

As of December 31, 1944, there were 11,255 civilians in Camp Chulu. Their lives had greatly improved since August 1, largely due to their own initiative, when given proper support. Over 9,000 lbs. of fresh vegetables were issued daily to supplement their diets. The amount of miso produced and ready for issue reached 21,370 pounds. During December, the Japanese Community Chest Fund received $644.60 in contributions and disbursed $436.90; the Korean Community Chest fund received $118.74 and disbursed $41.60; and 1,533 items of Red Cross clothing and 1,413 items of reconditioned clothing were received. The new dispensary was opened on December 31, greatly improving facilities for the care of ambulatory patients. From the wages many were receiving, the civilians in Camp Chulu had a lot more disposable income on hand. The Chulu Tinsmith Shop had opened, along with the Nakabayashi Novelty Shop and the Keikawa Furniture Makers. Life for the civilian population of Tinian was, indeed, improving.

Eleven Japanese civilians were provided to the combat forces to act as scouts (the 16th, 17th, and 18th Marine Defense Battalions were still on island). They made eleven sorties and aided in the capture of twenty-nine additional civilians. The Korean Christians celebrated Christmas with special services. Forty-six old Chulu village houses were decked and ready to be occupied by camp inhabitants. That was a pretty good Christmas present.

Once again, the civilians living in Camp Chulu must have been amazed to see a massive fleet surrounding Tinian and, indeed, the southern Marianas. The fleet was preparing for the

invasion of Iwo Jima, spearheaded by the 3rd, 4th, and 5th Marine Divisions, on February 19, 1945.

An inspector general visited Tinian at the end of February and reported that "Japanese police have maintained order among their own people, and uncovered Japanese soldiers masquerading as civilians. The Korean police have also functioned effectively." He noted that FEA does not intend to take over trading activities on the island. It has "loaned" tools and given seeds and advice to the military government. Japanese property rights are not recognized. "80% of the employable men and women on Saipan and Tinian are employed, and there are growing needs for more workers."

Admiral Towers sent Captain W. L. Painter, CEC, USNR, to study projects on Tinian. He reported that he visited the civilian camp area March 25, 1945:

> The project for permanent-type facilities was discussed with the Commanding Officer. The administrative area of the Military Government and the hospital for the civilians had been completed. No work has been undertaken on the permanent camp. The civilians are now living in a congested area and shelter consists of facilities improved from salvaged lumber and sheet metal. A camp with a capacity of approximately 11,000 civilians is proposed. It is proposed to construct row houses on a basis of 30 square feet per civilian. This is the minimum permitted by the Geneva Conference. In this discussion it was disclosed that the development of this camp can be undertaken with native labor, utilizing a limited number of construction forces personnel for supervision. It will be necessary for Island construction forces to do the heavy grading and pre-cut some lumber necessary for these houses. The island Commander indicted that some of the material now arriving on the Island is to be allocated for this project. It is considered desirable that work be initiated on this camp at an early date with a view of completing it, if practicable, before the rainy season sets in. The health and sanitary conditions here have, up to this time, been very good. The Commanding Officer advised that the limited area is creating a problem in connection with pit latrines. It is not expected that this camp will be completed in its entirety before the rainy season set in and the rate at which construction can proceed is necessarily limited by the availability of material and the capacity of native labor. It is not considered that this project justified the retention of construction labor for the accomplishment (NCBR-6, Box 2, Seabee Archives).

Admiral Nimitz continued to show a personal interest in the farm project. He explained why in a March 30, 1945, memo to Admiral Hoover. Early in the war, it became apparent that forces in the field could do a great deal to supplement the ration of fresh food in their diets. For that reason, he enlisted the support of the Foreign Economic Administration. Nimitz said the effort at Guadalcanal, with more than a thousand acres under cultivation, encourage him to promote similar programs in the Marianas. However, it has been brought to his attention that:

> . . . acts of depredation and pilferage represented a real threat to the success of the program. The program is designed to provide fresh foods for all garrison forces, as well as to our wounded comrades in the hospitals in the Marianas, and it would be a keen disappointment if its abandonment were forced by the inability or unwillingness of individual members of the armed forces to use plain everyday common sense. The Commander in Chief, US Pacific Fleet and Pacific Ocean Areas, therefore, calls on every individual officer and man to support in every way this program by assisting to his utmost in the protection of this vital source of supply of fresh produce.

Nimitz had this message posted on the bulletin board of each unit of their respective commands (NCBR-6, Box 7, Seabee Archives).

At the end of March 1945, the civilians in Camp Chulu watched another huge fleet heading north from the Marianas. This time they were headed to Okinawa, home to many in Camp Chulu. No doubt, after the invasion began and newspapers arrived on Tinian, at least a few must have made their way into Camp Chulu. The Okinawan community in the camp now knew that their home island was under siege and that their families there were in danger.

On July 1, 1945, Navy Captain Sydney B. Dodds became commanding officer of the military government unit on Tinian. On the first anniversary of the invasion of Tinian, July 24, 1945, the military government became a self-contained admirative unit. The development of the refugee camp on Tinian had reached unexpected heights. By then, thirty-eight private businesses had been created and were in operation within Camp Chulu, employing 477 workers. Miso and shoyu factories were organized as Asiatic Food Products, Ltd. The company was managed by Japanese and employed thirty men and ten women. Some output was sold in the camp store, but most was used in the camp kitchens. Haircuts were a nickel, children's trousers were a dime, and dresses thirty cents.

Only one year after coming out of the jungle in serious mental and physical condition, the refugees had created their own internal political network. Each unit of 80 people constituted a *han* which had a chosen leader. On July 26, 1945, they participated in the very first Tinian election. The winners constituted a Japanese council of ten and a Korean council of four. Each councilman then voted for a camp president who helped make camp decisions. The camp leaders effectively managed the camp, working with the Tinian Military Government. A great deal of the credit for this achievement goes to the members of the original 18th NCB civil patrol unit that helped bring the refugees out of the jungle and served as *de facto* ambassadors to the Japanese and Korean communities of Tinian, while helping them build a safe and sanitary place to survive the war.

As of August 1, 1945, seventy-two families had been moved out of the original Camp Chulu area and into nearby, small farm tracts averaging four acres each, just as they had before the war. Seventy-eight farms totaling 332 acres had been assigned. These employed 237 farmers. The livestock population included 242 cows, 165 goats, and 269 pigs. Tinian fishermen caught 50,916 pounds of fish, mostly bonito.

News of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki ran wild on Tinian, as it did around the world. Once again, stateside newspapers arrived on Tinian and undoubtedly made their way into Camp Chulu. Then, Emperor Hirohito's August 15, 1945, announcement of his decision to accept unconditional surrender was played on loudspeakers across the island. Japanese civilians heard the "Voice of the Crane" for the first time. The war was almost over.

Japan signed the surrender documents in Tokyo Bay on September 2 and undoubtedly newspapers with photographs of the event made their way to Camp Chulu. Repatriation of all refugees was guaranteed by the document, but could not begin immediately. First, the American POWs had to be brought home wounded first or shipped to stateside hospitals for rehabilitation. Next in priority was food for the starving Japanese so they could begin rebuilding their lives. As soon as Allied POWs had been recovered from their prison camps and shipped home, it was time to send home the civilian refugees. By February 28, 1946, 5,234 civilians on Tinian had been repatriated, including all the Koreans. By the end of March, there were only 1,676 Japanese remaining, mostly Okinawans. Of those, 815 Okinawans wanted to remain on Tinian. (Box 48, File 1, US Naval Military Government Unit, Tinian, Marianas Islands, 3 April 1946.)

The temporary shelters at the original camp had been razed by April 7. The remaining civilians were housed in two areas: a Celotex (insulated foam boards)-type housing in the Chulu Village area. The Okinawans who had been living on Tinian for at least 10 years had

elected to remain and take up their original profession on the island farming. The US Commercial Corporation (USCC) was planning to take over the trade goods business, furnishing such things as soap, cloth, and shoes. Their major project, still in planning, was a commercial farm in Marpo Valley. All livestock was transferred to the USCC on May 1, 1946. The pigs were slaughtered for food.

School was closed on June 12, 1946. The Okinawans' request to remain on Tinian had been denied. On June 21-22, all Military Government food supplies were loaded aboard the repatriation ship. The Trade Store had its final sale, and the remaining goods were distributed to share-holders as profits. Finally, all Okinawans remaining on Tinian were shipped home whether they wanted to go or not.

Camp Chulu had been born amongst the wreckage of war-torn Tinian during the first week of August 1944. At the time, its inhabitants were sick or in shock, with nothing but rags on their backs. Many died during the first few weeks. Fortunately, the Seabees assigned to house and feed these refugees actually did care about their welfare. All effort was made to provide them with a clean and safe habitat, despite wartime conditions. The Seabees built medical facilities, schools for the children, and jobs for those willing to work. The Military Government, Civil Affairs Division, gave the refugees an opportunity to participate in camp management, and they did. They held free and open elections, created a camp government to oversee business development within the camp, and cooperative farms outside the camp to provide healthy food for themselves and the military personnel on Tinian. Churches were opened. Boy Scout organizations were developed. Orphans were adopted. Marriages were celebrated. Babies were born.

When they boarded the repatriation ship, virtually all had new clothes on their backs and a few nickels in their pockets. When they arrived home, they told the story of their life in Camp Chulu and how they had been treated by the American military personnel on Tinian. Not only had the United States won the war against Japan, but it had also won the hearts and minds of thousands of men and women who had called America their enemy. Every year, descendants of the Camp Chulu residents return to Tinian from Okinawa with the Micronesian Repatriation Association. And every year they remember their triumph over the tragedy of war in Camp Chulu, Tinian.

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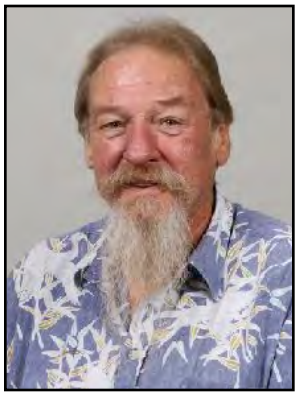
Zoom Recording



Don A. Farrell came to Guam from California as a teacher in 1977. He taught at Inalåhan Junior High and John F. Kennedy High School. Three years later, in 1980, he switched careers to become a public relations officer for the Guam Legislature. He was the chief of staff to the Speaker of the Guam Legislature, Carl Gutierrez, from 1982 to 1986. He also became a Mariana Islands historian publishing several books about the islands. He most recently published a textbook on Marianas History from ancient times through the Spanish era and is currently working on another book, "The Tinian Atomic Bomb Files: Declassified." Farrell moved to Tinian in 1987 where he continues to do historical research, write and teach.

Panel: From Militarism To Tourism

Colonial Narratives

Military Secrets During the Occupation of Guam

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Abstract: *It's oft-repeated that the military remains neutral from politics, but in Marianas history, transparency was never a priority. The armed forces were unaccountable to the Chamoru people whose land they occupied. The author intends to submit a paper covering the secrecy of the military throughout 20th-century Guam history to address such issues. The topic of the paper is a challenge to prevailing pro-military historiography surrounding Guam's history. Despite a strong consensus among Marianas scholars that the political machinations of the military were conducted forcefully and without the approval of the Chamoru people, this understanding has not been fully translated into primary school curriculums due to flaws in the American educational system. Indigenous voices remain esoteric compared to an over-glorified portrayal of the United States military in simplified narratives. The paper aims to shed light on the unreliability of many military sources in the retelling of the history of the Marianas. To do so, the author compares military sources (primarily naval) with indigenous testimonies, civilian recordings, statistical findings, and scientific papers. The contradictions that arise from examining Guam's history from different angles will be examined at length to reveal the truth about military arrogance during the decades long occupation of Guam.*

> *"In Guåhan, there is no blank slate. One always begins with the presumption that the military is a key factor in whatever one is doing."*
>
> – Robert A. Underwood
> University of Guam President Emeritus

American imperialist ambitions have not waned since the War of Independence toppled Britain's monarchy in 1781. Since the war's start, the domestic settlement of the contiguous United States took a little more than a century to achieve. In that 114-year-period (1776-1890), Native Americans were subjugated and relegated to reservations on the least hospitable lands available. Chinese immigrants, who toiled to build the Central Pacific railroad through the Rocky Mountains, were excluded by an act of congress, the only cultural group in American history to be targeted in this manner. African Americans, once bonded in slavery, were freed, but even constitutional amendments were perverted to create social isolation, economic poverty, and political absence.

Domesticating contiguous America was a violent affair, yet somehow tempered in textbooks and popular literature by the guise of progressive Manifest Destiny: Americans were destined to civilize the 'uncivilized.' The architects of this century-long battle include nationalist presidents Andrew Jackson and James Polk, who envisioned a nation from "sea to shining sea." Once the infamous 7th Cavalry massacred old men, women, and children at Wounded Knee, South Dakota in 1890, there was no further Native American resistance. With no lands to acquire or people to conquer, the US government set its sights on opening China to American business; Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis included the Pacific islands and Asian continent (Zinn, 2001, 304-305).

Rudyard Kipling[1], British poet and emphatic supporter of British imperialism, exhorted the Americans to occupy — but with a grave caveat — the Philippine archipelago and Guam, the southernmost island of the Mariana Islands[2], a strategic roadstead at the crossroads of East and West. The American goal was to gain a toehold at the doorstep of Asia and, ironically, exact a commercial presence in China. To do that, war was declared on Spain, an empire in decline and severely weakened by revolution[3] and squander.

The six-month American involvement in the Spanish-American war ended with the Treaty of Paris in December 1898, and vaulted the United States into the fraternity of colonizers, joining the recently nationalized cabal of Germany, Italy, and Japan — the New Order. Of the 16 territories America owns now, five were inhabited and acquired[4] during a 58-year segregationist time following the landmark Supreme Court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). Jim Crow laws that defined southern states were extended to the territories, where vestiges of that segregationist policy remain today, rendering equal protection laws of the 15th Amendment to the US Constitution and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 moot.

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[1] In particular, Kipling espoused the idea of the 'white man's burden' — an idea that imperialism was justified because Europeans had a duty to introduce civilization to alleged 'savages.' In the future, the United States of America would heavily borrow from the British model of imperialism (Loewen, 2007).

[2] Although Guam and the Northern Mariana Islands were one at the time, the United States partitioned the Mariana Islands with Germany. Historian Don Farrell notes "there were neither military, economic, nor humanitarian reasons strong enough to compel America to acquire the Marianas in their entirety" (Farrell, 2019).

[3] The ongoing insurrection in Cuba gave the Americans a perfect *casus belli* to start and end the Spanish American war, especially when the USS *Maine*, a battleship on a goodwill mission docked at Havana, Cuba, was blown up after an accident: freeing Cuba from the oppressive Spanish monarchy (history.state.gov; theodorerooseveltcenter.org). President William McKinley's motivations were commercial, not humanitarian — The United States only intervened toward the near end of the Cuban insurrection (Zinn, 2001, 305).

[4] In order, the five unincorporated territories are Puerto Rico (1898), Guam (1898), American Samoa (1900), U.S. Virgin Islands (1917), and the Northern Mariana Islands (1946) (Immerwahr, 2019).

On January 1, 1899, the US Navy put Civil War veteran Captain Richard Phillips Leary in charge of managing Guam, a small 215-square-mile island transformed into a coaling station for America's burgeoning navy, despite the fact that coal had to be imported.

During the Jim Crow times of the early 20th century, the US Navy used authoritarian measures to control the island. In fact, the navy was given plenary powers by congress and the Supreme Court that held sway until 1962, a dozen years after the Organic Act of Guam (1950) granted limited US citizenship. Seventy years later, Guam remains a Pacific arsenal with limited democracy a tip of the spear of national defense but to understand the complicated relationship the island has had with the navy requires a critical examination of the navy's stewardship and its lack of accountability that has long compromised Guam and the region.

An Indifferent Regime

On June 20, 1898, the battleship USS *Charleston* captured Guam without firing a shot, and with the signing of the Treaty of Paris on December 10, 1898, Guam officially became an American territory (Platt, 2019). Far from the McKinley administration's rhetoric of liberating oppressed colonies, the Spanish American war started the fledgling American empire. For the CHamoru, Gov. Leary's excessive pomp must have made him indistinguishable from any former Spanish governor. "After he received his commission as the governor of Guam from [President] McKinley, Leary spent four months elaborately outfitting the *Yosemite* [Gov. Leary's ship]" (Rogers, 2011, 111).

Early into Gov. Leary's tenure, one marine recorded him proclaiming: "I have the law. I am supreme" (Clifford, 1916, 11). Gov. Leary disregarded any concern for existing CHamoru culture or customs, passing a series of restrictive general orders aimed at cementing naval control. General Order 4 declared "Public Celebrations of feast days of the patron saints of villages […] will not be permitted" because the governor was Protestant, not Catholic, while General Order 21 stated Carolinians were "hereby forbidden to appear in public in [the] customary nude condition or 'string-and-pouch' decoration" sought to enforce American cultural norms (Leary, 2009).

The navy pushed congress to assume absolute control over the island in order to ensure national security and, while doing so, fostered indifference and intolerance toward the indigenous culture. While "processes of Americanization were thus typically expressed as both charity and duty […] often their intentions were less than magnanimous" (Hattori, 2014).

Notably, the CHamoru language was forcibly banned from use, and children who spoke CHamoru in school were punished with physical force (Clement, 2011). The navy's health policies on Guam clashed heavily with traditional CHamoru medicine, resulting in a benign yet forceful cultural oppression by the navy instead of employing any diplomatic approach (Hattori, 2004).

As naval policies became more overbearing, the United States Supreme Court granted plenary powers to the US Navy through its interpretation of the notorious Insular Cases (1901-1904). The US Navy gained absolute authority, while classifying the island's political status as "anomalous," citing that neither the Constitution nor US laws extend to the people of Guam (Rogers, 2011, 119). Some legal experts argue the Insular Cases "are responsible for the establishment of a regime of *de facto* political apartheid"[5] (Torruella, 2007, 286).

Despite the navy's newfound congressional support, some historians argue the military's paternalistic contributions to Guam were positive. Spain was in a state of decline by the 19th century. Since the Mexican Revolution (1808-1821) severed ties between Spain and Mexico, Manila galleons stopped supplying Guam, which caused heightened poverty (Immerwahr, 2019, 67). A half-century later, American rulers were more intrusive, yet paradoxically more involved[6]. Still, the positive image of the military portrayed by some on Guam was partially artificial the navy did not allow a free press (and by extension, free speech) to exist on Guam (Brooks, 2019).

In reality, the navy was woefully inexperienced to administer Guam. The navy stumbled into educational affairs on Guam without qualified teachers. Moreover, the navy was not in the business of education. "In 1917, Governor Roy Smith distributed more in bounties for killing rats ($10,000) than he spent on education ($9,640)" (Underwood, 2009). Although the US Navy was required to send annual reports to congress, there was little congressional oversight. It came as a surprise to many CHamoru that at the height of the Great Depression,

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[5] Since the Insular Cases, CHamoru attempts to foster a closer relationship to the United States were systematically denied. The first notable petition for the removal of the military government in 1901 received 32 signatures (issuu.com). Successive petitions received increasing amounts of support: in 1933, a petition had nearly 2,000 signatures (Viernes, 2015). Despite the will of the people, very little about naval governance changed.

[6] In truth, the navy brought in industrialized technology for its own use, which is reflected in the placement of most of the navy's new facilities. As Laura Thompson later reflected in her autobiography, a traditional CHamoru village as Merizo was much "less disturbed by Naval Civil government regulations and other influences from the outside world than most […] of Guam" in closer proximity to naval facilities (Thompson, 1991, 81).

the navy built *mamposteria* schools to serve both CHamoru and American dependent students (Cunningham, 2019).

Laura Thompson, a social anthropologist invited to Guam in 1938 by Gov. George Alexander to assess the navy's handling of the public education system, was appalled at the lack of civil liberties extended to the CHamoru people.

For whatever reason, the Navy Department up to the time of Pearl Harbor appears never to have impressed on Congress the need to finance Guam's schooling more generously. The only Federal appropriation used was $15,000 appropriated for 'Care of Lepers' and compulsory schooling was made to apply only from 7 to 12 years of age, i.e. for five years' schooling." (Thompson, 1941, 222-223).

Thompson's observations were not well received by naval authorities on Guam and in Washington, DC. Once Thompson published *Guam and Its People* in 1941, she was banished from the island until her return in 1977 (Stephenson, 2015).

Ostensibly, the navy's authoritarian presence in Guam was to protect the island from attack, but the navy failed to deliver on its promise. As Japanese aggression increased throughout Asia, the US Navy removed all but one dependent from Guam during Operation Rainbow, yet never informed CHamoru of the change (Maga, 1988, 171). Guam became a sacrificial lamb[7] when Japan's 5,500-strong South Seas Detachment captured the island on December 10, 1941 (Ballendorf, 1984). US forces recaptured Guam in 1944, but only after a brutal two and a-half year Japanese occupation that witnessed forced labor, rape, and murder heinous crimes that still await justice (Higuchi, 2014).

Access Denied

In 1946, the United States created an unofficial empire in the Pacific, securing former Japanese island territories around Guam[8]. Military planners transformed Guam into a

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[7] Fearful of alleged militarization of Guam's neighboring islands under the auspices of the League of Nations Mandate C territory by the Imperial Japanese Army, the US congress authorized increased spending to bulk up Guam's garrison, but the Great Depression squashed any hopes of increased armaments (Maga, 1988, 94; Ballendorf, 1984, 85-86). In reality, no such militarization occurred (ibid).

[8] Asian nationalism in Korea, China, and Vietnam sparked a seismic shift in American national defense priorities. The vast North Pacific included Guam and the United States Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, which served as a physical barrier to the Soviets who acquired nuclear technology in 1949 (undocs.org)

regional fuel and supply depot[9], as well as a strategic forward air and sea base with nuclear capabilities. Construction of installations and housing, runways, and a live fire firing range will be completed by 2024 when the US Marines currently stationed in Okinawa return to Guam (Burke, 2019).

To shape the tip of the spear 70 years ago, congress authorized the military to simply confiscate land with little recompense from CHamoru under the constitutional premise of eminent domain. Today, almost one-third of all land on Guam belongs to the military, and "nearly all of it was CHamoru-owned land before the 1940s" (Rogers, 2011, 198). Outraged, CHamoru testified before the House Public Land Subcommittees in congress, arguing "that the market value determined for privately owned land in Guam was too low; and furthermore, that the tactics of the Navy's negotiators [were] intimidating" (Robillard, 1992, 46). In 1999, the 25th Guam Legislature passed the Guam Ancestral Lands Act, which reviewed eminent domain tactics, uncovering a disturbing pattern of military arrogance.

> The acquisition of land from a devastated population, confined in a closed system, totally controlled by the condemnor and subjected to regulations intended to prevent land prices from increasing until the United States Navy completed its acquisition of Guamanian lands for military purposes, causing less than fair market value to be paid to Guamanian land owners, who lacked access to impartial courts and were thus denied due process constituting duress (Forbes, 1999, 10-11).

For its part, the navy felt very little responsibility to civilian law. The US Navy Annual Report of 1946 to congress revealed the military's duplicity. "One senator asked if the CHamoru land had been taken legally and got this response from a Colonel Wilson: 'I wouldn't say legally, but everything is legal in times of war'" (Phillips, 2019).

To rapidly build bases on lands the Department of Defense acquired, licensed contractors recruited thousands of H-2 Filipino laborers in the Philippines between 1946 and 1950.

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[9] The US military created North Field in 1944, and established a sprawling naval base in Agat and Santa Rita; NCTAMS and Naval Air Station were built simultaneously. Fena Reservoir, one of the island's fresh water sources, became off-limits to civilians.

Filipino migrants were simply cheaper than CHamoru workers, and to convince Filipinos to migrate, contractors made promises they never intended to keep[10].

> The US-Philippines exchange of notes specified that Filipino workers were to be paid the current Philippine wage with an overseas differential and were to receive room, board, medical care, and round-trip transportation from the point of hire. Contractors would repeatedly violate these requirements in the years ahead […] This system saved the US military money and provided high profits to contractors (Rogers, 2011, 201).

While labor camps were built throughout Guam, the island's political atmosphere became charged. CHamoru were never content with their marginalized status, but after World War II, a socio-political movement for American citizenship and civilian rule threatened the military's status quo (Tolentino, 2010). The pre-war Guam Congress reconvened, but it was viewed as a token advisory board with no real power or influence (Rogers, 2011, 139). In 1949, Gov. Charles Pownall overrode the Guam Congress' arrest and subpoena to appear of Abe Goldstein, a federal civilian employee of the navy who opened a women's apparel shop, a violation of the navy's own laws. Frustrated, the Guam Congress chose to dramatically voice their opposition by walking out (Cogan, 2008, 132-142). Carlos Taitano called *Honolulu Advertiser* reporters, and soon the Guam Congress Walkout was front-page headlines (Babauta, 2019). Laura Thompson worked tirelessly behind the scenes at the Institute of Ethnic Affairs in Washington, DC to champion Guamanian civil rights, as well (Murphy, 2019b). Consequently[11], the United States Congress passed the Organic Act of 1950, which offered limited American citizenship and a civilian government for Guamanians managed by the Department of Interior in Washington, DC ("H.R. 7273" aka, Organic Act of Guam).

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[10] Once Filipino migrants made their way to Guam, they were heavily exploited for their labor, and conditions for Filipino laborers in the camps were often inhumane. "Some [Filipino migrants] were beaten, others threatened if they under-performed or talked back to superiors. The threat of repatriation loomed heavily over each laborer" (Campbell, 2009). Low wages, Spartan conditions, and restrictive movements were the norm for laborers.

[11] The aforementioned narrative is the popular history around the Organic Act but more cynical interpretations of the Organic Act's passage are equally credible. The timing of the Organic Act is suspect; the Soviet Union acquired nuclear weapons only one year before the passage of the Organic Act, and the Red Scare gripped the US as the House un-American Activities Committee gained strength, especially for perceived security issues (Tindall & Shi, 2004, 1272-1275; Hoover, 1947). In Guam, those who resisted eminent domain were accused of 'un-American' attitudes. Given the Cold War, it's more likely the Organic Act was a public relations ploy designed to acquire land for military bases without encountering popular resistance.

Since August 1, 1950, the Organic Act has defined the US-Guam relationship. The popular historical narrative is that the Organic Act corrected years of naval abuse on Guam and propelled the island into an era of modernity with the civilian-led Department of Interior as territorial overseer. In reality, the Organic Act was a sophist's dream an interim compromise. Carlos P. Taitano, the only CHamoru to witness Pres. Harry S. Truman sign the Act, described the document as only "the first step in Guam's political evolution," admitting "many problems of Guam were not resolved with [its] enactment" (Taitano, 2009).

CHamoru were brought into the American orbit, but the soul of democracy voting in national presidential elections or having a say in congress has been denied to this day. Without the power to vote in elections or send voting representatives to the House of Representatives, the Organic Act was simply nuanced political apartheid coupled with economic stagnation. Since 1950, a paradox remains: US citizenship was granted to Guam residents, but Guamanians have no say in their future, no self-determination a legacy of naval authority.

CHamoru Collateral Damage

The careless wording of the Organic Act created political loopholes that have been amended over and over throughout the next several generations[12]. Along with the Act came the Department of Interior, which administered to the social and economic welfare of Native Americans and territorial residents, but one presidential executive order superseded the new civilian agency: Executive Order 8683 (presidency.ucsb.edu). Amidst mounting tensions with Japan in 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8683, preventing people from entering or exiting Guam without a written permit from the navy through a navy security clearance (Quimby, 2019).

The security clearance was meant to be a wartime measure, but the navy continued enforcing the security clearance until 1962 for its own ends. In essence, the vast western and central Pacific north of the equator was restricted to international travel; it became America's unofficial, secret empire (Immerwahr, 2019, 159). Not only was the security clearance an egregious violation of CHamoru civil liberties[13], but also it was heavily detrimental to the

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[12] The complete history of the Guam Organic Act's transformation over the years is documented by compiler of laws, Charles Troutman. Notably, due process and equal protection are noted as key tenets in the Organic Act today, but Guam's geography was never challenged as being outside of the United States (Troutman, 2001).

[13] Theodero H. Ancog, a stowaway on an American ship who was charged with breaking security clearance regulations, challenged the security clearance in court. Because the navy had control of the courts on Guam at the time, the challenge was unsuccessful (*United States of America v. Theodero H. Ancog, 1961*).

development of Guam[14]. Historians on Guam estimate "the effects of the security clearance requirement haunted the Guam economy for the next twenty-five years" (Leon Guerrero, 2019). For the navy, presumed national security remained a priority over CHamoru needs.

In the Marshall Islands, an island group of the US Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, scientists converged on the Pacific Proving Grounds, a group of islands that served as nuclear bomb test sites. In 1946, the American government tested nuclear weapons over select islands in the Marshall Islands during 'Operation Crossroads' (Immerwahr, 2019, 249). After the tests, many of the test ships contaminated with radiation sailed to Apra Harbor, where they were cleaned by navy personnel and civilian workers. "Officials recognized that many targets would remain highly radioactive for a long time […] as nontarget support ships began to navigate the lagoon, they became contaminated with radioactivity below the water line" (nap.edu). Coincidentally, radioactivity levels on Guam became abnormally high, causing alarming rates of cancer and central nervous system disorders[15] (Bordallo, *et al*, 2015).

The military's relations with Guam took another turn for the worse when modern science uncovered soil samples containing the industrial chemical, Polychlorinated Biphenyl (PCB). On Cocos Island at the southern tip of Guam, the US Coast Guard operated a long-range navigation system (LORAN) from 1944 to 1963, but it was shut down soon after Executive Order 11045[16] went into effect (Cayanan, Rios, and Taitingfong, 2019).

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[14] The tourism industry, Guam's largest civilian economic sector today, could not be developed due to the security clearance. The lifting of the security clearance also made civilian investment possible, leading to a boom in Guam's economy in the 1970s and 80s (Salas, 2019).

[15] Eight years later, the Castle Bravo nuclear testing featured William Teller's new hydrogen bomb. Declassified information in 1986 reveals the navy knew that prevailing winds would carry hydrogen radiation over the inhabited atolls of Rongelap and Utirik. Scientists and doctors wanted to test the new radiation effects on people, animals, and ships (O'Rourke, 1986). Those involved in Castle Bravo admit the navy's calculated decision to put Pacific Islanders in harm's way "The natives were used as 'guinea pigs' because they lived in a 'controlled environment'" (Goldstein, 1986). Pacific Islanders unwittingly participated in naval nuclear experiments, but have been compensated through the Compacts of Free Association (2009-2017.state.gov).

[16] Executive Order 11045, signed by President John F. Kennedy, lifted the aforementioned security clearance from Guam, thus weakening the navy's power to enforce laws on Guam (presidency.uscb.edu). Mainstream credit for the passage of Executive Order 11045 is given to Governor Bill Daniel, but it's more likely that his main economic advisor Richard F. Taitano was the one to bring attention to the matter. According to historian Frank Quimby, who wrote both Gov. Daniels' and Mr. Taitano's biography, "Bill Daniel was very inexperienced with Guamanian affairs (Quimby, 2019). When it came to lobbying against the security clearance with the Washington establishment, Daniel was well-connected [… he] recruited Richard Flores Taitano, a young, dynamic leader from Guam, to head the Office of Territories in the Department of the Interior (ibid)."

> Soil tests on Cocos Island found PCB levels to be about 4,900 times higher than the federally recommended level […] a NOAA assessment team in 2016 said there's no mystery that PCBs came from electrical equipment used at the LORAN, such as transformers and capacitors, that were improperly discarded on Cocos Island and in Cocos Lagoon (Eugenio, 2019).

Scientists know exposure to PCBs causes cancer, but the military claims no responsibility for any harm it has caused. In its arrogance of ignorance, the US military had inadvertently exposed Guamanians to high levels of disease. To date, scientists do not know the levels of carcinogens contained in Guam's soils (nautilus.org).

Two years after the closing of the LORAN site, the US and Vietnam engaged in an unpopular war, which lasted until 1975. Andersen Air Force Base and Naval Air Station served as launching pads for US aircraft to conduct bombing raids over North Vietnam; Guam served as a pivotal refueling and supply depot. The US also stockpiled chemicals on Guam most notably Agent Orange and other Rainbow Herbicides, as they were known a violation of the Geneva Protocol signed by most of the world's nations in 1925 (Blakemore, 2017). Agent Orange contains the deadly chemical, dioxin, that has proven to cause cancer, birth defects and neurological disorders (history.com). "The Department of Defense denies Agent Orange was ever used outside of Vietnam and Thailand during the Vietnam War. However, veterans claim exposure to the toxic herbicide outside of these areas, including on Guam" (Kaur, 2018).

For years, American veterans challenged the Department of Defense cover-up, but in a white report assisted by the Jerome N. Frank Legal Services Organization of Yale Law School, it was found that government accounts, credible testimony, and scientific testing for traces of Agent Orange indicated "veterans who served in Guam from 1962-1975 were likely exposed to dioxin-containing herbicide agents, including Agent Orange" (Gilbert, 2020). Further studies by the Guam Environmental Protection Agency team of research specialists "has been denied access to on-base sites to conduct testing in recommended areas during the October 2019 soil sampling investigation" (guampdn.com).

In yet another military mishap and subsequent attempted cover-up[17], the nuclear-powered Los Angeles-class submarine, USS *San Francisco*, hit a submerged mountain on January 8,

[17] Recently, the aircraft carrier USS *Theodore Roosevelt* decided to dock on Guam without the consent of Guam's people to serve 4,000 troops while possibly contaminating Guam's 175,000 residents (Chute, 2020). Cruise ships have been unable to dock, but the navy can do so because of its massive political influence on the island despite the passage of the Organic Act (Holland, 2020).

2005, near Satawal, Yap while on a routine patrol, and limped back to its homeport in Guam. The navy claims the nuclear reactor was not damaged in a report revealed to the public on May 18, four months later (Drew, 2005). "The crew, most of them injured, one of them killed, fought for their lives to get the ship afloat. Someone messed up big time" (Stilwell, 2020). History has shown that human error is often fatal[18], especially if nuclear weapons or capabilities are involved.

Living the Legacy

Americans like to believe the *Pax Americana* of post-World War II is on-going. In the era after World War II, University of Chicago political scientist, George Kennan, argued the American peace would continue unabated, but there is doubt. The US is a superpower and enjoys unprecedented economic expansion. People from throughout the world covet US citizenship and education. Protecting all that is America is the US military, which has created peace as well as tense relations wherever it is deployed in the world. Challenging the American peace is the People's Republic of China, which boasts the world's largest population, military, and second largest economy. Since 2018, US-China relations have been strained; the trade war keeps escalating. "While [US Pres. Donald] Trump's use of tariffs is part of a larger protectionist strategy" (Zhou, 2019), China has been flexing its regional muscles with a sophisticated military and technology buildup (De Luce, 2020). US strategists are keeping a wary eye on Chinese activities in the South China Sea, Hong Kong, the Indian border, and its military buildup.

The line in the sand that is being drawn between the two nations is in the western Pacific, where Guam is located. For more than a decade, military planners envisioned a standoff between the two superpowers. In 2006, the US Pacific Command and the Guam Integrated Military Development Plan decided to transform Guam again in order to accommodate 8,000 marines from the III Marine Expeditionary Force stationed at Okinawan bases. "Two members of the Pentagon's Office of Economic Adjustment, a group that helps communities deal with military base closures and expansions'' convinced Guam policy-makers the local economy would benefit from the military overhaul and relocation (Weaver, 2006).

Guam's infrastructure is old and outdated, but that hasn't stopped military construction. New roads and underground telephony have already been built; the live fire firing range and

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[18] The military already has a history of error and endangering civilians on Guam. Recently, it was discovered that several military airmen infected with Covid-19 visited at least 30 businesses, violating quarantine measures in place, but "the military is refusing to provide necessary information to DPHSS [Guam Department of Health and Social Services] to determine whether or not [quarantine] protocol was followed" (O'Connor, 2020, 3).

Camp Blaz — the new marine base named after Guam Congressman Ben Blaz — is 65 percent complete.

> As many as 5,000 Marines from Okinawa and elsewhere will be transferred to a new base, Camp Blaz, as part of a larger realignment of U.S. military forces in the Asia-Pacific region. Joint Region Marianas said the Marine Corps still foresees commencing the relocation to Guam by the end of the first half of the 2020s (Kaur, 2020).

Construction at the northern tip of Guam has been an ongoing problem since pre-contact cultural burial sites have been uncovered, causing alarm in the archeological community. Ritidian, known locally as *Litekyan*, is a former CHamoru village containing burial sites and a window into pre-colonial CHamoru life. University of Guam archaeologist Mike Carson notes "the area was the site of a thriving CHamoru village that predates the arrival of the Spanish in 1521 by over 600 years" (Carson, 2019). More than 43 historic sites have been found at or near Camp Blaz, which has caused construction delays so local historic preservation officials can catalogue the ancient CHamoru remains (Kaur, 2020).

Furthermore, part of Ritidian serves endangered species in the 800-acre Guam National Wildlife Refuge, which manages endangered flora and fauna species, including sea turtles, protected fruit bats, and the flightless Guam rail, known as the *ko'ko* (fws.gov)[19]. Adjacent to the Refuge is the US Marines' live-fire firing range, which has caused widespread condemnation.

> Three hundred fifteen acres of land will be cleared for the development of the firing range complex, which will take up approximately 700 acres of federal land. Military officials have said the development will mean clearing 89 acres of native limestone forest and 110 acres of disturbed limestone forest within the Department of Defense footprint (Limtiaco, 2018).

Although the firing range is located at Northwest Field on Andersen Air Force Base, the activist group *Prutehi Litekyan*: Save Ritidian has held protests against the firing range for

[19] In total, there are five marine preserves on Guam: the Pati Point Preserve, the Tumon Bay Preserve, the Piti Bomb Holes Preserve, the Sasa Bay Preserve, and the Achang Reef Flat Preserve (guamvisitorsbureau.com).

several years[20] (Delano, 2018). A delicate balancing act between the US military and the local community has not been achieved.

The implications of the callous murder of George Floyd on May 25, 2020, in Minneapolis, Minnesota have yet to reach Guam's shores. Social, racial, and economic injustices have forced Americans to rethink what democracy and the American Dream mean, especially when the country is under siege from a severe public health pandemic and consequential economic depression. Today, at the start of the third decade of the 21st century 70 years following the passage of the Organic Act marginalized and vulnerable island residents still cannot vote for president, have a say in congress, or determine their future.

There's still a dissonance between the consensus of Pacific Scholars and Activists with the information available to the general Pacific. Perhaps the literature presented within this particular paper is largely if not exclusively familiar to an educated audience, but if so, its arguments still stand in stark contrast to the lighter, moderate tone adopted by the officials and press in public when dealing with American matters, a lingering consequence of naval censorship in historiography. The historical narrative that is present to the public differs widely from the intellectual dogma of today. And, of course, the US military continues to act with impunity with little to no oversight for its actions.

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[20] See Victoria Lola Leon Guerrero, *Lina'la: Portraits of Life at Litekyan* (Micronesian Area Research Center) for more information about the unspoiled beauty of Ritidian (Babauta, 2018).

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Operation New Life

Vietnamese Refugees and US Settler Militarism in Guam

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Abstract: *Drawing from archival research conducted at the Micronesian Area Research Center (MARC) and the Nieves M. Flores Memorial Library, as well as oral histories conducted between 2016-18, this presentation will detail the processing of Vietnamese refugees in Guam during Operation New Life. From April to November 1975, the US military in Guam processed over 112,000 refugees from Vietnam. I argue that the humanitarian rhetoric that newspapers and politicians used to describe Operation New Life in 1975 retroactively justified the US military's presence in Guam, and by extension, positioned Vietnamese refugees in a structurally antagonistic relationship to Chamorro decolonization struggles that challenge what Juliet Nebolon calls "settler militarism." In this presentation I will emphasize moments of cross-racial encounter and refugee refusal, highlighting the stories of Chamorros who played key roles during Operation New Life as well as Vietnamese refugees who expressed agency in the camps.*

Hi everyone! I am so excited to be here today. I am tuning in from Los Angeles, California, the traditional homelands of the Tongva/Gabrielino peoples. The title of my presentation today is "Operation New Life: Vietnamese Refugees and U.S. Settler Militarism in Guam." This research is very personal to me, as my mother and grandmother were Vietnamese refugees who were processed on Guam during Operation New Life.

On 5 April 1975, with the Fall of Saigon imminent, Chamorro Governor Ricardo J. Bordallo sent a telex to President Gerald R. Ford, asserting Guam's willingness to participate in the "highly commendable humanitarian act" of Operation Babylift and "assist you in the nation's effort to provide relief for the refugees and orphan children from South Vietnam."[1] Two weeks later, Guam was transformed from a U.S. military outpost for combating communism during America's War in Vietnam, to the first major U.S. processing center for South Vietnamese refugees displaced by that war.[2] Although an unincorporated territory on the

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[1] Micronesian Area Research Center (MARC) Working Papers #68, Inventory of the Paper of Governor Ricardo Jerome Bordallo, compiled by William L. Wuerch, Magdelar S. Taitano, Carmen F. Quintanilla, Darien R. Siguera, Box 31, "Correspondence: Operation New Life, 1975." Other secondary sources date the latter part of this telegram to March 27 or April 18, suggesting that this language was perhaps used on multiple occasions.

[2] Citing the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act, the Ford administration authorized the parole of some 150,000 Vietnamese in 1975. These "parolees" would remain nonresident aliens until legislation reclassified them as aliens admitted for permanent residence. See "After Action Report: Operations New Life/New Arrivals: U.S. Army Support to the Indochinese Refugee Program, 1 April 1975-1 June 1976," I-A-5.

seeming outskirts of U.S. empire, over the next eight months Guam played a central role in American evacuation efforts, processing over 112,000 refugees accepted for parole during what became known as Operation New Life: a name that starkly juxtaposes the co-constitutive forces of militarism and humanitarianism at play. While "Operation" recalls the very recent history U.S. military aggression in Vietnam — such as Operation Rolling Thunder and Operation Arc Light — "New Life" promised the rebirth of South Vietnamese refugees newly escaped from communist-unified Vietnam. Such a juxtaposition of terms also indexes the fact that the U.S.'s humanitarian mission of refugee resettlement was underwritten — indeed, made possible by — U.S. military occupation of Indigenous Chamorroland: a particular confluence of militarism and settler colonialism in Guam that is best described using Juliet Nebolon's term "settler militarism."[3]

This presentation is drawn from research from my larger book project, entitled *Archipelago of Resettlement: Vietnamese Refugee Settlers in Guam and Israel-Palestine*. This project theorizes what I call the refugee settler condition: the vexed positionality of refugee subjects, whose very condition of political legibility via asylum and citizenship is predicated on the unjust dispossession of an Indigenous population — in this case, Chamorros in Guam. My research on Operation New Life draws from archival research conducted at the Micronesian Area Research Center (MARC) at the University of Guam and the Nieves M. Flores Memorial Library in Hagåtña, as well as oral histories conducted between 2016-18. Overall, I argue that the humanitarian rhetoric that newspapers and politicians used to describe Operation New Life in 1975 retroactively justified settler militarism in Guam, and by extension, positioned Vietnamese refugees in a structurally antagonistic relationship to Chamorro decolonization struggles that opposed military settlement, irrespective of the refugees' intent.[4] Structural antagonisms are never totalizing, however. Attending to quotidian cross-racial encounters, this project also highlights moments of contingency and connection, echoing Catherine Lutz's assertion that empire and its discontents are "in the details."[5]

So let's dive into it. President Gerald R. Ford designated Admiral George Steve Morrison, the Commander-in-Chief Pacific Representative of Guam and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and Commander of U.S. Naval Forces Marianas (COMNAVMAR), as the Commander

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[3] Juliet Nebolon, "'Life Given Straight from the Heart': Settler Militarism, Biopolitics, and Public Health in Hawai`i during World War II," *American Quarterly* 69, no. 1 (March 2017): 25.

[4] Neda Atanasoski, *Humanitarian Violence: The U.S. Deployment of Diversity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013); Barbara J. Keys, *Reclaiming American Virtue: The Human Rights Revolution of the 1970*s (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014).

[5] Catherine Lutz, "Empire Is in the Details," *American Ethnologist* 33, no. 4 (November 2006): 593–94; see also Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents* (New York: Norton, 1961).

of Operation New Life.[6] The Pacific Command representatives in Guam initially calculated that a "maximum of 13,000 people could be sheltered for a short period in Guam," but on 15 May 1975 the number of refugees on the island awaiting transfer peaked at 50,430 — for context, that's an over fifty percent increase in the island's population at the time.[7] Roughly 15,000 Vietnamese refugees arrived by ship on May 7 alone, followed by another 15,000 on May 12.[8]

The U.S. military set up three main camps in Guam to house the refugees — "Tent City" at Orote Point (an abandoned World War II airstrip, which at its peak housed 39,331 refugees), Camp Asan at Asan Beach (a former hospital complex during the Vietnam War and the site of Filipino insurrectionists' incarceration during the Philippine-American War),[9] and "Tin City" at Andersen Air Force Base (a group of corrugated metal buildings) — as well as six smaller camps at different military sites across the island: the Naval Air Station, the Naval Communications Station in Barrigada, the Bachelors' Civilian Quarters in Apra Heights, the Naval Station gym, the Seabee Masdelco Sports Arena, and MINRON near Polaris Point. Private companies such as J & G Enterprises, Black Construction Co., Hawaiian Dredging Co., and the (recently closed) Tokyu Hotel also housed hundreds of refugees during the Operation's height.[10] During the peak months of May and June, over 15,0000 refugees were

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[6] James T. Hutcherson, "The Impact of the Vietnamese Refugees on the Guam Economy: Special Research Project Submitted as a Requirement of BA 690, Special Project," University of Guam, March 1976, MARC HV 640.5 V5 H8 c. 1, 40.

[7] Felix Moos and C. S. Morrison, "The Vietnamese Refugees at Our Doorstep: Political Ambiguity and Successful Improvisation," *Review of Policy Research* 1, no. 1 (August 1981): 33.; "One Year Later..." *Islander*, 30 May 1976, 4; "50,430 Evacuees On-Island," *Pacific Daily News* (hereafter *PDN*), 15 May 1975, 3.

[8] Pedro C. Sanchez, *Guahan/Guam: The History of Our Island* (Agana, Guam: Sanchez Publishing House, 1991), 380.; Jim Eggensperger, "15,000 Arrive Here Ragged and Dazed," *PDN*, 8 May 1975, 1; Jim Eggensperger, "Evacuee Capacity Reached With 15,000 Sea Arrivals," *PDN*, 13 May 1975, 1, 6.

[9] In his memoir, Trần Đình Trụ writes that Camp Asan was originally built "as a barracks for U.S. Marines waiting to embark on their tour of duty in Vietnam" and stresses the irony that "this same camp has become a temporary shelter for us, the Vietnamese repatriates." Although this information is not completely accurate Camp Asan was actually first built in 1947 to house the U.S. Navy Seabees who came to help reconstruct the island following World War II — the overall point is significant: there is indeed a sense of irony that military complexes that facilitated U.S. imperial aggression during the Vietnam War were then used to house Vietnamese refugees displaced by that same war. See Trần Đình Trụ, *Ship of Fate: Memoir of a Vietnamese Repatriate*, trans. Bac Hoai Tran and Jana K. Lipman (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 2017), 90; Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 252.

[10] "Where They Are," *PDN*, 28 April 1975, 4; "Tokyu Hotel on Guam Busy Again," *Hawaii Times*, April 29 1975; "One Year Later..." *Islander*, 30 May 1976, 6; "The Camp Sites," *PDN*, 19 July 2005, 6. The military leased the Tokyu Hotel. In contrast, the other three local construction companies were paid roughly $32 per week per refugee by the military, as well as promised reimbursement for any restoration or repairs necessitated by the housing of refugees. See Susan Guffey, "New Life Spends $1.7 Million Here," *PDN*, 21 May 1975, 1.

diverted to Wake Island, another unincorporated U.S. territory in the Pacific, due to overcrowding in Guam.[11]

Guam's history of settler militarism prefigured its role as the first major U.S. processing center for Vietnamese refugees. Guam's geographical proximity to Vietnam specifically, as the U.S.'s most westward territory, facilitated B-52 bombing raids during the Vietnam War, and then the transport of refugees to U.S. soil in 1975.

Media coverage represented Operation New Life as prompting a marked shift in the U.S. military's role in Guam from wartime aggression to humanitarian care. Newspapers praised the "tremendous compassion" of U.S. military personnel who worked long shifts — sometimes up to twenty-four hours — to shelter and feed the Vietnamese refugees.[12] In a May 10 article chronicling the efforts of the U.S. Construction Battalion (more commonly referred to as CBs or "Seabees") to hastily clear 500 acres of tangan-tangan trees to set up 3,200 tents, 191 wooden toilets, and 300 showers at Orote Point to house up to 50,000 incoming refugees, reporter Lyle Nelson notes the "Phoenix quality" of the operation, characterizing it as a "rebirth for [the Seabees'] efforts for the Vietnamese people and a symbolic windup to 13 years of sweat (and some blood)."[13] Likewise, *Pacific Daily News* (*PDN*) reporter Paul Miller wrote that "one of the many things in which Americans can take pride these days is the performance of our military in flying endangered thousands out of Vietnam and caring for them in hastily built staging areas such as the U.S. territory of Guam."[14]

Overall, these narratives of humanitarian rescue worked to morally justify the need for a U.S. military outpost in Guam: without it, the settler militarist logic went, the anti-communist refugees would have perished at the hands of communist aggressors. Indeed, the temporal impacts of these humanitarian narratives span both backwards and forwards, retroactively vindicating the post-World War II construction of U.S. military bases in Guam to combat communism during the Vietnam War, as well as proactively validating future military buildup projects, such as the current military plans to build a live firing range at Ritidian and transfer 5,000 Marines from Okinawa. Such settler militarist logic elided however, the role that the U.S. military had played in displacing Vietnamese refugees from their homes in the first

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[11] Jim Eggensperger, "Camps Here Almost Full: Some Arrivals Flown to Wake to Ease Local Crowding," *PDN*, 10 May 1975, 1, 3; "Operation New Life: Guam," Unpublished document, Nieves M. Flores Memorial Library, Guam, 1.

[12] Colonel John D. O'Donahue, quoted in SSG. Frank Madison, "'Compassion' Motivates Helpers," *Military Sun*, May 21 1975; "'Operation New Life': People Helping People," *Military Sun*, 21 May 1975.

[13] Lyle Nelson, "Seabees and Vietnam," *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, 10 May 1975; Sanchez, *Guahan/Guam*, 380.

[14] Paul Miller, "Guam Actions 'A Great Story': Vietnam Issue Won't Die Quickly," *PDN,* 10 May 1975, 35.

place, via aerial bombing campaigns, counterinsurgency plots, Agent Orange poisoning, and escalated tensions with North Vietnam.[15] It also interpolated the displaced Vietnamese as what I am calling refugee settlers, structurally at odds with concurrent Chamorro efforts to liberate Guam from military rule.[16]

The structural antagonisms that pitted Vietnamese refugees hosted by the U.S. military against Chamorro self-determination efforts to challenge that same military's settler control were constantly being negotiated however via quotidian cross-racial encounters. In truth, it is too simplistic to declare Operation New Life a unilateral settler militarist imposition. Many Guamanians, including native Chamorros, sympathized with the plight of the Vietnamese refugees and sought to help with the asylum efforts by volunteering in the refugee camps or donating toys and clothing to the new arrivals.[17] Indeed, as the telex that opened this presentation reveals, Governor Bordallo actually *volunteered* Guam as a staging site for refugee processing, weeks before President Ford demanded Guam's assistance. As a survivor of Japanese occupation during World War II, Bordallo knew first-hand the horrors of war and felt compelled to assist the refugees who had faced similar horrors. He also believed that helping the Vietnamese refugees would honor the memory of the Chamorro soldiers who had sacrificed their lives in Vietnam.[18]

During Operation New Life, barbed wire fences and strict security protocols prevented substantial interactions between Vietnamese refugees and the island's residents. However, some Chamorros still found opportunities to interact with the Vietnamese refugees. Chamorro public school bus drivers transported the refugees between the different bases and camps; public health nurses gave refugees vaccines, checked for sicknesses, and attended to pregnant Vietnamese women; and volunteers helped to feed the refugees.[19] Norman Sweet, senior coordinator with the Agency for International Development (AID) refugee task force, observed that the "hospitable" people of Guam "show genuine interest in the welfare" of the refugees.[20] Even President Ford commended Guamanians' "warm and outgoing response,"

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[15] Espiritu, *Body Counts*, 39.

[16] Joseph F. Ada, "The Quest for Commonwealth, The Quest for Change," in *Kinalamten Pulitikåt: Siñenten I Chamorro, Issues in Guam's Political Development: The Chamorro Perspective* (Agaña: Political Status and Education Coordinating Commission, 1996), 125–203; James Perez Viernes, "OPI-R: Organization of People for Indigenous Rights," accessed 3 Jul. 2020.

[17] Madison, "'Compassion' Motivates Helpers."

[18] Joaquin "Kin" Perez, Interview with author, University of Guam, 9 June 2016.

[19] Sanchez, *Guahan/Guam*, 380–81; Perez, Interview with Author.

[20] Norman Sweet, quoted in Dave Hendrick, "Guam's Refugee Role 'Pleases' Capital," *PDN*, 1 June 1975, 3.

upholding the island's residents as an "outstanding example to other Americans and the rest of the world in meeting an international emergency."[21]

In the rest of my presentation today, I'd like to highlight some of the roles that Chamorros played during Operation New Life. First, I'd like to highlight the story of Raymond T. Baza, a Chamorro Vietnam War veteran who met his wife, Lee Thi Baza, in Vietnam, where she served as a nurse for the South Vietnamese army. In April 1975, Raymond T. Baza was invited by Admiral Morrison to help organize volunteers and translators for the Operation.[22] Baza tapped into his network of about ten Chamorro veterans who had married Vietnamese women. When the first plane of refugees landed at Anderson Air Force Base, Baza and the volunteers logged names, directed refugees to the food and clothing stations, and made sure they got on the right bus headed for Camp Asan, Orote Point, or Tumon Heights. His wife, Lee Thi Baza, translated for the Vietnamese refugees, helped them exchange money, assuaged their fears about displacement, and explained the resettlement process.[23] During the height of Operation New Life, she worked twenty-four-hour days, attending to the non-stop planes of incoming refugees.

Over the course of their interactions, the Baza couple developed close relationships with the Vietnamese refugees. When a refugee died as many did, worn down by sickness, grief, or the stress of the voyage to Guam Raymond felt the loss personally, and would accompany the refugee's family to Guam's Naval cemetery for the burial. He also loved engaging with the children: "That thing when a small child comes to you and says thank you, it really touches me because they needed help and we helped them."[24] During Operation New Life, the Bazas sponsored six Vietnamese refugee children and serve as godparents for several others. Their actions were not uncommon: "When we asked local people, you know, if they can sponsor, help us out, they were welcoming the children. Some of them adopted children. They offered shelter, families in their home."[25] Overall, he said, Chamorros "really opened their arms and welcomed" the refugees during Operation New Life.[26]

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[21] MARC, Box 31, 15 May 1975.

[22] Raymond T. Baza, Interview with Nancy Bui, 12 May 2012, Guam, *Vietnamese in the Diaspora Digital Archive (ViDDA)*.

[23] Lee Thi Baza, Interview with author, Guam, 10 June 2018.

[24] Baza, Interview with Nancy Bui.

[25] Raymond G. Baza, Interview with author, Guam, 10 June 2018.

[26] Baza, Interview with Nancy Bui.

Monsignor David I. A. Quitugua, who passed away just last year, was another key figure during Operation New Life. In April 1975, Father Quitugua received orders from the archbishop and the United States Catholic Conference in Washington D.C. to set up a refugee resettlement office in Guam.[27] As someone who grew up in Talofofo, lived through Japanese occupation during World War II, and became the fifteenth Chamorro to be ordained in 1964, Father Quitugua was intimately familiar with the workings of the island. During Operation New Life he managed social workers, processed refugee documents, and coordinated with military officials.[28] Vietnamese refugees who wished to stay in Guam were referred to Father Quitugua, who tapped into his church network to find sponsorship and employment for the refugees so they could be released from the camps. Often Father Quitugua would sponsor the refugees himself. In an interview, he told me: "Sponsoring a family of refugees, I mean, it's a risk, because you are responsible for them, you know. But it's fine with me, as long as these people are out of the camp and can resettle in the place, then it's fine with me."[29] Overall, he remembered Operation New Life as "a great story" that he was "very happy to be a part of," and the Vietnamese refugees as "just so easy, they don't want trouble, all they want is peace, to have work, something to support their family, and that's it."[30] To him, Operation New Life brought "life to the people" not only Vietnamese refugees, but also Chamorros who participated in the process and "culture to the island": a cross-racial encounter facilitated by settler militarism in Guam.[31]

Rather than dismiss these Chamorro contributions to Operation New Life as examples of false consciousness a settler militarist appropriation of Chamorro humanitarian labor in order to further consolidate the military's hold over Guam I want to take seriously these Indigenous acts of hospitality, which undermine the structural antagonisms between refugees and natives that were erected by the refugee settler condition in Guam. Even though Chamorro decolonization activists remain critical of colonial settlers, which include refugee settlers, many Chamorros also recognized the plight of Vietnamese refugees in need of temporary asylum. Older Chamorros drew comparisons between the experiences of the Vietnamese refugees and their own World War II experiences under Japanese occupation, associating the communist regime in Vietnam with the imperial Japanese occupiers. In a slightly different vein, Jesus Quitugua Charfauros, a retired Chamorro Naval Radioman Chief

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[27] Monsignor David I. A. Quitugua, Interview with author, Ordot, Guam, 7 June 2016.

[28] "War Survivor: Monsignor David Ignacio Arceo Quitugua," *Guampedia*, accessed 8 Sept. 2019.

[29] Quitugua, Interview with author.

[30] Quitugua, Interview with author.

[31] Quitugua, Interview with author.

(RMC) who lived in Guam during Operation New Life, compared the Japanese occupiers to the U.S. military, given the military's role in incarcerating the refugees in camps.[32]

In sum, Chamorro resistance to settler militarism in Guam did not manifest as an outright rejection of Vietnamese refugees during Operation New Life. It is true that Chamorros' acts of hospitality towards the Vietnamese refugees risked symbolic appropriation by settler militarist rhetoric, which conflated hospitality towards the refugees with Chamorros' acquiescence to military occupation and land dispossession. Challenging this conflation, however, presents one solution to the structural antagonisms purported by the refugee settler condition in Guam. Only then can we fully appreciate Chamorros' acts of critical empathy during Operation New Life as expressions of sovereignty: a refusal to comply with settler militarist attempts to divide Indigenous subjects from refugees.

I'll end there. If you'd like to learn more, I am currently working on a podcast episode on Operation New Life that will be a part of the *Memoirs Pasifika* podcast hosted by Tony Azios, and my book, *Archipelago of Resettlement*, will hopefully be published sometime next year. Thanks so much everyone for listening!

Presentation slides on following page.

[32] Jesus Quitugua Charfauros, Conversation with author in response to author's presentation of parts of this research at the Militarism & Migration conference in San Diego, 22 April 2017.

Presentation Slides

Operation New Life: Vietnamese Refugees and U.S. Settler Militarism in Guam

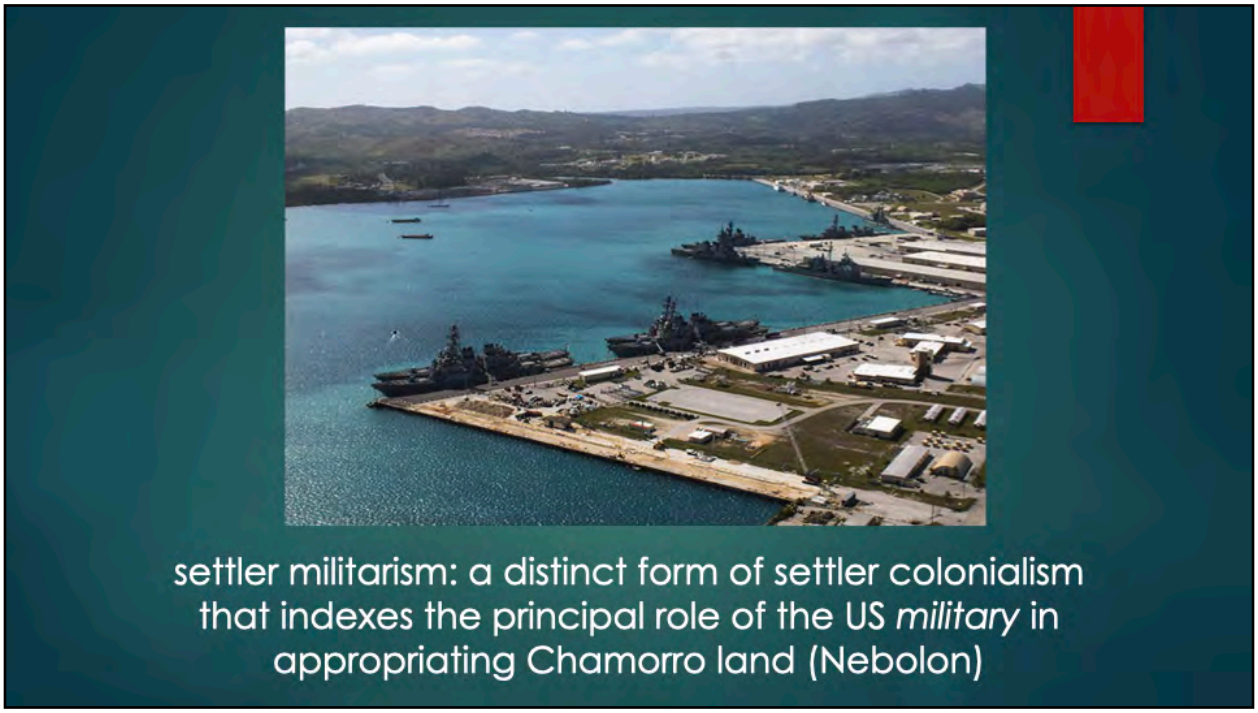
5th Marianas History Conference
February 26, 2021

EVYN LÊ ESPIRITU GANDHI, PHD
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

"[T]he people of Guam . . . join our fellow citizens of the United States in this highly commendable humanitarian act."

Guam will "assist you in the nation's effort to provide relief for the refugees and orphan children from South Vietnam."


A SPECIAL PROJECT OF THE
Pacific Daily News
OPERATION
NEW LIFE


settler militarism: a distinct form of settler colonialism that indexes the principal role of the US *military* in appropriating Chamorro land (Nebolon)

Archipelago of Resettlement:
Vietnamese Refugee Settlers in Guam and Israel-Palestine

Image from Micronesian Area Resource Center, Bordallo Files, Box 106

Vietnamese arrivals at Ben Gurion Airport, January 24, 1979 (Sa'ar Ya'acov/GPO)

"refugee settler condition"

the vexed positionality of refugee subjects whose very condition of political legibility via asylum and citizenship is predicated upon the unjust dispossession of an Indigenous population

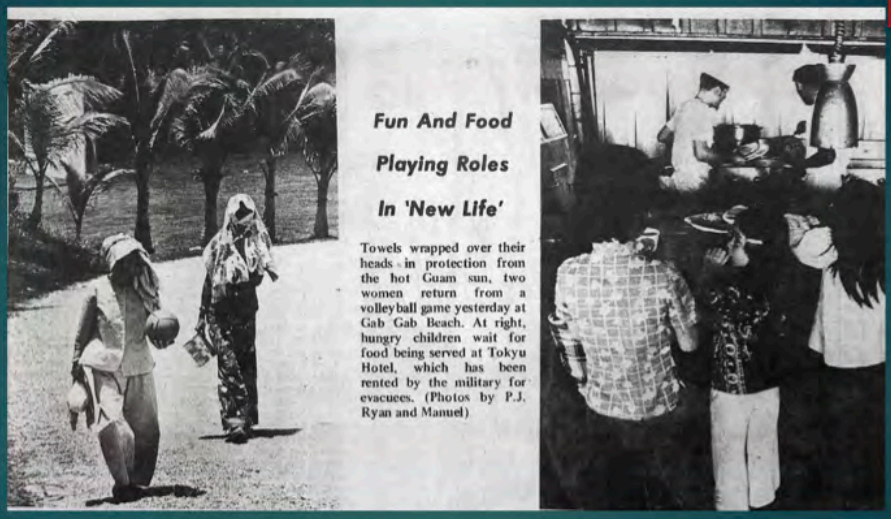
The humanitarian rhetoric that newspapers and politicians used to describe Operation New Life in 1975 retroactively justified settler militarism in Guam, and by extension, positioned Vietnamese refugees in a structurally antagonistic relationship to Chamorro decolonization struggles that opposed military settlement, irrespective of the refugees' intent.

Structural antagonisms are never totalizing, however. Attending to quotidian cross-racial encounters, this project also highlights moments of contingency and connection.

13,000 refugees maximum

50,430 refugees at peak

View of the refugee camp at Orote Point, Guam (USA), following the Vietnam War, circa in 1975.
U.S. Navy *All Hands* magazine, September 1990, p. 41.



Fun And Food

Playing Roles

In 'New Life'

Towels wrapped over their heads in protection from the hot Guam sun, two women return from a volleyball game yesterday at Gab Gab Beach. At right, hungry children wait for food being served at Tokyu Hotel, which has been rented by the military for evacuees. (Photos by P.J. Ryan and Manuel)

"[T]he people of Guam . . . join our fellow citizens of the United States in this highly commendable humanitarian act."

Guam will "assist you in the nation's effort to provide relief for the refugees and orphan children from South Vietnam."

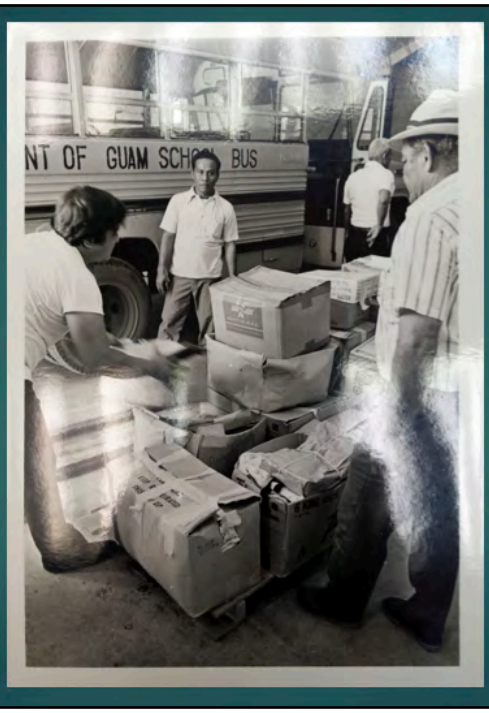


Image from Micronesian Area Research Center, Bordallo Files, Box 106

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 13, 1975

Dear Governor Bordallo:

I extend my sincerest and deepest thanks to the people and officials of Guam for their vital humanitarian assistance to the Indochinese refugee effort.

The people of Guam are an outstanding example to other Americans and the rest of the world in meeting an international emergency. I am sure the Vietnamese refugees are grateful for the warm and outgoing response by the people of Guam.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford

Honorable Ricardo J. Bordallo
Governor of Guam
Agana, Guam 96910

Allan Ramos, Ed Perez, Lee Thi Baza, Raymond T. Baza, John (Juan) Benovente. June 10, 2018

Monsignor David I. A. Quitugua
Photo courtesy of Archdiocese of Agaña

Image from Micronesian Area Research Center,
Bordallo Files, Box 106

Evyn Lê Espiritu Gandhi is an assistant professor of Asian American Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles. She is currently working on a book manuscript entitled *Archipelago of Resettlement: Vietnamese Refugee Settlers in Guam and Israel-Palestine*.

From Tourists to Asylees

Russian Citizens in Guam

By Dr. Christopher Rasmussen
Assistant Professor of History, University of Guam

Abstract: *When the US Department of Homeland Security decided to admit Russian visitors to Guam without a visa in 2012, it seemed to be a happy convergence of US foreign policy and the desires of local political and tourist industry leaders. The policy added to the Obama administration's "Russia reset" and paroled relatively free-spending Russian tourists for 45-day visits. Two years later, however, events in Russia led to a sharp decline of overseas travel and a rise in political repression. As one of the few places Russian citizens could travel without a visa, Guam became a lifeline to hundreds of Russian asylum seekers. The plight of these migrants reveals the cruelty of federal immigration policies, the extent to which Guam is subject to the vagaries of US foreign policy, and how Guam has welcomed these new arrivals and how they have adapted.*

Beginning in the fall of 2020 around two dozen Russian citizens seeking asylum in Guam began gathering for irregular weekend rallies. In September, outside the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) office across the street from Home Depot, protesters demanded the resumption of video hearings, which had ceased in May 2019. Without hearings, those seeking defensive asylum could not apply for work authorization. The fall rallies came as the Pacific island territory was recording some of the highest rates of new COVID-19 cases in the United States, underscoring the protesters' determination and despair. Organizer Egor Elkin had arrived in Guam in March 2019 and, unlike many of the protesters, had been working for months. He said he was lucky. "Some people live on the beach," Elkin explained. "Some people had to live in container units no air conditioning. Some people get arrangements with local people for a room and help out [around the house]." By the end of 2020, a handful of asylum-seekers were contemplating hunger strikes to prod the United States Customs and Immigration Services (USCIS) to process their claims or for Customs and Border Patrol (CBP) to allow them to board flights to the mainland. While the emergence of a semi-permanent population of sometimes desperate Russian asylum seekers has caught local attention, a deeper history grounded in Guam's relationship to the United States has yet to be examined.[1]

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[1] For examples of local interest in the stories asylum seekers' plight and political activities, see John O'Connor's multi-part series in the *Guam Daily Post,* John O'Connor, "Russian Asylum Seekers Plan Hunger Strike," *Guam Daily Post,* Feb. 21, 22, 23, 2021.

The number of Russian asylum-seekers in Guam is unknown. Estimates in local media range between 100-300. This is guesswork. There has been no attempt to count Russian asylum seekers, who in any case might be reluctant to being counted. When Russian visitors began to arrive in 2012, however, things were quite different. The visitors were seen as a growth market by the local tourism industry and their presence represented a small victory by local politicians. By 2019 Russian tourists had largely stopped visiting, while the number of Russian citizens seeking asylum in Guam grew. This presentation seeks to explain why Russian asylum-seekers chose Guam and why some now feel lost and trapped. Much of the answer can be found exploring how Guam's territorial status intersects with American immigration history.

American Immigration Policy and the Pacific

The history of Russian-speaking visitors in Guam extends at least to the Spanish colonial era and the 1817 arrival of the scientific expedition *Rurik*, but it was as an American Cold War outpost that Guam made a lasting impression on Russian-speakers. Starting in the 1950s, the United States Air Force Strategic Air Command (SAC) stationed B-52s with nuclear warheads on the island for potential use against Soviet Far East targets, and in 1964, a second part of the nuclear triad arrived when the Navy deployed twelve submarines carrying Polaris warheads at Apra Harbor. In response, as Roger Daniels explains in *Destiny's Landfall*, Soviet "fishing" trawlers appeared off Ritidian Point. Local reaction, however, went in a different direction. Chamorro fishermen ventured out to the trawlers hoping to trade American cigarettes for Soviet vodka.[2]

The spirit animating the fishermen's enthusiasm for exchange and the very different goals of American foreign policy have continued to shape Guam's relationships with other nations and visitors to the island. The local tourism industry took off following President John Kennedy's decision to end the security clearance for visitors. This authoritarian policy fit uncomfortably with the open, democratic, and liberal Cold War image Kennedy sought to project. In the subsequent decades, tourism transformed parts of Guam, and by century's end accounted for 40 percent of the island's economy. In pursuit of new markets, local politicians worked with the industry to petition the federal government for visa waivers for wealthy Pacific states. In 2009 China and, to a much lesser degree, Russia, became waiver targets.

In 2008, the United States Congress voted to replace the immigration system of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands with federal law and the process was

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[2] Roger Daniels, *Destiny's Landfall: A History of Guam.* Revised ed., Honolulu, University of Hawai`i Press, 2011, 214, 232-233.

finalized under the Obama administration[3] In its takeover, Congress noted the Commonwealth's "unique economic circumstances, history, and geographical location," and carved out a process through which the Governor of the CNMI could request DHS to add countries to the list of waiver countries who could visit the CNMI. Chinese and Russian citizens were added to the CNMI's initial list of visa waiver countries. [4] The same law also reaffirmed the role of Guam's governor and non-voting representative to the US House of Representatives to request visa exemptions. In 2009, Governor Felix Camacho and Representative Madeleine Bordallo petitioned Congress for a Chinese and Russian waiver.[5] They pointed out how Japanese tourists accounted for 80 percent of total arrivals, but that the data showed fewer Japanese travelers were choosing Guam. Applying the CNMI visa waiver exemptions to Guam, they claimed, would in one year generate $212 million or add an additional 16 percent to the estimated $1.2 billion tourism industry revenue. It must have seemed that the interests of the United States and Guam's political and business leaders were converging. The Guam Legislature had welcomed the first Pacific President's inauguration with an optimistic resolution that requested, among other things, the Philippines and China be included in the Guam Visa Waiver Program.[6] Despite the optimism and efforts of Guam's business and political leaders, DHS chose to continue existing policies meaning Russian and Chinese citizens would continue to be paroled to the CNMI but would still require a visa to visit Guam.[7]

Republican candidate Eddie Calvo promoted visa waiver expansion as part of his successful 2010 gubernatorial campaign. His administration lobbied the Department of Defense and, more successfully, the Department of State, emphasizing the transformational economic

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[3] With the Compact of Free Association, the United States dissolved the Trust Territory of the Pacific, which had been created in 1947 by the United Nations in 1947 to be administered by the United States. The Trust Territories became independent states with varying degrees of association with the United States. The Northern Marianas became a Commonwealth that "freely associates" with the United States. Guam, as an unorganized US territory acquired in 1898, was unaffected by the 1986 Compact.

[4] Congress exerting greater control over the CNMI led to the shuttering of the garment industry and economic decline that the visa waiver program was intended to address, Implementation of Public Law 110-229 to the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands and Guam, Oversight Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Insular Affairs, US House of Representatives, One Hundred Eleventh Congress, First Session, Tuesday, May 19, 2009, 71

[5] Consolidated Natural Resources Act of 2008, 48 U.S.C. § 1806, sec. 701 (2008)

[6] Resolution 15, Relative to presenting an Agenda of Priority Concerns for Guam on Federal-territorial issues for proposed action to President Barack Obama and to the Congress of the United States, 30th Guam Legislature, 2009.

[7] Implementation of Public Law 110-229 to the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands and Guam, Oversight Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Insular Affairs, US House of Representatives, One Hundred Eleventh Congress, First Session, Tuesday, May 19, 2009, 1-3, 8, 20

potential of the Chinese tourist market. Calvo made the case that a visa waiver could promote US-China communication and understanding. In late 2011, the lobbying bore partial and disappointing fruit: DHS added Russia but not China to the Guam Visa Waiver program. The decision went into effect in January so as to coincide with an Obama Executive Order to boost tourism nationally.[8] Guam officials had consistently identified China as essential and Russia as a bonus, and it seems that had a visa waiver for Russians not previously existed for the CNMI, Guam leaders would not have requested it.

Simultaneously the Obama administration's Russia "reset," achieved its greatest triumph: the renewal of Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START). The denial of a China waiver, meanwhile, occurred as the Obama administration announced a "pivot to Asia" that was, in part, an effort to rally Pacific nations around American leadership to check a more assertive China. Governor Calvo had offered Guam as an American bridge to China, but the administration preferred one to Russia. The decision continued the Cold War tradition of using entry to the United States to advance American foreign policy goals. During the Cold War, American presidents used access to the United Sates and the immigration visa to undermine enemies by providing a safe haven for asylum-seekers. In this way, Eastern Europeans, Cubans, and Soviets found welcome in what Aristide Zolberg called the immigration system's "side door." The opening and closing of the side door amounted to "calculated kindness" that picked deserving asylees from among undeserving aliens. Guam had been at the center of the largest group of migrants to enter the American side door when in 1975 over 100,000 Vietnamese refugees transited through Guam[9]

Russians Arrive

Over the course of 2014, 20,000 Russians, many arriving on charter flights from Vladivostok and Khabarovsk, visited Guam. The Guam Visitors Bureau estimated the average Russian visitor spent $1,600 each day during an almost two-week stay. Their week-ending Japanese counterparts spent under $600 per day. Despite Russian visitors' profligate ways, the Russian Far East's sparse population meant that the 2014 number were already bumping up against a natural ceiling that GVB believed to be between 30,000-50,000 annual visitors. If the federal government had included China in the visa waiver program, GVB estimated a ceiling between 1.5 million to six million annual arrivals. Signage near hotels and on roads and

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[8] 3 CFR 13597 - Executive Order 13597 of January 19, 2012. Establishing Visa and Foreign Visitor Processing Goals and the Task Force on Travel and Competitiveness.

[9] Peter Bake and Dan Bilefsky, "Russia and US Sign Arms Reduction Pact," *New York Times.* April 8, 2010; Kenneth Liberthal, "America's Pivot to Asia," *Foreign Policy,* Dec. 21, 2011; Aristide R. Zolbeg, *A Nation by Design: Immigration Policy in the Fashioning of the United States,* New York: Harvard University Press, 2006; Rogers, *Destiny' Landfall,* 223.

beaches soon added (often grammatically incorrect) Russian translations. In 2015, however, the upward trend of Russian visitors reversed. Russia's 2014 annexation of Crimea, the subsequent American and EU sanctions on Russia, and oil and the ruble's price declines, all contributed to fewer Russians traveling overseas. Bartley Jackson of the Guam Visitor's Bureau, however, remained upbeat. "They'll be back," he claimed on January 27, 2017. [10]

That same day new President Donald Trump signed an executive order that initiated a review of asylum screening procedures, and the end of visa-less Russian travel was in sight. When it arrived two years later, Jackson took to a local talk radio show to stress that many Russian visitors had turned out to be asylum seekers, who he identified as a "problem." [11]

For Russians desperate to flee, Guam's visa waiver was a lifeline. "[I]f I had stayed in Russia, that could have ended with the falsification of a criminal charge against me… So, I escaped. I managed to do this." Russian citizens also applied for asylum in the US mainland in increasing numbers in 2017 DHS reported 2,600 Russians asylum claims.[12] The ten individuals who participated in anonymous interviews for this project reported they fled in response to political and sexual repression and the of lack of protection from criminals. This small group came from different regions, was multi-confessional, multi-ethnic, and included professionals, scholars, businesspeople, and a student. Most arrived as families; two arrived alone. Each was asked 21 questions about their life in Guam.

The interviewees for this project claimed affirmative asylum by filing the necessary paperwork from with USCIS after they arrived and avoided detention. Their "asylum clock" for obtaining work authorization began when USCIS acknowledged receipt of their application, and from this date they each year renew their work documents for a $400 fee. All are waiting for an interview with a USCIS official to determine whether to approve their claims. Defensive asylum can claimed after deportation proceedings have begun and typically includes temporary detention. With one exception, the participants in this study also arrived with the financial resources that allowed them to avoid homelessness.

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[10] "Q&A Bartley L. Jackson, *Marianas Business Journal,* Jan. 12, 2014; "Guam: Russian Tourists Spend More, Stay Longer," *Associated Press,* Dec. 10, 2013; Ivana Kottasova, "Russians are Making Fewer Vacation Trips Abroad," *CNN Business,* Dec. 9, 2015; Neil Pang, "Guam's Russia Tourist Market Will Rebound, Official Says," *Guam Daily Post,* Jan. 27, 2017.

[11] Executive Order 13769, January 27, 2017, Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States, *The White House*; Gerry Partido, *PNC.* Aug. 30, 2019.

[12] Annual Flow Report: Refugees and Asylees: 2017, Department of Homeland Security, Office of Immigration Statistics, March 2019, 7

"We never thought we would go away from our native country that we love so much… we had to do it" one migrant said. Her husband had decided to relocate the family in fear of retaliation from the Russian state security service (FSB). "Nobody planned or tried to go away. It was not like we were fans of America or anything like this," she explained. American officials had denied her husband's visa application, and Guam seemed the best option. "We would have come to Europe, but we did not have a Schengen visa, and we could not wait to have it made. That's why we had to come to Guam."[13] Others fled because the state could not protect them. "Well, first of all, my husband had problems connected with his business. And it so happened that on our side the problem became less urgent, but due to their connections, the people who were not punished, they were seeking revenge, so we started trying to move out." Following three failed attempts at American visas, "we started looking for other opportunities."[14]

One migrant said that a human rights organization in Russia had advised Guam specifically as safe and accessible.[15] Most migrants, however, were unfamiliar with the island, its peoples, and its status within the United States. "Nobody knew anything about Guam among my friends before I came here," one asylum seeker said, "I [have since] met some Russians who come here, but they mostly come from the Far East, to rest and shop, but this is the Far East, and where I come from nobody knows anything about Guam." Migrants instead relied on social media for guidance. "We found on YouTube the channel of this immigrant who already was here… And he said that it was so nice here, told about the no-entry visa, and how cool it is here. And so, in two weeks we packed our bags and came here." [16]

Since 2017 Konstantin Smirnov's YouTube account has been vlogging about his family's quest for asylum. The most viewed post recounts how Smirnov got under the table work to stave off eviction while awaiting work authorization. Smirnov's posts are candid about the prospect of homelessness, silent USCIS officials, and everyday frustrations and indignities. Other YouTube descriptions of Russian migrants in Guam, however, have painted a rosier and, not coincidentally, self-interested picture. The account "Immigration to the United States," includes a highly viewed post on working in Guam that encourages viewers to use its

[13] Author interview 7

[14] Author interview 1

[15] Author interview 3

[16] Author interview 1

off-island legal services, emphasizing that with its legal counsel, asylum seekers typically wait less than a year.[17]

Those who participated in this project had been in Guam two-to-five years and had not yet had an interview with USCIS. For some Russian asylum-seekers the realization Guam might not be a temporary home came as a shock.

> No one told us that we would not be able to leave from here. The immigration lawyer said, "my dears, believe me, even after you go through the interview you are going to spend ten, twenty years here and nobody is going to the mainland so easily."[18]

Guam residents had likewise conceived of Russians as temporary visitors. Tension appeared as it became clear that some Russians' stay in Guam would be indefinite. Asylum seekers in the US and its territories are mostly ineligible for federal benefit programs, such as food stamps and Medicaid. Federal reimbursement rates for these programs are set at lower rates in Guam than in the states meaning GovGuam faces unique burdens. When the Compact of Free Association went into effect in 1986, it gave citizens of the Federated States of Micronesia the right to migrate and settle in Guam. Thousands have to escape poverty in their home islands, often only to find a different version of it awaiting them in Guam or the United States. Congress passed the Welfare Reform Act in 1996, which stripped COFA migrants of Medicaid benefits.[19] GovGuam tried to fill the gap, estimated at $148 million annually, with uneven results. Federal policies push migrants, including Russians, into homelessness.[20] Asylum seekers face uncertain work prospects, limited access to medical care and insurance, eviction and homelessness. The pressure on local government and private charities to assist migrants is considerable and has produced some local resentment directed not at the agent of immiseration, the federal government, but at migrants.[21]

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[17] New Life on Guam, Oct. 15, 2017, *Rabota na Guame. Zarplata. Programma WIC na Guame*, [Video] (YouTube); *Immigratsia USA. Amerika v delaiakh*, May 24, 2018, *Politicheskoe ubezhiscshe v Ameriku cherez Guam* [Video] (YouTube).

[18] Author interview 1

[19] COFA migrants access to Medicaid was restored when Congress passed the second Covid-related stimulus bill in December of 2020, Anita Hofschneider, "How Decades Of Advocacy Helped Restore Medicaid Access To Micronesian Migrants," *Civil Beat,* Dec. 23, 2020.

[20] Steve Limtiaco, "Governor Wants Greater Medical, Housing Assistance for Migrants," *Pacific Daily News,* June 17, 2020.

[21] John O'Connor, Archdiocese: Number of Homeless on Guam Unprecedented," *Guam Daily Post,* Oct. 2019.

For their part Russian asylum seekers expressed ambivalence toward local peoples. Some admired a welcoming culture while others criticized local residents at times in racist language. "Well, probably because they are brought up this way," was how one migrant explained the warmth and hospitality he had experienced over three years in Guam. Another, however, claimed Chamorro employers were frustrating Russians' attempts to advance, "because they cannot do anything, and Russians can do everything. They are just envious." Ethnic Russian racism toward Central Asians and other national minorities in Russia can be layered onto Guam's social reality. One asylum seeker said migrants from the island Chuuk in the FSM were responsible for making Guam unsafe. She used the term "Chuuki," recalling a slur often used against Central Asians in Russia, *churka.* In offensive and revealing language, she described this group as the Guam equivalent of Roma. "I know that they are all dirty, revolting, and gypsies [*tsygancha*]. It is horrible. Nothing is safe here. Nothing can be locked."[22]

She also claimed, however, that she preferred to socialize with non-Russians. A common complaint among asylees is that there is no Russian community in Guam because Russians, as a rule, did not seek out their compatriots. "We are Russians," one joked. "We are afraid." While such generalizations seem dubious, there are legitimate reasons why Russians fleeing state repression might be cautious seeking out compatriots in Guam. Nevertheless, a thriving social media community centered in the secure messaging app Telegram, is widely popular and, like many online forums, divisive.[23]

Interview subjects who were not ethnic Russians expressed the most positive attitudes toward Guam.[24] One wonders whether expressions of racism reflect that, outside military bases, those considered white are not seen in positions of authority in Guam and a related belief that the racial order in the mainland would be beneficial to ethnic Russians. With notable exceptions, there was a lack of sympathy for FSM migrants. Tragic but not surprising, such attitudes are consistent with the history of immigration America. Migrants have often sought distance from, rather than solidarity with, Black Americans as a means of self-preservation.[25]

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[22] Author interview 1

[23] For Telegram community, see Telegram Contact @newlifeonguam.

[24] Author interview 3 and 4

[25] See for example, David Roediger's *Working Toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White.* New York: Basic Books, 2005

Most respondents reported feeling trapped in Guam and identified the uncertain immigration process as the primary cause of a continuing trauma.

> I ran away from the country, and my family stayed there, my wife and my three kids. So, I feel like an invalid, not physically, but socially. So, I am here, but I am not all here. Just twenty percent of me or ten percent of me are here, and the eighty percent or ninety percent of me are left behind, because they are with my family. I cannot start the process of unification with them. I cannot until my case is heard. And this is critical for me, I am eaten by this, I am oppressed by this. From time to time, I experience depressive states, but I tend to be optimistic, so I am able to shake these off fairly quickly. … I experienced a lot of difficulties in my life, I can survive many things, but the most difficult thing here in Guam is being torn away from my family and the wait… I don't understand when this interview is going to take place, I don't know if it is going to take place in a week or in three years, I don't know when I should be expecting this. And this is very difficult for me. I see no pleasure in being by the sea, among the palm trees because of that.[26]

Uncertainty combined with isolation produced feelings of powerlessness and despair. One asylum seeker recounted how a friend she made on island initially helped her cope and that the friend's decision to move away from Guam was devastating.

> I was really surprised by her behavior, her openness to me, her love, like she is a real friend. This is how they taught us in the USSR to be friends. But, unfortunately, the circumstances changed. Her husband had to return to the US…. And they left; she left with him. And now I am without a friend.[27]

Another family broke apart when one spouse received advanced parole and the other did not. The spouse departed for the mainland with the couple's child, leaving behind great bitterness. At recent rallies in Hagåtña, Russian attendees promised hunger strikes if silence from USCIS continued. One couple in November said they had a USCIS interview over a year ago, at which they surrendered their passports, and said they have since heard nothing. Asylum seekers such as these often say they feel forgotten.

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[26] Author interview 2

[27] Author interview 7

Such feelings, however, are inaccurate. From the 2012 Russian visa waiver, to the 2017 Executive Order to review asylum procedures, to the 2019 ending of the visa waiver program, the United States has shown a keen interest in Russian visitors in Guam. In 2012, Russian tourists to Guam were a small part of a diplomatic effort to "reset" relations with an increasingly authoritarian regime. Since 2017, the federal government has changed course, off-loading desperate people onto local government and private charities.

Guam has been made to help presidential administrations build bridges or throw up walls. The people most affected by capricious immigration policies and are waiting indefinitely for their lives to resume have had their rights violated. Political scientist Elizabeth Cohen has argued that liberal democracies transform time into political goods "used when states and political subjects transact over power." The federal government's refusal to process the claims of Russian asylum seekers leaves them in unprotected uncertainty and segregates them from the communities they currently live in. Cohen explains, "racialized incarceration practices, delayed naturalization, and obstructionist abortion waiting periods are all instances in which select people's time is appropriated as a means denying them rights that others enjoy."[28]

In 2011 Republican Presidential nominee Mitt Romney said making life intolerable for migrants will lead them to "self-deport."[29] In a particularly cruel irony, many whose time was stolen in waiting in Soviet lines now find a different illiberal regime in the Western Pacific. Self-deportation, of course, is an impossible choice for asylums seekers. Return could mean prison or worse. While encouraged by the results of the 2020 election, Russians in Guam have expressed little hope regarding their current status and if anything have become more alienated and desperate for a resolution that seems never to arrive.

Chris Rasmussen is an Assistant Professor of History at the University of Guam. His research interests include media, migration, and Cold War History. He is currently working on a project on migration and American Cold War foreign policy.

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[28] Elizabeth Cohen, *The Political Value of Time: Citizenship, Duration, and Democratic Justice.* Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press, 2018, 4-5

[29] Lucy Madison, "Romney on immigration: I'm for "self-deportation". *CBS News,* Jan. 24, 2012.

5th Marianas History Conference

Day 9: Saturday, February 27

Panel: Archaeology in the Marianas

Matter of Time

Outlining the Order of Time Periods in Marianas Archaeology and Ancient History

By Dr. Mike Carson
Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam

Abstract: *Any study of archaeology and ancient history needs to begin with a basic chronological order of time periods, and a suitable outline for the Mariana Islands involves several such time periods over the last few millennia. In terms of the archaeological evidence, these periods cover the entire sequence of cultural history, from the first instance of people living in the islands and continuing all the way through the timing of written history. With the use of written historical documents, the later time periods have been much more refined, for example in windows of a few decades or even single years. The more ancient periods of archaeological evidence, however, can be defined only within the limits of radiocarbon dating and other surviving material evidence, often in blocks of some centuries. How are those time periods identified? How are the dates measured? What was different from one time period to the next? These questions are addressed in the current presentation.*

In the Mariana Islands, the archaeological record extends back at least as early as 1500 BC, older than any other record of people living in the remote-distance islands of Pacific Oceania. Within this long record, several individual time periods can be distinguished.

I can start with sharing this image (Figure 1), depicting the layers in an archaeological excavation. When digging deeper beneath the ground, each deeper layer of course is older. Each layer reveals different forms and styles of artifacts, such as the shapes of ancient pottery as shown in this image.

At first glance, you can notice several time periods, represented in separate layers of time. The deepest layer naturally is the oldest, and it corresponds with the time when people first lived in the Mariana Islands, beginning around 1500 BC or perhaps earlier. The uppermost layer, at the surface, is the most recent, and it corresponds with the traditional *latte* period of approximately AD 1000 through 1700.

For all of these site layers, the exact calendar years of dating can be different in each particular site excavation. The overall outline, as shown here, represents the approximate

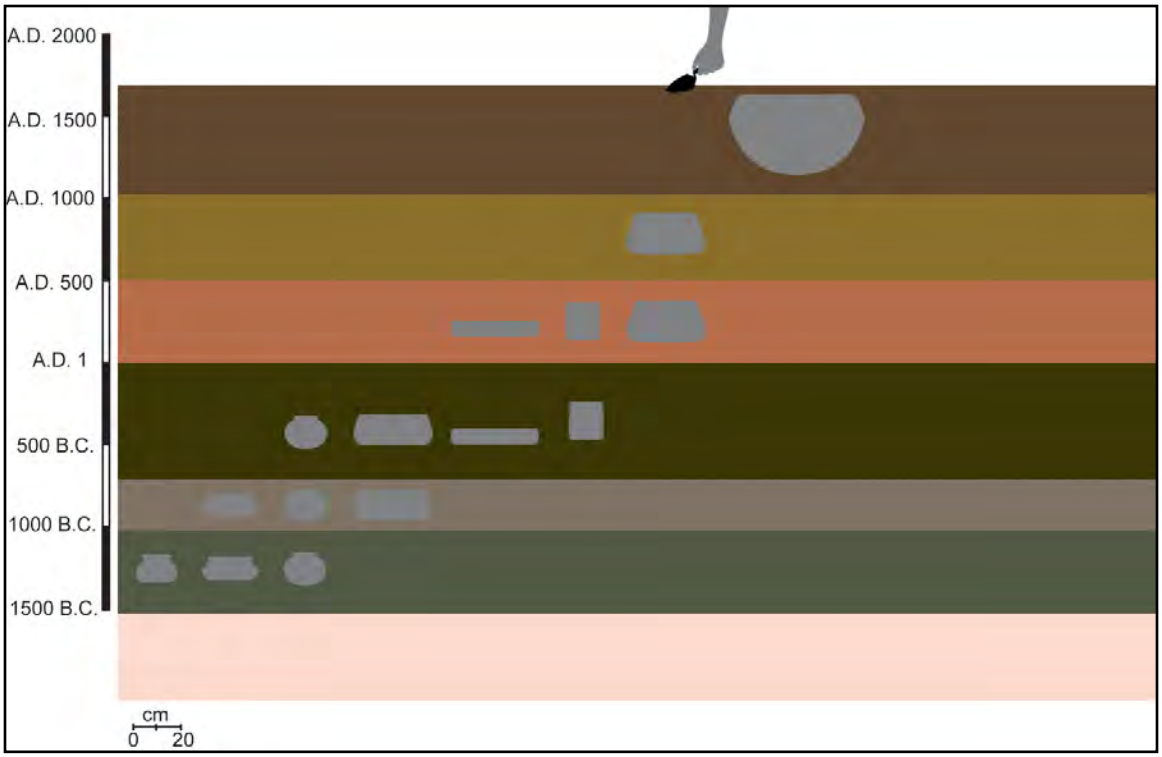

Figure 1. Chronology of the major pottery forms in Marianas regional archaeology.

calendar years that have been defined in the most confident cases so far. The results still could be refined through more excavations and radiocarbon dating, but these time periods for now offer a confident way to start thinking about the long time span of archaeology and ancient history in our region.

As an archaeologist, I think of these time periods in their natural chronological order. I start with the oldest time period, describing what I know and assembling as much information as I can. Next, I follow the same procedures for each other layer, moving through each layer in the given order, from the oldest through the youngest.

Looking at the oldest layer here, the layer started to form around 1500 BC or maybe a little earlier, and it continued to accumulate through about 1100 BC or 1000 BC. During that time period, the context included the first time when people lived in the Marianas, and in fact this event coincided with the first time when people lived anywhere in the remote-distance islands of Pacific Oceania.

This oldest time period could be described as a "first inhabitation period" or in similar words. Equally, though, it could be described in terms of the oldest pottery, stone tools, shell ornaments, cave art, or other forms of evidence from this ancient time period. Another idea could refer to the kinds of food remains in these oldest layers. Other ideas could refer to the

forms of heated-rock hearths or the forms of houses, raised on wooden posts near the shorelines. Furthermore, this period could be defined in terms of the ancient shorelines that were substantially different from today's conditions that we can see on the surface today. In addition to the physical shapes of the ancient shorelines, the larger environmental context was different as well, including the coral reefs, forest habitats, positions of freshwater access, and many other factors.

My point here is to emphasize that we could describe an ancient time period according to any or all of the pieces of evidence that we know. Considering this oldest period of approximately 1500 through 100 BC, should we refer to a "first inhabitation period"? Should we refer to an "ancient red-slipped pottery period"? Should we refer to an "ancient shoreline period"?

Regardless of whatever words we decide to describe an ancient time period, I encourage people to be aware that multiple lines of evidence are available. If we select just one point of evidence to describe an entire time period, then we still need to remember about all of the other points of information. In this regard, archaeology in the Mariana Islands so far has shown a richness of information from natural history and cultural history of each time period.

In my approach, I refer first to the measured age or archaeological dating of a time period. Next, I consider the scope of evidence that is available for the given time period, and I present the evidence in its own terms and in the natural chronological order.

So far, the record in the Mariana Islands has revealed at least six major time periods of traditional archaeological layers and artifacts:

1. 1500 through 1100 BC
2. 1100 through 700 BC
3. 700 BC through AD 1
4. AD 1 through 500
5. AD 500 through 1000
6. AD 1000 through 1700

The outline here refers to the overall patterns in the region, and some of the details still can be refined. As noted, the exact calendar years can be different from one particular site to another. Moreover, some of those large time units could be subdivided into finer details in a few sites.

You might notice that the most recent time period here refers to the context that people generally understand as the *latte* period of the Mariana Islands. During this period, from approximately AD 1000 through 1700, people made and used the stone-pillar houses and villages that largely defined the *latte* period. We can see these sites on the surface today, and we can link these contexts with a wealth of knowledge from culture, history, and language. We can add archaeological evidence into this context, and we can extend the overall framing of the *latte* period to cover approximately AD 1000 through 1700.

Given the amount of multi-disciplinary information that we know about the *latte* period and about its symbolism for indigenous heritage and identity, I would agree that the term of the "*latte* period" serves a productive purpose of defining this important cultural context. Within this framing, we could consider questions about the construction and design of *latte*, the forms and styles of stone tools, the organization of social groups, and many other topics. Some but not all of those topics would relate with the physical evidence of *latte*, but all of those topics in principle could be situated within the scope of the *latte* period as a whole.

Regarding the multiple time periods that pre-dated the *latte* period, technically they could be described as belonging to a "pre-*latte* context", but this term might not be so useful when considering that it refers to a time span of more than 2500 years. Within those 2500 years, more than a few separate time periods and contexts already have been distinguished in the archaeological record.

A single term of a "pre-*latte* context" no longer seems suitable in Marianas archaeology. Surely, the period of 1500 through 1100 BC was different from the period of AD 500 through 1000. Each of the intervening time periods could be described in the many aspects of the known archaeological evidence, and a singular "pre-*latte*" designation would miss all of the information that we already know so far about this long time span in Marianas archaeology.

In the same way that we can refer to a "pre-*latte*" context, we equally could refer to a "pre-Spanish" context or a "pre-World War II" context. In each of those cases, the older time range is defined by something else that happened later in time. We can apply this kind of terminology only when we look back from the present into the past.

In the present day, we know about *latte*, about the Spanish imperial context, and about World War II. We therefore could reach back to describe older time periods as pre-*latte*, pre-Spanish, or pre-World War II contexts. These descriptions technically are correct, but by definition they impose our present-day notions into the past. If we were to travel back in time to ask people how they perceived their own time periods, then logically they would not refer

to pre-*latte*, pre-Spanish, or pre-World War II contexts. We do not know how people in the past would have referred to their own time periods, but we can look at the ancient artifacts and other archaeological evidence from their time periods.

As I mentioned earlier, as an archaeologist, I think of time periods in their natural chronological order. Rather than to impose my ideas from the present into the past, I instead allow the evidence from the past to reveal itself in its own terms. When I excavate an ancient archaeological layer, then I uncover the broken pottery, collections of food debris, and other pieces of evidence that in total offer a picture of this ancient time period.

Today, of course we cannot speak with the people who lived thousands of years ago, but we can allow their artifacts and archaeological evidence to speak to us in a sense. In this metaphor, the archaeological evidence speaks to us in a language that we do not fully understand. Moreover, some of the words are missing, due to the natural decay of materials through time. Nonetheless, we can identify the parts of the past that have survived, and we can search for whatever patterns exist in the available evidence.

As I have outlined here, Marianas archaeology so far has revealed an impressively long time span of evidence of what people did ever since they first lived here, at least as early as 1500 BC and perhaps earlier. During this long time span, the evidence so far can be distinguished for at least six major time periods, defined by their archaeological layers, artifacts, and broad scope of evidence about past natural and cultural history.

With the current state of knowledge about Marianas archaeology, more research hopefully will develop about the long time span of the known evidence, the change through time in the natural and cultural history, and all of the individual lines of evidence that so far have been available. The basic outline of the time periods now can support many new questions.

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Gendered Households and Ceramic Assemblage Formation in the Mariana Islands, Western Pacific

By Jacy Miller, Darlene R. Moore, and James M. Bayman
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Abstract: *The archaeological investigation of gendered labor is vital for interpreting households in the Mariana Islands because Spanish documentary accounts are largely silent regarding their spatial organization. Preliminary analyses of excavated materials from a household on the island of Guam revealed that it consisted of two adjacent buildings (latte) that were economically integrated and within which craft activities by women and men were spatially segregated. More detailed analyses of ceramic assemblages confirm that household labor was gendered in other respects. Women prepared and stored food in large ceramic vessels at the building where they also conducted craftwork, whereas men consumed food from smaller serving vessels at the adjacent building where they crafted. This household arrangement illustrates gender complementarity in a matrilineal society that also exhibited aspects of a gender hierarchy wherein women had significant power during the Late Latte and early Spanish Contact periods (ca. A.D. 1500-1700).*

Keywords: ceramics, gender, households, archaeology, Contact, Mariana Islands

Introduction

The investigation of household organization among indigenous Mariana Islanders (i.e., Chamorro) following contact with Ferdinand Magellan in A.D. 1521 offers a compelling opportunity for anthropological archaeology (Fig. 1). There is a rich body of documentary sources from the early Spanish Contact period, yet descriptions of households are regrettably superficial and illustrations of actual structures are frustratingly absent. Since illustrations of the largest traditional buildings (i.e., *latte*) were only produced after they had been abandoned (Laguana et al. 2012:111–114), archaeological investigations offer the best means of understanding household organization (Fig. 2). Although *latte* buildings were comprised of perishable plant materials, they were constructed atop large megalithic pillars (*haligi*) that are well- preserved in the archaeological record. *Latte* set pillars are arranged in parallel rows; the number of stone uprights varies among sets, but eight-pillar sets are relatively common (Craib 1990). Pillar height is also variable, but they are generally 80 to 200 cm tall (Carson 2012:17). When they were originally constructed, each *latte* pillar was capped with a large cup-shaped stone (*tasa*) to stabilize the perishable superstructure; most *tasa* have since fallen and are strewn around archaeological sites.

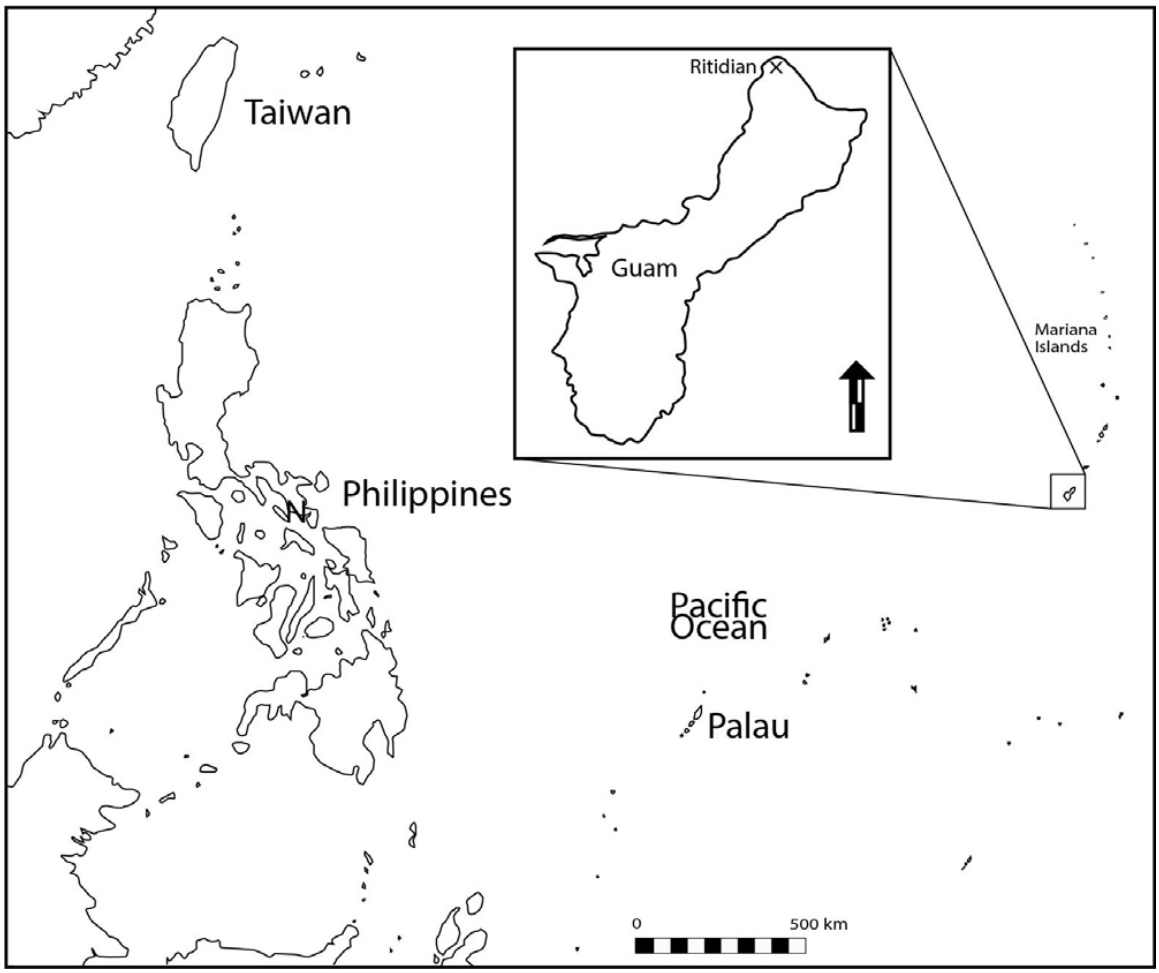

Fig. 1. Location of Guam and the Mariana Islands in the Western Pacific (map prepared by Mike T. Carson).

Snippets in documentary accounts and archaeological excavations of *latte* sets imply that they were a nexus of activities such as sleeping, food preparation, craft production, storage, burial of human remains, and ancestor veneration (April 2004; Carson 2012; Craib 1986; Dixon et al. 2006; Hornbostel 1925; Russell 1998; Thompson 1940). Documentary sources also indicate that a rich variety of activities were undertaken in the vicinity of *latte* such as feasting, gardening, sports and games, oratorical events, and performances such as singing and dancing (Dixon et al. 2006:56–57). While archaeological investigations of *latte* sites have illuminated their domestic functions, important questions remain about their spatial organization. Archaeological assemblages from an early Spanish Contact period *latte* site on Guam reveals that it was an economically integrated, multibuilding household (Bayman et al. 2012). Moreover, Chamorro household economy at Ritidian during the late Latte Period and the seventeenth century was gendered such that women and men engaged in different craft activities and their labor was segregated at two adjacent *latte* buildings. Because traditional

Chamorro society was matrilineal with respect to descent, land tenure, and inheritance (Thompson 1945:11), this archaeological finding is significant for household archaeology: gender complementarity enhanced the coordination of craft activities in a society that also exhibited elements of a gender hierarchy, wherein women had significant power.

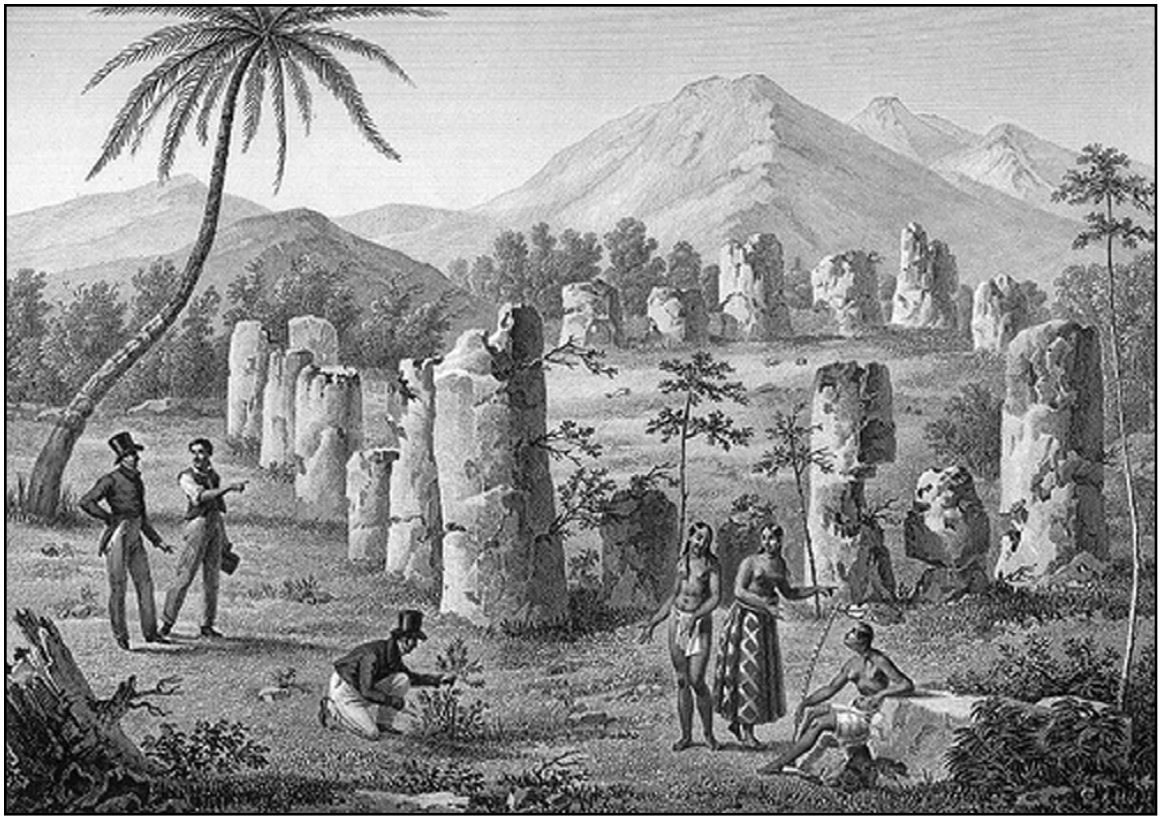

Fig.2. "Ruins of ancient pillars on Rota," 1819 illustration probably by J.A. Pellion (from de Freycinet 2003:331, courtesy of Micronesian Area Research Center, Spanish Documents Collection, University of Guam).

Gender and Household Archaeology

The past few decades have witnessed an astonishing volume of archaeological research on gender and household organization (e.g., Allison 1999; Brumfiel and Robin 2008; Claasen 1991; Hendon 1996; Kahn 2016; Kelly and Ardren 2016; Pluckhahn 2010; Wilk and Rathje 1982; Wright 2016). Earlier claims, that sex and gender are distinct categories wherein sex is biological and gender is cultural, are challenged by a growing awareness that neither domain is fixed and immutable (Gilchrist 1999:9–14). The realization among archaeologists that gender is unstable and context-dependent has complicated the attribution of gender roles with the material record. While the intersection of gender and household economy is considered in ethnohistoric accounts and ethnographic records in the Mariana Islands (Bayman and Peterson 2016:235–244; Montón-Subías 2019), the full range of cross-cultural variation awaits further study. Understandably, anthropologists are reluctant to claim

evidence of human universals (Gilchrist 1999:146) and yet a division of labor between women and men characterizes many (if not all) societies even if the performance of gender is at times nonbinary in practice (Brumfiel and Robin 2008:1–3; Gero and Scattolin 2002:158–161; Nelson 2004:87). Whether (or not) gendered labor is driven by biological or cultural imperatives (Hays-Gilpin and Whiteley 1998:139–141), we share Rice's (1991) view that gender symbolism and nonbiological economic structures play a role in governing the division of labor (Bayman et al. 2012:261).

Because households are indexed by a nexus of material culture and physical buildings, they are accessible to archaeologists who seek a bottom-up perspective on traditional societies (Pluckhahn 2010:332). The archaeological identification of activities and their locations within and around dwelling units has disclosed the economic tasks that domestic groups performed in ancient societies (Hendon 1996:48). The analysis of material culture and the built environment also enables archaeologists to infer the symbolic actions and social roles of individuals within and across households. Together, such information provides novel insights on the cultural imperatives that are indexed by domestic space and how it structured gender relations and the division of labor. We apply Spector's (1998:146–148) approach to develop an analytical framework for detecting spatial differences in "male" and "female" tasks (Bayman et al. 2012:261). To apply Spector's approach, we consulted Spanish Contact period documentary accounts of gendered tasks in indigenous Mariana Islander (Chamorro) society. Being armed with such documentary information enabled us to engage in activity mapping. We examined the archaeological record to detect spatial dimensions of gendered labor and household organization that were not described in Spanish accounts.

Context of Case Study

The first encounter between indigenous Pacific Islanders and Europeans transpired during Ferdinand Magellan's brief visit to Guam, the largest of the Mariana Islands, in 1521. In the ensuing decades, the island developed into a provisioning stop for Spanish galleons (1565–1815), a Catholic mission (in 1668), and a Spanish colony (until 1898). European documentary accounts of the indigenous Chamorro during the early Contact period offer insights on their traditional social organization and subsistence. Accounts by Europeans who visited Guam between the seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries asserted that traditional Chamorro society was organized into three castes of ranked matrilineal clans (Thompson 1945:13–16). Father Sanvitores, a Jesuit priest who established Guam's first mission in 1668, wrote that women ruled the home and exercised a great deal of power over their husbands, particularly in marital disputes (Souder 1992:50–51).

Traditional subsistence in the Marianas centered on gardening and foraging for marine and terrestrial resources; such foods were consumed at feasts to commemorate weddings, childbirths, funerals, and other rituals (Russell 1998:159–163; Thompson 1945:33–34). Cultivated plants included taro (*Colocasia* spp.), yams (*Dioscorea* spp.), breadfruit (*Artocarpus* spp.), coconut (*Cocos* nucifera), banana (*Musa* sp.), pandanus (*Pandanus* sp.), *fadang* palm (*Cycas micronesica*), sugarcane (*Saccharum officinarum*), betel palm (*Areca catechu*), betel pepper vines (*Piper betle*), and rice (*Oryza sativa*) (Russell 1998:165). Both women and men, and probably children, participated in gardening. Fishing by men and boys focused on deep water fishing by trolling, using baited hooks, netting, spearing, and trapping (Russell 1998:183), while women and children gathered shellfish along the coasts and reefs. Chamorro of both genders engaged in nearshore net-fishing.

When the Spanish missionary Juan Pobre de Zamora visited the Mariana island of Rota in 1602, he reported that Chamorro women also engaged in childcare, cooking, gardening, and plant fiber crafting to make mats and other goods such as mattresses, hats, and gift wrappers (Driver 1983:210). While the preparation of food by women was perhaps mundane, it was certainly not trivial because it enabled households to fulfill their obligations to society by supporting community feasts and other rituals that were vital to social reproduction (Hendon 1996:49–52). Although pottery-making is not specifically discussed in Spanish documentary accounts, Chamorro women likely made ceramics on a part-time basis since doing so could be integrated with their other household activities (Arnold 1985:99–108). Besides other craftwork, men were charged with canoe-making and fishing gear production (Driver 1983; Russell 1998). In brief, some but not all household activities were gendered. Spanish period accounts are silent on whether or not specific buildings were used for particular activities, however (Bayman et al. 2012:262). Consequently, archaeological field research is necessary to investigate this issue.

Household Excavations (2008–2010)

Archaeological excavations at a village in northern Guam, the largest island in the Marianas archipelago, yielded evidence that an early Contact period household was comprised of two adjacent and contemporary buildings that were economically integrated (Bayman et al. 2012). The archaeological village site is located on a sandy coastal plain seaward of an uplifted limestone cliff in the Guam National Wildlife Refuge, an area that is known locally as Ritidian or Litekyan (Carson 2017:1–10). The Ritidian area was first settled during the Pre-Latte Period (1500 B.C.–A.D. 1000). However, our study focuses on a village site that was established with the inception of the Latte Period (A.D. 1000) and continued to be occupied until its residents were forcibly relocated in 1682 by their Spanish colonizers (Bayman and Peterson 2016) in a process known as *reduccion* throughout the Spanish colonial world

(Barretto-Tesoro and Hernandez 2017; Therrien 2016). The coastal plain was stable by the inception of the Latte Period at A.D. 1000 and it appears today much as it was then. Surface-visible *latte* sets and activity areas that date to the latter part of the Latte Period and early Spanish Contact (ca. A.D. 1500 1700) cover almost the entire coastal plain, an area that exceeds 100,000 m2 (Carson 2014a). The excavations for this study focused on two adjacent *latte* sets, each with two rows of megalithic pillars (*haligi*) that once elevated buildings constructed of perishable plant materials (Fig. 3).

The close proximity and symmetrical alignment of the two adjacent *latte* sets indicates that their residents shared a common area between their ends. Excavations also confirmed that the two buildings had been constructed in the same shallow stratigraphic layer. Evidence of bioturbation or intrusive features was not encountered during the excavations. Moreover, the recovery of Spanish Contact period artifacts (i.e., East Asian porcelain sherd, iron nails, and a Venetian glass bead) and starch from sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*, a Spanish introduction) from a sealed depositional context indicates that both *latte* buildings were occupied in the mid-seventeenth century. The East Asian porcelain is a 3.0 cm by 2.5 cm rim sherd that was high-fired and has a partial underglaze cobalt design of flowers or fruit that was common during the mid-seventeenth century; such porcelains have been excavated at *latte* sites elsewhere in the village (e.g., Carson 2014b:101). This period post-dates Magellan's visit in

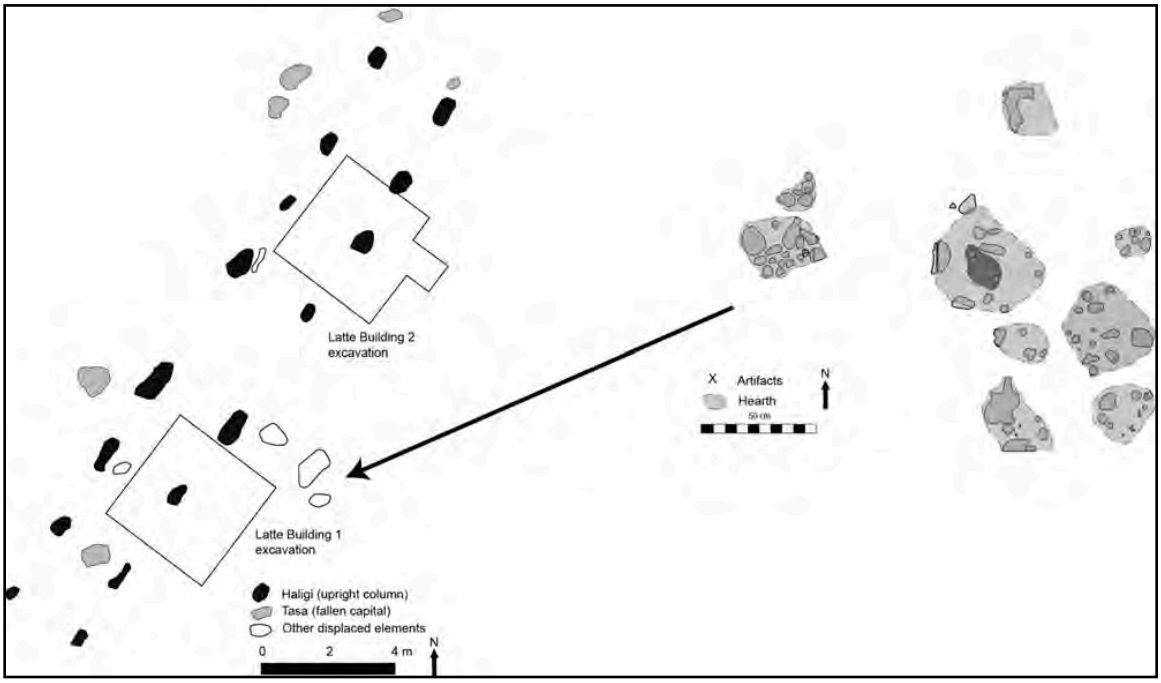

Fig. 3. Layout of Latte 1 and Latte 2 excavation at Ritidian (Litekyan) (redrawn after Bayman et al. 2012:263, fig. 4).

1521, and it pre-dates Spanish removal of Ritidian's residents to another village in southern Guam in 1682.

A rich assemblage of cultural materials was recovered from the excavation of sixteen 1 by 1 square meter units in the landward patio of each of the two *latte* buildings ($N = 32$ units) (Fig. 3). All excavated sediments were sieved using 2 mm mesh to recover large and small cultural materials including Chamorro ceramics, lithics, marine shell, faunal remains, iron nails, worked-bone tools, one porcelain fragment, and charcoal. Samples of sediment that adhered to large Chamorro sherds were gathered and submitted for plant microfossil analyses (Bayman et al. 2012:265).

Preliminary Findings

A comparison of excavated cultural materials from the two *latte* building foundations and the early seventeenth-century Spanish documentary account by Juan Pobre de Zamora yielded an unexpected finding (Driver 1983): women and men undertook their respective activities at different *latte* buildings, offering evidence of an economically integrated household where gendered labor was spatially segregated. Although detailed analyses of the cultural assemblages were not undertaken, the following patterns emerged (Bayman et al. 2012):

> Latte 1 yielded a substantial Chamorro ceramic assemblage with plant microfossils and other residues from breadfruit (*Artocarpus*), taro (*Colocasia esculenta*), yam (*Dioscorea nummularia*), and sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*); residues of such foods have been recovered from other ceramic assemblages in Guam (Moore 2012:132–137). Lithic artifacts at this locale were potentially used by women for processing plant fibers to make mats, sandals, hats, containers, and other items described in the Spanish account by Juan Pobre de Zamora (Driver 1983:210). Similarly, an abundance of marine shell, charcoal, hearth features, and Chamorro ceramics at the *latte* set implies that women also engaged in the preparation, consumption, and storage of food as recorded by Juan Pobre de Zamora. Notably, concentrations of charcoal, ash, and fire-cracked coral rock at Latte 1 are similar in size and cultural materials to hearths at outdoor kitchen facilities at other *latte* sites in the Mariana Islands (Dixon et al. 2019:38–59) (Fig. 3). An early nineteenth century reconstruction of Chamorro village life by J.A. Pellion indicates that women cooked food on fires located under the thatched eaves of their houses (Fig. 4).
>
> Latte 2 yielded an assemblage of finished and unfinished shell fishhooks, *Tridacna* shell adzes for woodworking (making canoes, containers, and

other implements), and bone tools such as awls and needles that could have been used by men to make fishnets and sails for ocean-going watercraft. Spanish documentary accounts of offshore fishing and watercraft construction by men imply that the archaeological assemblage at Latte 2 reflects activities that were undertaken by men and boys (Russell 1998:183). Faunal evidence of fish and bird consumption was relatively more abundant at this *latte* building, although marine shell derived from seafood consumption is less abundant compared to Latte 1. European goods such as a glass bead, porcelain sherd, and iron nails were also more abundant at this *latte* set, signaling men conducted trade much like that described in Spanish documentary accounts from the early Contact period (Russell 1998). Chamorro ceramics were also recovered from this *latte*, but were notably less abundant compared to Latte 1.

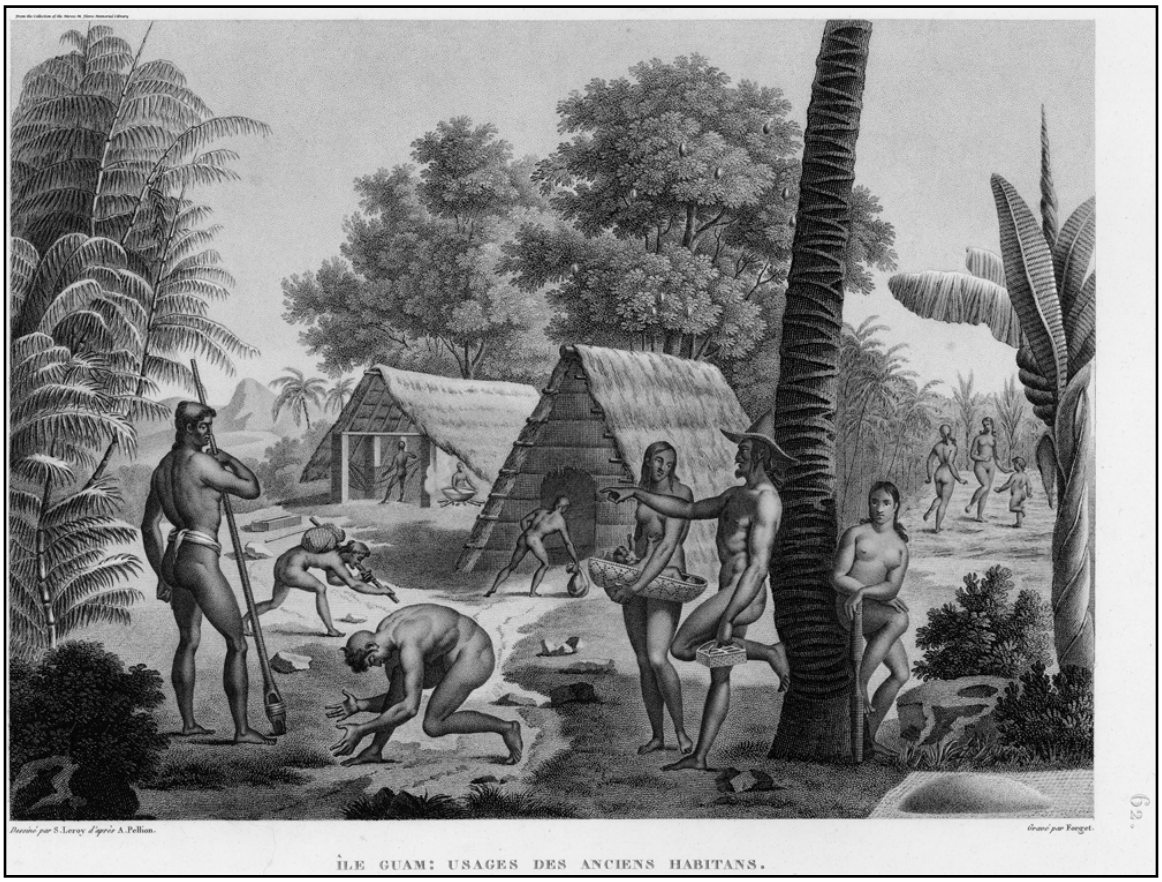

Fig. 4. "Customs of the ancient inhabitants of Guam," painted by J. A. Pellion in the early nineteenth century; a woman is depicted cooking at a vessel over a fire under the thatched eaves of a house (from de Freycinet 2003:324).

Although it is possible that women and men from multiple families in the village participated in the gendered activities enacted at the two *latte* buildings, the proximity of the two structures implies that they functioned as one of many core households in the larger settlement. In either case, it is significant that archaeological assemblages from the two *latte* buildings diverge from one another with respect to their contents. One *latte* set assemblage corresponds to Spanish documentary accounts of women's activities, whereas the other *latte* assemblage indexes men's activities. This patterning in gendered labor and household organization provides a foundation for more detailed investigations of Chamorro domestic economy.

Unanswered Questions

The calibration of Contact period documentary sources, ethnography, and excavated cultural materials for the previous analyses offered key insights on gendered labor in traditional Chamorro households during the Late Latte and early Spanish Contact periods (Bayman et al. 2012). The archaeological inference that some (if not all) traditional households in the Mariana Islands were comprised of two or more buildings and activity areas that were economically integrated is supported by the occurrence of *latte* sets in pairs at other well-preserved sites in the Mariana Islands (Spoehr 1957:44, fig. 13). However, *latte* households are not described in detail in Contact period documentary accounts of the seventeenth century. Equally problematic, Spanish documentary accounts neglect to mention the use of ceramic vessels in Contact period Chamorro society. Accordingly, a detailed analysis of household ceramic assemblages is necessary to answer the following question: Were similar ceramic vessel forms used at both *latte* buildings or did they vary according to the gender attributed to their occupants (i.e., cooking, consumption, and food storage at the "women's" *latte* and food consumption at the "men's" *latte*)?

Ceramics in the Mariana Islands

Because of the lack of ethnohistoric sources about ceramics in the Mariana Islands following European contact in A.D. 1521, archaeology is essential for examining the production and use of pottery vessels in the archipelago. Archaeology confirms that the earliest population to settle the islands some 3500 years ago brought pottery-making skills with them (Butler 1995; Carson 2014c; Hung et al. 2011). Moreover, the use of local clay and temper resources to make pots persisted at least until the founding of the Spanish mission in 1668, but apparently waned in the wake of new technologies (e.g., blacksmithery) that could be used to make containers for preparing, serving, and storing new foods such as corn tortillas. Archaeological research on ancient pottery in the Mariana Islands has long focused on sherd attribute analyses to infer the sizes and shapes of ceramic vessels as well as their technological and

stylistic characteristics such as temper, exterior surface treatment, and decorative style (Butler 1990; Carson 2014c; Carson and Peterson 2010; DeRoo and Goodfellow 1998; Graves et al. 1990; Haun et al. 1999; Hung et al. 2011; Moore 1983, 2002; Ray 1981; Reinman 1977; Spoehr 1957; Thompson 1977; Thompson 1932). The documented correlation of specific ceramic characteristics with a series of radiocarbon dates has established a chronological sequence for Guam. Major changes in vessel form and manufacturing techniques occurred prior to the inception of the Latte Period around A.D. 900 1000 (Spoehr 1957). Significant for this study was the development of new vessel forms that appeared just prior to or during the Latte Period and continued into the early Contact period (A.D. 1521 1700). Our research focuses on pottery associated with this time span.

Chamorro ceramic fragments occur in high frequencies at most *latte* sites, but whole vessels are exceptionally rare, requiring archaeologists to estimate vessel dimensions on the basis of partial reconstructions. While some oval bowls occur, *latte* vessels on Guam are generally described as having a hemispherical shape with a rounded base, a thickened incurving rim (Type B), volcanic temper inclusions, and plain or textured exterior surfaces (Moore 2002) (Fig. 5). Two major rim types have been identified: unthickened Type A and thickened Type B. Although Type A rims occur throughout Guam's ceramic sequence, their numbers significantly decline during the Latte Period. Type B rims are most abundant during the Latte Period. Thicknesses for Type B rims range from 9 to 46 mm (Moore 2012:127). Average thickness values for vessel walls are 8 to 9 mm. Estimated orifice diameters for the round pots range from 8 to 50 cm (3.25 to 20 inches). Estimated heights range from 14 to more than 30 cm tall (5.5 to 12 inches). Reinman (1977) illustrated more than 60 different shapes of Type B rims and at least 11 different finishing techniques have been identified (Maxwell and Huebert 2019), signaling considerable variation in the ceramic industry. Some attributes have temporal significance, with changes in vessel size, shape, and finishing techniques occurring during the Latte Period (DeRoo and Goodfellow 1998; Moore 2012). However, because so few restorable pots have been recovered, little is known about the actual size and shape of various forms and how each might have been used.

Some *latte* vessels clearly served as cooking pots for boiling tubers and rice (Butler 1990). Analysis of charred remains on pottery fragments indicate that yam and taro were among the foods prepared (Bayman et al. 2012; Carson and Peterson 2010; Moore 2012). Direct archaeological evidence for the cooking of other foods in *latte* vessels is scarce, but bananas, breadfruit, rice, squash, fruit bat, and marine resources were available (Moore 2015). Larger *latte* vessels may have been used for storage; water, preserved fish, slices of dried breadfruit, and rice grains are among the products requiring attention.

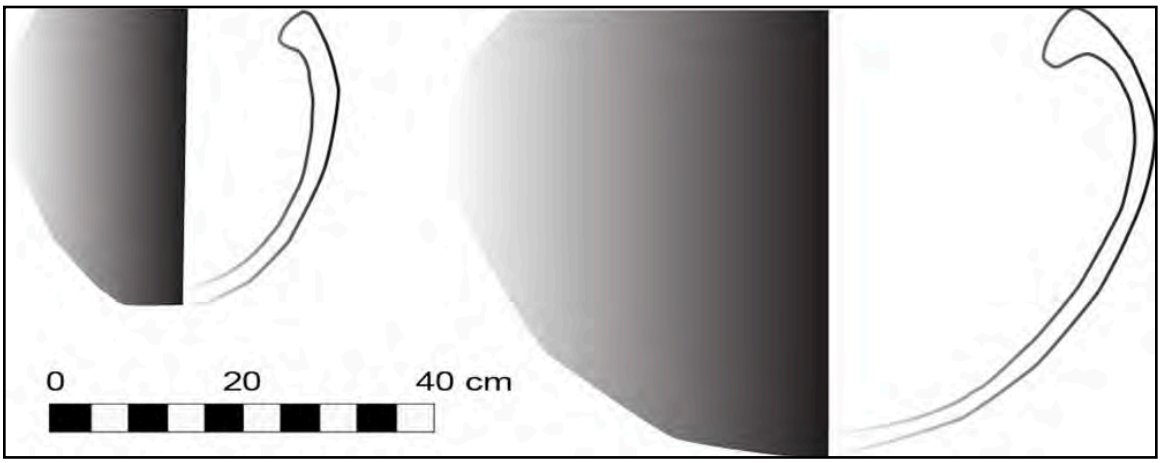

Fig. 5. Two latte vessels with Type B rims (from Carson 2012:43, fig. 23).

Although previous analyses of Chamorro ceramic sherds confirm that vessels varied by size, shape, and finish, research on the organization of ceramic production and distribution has been limited. Still, compositional studies of ceramic assemblages from the Latte Period suggest that vessels were made at multiple production centers (Graves et al. 1990; Moore 2002). Our research is focused on documenting the forms and functions of Chamorro vessels that were used and discarded at the aforementioned Latte or early Contact household on Guam that comprised two adjacent buildings exhibiting gender-differentiated activities.

Ritidian (Litekyan) Ceramics

The ceramic assemblages recovered from excavations at two adjacent *latte* sets (Latte 1 and Latte 2) occupied during the Latte and early Contact periods allow us to address the question of whether ceramic use varied in association with gendered activities, based on the understanding that one *latte* building was used for female-gendered activities and the other was used for male-gendered activities (Bayman et al. 2012).

The ceramic sherds in two *latte* assemblages were initially sorted as to whether they were diagnostic or undiagnostic. For the purposes of this study, the diagnostic category consists of rim, body, and base sherds that measure in excess of 3.0 cm along a single axis. Sherds in the undiagnostic category lacked intact exterior or interior surfaces or measured less than 3.0 cm along a single axis; such sherds were excluded from analysis for this study because they offered so little information.

We analyzed the following attributes of sherds in the diagnostic group: sherd type (body, rim, base), rim type (unthickened Type A or thickened Type B), rim stance (incurving, excurving, vertical), and rim lip shape (round, round-combed, round- equal, flat-equal). Rim stance is useful for distinguishing among vessel forms and functions. Pots with incurved rims

constrain easy access to their contents, so they are optimal for cooking and storage; pots with vertical rims are more appropriate as serving vessels because access to their contents is less restricted. In addition, we estimated orifice diameters, recorded sherd thickness values, and noted six surface treatments (rough, combed, wiped/brushed, plain, lime paint, and lime plaster). Maximum thickness of body sherds was measured with calipers and rim sherds were measured for maximum and minimum width. Rims were applied to a Vessel Circumference Gauge in order to estimate orifice diameter. We coded sherds that could not be assigned to a category as "undetermined."

Together, these data can be used to estimate vessel size and infer pot function. For example, a thick-walled vessel would be more durable than a thin-walled pot for cooking or storing large amounts of food or water. Thick-walled vessels are also better equipped to resist thermal stress from cooking and breakage (Rice 1987).

To further investigate form and function of vessel fragments from the two *latte* assemblages, ratios, and proportions of body and rim sherds were also calculated. For example, a higher proportion of rim-to-body sherds would likely characterize relatively small pots, whereas a higher proportion of body-to-rim sherds would characterize relatively large pots. Moreover, pots used for serving or eating were likely smaller than pots used for cooking and storage.

Results of Analysis

The total number of sherds in the two ceramic assemblages from Latte 1 and Latte 2 is 1380, including 1207 body sherds, 160 rim sherds, and 13 undiagnostic sherds. No base sherds were identified. Although the excavations at each of the two *latte* sets were equivalent in location and area (i.e., 16 excavation units each, for a total excavated area of 32 square meters), the ceramic assemblage at Latte 1 was much larger (980 sherds) than the assemblage at Latte 2 (391 sherds) (Table 1). The difference in the total counts is further confirmed by the total weight of the recovered sherds. Latte 1 yielded nearly twice the weight of sherds recovered from Latte 2 (Bayman et al. 2012).

Table 1. Distribution of Vessel Parts and Surface Treatment per Latte Set

		VESSEL PARTS		
PROVENIENCE	TOTAL COUNT	BODY	RIM	UNDETERMINED
Latte no.1	989	896	83	10
Latte no. 2	391	311	77	3

With respect to the distribution of rim types, the Latte 1 assemblage had two unthickened Type A rims and 61 thickened Type B rims. In contrast, the Latte 2 assemblage had no Type A rims, but it did have 37 Type B rims (Table 2). Notably, the distribution of discrete rim stance categories, vertical, incurving, and outcurving (or excurving) are not markedly variable at Latte 1 and Latte 2 with respect to their coefficients of variation (Table 2). Rims with an incurving stance were most common at both Latte 1 and Latte 2. Rims with a vertical stance were the next most common, whereas rims with an outcurving stance were the least common. The distribution of outcurving rims shows some differentiation; Latte 1 had eight (14%) outcurving rims while Latte 2 only had two (5%). Pots constructed with outcurving rims are easily held during transport and such vessels can also be used for storage by applying a lid.

For this analysis, lip shapes were classified as round, round-comb, round-equal, and flat-equal. Round rims are curved upward and narrow toward the body; a round-comb rim is curved and has comb striations; round-equal rims are curved but are proportionally equivalent toward the body; and flat-equal rims are vertical and unrounded. The distribution of lip shape in the two assemblages reveals variability. The four lip shapes at Latte 1 are round, round-combed, round-equal, and flat-equal. In contrast, Latte 2 has only two lip shapes, round and flat-equal. Variation in the distribution of lip shapes may indicate that pots with different lip shapes were needed to serve a wider set of ceramic functions.

The distribution of rim sherd surface treatment in the two ceramic assemblages is also variable. Surface treatments include rough, comb, wipe-brushed, plain/smooth, lime, and lime-comb (Table 2). Six surface treatment categories are represented in the Latte 1 (60%, 53 of the 93 rims) assemblage, whereas only four categories are present in the Latte 2 (47%, 36 of the 77 rims) assemblage (Table 2). Although marginal, the variation in the distribution of rim sherd surface treatments lends support to the idea that Latte 1 has a wider range of vessel forms and styles than Latte 2.

Only a small number ($N = 39$) of rim sherds were large enough to estimate orifice diameters. The orifice diameters of vessels from Latte 1 range from 22 to 50 cm, while those from Latte 2 range from 24 to 50cm. A comparison of the coefficients of variation for rim orifice size (i.e., 7.79 for Latte 1; 6.73 for Latte 2) shows that there is no notable difference between the two collections. Either the small number of rims available for measurement skewed the results or the community artisans produced vessels according to shared ideas regarding vessel size.

Table 2. Distribution of Rim Stance, Rim Type, Lip Shape, and Surface Treatment or Rim Sherds from Latte 1 and Latte 2

Latte 1			Type[a]			Lip					Surface Treatment[b]						
Rim Shape	No.	%	A	B	Unc.	Round	Round-Comb	Round-Equal	Flat-Equal	Unc.	Rough	Comb	WB	Pl/Sm	Lime	Lime/Comb	Unc.
Incurving	37	**40**		37		26	1		6	4	4	7	7	10		1	8
Outcurving	8	**9**	2	6		4		1	2	1	1		1	4	1		1
Vertical	16	**17**		14	2	2			13	1	1	7	1	5			2
Undiagnostic	32	**34**		4	28	4				28		1	1	3	3		26
Total no. /%	**93**	**100**	**2/2**	**61/66**	**30/32**	**36/39**	**1/1**	**1/1**	**21/23**	**34/36**	**6/6**	**15/16**	**10/11**	**21/23**	**3/3**	**1/1**	**37/40**

Latte 2			Type			Lip					Surface Treatment						
Rim Shape	No.	%	A	B	Unc.	Round	Round-Comb	Round-Equal	Flat-Equal	Unc.	Rough	Comb	WB	Pl/Sm	Lime	Lime/Comb	Unc.
Incurving	23	30		23		19			3	1	6	2	4	10			1
Outcurving	7	9		2	5	2			2	3	1			3			3
Vertical	12	16		10	2	4			6	1	1	4	2	3			2
Undiagnostic	35	45		2	33	2				33							35
Total no. /%	77	100	0	37/48	40/52	28/37	0	0	11/14	38/49	8/10	6/8	6/8	16/21			41/53

[a] A= unthickened latte; B = thickened latte; Unc. = unclear, indeterminate.
[b] WB = wipe-brushed; Pl/Sm = plain/smooth.

The distribution of surface treatment on body sherds in the Latte 1 and Latte 2 assemblages is more notable and reveals that 81 percent of the Latte 1 body sherds show evidence of textured surface treatment compared to 63 percent of the Latte 2 collection (Table 3). The higher proportion of body sherds with roughened surfaces at Latte 1 is significant since such vessels would have been better equipped for cooking atop fires (Rice 1987:232). Evidence that cooking occurred at Latte 1 is corroborated by the charcoal and hearth features at Latte 1 (Fig. 3).

Table 3. Distribution of Surface Treatment and Sherd Thickness of Body Sherds from Latte 1 and Latte 2

		Surface Treatment			Thickness (MM)		
Body Sherd	Total	Enhanced	Plain	Undiagnostic (5)	Median	Mean	Standing Deviation (σ)
Latte no.1	986	81%	18%	1%	10.2	10.3	2.32
Latte no. 2	314	63%	36%	1%	9.5	9.7	2.33

A comparison of average wall thickness in the two ceramic assemblages potentially offers insights on differential vessel durability at Latte 1 and Latte 2 (Table 3). Vessels used for cooking or storage, for example, might have thicker walls than vessels used for eating. The standard deviations of body sherd thickness in the two collections are 2.329 for Latte 1 and 2.332 for Latte 2, respectively. Our analysis indicates that average body sherd thickness at Latte 1 and Latte 2 are similar, at 10.3 mm and 9.7 mm respectively. In brief, there is no significant difference in vessel wall thickness between the two assemblages. Still, the similarity of vessel wall thickness in the two assemblages could be due to the fact that Latte Period vessels were already thick and durable (and therefore appropriate for cooking and storage as well as serving food).

Finally, the calculation of rim-to-body sherds from Latte 1 and Latte 2 was undertaken to further investigate potential variation in the functions of the vessels used at the two *latte* households. We assumed that a higher proportion of rim-to-body sherds would characterize serving dishes or other smaller pots, while a higher proportion of body-to-rim sherds would characterize larger vessels used for storage or preparing food for village or clan events such as feasts that would have been attended by high numbers of people. Significantly, the body-to-rim ratio in the Latte 1 assemblage is 896:93 (over 9.6:1 ratio), whereas the body-to-rim ratio in the Latte 2 assemblage is 314:77 (approximately 4.1:1 ratio), indicating that larger vessels were indeed used and discarded at Latte 1. The number of body sherds at Latte 1 is more than 9 times higher than its number of rim sherds. This is a sharp contrast with Latte 2,

where the number of body sherds is only 4 times higher than its number of rim sherds. A second approach we used to analyze sherd type (i.e., body and rim) count entailed a chi-square test. The overall chi-squared value was significant at $p < .05$ and $X^2 = 27.47$. Accordingly, there is a significant relationship between frequencies of body and rim found in Latte 1 and Latte 2.

The difference in vessel size implied by the differences in body-to-rim sherd ratios in the ceramic assemblages implies that the two *latte* buildings served different purposes. Since the orifice diameters of vessels in the two collections appear similar, we infer that some of the Latte 1 pots were considerably taller and wider than those at Latte 2. The discard of relatively large vessels at Latte 1, along with the discard of relatively small vessels at Latte 2, may relate to the gendered and spatially segregated labor proposed for households comprised of paired buildings (Bayman et al. 2012). The assemblage of larger ceramic vessels at Latte 1 implies that they were used for cooking and storing food and water (presumably by women), whereas the assemblage of relatively small vessels at Latte 2 were apparently used for consuming food (by men).

Implications of Analysis

Our analysis compares ceramic assemblages from two *latte* sets at an integrated multibuilding household. Latte 1 yielded a larger assemblage of ceramics than Latte 2, implying that more and larger vessels were used at the former. Although there are no significant differences in the distribution of vessel wall thickness or rim stance between the two assemblages, there is a somewhat greater variety in rim lip shape and surface treatment at Latte 1. The addition of textured surface treatments potentially signals differences in vessel function or the stylistic concerns of those who made and used the pots. Uneven or textured surfaces such as are identified in this analysis (e.g., rough, combed, and wiped/brushed) would have made such vessels easier to grip when they were being moved during such activities as storing goods, cooking, or cleaning. Moreover, textured exteriors enhance the ability of pots to absorb heat from a cooking fire more efficiently (Rice 1987:232). The relative abundance of sherds with textured surfaces at Latte 1 implies that cooking activities were concentrated at that locality. As noted earlier, the burned coral rock hearth features at Latte 1 are similar to other *latte* sites with outdoor kitchens, where food was cooked and served (Dixon et al. 2019:38–59; Spoehr 1957:45–46) (Fig. 3). The absence of hearth features at Latte 2 is a notable contrast with Latte 1, where most (if not all) food was cooked for the household.

Most striking is the contrast in the body-to-rim ratios in the two assemblages. The body-to-rim ratio at Latte 1 (about 9.6:1) is much greater than at Latte 2 (about 4.1:1). Even though the sherds were too small to provide reliable information about vessel size, the ratios imply

that Latte 1 had taller and wider vessels than Latte 2, which had smaller vessels. In brief, differences in the distribution of particular ceramic attributes and body-to-rim ratios confirm that different sets of activities took place at each *latte* building. Women engaged in cooking and storage at Latte 1, whereas men were served and consumed meals at Latte 2. This interpretation of contrasting gender-related activity centers is supported by the distribution of other types of cultural items recovered. Latte 1, the women's locale, had more chipped stones used for scraping, peeling, and slicing food products, as well as processing the plant fibers used in craft production. Latte 2, the men's locale, had more worked shell and bone items used for fishing, net weaving, hut building, and other activities (Bayman et al. 2012). Because children were often socialized into a specific gender, they likely learned how to craft from a same-sex parent or other relative, except in instances wherein individuals had gained proficiency "in the tasks of another gender, such as a man who was good at weaving" (Bevacqua 2019:n.p.).

Summary and Conclusions

Our case study of gendered households and ceramic assemblage formation in the Mariana Islands confirms that it is necessary to investigate the archaeological record to fully document traditional lifeways in early Contact period settings. Spanish documentary accounts of the seventeenth century offer limited information on the spatial organization of households in the archipelago. Consequently, archaeological analysis has been necessary to illuminate the ways in which gendered labor contributed to ceramic assemblage formation in an integrated multibuilding household in the village of Ritidian (Litekyan) on the island of Guam. Documenting the use and discard of ceramic vessel forms at this household provided a significant insight on gendered labor: women (and probably adolescent girls) prepared and stored food in relatively large vessels at the *latte* building, where they also practiced other craft activities, while men (and adolescent boys) consumed food from smaller vessels at an adjacent *latte* building where they engaged in other craftwork. It is possible that women and preadolescent boys and girls consumed their meals at Latte 1 from small vessels similar to the ones used by men in Latte 2; this would account for the smaller vessels found among the broader assemblage at Latte 1. From this archaeological pattern, we infer that labor was gendered in Chamorro society just prior to Spanish Contact and that this practice continued into the seventeenth century. However, we do not intend to imply that gender and the division of labor were always binary in daily practice (Bayman et al. 2012:267). Moreover, future field research is required to determine whether (or not) other Latte-Early Contact Period (A.D. 1000 1700) households were similarly gendered; this study has illustrated a suite of methods for doing so.

This study offers compelling insights for archaeological research on traditional gender relations in the Mariana Islands and elsewhere in the world. European accounts and ethnographic studies highlight the vital role of women in the archipelago's matrilineal society (Montón-Subías 2019; Thompson 1945:11–18). Documentary accounts imply that matrilineal clans were ranked in the Mariana Islands as they were elsewhere in Micronesia such as Yap, and that households were headed by women (Russell 1998:143). Although traditional Chamorro society was organized into matrilineal clans in terms of descent, land tenure, and inheritance, the capacity for women to exercise authority waned in the wake of Spanish and American colonialism (Souder 1992:43–46). Archaeological research on gender was formerly characterized by dichotomous and binary perspectives, such as gender complementarity (wherein the labor of women and men was complementary and interdependent) or gender hierarchy (wherein one gender, usually men, dominate and oppress the other) (Gero and Scattolin 2002:155–158). Our study implies that these two views of gender relations are not mutually exclusive. Cultural imperatives in the Mariana Islands likely required the spatial separation of certain activities (such as crafting or eating) by females and males—as they did elsewhere in the Pacific, including Yap in Micronesia (Hunter-Anderson 1984) and the Hawai`ian Islands in Polynesia. Still, the matrilineal organization of traditional Chamorro society in the Mariana Islands ensured that women exercised significant power compared to men even if crafting and the consumption of food was spatially segregated.

In conclusion, we concur with other researchers in advocating a research approach to gendered labor that foregrounds household archaeology in the interpretation of traditional societies (Kahn 2016; Pluckhahn 2010). When documentary records and ethnographic accounts are available, they offer the opportunity to construct and evaluate hypotheses with the archaeological record, as we have done in the Mariana Islands with our study of ceramic assemblage formation during the Late Latte and early Spanish Contact periods. The adoption of this approach, especially in areas where ceramic vessels were used, illustrates how it can be applied to traditional societies elsewhere in the world.

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Panel: Archaeology Across the Centuries

Origins of the People of the Mariana Islands

Ancient DNA Research and Archaeological Context

By Dr. Rosalind Hunter-Anderson and Joanne Eakin
With contributions by Miguel Vilar, David Reich, and Yue-Chen Liu

Abstract: *Our team of archaeologists and geneticists is collaborating on three studies about the origins of the people of the Mariana Islands and their social and biological relationships with other groups across the western Pacific and Island Southeast Asia (ISEA). To date, we have recovered ancient DNA (aDNA) samples from Late Unai and Latte period individuals on Guam and from Latte period individuals on Saipan. The Late Unai samples are from ~2500-year-old burials, the oldest discovered in Micronesia. In this paper we present preliminary results of our research and show how Marianas archaeological context and aDNA results interrelate, challenging a failing narrative of CHamoru population origins in the Philippines c. 3500 before present.*

Introduction

Our team of archaeologists and geneticists is collaborating on three studies about Mariana Islands population origins, movements, and past social and biological relationships with other groups across the western Pacific and Island Southeast Asia (ISEA).

Our primary objective for sampling human remains is to add to an accurate characterization of the prehistoric record of the people who began the journey into the Remote Pacific c. 3,500 years ago.

To date, we have recovered ancient DNA (aDNA) samples from 34 Late Unai and 55 Latte period individuals from Guam and from 35 Latte period individuals from Saipan. The Late Unai samples are from the Naton Beach site on Guam. The Late Unai burials are the earliest known burials in the Marianas. Carbon dates of Late Unai bone samples range between 2480 and 2635 +/- 20 years cal BP.

In this paper we present preliminary results of our research from Naton Beach and show how Marianas archaeological context and aDNA results interrelate, and challenge the narrative of CHamoru population origins in the Philippines c. 3500 years BP.

Regional Archaeological Context

Our understanding of late Holocene human settlement of the western Pacific is changing, and a regional ecological orientation is needed to better interpret the prehistoric archaeology of the Marianas. The Naton DNA study has been conducted within the following interpretive framework.

During the Southeast Asian Bronze Age, marine foragers seeking resources first visited the Marianas c. 3,500 3,300 years ago. Their shoreline camps are represented by delicate redware pottery, rare fishing gear, marine shell ornaments, pelagic and inshore fish, and shellfish food remains but no burials or other signs of permanent settlement.

These occasional excursions from Island Southeast Asia into the Mariana archipelago continued for about a thousand years during a time of sea level decline, which widened island margins, and changed shoreline habitats.

By the onset of the Southeast Asian Iron Age c. 2500 BP, fisher-farmers had permanently occupied the southern Marianas' coasts. This adaptive shift involved use of pan-like ceramics and earth-oven cooking, polished shell and stone tools, abundant fishing gear of marine shell and bone; a diet of taro and breadfruit, fish and shellfish. There were now multiple human interments, often buried with marine shell ornaments and other grave goods.

By 1000 BP, the fisher-farmer cultural system included coastal and inland residential and farming locales; monumental stone architecture, modified mortuary practices, betel nut and upland rice cultivation; and a diet of local and imported tree and root crops, fish and shellfish species. Ceramics were designed for long-duration cooking and for food and water storage.

Marianas Archaeological Chronologies

Defined by Spoehr 1957	Defined by Hunter-Anderson and Moore 2001	Years Before Present (BP)	CHamoru Terms	English Meaning
Pre-Latte	Early Unai	3500-3000	Manhålom i Mantatasi	The ocean voyagers came and went
	Middle Unai	3000-2500		
	Late Unai	2500-1600	Mañåga i Mantatasi	The ocean voyagers stayed and established their homeland
	Huyong	1600-1000	Manhåttalom	They settled further inland
Latte	Latte	1000-500	Manmanhåtsa Latte	They became latte builders

CHamoru terms and English translations courtesy of Laura M. Torres Souder and Rosa Salas Palomo (2020)

Ancient DNA Research Project

Our previous efforts to extract aDNA from the first people to permanently settle the Mariana archipelago c. 2,500 years ago had met with limited success (Foody *et al*. 2018). In 2018, the Guam SHPO, Lynda B. Aguon, approved a new team and a new approach to study the DNA of these early settlers. The data would come from the Naton Beach Site on Tumon Bay on Guam's west-central coast. The collaboration would include geneticists from the University of Vienna, led by Dr. Ron Pinhasi, and Harvard Medical School, led by Dr. David Reich.

Naton Beach Site

The Naton Beach Site is in Gogna Cove at the north end of Tumon Bay, where a limestone headland juts into the sea, forming the northern terminus of the Tumon embayment. Northern Tumon Bay once had a series of shallow lagoons and marshes that infilled as sea level declined from its mid-Holocene highstand.

Naton Beach Site: Image by Yue-Chen Liu

Naton Beach Excavations

Between 2006 and 2008, excavation at the Okura Hotel renovation project at Naton Beach resulted in the recovery and analysis of 370 sets of human remains. Two temporally and culturally distinct groups were recognized at Naton: 212 individuals associated with the Latte Period, 1000-500 BP, and 155 associated with the beginning of the Late Unai Period, 2500 BP. Three individuals were determined to be unaffiliated.

Naton Mortuary Characteristics

The Late Unai burials contrast with later Marianas populations in morphology, pathology, and mortuary practices. Late Unai graves were deep in white sterile sand below the darker, culturally enriched soils of the Latte Period. The Late Unai burials exhibited a consistency in burial position relative to Latte Period interments: 96% were in a fully extended supine position as opposed to 33% of the Latte Period burials.

Naton Late Unai Burials

Late Unai burials had a larger quantity and greater variety of grave goods compared to the Latte burials. Late Unai burial artifacts included *Conus* shell beads and bracelets, stone adzes and pestles, and shell adzes, fishhooks, and sinkers, along with large unmodified *Pinctata* shells and deposits of red and yellow ochre.

There are significant differences in the size and dimensions of cranial bones, post-cranial bones, and dentition. The Late Unai population was more gracile than the Latte population. Decreases in tooth dimensions and certain cranial measurements between the Late Unai and Latte groups could reflect changes in diet and food processing, or introduction of a new population. Significant increases in Latte long bone diameters or circumferences, incidence and types of dental wear, and changes in the locations of activity-related degenerative joint disease suggest changes in activity patterns. Diseases differed between the two populations. For example, yaws was not identified in the Late Unai population but was common during the Latte period.

aDNA Research Questions

These observations on the two burial populations at Naton suggested a complex population history for Guam, some of which could be investigated genetically and interpreted from an anthropologically informed perspective. We asked our geneticist partners the following questions:

- ⚿ Where did the Late Unai people come from, and were they the direct ancestors of the Latte people, despite their physical and cultural differences?

- ⍰ If not, do they represent two separate migrations from the same or different parental population?
- ⍰ Or is there an even more interesting story to be written about Guam's complicated past?

The aDNA Research Process

- Develop research design and sampling protocol
- Obtain permission from GHPO to study ancient human remains
- Obtain approval from the Guam Museum and Department of Chamorro Affairs
- Sample the skeletal assemblage with assistance from the Guam Museum
- Transport samples to the University of Vienna for sample preparation by Pinhasi lab
- DNA extraction and analysis conducted by the Reich lab, Harvard Medical School
- Data interpretation by the team
- Consultation with local community
- Publications
- Return samples to the Guam Museum

aDNA Sample Processing

Due to age and burial environment, aDNA can be extremely fragmentary and degraded. Dr. Pinhasi's team has determined that the cochlea of the petrous bone is a reliable DNA source. With guidance from Dr. Olivia Cheronet from the University of Vienna, we selected a subset of Late Unai individuals based on archaeological and osteological data and collected petrous samples at the Guam Museum storage facility in Hagatna.

A small amount of bone from the cochlea portion of the petrous bone is removed and powdered. The cochlea powder is chemically processed to purify the sample from contamination. Samples that yield analyzable DNA are also radiocarbon-dated.

Preliminary Results of the aDNA Analysis

Location	Period	N Male	Y haplogroup	N Female	Sex Unk	mtDNA	Years BP
Naton GU	Late Unai	8	O	22	4	E2, E2a, E1a1b, M (n=1)	~2500
Naton GU	Latte	26	O, M (n=1), S (n=2)	27	2	E2, E2a, E1a1b	~1000

- Late Unai mtDNA (maternally inherited) is very homogeneous: >90% belong to the most common lineage that is present in modern CHamoru: E2a.
- Latte mtDNA is very similar to Late Unai mtDNA, and Y-DNA (paternally inherited) in both groups also shows a high degree of continuity.
- Two new Y-DNA haplogroups occur in the Latte group.

Discussion

Where did the Late Unai people come from?

- The Late Unai and Latte samples from Naton have the same deep East Asian ancestry.
- The Late Unai individuals descended from an East Asian-related lineage that is a sister group to the one associated with the Lapita culture that entered the southwest Pacific beginning ~3000 BP.
- The E1 and E2 haplogroups are common throughout Island Southeast Asia today.
- The E2a lineage characteristic of Late Unai and Latte groups originated during the Holocene (10,000-5,000 years ago) in Eastern Indonesia, most likely Sulawesi (Soares *et al*. 2008).
- The Y-DNA haplogroups O and M are common in western Indonesia and Melanesia today.
- The Late Unai and Latte aDNA show no direct prehistoric connections to the Philippines, whose populations also have deep East Asian ancestry.

Were the Late Unai the direct ancestors of the Latte people?

- The continuity in mtDNA and Y-DNA suggests it is possible, even likely. Beginning with a small founding population, isolation and population growth would result in the fairly homogeneous population observed in the Latte period. Geneticists call this the result of "founder effect" or "genetic drift."
- The extent of genetic drift in the maternal lines is significant and could indicate the practice of matrilocal residence, common in several Micronesian cultures.
- The new Y-DNA lineages S and M that appear during the Latte period indicate later male migration into the Marianas from the south, not from the north, west, or east.

Future Work

Analysis of autosomal (non-sex-linked) DNA to estimate Latte population size at Naton is ongoing. Autosomal data are being studied to estimate relatedness of Latte individuals from Naton and other Marianas sites. Future reports will include comparative results of ongoing aDNA analysis of Latte populations from the Naton Beach site and the Imperial Palace excavations on Saipan. We plan to publish *Genomic Evidence for at Least Four Prehistoric Migrations to Micronesia* (Yue-Chen Liu *et al*. in prep.) soon.

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As a new Ph.D. in 1980 Rosalind Hunter-Anderson came to Micronesia to study traditional Yapese settlement patterns. This field experience led to a keen interest in the prehistory and ethnology of the region. In 1990 she helped form Micronesian Archaeological Research Services, where she conducted numerous investigations, mostly in the Marianas. into the early 2000s. Hunter-Anderson now lives in New Mexico, often presenting her work at professional meetings and in scholarly journals.

Joanne Eakin, MA, is an archaeologist and osteologist who has worked with state and federal agencies, academic institutions, and cultural resources management firms in the US Southwest and the Pacific region. Eakin began conducting bio-archeological research in the western Pacific in 1991. Her work includes skeletal inventories and analyses of large populations on Guam and the CNMI, recovery of WWII Japanese and American remains from the Battle of Tarawa in Kiribati and the US invasion of Saipan, and DNA research into the early population history of Micronesia. While conducting the initial skeletal

assessments at the Guam Naton Beach site in 2007, Eakin documented the mortuary and physical variations between the Latte and Late Unai populations.

Guam 1668-1769

Cultural Change and Cultural Continuity in the Jesuit Mission

By Dr. Sandra Montón-Subías
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Abstract: *In this paper, I will present the theoretical background of the archaeological project Aberigua (Archaeologies of Cultural Contact and Colonialism in Guam). This project investigates processes of cultural change and continuity associated to the incorporation of Guam and the Mariana islands by the colonial network of the Spanish empire. Although focus is on Jesuit missions, the project embraces previous and posterior chronologies to understand colonial impacts in their full magnitude. Stress is placed on gender construction and maintenance activities, a concept born in Spanish feminist archaeology to highlight the foregrounding nature of a set of recurrent daily practices — such as care-giving, food-processing, textile manufacture, hygiene, health and healing, the socialization of children, or the arrangement of living spaces — that are essential to social stability, continuity and wellbeing. Maintenance activities were clearly endeavoured by Jesuit policies to colonize indigenous lifeways and subjectivities, but they also worked as reservoirs of traditional knowledge. I will use textile manufacture and bodily habits as a case example.*

Introduction

In this article, I will discuss processes of cultural change and persistence in Guam during the Spanish colonization of the Marianas archipelago. I will focus on maintenance activities and textile manufacture, one of the research lines open by the research project Aberigua. This is a project aimed at understanding the case-specific details of the colonial strategies implemented in the Mariana Islands in the 17th and 18th centuries, and the subsequent CHamoru native responses, including processes of cultural change and cultural continuity. Aberigua is inspired by feminist and anti-, post-, and de-colonial critiques to modern colonialism and the practice of archaeology itself. To understand the impact that modern colonialism (and Catholic missions as part of it) had on local people, we believe it is necessary to pay attention to quotidian life, material culture, and the body. We also believe it is important to have in mind ontological diversity and to be careful to not project Eurocentric patriarchal values into the past.

Within Aberigua, we pay specific attention to Maintenance Activities, which is a concept born in Spanish feminist archaeology to highlight the foregrounding nature of a set of routine practices such as basic cooking and food processing, basic textile manufacture, the

socialization and rearing of children, basic hygiene and public health, the provision of care, and the arrangement of living spaces that are essential to social stability, reproduction and wellbeing (figure 1). Maintenance activities were targeted by Jesuit policies to try colonize indigenous lifeways and subjectivities (Montón-Subías 2019; Montón-Subías & Moral 2021). However, those activities also worked as reservoirs of traditional knowledge (Montón-Subías & Hernando forthcoming). To illustrate this point, I will focus here on bodily habits and textile manufacture.

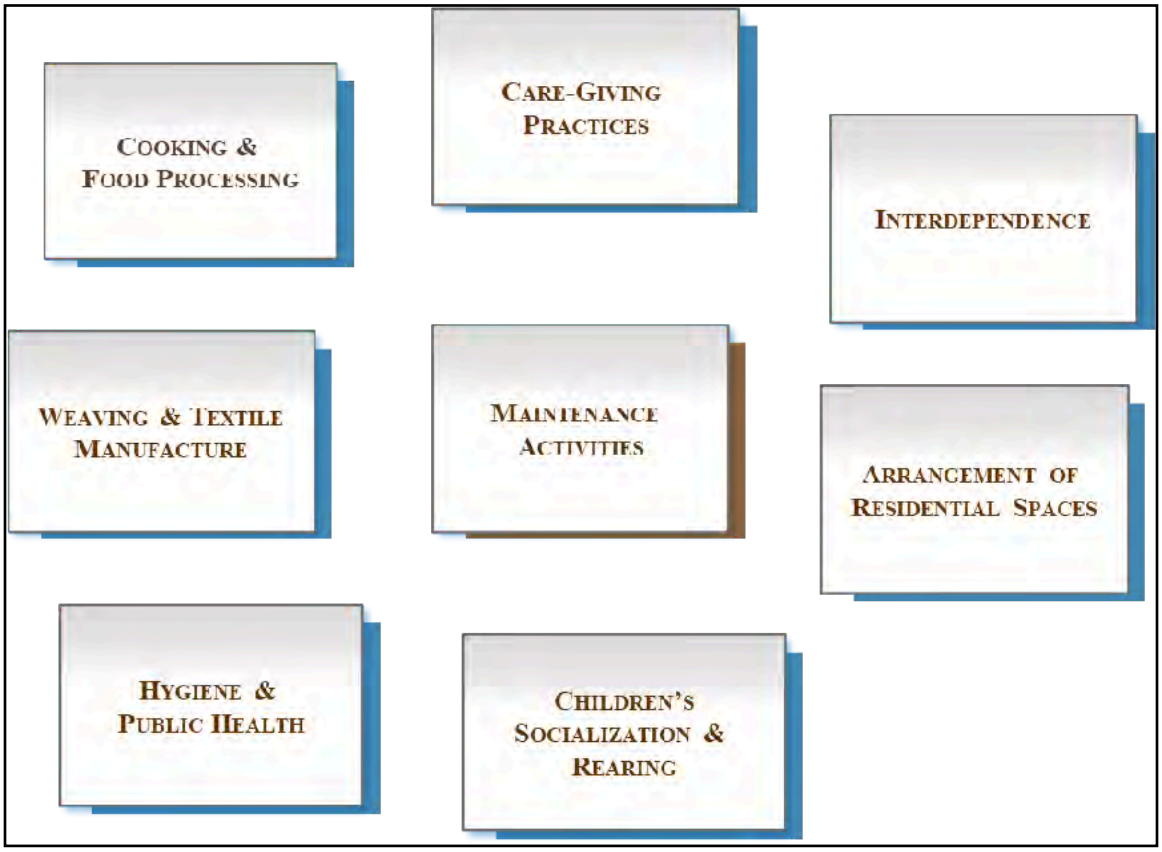

Figure 1. Maintenance Activities.

First contact with cultural otherness is usually mediated by the body and its associated material culture. Most probably, the16th-century islanders of Guam were quite surprised when, for the first time, they saw European corporeal habits after approaching the Magellan expedition in 1521. Eighty years later, Franciscan Juan Pobre de Zamora, referring to Latte CHamoru, would record that "they laugh a lot about our clothing and starched ruffs and cuffs" (in Martínez 1997: 450). Latte corporeal habits of pre-colonial times were also unusual to Europeans. Generally speaking, CHamoru people did not use textiles to dress their bodies, with the exception of *tifis* to cover women's pubic areas and female palm skirts usually worn in festivals. Jesuits interpreted such body codes as nudity, and considered nudity as

equivalent to a lack of civilization that should be alleviated with the use of dress (Montón-Subías & Moral de Eusebio 2021). The Marianas is one of those clear examples where the colonization of new territories was envisaged as a "corporeal enterprise" (Boddy 2011:119) even before its actual colonization began in 1668. We have, for instance, inventories that list dress items to be brought to Marianas with the first Jesuits that travelled to the islands. In any case, dressing the body was part of a broader "mission" that, in Jesuit's words, sought to also clothe their naked souls "with the grace of Christ" (García [1683] in McDonough 2004:136).

Two new institutions were fundamental to such a goal: the church and the school. They were imposed at the same time that other native institutions were forbidden and even destroyed. Children at schools were both textualized and "textilized" in a bounded process that evangelized and converted them to dress and literacy. Inside the schools, the factual teaching of clothing manufacture and cotton growing intertwined with moral lessons and values about proper dress. It is also interesting to notice that girls were taught to use spindles to spin cotton, while boys were taught to use lathes (García 1683: fol. 510). Importantly, annual letters also report that, at their schools, girls would continue plaiting mats in addition to weaving and sewing (Bustillo 1690). Aberigua has been excavating at the church and cemetery of San Dionisio at Humåtak, where we have uncovered material culture related to changes in bodily habits, like bone buttons (figure 2). We like to refer to such items as "buttons of globalization"

Figure 2. "Buttons of Globaloization". From Aberigua excavations at San Dionisio (Humåtak, Guam). Photograph by Enrique Moral de Eusebio.

regarding the fact that modern colonialism initiated a global trend towards standardization in body codes.

The introduction of dress also implied the circulation of new people, knowledge and technologies. The same textile transferences that had previously happened between the Philippines and New Spain also took place in Guam now. Different documents refer to the arrival of people who went on purpose to the island to perform and teach these tasks. An early document states that 12 families from the Philippines or México must be brought to the Marianas to teach girls how to sew and spin. Later on, people already skilled in textile manufacture on the island would be sent to different villages to "spread" the trade (*Relación del estado y progresos…* 1682).

Dressing the body, however, did not run as smooth as reflected in the Spanish documents. Different episodes recount native refusal to use dress, even after baptism. Likewise, there is a very telling episode that describes how missionary Francisco Esquerra was killed and then stripped of his cassock in one of the different episodes of conflict and native resistance that characterized the first 30 years of Jesuit residence (de Aranda 1690:273). Stripping Francisco Esquerra naked could have been an act of rejection with at least the same force as the murder itself. It also seems that much later, already in the 19th century, at least in some activities, strict corporeal codes were not always followed, as suggested by 19th-century illustrations and descriptions of women working with their torsos naked (see also Thompson 1947:47).

Cloth work, as a maintenance activity, fell only to women. Francisco García places special stress in specifying how girls married to Spaniards and Filipinos, after attending Mass every day, were back to their "family obligations" and spent their day "sewing, washing clothes and doing other households tasks" (1683:561; McDonough 2004:477). There is no better example of how the new values expected of the converted girls/women and the manufacture of the new clothes to construct and in-carnate such values were all sewn together in a process that was itself an integral part of a new gender system and a new model of femininity. Indeed, as in many other regions of the world, the colonization of Guam was shaped by gender ideology and gender policies.

Importantly, within textile manufacture and at the same *reducciones* where the previous changes took place, there were clear cultural persistences. Plant-weaving is a telling case (Auyong 2019; Flores 2019, Tolentino 2019). Textual sources antedating *La Reducción* refer to plant-weaving as one of the finest industries in the islands and as women's work. Juan Pobre de Zamora offers broad information regarding the many different uses of such textiles at the

beginning of the 17th century, when it was fundamental to Latte daily life. He indicated that palm and *nipay* leaves were employed to make mats for domestic and funerary equipment, including mattresses and blankets, tables to serve food, boxes for ancestors' skulls, shrouds for the deceased, and tomb covers. These leaves were also used for sending presents, making hats in different styles, and fashioning small baskets to carry betel nuts (Martínez 1997: 444, 447-448, 451). Previous 16th-century sources also record plaited baskets to carry sling stones (Rodriguez 1565: 389, in Kerr 2013) and plaited sails (Rodriguez 1565: 388, in Kerr 2013; Donoso 2016: 2-3), and illustrate some of their functions (du Nort 1602: 34). All these uses are confirmed by 17th-century colonial sources which also record other functions: for houses, curtains and wall covers (Lévesque 1995b: 124); for funerals, little baskets to gather the deceased's soul, and bows and triumphal arches to ornament the streets when the departed was a *principal* (Sanvitores et al. 1671; 125); for sandals (Lévesque 1995b: 39; 1995c: 429); and for baby cradles, plates to serve food, and even armor (Lévesque 2000: 12, 27). Moreover, plaiting techniques were employed to roof thatched houses, and for social transactions and exchange. Sources mention at least two such events. One refers to women's dowries, which included a small well-crafted palm mat (Lévesque 1995 a: 322). The other relates to exchanges with European vessels before the colony, and to the fact that palm mats figured among the CHamoru commodities, together with food supplies (Ribadeneira 1601: 84). The Boxer Code (Donoso 2016: 4-5) even records an episode in which palm mats are added to other trade goods to make an offer more attractive.

Many of these items and uses survived through *La Reducción*. Exploration expeditions of the 18th and 19th centuries, while staying in the Marianas, recorded and illustrated many of them. In 1819, for instance, the Freycinet expedition included the CHamoru names of various artifacts (1829:317-8, and see also Flores 2019). Some of these 19th century objects have survived until the present, including fans, bags, sandals, baskets, and mats curated at Museo Nacional de Antropología in Madrid (figure 3).

To understand the significance of both the cultural changes and continuities during the Jesuit mission it is important to consider Latte cultural logics, and not to lose sight of the cultural gap that existed between the Jesuits and the Latte Chamorus. Jesuits came from European societies immersed in a growing process of nature dehumanization and human denaturalization that has continued growing to our days. Alongside scientists, they occupied the highest levels of logocentrism and individualization at that time (Molina 2013), features all connected to the hierarchic binary thinking that subordinates the body, animals, and nature to mind, humans and culture; and women to men, with coetaneous efforts to eliminate possible others.

Figure 3. 19th century CHamoru fan (CE2136) at Museo Nacional de Antropología (Madrid, Spain). Photograph by Arantxa Boyero Lirón.

By contrast, Latte societies exhibited complete orality (thus no writing, and no or few abstract representations of reality and scientific explanations of nature's mechanics), no clear social stratification, and work specialization only according to gender. It is possible that there were ranked lineages, none of them prevailing over or controlling the others. Latte societies were also characterized by the performance of recurrent tasks driven by horticulture and household gardening, lagoon and deep-sea fishing, shellfish gathering, jungle foraging, and maintenance activities. In such a situation, it is possible to assume a perception of reality mediated by mythical explanations, with importance given to ancestors and tradition (as emphasized by the sources here and there), and by an absence of a deliberate search for change (Montón-Subías & Hernando, forthcoming). This is the case in oral societies with similar features (Clastres 2014; Hernando 2002, 2018, Ong 2002), where the self is constructed and perceived as part of something broader like the community and nature. It is very important to bear this in mind to not project Eurocentric and sexist values into the past. In spite of today's widespread belief that the search for change is a universal value, ethnography portrays many societies that do not seek changes, but instead to perpetuating themselves in their traditional ways of life because this tradition is perceived as the key to the group's very survival. We need to remember this fact to fully understand the magnitude of the colonialist policies practiced by the Jesuits upon the *Latte* people. It was precisely tradition what was targeted by such policies. Even so, different precolonial practices, both tangible and intangible, resisted and persisted through the changing world of *La Reducción*.

Manufacture and use of plaited material culture surely helped mitigate profound ontological disorientation after forced relocation from ancestral lands. Through plaiting within *reducciones*, women kept the connection with their ancestral traditions, both for themselves

personally and for the entire group. We have to understand such cultural continuities as acts of cultural reaffirmation in response to outside imposition. As in other areas of the globe (Federicci 2004: 299), missional attacks in Guam on native traditions targeted the community as a whole, its historical roots, and its spiritual relationship with the land, territory and nature. By the same token, however, we can assume that traditions surviving the assault defended and still defend those vital things.

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Japanese Archival Records and Archaeological Sites From the Pre-WWII Okinawan Diaspora on Tinian, CNMI

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Abstract: *This study looks at archival records and photographs from the pre-WWII Okinawan diaspora to Japanese sugarcane plantations in the Northern Mariana Islands to provide cultural context for interpreting recently recorded archaeological sites on the island of Tinian.*

Introduction

For those of you who know and love the quiet island of Tinian and its people today, the island is just a short flight south of Saipan (Figure 1). Very few Chamorro families remained after the Spanish returned to the Philippines with the arrival of Americans on Guam in 1898. However, it was once a busy Japanese plantation town and sugar refinery occupied between the German administration before WWI in 1914 and the American administration after WWII in 1945 (Dixon 2020; Dixon et al. 2020). Along the south coast at the location of a protected harbor, the Japanese established a company town modeled after a successful plantation founded on a small island east of Okinawa.

The story begins in 1903 when a young Haruji Matsue from a former Samurai family was awarded a scholarship to attend the Audubon Sugar School at Louisiana State University, returning with a Masters degree in 1905. Matsue began working in Taiwan developing new sugar manufacture techniques and employing local labor and Japanese immigrants. Meanwhile on Tinian in the early 1920s, initial Japanese investments in commercial farming had collapsed, leaving over 1000 Japanese workers near starving. With another member of a former Samurai family, Matsue (Figure 2) started a new venture that bought the two companies' land and employed their abandoned workers, requesting an additional 2000 laborers from Okinawa already familiar with sugarcane (Matsue 1932).

Tinian Town and its Okinawan Businesses

By the late 1930s, the Nanyō Kōhatsu Kaisha or NKK the Southern Seas Company had imported almost 18,000 contract laborers on Tinian, mostly from Okinawa, and cleared over

80% of the flat lands for sugarcane plantations, as they did on Saipan and Rota. The former fishing village we call San Jose today, became Tinian Town in 1933 (Figure 3) with a sugar refinery, post office, schools, warehouse, railway sheds, administrative offices, fish market, ice storage building, clubhouse, clinic, company store, and about 70 company houses (Okinawa Culture Development Association 2002). Also operated by Okinawans were an *awamori* bottling shop, a beer brewery, and a blacksmith shop outside of town as well as eating and drinking or entertainment establishments in town.

Sugar refineries in Tinian (Figure 4) and Rota have been partially mapped by archaeologists in some detail, although much of Chalan Kanoa in Saipan was reclaimed by development after the war. In contrast, the remains of an intact portion of the NKK housing barracks located behind the Tinian refinery were mapped and tested archaeologically by Darlene Moore et al. (1981), yielding a rich record of imported Japanese food and daily living remains, architectural foundations, water cisterns, and cooking and bathing facilities. Sugar production on Tinian was on the rise for consumption in Japan, but alcohol distilling was eventually converted to fuel for military uses after global tensions increased in 1941 - as seen by "Prayer for War Victory" painted on the molasses tanks of the refinery.

In pre-war Tinian Town and surrounding farmsteads or small company villages, freshly cooked food was always important before the age of refrigeration, including pig-knuckle *soba* with rice noodles in porcelain bowls, dishes for homemade pickles and *goya* or bitter squash, and perhaps a small dish of soy sauce. After-hours, although few in any given long work week, many farmers and laborers many have enjoyed sips of imported *sake* or Okinawan *awamori* rice wine produced and corked in reused beer bottles on Tinian (Figure 5), especially while gaming on special occasions or reminiscing about loved ones at home in the Ryūkyū Islands.

By many accounts, life was easier on Tinian than in Okinawa since the wages were higher. Some farmers said they could eat rice every day for breakfast, lunch and dinner while in Okinawa they only ate rice on the evenings. For celebrations, immigrant laborers in the Northern Marianas ate beef and goat and could afford a Nakamoto beer or two brewed on Tinian (Figure 6). There were soba noodle restaurants that are still popular in Okinawa today and distractions included theaters giving Okinawan plays and even a cinema hall.

New Years of 1937 was obviously a good year for the Nakamoto family on Tinian (Figure 7). You can recognize some of their family in the earlier slides of their Garden and the Awamori shop. However, the young girl in this photo was interviewed by historian Akiko Mori (2019) in Japan in 2012, who said her dream when the photo was taken was to move to Tokyo with her

aunt and cousins, and not stay in the Colonies. After the war she realized her dream and then returned to family in Okinawa.

Plowing, harvesting, farming, ranching, gardening, spear fishing, and house repairs all required iron tools that became increasingly scarce in the war years on Tinian. A crafty blacksmith such as Mr. Kamiji (Figure 8) would be in high demand and he lived at the edge of town in the fields of Kaahii district, perhaps the Kahet plateau at the end of the modern runway today. Metal hoes and narrow-gauge railroad spikes, probably from the sugarcane fields, were recovered around household gardens and perhaps used for household repairs after being modified by Mr. Kamiji's smithy.

The Tinian Sugarcane Plantation and its Organization

In 1927, Okinawan farmers and laborers on Saipan went on strike for more parity in wages and the rate at which Okinawans were paid for cutting sugarcane during the harvest season (Figure 9). In response to the strike, Matsue eventually adopted labor control policies that selected new locations in Japan to recruit immigrant workers. The unsuitability of limestone island soils, under pressure from repeated cropping of sugarcane by the closing years of the plantations, led historian Wakako Higuchi (Higuchi 2012; Higuchi and Tuggle 2012) to propose that reduced sugar production from soil depletion was already a serious problem in the Northern Marianas.

According to archaeologist David Tuggle (2015), Tinian was divided into rectangular plots of 6 hectares within four plantations or farms (Figure 10), three of which were "agricultural lands" leased by tenant farmers from NKK, most of whom paid rent in sugarcane and labor. The island also supported several rural villages, a cattle farm near Lake Hagoi, several manure composting facilities, and a small company town in north Tinian. Schools and Shinto shrines were distributed around the island accessible by bull cart and railroads. At the end of each month women went to the NKK canteen with a passbook to shop for noodles, *miso*, *shōyu*, sugar, canned beef, and canned sardines up to 25 yen.

Okinawan Farmsteads and Refugees During World War Two

Across the rural landscape on Tinian are numerous semi-tenant and fully-fledged farmers' Okinawan style homesteads (Figure 11) with concrete pig pens, house supports, and outdoor water cisterns, laundry pads, kitchens, and outhouses. Nearby household gardens were fed rainwater and pig manure while household refuse dumps contained broken porcelain and ironstone ceramics, and broken or reused bottles from beer, *sake*, and soy sauce. These farmsteads, investigated by archaeologists such as Connie Bodner (Welch and Bodner 2015),

also served as defensive positions for Japanese soldiers as civilians retreated to more distant refuges in the summer of 1944.

Many WWII civilian refuges and hastily built Japanese defenses in rural settings were also shown to archaeologists by local resident Carmen Sanchez in cliff lines beyond the edge of sugarcane field systems and Okinawan farmsteads (Jones et al. 2019), many with some evidence of being defended by Japanese military in the last days of the battle. Most low cobble walled refuges appeared constructed in haste with minimal attempt at camouflage (Figure 12), although several were situated overlooking limited access points to the plateaus, suggesting desperate skirmishes with little hope of survival. Tinian was one of the first battles of the war in which groups of civilians surrendered rather than committing suicide at the demand of some soldiers.

Many of these hastily constructed walled refuges in limestone cracks and under boulders contained artifacts left behind by civilian Okinawan farmers and their families (Figure 13). Beer and sake bottles may well have held their last drinks of water, ceramics and enamel bowls their last cold meals and leftover rice, since fires were probably discouraged to give away their positions to oncoming American soldiers. Discarded clothing and personal valuables such as wrist watches and coins were no longer of use and civilians were warned of the fate that awaited them at the hands of the enemy.

Japanese military artifacts in these refuges included hand grenades, Arisaka bullets, metal lids, and ceramic and enamel bowls (Figure 14). After surrender to American forces on August 1, 1944, and war's end the following September of 1945, the Japanese civilians and Koreans and Okinawans were kept at the pre-war village then called Camp Churo. This population totaled almost 11,500 men, women, and children, most in need of immediate health attention (Russell 1995). All were repatriated by 1946; almost no Japanese soldiers survived.

The Tinian Plantation Today

According to historian Don Farrell (2012), fewer and fewer former Okinawan residents of pre-war Tinian return to visit their childhood memories and pay respects to family who never returned with them, at public monuments erected on Suicide Cliffs and at local Shinto Shrines they may have frequented such as this peaceful setting on the slopes of the Carolinas plateau (Figure 15) above San Jose town today.

Figures

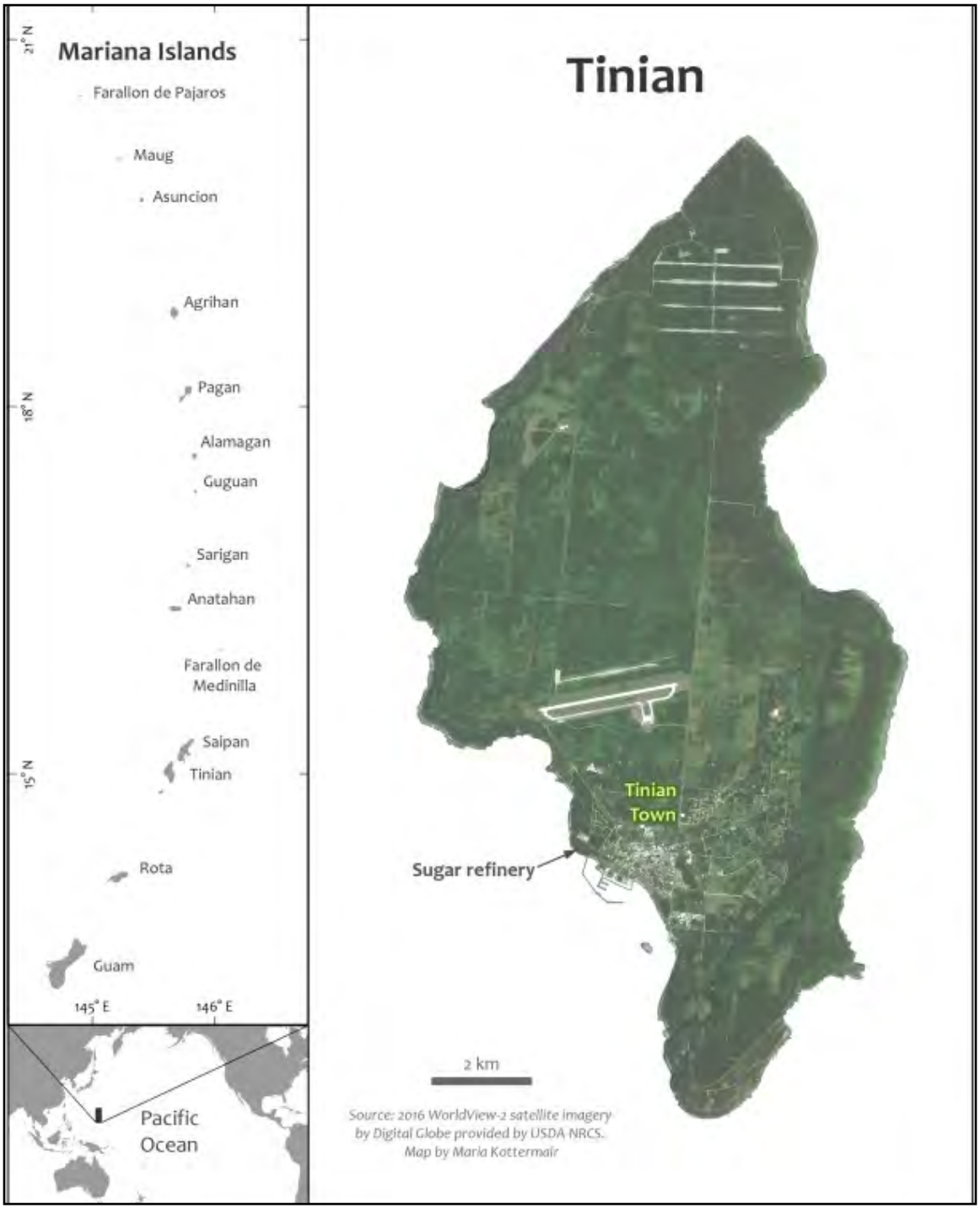

Figure 1: Location of Tinian within the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (Source: Maria Kottermair)

Figure 2: Personnel of the Saipan Bureau in Ceremony [Haruji Matsue Standing on the Right] (Source: Matsue 1932:160)

Figure 3: Tinian Town Neighborhood of Nanyo Kohatsu Residential Area and Sugar Factory (Source: Okinawa Culture Development Association 2002:16)

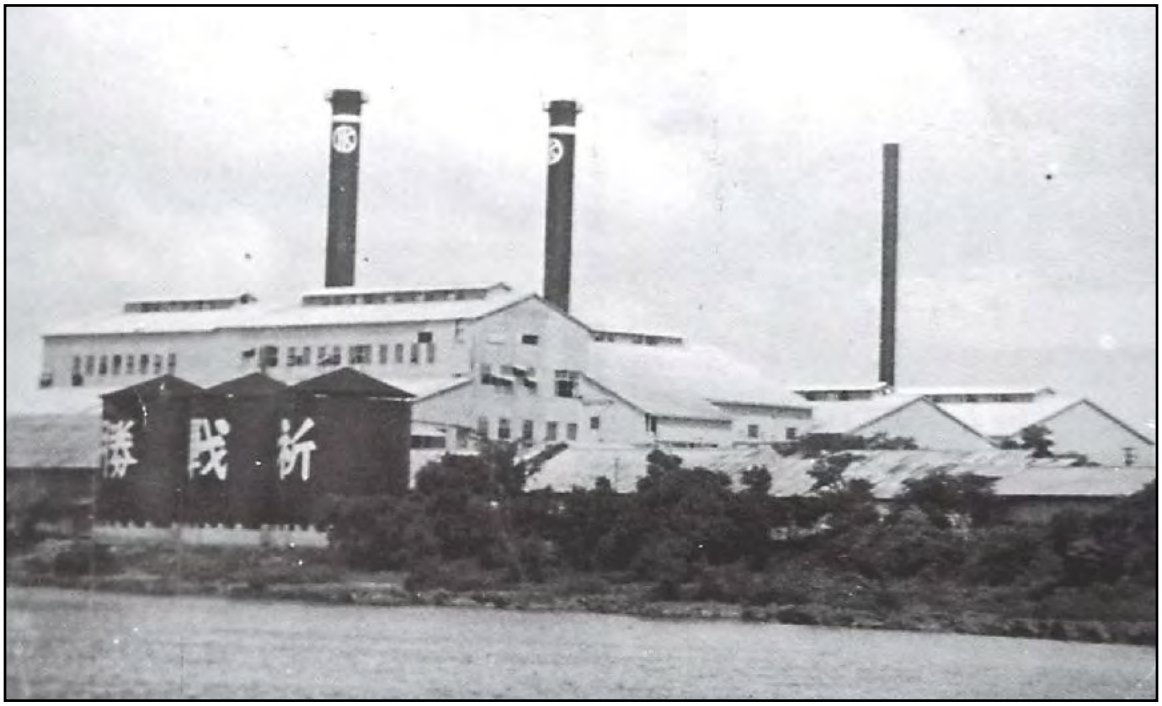

Figure 4: Tinian Sugar Factory. Letters for Prayer for the War Victory Can be seen on the Tanks. (Source: Okinawa Culture Development Association 2002:99)

Figure 5: Bottling Awamori in Recycled Beer Bottles (Source: Okinawa Culture Development Association 2002:76)

Figure 6: Garden of Nakamoto Brewery (Source: Okinawa Culture Development Association 2002:89)

Figure 7: New Year 1937 at Nakamoto Brewery (Source: Okinawa Culture Development Association 2002:79)

Figure 8: Smithy run by Okinawan Mr. Kamiji in Kaahii District (Source: Okinawa Culture Development Association 2002:181)

Figure 9: Contest for the Sugar Cane Harvesting Probably like Okinawan Harusuubu Tradition of Agricultural Contests (Source: Okinawa Culture Development Association 2002:151)

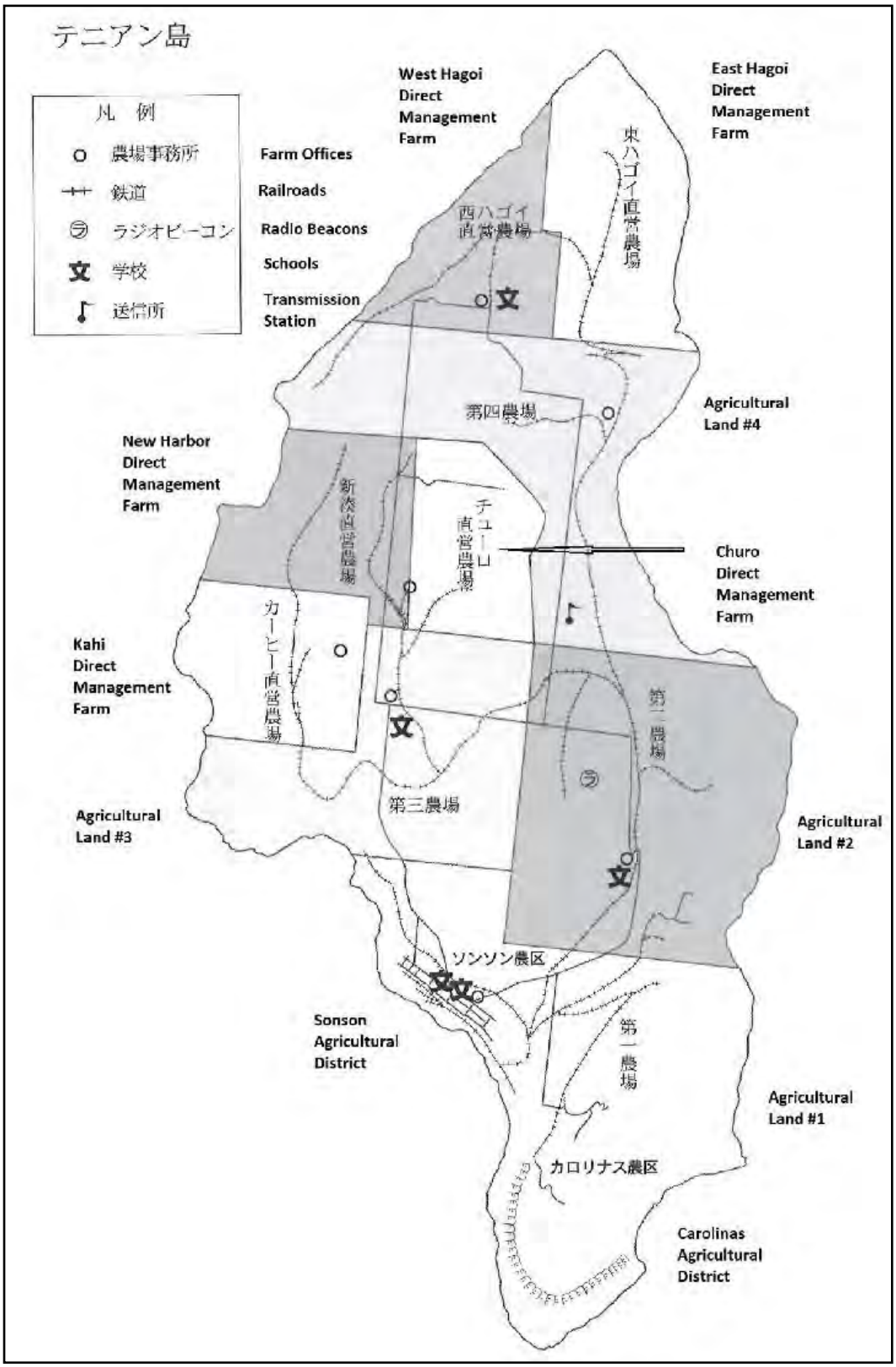

Figure 10: NKK Direct Management Farms and Agricultural Lands (Source: Okinawa Culture Development Association 2002:4)

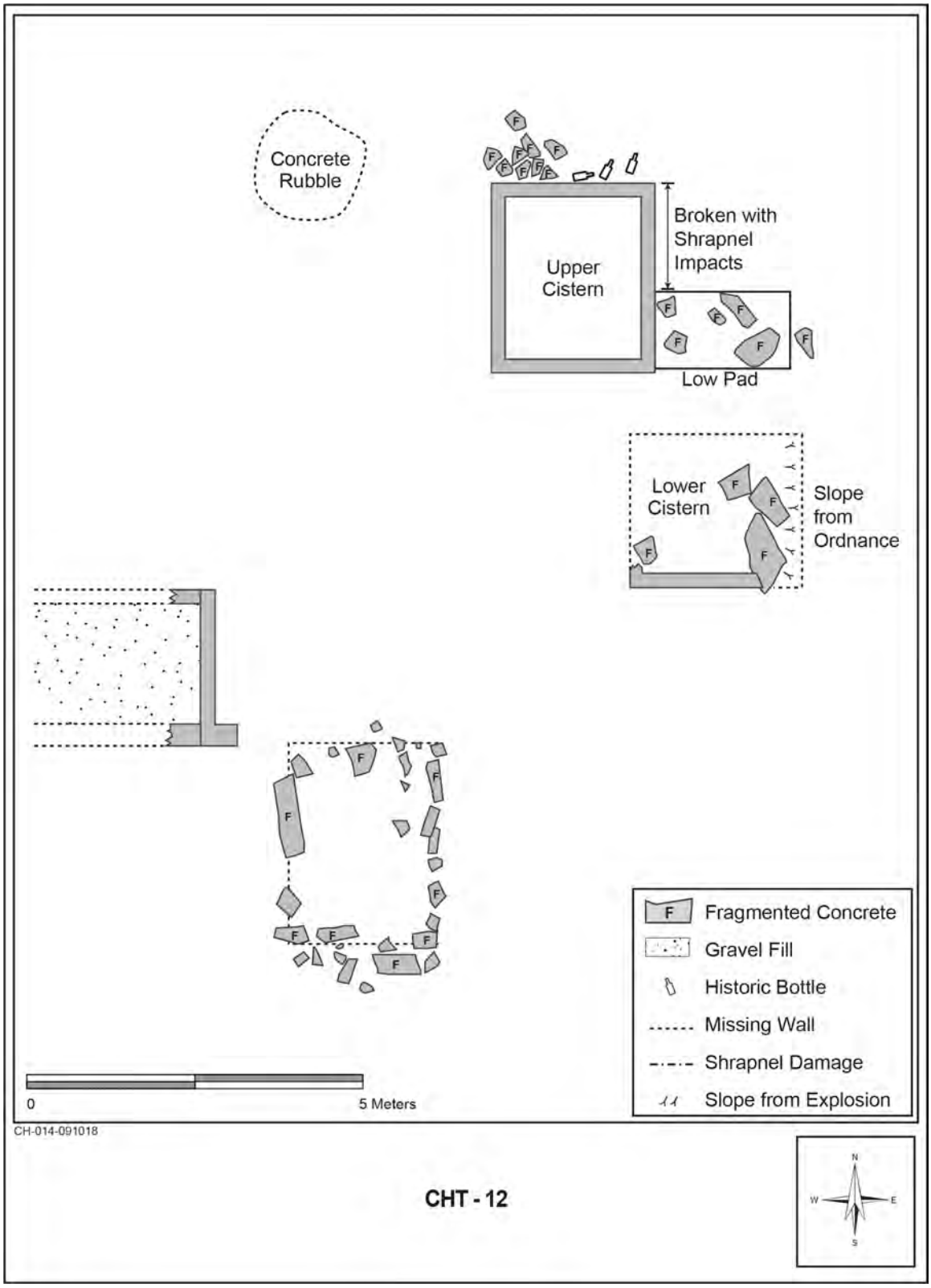

Figure 11: Okinawan Farmstead Site (Source: Jones et al. 2019)

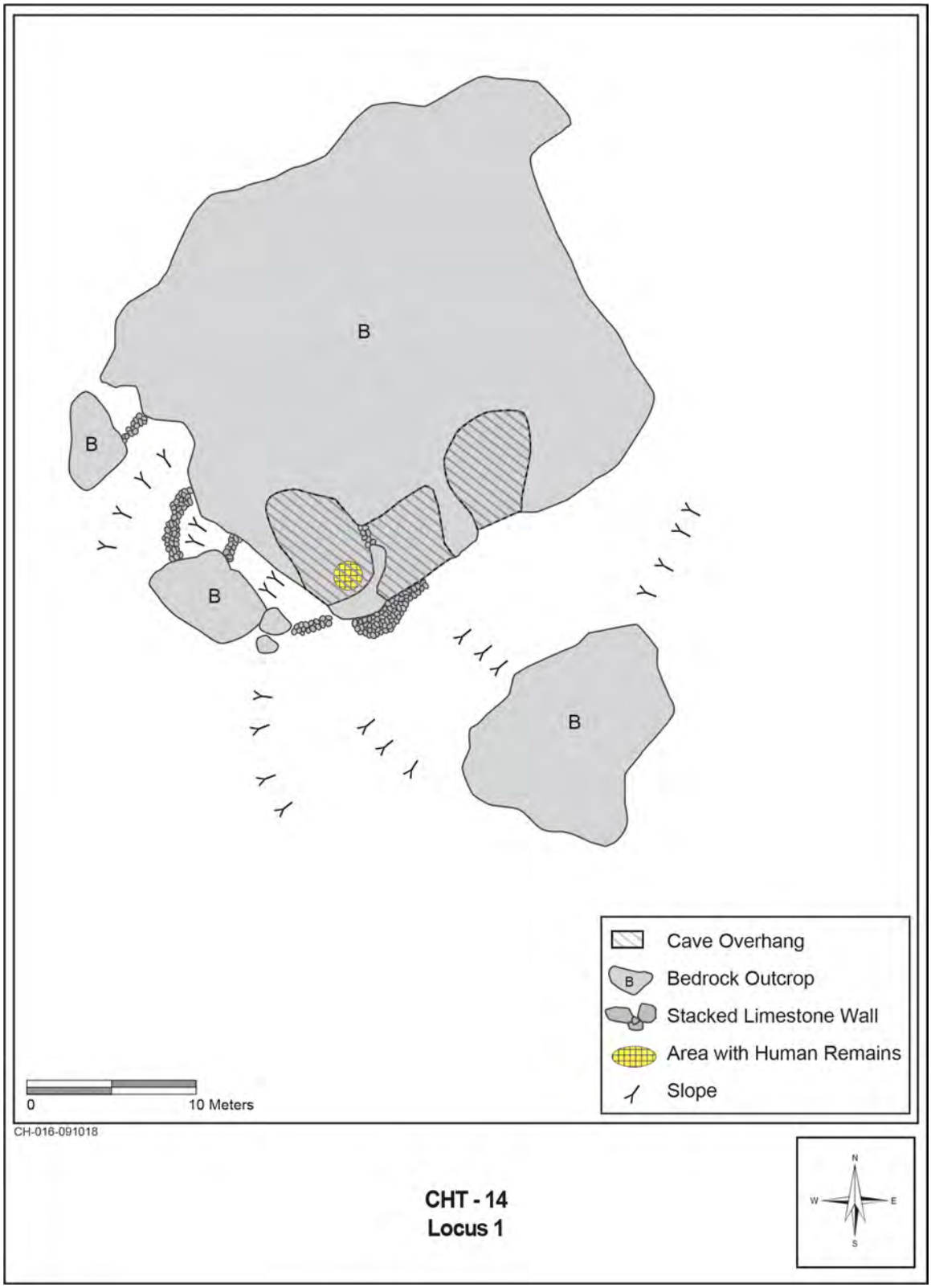

Figure 12: Okinawan Civilian and Military Refuge Site (Source: Jones et al. 2019)

Figure 13: Okinawan Civilian Refuge Artifacts Bottles, Rice Cooker, Porcelain and Enamel Bowls (Source: Jones et al. 2019)

Figure 14: Military Refuge Artifacts Hand Grenade, Arisaka Bullets, Metal Lids, Ceramic and Enamel Bowls (Source: Jones et al. 2019)

Figure 15: Marpo Heights Shinto Shrine (Source: Andrea Jalandoni)

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Panel: Archaeology of Fishing Traditions

Fishing Weirs at the Edge of the Parian

Colonial Impacts on the Native Settlement of Cebu City, Cebu, Philippines

By John A. Peterson
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Abstract: *Cebu City was settled in 1565 after a brief and calamitous visit by Magellan 44 years earlier. Within a few decades the Spanish administration invited Chinese traders to settle in the Parian District at the northwestern fringe of the settlement. They filled and drained a marsh and built over what had been a native village at the edge of the marsh. In 1730 the Jesuit order built over the reclaimed land. The Jesuit House is currently being renovated and used as a museum. Archaeological excavations in support of the renovation have exposed the Spanish contact and pre-contact landscape that includes what may have been a pre-colonial fishing weir built in the marsh. We compare these fishing structures with stone weirs from Guam and Yap and fishing practices in the Micronesian region. We examine the ethnohistory and current practice of brush fishing corrals in use in the ancient and contemporary Philippines, as well as Visayan life ways in Cebu in the early modern era at contact with the Spanish colonial empire.*

Introduction

The Jesuit connection between Guam and Cebu began with the missionization of Guam by Diego Luis de San Vitores in 1668. By 1672 however the enterprise was faltering and de San Vitores was killed along with the novitiate Pedro Calungsod, a Visayan who may have been born in Ginatalan, Cebu. He was martyred in defense of de San Vitores in 1672. Guam continued to be administered from Cebu and eventually the Augustinian Bishopry of Cebu supervised the Diocese of Guam. The Jesuits continued mission activities until they were dispelled from the region in 1769. Their order was housed in the Parian of Cebu where the Jesuit House was built in 1730 (Figure 1).

The 1730s Jesuit House in the Parian District of Cebu City, Cebu, Philippines, is being restored to its original condition as part of a districtwide historical preservation program (Figure 2). A major part of the restoration was the replacement of molave house posts that had rotted at ground level. Archaeological excavations were conducted during the removal and replacement of footings for new posts. Well-preserved deposits in good stratigraphic order were found in the groundwater in an area that was formerly a marsh at the edge of the settlement. Asian export porcelain sherds from the Wan Li period were abundant in the zone 1.0 to 1.5 meters below surface dating to the late 16th century; below that older deposits dating back to 1000 CE were recovered. There is remarkable preservation of organic

materials throughout all periods of the deposits down to 2.5 meters below surface. Remains of animals such as chickens, tamaraw (a now extirpated native species of carabao), pig and deer bone; shell and marine fish remains are all preserved in the groundwater. In addition to these artifacts a line of wooden posts was found embedded in marsh sediments below the levels of the 1730 Jesuit House in older wetland at the edge of the pre-Spanish shoreline.

The house was built on land reclaimed from a marsh at the edge of the Spanish settlement (Figures 3,4). The environmental history of the marsh and the subsequent development of the city is the subject of our recent article in the SPAFA Journal and readers are directed there foe more background and detail (Peterson et al. 2020). The discovery of the wooden posts over a meter and a half deep in what was previously wetland sediment attests to the marshy shoreline habitat that earlier stilt-houses were built over as residents for pre-Spanish Visayan villagers.

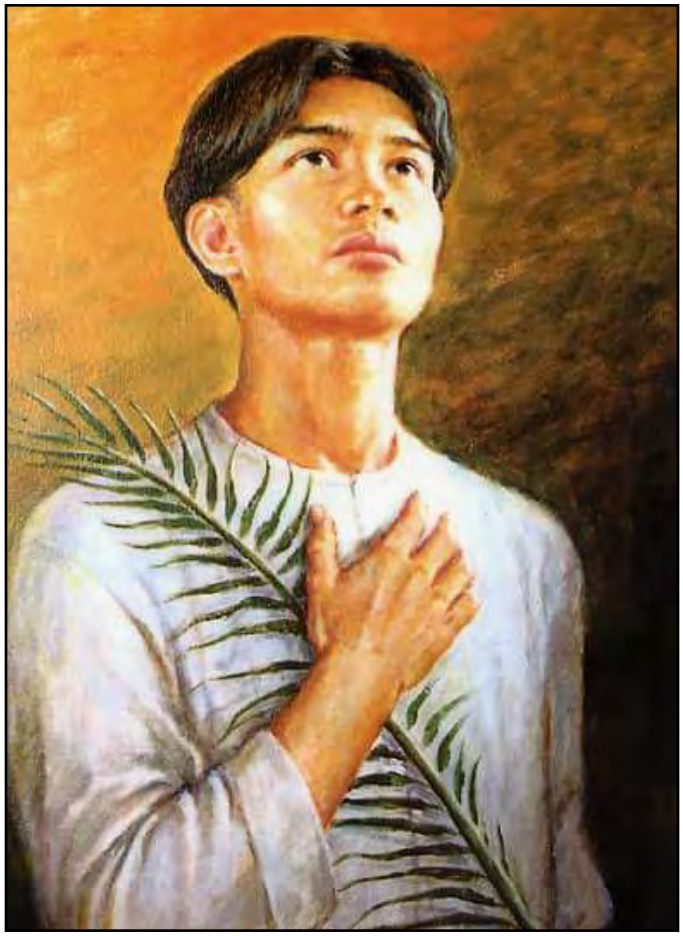


Figure 1: Pedro Calungsod, Visayan catechist martyred in Guam 1672

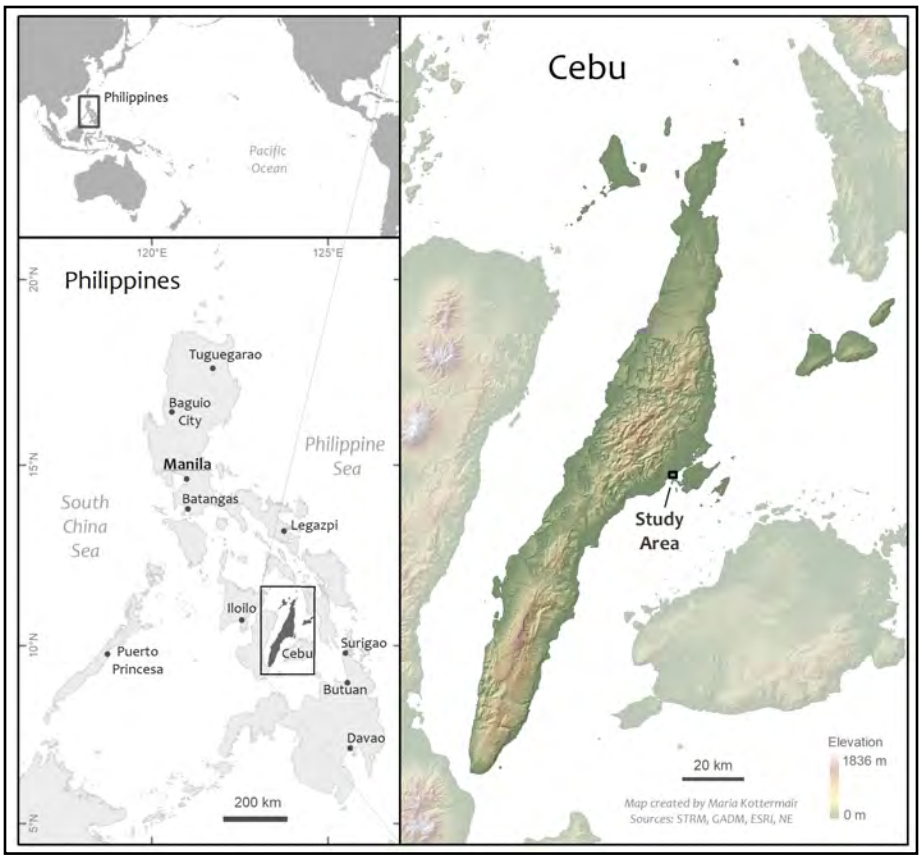


Figure 2: Cebu City Locator Map, source Kottermair (in Peterson et al. 2020).

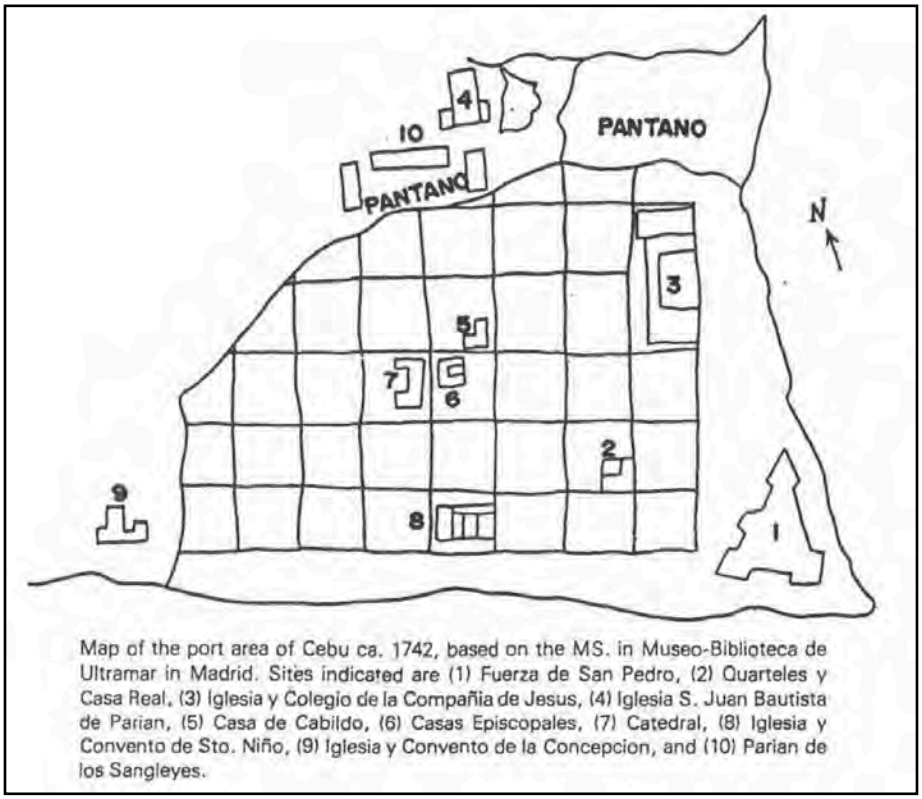


Figure 3: Cebu port area in 1742 showing parian and marsh (pantano). Source, Blair and Robertson 1907 Vol. XLVII-1728-1759:115.

Figure 4: Plano de Topografico de la Ciudad de Cebu 1833. Source, National Archives of the Philippines 66/330.

Wooden Posts

The wooden posts are an enigmatic feature exposed in two of the units during the excavation (Figure 5). They date from the late pre-Spanish period or the early Spanish period well before filling of the marsh and construction of the 1730s Jesuit House (Table 1). They form a linear feature that could be connected in the intervening unexcavated space between Units 2 and 4 (see Figures 6,7). They are from young trees (probably Narra) less than 10 cm diameter, and were sharpened and driven into the marsh. The upper ends apparently rotted at or just below the water surface at the time of their use. The feature appears to have been parallel to the shoreline of the pre-1873 marine intrusion or embayment shown in 1833 mapping of the area, and possibly along the shoreline from the late 16th-early 17ch century. A cluster of cemented oyster shells were found just above the level of the posts with a radiocarbon age of 1453-1526 cal. ACE and may have been associated with the posts or the era of their use. These may indicate that the posts were part of fish corral features such as are found today in coastal areas of the Philippines, and their discovery supports the marine environment at the edge of settlement in the Cebu Parian ca. 1700 ACE.

Figure 5: Wooden posts of stakes from Jesuit House.

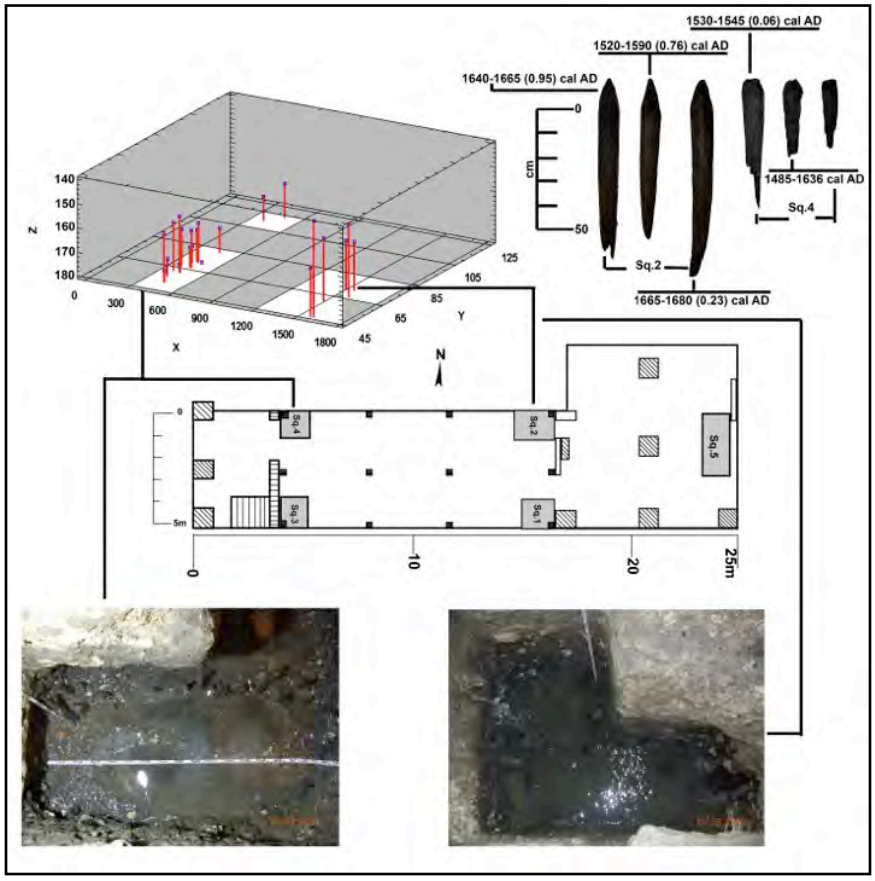


Figure 6: Five post renovation units in Jesuit House, showing stakes recovered from pre-Jesuit House (1730) levels of marsh (From Peterson et al. 2020).

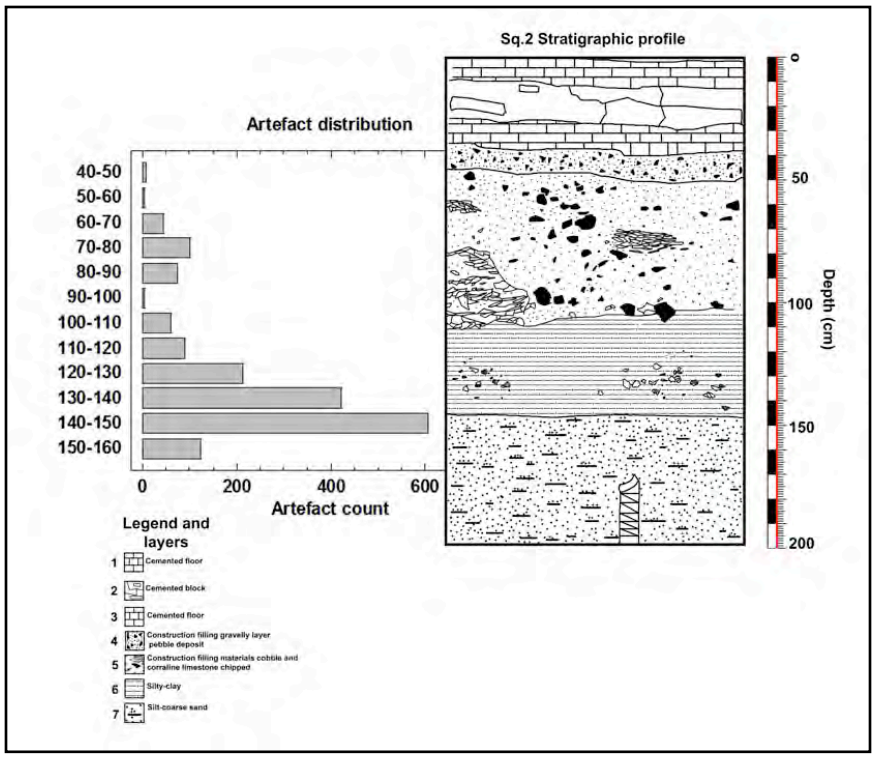


Figure 7: Stratigraphy of deposits below ground level in unit 1 Jesuit House excavations showing greatest density of Wan Li pottery at 120-150 cm below ground surface (From Peterson et al. 2020).

The posts appear to be too small to have served as house supports for a stilt-house structure, and anyway are in a linear array that might be over ten meters long. Sharpening of house posts is not a common practice. There are no stones emplaced at the base for support as expected from house posts or also linear arrays along ditch or *embarcadero* features (Christie 1914). What function could these posts have served? The ethnohistoric and ethnographic as well as modern accounts of fish corrals or weirs has many instances where such features are described in shoreline or shallow water embayments or channels. Fish corrals are intended to concentrate fish in enclosures where they can be easily captured, and they also provide a structure for culturing mollusks such as oysters. The posts typically support bamboo or nipa screens or maps, or netting. Alcina describes their use in late 17th century Samar in the Visayas near Cebu (2002:285):

> There they fasten some strong round poles of the size of the arm and two *brazos* in length or slightly more. They drive them very firmly into the earth or into the sand and because this is ordinarily muddy it is necessary to thrust them in well to a distance of two or more *palmos*. From these they make their divisions, square or round, greater or smaller, which they call *ligaw*.

> The last where the fish goes to which they call *karitan* is stronger. To these they fasten the mats described which serve as enclosures where the fish are secured once they are inside from this corral. They proceed to build towards the beach a large and extended enclosure called *habung,* which sometimes is more than a hundred and fifty *brazos*. This serves as a pathway which guides the fish which with the lowering of the tide, are proceeding to withdraw and drawing near it come to stop in that place.

Fish corrals are still found along shorelines in the Philippines, although their use appears to have declined along with degraded fish populations. Pre-invasion aerial photography of Carcar, Cebu, from 1944 shows numerous rock and post structures in shallow marine water (Figure 8). Modern fish weirs in Bicol (Figure 9) are numerous, and in some shallow water settings are parallel to the shoreline as well as perpendicular as with the weirs in this photograph. The setting in shallow marine water near the shoreline as shown by excavation results at the Jesuit House suggests comparable use as a fish corral feature, but could have had multiple functions including support of stilt-house features such as porches or walkways. Further archaeological investigations at Jesuit House might contribute to understanding of this feature.

After the discovery of the wooden posts at the Jesuit House and following our discussions in sessions of the Anthropology 124 class at the University of San Carlos, two students conducted an ethnography of a set of weirs in Tayud, Cebu (Lawson and Natividad)(Figure 10). They interviewed Dewy Irmac:

> He is a single 64-year-old man who has been using fishing corrals as a means of catching fish and shrimps since 1980. He owns 2 fishing corrals located beside Co Jordan (Restaurant). He starts his fishing at 5am. He earns P1400-P1500 per day, depending on the catch. He decided to enter the fishing corral business because he finds it relaxing, no hassle, and he has a lot of free time. He sometimes eats his catch but not much lately because he is being careful of his health, specifically his cholesterol intake. This is because of his younger sibling who died at age 50 because he/she ate too much lechon. He taught himself how to fish by observing and imitating other fishermen.

They documented the sizes of the posts and the spacing and found that it was similar to what we found with the wooden posts at the Jesuit House. They also listed the phases of the moon and other relevant aspects of fishing practice including fish trapped in the corrals (Figure 11).

In Guam fish corral features were documented in the Apra Harbor that had first been described by the French explorer Louis Claude de Freycinet during his visit to Guam in 1819. Boyd Dixon, Laura Gilda, and Tina Mangieri (2013) reported on stone features with excellent descriptions and radiocarbon dating as well as Freycinet's description of organic features that he observed (2013:365)(Figure 12):

> The fish pools or enclosures (*ghigau*), formerly familiar to the islanders, are said by local tradition to have been built of dry stones along the coasts. Today, however, they no longer exist, at least constructed in that manner. For they have been replaced by mud barriers or reed dikes, which positioned properly, enable the natives to take considerably larger quantities of fish. The most complete trap system lies between Apapa Islet and Guam, opposite the area separating Mangilao and the mouth of the Masso River. Along its length, there are several pools, each divided into three or occasionally just two sections. The whole system is focused by lengths of wickerwork framing or fencing, indicated on our diagram as GHI. The wickerwork is strengthened by stakes or laths, and so are the exterior limits of the actual sections that make up the system. Together, the sections or chambers in the water seem to form a tower, viz.:
>
> F
>
> E
>
> A C B
>
> G H I K

Bill Jeffrey (2013) has reported on over 800 fish weirs on Yap first described by Marjorie Falanruw that have been parts of community fishing practice for generations (also see Hunter-Anderson 1981). He also provides a global view of fish traps in his comprehensive review of contemporary as well as traditional and archaeological features and practice. In many regions these practices are still integral expressions of local communities and culture, as has been documented in book and film for Khoi San villagers in South Africa (2020). In Yap and the Philippines, and in Guam and the Mariana Islands to a lesser extent these practices continue as components of sustainable coastal lifeways and cultural traditions as they have for centuries and, most likely, millennia. The Jesuit House wooden posts are not an isolated example of how people have been using this knowledge for many generations.

Figure 8: 1944 pre-invasion photography of Cebu shoreline near Carcar, Cebu showing fishing weirs made of rock and posts. The arrowhead features are traps, stake-and-mesh fences for fish-drives are near shorelines and in shallow reef exposures.

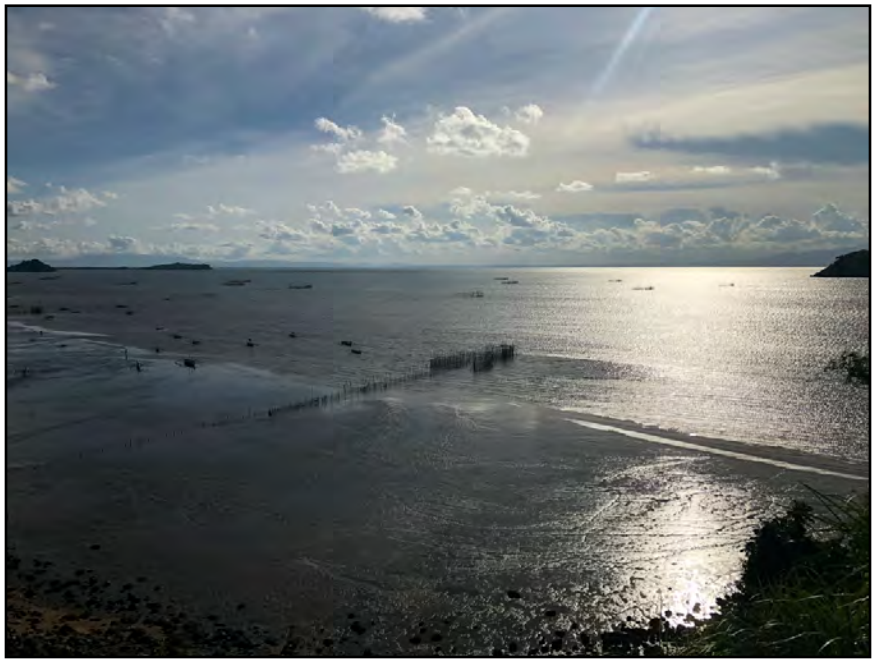


Figure 9: *Modern fishing weirs in Bicol, Phillippines.*

Figure 10: Fish weirs in Tayud, Cebu documented by Lawson and Natividad (2019)

Figure 11: Variety of fish trapped in weirs near San Remigio, Cebu.

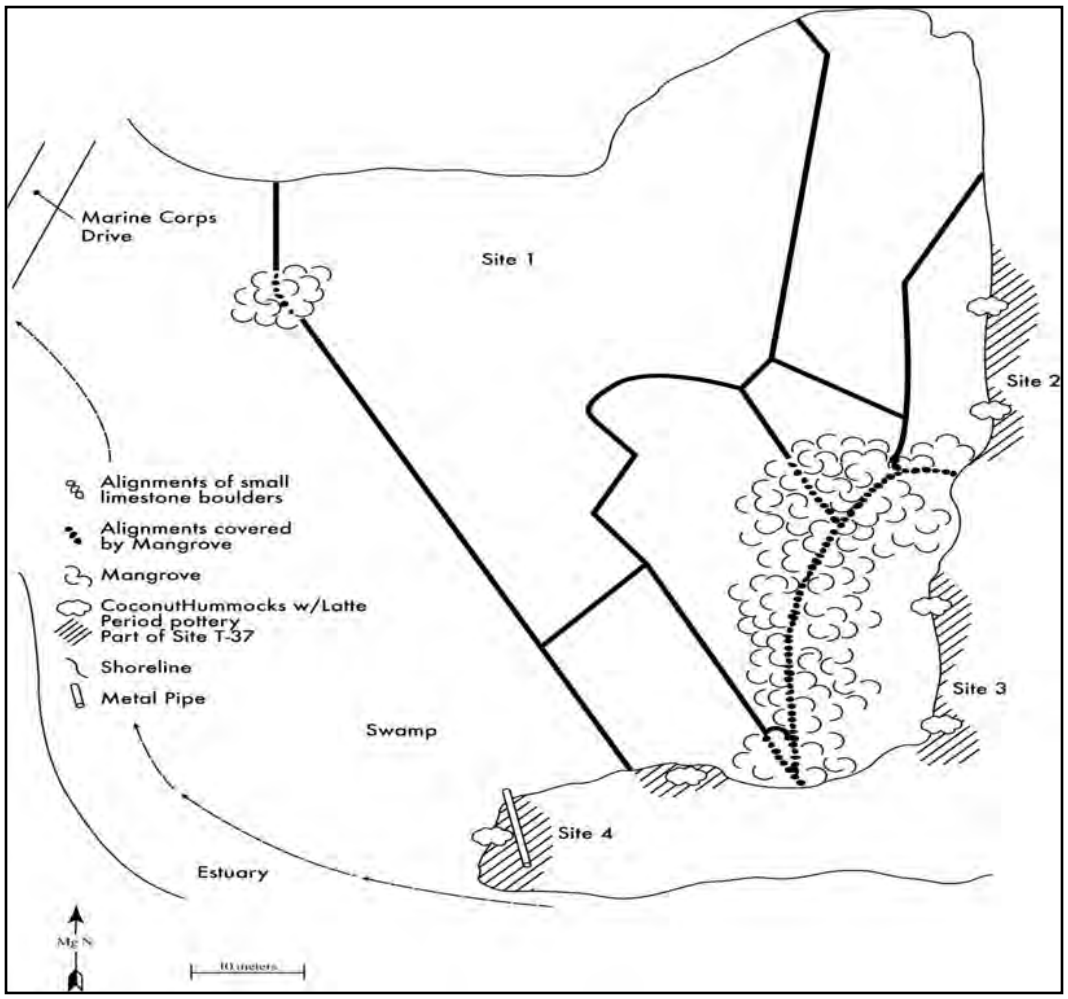


Figure 12: Apra Harbor stone fishing weir documented by Dixon et al. (2013). (Courtesy of Journal of Polynesian History)

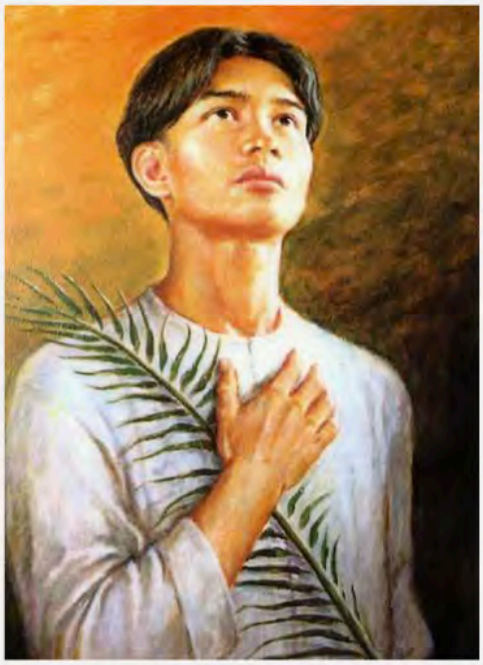
UCIAMS	Unit/Site	Level	material	years BP	calAD/calBC
204000	Unit 1/JH	105-110 cm	marine shell	805±15	1430-1655
204001	Unit 2/JH	130-150 cm	marine shell	975±15	1290-1475
204002	Unit 2/JH	130-150 cm	marine shell	835±15	1405-1645
204003	Unit 1/JH	80 cm	charcoal	155±15	1670-1695 (16%) 1725-1815 (62%) 1840-1946 (22%)
204004	Unit 2/JH	140-180 cm	wood post	255±15	1640-1665 (95%) 1785-1795 (5%)
204005	Unit 2/JH	140-180 cm	wood post	305±15	1520-1590 (76%) 1620-1645 (24%)
204006	Unit 2/JH	140-180 cm	wood post	190±15	1665-1680 (23%) 1735-1805 (57%) 1935-1950 (20%)
204007	Unit 4/JH	150-180 cm	wood post	265±15	1530-1545 (6%) 1635-1665 (94%)
204008	Unit 4/JH	150-180 cm	wood post	335±15	1485-1636
212580	Unit 5/JH	200-210 cm	wood	380±15	1449-1515 (76.8%) 1599-1618 (18.6%)
212581	Unit 5/JH	160-170	oyster shell	820±15	1453-1526 (95.4%)
212582	Unit 5/JH	200-210 cm	bark	1035±15	987 1023 (95.4%)
212602	Unit 1/JH	170-180 cm	charcoal	385±25	1444 1522 (71.2%) 1575-1625 (24.2%)
212583	Unit 2/JH	190-200 cm	coconut shell	400±15	1443 1491 (91.8%) 1602-1610 (3.6%)
212584	CG	240-250 cm	wood	1495±15	474 485 (1.4%) 536-639 (94.0%)
212585	CG	240-260 cm	soil	1320±20	656 715 (79.3%) 744-765 (16.1%)
212586	CG	280-300 cm	charcoal	3850±30	2458 2269 (75.7%) 2260-2207 (19.7%)

Table 1. Radiocarbon ages from Jesuit House and Casa Gorordo sites (from Peterson et al. 2020).

Presentation Slides

FISHING WEIRS AT THE EDGE OF THE PARIAN:
COLONIAL IMPACTS ON THE NATIVE
SETTLEMENT OF CEBU CITY, CEBU, PHILIPPINES

John A. Peterson
Cebu City, Cebu



Doctrina Christiana, en
lengua española y tagala. cor
regida por los Religiosos de las
órdenes. Impressa con licencia, en
S. Gabriel, de la orden de S. Domingo
En Manila. 1593.

Map of the port area of Cebu ca. 1742, based on the MS. in Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar in Madrid. Sites indicated are (1) Fuerza de San Pedro, (2) Quarteles y Casa Real, (3) Iglesia y Colegio de la Compañia de Jesus, (4) Iglesia S. Juan Bautista de Parian, (5) Casa de Cabildo, (6) Casas Episcopales, (7) Catedral, (8) Iglesia y Convento de Sto. Niño, (9) Iglesia y Convento de la Concepcion, and (10) Parian de los Sangleyes.

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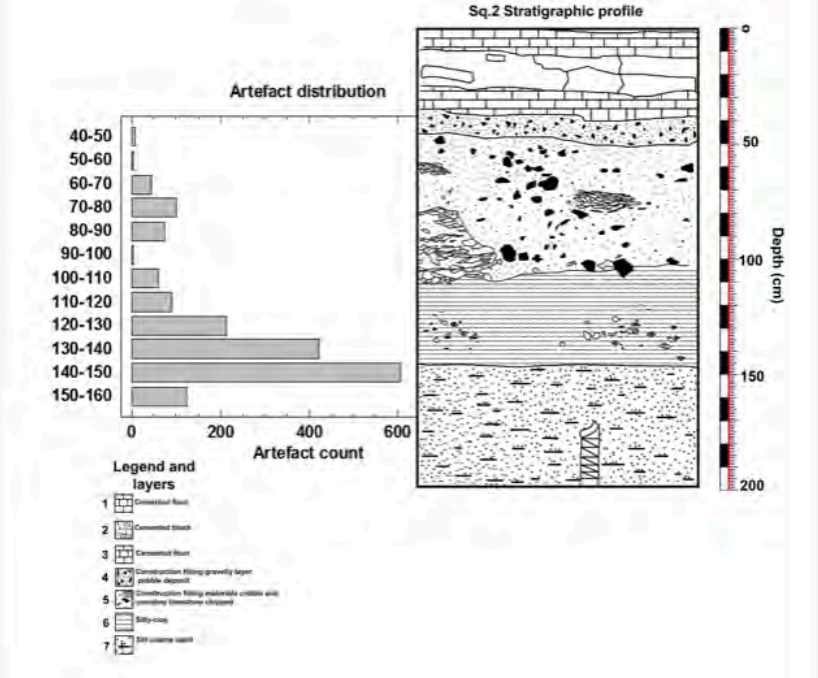
processions, a great many Sangleys come out to watch them. They live so near the monastery that on the night they hear the religious sing matins, and are not a little edified by it; for they also have their own form of religion, and there are among them religious men who lead a very austere life and claim to live in profound meditation. When it shall please God to enlighten them, Christianity will undoubtedly profit much by this characteristic.

I said above that the monastery of Sancto Domingo stands close by the Parian of the Sangleys, which is built in a worthy place on the border of this city between its northern and southern sides. The Sangleys were transferred thither by Diego Ronquillo, during his governorship, because the Parian which Don Gonçalo Ronquillo had built was destroyed by fire. At first it seemed absurd to think that human habitations were to be built in that marsh, but the Sangleys, who are very industrious, and a most ingenious people, managed it so well that, in a place seemingly uninhabitable, they have built a Parian resembling the other, although much larger and higher. According to them it suits them better than the other, because on the firm ground where the four rows of buildings are located they have built their houses and the streets leading through the Parian, a separate street for each row of buildings.

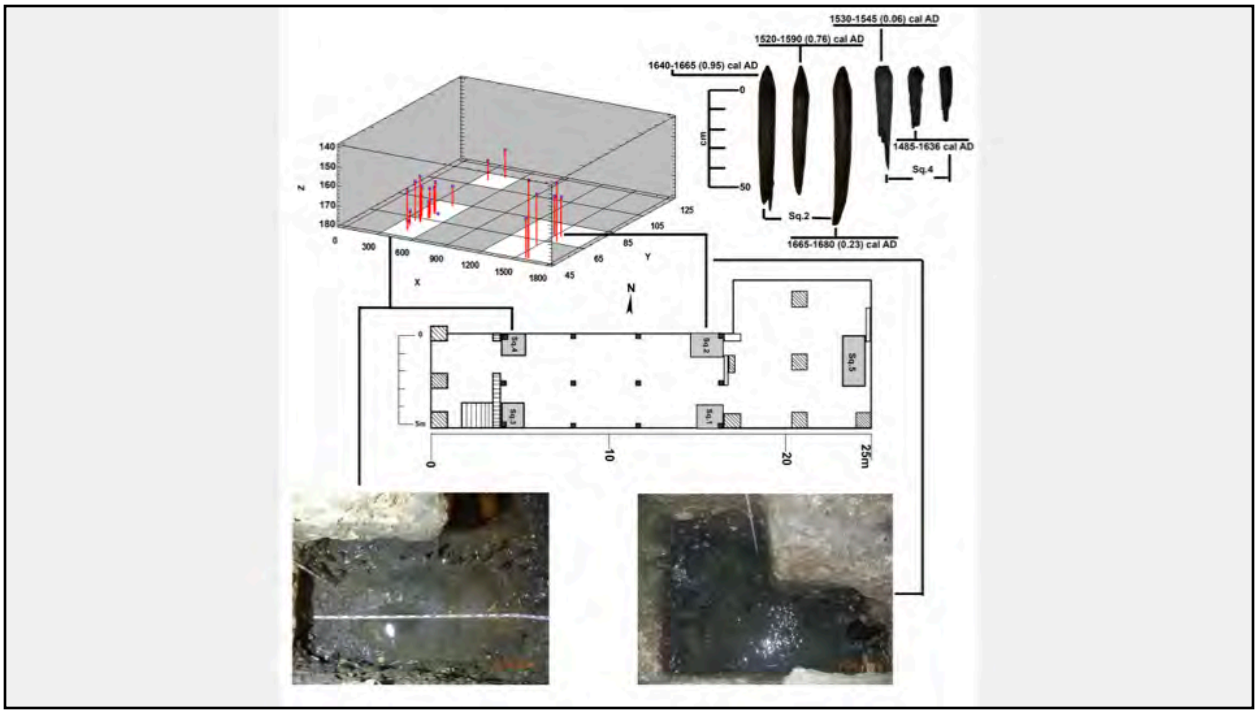
There are long passages and the buildings are quadrangular in shape. This Parian was also destroyed by fire on account of the houses being built of reeds; but through the diligence of the president and governor, Doctor Vera, much better houses were built, and covered with tiles for protection against fire. This Parian has so adorned the city that I do

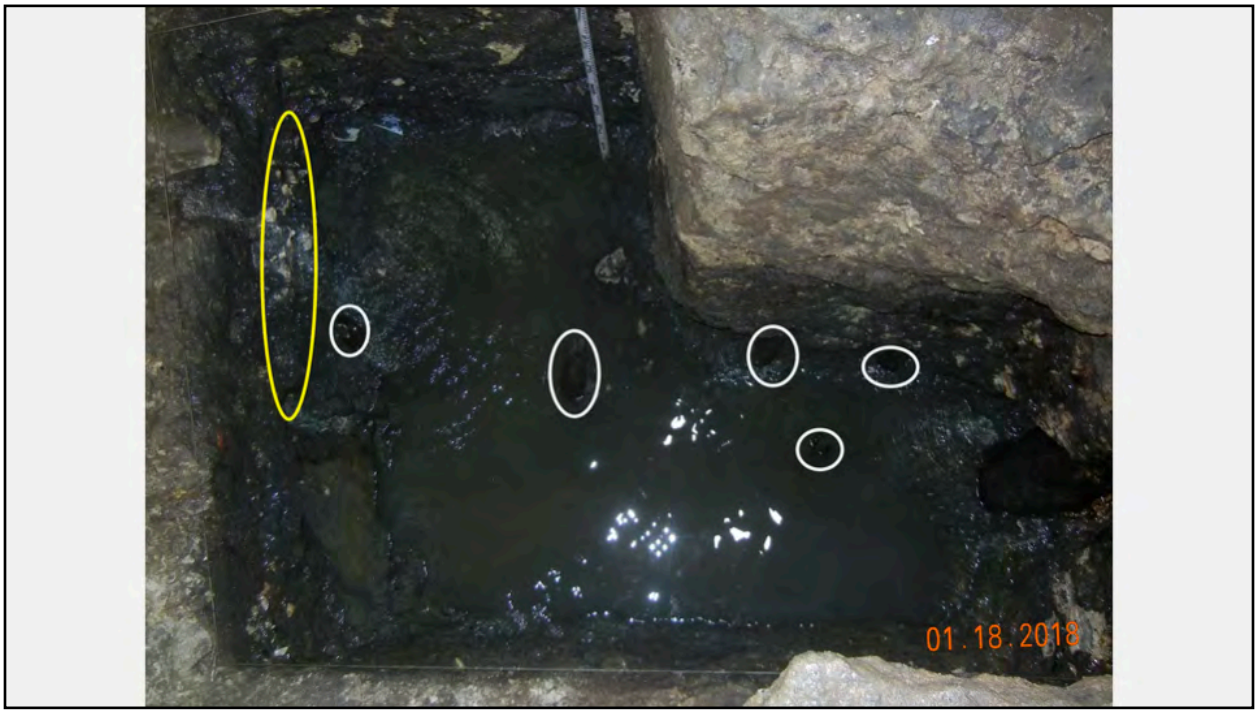
From Fray Domingo, Bishop of the Philippines, *The Chinese and the Parian at Manila* 1588-1591, from Blair and Robertson Vol. 7 p. 224


N.º 1.º
PLANO TOPOGRAFICO


Sq.2 Stratigraphic profile
Artefact distribution
40-50
50-60
60-70
70-80
80-90
90-100
100-110
110-120
120-130
130-140
140-150
150-160
0
200
400
600
Artefact count
Legend and layers
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
0
50
100
150
200
Depth (cm)


Longquan celadon 13th century Yuan dynasty
Fujian 1580-1640 Late Ming dynasty
Jengdezhen 1580-1640 Late Ming dynasty
Fujian 1650-1680 Qing dynasty
Wan Li 1572-1620 AD
5cms
http://www.sabong.net.ph


1530-1545 (0.06) cal AD
1520-1590 (0.76) cal AD
1640-1665 (0.95) cal AD
1485-1636 cal AD
Sq.4
Sq.2
1665-1680 (0.23) cal AD
N
Sq.5
0
10
20
25m

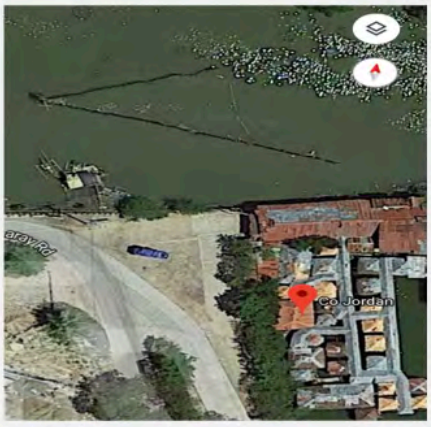

01.18.2018

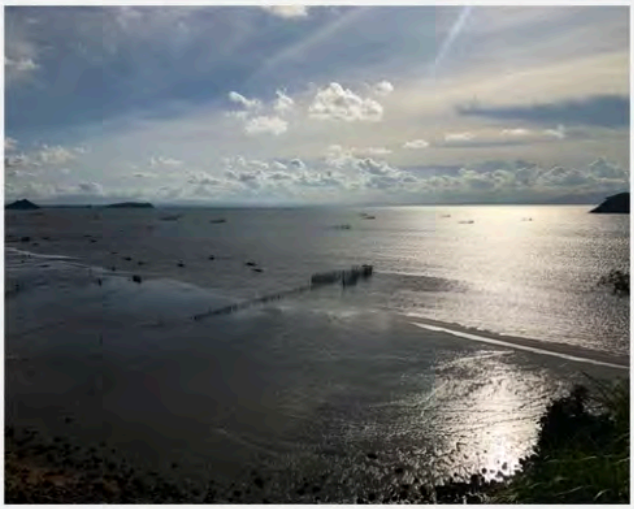
Sq #	Post #	N-S	E-W	Depth	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness	UC Irvine	Conv. Age	Calib. Age	Sigma
2	1	58	180	166-225	75	7.9	8	T-1713	255+-15	1640-1665	0.95 cal AD
2	2	70	125	160	64	8.5	6.6	T-1714	305+-15	1520-1590	.76 cal AD
2	3	70	80	160	78	8	7.5	T-1715	190+-15	1735-1805	.57 cal AD
								T-1715	190+-15	1665-1680	.23 cal AD
4	4?	90	125	146-200	53	9.5	7.5	T-1716	265+-15	1635-1665	.94 cal AD
4	5?	88	110	160-200	34	7.3	7	T-1717	335+-15	1485-1636	1.00 cal AD
4	6?	93	115	160	29.5	8	6				

Table: Wooden posts from Squares 2 and 4 and radiocarbon ages.

Fr. Ignatius Alcina, ca. late 17th century in his *History of the Bisayan People* in the Bisayan Islands describes fishing techniques and fish corrals in Samar:

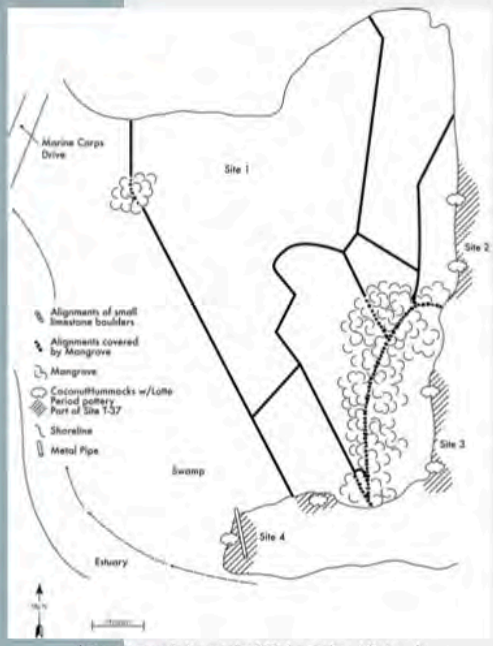
> "The first one, they call *paraan*. This is set in a place where the sea forms a large beach so that when the tide is in it covers everything or most of it; when there is low tide, it leaves very little water. The method is that beforehand they made kinds of frames, not very closely woven but open so that the finger will fit between one bamboo And the next. These frames which are made from the large bamboos…are slower to rot …and can be taken more easily to the designed place.
>
> There they fasten some strong round poles of the size of the arm and two *brazos* in length or slightly more. They drive them very firmly into the earth or into the sand and because this is ordinarily muddy it is necessary to thrust them in well to a distance Of two or more *palmos*."


Co Jordan



INNER APRA HARBOR FISH WEIR SITES

NOTE MANGROVES GROWING ON TOP OF THE CORAL COBBLE WALLS



(Courtesy of Journal of Polynesian History)

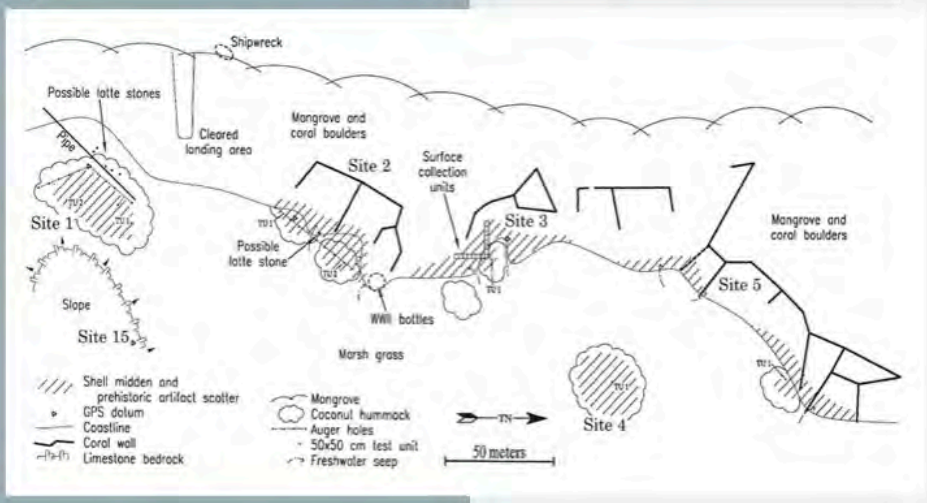
INNER APRA HARBOR SITE 1, CORAL WALLS COVERED IN MUD

VIEW TO THE NORTHWEST NEAR MOUTH OF APLACHO STREAM

(Courtesy of Journal of Polynesian History)

OUTER APRA HARBOR FISH WEIR SITES

FIRST RECORDED BY J. WYLIE AND D. MADSEN IN 1981, THEN BY DIXON ET AL. IN 1999



(Courtesy of Journal of Polynesian History)

Arrow-Shaped Fish Trap on the Coast of Yap, Federated States of Micronesia

Low Tide in Sea Grass

(Courtesy of Dr. Bill Jeffery)

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Peterson John A., Archie Tiauzon, Mark Horrocks, and Maria Kottermair
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Peterson has many diverse experiences with fishing and fisherfolk throughout his career as a flaneur. As a youth he fished in the Lewis River in Montana, and in Colorado trout streams including the Gunnison and Taylor Rivers; farm ponds and lakes throughout the midwest, in the Ozarks, and in Kansas and Texas. He fished in the Pacific off Tepic, Nayarit; Hawaii off Oahu; Pohnpei from Mangrove Bay outside the reef; Guam from the Agat Marina; in St. Croix and St. John in the Caribbean; in the Peace River in Florida; and in the Philippines most recently where he is semi-retired from the fishing life and doing archaeology on the side.

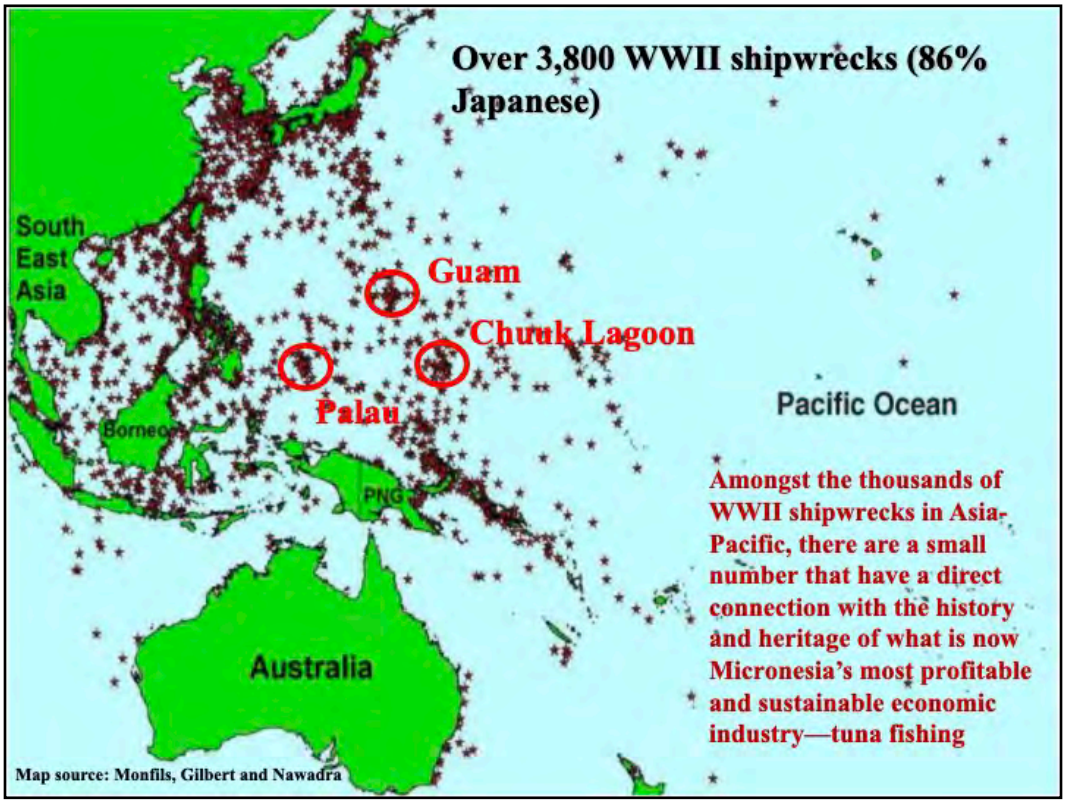
A History and Archaeology of the Pre-War Tuna Fishing Industry in Micronesia

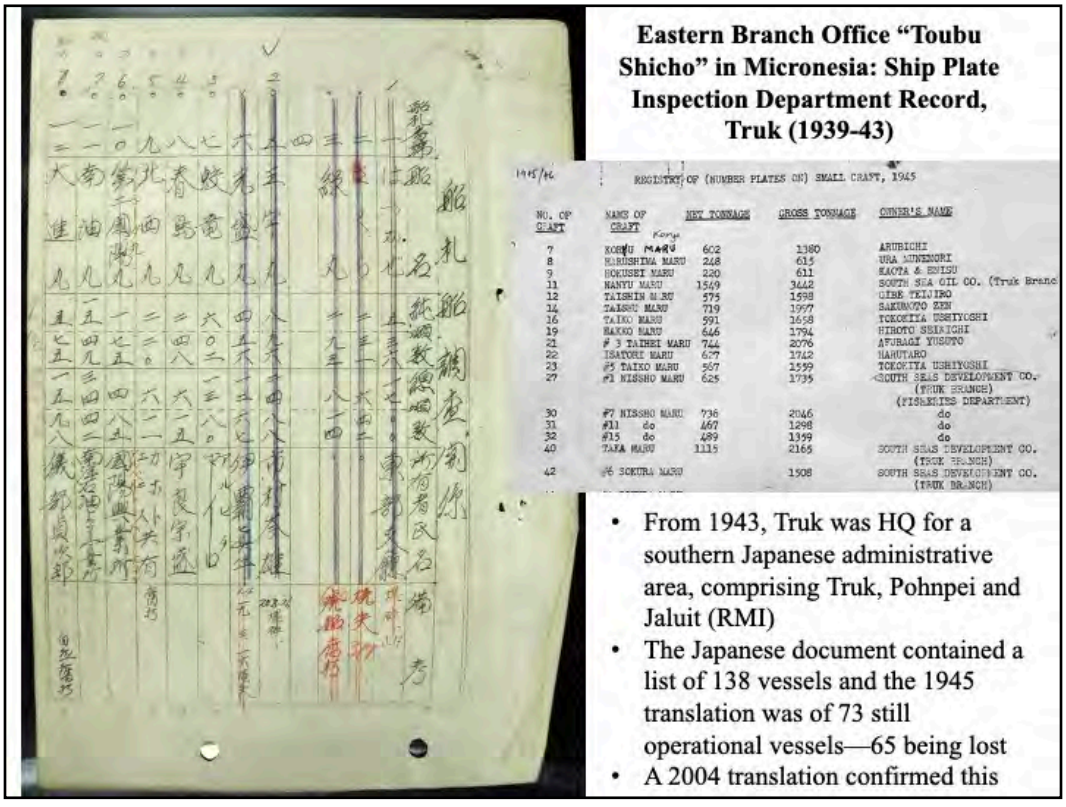
By Dr. William Jeffery
University of Guam

Abstract: *When the Japanese took control of Micronesia, they were aware of the extensive range of marine species that could be exploited, and they quickly set about creating a tuna fishing industry. Historical documents from the pre-World War II period provide evidence on how this was implemented, and how Okinawan migration helped to drive the tuna fishing industry throughout Micronesia, which included Saipan, Palau, Chuuk, Pohnpei, and the Marshall Islands. During World War II, many fishing boats were converted and used by the Japanese military in a variety of activities, and some were sunk during the war. Following World War II, the United States of America attempted to revive the tuna fishing industry in association with local people, and while they had limited success, today, tuna is the Federated States of Micronesia's top export. This paper provides information on the important steps in this history. It also considers the archaeological remains, primarily the fishing boat wrecks located in Chuuk and the Marshall Islands. An aim of the paper is to raise awareness about this overlooked heritage, a heritage that is arguably as relevant to local people as are the World War II shipwrecks.*

Presentation slides on following page.

Presentation Slides





Eastern Branch Office "Toubu Shicho" in Micronesia: Ship Plate Inspection Department Record, Truk (1939-43)

REGISTRY OF (NUMBER PLATES OF) SMALL CRAFT, 1945

NO. OF CRAFT	NAME OF CRAFT	NET TONNAGE	GROSS TONNAGE	OWNER'S NAME
7	KOEIU MARU	602	1380	ARUBICHI
8	HARUSHIMA MARU	248	615	URA MUNEMORI
9	HOKUSEI MARU	220	611	KAOYA & ENISU
11	NANYU MARU	1549	3442	SOUTH SEA OIL CO. (Truk Branc
12	TAISHIN M.BU	575	1598	UIBE YEIJIRO
14	TAISHU MARU	719	1997	SAKUMOTO ZEN
16	TAIKO MARU	591	1658	TOKOSIKA USHIYOSHI
19	HAKKO MARU	646	1794	HIROTO SEIRIGHI
21	# 3 TAIHEI MARU	744	2076	AFUBAGI YUSUTO
22	ISATORI MARU	627	1742	HANUTARO
23	#5 TAIKO MARU	567	1559	TOKOSIYA USHIYOSHI
27	#1 NISSHO MARU	625	1735	SOUTH SEAS DEVELOPMENT CO. (TRUK BRANCH) (FISHERIES DEPARTMENT)
30	#7 NISSHO MARU	736	2046	do
31	#11 do	467	1298	do
32	#15 do	489	1359	do
40	TAKA MARU	1115	2165	SOUTH SEAS DEVELOPMENT CO. (TRUK BRANCH)
42	#6 SOKURA MARU		1508	SOUTH SEAS DEVELOPMENT CO. (TRUK BRANCH)

- From 1943, Truk was HQ for a southern Japanese administrative area, comprising Truk, Pohnpei and Jaluit (RMI)
- The Japanese document contained a list of 138 vessels and the 1945 translation was of 73 still operational vessels—65 being lost
- A 2004 translation confirmed this

Title List: Each Letter as a Separate List » J » Japanese Naval and Merchant Shipping Losses - WWII

The Navy Department Library

A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
J

Japan's Struggle to End the War - 1946
Japanese Interrogation Of Prisoners Of War
Japanese Naval and Merchant Shipping Losses - WWII
Japanese Naval Ground Forces
Japanese Naval Shipbuilding
Japanese Operational Aircraft CinCPOA

Japanese Naval and Merchant Shipping Losses
During World War II by All Causes

Japanese Naval and Merchant Shipping Losses
During World War II by All Causes

Prepared by
The Joint Army-Navy Assessment Committee
NAVEXOS P 468

February 1947

Contents

List of all Japanese Naval, and Merchant vessels over 500 tons

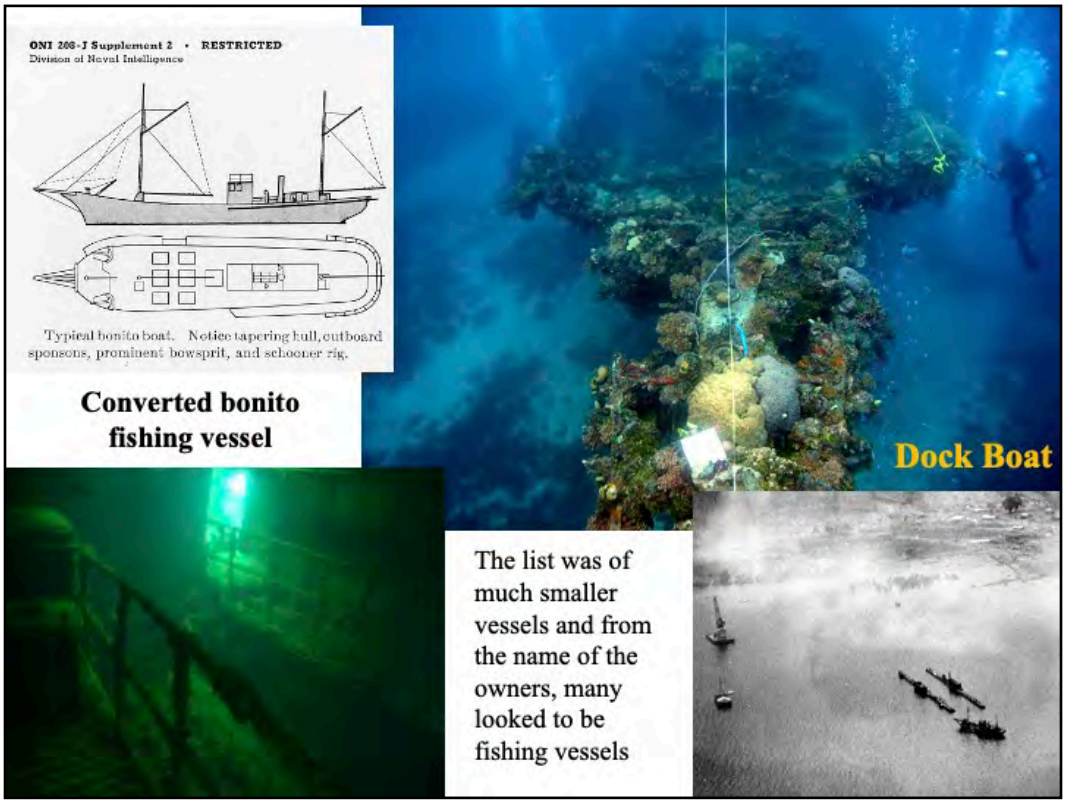
None of the 65 'shipwrecks' from the Eastern Branch Office list could be found here

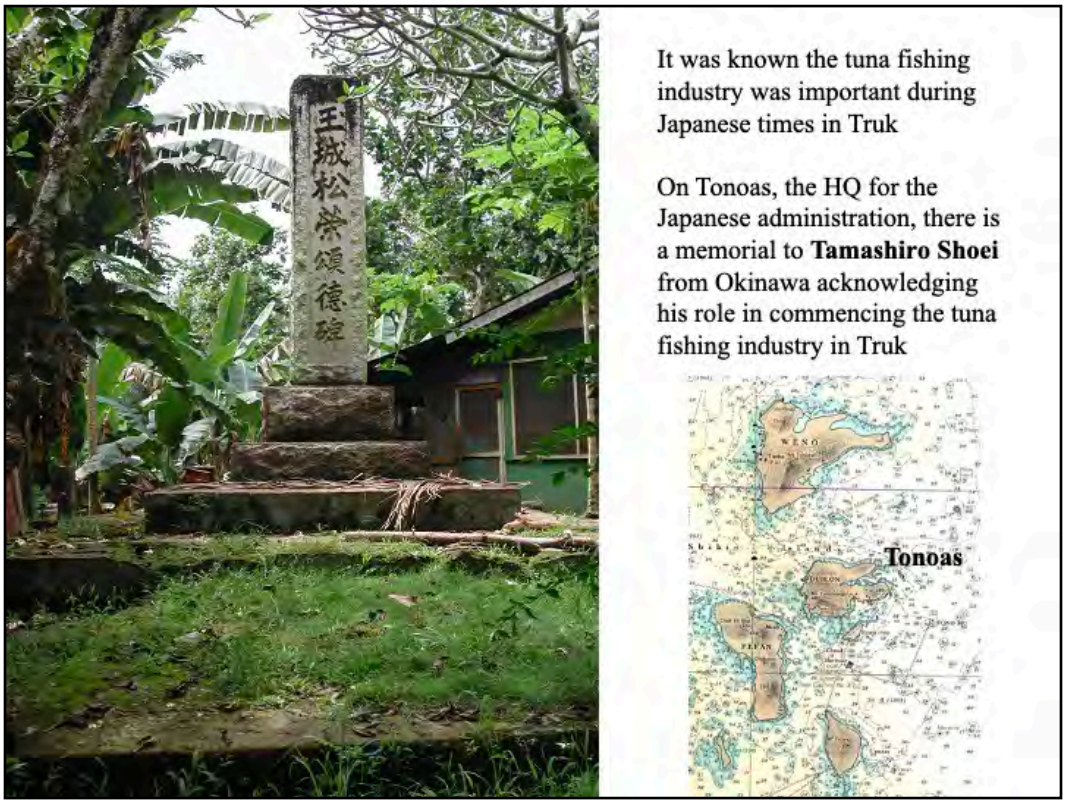
No.	Name	Net tons	Gross tons	Ship Owner	Notes
1	Hatsukaze	5.36	17	Eastern Branch Office	Bombed 17-03
2	Sakura	2.31	6.42	Eastern Branch Office	Bombed 17-03
3	Midori Maru	2.93	8.14	Eastern Branch Office	Decayed
4					On neither list
5	O Maru	8.96	24.88	Ichimura Mineo	Bombed 26-03-45
6	Kosei Maru	4.56	12.67	Iha Masaushi	Burnt out 16-03-44
7	Koryu Maru	6.02	13.8	Arubichi	Not sunk
8	Harushima Maru	2.48	6.15	Ura Munemori	Not sunk
9	Hokusei Maru	2.2	6.11	Kaoto and Enisu (co-owners)	Not sunk
10	Tereshida Maru	1.75	4.85	Albert Hartmann	On neither list
11	Nanyu Maru	15.49	34.42	South Sea Oil Co. Truk Branch	Not sunk
12	Daishin Maru	5.75	15.98	Gibu Teijiro	Not sunk
13	Takao Maru	5.4	15.01	Geruma Yasujiro	burnt out 16-03-44
14	Taishu Maru	7.19	19.97	Sakumoto Zen	Not sunk
15					On neither list
16	Taiko Maru	5.97	16.58	Toko Kyan Ushiyoshi	Not sunk
17	Kongo Maru No. 5	5.63	15.65	Ganaha Kingoro	burnt out 16-03-44
18	Kongo Maru No. 2	5.8	16.37	Gushiken Saburou	Burnt out 17-03-44
19	Hakko Maru	6.46	17.94	Hiroto Seikichi	Not sunk
20	Taihei Maru	6.64	17.09	Nakandakari Takanori	burnt out 16-03-44

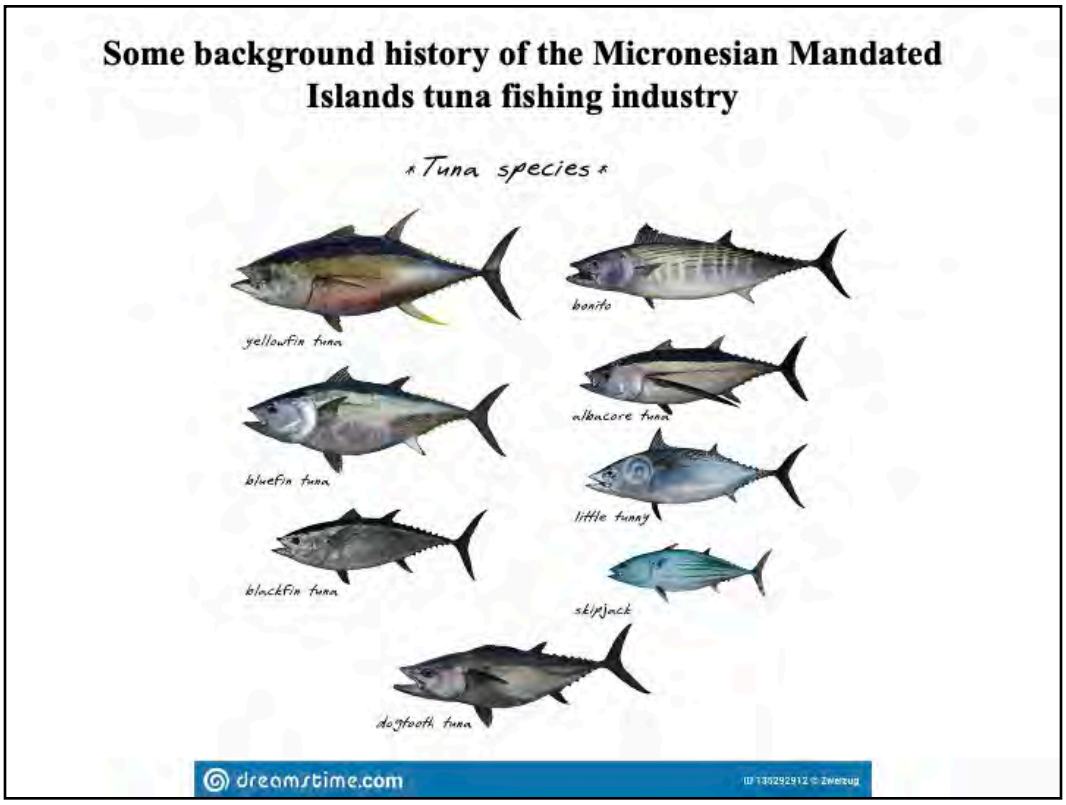
2020 Translation of Japanese list of ships recorded by Eastern Branch Office

NO. OF CRAFT	NAME OF CRAFT	NET TONNAGE	GROSS TONNAGE	OWNER'S NAME
	Koryo			
7	KORYU MARU	602	1380	ARUBICHI
8	HARUSHIMA MARU	248	615	URA MUNEMORI
9	HOKUSEI MARU	220	611	KAOTA & ENISU
11	NANYU MARU	1549	3442	SOUTH SEA OIL CO. (Truk Branc
12	TAISHIN MARU	575	1598	GIBE TEIJIRO
14	TAISHU MARU	719	1997	SAKUMOTO ZEN
16	TAIKO MARU	591	1658	TOKOKIYA USHIYOSHI
19	HAKKO MARU	646	1794	HIROTO SEIKICHI

1945 Translation of Japanese list of ships recorded by Eastern Branch Office


ONI 208-J Supplement 2 • RESTRICTED
Division of Naval Intelligence
Typical bonito boat. Notice tapering hull, outboard sponsons, prominent bowsprit, and schooner rig.
Converted bonito fishing vessel
Dock Boat
The list was of much smaller vessels and from the name of the owners, many looked to be fishing vessels


It was known the tuna fishing industry was important during Japanese times in Truk
On Tonoas, the HQ for the Japanese administration, there is a memorial to **Tamashiro Shoei** from Okinawa acknowledging his role in commencing the tuna fishing industry in Truk
Tonoas



- From 1916-24, Japan prohibited fishing and shell collection without permission, and surveyed all islands to see which marine products be developed commercially
- The commercial fishing industry developed in the early 1920s through predominantly Japanese labour Micronesians were provided little subsidies (0.02% from 1922-1937)
- In 1932, sugar was the major export from the Japanese Mandated Islands from the Nth. Mariana Islands, followed by copra, phosphate, shellfish (mainly pearl oyster from Palau), turtle, trepang (Saipan and Palau), tuna and **dried** (**oceanic**) **bonito** (**skipjack-Katsuwonis pelamis**), proving profitable, and led Japan to discontinue their economic subsidies of the islands
- The fish catch (predominantly bonito) greatly increased through South Seas government facilitating the industry, and immigration from Japan and Okinawa
- Nan'yō-chō (Japanese South Seas government) managed fishing through regulations administered by their Marine Industry Section:
  - Established a Marine Products Experiment Station in Palau in 1931
  - Declared closed seasons for certain types of fishing
  - Provided subsidies for the construction of fishing vessels, the manufacture or purchase of new and improved fishing implements, and the construction of processing plants
  - Particularly encouraged bonito fishing, 'providing power boats to any group of 30-40 men who undertook to fish for bonito'

Bonito flakes

There were 23 factories employed in fish drying and manufacturing process: 8 in Truk, 7 in Palau, 4 in Pohnpei and 4 in Saipan

2 canneries:1 in Truk and 1 in Palau

3 main companies:

- *Nan'yō Kōhatsu Kaisha* (South Seas Development Co.), and subsidiary *Nan'yō Suisan* (South Seas Marine Products Company);
- *Nan'yō Boeki Kaisha* (South Seas Trading Co.);
- *Nan'yō Takushoku* (South Seas Exploitation Co.)

Factory remains on Tonoas, Truk

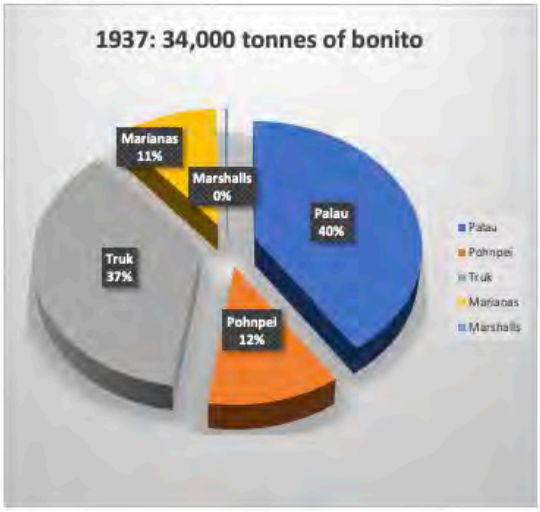
Techniques used:

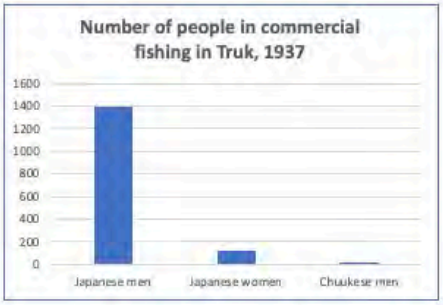
- purse seining
- long-line
- pole-and-line

Gear Type	Typical Vessel
Purse seine	
	
Mainly skipjack and small yellowfin are caught by purse seine gear. Most catch is for canning.	About 72% of the tuna catch in the WCPO region is by purse seine gear (about 1.5 million tons in 2006). Most of the purse seine catch is taken within 5° of the equator.
Longline	
	
Most tuna caught are large size yellowfin, bigeye, and albacore. The prime yellowfin and bigeye often are exported fresh to overseas markets. Most of the albacore is for canning.	About 10% of the tuna catch in the WCPO region is by longline gear (about 229,000 tons in 2006). There are two main types of longliners: (1) relatively large vessels with mechanical freezing equipment (often based outside the Pacific Islands), and (2) smaller vessels that mainly use ice to preserve fish and are typically based in the Pacific Islands.
Pole-and-line	
	
Mainly skipjack and small yellowfin are caught by pole-and-line gear. Most catch is for canning or producing a dried product.	About 10% of the tuna catch in the WCPO region is by pole-and-line gear, about 212,000 tons in 2006. In the 1980s, several Pacific Island countries had fleets of these vessels, but most no longer operate because of competition with the more productive purse seine gear. Most of the catch by this gear is made in Asian waters.

Source: Barclay K. (2014) History of Industrial Tuna Fishing in the Pacific Islands. Springer

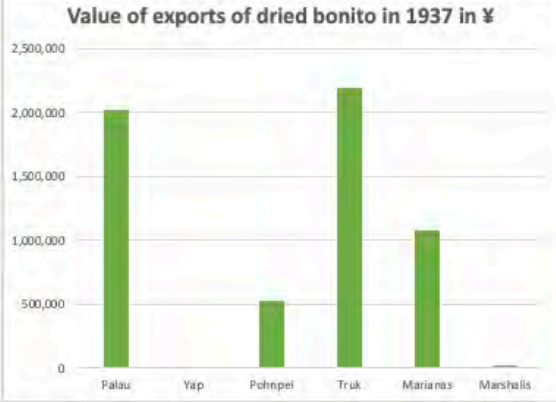
In 1937, 35,278 metric tons of fish (tonnes) caught of which 34,000 was oceanic bonito, exported in dried form

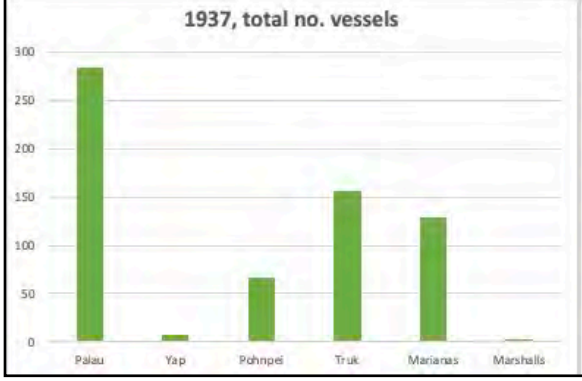




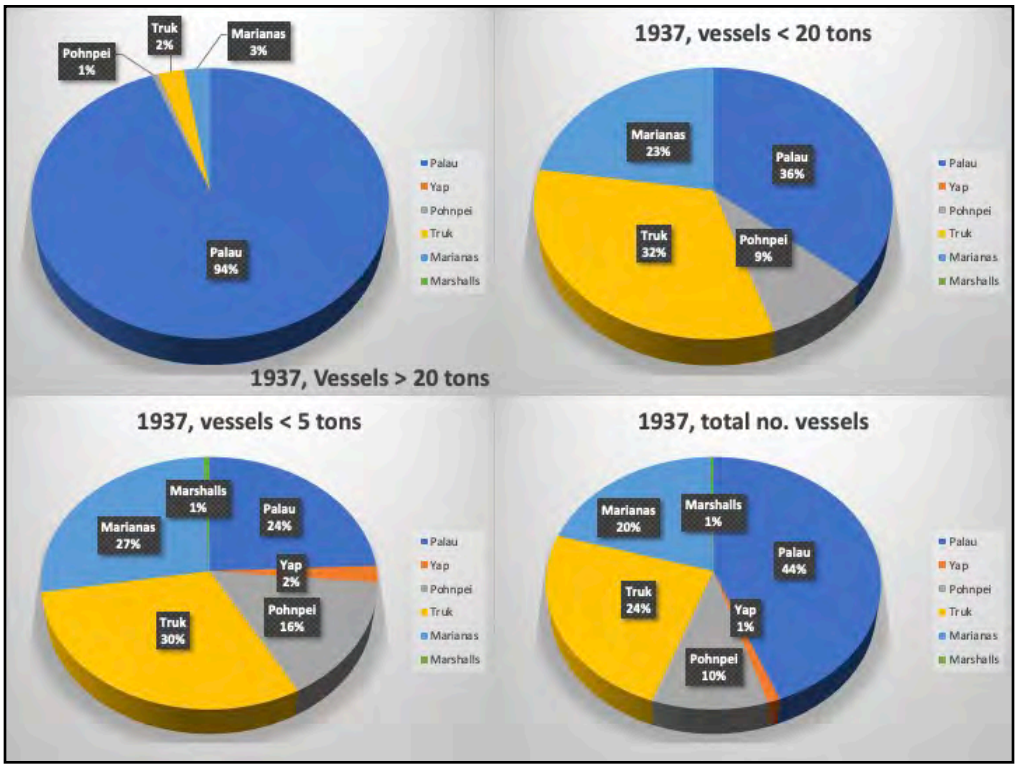
Place	Value of exports of dried bonito in 1937 in ¥
Palau	2,026,812
Yap	
Pohnpei	520,726
Truk	2,194,994
Marianas	1,079,668
Marshalls	16,374

1956 – 2021: 6,000,000 Yen = 36,300,000
c. US$350,000

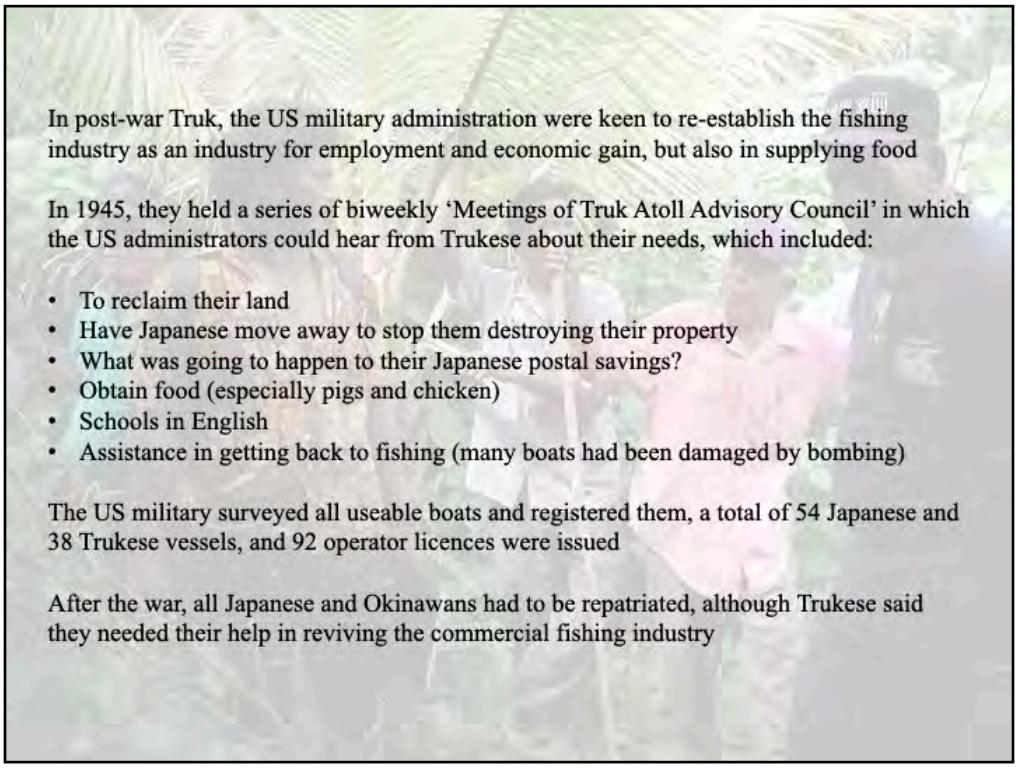


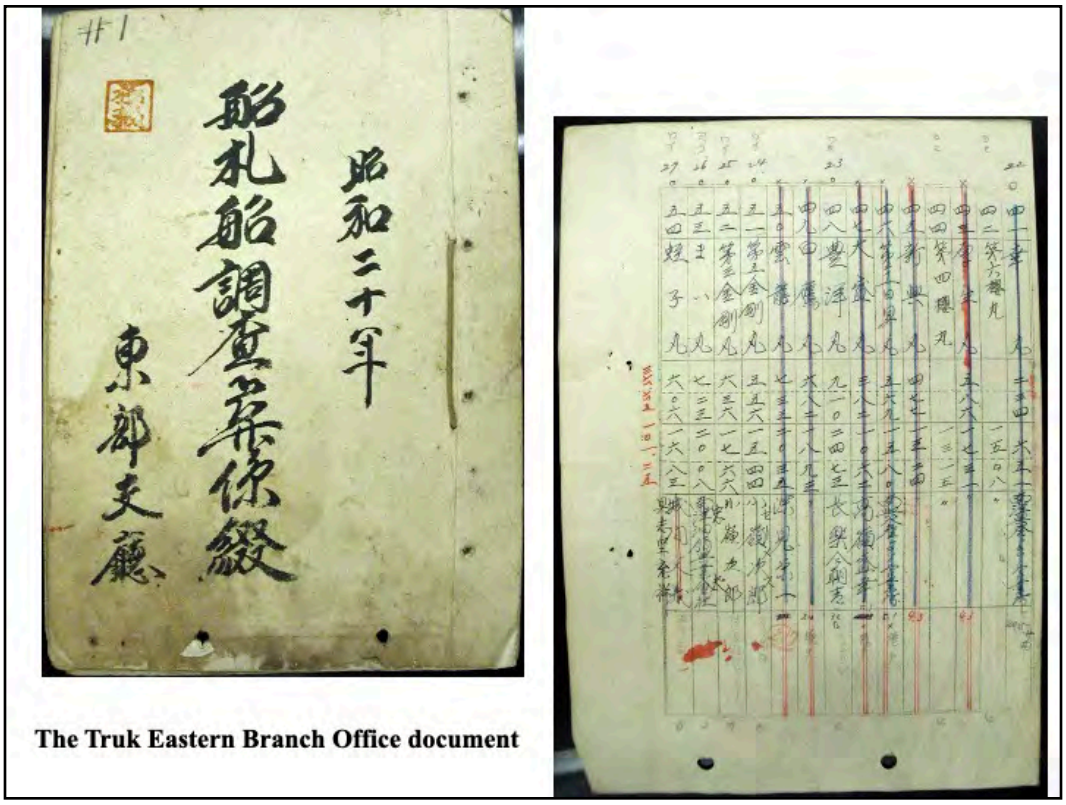


Place	Total no. vessels, 644
Palau	284
Yap	7
Pohnpei	66
Truk	156
Marianas	129
Marshalls	2



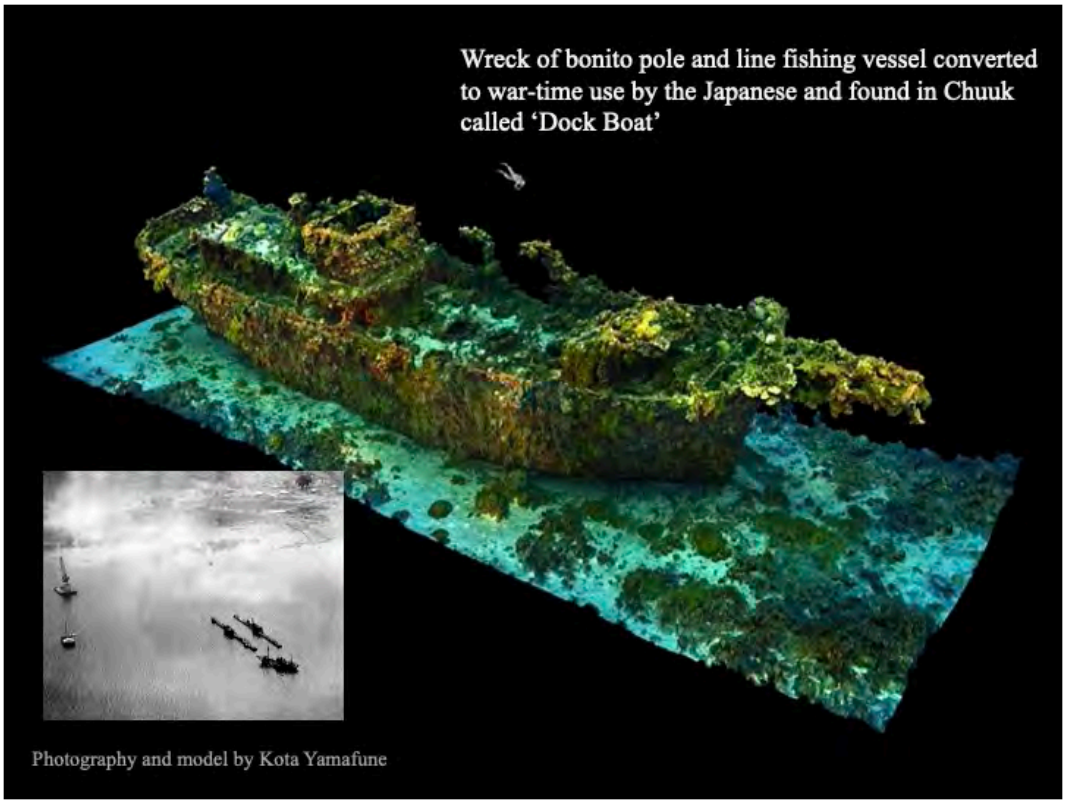
In 1939, there was c. 45 boats in Palau, 48 in Truk, 28 in Marianas, 17 in Pohnpei, and 2 in Yap of an average of 25 tons in tuna fishing

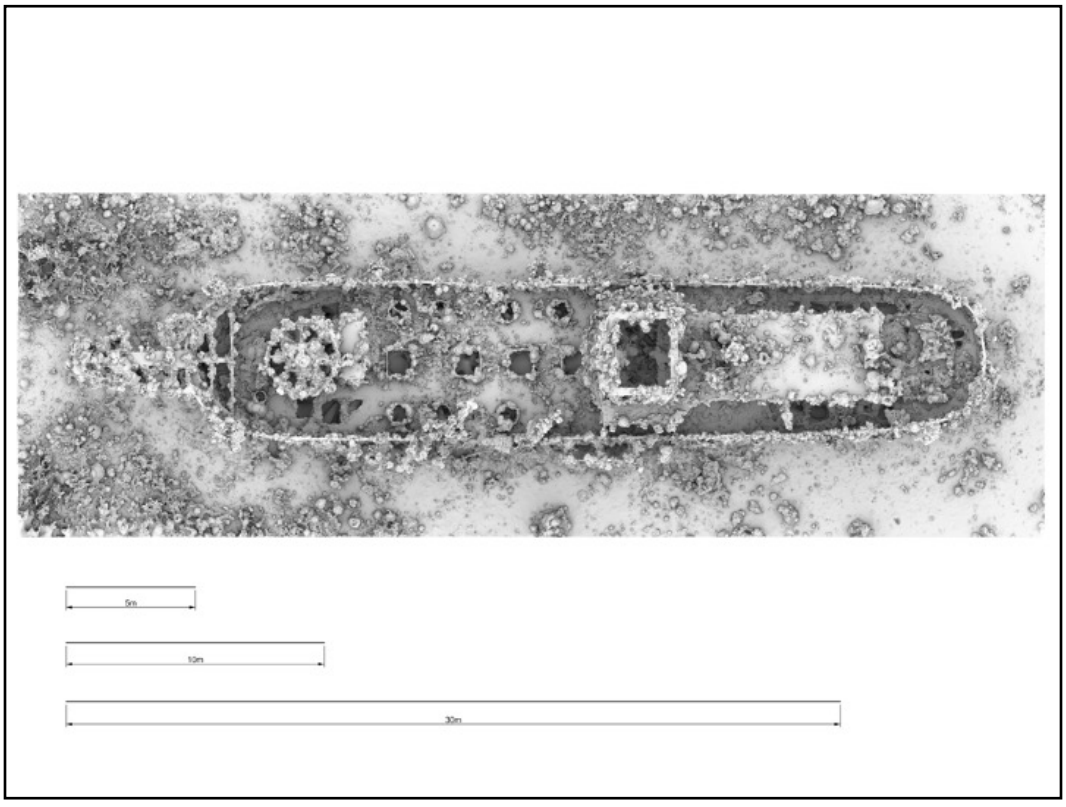




The Truk Eastern Branch Office document

- The 1945 Truk Eastern Branch Office (EBO) document contains 138 ships, some stated as being burnt or sunk on a particular date dates that match the bombing for Jaluit, Pohnpei and Truk (from November 1943-May 1945)
- It was found 7 vessels listed on the EBO document were still in Truk post-war
- None of the 65 shipwrecks identified in Chuuk, Marshalls or Pohnpei
- No intact ships from the EBO document were found in the Marshalls or Pohnpei
- In the Marshalls, surveys have been conducted by Matt Holly, who found 6 shipwrecked vessels that had operated as fishing vessels with conversions similar to the Chuuk Dock Boat, namely with a 40mm bow gun on the 'bandstand'
- The gross tonnages for all ships on the Eastern Branch Office document vary from 2-40 tonnes
- The tonnage for those in the Marshalls and the one in Chuuk is about 120 tons. A few of these 'larger' vessels operated in Micronesia, and some operated out of Japan, and not unloading their catch in Micronesia


Wreck of bonito pole and line fishing vessel converted to war-time use by the Japanese and found in Chuuk called 'Dock Boat'
Photography and model by Kota Yamafune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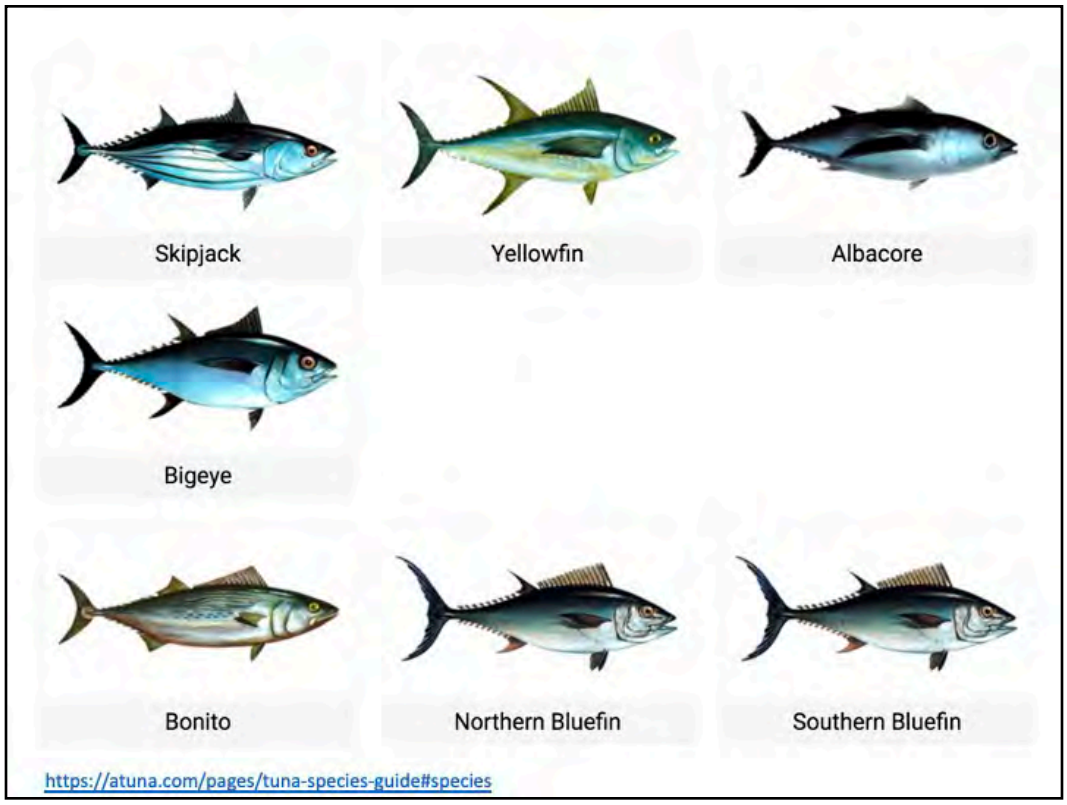
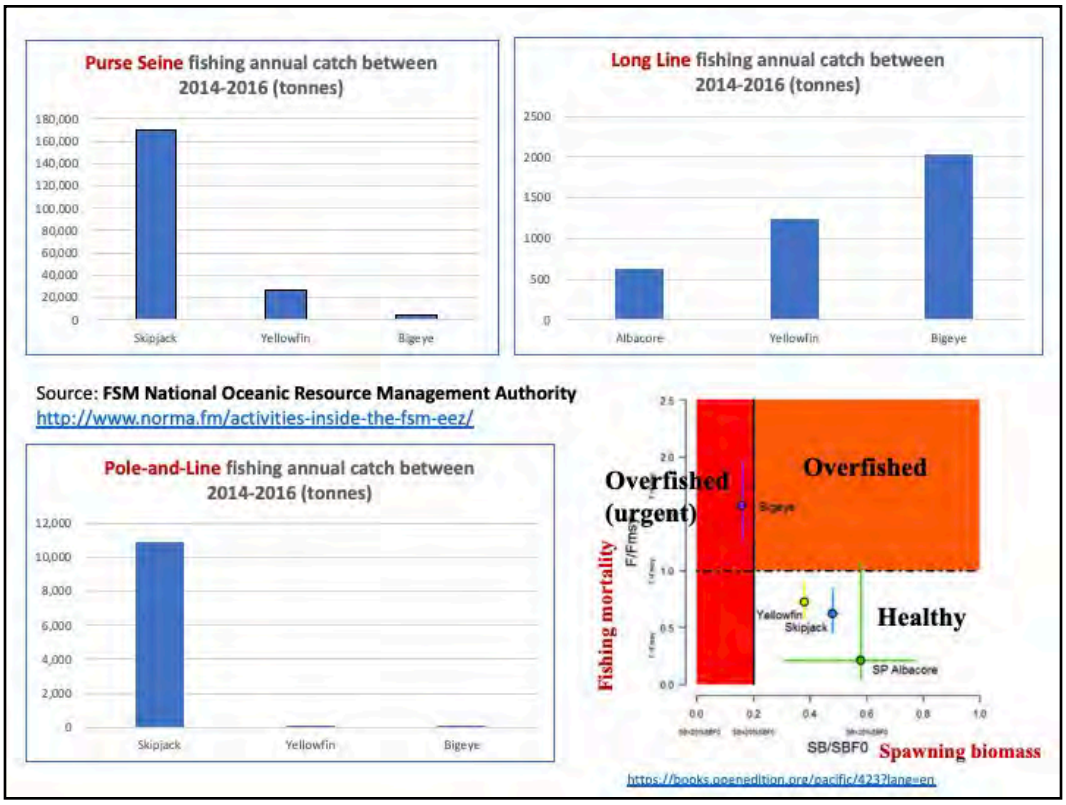


Today's Commercial Tuna Fishing Industry in Micronesia

- During the US period of administration in Micronesia, exports and economic development stagnated **attempts to establish locally run commercial fishing enterprises failed**
- This is contrasted with the pre-war Japanese period and the reasons for the stagnation.
- Before WWII it was the protected Japanese market that was economically advantageous for the Micronesian sugar, fishing, phosphate and copra industries. After the war this ceased and together with the rebuilding of the world trade system, high American subsidies, and the loss of cheap labor from the Japanese returning home, Micronesian industries such as the fishing industry could not be revived and thrive as before.
- In a 1950s' report from a United Nations mission to the Pacific Islands, they partly blamed, in a neo-colonial narrative, the characteristics of local people for the poor post-war economic advancement, in addition to 'extensive transport requirements and a dearth of economic resources'
- In the early 1950s, restrictions on Japanese vessels fishing in Micronesia were lifted and they resumed commercial fishing. In the 1960s both Japan and the US established tuna bases throughout the Pacific Islands.



- In 2016, 202,867 tonnes of tuna were caught in the FSM EEZ, from 28 longliners and 199 purse seiners (197 in 2002) with Japanese purse seiners catching over half of the tuna.
- This compares with the pre-war fishing industry, where in 1937 the Japanese led industry caught 34,000 tonnes of tuna throughout FSM, Palau, Mariana Islands, and Marshall Islands' waters utilizing 644 vessels with the FSM landing 16,500 tonnes of tuna caught in Chuuk and Pohnpei from 222 vessels

Date	Number of boats	People in industry	Tonnes of fish caught	Value
1922			18 (tons)	
1929			705 (tons)	
1934			10,066 (tons)	
1937	644-674 (six 20-50 tons)	2,790 Japanese Men, 672 Japanese women; 75 local	35,278	6 million Yen
1939	145 in tuna fishery, 15-60 tons			
		Below - Just FSM		
1991-99	86% P.S.; 8.8% L.L; 4.8% P.L.		1,250,000 (125,000 annually)	
1995			277,000	
1999			130,000 (74% bonito)	c. $180 million + $10 million (annual lic)
2000		614 FSM total; 254 on local vessels; 150 foreign vessels; and processing		
2002	197 P.S. (4 local owned)			
2013	Total 310; FSM 10 P.S.; 20 L.L.		199,588 (P.S 189,301; L.L. 2,182; P.L. 8,105)	$450 million and other revenues
2015			139,491	
2016	199 P.S.; 28 L.L.		202,867 (Japan 110,745; FSM 33,337 - P.S.)	
		WCPO (From Japan to NZ: West PNG to French Poly)		
2013			2,627,696 (58% of Global catch; 82% of Pacific catch)	$6.2 billion

In the FSM, Fish Is Now the Top Export From the Country.

- The FSM has a National Fisheries Corporation aimed at, 'promoting a profitable and long-term commercial fishery within the FSM' with headquarters in Pohnpei
- Much of the current fisheries depends on the country's tuna stocks. An August 1995 report found, 'stocks are in good condition, and it would be safe to increase harvest levels…cautiously for longline fleets…but no increase for purse seine harvesting…
- The sustainability of the oceanic bonito (skipjack) in Micronesian waters continues to be stated in a number of reports

- The small number of known fishing vessel remains in Chuuk and the Marshall Islands (and I am sure more to be found) are an important reminder that there is more to the WWII-related Underwater Cultural Heritage of Micronesia than WWII vessels.
- As with the memorial stone of Tamashiro Shoei on Tonoas in Chuuk, the fishing vessel remains are tangible remains of a pioneering era that is now a multimillion dollar sustainable industry that benefits local people.
- And at times like what we are going through currently, having an industry that is not dependent on tourism is good planning.

Bill Jeffery is an Associate Professor, Anthropology, University of Guam and holds a PhD from James Cook University, Townsville, Australia. His primary interest is maritime archaeology, which he commenced in Australia before going on to work with the Federated States of Micronesia National Historic Preservation Office, Sri Lanka, Hong Kong, and in east Africa. His interests are in researching traditional indigenous material culture and living heritage particularly in Oceania, revealing multi-vocality perspectives of underwater cultural heritage, developing community maritime archaeology, and highlighting how maritime cultural landscapes can reflect maritime cultural identities. Bill has instructed in courses including: cultural heritage preservation, maritime archaeology, and conducted maritime archaeology field schools with Flinders University, Chinese University of Hong Kong, University of Guam and James Cook University in addition to teaching Nautical Archaeology Society (NAS) training programs in eleven different countries.

5th Marianas History Conference

Day 10: Sunday, February 28

Panel: Hinanao-Ta Exhibit

I Hinanao-Ta, 500 Aňos (our Journey, 500 Years)

By Manuel Cruz, Artemia Perez, Lazaro Quinata, Juan San Nicolas
Kumision Estoria-ta/ Guam Preservation Trust

Abstract: *The challenge of reading history is most heavily felt by those whose stories were written for them. Magellan's circumnavigation was the beginning of documented histories of the people of the Mariana Islands. For generations, those words dictated the perception of not only how the world knew the CHamoru people, but how the people of the Marianas learned of their ancestors as well. On the 500th commemoration of Magellan's circumnavigation, the people of the Marianas are eager to share with the world a holistic picture of our history by engaging the written history with indigenous stories and sources of knowledge. We live in an exciting time where learners aren't satisfied with simply "reading between the lines." Now more than ever, the desire to engage with a history that represents us is pushing us to complete the narrative. I Hinanao-ta Our Journey, is a testament to the power of perspective. It is a step towards the world knowing who CHamorus are from CHamorus themselves.*

Introduction

The challenge of reading history is most heavily felt by those whose stories were written for them. Magellan's circumnavigation was the beginning of documented histories of the people of the Mariana Islands. For generations, those words dictated the perception of not only how the world knew the CHamoru people, but how the people of the Marianas learned of their ancestors as well.

On the 500th commemoration of Magellan's circumnavigation, Kumision I Estoriå-ta is eager to share with the world a holistic picture of our history by blending written historical accounts with indigenous stories and sources of knowledge. We live in an exciting time where learners are not satisfied with simply "reading between the lines." Now more than ever, the desire to produce a creative interpretation of history that represents us is embedded in this narrative. "I Hinanao-ta, Our Journey," is a testament to the power of perspective. It is a step towards the world knowing who CHamorus are from CHamorus themselves.

I Tinituhon (the Beginning) Creation Story

Our story begins with a sister and brother whose deaths were catalysts for life. Before there was an ocean to voyage, land to roam, and a sky to admire, there were Fo'na and Pontan. The

two were supernatural forces charged with great power and were loyal to one another. Pontan, wise and forward-thinking, imagined a life for his sister beyond his existence. He envisioned for her a future of abundance, where her solitude could be peaceful.

As Pontan's life was nearing its end, Fo'na remained by her brother's side and listened for his last wishes. Drawing his final breaths, Pontan asked Fo'na to transform his body into the world we are entrusted with today. With a heart struck with grief, Fo'na carried out her brother's legacy by first creating light with his eyes - each becoming the sun and the moon. Next, she transformed his chest into the sky which became like a canvas painted with stars, clouds, and vibrant colors. She added to this brilliant sky by forming rainbows out of Pontan's eyebrows. Using Pontan's back, Fo'na began to form the earth. Continuing to harness her powers, she meticulously tended to the land until it became rich soil and limestone forests decorated with groves of coconut trees, *gaosåli* (torchwood) flowers, *fadang* (cycad trees), and more.

Fo'na looked around her and saw that Pontan's purpose had been fulfilled. She admired her brother's selflessness and mourned in his absence. While doing so, Fo'na's grief spilled out into the world. Her tears became the oceans and rivers, and as she cradled herself in the bay of an island, she longed for company. Fo'na decided to become one with the earth and transformed herself into a large rock. From this rock, human and animal life emerged to share in Fo'na's creation.

The humans journeyed beyond the bay and explored the world that came of Pontan and Fo'na's sacrifice. Time went by and eventually, civilizations formed. Knowledge of seafaring allowed for these skilled people to brave the open water in search of something inconceivably valuable: a place where life could be sustained.

Over 3,500 years ago, these navigators traveled great distances from island Southeast Asia and returned to the archipelago our ancestors called *i tano' Laguas yan Gåni*. These same people made the islands their home and would in turn become forebearers. Our ancestors cultivated rice, built remarkable latte stone structures, and spoke a language that has persevered. They lived harmoniously with the land and sea, respectfully indulging in the bounty of fish, fruit, and vegetables that the island provided.

Those that inhabited Guåhan had found their way back to their motherland and saw Fo'na in rock formation by the bay of a southern village they called Humåtak. Basking in the world she and Pontan had provided for them, our ancestors continued to tell their origin story and made offerings to show their gratitude.

To this day, it is believed that touching Fo'na, now referred to as Lasso' Fouha (Fouha Rock), can endow you with fertility. The sacrality of Lasso' Fouha has been protected through oral histories and is emerging as a place CHamorus can visit to feel connected to, or to show gratitude towards their ancestors. As soon as our ancestors stepped out of their *sakman* (seafaring vessels) and called this place home, they started a new journey, no longer as nomads of the sea, but as the Taotao Tåno' of the island of Guåhan.

Pacific seafarers would continue their journey as stewards of other islands throughout Oceana.

The Taotao Tåno' Encounter Three Spanish Ships

In March of 1521, the people of Guåhan were in the month of Umagahaf, as determined through their observation of the cycle of *i pilan* (the moon). Umagahaf occurred in the middle of *fanomñåkan* (the dry season) and marked the time to harvest *guatåfi* (snapper fish) from within the reefs. The people of Guåhan would take to their *galaides* (outrigger canoes) in this time of the year in search of this seasonal fish. just as they had for thousands of years.

At the same time, a voyaging crew from the Spanish Empire was in the middle of an expedition in search of a trade route to the Malaku Islands in Indonesia. As these explorers entered their 533rd day of the voyage, they had run dangerously low on rations. Many crew members had died due to malnourishment and those who remained were forced to eat pieces of leather, softened by sea water, to survive.

The day on Guåhan was a normal one, when suddenly, as is said through oral history, the people in the southern village of Humåtak spotted three foreign vessels on the horizon. The design of these ships was not like any they had seen from the other nearby islands. Intrigued by this, they boarded their *galaides* (outrigger canoes) to investigate. They used their lateen sails to swiftly move across the water, almost like dolphins jumping through the waves, speaking to a mastery of the winds and sea that had been cultivated by millennia of open ocean trade with neighboring islands. The explorers, so impressed by these vessels, named these islands Islas de las Velas Latinas, the Islands of the Lateen Sails.

Upon reaching the galleons, the islanders immediately climbed aboard the deck of the main flagship to welcome the visitors within their waters. As the two groups of people were attempting to communicate with one another, an altercation broke out between a member of the Spanish crew and a CHamoru, leading a crew member to strike the CHamoru with his

sword, causing the other CHamorus to immediately jump overboard and back to their *galaide*. The CHamorus, seeing as they had suffered a grave offense by the Spanish, sought a form of recompense, as was common among their people to maintain peace. It was this common practice that prompted the CHamorus aboard the flagship to take the skiff that was attached to its side as they jumped off the ship.

While the CHamorus saw this as a fair exchange, the explorers, who were not familiar with the culture of the people, viewed this as an act of theft, leading them to pursue the CHamorus. The explorers followed with forty armed men. To take back the skiff, the explorers burned down over forty latte homes and killed seven CHamorus, taking their entrails with them as they returned to their ship, as was believed to cure ailments experienced by crew members.

The CHamorus pursued the explorers with close to 100 *galaide*. The CHamorus, at full speed surpassed that of the explorers, swiftly sailing between the ships to hurl rocks at the crew. Some of these CHamorus broke away from the attack to trade provisions with the explorers for beads, [this sequencing is confusing, would they have stopped attacking to conduct trade]but upon completing the trade, rejoined their people in the attack.

Distraught from deaths of close friends and family, the women aboard the *galaide* let out mournful cries and tore out their hair as they chased the galleons out of their home waters. The CHamorus pursued the explorers for about three miles, eventually turning around to sail back to shore once they were sure the ships would not return. As those aboard the ships ventured further from Guåhan's shores, Magellan himself, as Captain, renamed the islands Islas de Los Ladrones, the Island of Thieves. Meanwhile, CHamorus were relieved [is relieved the appropriate word?] at the end of their bitter encounter.

I Taotao Tåsi (The People of the Sea)

When Magellan's crew wandered into the Marianas, they encountered a civilization which had already existed for thousands of years. The CHamoru were interconnected with other island groups by the expanse of the ocean what Epeli Hau'ofa called a sea of islands. The CHamoru people were not objects to be discovered. Rather, by 1521 they were a people with sustained contact with and knowledge of the outside world. One crew member aboard Magellan's ship, Andrès de San Martín, remarked that the CHamoru who stepped foot onto the deck of Magellan's galleon were "completely unawed" by what they saw aboard the vessel. As navigators, they had an intimate knowledge of stars, waves, clouds, swells, animals, and winds which guided them from one island to another. On land, it was an intricate knowledge

of craftsmanship which helped create *sakman* and other vessels which could navigate long distances at incredible speeds.

For the Spanish crewmembers, these outrigger canoes were vastly different from their hulking, slow-moving ships in that their sails, made of intricately woven plant fibers, were not stationary, but could be moved from one end of the canoe to the other. This allowed CHamoru navigators to quickly maneuver their canoes with the wind. However, it is not just outrigger technology and seafaring knowledge which travelled far and wide, but language.

CHamorus share linguistic and cultural ties to communities across Oceania a region four-fifths of the globe's oceanic surface. As early navigators travelled across the Pacific, they also brought with them many food staples we now share with many relatives across Oceania, such as *lemmai*, *niyok*, and the many varieties of root plants found among Pacific peoples such as *suni*, *dågu*, and *nika'*.

CHamoru seafarers were devoted students of the ocean, and could navigate to sister islands based on, among many things, the shape and pattern of tides and swells. So dedicated were they to seafaring that, among all the gold, silver, and other riches the Spanish ships held for trade, what our ancestors sought most were iron nails and other sharp-tipped objects which they traded in exchange for water, foods, *guåfak*, and live birds.

While the Spanish were quick to marvel at the speed and ingenuity of CHamoru sea vessels, at later points during Spain's colonizing mission, canoes were vilified due to the threats they posed to the stability of the Spanish order. During the Chamorro-Spanish Wars, for instance, Spanish priests and soldiers destroyed canoes and forbade their construction fearing the military and logistical advantages they provided to the CHamoru rebellion.

Like many other Pacific Island communities affected by colonization, knowledge of seafaring dwindled in the Marianas. The Spanish fought to keep CHamoru from the ocean, knowing that the seas meant freedom and the mobility to connect with other island peoples. However, traditional seafaring knowledge has persevered through time and hardship with the help of our neighbors from the Poluwat and Satawal atolls. The Master Micronesian navigator, Mau Piailug has helped pave the way for a CHamoru seafaring revival, so that future generations can take to the ocean once again.

I Taotao Tåno (The People of the Land)

The relationship that CHamoru people have with the land is one of interconnectedness and respect. Our ancestors were not taught to see land as an individually-owned commodity. Instead, they coexisted with nature and saw themselves as givers just as much as they were takers, protecting and witnessing it as an invaluable force.

Knowledge of the land as both a resource and a connection to life beyond us is seen across many indigenous cultures. Our ancestors, for example, looked to the *trongkon niyok* (coconut tree) as the tree of life and skillfully utilized every part of it. Additionally, the *trongkon nunu* (banyan trees) were respected as ancestral homes to the taotaomo'na (the people of before). It was natural for CHamorus to be raised knowing the function and vitality of their land.

History tells us that Spanish expansionism came with the naming and thus claiming of land. While our ancestors referred to themselves as I Taotao Tåno, or the people of the land, Spaniards who sought to either conquer land for economic gain or evangelize its people first took to naming it as a means of procuring ownership. In these times of early encounters, European cartographers placed our island on a world map that painted us first as remarkable seafarers, then thieves, and finally an archipelago that honored a queen (Mariana) who had only heard about us in written letters.

From 1565 to 1815, Guåhan was a critical juncture for the Crown of Castille's Manila Galleon Trade Route. as Ships leaving Manila would depart for Mexico loaded with spices, porcelain, silk, ivory and other goods from China. On their return, the ships are said to have carried at least one-third of the silver extracted from Peru, as well as other parts of the Americas. The route was so prosperous and expansive that it is referred to by historians as "The Dawn of the Global Economy," and "The Birth of Globalization."

Although the trade route was lucrative, the voyages were treacherous. With a mortality rate of approximately 50-percent, the likelihood of malnutrition, starvation, and infection was also a persistent threat to the 400-person crews living in cramped quarters. The crew members that did manage to survive were often scurvy-ridden and infested with a number of common diseases. The Marianas proved necessary to the galleon route as a site where captains could replenish their stores of water, food, and other necessities. However, Guahan was much more than a strategic location.

The responsibility that CHamorus felt to tend to the land was interwoven into the fabric of their society. The land and its people, believed to be formed through the love and sacrifice of

siblings Fo'na and Pontan, was also managed by clans overseen by siblings a *Maga'lahi* and a *Maga'håga*. CHamoru society was comprised of a three-tiered caste system, the *Matao* (highest ranking), *Achå'ot*, and *Manåchang*. They lived along the coastline and were skilled fishermen. The *Manåchang* caste lived inland and were skilled agriculturalists. Furthermore, as a matrilineal society, land was passed down through a mother's bloodline and as a result, much of CHamoru culture was reflective of this high regard for both women and land: providers of life.

The act of taking from or venturing through the land was and continues to be a sacred exchange; usually involving asking permission from either those who tend to the land, or the spirits of the land in the absence of a clear caretaker. On the one hand, CHamorus mastered sustainability and knew how to properly maximize their natural resources to not be wasteful while not overharvesting to maintain balance. On the other hand, Magellan and subsequent European crews found little else they could exploit from the Marianas (aside from the land and people). One account by a crewman aboard Magellan's ship bemoans how the crew "saw no sign of gold."

The Spanish and CHamoru peoples' conflicting views of Guahan's lands remained throughout the first 100 years of the Galleon Trades operation. In 1668, this tension only grew stronger as CHamorus faced a new period of Spanish colonization fueled by the religious fervor of Father Diego Luis de San Vitores.

Catholic Missionization Led by Father Diego Luis De San Vitores

On June 16, 1668 more than two hundred CHamoru men lined Hagåtña bay with spears, eager to know what an anchored ship, later identified as the San Diego galleon, was doing in their waters. Fatahurno, a headman amongst the warriors, was approached by Father Luis de Medina and his accompanying interpreter on the shore. Bearing gifts of iron, Medina was successfully granted a meeting with Maga'låhi Kepuha the high chief of Hagåtña.

As Medina and his interpreter were escorted to Kepuha's home, Pedro, a Christian Visayan Filipino survivor of a shipwreck near Saipan thirty years prior, climbed aboard the San Diego galleon. He brought aboard with him his two-year-old CHamoru daughter and asked a Jesuit priest to baptize her. This priest was Father Diego Luis de San Vitores. After baptizing the infant, San Vitores gave her the name Mariana and referred to the archipelago as Las Islas Mariana in honor of his queen. San Vitores proceeded in his mission to evangelize the Mariana Islands and expand Spain's colonial rule as a catechist on his team.

Meanwhile in Kepuha's home, Medina not only approached the Maga'låhi with gifts of iron and a velvet hat, but with a proposition regarding the Catholic mission as well. Kepuha was open to hearing their intentions and had allowed them to stay the night as his guests. The next morning, San Vitores came ashore and began his work by conducting mass near the ocean. Tactical with his actions, San Vitores erected a cross and preached his first sermon to those in attendance using the CHamoru language. The following week, the San Diego galleon departed for the Philippines, leaving San Vitores, Medina, and about fifty other men composed of soldiers, catechists, and priests to the CHamorus for what was expected to be a year until the next galleon was to arrive.

The missionaries found themselves in the face of a thriving culture that was in stark contrast to that of Catholic doctrine. Throughout the island, there were *Guma' Uritao* (Bachelor Houses) where the male elders of clans would congregate with young boys to educate them. Mothers sent their sons to the Guma' of their family, and thus entrusted their elder relatives with the responsibility of teaching them to become skilled canoe builders, navigators, stone carvers, deep ocean fishermen and responsible community members.

Within the *Guma'*, sexual exploration was encouraged and discussed with the *ma'uritao* (young women) who frequented. Gathering at the *Guma' Uritao* fostered a safe space for CHamoru youth to mature in the presence of the opposite sex and their elders. However, the Spanish missionaries saw the *Guma'* as a place where sin and corruption, specifically premarital sex, defiled the youth.

San Vitores prioritized the abolishment of the *Guma' Uritao*, restructuring the CHamoru perception of premarital sex and the customs used to transmit knowledge between generations. The Spaniards also witnessed the makeup of CHamoru unions. Marriages were arranged by leaders and functioned as a binding of clans and a means of social mobility in which divorce was acceptable.

The CHamoru way of life was peaceful yet it did not shy away from expression. Disputes within marriages and amongst clans were handled publicly. Infidelity committed by the husband, for example, was met with a loss of property and a burning of his crops carried out by the female relatives of the wife. If the wife on the other hand committed adultery, then the husband could kill her lover. What the CHamorus viewed as necessary acts of aggression meant to restore peace were viewed by the Spanish as uncivilized and disrespectful to the sacrality of marriage.

Upon witnessing these customs, the missionaries were instructed to disperse throughout villages and baptize CHamorus. Chief Kepuha had agreed to give San Vitores land which he used to establish the first Catholic church in the Marianas. Kepuha then became the first CHamoru to be baptized on Guahan soil. Although his reasonings for giving San Vitores land remain a topic of contention today, Kepuha had become an ally to the Spaniards and in doing so made Hagåtña the base of their mission. San Vitores then sent out priests to other islands throughout the Marianas.

Baptism was initially seen as something exclusively bestowed upon the Matao; but this was because San Vitores strategically sought to baptize the headmen of the clans which he knew would serve as an example rewarded in material goods to the rest of their clan members. The baptismal spread had begun with high born clan members eventually targeting infants and elders who were close to death.

This process was quickly carried out by the missionaries and such sudden changes to culture were met with mixed responses. Within just six weeks, CHamorus saw the destruction of the skulls of their ancestors, the baptizing of their leaders and most valued community members (elders and youth), and an open critique of their way of life. Tensions arose in the month of August when priests in Guahan, Saipan, and Tinian were wounded by CHamorus. Additionally, Choco, a Chinese man who had settled down in Guahan's southern village of Pa'a, had played a crucial role in leading the CHamoru resistance. Choco began spreading word that the deaths of CHamoru infants and elders was attributed to the holy water used to conduct baptisms. In response to this, San Vitores visited Pa'a with the intent of baptizing Choco. He arrived with a military commander and armed soldiers; displaying a firm confrontation to be witnessed by the village.

In February of 1669, the Dulce Nombre de Maria in Hagåtña was formally established. Kepuha was given the title Don Juan Quipuha and was referred to as the protector of the Hagåtña mission. Around the same time, a seminary called the Colegio de San Juan de Letran, was built and the Spanish mission had then infiltrated the CHamoru educational system. Kepuha died shortly after the church's dedication and was given a Christian burial to his family's dismay.

Kepuha II, who felt strongly that his father should have been traditionally laid to rest with his ancestors, was angered by this and sought out Maga'lahi Hurao another high ranking Matao of Hagåtña who had been gathering forces for the resistance. Hurao and other chiefs on the island, namely Matåpang of Tomhom, had been baptized but began to question the changing fabric of CHamoru society. Highly criticized for living with a divorced woman,

Kepuha II grew frustrated with the missionaries to the point where during a confrontation with San Vitores he expressed that it would be "better to burn in hell than to extinguish the flame of passion."

In June, the Acapulco galleon San Jose arrived and brought soldiers equipped with firearms and ammunition. After a few days, San Vitores along with catechist Lorenzo de Morales, took the San Jose to Tinian and Saipan. In Saipan, CHamorus had held San Vitores and Lorenzo prisoner, leaving them to the *Guma' Uritao* who were threatening to execute San Vitores. Eventually they set them free and the two left for Anatåhan in August. Lorenzo and San Vitores split up, baptizing infants in different villages and continuing their mission. A newborn child had died in the presence of Lorenzo and the CHamorus immediately retaliated, killing him and making him the first martyr of their mission. As San Vitores looked for Lorenzo only to be met with the news of his death, a volcano erupted allowing him to escape.

The next two years were riddled with disputes, alliances, and more forceful mission efforts throughout Guahan and the Northern Mariana Islands. Hurao' s efforts to gather resistance supporters was gaining and after briefly being held prisoner by Spanish soldiers, he gathered 2,000 warriors and led the first organized attack against them on September 11, 1671. The attack lasted for eight days and allies, like Choco and Kepuha II, had begun to overwhelm the Spaniards. However, a catastrophic typhoon hit Guahan and left CHamoru forces weakened.

In April 1672, Maga'lahi Matåpang of Tomhom was visited by San Vitores who had heard of Matåpang's newborn daughter. San Vitores insisted that she be baptized to which Matåpang angrily refused. At this point, baptism was rendered unpopular and converted CHamorus began to resist the missionaries much more openly. Matåpang left to find a warrior also named Hurao with the plan to kill San Vitores. Once Matåpang left his home, San Vitores entered and baptized Matåpang's daughter without his consent while Pedro Calungsod stood guard. Upon returning, Matåpang and Hurao saw this and felt betrayed. They proceeded to hurl lances towards Calungsod and San Vitores, injuring them and leaving them defenseless. Matåpang and Hurao loaded them onto a *proa* and disposed of their bodies over Tomhom's reef.

A Battle of Sovereignty/Independence

In the spring of 1672, Maga'lahi Matåpang of Tomhom fled hurriedly to the Northern Marianas in the wake of his assassination of the leading missionary in Guam, Father Diego Luis de San Vitores. This assassination was a culmination of growing tensions between

CHamoru leaders and the growing Spanish presence. The surge in aggression on both sides led to a war that would last nearly 25 years. During this CHamoru rebellion, survival for the CHamoru people was dependent on their ability to retreat, re-strategize, and resist.

Our ancestors did not engage in a full-scale war. The war waged against the Spanish was instead marked by sporadic outbursts of organized resistance by individual clans who viewed this as ritual retaliation. On many occasions throughout the war, the forces of the Spanish dwindled. But upon each glimmer of victory by the CHamorus, a new ship arrived to bolster the ranks of soldiers present and restock arms and supplies.

CHamorus were at a crossroads: either build alliances with neighboring clans or ally with a foreign power. Despite the overwhelming threat these foreign forces placed upon the livelihood of the CHamoru people, many came to the aid of the Spanish. This was done by way of providing rations to the missions or volunteering to fight alongside the soldiers against their CHamoru brothers and sisters. One such man was Hineti, later baptized as Ignacio. Hineti was a man born to the lowest caste in the ancient CHamoru hierarchy, the *manåchang*. In 1684, the Spanish Governor of Guam, Quiroga, took a large fraction of soldiers with him to Saipan after hearing of sightings of Maga'lahi Matåpang, leaving the missionaries on Guam susceptible to attack. Seeking a way to ensure the prosperity of his clan, Hineti militarized his fellow clan members to defend the Spanish mission against his fellow CHamoru until Quiroga's return.

The bulk of casualties were not from war but rather from an array of diseases that were compounded by a practice found throughout Spain's New World Empire: the reduction. Before the initiation of the militant reducciones, CHamoru clans went into deep hiding in the *halom tano'* and other difficult places to settle across the Mariana Islands. It was not until the 1680s that Spanish conquistadors led by Quiroga forcibly resettled natives from all islands of the Marianas into five, Church-centered villages: Hagåtña, Humåtak, Hågat, Inalåhan, and Pågu. By the end of the century, CHamorus had to reckon with a new threat. In 1668, the estimated population was between 30,000 to 60,000; In 1705, that number was reduced drastically to 3500.

CHamorus on either side of the CHamoru-Spanish War had to think deeply about their future. Like the CHamorus who first fled to the jungles at the sound of gunfire nearly 25 years earlier, the CHamorus at the end of the war had to bide their time and do what they could to survive. During the period of reconstruction following the war and the ascendency of Spanish power, CHamorus strived to maintain their worldviews and culture and embedded them into the new religion and Spanish ways of life thrust upon them.

Period of Rebuilding

By the end of the CHamoru-Spanish War in the early 1700's, CHamorus throughout the Mariana Islands were forced to move from their homes into several new districts throughout the island of Guahan. During this time of total Spanish governance, life for the CHamorus seemed unrecognizable from what it was just a century prior. In the effort to establish a colony in the image of Spanish society, the reconstruction of Guahan began. This transition ultimately ended many of the practices of a culture cultivated within their homeland islands for over 2,000 years.

In spite of onerous assimilationist policies, CHamoru people continued to integrate their values and beliefs in the new world order. No longer were rebellions against the Spanish fought on fields by warriors, but instead were waged during daily life by everyday CHamorus.

This can be heard no better than in the language that fell from the tongues of the people. The CHamorus were faced with an unprecedented influx of new words from the Spanish language that had to be quickly adopted in order to describe a world changing just as fast. The CHamorus made these words their own, regardless of their origin, by both pronouncing them in ways that felt natural and by speaking them in their traditional grammar structure. Spanish words such as mesa and carne were spoken as *lamasa* (table) and *kåtne* (meat). Although the language sounded Spanish, as a son or daughter of Guam spoke it, it became CHamoru.

The CHamorus experienced the first significant threat to their culture after the abolishment of the *Guma' Uritao* by Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores. While the Catholic mission initially moved to extinguish the seemingly pagan practices of the CHamorus, it had inadvertently caused the end of an entire system of education whose knowledge was built upon thousands of years of practice in navigation, stonework, and oral history.

As the CHamorus were gathered into these new villages, their solution to the newfound absence of a cultural institution was found in the fields of the family ranches that they kept separate from their residence, called a *lancho*. Learning survival skills in the *lancho* replaced the *Guma' Uritao*'s where young CHamorus could speak their language, learn traditional practices, and instill an education of key cultural values outside the watch of priests and soldiers.

Despite initially serving as a key component in assimilation into Spanish life, the Catholic Church was strategically leveraged by CHamorus to ensure that cultural practices and values were practiced in an unassuming way. This can be observed in the establishment of the local role of *techa'*, or prayer leader, to preserve a place of power for women within this new social hierarchy. The *techa'* was a role normally held by the oldest woman in the village. In her capacity as techa' she would have authority within each village's church, second only to the priest. Within this normally patriarchal institution, the CHamorus, through their actions in the Church, were able to maintain a sense of gender cooperation and equality that reflected the roles of the eldest daughter and son in ancient clan leadership.

This spread of foreign influence had moved into the homes of the CHamorus as well. In addition to new technologies and diet, the Spanish had also brought with them their legends and folklores. These stories included mermaids and duende, characters that were never a part of the CHamoru culture. These stories were told in the houses of many CHamoru families but were tweaked with each retelling to reflect traditional values and customs.

This can be seen in the retelling of the legend of Sirena. The original story served as a cautionary tale for children to obey their parents, seeing that Sirena refused to obey her mother and was consequently cursed by her to become half fish. CHamorus, however, have extracted a secondary lesson which is for parents to understand the weight of their words and the influence they have on the lives of their children. This lesson in childcare is one that is consistent with Fray Juan Probe's observations and descriptive accounts of the CHamoru people before the CHamoru-Spanish War.

The CHamorus ingenuity and adaptability, amidst overwhelming pressures to conform to a foreign way of life, ensured that key components of their traditional knowledge would continue to guide their people into this new journey just as it had for thousands of years. These lessons would continue to guide the people, even as they faced an emerging threat to their livelihood in the mid-1800s, one that did not discriminate by race or religion: the plague.

A Plague From CHamoru Memory Returns

The 1855 Smallpox Epidemic: Yo'åmte (CHamoru healers) on the Frontlines

Throughout one of the darkest crises in CHamoru history, which killed nearly 60% (5,542 inhabitants) of Guam's population, it was during this time that its natives, government officials, and the Church turned to a trusted source of medical aid, the *yo'åmte*. Our *yo'åmte*

were front liners against a virulent disease that debilitated its victims with severe fatigues, fevers, and pus-filled lesions covering the body.

In 1845, a decade before the smallpox epidemic, Governor Santa Maria referred to our ancient *yo'åmte* as "the real people who practice medicine here." *Yo'åmte* concocted a plethora of *åmot* (indigenous medicine) to treat a variety of ailments including those labeled *chetnot maipe* (unexplained illnesses). *Yo'åmte* created *åmot* using *hale* and *hågon siha* (roots and leaves) from native plants from private gardens and the *halom tano'* (jungle). Our ancestors possessed valuable medical knowledge, and in the time of smallpox, they found ways to innovate and explore new methods of treatment. As an old CHamoru saying from Saipan goes: "Ha nå'i håo gi as Yu'os chetnot-mu, para un espiha åmot-mu" (God gave you the sickness for you to look for the medicine).

In the spring of 1856, the Edward L. Frost, an American schooner, anchored in Apra Harbor, Marianas, carrying onboard prominent businessmen, Spanish mariners, Filipino crewmen, and the corpse of a man who died of a plague CHamorus experienced a century ago: smallpox. In the days that followed the ship's arrival, an island resident exhibited signs of the viral disease. Because the virus was extremely contagious, Governor de la Corte initiated containment policies against the disease including home quarantines, isolation zones, and the construction of medical facilities (*camarines*) in Familanan, Maigu, Malesso, Humåtak, and Inalåhan. Amidst this epidemic, the Spanish administration did not have an acting medical officer or an active vaccination board, so the role of the *suruhana* cannot be overlooked.

Despite the introduction of Western medicine and practices, Spanish and Church leaders relied on CHamoru knowledge on medicine before, during, and after the time of smallpox. In an 1875 account, Dr. Dimas Corral, one of the first Spanish doctors to practice in the Marianas, sought the aid and consultation of our *yo'åmte* to use "the plants of the country" to create indigenous medicines for sailors infirmed at the Colegio de San Juan de Letran.

Yo'åmte, however, kept their recipes secret from Spanish officials because obtaining ingredients from the *halom tano'*, the sacred dwelling place of the *taotaomo'na*, would have upset the spirits. Therefore, Spanish officials like Corral must have relied on the cooperation of our native healers and willfully sought their knowledge. The status of the *yo'åmte* is a revered position in CHamoru society, and it is a living tradition that exists today. The *yo'åmte* of today have used recipes for *åmot* passed down for hundreds of years.

CHamorus Encounter a New Foreign Power in the Marianas

At the end of the smallpox epidemic, the CHamoru population declined nearly sixty percent. Similar to the period following the CHamoru Spanish War about 150 years earlier, CHamorus had to strive to preserve their cultural values and ways of life. The CHamoru's of this post-pandemic era were to once again to be affected by great change to their livelihood. A Spanish Royal decree of 1885 granted increased democratic institutions for the CHamorus through the *governacillio* (elected mayors).

A rising political class was gaining power in the Marianas. However, in February 1898, in an ocean on the other side of the world, the CHamoru people would experience the effects of an explosion aboard an American second-class battleship, the USS Maine in Havana, Cuba and start a war between the Spanish and the United States.

This war would result in an offensive assault on Guåhan and other indigenous peoples under the Spanish crown. The CHamorus residing in Sumay heard canon fire from the USS Charleston as it docked in Apra Harbor. Many remained unaware of the fact that the visiting American sailors escorted the Spanish governor, military officials, and troops on board as prisoners of war.

With the Spanish's contact and administration over Guåhan for over 300 years represented by their flag was lowered down for the last time, American sailors raised their star-spangled flag while their anthem resounded in the background. Far from the Pacific in a continent bordering the Atlantic, Americans initiated negotiations in Paris, France to secure the transfer of the territories of Spain's empire, without any CHamorus present. For the first time in hundreds of years, Guåhan was separated politically from her brother islands in the Northern Marianas.

Guåhan was the only Mariana Island transferred to the U.S. Although Guåhan became a U.S. territory, the civil rights and liberties guaranteed and protected by the U.S. Constitution and the nation it represented did not follow its flag as it flew over Guåhan. Nonetheless, the CHamoru people had a natural desire for freedom and liberty. It was this desire that prompted some CHamorus to flee to the *halom tåno'* like their ancestors before them. It was also that desire that empowered our ancestors to openly protest in the early years of a new regime by petitioning a U.S. Naval regime and a governing body thousands of miles from their shores.

In the increasing global era of the twentieth century, the people of Guam would face new obstacles and struggles that directly challenged their sovereignty and way of life, but like our ancestors before them, the CHamoru people learned to resist and adapt to maintain their identity.

Continuity of I Hinanao-Ta Sigi Mo'na

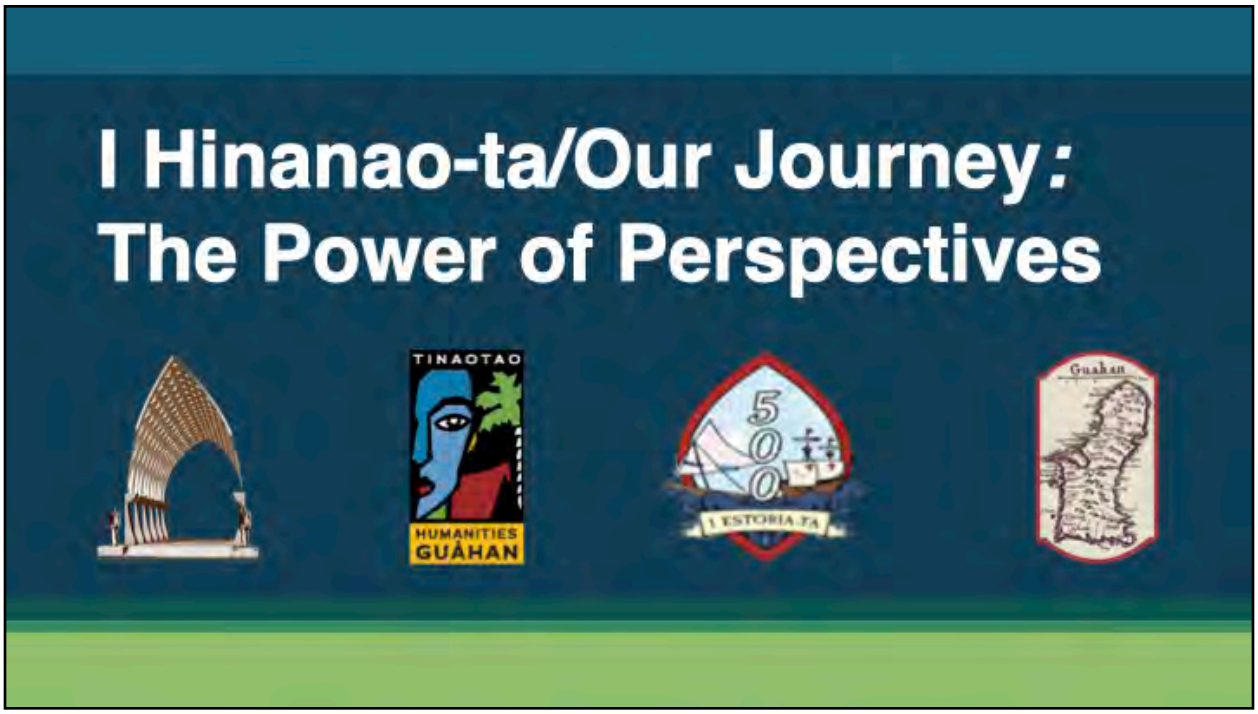
Konsigi i Hinanao-ta (**Continuing Our Journey**)

As we commemorate the 500 Year Anniversary of the first recorded successful circumnavigation voyage around the world, it becomes near impossible to overlook the true weight of history in our lives today. Upon the arrival of these Spanish vessels on the shores of Guåhan, the journeys of the CHamoru and Spanish peoples would forever be intertwined. Forged by expedition and strengthened by trade, the relationship between the Mariana Islands and Spain would undergo countless conflicts and compromises with tragedies and triumphs experienced on both sides.

In nearly all aspects of CHamoru culture the legacy of Spain's influence is undeniable, from language to religion, music to food. We, as CHamoru however, do not acknowledge that this influence makes our culture any less CHamoru. Rather, we understand that this relationship demonstrates that our culture is unquestionably alive and thriving. Hearing our history from the voices of our own people instills in us a deeper appreciation for the ingenuity of our ancestors in incorporating ancient traditions and customs into adopted foreign practices as well as their sheer resiliency in holding steadfast to values whose importance could not be compromised.

The CHamoru term for ancestor, taotaomo'na, comes from the joining of two words, *taotao*, meaning people, and *mo'na*, meaning front. In its literal translation; "the people of the front." As we, the CHamoru people of today, share the stories of our ancestors, we bring with it our belief that those from the past are not merely characters written in books whose lives exist only in those pages of history. Rather, they are the leaders standing before us, constantly at the forefront of our minds, paving the way along a continually unfolding journey that is as resilient and vigorous today as the day they began telling their story with their first mark on the shores of Guåhan thousands of years ago.

Presentation Slides

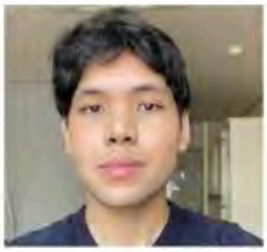


Meet the Team

Manuel Cruz
PhD Candidate,
Auckland University of Technology

Artemia Perez
Writer,
UOG Press

Lazaro Quinata
Program Coordinator,
Guampedia



Juan San Nicolas
Fulbright Scholar,
Korea

3

1

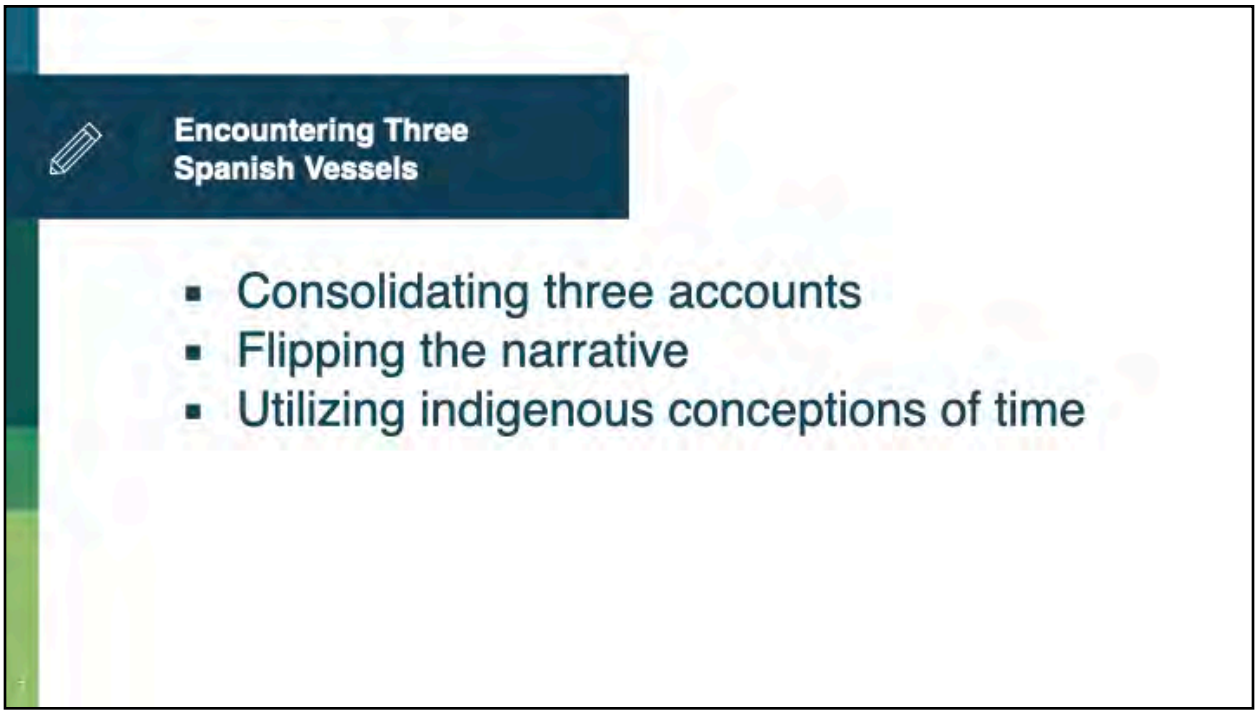
I Tinituhon

(The Beginning) Creation Story

4


I Tinituhon
Incorporating CHamoru values into Fo'na and Pontan's personality traits
Mentioning native plants
Using "area" instead of "village"

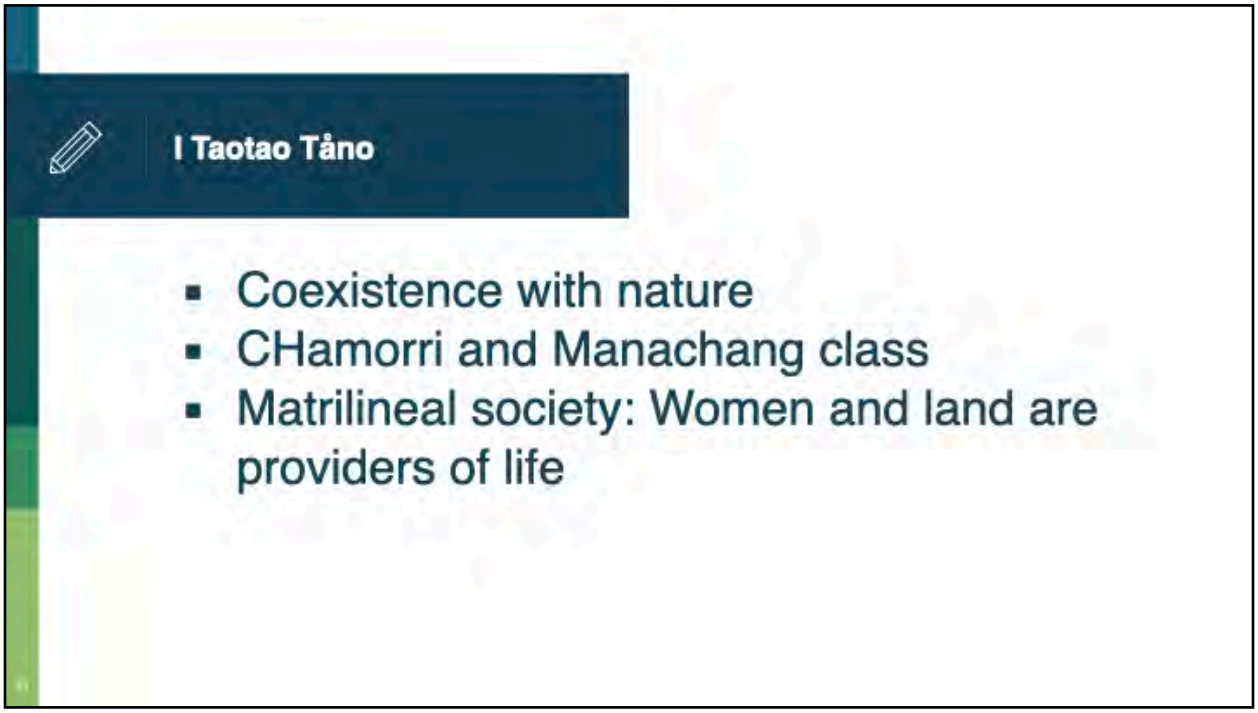

2
Encountering Three Spanish Vessels


Encountering Three Spanish Vessels
Consolidating three accounts
Flipping the narrative
Utilizing indigenous conceptions of time

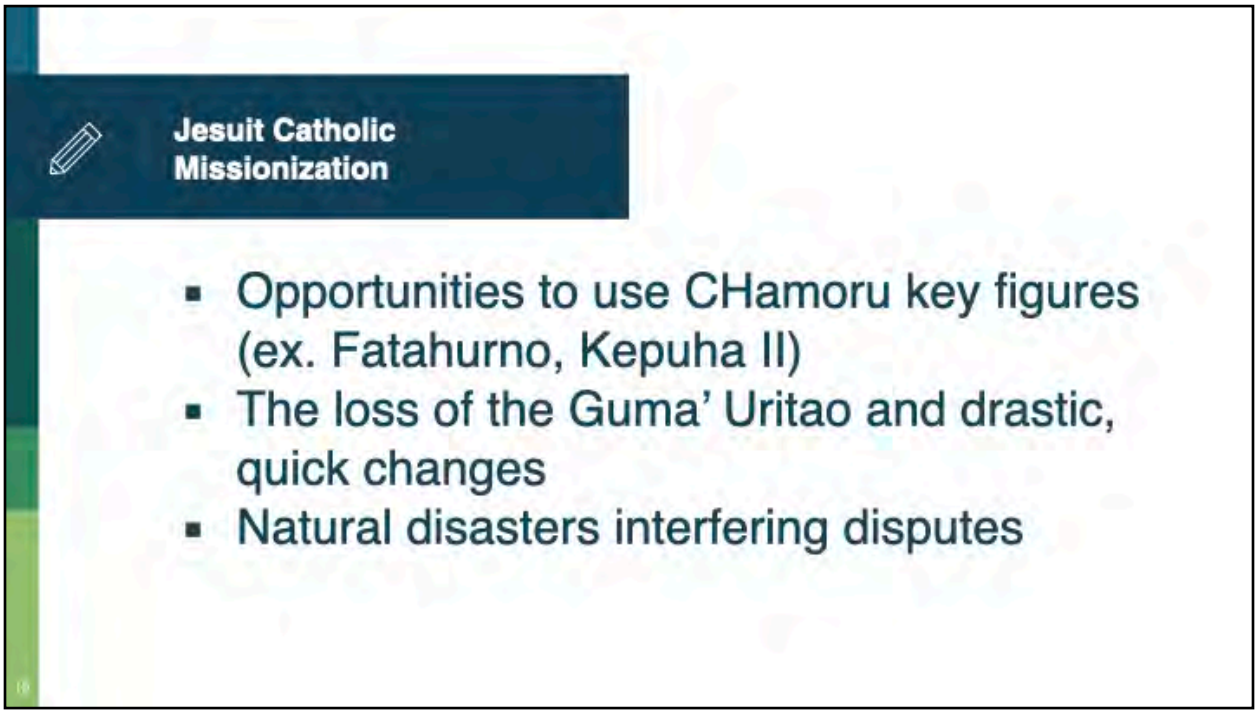

3
I Taotao Tåsi
(The People of the Sea)


I Taotao Tåsi
Profound Worldview
Interconnectedness
Resurgence

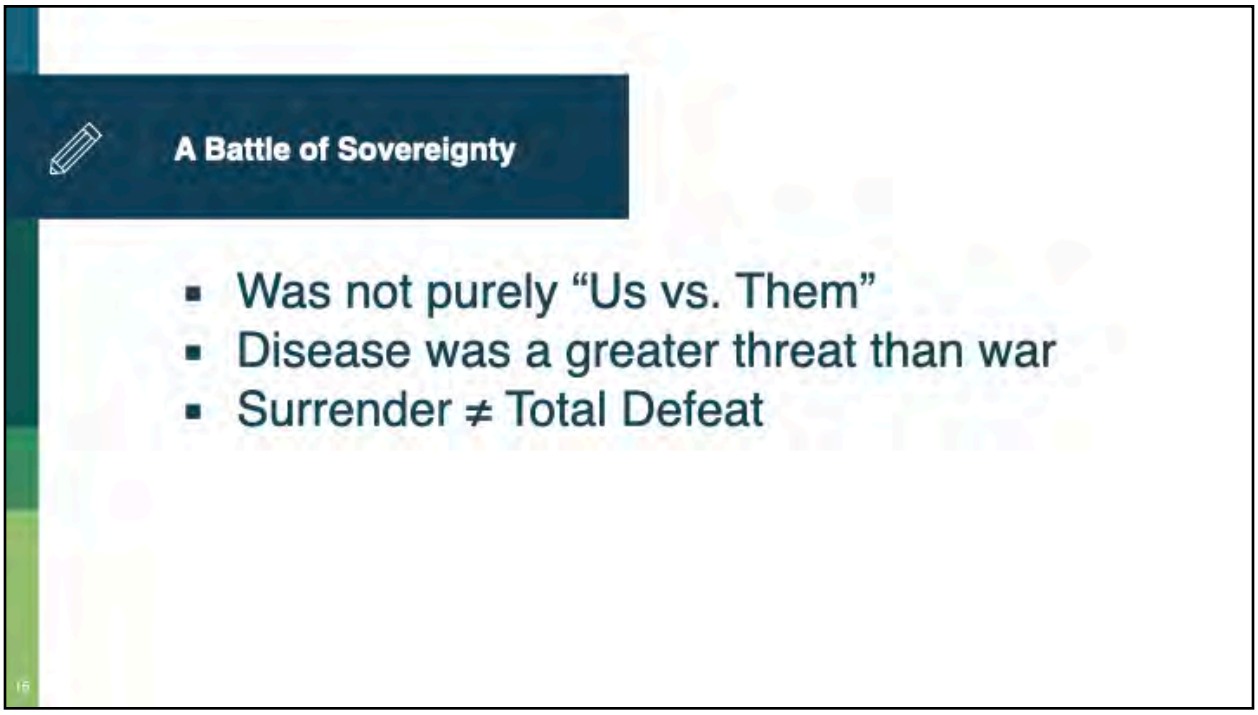

4
I Taotao Tåno
(The People of the Land)


I Taotao Tåno
Coexistence with nature
CHamorri and Manachang class
Matrilineal society: Women and land are providers of life

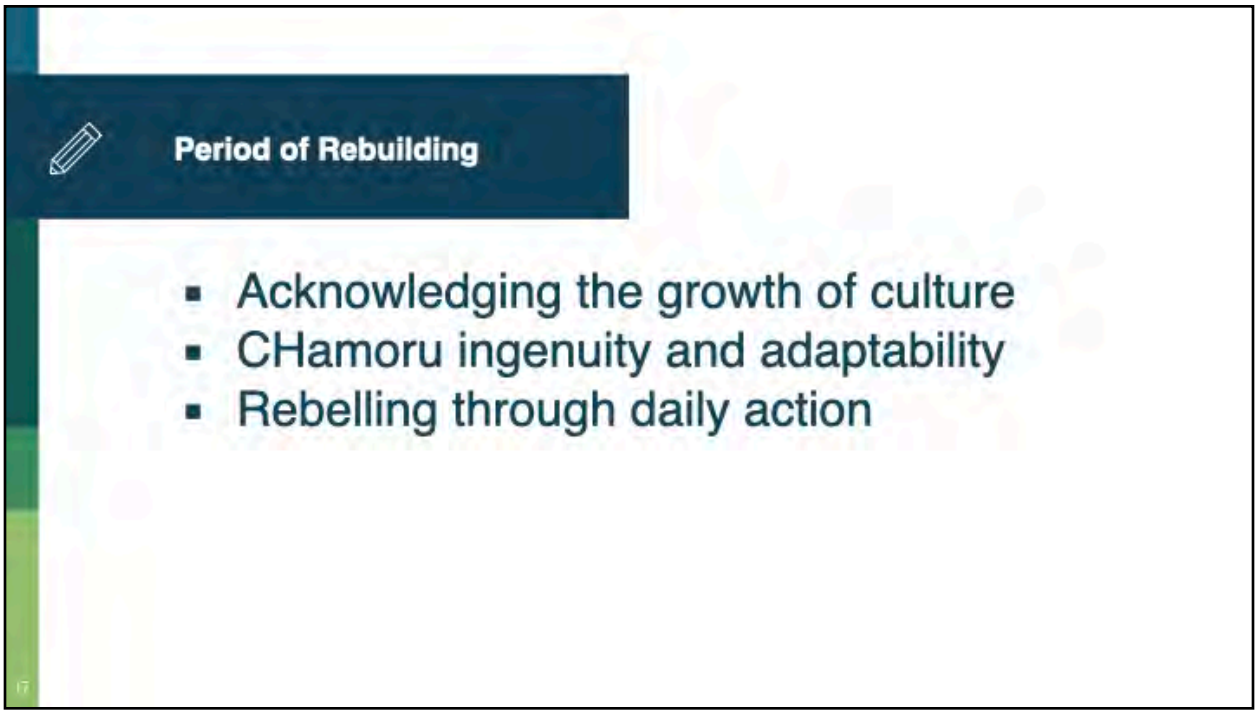

5
Jesuit Catholic Missionization

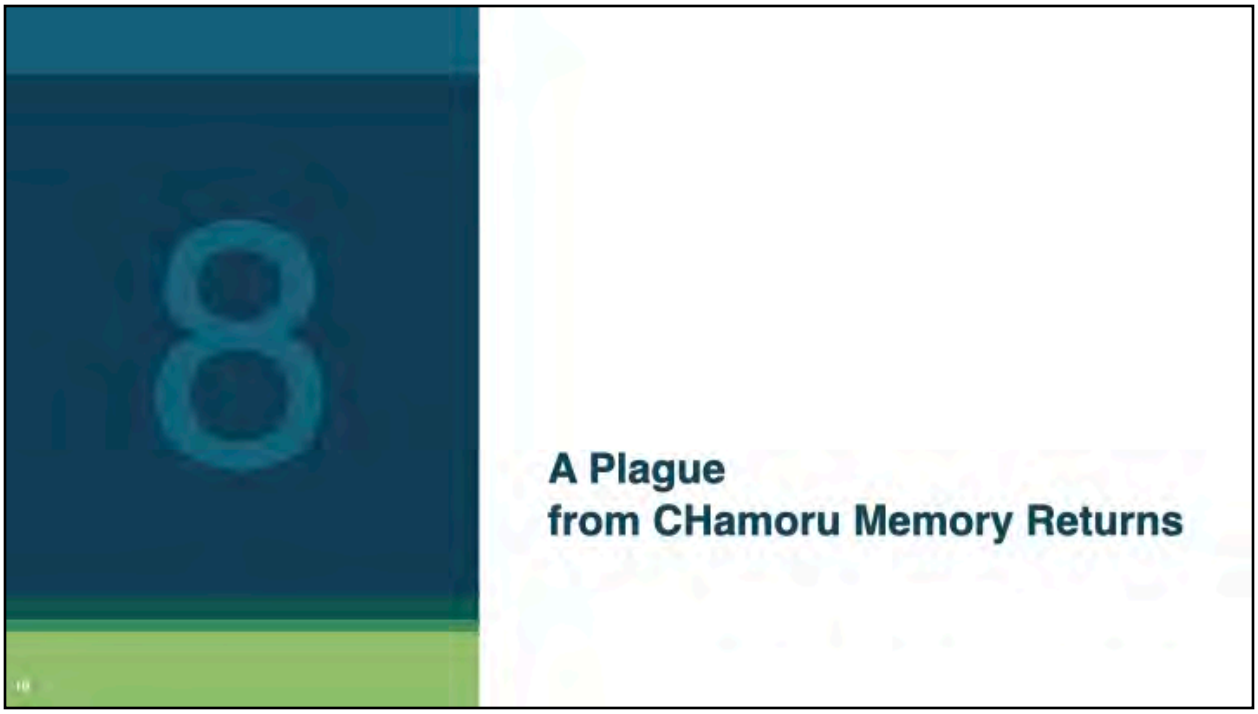

Jesuit Catholic Missionization
Opportunities to use CHamoru key figures (ex. Fatahurno, Kepuha II)
The loss of the Guma' Uritao and drastic, quick changes
Natural disasters interfering disputes

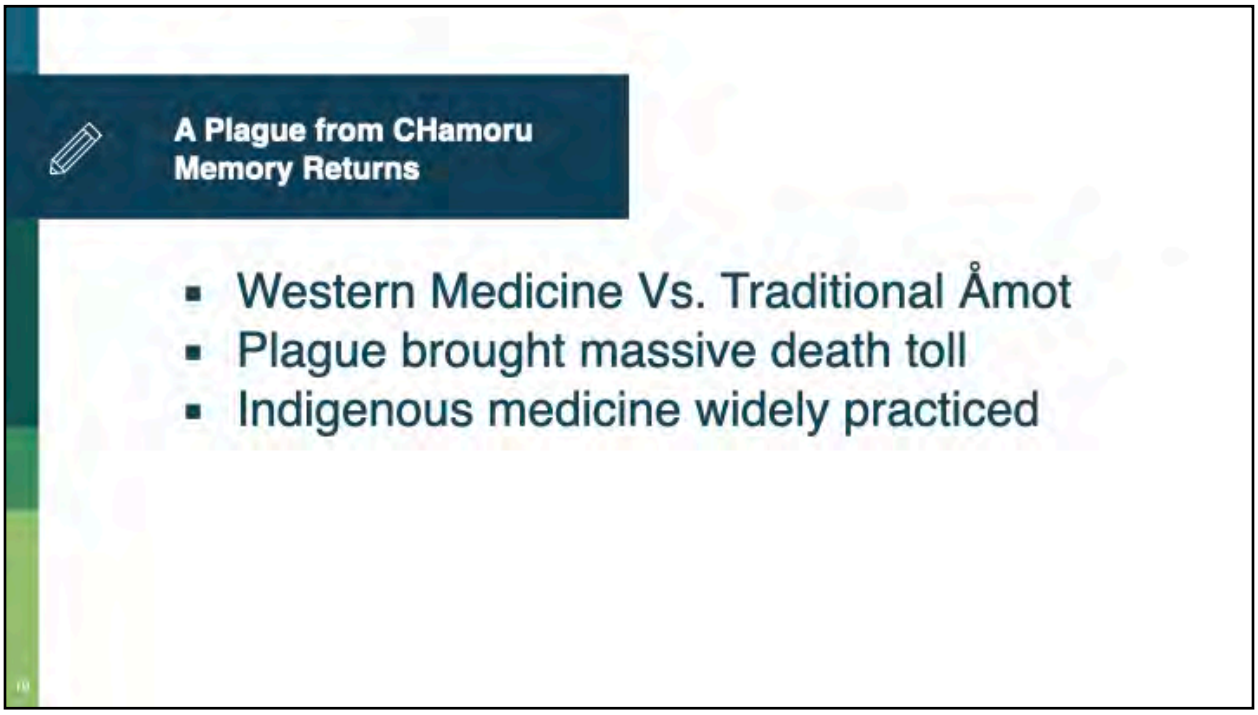

6
A Battle of Sovereignty


A Battle of Sovereignty
Was not purely "Us vs. Them"
Disease was a greater threat than war
Surrender ≠ Total Defeat

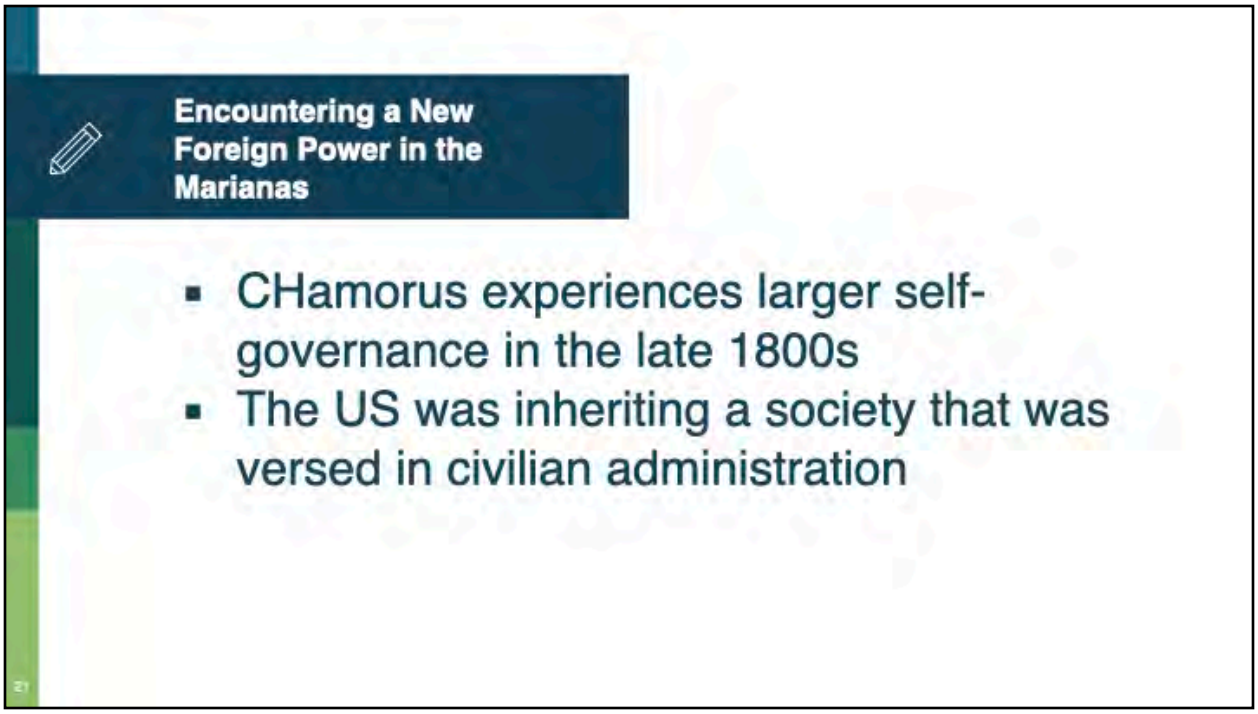

7
Period of Rebuilding


Period of Rebuilding
Acknowledging the growth of culture
CHamoru ingenuity and adaptability
Rebelling through daily action

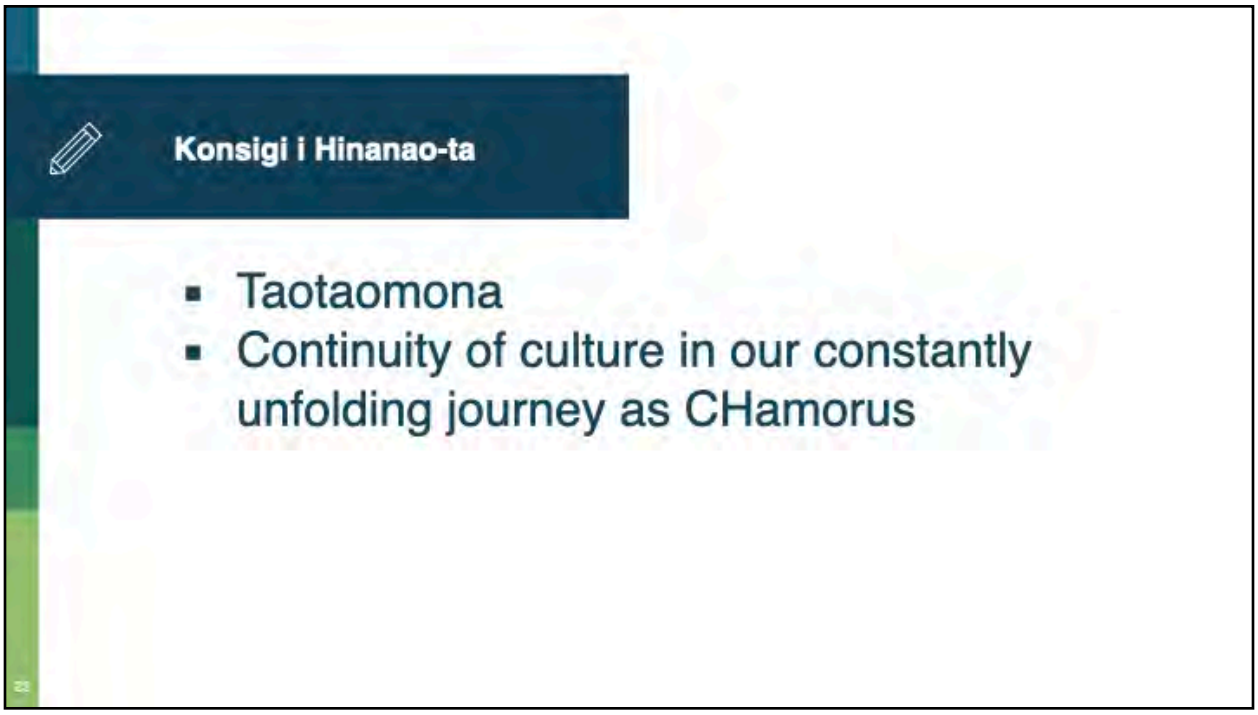

8
A Plague
from CHamoru Memory Returns

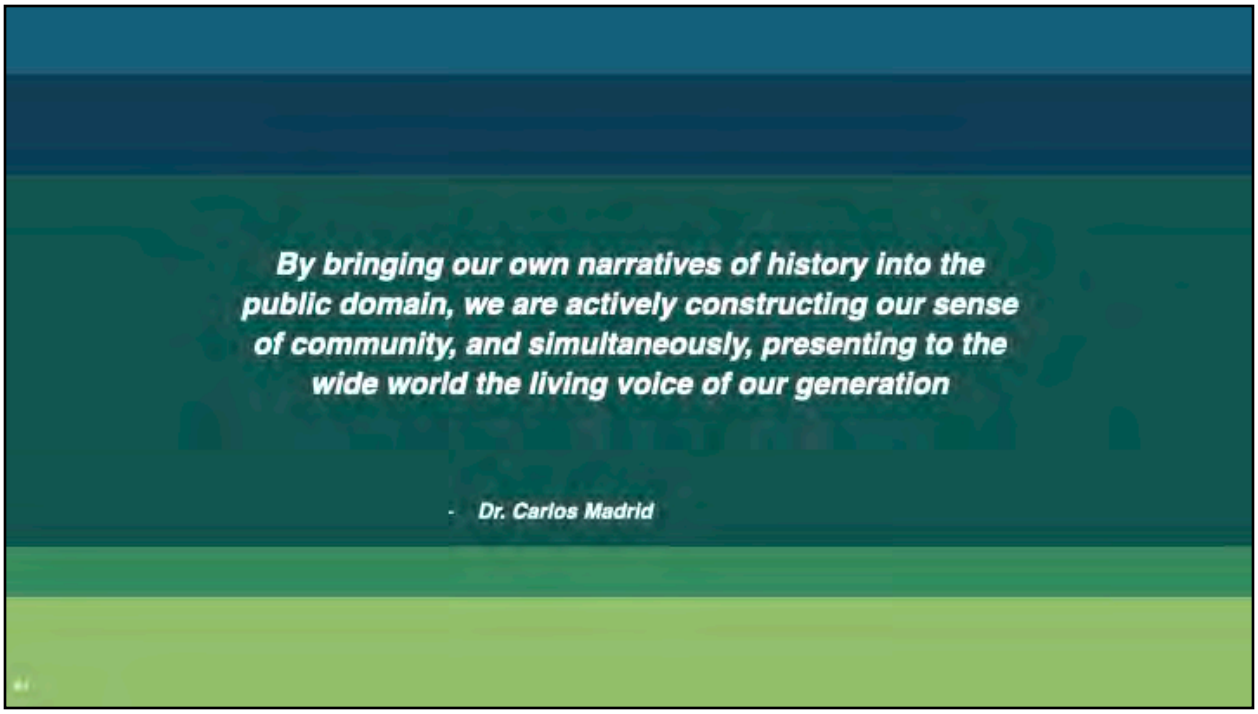

A Plague from CHamoru Memory Returns
Western Medicine Vs. Traditional Åmot
Plague brought massive death toll
Indigenous medicine widely practiced


9
Encountering a New Foreign Power In the Marianas


Encountering a New Foreign Power in the Marianas
CHamorus experiences larger self-governance in the late 1800s
The US was inheriting a society that was versed in civilian administration


10
Konsigi I Hininao-ta
(Continuing Our Journey)


Konsigi i Hinanao-ta
Taotaomona
Continuity of culture in our constantly unfolding journey as CHamorus


By bringing our own narratives of history into the public domain, we are actively constructing our sense of community, and simultaneously, presenting to the wide world the living voice of our generation
- Dr. Carlos Madrid

Manuel Lujan Cruz (familian Supiano) is a PhD Candidate at Auckland University of Technology. He is currently completing his doctoral thesis, which looks at settler colonial discourses in Guam media and CHamoru activism mediated by digital technologies.

Artemia Perez is from the village of Barrigada. She received her Bachelor's degree from the University of Guam's Anthropology department in May 2020 with minors in Chamoru Studies and Sociology. Since then, she has been freelance writing and is currently working with the UOG Press to produce a GDOE history textbook.

Lazaro T. Quinata works as a Program Coordinator at Guampedia and CHamoru Studies teacher at Father Duenas Memorial School. Quinata graduated from the University of Guam in the Spring of 2020 with a degree in Sociology and a minor in CHamoru Studies. Quinata has been an active advocate for the practice and preservation of CHamoru culture for much of his life. He has worked intimately with the Guam Preservation Trust, Humatak Community Foundation, and University of Guam's CHamoru Club, Mañe'lon Marianas, on a variety of projects and events aimed at the promotion of CHamoru culture and history.

No biography was provided for Juan San Nicolas.

Panel: History and Public Engagement Across the Marianas

Ginen I Gualo'

Histories of Farming and Agriculture on Guåhan (Fy2019 Community Grant)

By Kristin Oberiano
Guåhan Sustainable Culture, Humanities Guahan Grantee

Abstract: *In Ginen I Gualo', Guåhan Sustainable Culture conducted archival research, oral history, and interviewed local farmers to highlight traditions of agriculture and farming on Guåhan. The online resource hopes to educate and reconnect the public to those growing our local foods and to envision food sovereignty for our island community. In addition to playing a short video of one of our farmer interviews, this presentation will take a behind-the-scenes look into how our project came into fruition, including content creation for archival research, farmer interviews, and website design. The Ginen I Gualo' website can be found at gusustainable.org/gineni gualo.*

Presentation Slides

Closer to
Food Sovereignty

From the Collection of the RFT Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam

Knowledge of the
Farming Community

From the Collection of the Guam Public Library System

Looking Deep into the Past
Seeing Abundance
Envisioning a Sustainable Future

Ginen I Gualo'
gusustainable.org/ginenigualo

Archive

From the Collection of the Guam Public Library System

Farmers

Dr. Marilyn Salas & Faustina

Writing a
Long History

Researching at the Archive

Guam Public Library System

Micronesian Area Research Center

GINEN I GUALO'

GUÅHAN SUSTAINABLE CULTURE

Logo Design by Kersha Taitano

Listening to Guåhan's Farmers

Film and
Photography
by Cami Egurolla

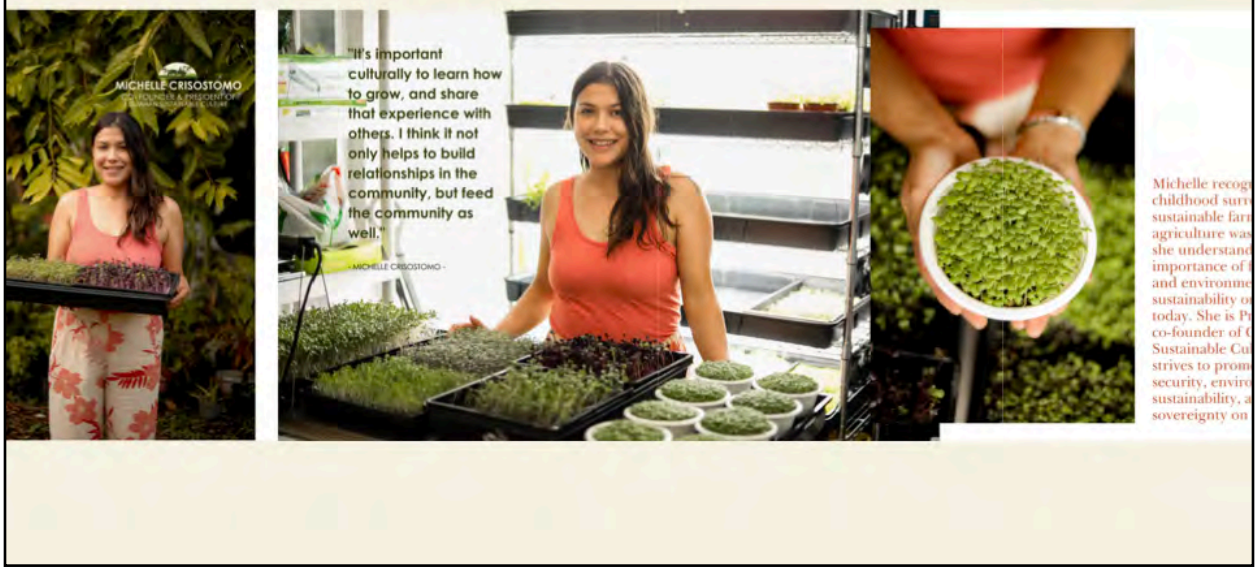

AMOT TAOTAO TANO
Opal-Bee Worm Farm


Building the Online Exhibit

Website Design by Denise Crisostomo


Guåhan Farmers - Interactive Map
Click on a village on the map to find a farmer. Click the link in the description to read and watch them share their stories.
The Gulay Garden
You can find their produce stand at the Dededo Flea Market every Saturday and Sunday. Find them on facebook @TheGulayGarden.


Sharing with the Community



Online Zoom
Launch
January 30, 2021

Importance of the Humanities

Saina Ma'ase

TINAOTAO
HUMANITIES
GUÅHAN

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

Rotary Club of Tumon Bay
TriVision Media Group
Guam Daily Post

Visit gusustainable.org/ginenigualo

Kristin Oberiano is a History PhD candidate at Harvard University who works at the intersections of United States empire, Asian American history, and Pacific Indigenous history. Her research has been supported by various grants including the US Fulbright Program in the Philippines. She has worked as a Humanities Scholar for Guåhan Sustainable Culture's 501(c)(3) public history project, *Ginen I Gualo': Histories of Farming and Agriculture on Guåhan*, which is supported by Humanities Guåhan and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Tådong Marianas
Storytelling Across the Marianas

By Samantha Barnett and Andrew Gumataotao

Abstract: *Tåhdong Marianas (FY2020)—a collective of young CHamoru scholars, artists, activists, and filmmakers—was awarded $10,000 from Humanities Guåhan to produce and screen a media project that gathers the oral histories of musicians and cultural practitioners from across the Marianas archipelago. Tåhdong Marianas aims to foster deeper connections between communities throughout the Marianas, and our project compiles life narratives from musicians and cultural practitioners in the Marianas. Our media project aims to produce a nuanced understanding of contemporary Marianas identity, covering issues of cultural reclamations, land-based connections, and Indigenous storytelling and performance practices. In this session, project directors Andrew Gumataotao and Samantha Marley Barnett will discuss their experiences traveling and storytelling across the Marianas, and share key themes and issues that have been articulated in their interviews with cultural practitioners throughout the archipelago*

Tåhdong Marianas Preview

Tåhdong Marianas: Storytelling Across the Marianas Project Director Samantha Marley Barnett is a current doctoral student in Indigenous Politics at the University of Hawai`i (UH) at Mānoa. Her work documents the intergenerational movement for sovereignty and demilitarization in Guåhan. She also teaches undergraduate Political Science courses at UH Mānoa. Samantha is currently working on a project with the University of Guam Press to write elementary school textbooks from a culturally rooted, CHamoru perspective.

Tåhdong Marianas: Storytelling Across the Marianas Project Director Andrew Gumataotao is a graduate degree fellow at the East-West Center and current graduate student in Ethnomusicology at the University of Hawai`i at Manoa. Prior to graduate school, Andrew received a BA double majoring in Music vocal performance and CHamoru Studies at the University of Guam. He has taught in the Guam Public School system as a CHamoru teacher as well as teaching at Hurao CHamoru Immersion School.