Spanish Era

of

History of the Mariana Islands

Three of Three

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Choco the Chinaman as a Member of Chamorro Society

By Judy Flores, PhD
Folklorist, Historian, Teacher and Visual Artist
J.Flores, Inc.
judyflores@guam.net

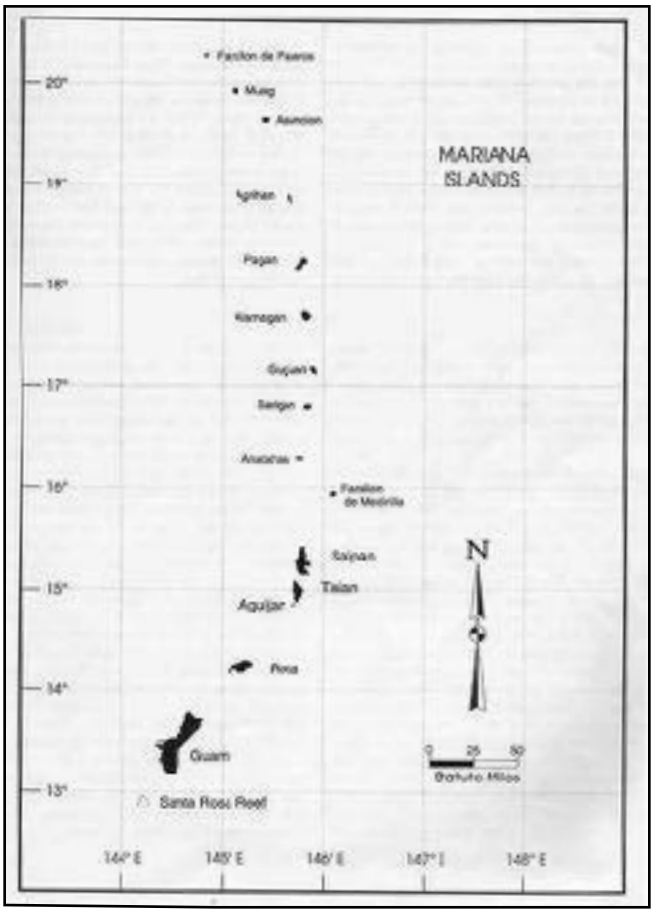
Abstract: *The Chinese man, Choco, was firmly established in Chamorro society at the time of Pale' Diego Luis de San Vitores' missionization, and was instrumental in turning the Chamorro people against the missionaries. This paper uses the brief information contained in missionary letters as clues to learn more about how this outsider came to Guam and achieved a prominent place in Chamorro society. Where did he come from and why was he against the missionaries? What more can we learn about the village of Pa'a where San Vitores came to debate with Choco? What happened to Pa'a and to Choco after San Vitores' death? This paper shows how a combination of research methods and resources can be used to further document this incident and to create a more global view of Choco's world as it impacted the Mariana Islands.*

Introduction

My personal interest in the Chinaman, Choco, grew as I learned more about the area between Inarajan and Merizo in southern Guam; a stretch of white sand beach today called Tonggan, and a point of land to the south of Tonggan, called Bibesbes. My husband and I built our house inland from Tonggan in the 1970s, on family land that

stretched from the beach to the hilltop. A farmer clearing the parcel of land next to ours unearthed dozens of grinding stones of various sizes, called *lusong*. As we planted flowers and trees, we often found pieces of pottery and clamshell tools on the ground. My husband's old auntie came with her son who was farming another parcel nearby. On her first visit, soon after we had moved there, she stood facing the hill where a large banyon tree grew, and she spoke loudly and respectfully, asking Guella yan Guello (Grandmother and Grandfather) for permission to use the land and to pass near their place, and to live in harmony with those who now lived and farmed there. In the days before there were laws against removing beach sand, we moved a truckload from our beach to use on construction projects at our house. My son, playing in the sand pile, found a beautiful slingstone (*achu' atupat*), about three inches long from tip to tip, pure white, marbled with red coral. My nephew hired a backhoe to dig a hole for an outhouse at the beach, and discovered a human burial in the pure white sand about 6 feet below the surface. Out of respect, that outhouse was never built. When Typhoon Yuri churned up the eastern shoreline in the early 1990s, washing piles of sand across the road, my husband found dozens of slingstones at the low tide level. For years afterwards, we would often find slingstones and pottery sherds among the tide debris.

It wasn't until the mid 1990s when I began to research Guam's history that I learned about Choco the Chinaman who lived in Pa'a during the early missionization period. My conversations with archaeologist Richard Olmo and reading reports of his work at Achang Bay revealed that the lost village of Pa'a was in fact located in the Tonggan and Bibesbes area. One additional bit of local information confirmed for me that we now lived in the vicinity of Pa'a: just south of our property is the farm land (*lancho*) belonging to a branch of the Chargualaf family. Their family clan name is "Choco"!



Choco was a Buddhist Chinese *Sangley* – a term used to describe Chinese residing in the Philippines for business purposes. According to missionary documents, he had been cast ashore in Saipan when his sampan was blown off course while sailing between Manila and Ternate an island in the Moluccas (Indonesia). He married a woman from Saipan and subsequently moved to the village of Pa'a in southern Guam where he made knives and axes out of iron hoops. (De Viana, p. 23). Choco had been living in the Mariana Islands for 20 years at the time of Missionary Luis Diego de San Vitores' arrival in 1668.

This statement establishes Choco's mode and time of arrival, and place of residence in Guahan. These historical facts lead to more questions that require a variety of research methods to place Choco's presence in the Marianas in a more global context. As a Sangley, what was he doing in the Philippines and what might have turned him against Catholic missionaries? How did Choco ingratiate himself into Chamorro society? How were the village of Pa'a and the Chamorro people affected by his presence? The historical record begins only with the arrival of the missionaries and how Choco's presence affected their missionization efforts. The rest of his story must be learned through other sources.

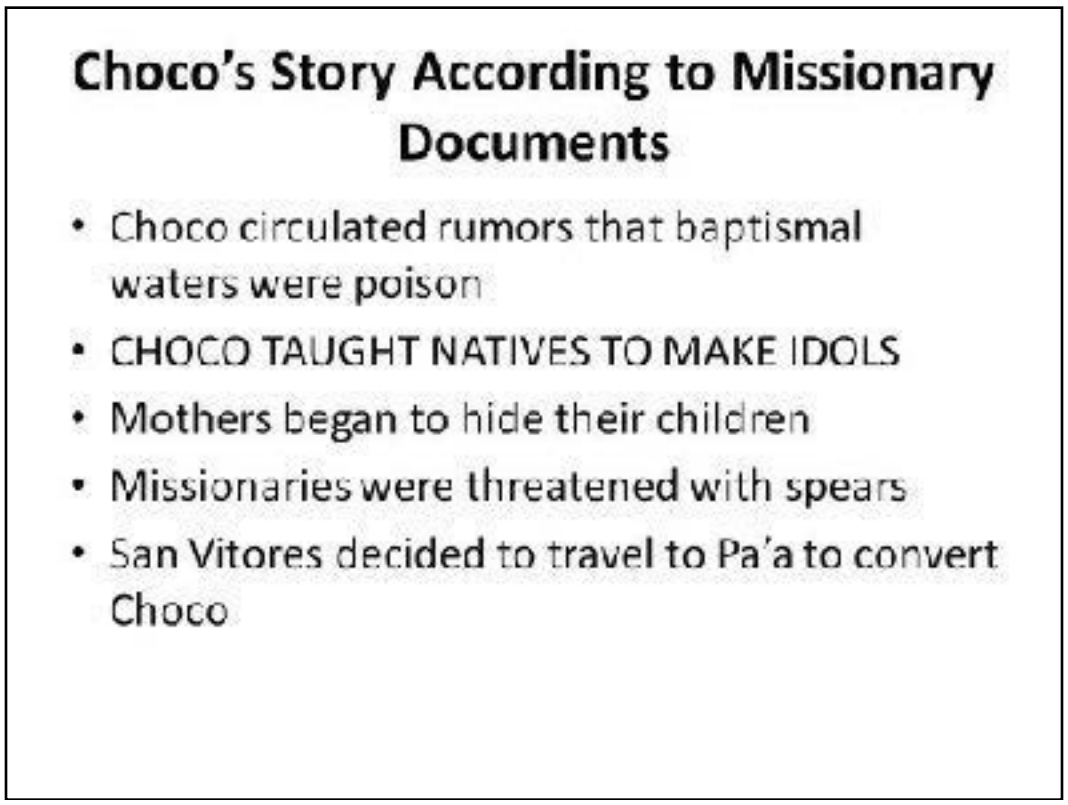
Research Methods and Strategies

This story provides an interesting case study that shows how a variety of research methods can provide insight into the matrix of world events, Chamorro cultural practices, Spanish Catholic and Chinese ideologies that played out on our small island of Guahan. Source documents about Choco can be found in letters and reports written by Padre San Vitores and his fellow missionaries, particularly Father Peter Coomans. These documents were used in the 1683 publication by the Jesuit historian, Francisco Garcia, written for the purpose of documenting the life of the first Marianas missionary, Luis Diego de San Vitores. This information can be cross-checked through

copies of the original source documents in volumes compiled, edited and translated by Rodrigue Levesque (1992). *The Far Islands* by Augusto V. de Viana contribute to an understanding of world trade of the 17th century and describe the lives of Chinese immigrants in the Philippines. The importance of spices on world trade and travel is described by Lawrence Bergreen in *Over the edge of the world: Magellan's terrifying circumnavigation of the globe.* Chamorro society of the 17th century has been documented in letters and journals written by visitors to the islands as well as by missionaries of the time. *Fray Juan Pobre in the Marianas*, 1602 edited by Marjorie Driver provides first-hand observations of Chamorro society of the time. Lawrence Cunningham's *Ancient Chamorro Society* adds to this body of knowledge.

Secondary sources were often used as starting points to seek out primary resources that may provide more details and verify information. Don Farrell's *History of the Northern Mariana Islands*, Scott Russell's *Tiempon I Manmofo'na: ancient Chamorro culture and history of the Northern Mariana Islands* are just two examples of publications that provided additional details about Choco, including their bibliographies of source documents. We must acknowledge the use of the internet as a contemporary research tool. Google and Wikipedia are a good place to start identifying source documents. Our own Guampedia provides a wealth of information that has been verified and peer reviewed. Contemporary observations and experiences in Chamorro culture can provide resonance and connections to those observed by 17th century writers.

Each of these sources presents a point of view colored by the experiences of the writers and the societies that shaped their thoughts. Furthermore, the Chamorro viewpoint was never written by the natives themselves; so we must rely on the observations made by others about their society to tease out the Chamorro response. This is an exercise in assembling these various sources and viewpoints to personalize the story of Choco by providing a global context for his presence in Guahan in the 17th century.

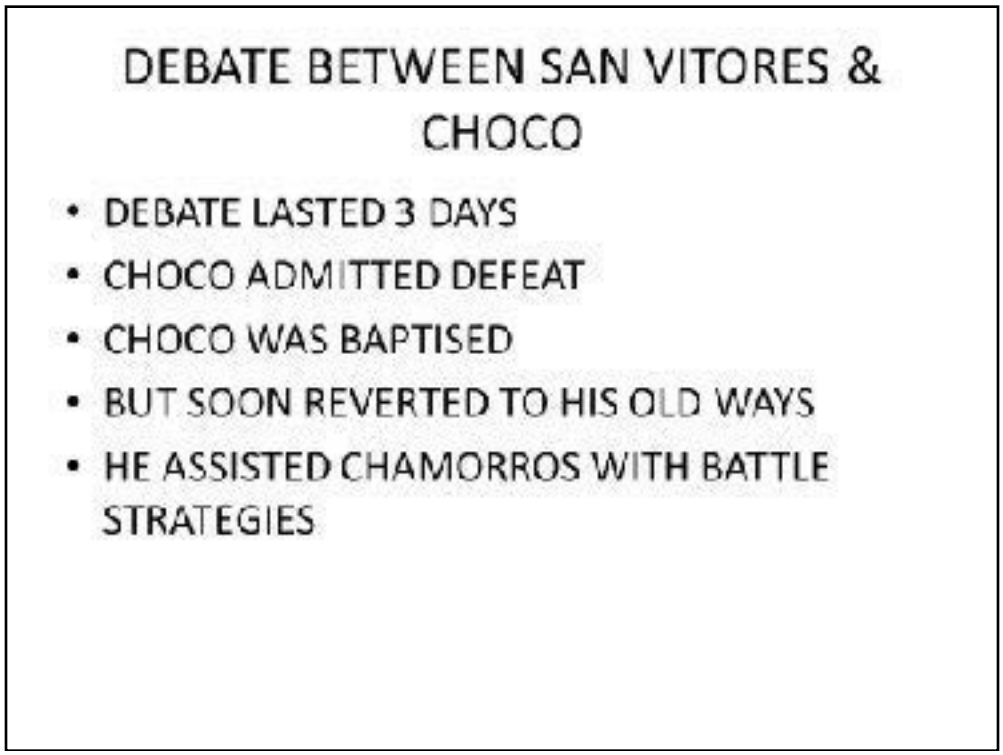


Choco's Story According to Missionary Documents

The earliest reference to Choco is in writings by the first missionaries, who experienced his influence within a few months of their arrival:

> But as soon as the Sangley knew that the fathers had arrived on the island of Guam and were baptizing many, he began to circulate a report that the fathers were people despised and loathed by the Spaniards, and for this reason they had been banished to Guam; that they were killing those they baptized, especially children; and if one who was especially strong was able to resist that poisoned water, it would at least cause him to have dropsy, declaring he had seen it thus in Manila. Actually, some children did die a short while after being baptized, because they were already in a dying condition, or because God, as he is accustomed to do in new conversions, wished to harvest the young fruits of the land till then barren. And so Choco saw his opportunity to make the people witnesses to the truth of what he told them. (Garcia, p. 190-191)

This is a sample of the viewpoint expressed by the missionaries according to Jesuit historian Francisco Garcia in 1681 (His book was published in 1683). His account goes on to describe the change in attitude shown by the Chamorros, who no longer welcomed the missionaries to their villages. Women hid their children so they could not be baptized. As time went on, the natives threatened them with spears, calling them murders and threatening to kill them. Father San Vitores … "resolved to disarm the enemy by converting Choco himself to Christianity, . . . and determined to set out at once for Paa, where Choco lived" (Garcia, p. 192). Margaret Higgens, who first translated portions of the Garcia text in 1935, stated in a footnote, "Paa was near Merizo, a distance of some twenty miles from Agaña. There is a small stretch of beach between Merizo and Inarajan that is even nowadays called Paa by the local residents" (1935). Note that in 1935 local residents still recognized that place name. In my 2013 research, I could not find an informant who remembered that location.



Traveling by boat from Agatña, which took about one day, San Vitores and his companions entered the village singing the Act of Contrition, which he had composed in the Chamorro language. The people came out of their houses, forgetting their former hostility. Some even brought their children to be baptized. Upon finding Choco, San Vitores began to argue with him in front of the villagers. "It was easy to answer his reasoning, but his unreason was a problem" (Garcia, p. 193).

> The dispute lasted three days, during which time the Venerable Father was able to convince Choco of his errors, proving by reason and experience how the sacrament of baptism does not remove life from the body, and teaching him at the same time how it causes the life of the soul. He dispelled all his calumnies and deceits to the extent of obliging him to confess publicly that all he had said against the fathers and against the Law of Christ was false, and that nobody could be saved without holy baptism. He begged for baptism and seemed to mean it. (Garcia, p. 193)

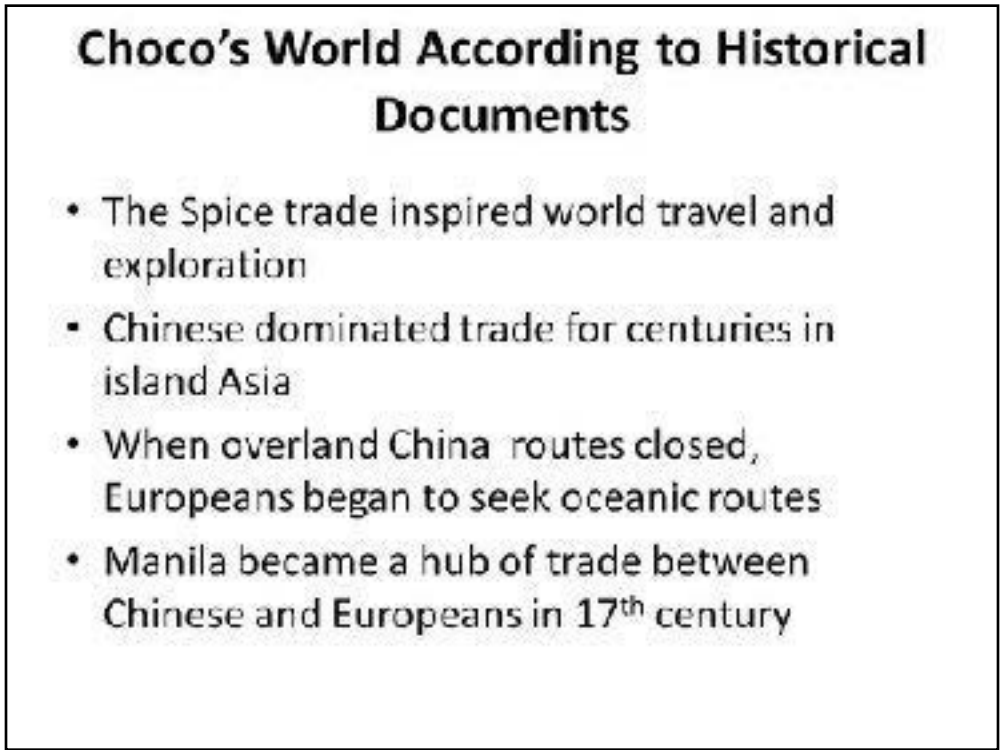
Choco's influence over the natives declined somewhat after his apparent conversion, but Garcia stated in 1681 that "Choco became again what he was before, because he had not received baptism with Christian sincerity..." (Garcia, p. 196).

Choco's continued influence against the missionaries is mentioned briefly several times in subsequent Christianization efforts. In a passage describing Spanish fortifications in 1671, a tower called Castillo de San Francisco Xavier in Hagåtña was built, "where the gun was placed that remained from the shipwreck that had cast Choco on these shores, the man who was the origin of all these wars and persecutions" (Garcia, p. 238). He taught them to "show reverence for the bones and skulls of the dead, whom they paint on the bark of trees and blocks of wood" (Garcia, p. 174). One of the figures had three heads on its shoulders (*ibid*.: 188). During a major battle in September, 1671, the natives …"made some shields like platforms, a new invention of the apostate Choco. With these they could protect themselves at a distance, which enabled them to throw stones, lances, and fire balls" (Garcia, p. 240).

Almost 30 years of warfare between the Spanish and Chamorro people ensued after the death of San Vitores by Chief Mata'pang in 1673. One of the major battles was fought at Pa'a, and it has been suggested that the Spanish were determined to wipe away this village because of its association with their enemy, Choco. Surviving Chamorros were forced to live in one of the six villages formed by Acting Governor Joseph Quiroga. Any remaining residents of Pa'a would have been resettled in Inalahan to be near the church dedicated to St. Joseph. Men and boys would go out to their *lanchos* to farm and gather food during the weekdays, and spend Saturday evening and Sunday with their families in the village. Because of this practice, family connections to their ancestral lands remained intact except for large parcels of "crown lands" claimed by the Spanish. In Inalahan, the crown lands were concentrated in the hills inland from the village and on the plateau between Inalahan and Talofofo.

Therefore, it is quite possible that families from Pa'a continued to use their ancestral clan lands.

Historical documents do not mention Choco's family, other than to say that his wife was from San Jose (Saipan). In the Chamorro matrilineal society, children belonged to the mother, and in case of death or divorce, the children followed the mother (Garcia, p. 172). The name of Choco would not be carried officially by his children. Christianized Chamorros were given Christian first names and their last names would have been recorded under their mother's name, according to Spanish laws. The Chamorro tradition of clan names would have distinguished Choco's children from others of the same surname. Clan names have historically been bestowed on an individual because of a physical distinguishing feature or because of an incident that became memorialized by a nickname. Offspring of that individual would carry the name down the generations, thus creating the clan name. Therefore, it is possible that Choco became a clan name and was carried through the generations to the present.



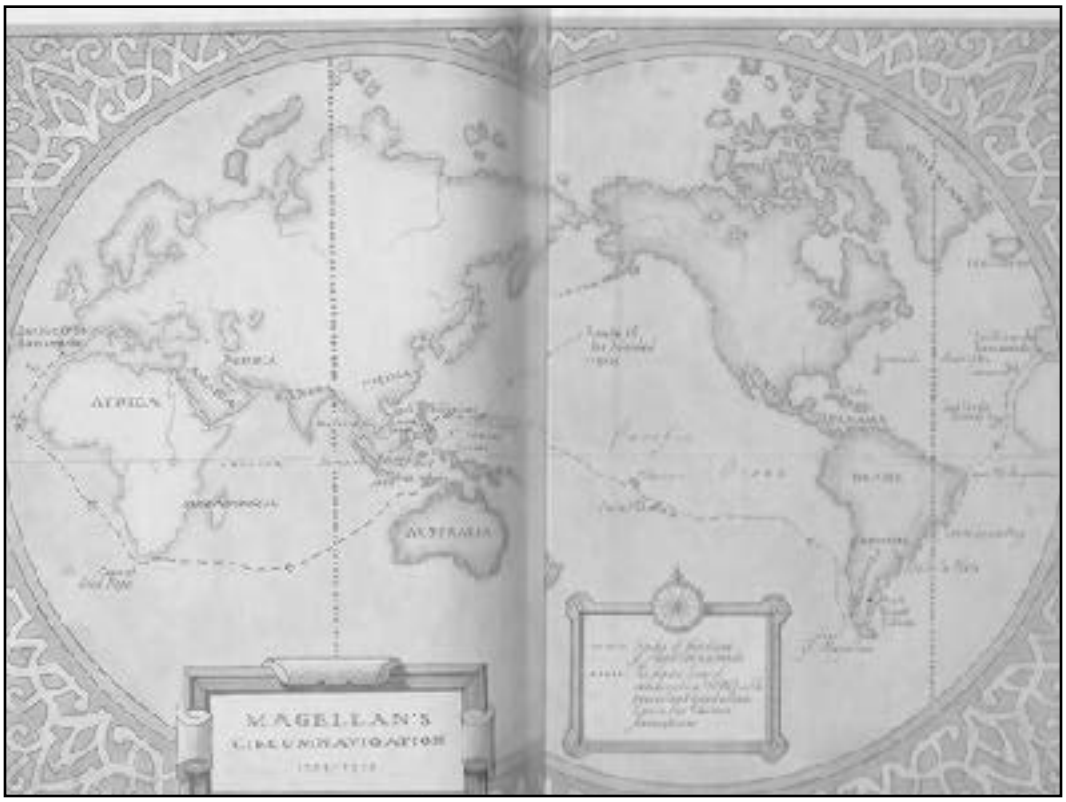
Choco's World According to Historical Documents

Historical records have not revealed information about Choco's life before he was shipwrecked in the Mariana Islands. We can only create a profile of Choco by researching Chinese who lived in the Philippines during the 1640s. To begin this profile, it is necessary to understand the historical relationship between the Chinese and the Filipinos. Moreover, we need to understand the world trade economy that attracted traders to the Philippines:

> Spices have played an essential economic role in civilizations since antiquity. Like oil today, the European quest for spices drove the world's economy and influenced global politics, and like oil today, spices became inextricably intertwined with exploration, conquest, imperialism. (Bergreen, pp. 11-12)

The Chinese dominated trade in the Philippines long before Spain colonized the islands in the 16th century. Europe became aware of the spices and other treasures of China through the travels of Italian merchant Marco Polo and others in the 13th century, which expanded the overland "silk road" trade routes from Asia to Europe. In 1453, when Constantinople fell to the Turks, the overland spice routes between Asia and Europe were severed. "The prospect of establishing a spice trade via an ocean

route opened up new economic possibilities for any European nation able to master the seas" (Bergreen, p. 13).



The Portuguese were the first to establish an oceanic route around the continent of Africa, across the Indian Ocean and around the Indian continent to the Moluccas. This fiercely-protected route was challenged by the Spanish when Ferdinand Magellan's circumnavigation of the globe proved that the Moluccas could be reached by sailing across the Atlantic, around the tip of South America and across the Pacific. Spain's superior sea power of the 16th century and their colonization of Mexico (New Spain) expanded to claim the Philippines, and the Mariana Islands, as part of Spain in 1565 (de Viana, p. 1).

The Chinese were well-established in the Philippines, bringing their goods from mainland China and trading freely throughout these islands and present-day Indonesia. Beginning in the 16th century, Manila became a center of trade where vessels from Europe and Asia converged annually to exchange silver and gold for spices, silk, porcelain and other Asian treasures (Rogers, pp. 16-17). Since the Chinese immigrants were men who arrive without families, there were many marriages between Filipino women and Chinese men. These Chinese immigrants were called Sangleys:

> Sanglay comes directly from the Hokkien Chinese word seng-li (Chinese: 生理; Pe̍h-ōe-jī: seng-lí),[1] meaning "business". Hokkien, also known as Min-nan, Amoy, Hoklo, or Holo, is the dominant language of Southern Fujian and northeastern Guangdong provinces in China, as well as Taiwan. The majority of Chinese sojourners, traders, and settlers in the Philippines during the Spanish colonial period came from southern Fujian and spoke Hokkien, as well as leaving their mark on Filipino language and culture (especially the cuisine). (Klöter, Wikipedia)

Their offspring were called *Mestizo de Sangley*, and many of them became Christians. Native Filipinos who married Spanish or Mexicans were called Mestizo. The term Sangley was reserved for the immigrant Chinese.

The Spanish colonization of the Philippines in the 17th century required more skilled laborers and they recruited Chinese immigrants from the islands. The economy became highly dependent upon the Chinese for their economic role as traders and artisans.

Suspicions and mutual hostility characterized the Sino-Spanish relations, exploding periodically into bloody massacres and mass expulsions. The Chinese revolted against the Spaniards in 1574, when a force of about 3,000 men and 62 Chinese warships attacked the city. In order to safeguard the city, the Spanish authorities confined the Chinese residents and merchants to a separate district outside the walls of Manila, called Parian de Alcaceria. (Blair, p.138). Massacres took place in 1603, 1639, 1662, 1762 and 1820. The Chinese were taxed heavily. Their freedom of travel was limited, as well as their rights to a fair trial. Even the Church did not allow the Christian Chinese to be buried in Catholic cemeteries nor allowed them to act as godfather to natives. (Blair, p. 139)

The Spanish abandoned [the Moluccan island of] Ternate in 1662, the last of their strongholds in Asia. From that time, Spain focused on the galleon trade between China and Acapulco that converged in Manila (Lach and Van Kley, p. 24).

The Manila Galleon trade route began in 1565, when Miguel Legaspi discovered the circuitous route whereby winds carried the galleons northward from the Philippines to the temperate zone near Japan, where winds blew eastward and pushed them to the American west coast, which they followed down to Acapulco. Spices, porcelain, silks and other goods from China were unloaded and carried overland to Vera Cruz in the

Gulf of Mexico where they were then shipped to Europe. In April and May each year, the galleons were loaded with Mexican silver and gold and followed the prevailing winds southwest across the Pacific, reaching the Mariana Islands in about 40 to 52 days (Levesque, Vol 2, p. 517); then sailing west another two weeks to Manila. Annually, beginning in 1573, Chinese junks and Moro Praus arrived in Manila Bay with valuable Chinese cargo to trade. By 1580 Manila was the center of commerce for Asia (Farrell, p. 135).

A Profile of Choco

Based on this history, we can build a profile of Choco. Choco would have been an immigrant from Fujien province in China, engaged in trade or working as an artisan in the Philippines when he was cast ashore in the Mariana Islands in about 1648. The missionaries reported that he arrived in a sampan. The exact size or type of his vessel was not described; and reports by missionaries and Spanish officials reveal that the term sampan was used loosely, to describe a variety of boats. The literal translation of the word "sampan" is "three planks", meaning a flat bottom boat with a plank to form each side (Wikipedia/sampan). Drawings and photos of sampans show this smallest, simplest version for one-person use, and larger variations with cargo holds, deck shelter, and even up to three sails. The largest style looks very similar to the Chinese sailing junk, or cargo vessel. Based on missionary reports, Choco's vessel was large enough to accommodate a crew of three or more: Choco… "had killed one of his companions, with whom he had been shipwrecked in these islands; that is why, when the others had repaired the ship, he, fearing justice and the friends of the deceased, preferred exile over a certain execution" (Coomans, p. 23). This suggests that his shipmates left Saipan in the rebuilt sampan. The fact that there were others aboard tells us that the vessel was of a larger size of sailing vessel.

Sources state that Choco married a woman of Saipan and started a family, and lived with her in the village of Pa'a in Guahan. There is no mention of how or why he moved with his wife to Pa'a. Did his wife have clan connections to Pa'a? Was Choco himself adopted as a clan member with ties to Pa'a?

In a passage describing Spanish fortifications in 1671, a tower called Castillo de San Francisco Xavier was built, "where the gun was placed that remained from the shipwreck that had cast Choco on these shores..." (Garcia, p. 238). Is the reference saying that the gun was salvaged from the shipwreck 20 years earlier? Who would have salvaged and saved it? The missionaries hadn't yet arrived. It is conceivable that the gun found its way to the *maga'lahi* of the Saipan village where their ship was wrecked.

It would have been a valuable piece of metal that could be used as a trade item. Twenty years later this gun was in the possession of the priests.

Father Peter Coomans described Sangleys like Choco as 'overly astute and perverse;… only interested in profits and grabbing Spanish silver by means fair and foul' (Coomans, pp. 23-24). This generalization points to his prejudice against non-Christian Chinese a prejudice shared by religious authorities in Manila at the time.

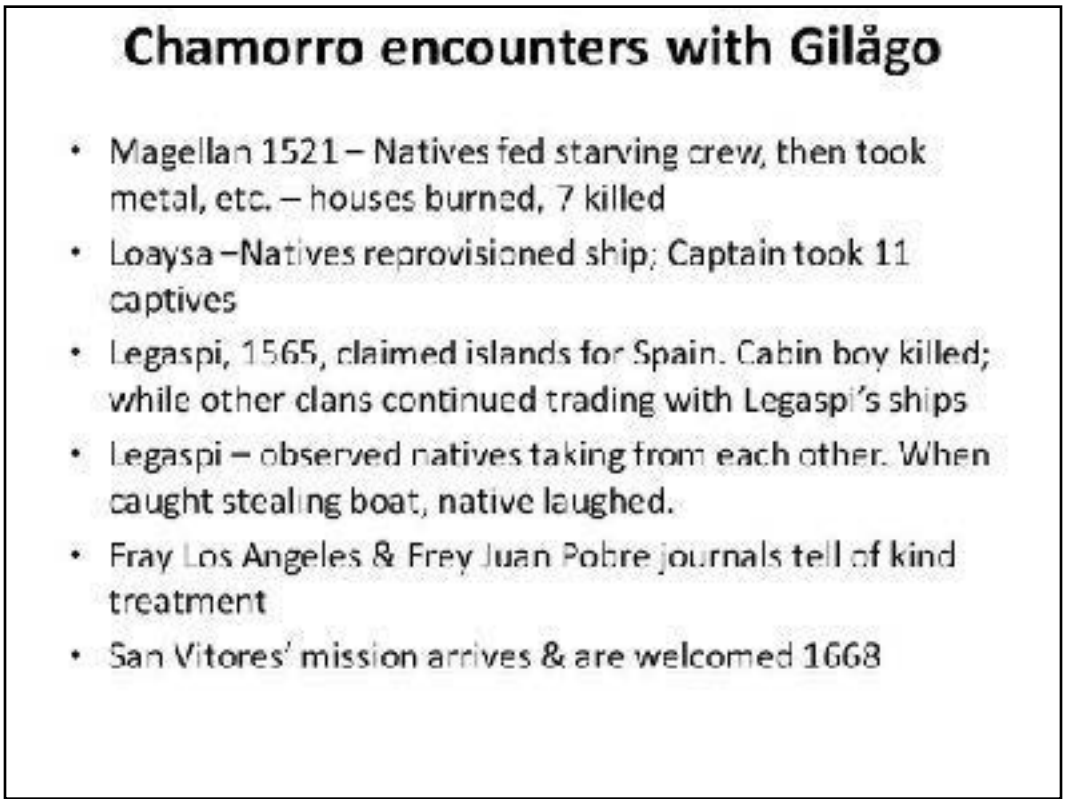
During this time Choco gained great influence over the Chamorros, claiming to be a strong sorcerer (Farrell, p. 155). His ability to forge iron would also impress them, because they valued metal to use for tools and fish hooks, as documented by early visitors and missionaries.

Choco had obviously established himself as a valued member of Chamorro society during his 20 years in the islands prior to the arrival of the Spanish missionaries. If he had wished to return to the Philippines he could have approached those who sailed the Spanish galleons, stopping at Guahan on their annual voyage from Acapulco to Manila. This suggests that Choco found his new life to be superior to his old life as a Sangley in the Philippines. Based on the long history of Chinese persecution by the Spanish in the Philippines, Choco would have resented the Spanish intrusion into his new home and elevated status in Guahan.

17th Century Chamorro Society

How would 17th century *Taotao tano'* (people of the land; natives) have responded to the arrival of an outsider (*taotao lågo*)? We have recorded instances of actual responses from the time of Magellan's visit in 1521 and that of several subsequent explorers and visitors. Pigafetta, who chronicled Magellan's voyage around the world, labeled the natives as thieves (*ladrones*) because they took anything they pleased from the ships, particularly metal, which they greatly valued. This was after they had generously fed the starving crew. Gonzalo Alvarez de Vigo and two companions deserted from Magellan's flagship *Trinidad* in Maug in the Northern Mariana Islands in 1522. His two companion deserters were killed, but he lived to tell his story to members of the Loaysa expedition in 1526 (Rogers, p.10). Of the original seven ships of the Loaysa expedition, only the *Santa Maria de la Victoria*, under the command of Alonso de Salazar, reached the Marianas. The ship was reprovisioned by the people of Rota (Luta), who received bits of metal in return for baskets of food and water in bamboo

poles that were hoisted aboard ship. In return for this hospitality, Salazar kidnapped 11 Chamorros to serve as crew (Farrell, p. 126).



In January 1565, the islands were officially claimed for Spain by Miguel Lopez de Legazpi. He reportedly sailed into Umatac Bay and brought a large contingent on shore where they cut wood for crosses and placed them on coconut trees, after which a short ceremony and mass was held to attest to the claim (Rogers, 1995: 14). Legazpi and several members of this voyage described Chamorro trading practices at the time, including an incident that defined the nature of Chamorro society as perceived by the Spaniards. The following is attributed to Fr. Martin Rada, dated May 1565:

> They are a people inclined to behave badly, and whenever they carry out some wicked thing they show great happiness at having done it. … Thus, it was seen a few times, when the General gave a few things to the Indians that looked like chiefs, things like jingle bells, mirrors, and trade goods, they fought with the one receiving them and they snatched them from one another's hands and took flight. They always went about looking for something to steal. They removed a piece of iron from the rudder of the patache San Juan and they tried to pull the

> nails from the sides of the ships. One day, an Indian dared to jump from his canoe into the skiff that was tied alongside to the rigging with a cable. He untied it and, returning to the canoe, was pulling the skiff by the cable in order to take it away. He was about to succeed when they shouted at him from the ship; the Indian burst out laughing. (Levesque, Vol 2, p. 161-2)

Accounts throughout this period of early contact describe the natives' delight in playing tricks on one another and on outsiders. A common response to being caught seemed to be that of treating the incident as a joke. In this way, confrontation was diffused. Perhaps in instances of not being caught, the act not only had material rewards but indicated the ultimate in successful trickery. The openness by which Chamorros took things from one another indicated that these acts weren't perceived as theft. A particularly non-Western set of values was being witnessed and misunderstood by Europeans. This reveals Chamorro reciprocal relations which will be discussed later. This same account also tells about a more violent incident in which an obvious act of revenge was being portrayed. There had been a few skirmishes in which the Spaniards had fired their arquebuses at the natives. During a period of peace, however, some crew members had gone ashore to obtain water, and they inadvertently left behind a ship's boy on shore when they returned to the ship. He was tortured and killed by the natives, who then taunted the crew who came to rescue the boy. "However, even while this was going on, there was always a large quantity of proas trading around the fleet" (Levesque, Vol 2, p. 163).

Had this cabin boy insulted or provoked the natives which caused them to treat him so violently? Or had Legazpi's party insulted a particular clan who chose to seek revenge in this way? Later references by Fray Juan Pobre (Driver, p. 213) point out the peaceful nature of the people and state that killings only occurred in retaliation for violence by the intruders.

Fray Antonio de Los Angeles was aboard the galleon *San Pablo* when it stopped in the *Ladrones* on its way to Manila in 1596. Moved to "seek the salvation of those barbarians," he boarded one of the many small canoes that surrounded the ship offering woven palm mats, coconuts and fish to trade for pieces of iron. He and two companions who followed him lived among the people until they were taken aboard the next ship that passed that way the following year. He emphasized the kindness of the people, their great greed for iron and various native customs:

> ...When they visit, it is their custom to take one another gifts; he who takes the best one is the most honored. As soon as a guest arrives, he is given hot water with which to wash, and when he leaves, he is [also] presented with a gift of some kind. If there is business to transact, as the guest departs, he is called aside and the matter is then taken care of. They are a very happy people and fond of tricks. (Driver, 1977, p. 19-21)

The next available account of the islands and its people during this period is by Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora, a lay brother of the Franciscan order of Discalced Friars. Enroute from Acapulco to the Philippines, to which Fray Juan Pobre was returning to resume his missionary duties, he and a companion jumped ship in Rota in 1602. He enticed the occupants of one canoe to take them ashore:

> As soon as the ships were out of sight, the indio who had Fray Juan Pobre and his companion in his vessel took them directly to his village of Tazga, which is located between two other villages, one named Guaco and the other Atetito, where Rodrigo de Peralta and 10 or 12 other Spaniards from the Santa Margarita had been killed. The indio disembarked in front of his house, very pleased with his prize of the two missionaries. Such a large number of curious people gathered to see the religious that 'I was astounded to see the multitude of indios on that small island. The indio took us to his house, which was one of the best of the village, for he was among the principales of the island'. (Driver, p. 204)

He learned of other shipwreck survivors living on Saipan and Tinian and was eventually visited by Sancho, a survivor who lived on Guam.

Sancho and Fray Juan each spoke of the man of the family he lived with as his "master". Whether they realized it or not, it seems that these foreigners had been adopted into their Chamorro families. These two Spaniards freely travelled between villages in their host islands, and Sancho was brought by canoe from Guam to visit Fray Juan on Rota. Fray Juan's master was called Sunama, a leader in the village of Tazga in Rota. Sancho was brought from the village of Pago on Guam to the village of Guaco in Rota. The fact that they didn't travel directly to Tazga indicates that there must have been kinship ties between Pago and Guaco which made that the first place to visit, rather than in Tazga. Sancho and Fray Juan refer to being treated kindly as long as they treated the Chamorros with kindness, and were told by islanders that the

reason other Spaniards were killed was because they had killed or mistreated people who had hosted them (Driver, pp. 212-13)

Sancho told Fray Juan about the customs of the people of the Ladrones as he observed them in 1602: "They keep peace, love each other, and care for one another. Yet, they are not Christians as we are (Driver, p. 207). In 1668, when Diego Luis de San Vitores established their mission in the Marianas, Chamorro initial responses to the arrival of the missionaries had been welcoming and generous. They called the visitors *guirragos* (*gilagos*), meaning [from overseas], and called Padre San Vitores *Ma'gas Padre*, meaning "great priest". *Maga'lahi* Quipuha had given them land in Hagåtña on which to build a church and had initially increased his prestige by hosting Padre San Vitores in his village. Other *maga'lahi* vied for the honor of hosting missionaries. They received gifts of iron and items of clothing. It is likely that they hoped to be the recipients of new knowledge brought by the missionaries, the possession of which would increase their power and prestige (Rogers, p. 48).

Since Choco and his companions were not killed after being cast ashore in Saipan, we know that their actions were acceptable to their hosts. Was Choco adopted into a Chamorro family? We only know that he married a woman from Saipan and subsequently moved to Pa'a in Guahan. Based on Sancho's village of Pago in Guahan being somehow associated with Guaco in Luta, does this mean that there were kinship ties between the woman's village in Saipan and the village of Pa'a? If Choco was adopted, perhaps his family had ties to Pa'a.

Child Rearing and Socialization

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

Upon reaching puberty a young man became *uritao* (bachelor) and moved to his mother's clan, under the supervision of his mother's brother. He moved into the *guma' uritao*, or 'men's house' of the clan, which served as his home from the time of puberty until his marriage (Cunningham, p. 183-4). During this time the *uritao* learned life skills as well as how to interact with women. It was considered prestigious for the

family of one of their daughters was selected to serve in the *guma' uritao*. Her family received valuable gifts such as turtle shell from the *uritao*, which increased their wealth and status. She served for a set period of time, and this service was called *ma uritao*. When she returned to her family, she was considered as ready for marriage. If she was pregnant, she became more valued because she proved her ability to have children. Any children born from *ma uritao* were welcomed into the family (Cunningham, p. 184). This practice was abhorred by the missionaries. One of the requirements for baptism was that the villagers destroy their *guma' uritao*, or men's house which the missionaries condemned because of the sexual freedoms between young men and women which were practiced there (Garcia, p. 393).

The *uritao* carried walking sticks which they called *tuna* [*tunas* meaning straight] which were "curiously carved and colored with the root of a plant called *mangu* [*mango'* turmeric]. At the head of this they affix through a hole three streamers half a yard in length made from the soft bark of the trees with heavy threads in the form of tassels" (Garcia, p. 408). Based on comparative cultural evidence with similar sticks used in Chuuk (Truk 500 miles to the south), it seems likely that the *tunas* may have been used as a "love stick". The *uritao* would make sure that the girl of his choice saw the distinctive carvings of his stick, which he would use to poke through the wall or floor of the room where she slept. If she was not interested in him, she would push the stick back out. If she wanted to see him, she would either go out to meet him or pull the stick inside to indicate that he should join her (Cunningham, p. 44).

Older youths sharpened their fighting skills by performing hand-to-hand combat in front of their leaders:

> Sometimes they take hard falls. When this happens, the friend of the one pinned underneath comes forth and, with great arrogance, says, 'Now, you will have to fight me', and he begins to fight with the victor. In this way, one follows another and some are so arrogant that they say, 'you are mere children and should fight with children and not with me.' This is the way they prove their strength... This is the way they brag before the leading citizens. (Driver, p. 212)

Adults also indulged in fights and other activities to prove their strength. They were "happy people and mockers," who usually settled their differences peacefully or with only minor skirmishes. Garcia elaborates on the nature of battles between rival villages:

> One town gets ready to go against another with much shouting but without any leader or order or any discipline. They are usually two or three days on campaign without attacking, observing one another's movements. When they finally join battle, they very quickly make peace, because when one or two are killed on one side, that side gives up and sends ambassadors to the other carrying tortoise shells in token of surrender. The victors celebrate the triumph with satiric songs, exalt their valor, and make fun of the conquered.. (Garcia, p. 170)

The use of intrigue and maneuvering for position rather than direct confrontation in battle is in character with their general tendency towards non-confrontation. (This trait can still be observed in contemporary Chamorro society.) Although deliberate murders within a village were infrequent, such social transgressions were dealt with by the exile of the perpetrator and presentation of gifts from the family of the assassin to the family of the victim. Once the gifts have been accepted, the exile is free to return (Driver, p. 212).

Satirical songs and debates seemed to be the more popular way to settle differences:

> They also come together to debate. The people of one party take their places inside some sheds and the other party likewise. One gets up and begins to debate and to throw verses and tell witticisms in their style against whomever is in front of him or against the other town and after he has finished another from the opposite side begins to debate against the former one. In that manner many towns come together as I have said to debate against one another. This dispute or debate persists from 8 in the morning until 2 when they eat what they have brought although usually the town where the gathering takes place gives them food. (Levesque, 1992: III: 180)

This excerpt is from a longer account by Fray Juan Pobre concerning celebrations. The use of this art form in celebrations points out the value attributed to these 'debate verses.' Accounts indicate that huge feasts were organized around the central activity of poetic debate and song. Perhaps these 'debate verses' were a form of exchange or mutual offering between clans, a sort of reciprocal speech-making.

Sancho stated that during the time he had spent with the Chamorros they displayed reciprocal practices that allowed everyone to benefit from shared labor. He gave examples of what he called their very compassionate nature, such as sharing their

fresh catch with the family of a fisherman who is ill, gathering together to help repair or rebuild a house. "The situation is that, what I do for my relatives and friends, they will also do for me (Driver, p. 210-11).

How was Choco able to present a reciprocal balance in his new home? What did he have that contributed to the wealth and status of his new family and village? In order to attract a wife, he had to have something to offer Chamorro society. One source says he claimed to be a sourcerer. What could he have used from his Chinese background and experiences to convince them of this? His ability to forge iron into tools was an obvious attribute that Chamorros needed and admired. They admired hard workers, feats of strength, poetry and debate, and even trickery.

Interactions with *gilågu* (outsiders) was a risk to the Chamorro hosts. If members of their clan were harmed or insulted in any way, their response was in the form of *emmok* (revenge), as shown in the death of Legaspi's cabin boy. Other clans who were not threatened continued to trade with them. As shown in the Juan Pobre account, the *taotaotano'* viewed foreign visitors as a possible resource of knowledge or compensation in material goods, which would increase the status of their clan. They were therefore ready to take the risk associated with interaction with *gilågo* as long as they were not threatened or insulted.

Visitor accounts repeatedly told of initial acts of hospitality, particularly the feeding of new arrivals, called *ayudu* (assistance) or *inafa'maolek* (making it good for everyone). This act required an equal act of reciprocity by the guests. Beads and other trinkets obviously weren't considered adequate to restore the reciprocal balance. The hosts felt justified to help themselves to the items they valued most iron (*lulok*). Their love of intrigue and trickery further confused the *gilågu*. In their society, a non-confrontational way to get out of a bad situation was to treat the act as a joke. Based on my observation of present-day actions of this nature, both the perpetrator and the victim know that certain actions were done out of greed, but the situation is resolved by stopping the activity and laughing it off as a joke.

Conflict resolution through debate in poetic verse was reportedly much admired. Based on these accounts and on surviving practices I have observed, I would venture to say that the prestige of a clan or village depended in part on the skill of their poets. There was obviously a competitive element in their performance. Early chronicles called this art form *mari* (Levesque, Vol 3, p.180), and it has survived into the 21st

century in the form of what Laura Thompson (1938) called *chamorita* (little verses) or *kantan chamorita* (songs of little verses).

Exchange and Reciprocity

Reciprocal obligations were very strong in Chamorro society. Each action required a reaction a gift or service given incurred a debt for the receiver that must be paid at a future time. In the same way, an insult or injury required an act of revenge, called *emmok*, by the victim or his family, lineage, or clan (Cunningham, p. 188-9). Both of these forms of reciprocity are evident in many of the chronicles, such as the skirmishes between villages and clans in retaliation for embarrassments or insults, and equally in their systems of sharing the daily catch of fish and in the repairing or building of a house. The actions observed by visitors during this period and condemned as thievery or deceit were probably due to reciprocal practices which were misunderstood.

Kinship in a Matrilineal Society

In the Chamorro system of matrilineal inheritance, a woman's children, because they belonged to her clan, would have a close, loving relationship with her brother their uncle (mother's brother). A man's eldest sister as well as his mother's eldest sister was held in high esteem because their children were in the line of inheritance after his younger brothers (Cunningham, p. 91). There would have been close bonds between these women and children of his clan out of respect for their title as well as for their rank according to age. Sancho stated in another part of his account that "it is the brothers and not the children who are the inheritors" (Driver, p. 215). This statement supports the system of matrilineal inheritance whereby the leadership would pass from an older brother to a younger brother and then to his sister's eldest son. What is described here is a matrilineal inheritance system. The fact that the women had great power in Chamorro society is documented in the following example:

> In each family the head is the father or elder relative, but with limited influence. Thus, a son as he grows up neither fears nor respects his father. As with brute animals, the father has this advantage: he has the place where he gives them their food. In the home it is the mother who rules, and the husband does not dare give an order contrary to her wishes or punish the children, because if the woman feels offended, she will either beat the husband or leave him. Then if the wife leaves the house, all the children follow her, knowing no other father than the next husband their mother may take. (Garcia, p. 172)

This account tends to give an extreme example, although one which was observed on more than one occasion. There undoubtedly was respect and love among husbands and wives as well as between children and their father. The tenderness Fray Juan Pobre observed with which both parents disciplined their children is an example of the balance created by this type of social structure. This passage, however, points out that men lost a great deal when their wives left them, and it would cost his clan dearly to gather wealth for another bride price should he wish to remarry. Therefore, husbands tended to treat their wives with respect, and his family encouraged his good behavior because of their stake in the marriage as well.

Status

"The highest rank in an ancient Chamorro society was *maga'lahi*. He was the oldest male *chamorri* in the highest-ranking lineage of the clan that controlled a village. The highest-ranking woman in the village was the *maga'haga*". Wealth and power were, in many ways, determined by the control of land, which was inherited through the mother's line. "A *maga'lahi* who died was succeeded by his brothers in order of birth. If there were no younger living brothers, then his eldest sister's eldest son or his mother's eldest sister's son became chief" (Cunningham, p. 91). Researchers differ on the structure of Chamorro society. Early theory proposes that there were three distinct castes; while a second theory is that there were two, less structured classes of Chamorros (Farrell, p. 90). It is clear that the *matua* comprise the higher class of warriors, canoe makers, latte builders, and traders. A *matua*, for just cause and consensus among village leaders, could be lowered to the cast of *atcha'ot*. These two classes comprised the *Chamorri*, or noble cast. The *manachang* did not mix with the *matua* and the *atcha'ot*. They were primarily farmers and could trade their produce for fish from the *matua*. They could not eat or drink or even pass near the houses of the *matua* (Farrell, pp. 90-91).

The statements made by Fray Juan Pobre and by Garcia both indicate that status entailed differential power or specialization of some kind. An example of specialization is that of a village in Tinian, which at one time had the exclusive right to string *alas*, a kind of shell valuable. Other accounts claim that this was the exclusive right of some chiefs (Cunningham, 1992: 78). Fena, an inland village of Guam in the pre-colonial era, gives evidence of its high status by the remains of the biggest latte stones found on the island (Cunningham, 1997: personal written communication). Regarding ranking in Chamorro society, he believes that each district had both castes, and that the ranking of villages was in constant flux.

Using the analogy of the status of villages being determined by the status of the *matao* residing there can perhaps help us understand the difference between individual ownership and clan ownership. Could it be that individuals who gained individual prestige by their ability to collect turtle shells (by whatever physical or other resources they had) lent that prestige to their clan? The resources of an individual could be called upon in times when the clan needed to show its collective wealth, thus maintaining or increasing its status. Likewise, the individuals within the clan probably maintained or increased their status by their ability to contribute to the collective resources of the clan.

The important point to be noted from the above discussion is the reciprocal nature of Chamorro society, regardless of the particular nature of the ranking of its members. *Manachang* were not serfs or slaves. They were free to leave one area and to move to another. Nevertheless, a caste is a group into which one is born and from which one cannot move. There are no marriages between castes. By this definition Chamorros had castes (Cunningham, 1997: personal written communication). The reciprocal obligations of the *chamorri* to those who gave tribute resulted in a society in which the basic needs of all were of primary concern.

Beliefs and Rituals

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

Several chroniclers state that the Chamorros had no religion, probably referring to the lack of edifices dedicated to worship of any deity. They did, however, have specialists in the manipulation of and intervention between the physical and spiritual world, called *makahnas* [contemporary spelling]. Although every family evidently kept skulls and performed rituals with them, the *makahnas* were reported to have many skulls with which they conferred regularly. As opposed to individual clan members who revered

and talked to their *antes* or ancestors, a *makahna* could commune with *anites* spirits of clans other than his own and who could be malicious to members outside their clan (Cunningham, 1992: 100). *Makahnas* promised health, rain, successful fishing, and similar benefits by invoking the skulls of dead persons that they kept in little baskets in their house (Garcia, p. 174).

It is ironic that these seventeenth-century Europeans would not recognize another concept of spiritual intervention which in many ways paralleled beliefs of their own civilization at that time. This was the time of witchcraft trials in Europe and America, when many women were tortured and killed for allegedly exhibiting signs of black magic. It was also a time when the Spanish Catholic church advanced the cause of their religion through frequent exorcism rituals to triumph over the devil, and through the verification of miraculous acts to glorify the divinity of their god. The chroniclers could only explain spiritual intervention of another culture by ascribing the acts to their own devil.

From the actions described, however, we can begin to understand that the Chamorro sense of proper behavior and respect revolved around community beliefs that were interpreted and regulated by the *makahna*. One's sense of personhood developed from his expected role within these regulations. Mockery and ridicule were ways of keeping members of society within expected roles. Punishment for transgressions became in a way self-imposed through peer condemnation.

Garcia made reference to their worship of idols *and* skulls [my emphasis], which they discouraged during the missionization period. He stated that the natives told him that worship of idols was a recent influence of a Chinese idolater who was cast ashore in a storm and who had lived among them for twenty years. He taught them to "show reverence for the bones and skulls of the dead, whom they paint on the bark of trees and blocks of wood" (Garcia, p. 174). One of the figures had three heads on its shoulders (*ibid*, p.188). This reference to a recent introduction of carved idols has credence in that the Fray Juan Pobre accounts of 1602 do not mention the existence of wooden idols or paintings on trees but give detailed observations on the reverence paid to skulls. Garcia related one of the first acts of the missionaries in the Marianas as that of destroying idols, describing the action of one of Padre San Vitores' assistant priests:

> He put to the fire a good-sized mound of these idols on his first visit to the island of Guam [and] had them bury the skulls of their ancestors, which was his condition for dealing with them as God's people. (Garcia, p. 356)

During a battle between the Chamorros and the people of the mission, the Chamorros built portable barricades upon which they placed "skulls and the Devil's banners… Father Francisco Solano went out with great fervor to break the eyes off them, breaking the skulls as the people watched" [Levesque's note: This statement, about the Devil's banners and the breaking of eyes, makes me think that some skulls, but more probably some wooden figurines, had eyes made of pearl shells, etc..] (Levesque, Vol 5, p. 398). If the introduction of idols was attributed to Choco by the natives, his influence on Chamorro society was significant.

Summary

The accounts of Fray Juan Pobre and others who were welcomed as adopted members of Chamorro society provide evidence of the nature of the Chamorros to be generous and non-violent. The Chamorros had their own motives for hosting these outsiders, among which were those of gaining prestige associated with their presence and the possibility of rewards when the visitor was returned to his people upon the arrival of the next ship. The extension of kinship relations was valued, and stories of shipwreck survivors tell of people who became permanent members of Chamorro society, living the remainder of their lives as full members of their adopted clan. When Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores arrived on Guam in 1668 to establish a mission, his party of fifty people, including priests, lay ministers, and soldiers, was welcomed (Rogers, p. 45-7; Garcia, p. 177). Choco's influence was powerful enough to almost defeat the early missionization efforts.

Choco was obviously an astute observer of social behaviors and was able to conform satisfactorily to the social expectations of his new family. Our knowledge of ancient Chamorro society can give clues to what he might have done. He obviously understood and followed Chamorro etiquette, rituals, and beliefs; which he was then able to expound upon for his own purposes. He had skills in forging iron that the natives greatly valued. This gave him wealth and status. Such attributes would make him an asset to the family or clan who took him in.

Considering the sexual freedoms of the period, it would have been easy for him to marry an eligible woman. With his relative wealth and status, a family would have

accepted his presentations of gifts and valuables to secure a wife. Considering the fact that in Chamorro society the wife moved to the clan of her husband, we can assume that Choco was invited to live in Pa'a. His attributes would have increased the wealth and status of any village of which he was associated. Any sons from their union would have gone back to their mother's clan. Any daughters would have remained in Choco's adopted clan of Pa'a.

He must have been very persuasive and skillful in the making of images. Perhaps this is where his claim to sorcery originated. Missionary documents refer to many carved and painted images that people attributed to him. Therefore his influence was significant. Because of his wife's clan connections to Saipan, Choco was able to spread his influence throughout Guahan and Saipan; and others spread his words and images throughout the island chain.

He must have learned the Chamorro language very quickly and became fluent to the extent that he could debate with San Vitores in front of his community at Pa'a. After 20 years of emersion in Chamorro society, Choco's language skills would have been as good as that of a native speaker (based on personal experience). Coupled with his obvious persuasive skills, he would have been able to hold his own in a debate that would have entertained and persuaded his Chamorro audience. San Vitores, a *gilågo* with much less language emersion, was apparently even more persuasive, and won the three-day debate according to missionary documents.

Both of these *gilågo* were using Chamorro practices to advance their own personal agendas. Choco knew that gatherings traditionally didn't last for more than two or three days at the most, because the hosting of debates (*mari*) involved feeding the gathering. Furthermore, the attention of the audience would have dissipated by the third day. I propose that Choco pretended to give in and to convert so that the *mari* would be concluded. As a member of the host village, he would not lose face by conceding. To do otherwise would stretch the resources of his clan and reduce their wealth. As the missionaries found out later, he was "just joking".

It is evident that Choco helped in the Chamorro uprisings against the Spanish as new battle weapons and maneuvers were noted in the missionary documents. There is no mention of Pa'a after San Vitores' debate with Choco. There was an aggressive campaign against rebellious villages in Guahan in 1674, led by the garrison's new

commander, Damian de Esplana. Villages and crops were destroyed and captives were tortured and killed. Many Chamorros fled to Luta where they were ignored for the next decade (Russell, pp. 301-2). Pa'a could have been destroyed at that time, and Choco could have been killed. Alternately, he may have fled to Luta. He is not mentioned as being captured or killed. In 1680, natives were forced to settle in one of six villages during the *reduccion* (Russell, p. 305), and any people who remained at Pa'a would have been resettled in the village of Inalahan.

Conclusion

It is often brief references to incidences that provide interesting footnotes to history. The research on this particular incident in Mariana Island history helps us to understand that the story of our islands is intertwined with global events that brought outsiders to our shores. By personalizing Choco, we can better understand the relationship between the Mariana Islands and the Philippines, and furthermore to understand the role of the Chinese in the Philippines; and how these many players affected and were impacted by the world spice trade of the 17th century.

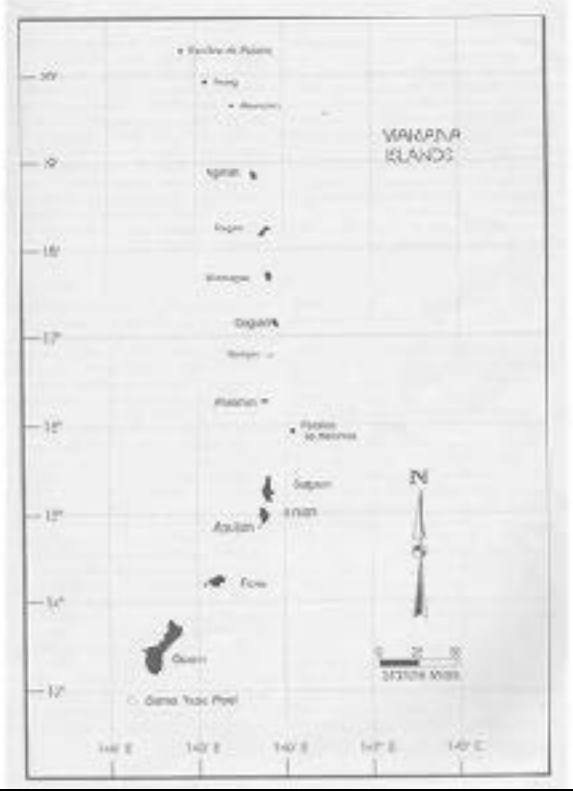
Presentation slides begin on the following page.

Presentation Slides

CHOCO THE CHINAMAN

AS A MEMBER OF CHAMORRO SOCIETY


Isle de Guahan
ou
Isle St. Jean


MARIANA
ISLANDS
N

RESEARCH METHODS & STRATEGIES

- Early missionary documents
- Original source documents
- History Books on 17th Century China, Philippines, World Travel & Trade
- Reports/journals/books on Mariana Islands
- Secondary sources that provide references
- Internet – Wikipedia, Google, Guampedia
- Contemporary observations & experiences

Choco's Story According to Missionary Documents

- Choco circulated rumors that baptismal waters were poison
- CHOCO TAUGHT NATIVES TO MAKE IDOLS
- Mothers began to hide their children
- Missionaries were threatened with spears
- San Vitores decided to travel to Pa'a to convert Choco

DEBATE BETWEEN SAN VITORES & CHOCO

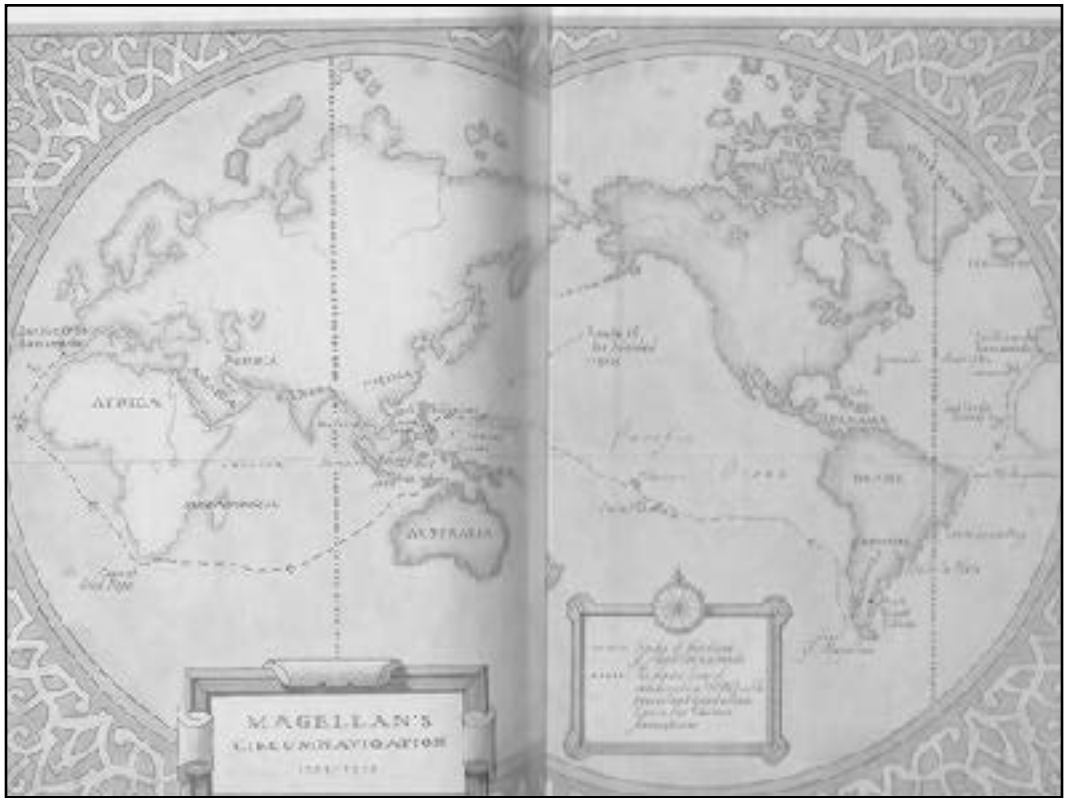
- DEBATE LASTED 3 DAYS
- CHOCO ADMITTED DEFEAT
- CHOCO WAS BAPTISED
- BUT SOON REVERTED TO HIS OLD WAYS
- HE ASSISTED CHAMORROS WITH BATTLE STRATEGIES

30 YEARS WARFARE BETWEEN SPANISH AND CHAMORROS

- After San Vitores death in 1672 – battles intensified
- 1680 – Chamorros forced to relocate to 6 villages (reduccion)
- Pa'a destroyed – remaining people moved to Inarajan
- Men continued to farm their lanchos, returning home on weekends, retaining ties to ancestral lands
- Family name of Choco could have carried on through generations

Choco's World According to Historical Documents

- The Spice trade inspired world travel and exploration
- Chinese dominated trade for centuries in island Asia
- When overland China routes closed, Europeans began to seek oceanic routes
- Manila became a hub of trade between Chinese and Europeans in 17th century



CHINESE IN THE PHILIPPINES

- Many Chinese immigrated to P.I. from Fujien
- Sangley – seng-li meaning business
- Spanish/Jesuits in P.I. were hostile to Chinese
- 1574 – Chinese revolt against Spanish
- Chinese massacres in 1603, 1639, 1662
- Taxed heavily, treated unfairly, discriminated against

MANILA GALLEON TRADE ROUTE

CHOCO's ARRIVAL

- SAMPAN VARIATIONS

Chamorro encounters with Gilågo

- Magellan 1521 – Natives fed starving crew, then took metal, etc. – houses burned, 7 killed
- Loaysa –Natives reprovisioned ship; Captain took 11 captives
- Legaspi, 1565, claimed islands for Spain. Cabin boy killed; while other clans continued trading with Legaspi's ships
- Legaspi – observed natives taking from each other. When caught stealing boat, native laughed.
- Fray Los Angeles & Frey Juan Pobre journals tell of kind treatment
- San Vitores' mission arrives & are welcomed 1668

HOW DID CHOCO FIT INTO CHAMORRO SOCIETY?

- Choco's actions/responses must have been acceptable to Chamorros
- Was Choco adopted into a clan/family?
- Choco's wife was from Saipan; so why did they move to live in Pa'a? Matrilineal connections?
- Were there kinship ties between Pa'a and Choco's Saipan family?

17th Century Chamorro Society

- Children learned by example
- Uritao practiced prowess; used mockery & bragging
- Uritao moved to men's house in mother's clan, under counsel of mother's brother; learned life skills including sexual practices
- Reciprocal and non-confrontational
- Valued poets and gathered to debate

What made Choco a valued member of the Pa'a clan?

- He claimed to be a sorcerer
- He could forge iron
- These skills could increase clan status
- He was obviously very persuasive and influencial
- Chamorros admired hard workers, feats of strength, poetry & debate, and trickery

Conclusion

- It is often brief references to incidences that provide interesting starting points for a greater story.
- The research on this particular incident in Mariana Island history helps us to understand that the story of our islands is intertwined with global events that brought outsiders to our shores.
- By personalizing Choco, we can better understand the relationship between the Mariana Islands and the Philippines, and furthermore to understand the role of the Chinese in the Philippines; and how these many players affected and were impacted by the world spice trade of the 17th century.

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Judy Flores, PhD, is a folklorist, historian, teacher, and visual artist who has lived and worked in the island of Guam since 1957. A child of school teachers, she grew up in the southern village of Inarajan, and speaks fluent Chamorro. She earned a BA from the University of Guam and an MA from the University of Washington. 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. In 2011, she published *Estorian Inalahan: History of a Spanish-Era Village in Guam*. She is currently in the process of restoring an early-1900s building in Inarajan historic district, to house a history center.

1800's in the Marianas

A Nation in the Making

By Carlos Madrid, PhD
Researcher and Assistant Professor
University of Guam
cmadrid@uguam.uog.edu

Abstract: *Nation-building is one of the byproducts of the colonization processes that the Spanish Crown practiced in the 16th-19th Centuries. The transculturation of chunks of both European and Indigenous-American heritages into the indigenous culture of the Mariana Islands happened in a prolonged, ambiguous process that left indelible marks. Historically, the Spanish component of that identity has been manifested in a complex of superiority towards the indigenous, corresponding now with what could be regarded as a complex of inferiority. A proper understanding of this unique process of appropriation and indigenization is worthy of attention and further study, inasmuch as it can help to neutralize some of the identity tensions existing in Guam in the 21st Century.*

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Carlos Madrid Álvarez-Piñer, researcher and assistant professor at the University of Guam's Micronesian Area Research Center, graduated PhD cum laude in Contemporary History from Universidad Complutense de Madrid. He has been conducting archival research on the Philippines and Micronesia since 1996. He is formerly a member of the board of directors of the Asociación Española de Estudios del Pacífico. Carlos has volunteered at the CNMI Museum of Culture, at Guam's Historic Preservation Office, and at the Belau National Museum. In the Philippines, he was Academic Coordinator of the SPCC at Instituto Cervantes de Manila. He was editor-in-chief of Filipiniana.net, Vibal Publishing House.

Demons Described, Demons Discredited

How the 17th Century Jesuit Missionaries to the Marianas Addressed Indigenous Beliefs

By Nicholas Chow Sy
MA History Student
Ateneo de Manila
nicholas.chow.sy@gmail.com

Abstract: *Despite the beatification of one missionary in 1985 and the canonization of his lay assistant in 2012, the Jesuits' method of conversion in the Marianas has not been extensively studied. Their seventeenth century mission attempted to impress a fundamentally foreign set of beliefs on a people with an age-old conviction in an independent reality. It was not an easy task. The present work combs through three decades of missionary accounts (1668 to 1699) to outline their strategy in dealing with indigenous Chamorro beliefs. It also contextualizes their actions within the logic with which they were performed. The study's focus is limited to missionaries' experiences of their effort. However, by describing the oral, visual, and experiential stimuli to which the Chamorro were exposed, it also aims to provide building blocks for future work on the Chamorro experience of the conversion.*

"Indigenous beliefs" as discussed in this work, are those that the missionaries perceived as religious in nature (described as superstitious or proto-idolatrous in their texts) i.e. ancestor veneration. The 17th century Chamorro practiced ancestor veneration. The Christian missionaries who came to them in 1668 attempted to teach them otherwise. What ensued was the attempted transformation of the concept and veneration of the *Ante*, by a Christian ideology bent on hegemony. This article is about the methods and meanings involved in that pursuit.

Ancestral Veneration As Understood by the Chamorro[1]

From the Chamorro perspective ancestral veneration is understood as "an extension of basic human relationships from this world to the supernatural world".[2] The ancestor

[1] Applied in this study are basic understandings of ancestor veneration drawn from primary and secondary sources. I recognized that the indigenous dimension can best be studied after a comprehensive analysis of seventeenth century indigenous values. Unfortunately resources constraints mean that this effort is not possible at present.

[2] Lawrence Cunningham, *Ancient Chamorro Society* (Honolulu 1992), 97.

continued his presence in the world even after death. He held influence over "the natural world and the course of events".[3] His spirit was generally human in its interaction with those left behind. It was treated with the reverence and respect befitting the elders of the family. It protected, aided, or punished people according to their fulfillment or non-fulfillment of kinship obligations. These spirits were called on for help, thanked for their assistance, and invited to for ceremonies as kinsmen.

Every person could communicate with the ancestors. Central in this interaction with the spirits were the ancestral skulls, as well as other figures made of wood, or drawn on bark. It was to these representations that requests and offerings were made when the living needed help. It was to them that thanks and honor were given when assistance was granted. The *makahnas* were spiritual leaders particularly attuned to these spirits, and could be relied on for assistance in dealing with them.[4]

There were variations in the characters of these spirits. There were those understood as members of the family, members of a different family, or spirits that generally inhabited locations. There were those who were spirits of the recent dead, of past chiefs, and of the creators of the universe. Despite these variations all were generally ancestral spirits that could give or take away their support, and that could harm if they were not respected. The difference between them depended mainly on "the amount of familiarity or distance between these spirits and the living Chamorros"[5]

The seventeenth century Jesuit missionaries imposed Catholic meanings on these beliefs and practices. In the emerging colonial context, the Chamorro would negotiate and appropriate these meanings.

The Study of Seventeenth Century Christianization on the Marianas

Historical works have studied Christianization during the seventeenth century along two overlapping trends: those that focus on the recounting and assessment of events, and those that focus on the critique of meaning. Many works of the first trend discuss the intertwined histories of colonial Church and State, and highlight the mission's

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[3] Michael Bevacqua, 'Chamorro ancestor worship', (2010b), available online at http://guampedia.com/chamorro-ancestor-worship/, accessed May 2013.

[4] Cunningham, *Ancient Chamorro Society*, 97, 102, 104; Bevacqua, 'Chamorro ancestor worship'; Michael Bevacqua, 'Chamorro ancestor worship', (2010b), available online at http://guampedia.com/chamorro-ancestor-worship/, accessed May 2013.

[5] Michael Bevacqua, 'Taotaomo'na', (2013), available online at http://guampedia.com/taotaomona-taotaomona/, accessed May 2013.

social and political realities. Important examples of this category are the studies of Fr. Julius Sullivan OFM,[6] Paul Carano and Pedro Sanchez,[7] Francis Hezel,[8] Francis Hezel and Marjorie Driver,[9] and Robert Rogers,[10] and Augusto De Viana.[11] Narratives propel such works. Generally they begin with the arrival of its founder Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores SJ in 1668. They then take the reader along a plot of emerging hostilities, military involvement, and demographic decline, until a definitive political subjugation and resettlement of the archipelago's population in 1699.

Elements of the evangelization process, such as the missionaries' methods and approaches, are dealt with in other works wholly dedicated to the subject. Examples of these works are those by Fr. John Schumacher, SJ,[12] James Tueller,[13] Hezel,[14] and Michael Bevacqua.[15] Elements of evangelization are also dealt with in works that discuss them as subsections meant to contextualize a different topic under study. Examples of these works are those by Laura Thompson,[16] Charles Beardesly,[17] and Vicente Diaz.[18] In the above works discussions of method and of approach usually

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[6] Julius Sullivan, OFM, *The Phoenix rises: A mission history of Guam* (New York 1957).

[7] Paul Carano and Pedro Sanchez, *A complete history of Guam* (Tokyo 1964).

[8] Francis Hezel, SJ, From conquest to colonization: Spain in the Mariana Islands 1670-1740... prepared for the Historic Preservation Office of the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands..., typescript copy, in author's possession, Ledesma Collection, Doc199; Francis Hezel, SJ, 'From conversion to conquest: The early Spanish mission in the Marianas', *Journal of Pacific History*, 17:3 (1982).

[9] Francis Hezel, SJ, and Marjorie Driver, 'From conquest to colonization: Spain in the Mariana Islands 1690 1740', *Journal of Pacific History*, 23 (1988).

[10] Rogers, Robert, *Destiny's landfall: A history of Guam* (Honolulu 1995).

[11] Augusto De Viana, *In the far islands...* (Manila 2004)

[12] John Schumacher, SJ, 'Blessed Pedro Calungsod, martyr...', *Philippine Studies*, 49:3-4 (2001).

[13] James Tueller, 'Los Chamorros de Guam y la colonización Española: Una tercera etapa 1698 a 1747', in Ma Dolores Elizalde, Josep Fradera, and Luis Alonso (eds.), *Imperios y naciones en el Pacifico*, 2 vols (Madrid 2001), II, 385-94. Also published in english elsewhere.

[14] Francis Hezel, SJ 'Integration of Catholicism into Guam and its people', (2005), available online at http://micsem.org/pubs/articles/religion/frames/intcathguamfr.htm, accessed May 2013.

[15] Michael Bevacqua, 'Transmission of Christianity into Chamorro culture', (2010a), available online at http://guampedia.com/transmission-of-christianity-into-chamorro-culture/, accessed June 2013.

[16] Laura Thompson, *Guam and its people*..., 3rd ed. (Princeton 1947)

[17] Charles Beardsley, *Guam: Past and Present* (Tokyo 1964)

[18] Vincent Diaz, *Repositioning the Missionary*..., (Honolulu 2010)

overlap, usually tackle only a handful items, and usually are done in relation to the process a whole.[19]

Only a handful of works discuss these elements as applied to specific missionary goals within the process of evangelization, such as the subject of this study: the challenge of ancestor veneration. Assessments regarding this goal have been made in passing by Thompson,[20] Beardesly,[21] and Hezel.[22] A more detailed discussion has been given by Bevacqua.[23] This last author's main focus though lies not with the missionaries but

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[19] The mission's methods have been discussed within a variety of scopes. Fr. Ernest Burrus, SJ (1954) introduces and reproduces the provisional grammar and catechism written the mission's founder on his way to the Marianas, giving insight into the purpose of the text. Paloma Albala y Hernandez ('Canciones españolas en las islas Marianas', in Ma Dolores Elizalde, Josep Fradera, and Luis Alonso (eds.), *Imperios y naciones en el Pacifico*, 2 vols (Madrid 2001), II, 433-42) publishes a short reproduction and linguistic analysis of Spanish songs still sung in present day Marianas. These songs are all religious in content. In explaining their origin she points to the use of music in the evangelization. Fr. John Schumacher, SJ (2001a; 2001b) in his two-part study on the motives, origins, training, and roles of the mission's lay companions, discusses the mission's method of baptism, analyzing the procedures and the theological principles behind it. James Tueller (2001) discusses the missionaries' promotion of exemplars within social networks developing in the new colonial context. He points out that the Jesuits did not have a monopoly on Christian exemplars. Other Christians, whether old or new, also created them. Hezel (2005) in a short article on the integration of Catholicism into Guam, highlights the replacement of traditional Chamorro remedies as given by local spiritual leaders, with Spanish/Creole Christianity's array of rituals and religious items. He also discusses the important role of the mission's resettlement policy, the reduccion. Michael Bevacqua (2010a) discusses native agency in resisting and adapting to impositions from the missionaries. In discussing these impositions he gives specific focus to the missionaries demonization of the indigenous' spirits, the banning of their spiritual leaders, and the destruction of their icons in an effort to stamp out local beliefs.
The missionaries' general approach (as opposed to their specific methods, i.e. strategy as opposed to tactics) to evangelization has been discussed by just a handful of authors. Laura Thompson (1947), who studies the administrative challenges faced by the American government in post-war Guam, describes the old Jesuit approach to native customs and beliefs as one of suppression in tandem with the inculcation of Catholicism. Charles Beardsley (1964) discusses modern and pre-hispanic Chamorro spiritual beliefs in chapter seven of his work, linking these beliefs to those found in other societies. He then briefly sums up the missionaries policy against these beliefs as abolition and substitution. Vicente Diaz (2010) in his dissection of the meanings and narratives on the mission and martyrdom of Sanvitores, revisits this particular missionary's evangelical method. He discusses the surprise and spectacle Sanvitores presented by his preaching in the simplest, most graphic, and entertaining modes. He also takes a closer look at Sanvitores' demeanor, and argues that his sentiments and characterization as meek but determined, distracts historians from the man's passive aggressive approach in dealing with people standing between him and God's will. According to Diaz, it was this approach that allowed Sanvitores to categorize as hostile, and to silence all who did not conform to his plan.

[20] Thompson, *Guam and its people…*, [180]

[21] Beardsley, *Guam: Past and Present*, 90.

[22] Hezel, From conquest to colonization: Spain in the Mariana Islands 1670-1740, 27; Hezel, 'Integration of Catholicism into Guam and its people'

[23] Bevacqua, 'Transmission of Christianity into Chamorro culture'

with the Chamorro experience. His objective is to challenge the prevalent notion of a pure and authentic Chamorro culture by describing Chamorro resistance and adaptation. This results in only a partial discussion of missionary methods, and limited discussion of the meaning that informed them. Meaning here is used to refer to the concepts they tried to impose, and the logic behind their methods of imposition. The discussion on meaning has become essential, as recent scholarship by Diaz,[24] Alexandre Coello,[25] Bevacqua,[26] and Frank Quimby[27] have emphasized its critique.[28]

Now the study of the indigenous dimension actually has much to benefit from a systematic understanding of the missionary dimension. Only by a clear picture of what was communicated to the Chamorro, and how it was communicated, can Chamorro thoughts and actions at the encounter really be understood. And only with a full

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[24] Diaz, *Repositioning the Missionary…*

[25] Alexandre Coello, 'Colonialismo y santidad en las Islas Marianas: Los soldados de Gedeón (1676-1690)', *Hispania. Revista Española de Historia*, 70:234 (2010); Alexandre Coello, 'Colonialismo y santidad en las islas Marianas: La sangre de los mártires (1668-1676)', Hispania Sacra, 63:128 (2011)

[26] Bevacqua, 'Transmission of Christianity into Chamorro culture'

[27] Frank Quimby, 'The Hierro commerce: Culture contact, appropriation and colonial entanglement in the Marianas, 1521-1668', *Journal of Pacific History* 46:1 (2011); Frank Quimby, 'Islands in the stream of empire: Spain's 'Reformed' Imperial Policy and First Proposals to colonize the Mariana Islands, 1565-1569', paper presented at the *1st Marianas History Conference: One archipelago, many stories* (2012).

[28] Diaz (2010) unearths and examines a multiplicity of alternative and competing meanings and narratives on the mission and martyrdom of Diego Luis de Sanvitores, and the different investments in the promotion or stifling of these narratives.

Alexandre Coello (2010; 2011) looks into missionary narratives in play. He discusses the ways the missionaries and their hagiographers understood and characterized the natives, their military support, and themselves, and read in their accounts the discourse martyrdom, and the use of literary archetypes familiar to them. Coello explains that these understandings fused the mission's objectives with the colonial objectives of the civil-military authority. They served to transform the peripheral space of the archipelago "into central references for the triumph of Christian dogma" (Coello 2011, 4).

Bevacqua (2010a) and Frank Quimby (2011; 2012) focus on the indigenous dimension. The first questions the prevalent notion of a pure and authentic Chamorro culture situated in the pre-Hispanic past, and argues that culture should be seen as dynamic and constantly adapting, with every adaptation in itself authentic. Within this perspective, he describes Chamorro resistance and adaptation in the face of the missionaries' imposition of Catholicism. Quimby (2011; 2012) meanwhile discusses the development of a "mediating contact culture" between the Spanish and the Chamorro along the continuum of encounters and exchange they had in the context of the iron trade. His discussion emphasizes the progressive learning that took place as experiences in each encounter added to collective experience with which these parties understood and approached each other. Quimby argues that the cultural understanding that developed was what encouraged both the missionaries to come to the Marianas, and the Chamorro to welcome them. The Chamorro did not anticipate that the missionaries were operating on a new plane of interaction; one more intrusive and later more coercive.

Among these authors, it is Bevacqua (2010a) who examines in detail the struggle for the meaning of ancestral veneration. But, as mentioned above, he did so from the indigenous perspective, with little analysis into the missionaries own meanings and to their efforts to impose them.

understanding of the encounter can we begin to question the ways in which the colonial hegemony still holds sway today.

The current state of the art has given limited focus and only partial discussion of the missionaries' method and meaning. The present work addresses these limitations first by systematically detailing the missionaries' methods. Second, it explores their struggle to impose meaning at the evangelical encounter.[29] It was a struggle, which was by no means easy or entirely successful given the vitality of native agency.

The present study takes a primarily missionary focus, though it seeks to position their experience within the presence of alternative readings. The hope is that through its analysis of the missionary dimension it can contribute to future work on the Chamorro experience of the encounter.

The present work's chronology is limited to the years 1668 to 1698, a period of relatively homogeneous insecurity, which by 1699 had been replaced by firm colonial control. The data for this paper is gathered from primary sources written by the missionaries themselves and by a handful of relevant contemporaries. [30] Almost all the sources used in this paper are from the seventeenth century. Some sources from the eighteenth were used in examining conditions of which earlier writers either were unaware of or left out of their reports. The task of more systematically going through these later documents though is left for future work. Lastly, only sources that are available in English and in Spanish have been used for this paper.

Methodology

Direct contact with the missionaries' preaching is often limited to snippets of observation and interaction scattered across mission accounts. These recorded oral, visual, and experiential attempts to engage the natives in evangelical discourse were collected and synthesized according to the main themes they present. These themes

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[29] The present study is a exploration in the recognition that only a study which develops both missionary and indigenous sides of the encounter can be considered a full study.

[30] The present research utilized copies of documents compiled, transcribed, and translated by Rodrigue Lévesque in his multi-volume *History of Micronesia* (HM), supplemented by documents from the Micronesian Area Research Center (MARC) in Guam, and by the files of the *Ledesma Collection* (LC) originally kept by the Jesuit Archives of the Philippine Province.

The Ledesma Collection is a collection of the surviving documentation used by Fr. Juan Ledesma S.J. as he worked towards the beatifications of Pedro Calungsod and Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores S.J. These documents are in the form of copies in various stages between Ledesma's draft and final output. A great number of documents were copied from the MARC in Guam. The collection is currently in the author's possession.

were afterwards contextualized according to possible models for their use as referred to in missionary accounts. The Chamorro understandings and misunderstandings of what was being communicated survive as scattered mentions across these accounts. These data were similarly synthesized according to the main themes they presented. These were then contextualized in reference to elements of Christianity they had been exposed to, as well as within a basic understanding of ancestral veneration.

Because accounts can be misleading, statements have been crosschecked across sources and criticized internally, keeping two things in mind. First, missionary texts are only the 'residue'[31] of the dynamic interaction between two independent cultural realities. Second, in trying to traverse the gap between the natives' reality and their own, the Jesuits' perceptions as well as their representations, were governed by the 'contingent factors'[32], generic/rhetorical, institutional/political, and cultural/historical, of their own contexts.[33]

Found useful this article are the concepts of hegemony and ideology as defined by Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff in volume one of their work *Of Revelation and Revolution.*[34] The hegemony is understood as an empowered system of meaning drawn from the cultural field, which by becoming axiomatic sets the bounds for the credible and the natural. The ideology is understood as elements from a system of meaning, which, in the face of contradiction, are articulated and contested. Both are reciprocally interdependent as one dissolves into the other along a continuum of degrees of

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[31] Louise Burkhart, *The Slippery earth: Nahua-Christian moral dialogue in sixteenth-century Mexico* (Tucson 1989), 185.

[32] Daniel Reff, 'Contextualizing missionary discourse: The Benavides memorials of 1630 and 1634', *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 50:1 (1994), 53.

[33] For insight into the contingent factors that governed missionary depictions of their subjects see Reff, Daniel. 1994. Contextualizing missionary discourse: The Benavides memorials of 1630 and 1634. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 50(1): 51-67. as well as Reff, Daniel. 1995. "Predicament of culture" and Spanish missionary accounts of the Tephuan and Pueblo Revolts. *Ethnohistory* 42(1): 63-90. To see some of these factors in operation in Jesuit Marianas see Coello, Alexandre. (2011). Colonialismo y santidad en las islas Marianas: la sangre de los mártires (1668-1676). *Hispania Sacra* 63(128): 707-45.

[34] Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution*…, 2 vols, (Chicago and London 1991), I.

consciousness.[35] The colonial encounter is seen in the present work as a space of competing hegemonies and ideologies.[36]

Ancestral Veneration As Understood by the Missionaries

Both the seventeenth century missionaries and the Chamorro took for granted the supernatural's agency in reality.[37] This deceptively similar plane disguised to both the other's complexity. It was in this plane that that each side would attempt to place meanings on the other.[38]

Now, the missionaries' reality assumed both God and Satan's existence and active involvement in the world. Backed by their legions of saints and of demons, they engaged in a very real struggle for men's souls.[39] In the context of the Marianas, the devil was seen as employing all sorts of falsehoods to trick people. His demons disguised themselves as the Chamorro's ancestors, the Ante. With the help of the makahnas, they spread *pataratas*, or hoaxes, using false promises to convince the natives to invoke them for help. With these beliefs, judged by the missionaries as

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[35] Ibid., 23-24, 29

[36] Each party at the encounter had their own axiomatic systems of belief. When faced with each other these hegemonies were articulated into ideologies in order to communicate with the "other". In the missionary case such forms of articulation were tried and tested methods applied from missionary experience abroad. In the Chamorro case, their (mis)use of Spanish terms to refer to their own spirits, and their (mis)use of Chamorro terms to refer to the missionaries and to crosses, would evidence their own struggle to set meaning as they were forced on the spot to articulate their beliefs. Although Both hegemony and ideology functioned in colonialism, the imposition of meaning by the former was a much a deeper colonialism, which structured peoples ways of "seeing and being" See Ibid., 314.

[37] Daniel Reff, 'Jose de Acosta. 2002. Natural and Moral History of the Indies' , book review, *Anthropological Quarterly* , 76:3 (2003), 547.

[38] See Serge Gruzinski, *The conquest of Mexico...*, tr. Eileen Corrigan (Cambridge 1993), 186

[39] Reff, "Predicament of culture"..., 81

almost idolatrous superstitions, the demons would steal the natives' worship and drag their soul into hell.[40]

A long Christian tradition that assumed the universality of their beliefs and that infantilized the *indio,* closed the door to real argument about these definitions. Faced with opposition to its hegemonic tenets, seventeenth century Christianity accounted for much of irreconcilable indigenous complexity by approaching it as a senselessness given sense only by the devil's manipulations.[41] The makahnas were trivialized as tricksters, and native leaders hostile to them were called as agents of the devil.

The missionaries' role in the struggle was as a soldier of God who with his help would overcome the demons.[42] The missionaries' goal was to convince the Chamorro that they were being deceived, and to bring them to the truth. The question is though, how did the missionaries attempt to impose these meanings at the encounter?

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[40] Diaz, *Repositioning the Missionary*…, 123-4; Diego Luis de Sanvitores, Luis de Medina, Luis de Morales, Tomás Cardeñoso, and Lorenzo Bustillo, Islas Marianas, resumen de los sucesos del primer año..., typescript copy, in author's possession, Ledesma Collection, Doc214, 22; Rodrique Levesque, *History of Micronesia: a collection of source documents*, 20 vols (Gatineau, Que´bec 1992 2002), IV, 526, 604; [From here on the *Ledesma Collection* and the *History of Micronesia* will be abbreviated to LC and HM respectively]; Levesque, HM, VI, 606-7; Garcia, The life and martyrdom, LC, Doc255A, 292-3, 303, 400; Pedro, Murillo, SJ, Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compañia de Jesus: Segunda parte... desde el año de 1616 hasta el de 1716, typescript copy, in author's possession, LC, Doc253, 25; Francisco Solano, SJ, Copia de una carta que el P.e Francisco Solano superior de la mission delos Ladrones, ya Marianas, escrivio de dichas Islas a la Ciudad de Manila, photocopy of manuscript, Guam, MARC, ARSI Fil. 13, fol. 84R.

The missionaries' understandings of the Chamorro's ancestor veneration fall into two blocks. The first was defined in Sanvitores' proposals and petitions for support for the mission. In them the Chamorro's reverence was recognized but given a consistently positive light. Sanvitores emphasized that the archipelago did not have sorcerers, pagan priests, rites, idols, or any sort of religion (See Levesque, HM, IV, 266-267). Ancestor veneration itself was an "error" (see ibid., 396) but an error coming from "God's kindness" (ibid.) that would facilitate their understanding of the immortal soul and other Catholic truths.

The missionaries would alter this definition soon after their arrival. Although the islands were confirmed as having no divinities, no religion, and no priests, (See Levesque, HM, V, 71; Sanvitores et al., Noticia de las Islas Marianas de los años de 1670 a 1671, LC, Doc242, 17), ancestor veneration began to be seen as superstitious proximate occasions of idolatry (See Levesque, HM, IV, 592). Although not idolatrous in itself, it had the high risk of inspiring idolatry. This "superstition" was inspired by Devil with the help of his ministers (See Levesque, HM, V, 127; ; Sanvitores et al., Noticia de las Islas Marianas de los años de 1670 a 1671, LC, Doc242, 17).

[41] See Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution*…, I, 27

[42] Dominique Deslandres, 'Exemplo aeque ut verbo: The French Jesuits' missionary world', in John O'Malley, Gauvin Bailey, Steven Harris, and Frank Kennedy (eds.), *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts*, 2 vols (Toronto 1999, 2006), II, 260-1.

The Imposition of Meaning

The key concepts that the missionaries communicated to the Chamorro have been outlined above. They were synthesized from snippets of recounted preaching, as well as Jesuit definitions cross-referenced with accounts of native understandings of Christianity, of which the Jesuits approved. It is safe to assume that oral instruction in the contexts of masses and schools played a big role in the transmission of these meanings. Without surviving catechisms and sermons though,[43] it is difficult to ascertain their actual content and argumentation. In lieu of these texts, descriptions of the visual aids they used, do give insight into how the Jesuits intended to communicate particular ideas across the cultural divide.[44]

In 1671 Sanvitores requested for

> an image . . . of Saint Michael with his scales and sword of flame and, prostrated at his feet, the devil, very ugly and throwing fire from its mouth. Another, of the Guardian Angel . . . in the form of one inducing to hear the doctrine of the fathers in competition with the demons, painted at the other end, pulling and dragging towards the flames...painted below[45]

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[43] Except for that published by Burrus (Burrus, 'San Vitores' grammar and catechism'), which is in Latin. Garcia (Garcia, The life and martyrdom, LC, Doc255A, 282-4.) meanwhile describes in detail Sanvitores' use of visual representations, both artificial and naturally available, in catechism. This recounted mode of proceeding is not found in any source aside from this hagiographic work. Given the primary data available, and knowing the standard use of images during this period (see Burkhart, The Slippery earth, 56; Gruzinski, The conquest of Mexico..., 186), that general practice described was most likely correct. This correctness though is more likely because Garcia was familiar with the standard procedure for missionaries everywhere, rather than because he had actual record of Sanvitores preaching that way.

[44] These statues and images were either made in the Marianas or sent for from overseas (Levesque, HM, VIII, 330). The missionaries carried them along on the trail (Levesque, HM, IV, 389), and stocked their churches with them. The latter is made evident by the references to those stolen or saved during attacks on these churches in Guam in 1676, 1678, and 1684 (See William Repetti, SJ, The death of Father Sebastian Monroy, S.J...., typescript copy, in author's possession, LC, Doc246, 14; William Repetti, SJ, 'Conditions in Guam in 1678', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 32:4 (1947), 433; Levesque, HM, VIII, 204).

There were many obstacles on the way from New Spain to the Marianas (See Levesque, HM, VII, 32, 264, 621; Levesque, HM, IX, 454, 499). There is only limited evidence that specifically requested items did arrive. Nonetheless, these requests reveal the ideas the missionaries found the need to communicate using visual aides. The mission crafted its own figures and images as well, so if the items did not arrive, the Jesuits would have found a way to make do.

[45] Diego Luis de Sanvitores, SJ, Tocante a las Islas Marianas..., typescript copy, in author's possession, LC, Doc136, 6. trans. mine.

With their descriptions and images the missionaries would have been able communicate a certain aesthetic with which to see hostile spirits. It was an aesthetic that no doubt informed later Chamorro visions of "horrible figures in flame".[46] More importantly they would have vividly introduced the two distinct camps of the missionaries' reality: one Christian and one demonic.

Situating the Chamorro in between, the missionaries zeroed in on the natives' working arrangements with the latter camp. Forms of respect given to the ante were understood as "signs of vassalage"[47] enforced by the demons; its practice falling under the general header of superstition.

How they addressed these superstitions seemed to vary in relation to the missionaries' understanding of the logic behind the practice. Those that were seen as simply prohibitions were confronted with very public violation, whether by eating the fish that should not be eaten, or by talking loudly where the "*aniti* prohibited speech".[48] Sometimes this effort also involved their debunking of what they saw as an unfounded belief in cause and effect.[49] To the missionaries these beliefs were rules and laws imposed by the Devil, which the Chamorro needed to be taught to disregard.[50]

Those superstitions that involved natives invoking the ante were confronted with the denouncement of these practices as hoaxes. To the missionaries, help from the demons were ploys by the Devil to trick the Chamorro into worshipping him.[51] The Chamorro needed to be first undeceived, and second convinced that it was only from the Christian God, and by extension his saints, that true help would come. Some missionaries went as far as to explicitly assure divine aid; a risky promise which did not always work out.[52] Useful in their effort to promote reliance on God were the devotions that they sought to introduce among the natives. These devotions were

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[46] (Levesque, HM, IX, 578).

[47] Diego Luis de Sanvitores, SJ, Copia de una carta para el Padre Provincial de la Compañia de Jesus en Philipinas escrita de la Mission de Islas Marianas, acerca de la vida y religiosas virtudes del Padre Luis de Medina..., typescript copy, in author's possession, LC, Doc97, 53.

[48] Ibid., 54-5.

[49] See Levesque, HM, VII, 307; Levesque, HM, X, 178.

[50] Sanvitores, la vida y religiosas virtudes del Padre Luis de Medina, LC, Doc97, 54.

[51] Levesque, HM, IV, 604.

[52] Garcia, The life and martyrdom, LC, Doc255A, 368; Luis de Morales, SJ, Historia de las Islas Marianas..., photocopy of manuscript, in author's possession, LC, Doc135, 77; Sanvitores, la vida y religiosas virtudes del Padre Luis de Medina, LC, Doc97, 85.

supported by devotional figures and images they were shown, and devotional items that the Jesuits circulated.[53]

The Chamorro's ancestral skulls were a recognized impediment to getting them to rely on God. These skulls were central to the invocation of the ante, and were readily present reminders to call on them. Iconoclasm served not only to demonstrate that the ante were powerless, they also took away the islanders' ability to recourse to them.[54] With this same logic they urged islanders to replace their local funeral rites with Christian burials, which prevented the Chamorro from keeping their skulls on hand.[55]

The missionaries also targeted a certain Chamorro fear of ancestor spirits. In the Chamorro context, hostile spirits were likely composed of ancestors with whom the natives had neglected kinship obligations. To the missionaries such complexity was subsumed under the understanding that demons were eager to frighten and to harm the natives, to threaten them away from Christianity.[56] These demons' sometimes appeared in the form of the aniti, or in "various… horrible shapes".[57]. Other times they would possess a native and challenge the missionary with "astute argument[s]".[58] The missionaries met these spirits with distinctly Christian symbols: gestures, objects, or prayers that drove away the demon, or broke his hold over the local.[59]

In expelling these demons, and teaching the natives how to expel them, the missionaries would try to teach the Chamorro that these spirits as a whole were no match for Christianity and that they could be warded off with Christian means. Crosses were important for this purpose. The missionaries made and distributed them, demonstrating to the Chamorro that with these Christian items they could make the demons disappear.[60]

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[53] Levesque, HM, VIII, 330; Levesque, HM, IX, 421, 501; Hezel, conquest to colonization, LC, Doc199, 26; Murillo, Historia de la Provincia, LC, Doc253, 37.

[54] See Levesque, HM, V, 398; Levesque, HM, VII, 307. Iconoclasm would destroy their ability to reproduce meaning.

[55] Levesque, HM, VI, 82.

[56] Levesque, HM, IV, 525; Sanvitores et al., resumen de los sucesos del primer año, LC, Doc214, 22-3.

[57] Levesque, HM, IV, 304-5.

[58] Levesque, HM, VI, 92; In all of its renditions, this case seems to be due more to simple tenacious resistance to the missionaries' ideas than to the alleged supernatural hijacking.

[59] Levesque, HM, VI, 304-5, 341; Sanvitores et al., resumen de los sucesos del primer año, LC, Doc214, 22-3.

[60] Levesque, HM, VI, 305.

Now one should not assume that these methods were used uniformly. Reading the homogeneous front they represented in official accounts, it is easy to forget that their community was composed of Jesuits from a variety of nations and ages, and various areas and lengths of exposure to missions.[61] On the separate question of education for example, they had differing opinions about how children should be brought to schools, what should be taught in these schools, and even if there should be schools at all.[62] Their accounts hint at and sometimes explicitly indicate heterogeneity of practice. The same heterogeneity should be expected in how the missionaries dealt with ancestral veneration.

At the same time their methods should be considered within the bigger picture of evangelization strategy, and the colonial context. On the level of meaning: schools, confessions, exemplars, devotions, and celebrations all served to impose meanings such as of sin, and of heaven and hell. On the material level, the Chamorro experienced intensive population decline and mass migration. A large non-cooperative population would sail to the northern islands, while those who remained were increasingly concentrated into *reducciones*. The growing ratio of missionaries to natives and the civil-military administration's growing political power, situated the Chamorro within an increasingly colonial material reality. This reality's social pressures would further perpetuate imposed Christian meanings.

Possible Models of Their Methods

The methods in which the missionaries articulated their reality had long been crystallized through their community's extensive experience in the New World and in the Philippines. The scattered similarities of these methods with those employed other missions are easy to point out,[63] but understanding the actual connection between such possible references and the methodology carried out in the Marianas is harder to do. Mission accounts are usually mum on the provenances of their methods, unless these were contested or needed to be rationalized. How was their method of addressing native beliefs influenced by their formal educations, exposure to other missions, or adopted missionary manuals? The present work can give a partial answer to this question in relation to the early years of the mission.

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[61] Levesque, HM, IV, 671-676.

[62] Levesque, HM, VI, 562; Levesque, HM, VII, 464; Levesque, HM, IX, 287-88.

[63] See for example Burkhart, *The Slippery earth*, 53-57; John Leddy Phelan, *The hispanization of the Philippines...* (Madison 1959), 53; Jaime Valenzuela Márquez, 'Ambigüedad de la imagen en la cristianización del Perú... ', *Investigaciones sociales*, 10:17 (2006), 494.

In 1666, in a letter to his provincial, Sanvitores cites four references as his guides to the Marianas mission.[64] Of these references it is the *De Procuranda Indorum Salute*, by Fr. José de Acosta SJ that outlines instructions on how to deal with native beliefs.[65]

What part of this manual Sanvitores intended to use though is not clear. The *De Procuranda* is an extensive work. Its six books deal with topics ranging from the governance of *indios* to the administering of sacraments among them. There is no certainty that Sanvitores considered its section on idolatry in particular as relevant. In fact, when he first stated his intention to use the book, he did so before the establishment of the mission. At the time his assessment of the natives' condition was as free from any hint of idolatry. He may have been as yet unaware that he would even need Acosta's instructions on how to deal with it.

Nonetheless, that Sanvitores believed the work to be relevant to the mission as a whole is clear. In 1669, after a year of daily exposure to the Chamorro, he again requests for a copy, in this way indicating its continued relevance.[66]

More importantly for the present study, there is also an intriguing resemblance between Acosta's instructed methods and the methods the Marianas missionaries

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[64] Diego Luis Sanvitores, SJ, Carta del Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, de la Compañia de Jesús, al Padre Domingo Ezquerra, Provincial de Manila..., photocopy of manuscript, Guam, MARC, AHPA 4, Documentos de la Micronesia, Marianas, Parte 4a, Doc.3, E-I-c5[o], 2.

[65] A product of the preoccupations that led to the III Council of Lima (1583-1584), the *De Procuranda* describes the disaster and failures of Christianity in the New World of its time, examining its roots, and prescribing remedies (See Jose de Acosta, SJ, *De Procuranda indorum salute: Educacion y evangelizacion*, 2 vols, ed. Luciano Pereña (Madrid 1984, 1987), II, vii-xi/). It was a missionary manual born in a time of heavy confrontation between Christianity and a persistent local idolatry.

Sanvitores would also indicate his intention to use the compiled letters of St. Francis Xavier as a guide (See also Sanvitores, Carta… al Padre Domingo Ezquerra, Provincial de Manila…, MARC, AHPA 4, Documentos de la Micronesia, Marianas, Parte 4a, Doc.3, E-I-c5[o], 2). He would request for a copy for each member of the mission, and accounts exist of them consulting their copies when confronted by difficult decisions (See Levesque, HM, IV, 537; Sanvitores, la vida y religiosas virtudes del Padre Luis de Medina, LC, Doc97, 100-1).

Other glimpses of applied general models do sometimes appear. In 1682, for example, the mission's superior, Fr. Manuel de Solorzano SJ reported to the Father General that the mission "followed the same methods and proceedings that are used in our missions of the Philippine province... Hence I have introduced them from the beginning of the enterprise" (Levesque, HM, VII, 541, editions mine.). How different Solorzano's methods were from those of the past superiors is not clear. Most of the mission's superiors though had had exposure to the Philippine missions, and probable that evangelical methods used there would have influenced those they applied in the Marianas.

[66] Levesque, HM, IV, 537.

employed. [67] Acosta's advice to keep explanations brief, easy and visual, can be likened to the Marianas missionaries' own use of visual aids in their preaching. His instructions to destroy idols, and to substitute idolatrous rites and recourses with Christian ones, can be compared with the missionaries' destruction of skulls, and their distribution of devotional items. Acosta's advice to reveal the demonic nature of these spirits and to denounce their help as treachery, can be compared with the missionaries' own revelations that the ante were demons disguised as ancestors, and that the help they offered were hoaxes. The only instructions that did not have equivalents in mission accounts are the use of confession to squeeze out information on indigenous beliefs, and the use of violent suppression. Although the latter was seen in the Marianas in later years, it does not surface in seventeenth century accounts.[68]

Throughout the seventeenth century the Marianas missionaries used these methods: the disregarding of taboos, the redirection of invocation, iconoclasm, and the expulsion of demons. All were oriented along a consistent emphasis on the invalidity of ancestral veneration in the face of the universal validity of Christianity. That both methods and their orientation find equivalents in a coherently outlined missionary manual points to their actions as having been a community's systematic approach to an issue, rather than a unplanned amalgamation of individual actions.

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[67] Acosta tells his readers to attempt to expel idolatry from the hearts of the locals, and especially from the hearts of their leaders, by getting their listeners to see for themselves the invalidity of idolatrous beliefs. This invalidity can be demonstrated by attacking idols' artificial natures, and impotence, and by pointing out that these objects have never been able to actually help them. The missionaries were advised keep explanations brief, easy, and visual; repeating them, amplifying them, and appealing to their subjects' own experiences in order to firmly impress those ideas on them.

If the idols actually spoke and threatened, the missionaries were to show the natives that these were deceptions by the devil. They were to explain who the devil was and about his treachery, in order to turn fear of these idols into hate. To further depreciate these idols' worth, they were to present the great difference between these demons and God.

Acosta advised missionaries to focus on the locals' specific superstitions. These beliefs were said to invade all aspects of life, so the locals were to be very carefully questioned to root them out, including during confession, to correct them, and to teach the locals to fear such errors. All representations and vestiges of their inherited superstitions were to be taken and destroyed. Then Christian recourses (holy water, religious images, rosaries, *cirios*, and other things that the church approved of and frequently used) were to be introduced and encouraged to get the people to adhere to Christian practices and to drop their old beliefs. Acosta advised that the use of force, when used with careful judgment, was acceptable among those already Christian. But should not be used among non-Christians unless they scandalized others (Acosta, *De Procuranda*…, , II, 259-277).

[68] Hezel, conquest to colonization, LC, Doc199, 27. It is possible the latter has to do with the vulnerable position of the mission during this century, and their inability at the time to stop people simply fleeing into to the northern islands.

Understanding and Being Understood

But what meaning did the Chamorro give to the missionaries' concepts? In the encounter between two hegemonies the Chamorro would themselves struggle to set meaning, both to articulate and to appropriated it. As proud as the Jesuits were of the islanders' veneration of crosses and their reliance on the missionaries, [69] surviving accounts of the natives terming both as *Macana*, puts things into perspective.[70] The Chamorro's acquisition of crosses for their houses, and their prayers to these crosses, were reminiscent of the invocation of the ante through their skulls. Their promises to attend confessions as a sign of devotion resembled the kinship obligations fulfilled towards ante.[71] Even their invocation of Mary to help protect them from the malignant spirits, should be seen in terms of the Chamorro's invocation of their own ancestral spirits to protect them from the aniti of other clans.[72] The missionaries' ease of connection with the Christian God and his saints, as well as his ability to expel aniti, would have seemed similar to the functions of the makahnas.[73] The Chamorro would also appropriate Christian terms to understand and communicate indigenous realities.

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[69] As discussed earlier they had been distributing these items to encourage devotions, and a reliance on the help from the Christian God. The requests for crosses and their proliferation of the crosses placed on the roofs of houses, was seen as something wonderful to write home about See Levesque, HM, VI, 197.

[70] Levesque, HM, VIII, 247, 460 ; Antonio de Ledesma, SJ, Sucessos de las Isalas Marianas desde el año de 69 hasta el presente de 72, y martyrio del V.e P.e Luis de Medina, photocopy of manuscript, Guam, MARC, ARSI Philip 13, 90L.; Levesque HM, IV, 605.

These understandings or misunderstandings are not surprising considering evidence that the missionaries' use of their crosses they carried as deliberately parallel, if opposing, counterparts to the skulls of the Chamorro. They called the crosses on their walking sticks *babao Dios*, in reference to the *babao* on which the natives put their skulls (Levesque, HM, IV, 605; Solano, carta que el P.e Francisco Solano superior de la mission delos Ladrones, ya Marianas, escrivio de dichas Islas a la Ciudad de Manila…, MARC, ARSI Fil. 13, fol. 85R).

[71] When, with the encouragement of the priests, they kissed the cross and were healed; when they used crosses to scare away malignant spirits; when they carried their nets to the church to pray to a sacred image for fish; all these are reminiscent of the invocation of skulls which they had practiced for most of their lives (Levesque, HM, VI, 304, 443). Their praying to the Lord for a large catch, and for protection from sharks and the risk of their canoes capsizing; their promises to attend confession and communion every feast day of Mary for a year in order to gain her help in curing their illnesses; these things were reminiscent of their invocations of the Ante and the kinship obligations they fulfilled towards them (Levesque, HM, VI, 304; Levesque, HM, IX, 421).

[72] Levesque HM, VI, 221.

[73] As some modern day Chamorro acquaintances have pointed out to me, it is also possible that a neutral definition of *macana* as referring to someone endowed with spiritual energy was held by the Chamorro. And so, as I understand it, by extension their terming of the missionaries as macana was more neutral than particularly indigenous in meaning. I think a deeper examination of the dynamics of Chamorro spirituality than I have done in my work is necessary to truly address this possibility. I place this note to acknowledge the possibility and apologize if I have yet to fully understand it or its implications.

In one incident, a chief used the term "Dioses" to refer to his icons, much to the disquiet of the missionary present. [74]

As a whole, the missionaries did not seem overly concerned by the risk that the Chamorro were learning about crosses, priests, and saints in indigenous rather than Christian ways. In part this had to do with their only partial appreciation that indigenous meanings were assigned to Christian acts. In part it also had to do with the understanding that these Chamorro meanings were not meanings in their own right, but rather errors. As Fr. Gerardo Bouwens SJ would say in 1673,

> As for the divine cult, when they do not disdain it, they observe nothing correctly… Finally, the above and the other vices of the people, are not such that they cannot be easily eradicated, when a Master would make use of religious zeal and the fear of correction to animate and push them by stiffening their nature and leading them slowly but surely toward the cult of God. There is no doubt that in this manner they can become good and fervent Christians[75]

With proper guidance there was nothing that could not be corrected.

This simple dismissal of these understandings and appropriations as error distracts one from the proliferation of meaning at the encounter. Other dismissals of the Chamorro's *unreliable* visions of the supernatural, evidence this proliferation.[76] Various *Christian* visions, even when they referred to "buenos espiritus y de la Santa Virgen"[77] were dismissed for not conforming to the missionaries' standards of believability or reality.

Such standards in the face of a multiplicity of meaning delineated the Christian hegemony. They hint at a more subtle imposition with which the Chamorro would in time be drawn into Christian forms of discourse; a discourse that privileges some

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[74] Levesque HM, IV, 592. The use of the term in Spanish is probable given the missionaries' clear understanding, and even panic at the use of the term, despite its never having been used before by the natives.

[75] Levesque HM, V, 595.

[76] Levesque HM, VI, 93; Sanvitores et al., resumen de los sucesos del primer año, LC, Doc214, 14; Solano, carta que el P.e Francisco Solano superior de la mission delos Ladrones, ya Marianas, escrivio de dichas Islas a la Ciudad de Manila…, MARC, ARSI Fil. 13, fol. 83L.

[77] Sanvitores et al., resumen de los sucesos del primer año, LC, Doc214, 14

criteria of reality over others.[78] As the Chamorro began to offer "legitimate" evidence for their visions "in case he [the priest] might think that they had been dreaming this up"[79] we become conscious of a deeper more crucial struggle for meaning.

Conclusion

The findings of this work allow us to re-evaluate previous assessments of the missionaries' approach as abolition and suppression.[80] At least for the seventeenth century, both were contingent results of an approach that was more concretely structured to impose a definition of invalidity. At the same time, these findings allow us to view methods of addressing ancestor veneration, as discussed individually or in batches by the existing scholarship, within the full set of methods the missionaries consciously employed. It also situates the entirety within a possible systematic logic behind their actions.

Just as importantly though, and perhaps of more significance in the long run, we are able to glimpse through the door into the indigenous dimension that was opened by Vicente Diaz,[81] and by Frank Quimby.[82] Increasingly, we become aware that even as the missionaries and the Chamorro very audibly and visibly struggled for the meanings of ancestor veneration and of Christianity, a quiet and invisible struggle was also taking place for the rules and limits of reality.

Presentation slides begin on the following page.

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[78] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution…*, I, 213

[79] Levesque HM, VI , 112.

[80] Thompson, *Guam and its people…*, [180]; Beardsley, *Guam: Past and Present*, 90.

[81] Diaz, *Repositioning the Missionary…*

[82] Quimby, 'The Hierro commerce…"; Quimby, 'Islands in the stream of empire…'; '

Presentation Slides

Introduction

Sections covered: Ancestral veneration - as understood by the Chamorro. The study of seventeenth century Christianization on the Marianas. Methodology

"Indigenous beliefs" here, limited to ancestral veneration

- Used in this paper to refer to beliefs that the missionaries perceived as religious in nature (described as superstitious or proto-idolatrous in their texts) i.e. ancestor veneration.

"Extension of basic human relationships from this world to the supernatural world"[1]

- **Ancestral veneration**
  as understood by *17th century Chamorro*[2]
  - Human in their interaction with the living.
  - Skulls central to communication with them
  - Makannas: spiritual leaders attuned to these spirits
  - Variations between spirits: depended on degrees of familiarity between these spirits and the living

[1] Cunningham 1992, 69.
[2] Cunningham 1992, 69, 182, 184; Bevacqua, 2012

17th century Christianization

Recounting and assessment of events

Socio-political reality

Sullivan 1957
Carano & Sanchez 1964
Hezel 1982, n.d.
Hezel and Driver 1988
Rogers 1995
De Viana 2004

Evangelization Process

Thompson 1947
Beardsley 1964
Diaz 2010

Critique of meaning

Diaz 2010
Coello 2010, 2011
Quimby 2011, 2012
Bevacqua 2010

Schumacher 2001
Tueller 2001
Hezel 2005
Bevacqua 2010

Ancestral Veneration
Thompson 1947
Beardsley 1964
Hezel 2005
Bevacqua 2010

Gap

Missionary method and meaning

- **Encounter: Composed of both participants**
  - Only with a full understanding can we question the ways in which colonial hegemony holds sway.
- **Need: To directly ask and answer:**
  - *How did the 17th century Jesuit missionaries to the Marianas address native beliefs?*

Scope and limits

- Missionary focus, positioned within the presence of alternative meanings
- 1668 to 1698
- Seventeenth century sources
- Sources available in English and Spanish

Methods

- Cross-referencing & Synthesis, followed by contextualization
- Keeping the ff in mind:
  - Missionary texts are only the 'residue' of a dynamic interaction between two independent cultural realities.[1]
  - In trying to traverse the gap between realities, the missionaries perceptions were governed by the contingent factors of their own contexts.[2]

[1] Burkart 1969, 182.
[2] Peel 1994, 52.

Body

Sections covered: Ancestral veneration - as understood by the missionaries. The imposition of meaning, possible models of their methods. Understanding and being understood.

Perception: a senselessness given sense by the Devil

- Deceptively similar understanding of supernatural's agency in reality.
  - This axiom was the plane on which both sides attempted to place meaning on the other.[1]
- God and Satan's active struggle for souls
  - Devil employed falsehoods to trick people into worshipping him.
  - Door was closed to real argument due to long Christian tradition assuming the universality of their beliefs, and infantilizing the *indio*.

(Reff 2000, 247; Gruzinski 1992, 106)

Imposition of meaning - Describing

- Oral instruction
  - Context of masses, schools, celebrations etc.
- Visual aids
  - Given limited surviving catechism and sermons, these give us insight into particular ideas and how they were communicated.

"an image… of Saint Michael

with his scales and sword of flame… prostrated at his feet, the devil, very ugly and throwing fire from its mouth. Another, of the Guardian Angel… inducing to hear the doctrine of the fathers in competition with the demons, painted at the other end, pulling and dragging towards the flames… painted below" [1]

Diego Luis de Sanvitores, SJ, Records ... ; typescript copy, in author's possession, LC, Doc156, ... ; The image is a modern image of similar theme used on the labels in bottles of gin in the Philippines. Taken from http://...blogspot.com/2012/01/...-demonyo-ginebra-san-miguel.html

Imposition of meaning – Discrediting & Replacement

- Public Disregarding of Taboos
  - To the missionaries these beliefs were rules and laws imposed by the Devil which the Chamorro needed to be taught to disregard.[1]
- Denouncement of invocation as hoaxes
  - The Chamorro needed to be first undeceived and second convinced that it was from the Christian God that true help would come.
  - Useful: devotions introduced among them.[2]

Sanvitores, ..., Doc9?, ...
Levesque, HM, VIII, ...; Levesque, HM, IX, 421–...; Hezel, conquest to colonization, LC, Doc1??, ...; Murillo, Historia de la Provincia, LC, Doc..., ...

Imposition of meaning - Decontextualization

- Iconoclasm
  - Skulls: central to invocation: a readily present reminders to call on the ante.
  - Intent:
    - To take away ability to recourse to them (the ability to reproduce meaning)[1]
    - To demonstrate the ante's powerlessness

[illegible]

Imposition of meaning – Discrediting

- Expulsion and Exorcisms
  - Complexity of kinship obligations, subsumed under assumption that demons wanted to frighten Chamorro away from Christianity.[1]
  - In expelling and teaching the natives how to expel, the missionaries aimed to show that their spirits as a whole were no match for Christianity, and could be warded off with Christian means.[2]

[illegible]

Heterogeneous in application

- With schools (an example), Jesuit opinions differed on:[1]
  - How children should be brought to schools
  - What should be taught in the schools
  - If there should be schools at all

[1] Leveque, HM, VI, 552; Leveque, HM, VI, 454; Leveque, HM, IX, 281-482.

Consider these methods within the bigger picture of evangelization strategy

- Meaning:
  - Schools, confessions, exemplars, devotions, and celebrations
  - Concepts of sin, end of heaven and hell

Consider these methods within the bigger picture of evangelization strategy

- Material:
  - Growing ratio of missionaries to Chamorro
  - Civil-military administration's growing political power
  - Increasingly hispanized colonial material reality
  - A reality whose pressures further perpetuated imposed Christian meanings

Acosta's *De Procuranda*, a manual for the early mission

- Considered relevant to the mission[1]
  - Explicit intention to use it as a guide for the mission as a whole
  - Requested for it twice, the second time after a year in the Marianas
- What section Sanvitores intended to use: not clear

[1]Sanvitores, et al. [illegible], AHPA 4, Documentos della Micronesia, [illegible]; Levesque, HM, IV, 537.

Resemblance of Acosta's instructions to Marianas missionary methods

- Keep explanations brief, easy, and visual
- Destroy idols and substitute idolatrous rites and recourses with Christian ones
- Reveal demonic nature of these spirits, and denounce their help as treachery
- Use confession to squeeze out information on their beliefs
- Violent suppression permissible among those who are Christian or who scandalize Christians

A community's systematic approach to an issue

- Approach:
  - Consistent emphasis on the invalidity of ancestral veneration in the face of the universal validity of Christianity
- Methods:
  - Disregarding taboos
  - Redirection of invocation
  - Iconoclasm
  - Expulsion of demons

Chamorro imposition and appropriation of meaning[1]

- Use of the term *Macana* for crosses and missionaries
- Christian terms used for Chamorro realities

[1]Levesque, HM, VII: 287, 463; de Ledesma, MARC, ARSI Philip 13, 90L; Levesque HM IV, 592, 605.

Chamorro meanings understood as errors

"are not such that they cannot be easily eradicated, when a Master would make use of religious zeal and the fear of correction... leading them slowly but surely toward the cult of God. There is no doubt that in this manner they can become good and fervent Christians"[1]

[1]Levesque HM V, [illegible]; image from http://www.[illegible]/sites/default/files/[illegible]-making-memories.jpg

Meaning proliferated at the encounter

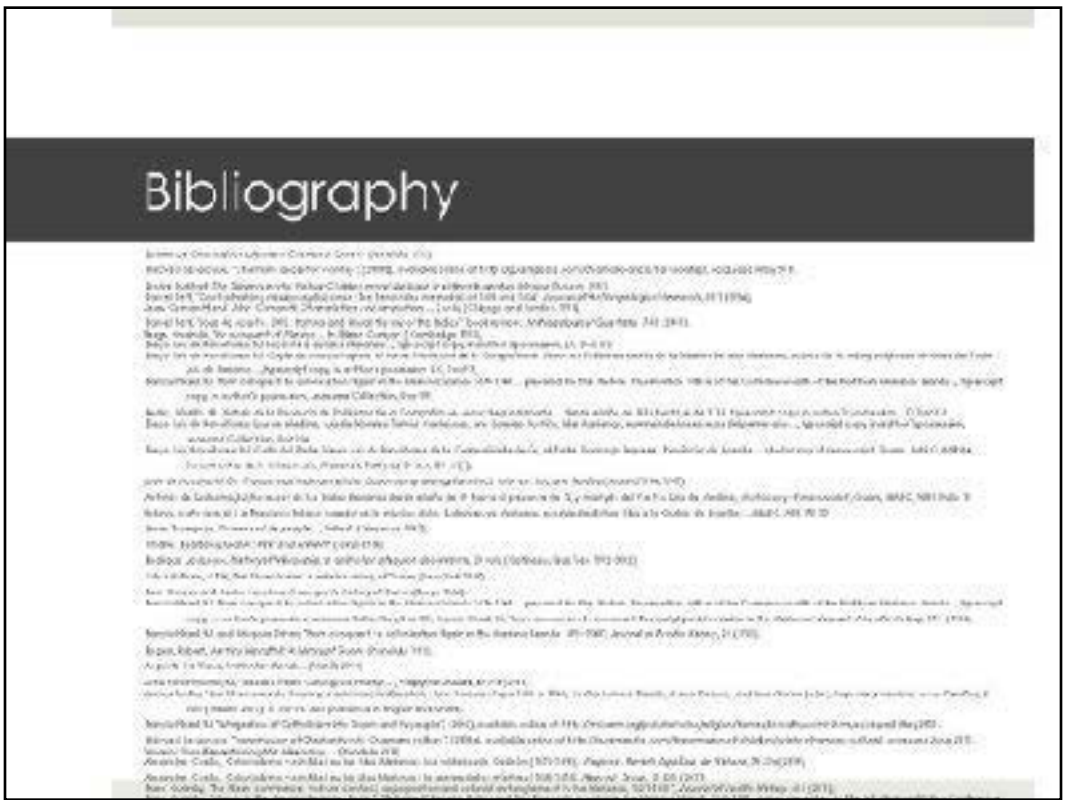
- Dismissals of Chamorro's unreliable visions of the supernatural evidence this.[1]
  - Dismissed for not conforming to the missionaries' standards of believability
- These standards were a subtle imposition drawing the Chamorro into Christian forms of discourse
  - Began to offer legitimate evidence "in case he [priest] might think that they had been dreaming this up"[2]

1. Levesque HM, VI, 79; Sanvitores et al., LO, Dec 2 14, 14; [illegible]
2. Levesque HM, VI, 112.

Conclusion

- Findings allow for reevaluation of previous assessments of approach as abolition and suppression.[1]
- Allow methods as discussed individually or in batches by existing scholarship, within a full set employed and within a possible systematic logic involved.
- Allow a glimpse into the indigenous dimension.

1. Thompson, Guam and its People ...; Beardsley, Guam Past and Present, 70.



Nicholas Michael Sy is an MA History student from the Jesuit-run Ateneo de Manila. He worked briefly at the National Historical Commission of the Philippines and has just completed a year-long research grant from the Spanish Ministry of Culture on the Jesuit mission in the Marianas. His interest in the mission began when he encountered several large boxes of documents at the Jesuit Archives in Manila. These papers turned out to be the sources and drafts towards the Positio for Sanvitores' beatification. His continuing research has resulted in countless hours in libraries and archives in the Philippines and in Guam.

Note: This work is a much revised and expanded version of a study funded by the Spanish Program for Cultural Cooperation in 2010-2011. It was presented at this conference with the support of the Philippine Social Science Council, and of the Office of the Dean of the School of Social Science of the Ateneo de Manila University.

The Early Spanish Period in the Marianas, 1668-1698

Eight Theses

By Francis Hezel, SJ
Former Director
Micronesian Seminar
fxhezel@gmail.com

Abstract: *The presentation offers another look at the conflict during the early mission period in the late 17th century. It explores the real causes of conflict, as well as the divided response by local people. It also takes up the question of the changes in the composition of the Spanish garrison and how the troops in the garrison had also become victims of an emerging colonial structure. It will also offer a tally of the casualties over a 30-period of the deaths of Chamorros and Spaniards. Overall, the point of the presentation is to offer a new perspective on this much debated period of initial sustained contact in the Marianas and in the Pacific as a whole.*

After reviewing the early sources once again, I have just completed a monograph offering a reinterpretation of the period. This will be submitted to the Northern Marianas HPO for publication as a companion piece for my booklet, From Conquest to Colonization, published in 1989 and republished in 2000.

The 30-year period described in the booklet cannot be understood unless we see the dynamics involved through this period. History is by definition dynamic and changing. In my publication I hope to capture some of these dynamics how things changed and why even during this short period of time.

Since I cannot hope to offer a complete presentation of this new piece, let me simply present a few thoughts in the form of theses.

1) San Vitores brought no military troops with him in 1668, only mission helpers. San Vitores believed that the presence of a military guard would compromise his message of peace. For this reason, he resisted demands to bring a military guard. Instead he chose 31 mission helpers, including 19 Filipinos and 12 Mexicans, for their good lives and the skills that could be used for community development.

The Filipinos included two survivors from the Concepcion, a galleon wrecked off Saipan years earlier, who were to serve as interpreters for the mission party. The Filipinos ranged in age from a 60-year old farmer to a 12-year old boy who was a singer. They included a stone mason, a carpenter, and persons who could serve as teachers in the schools he hoped to open.

The group were to give witness through their Christian lives and to teach skills to the people. Only secondarily was this group to serve as a militia if necessary. Initially, they were equipped with only three or four muskets. Some of the others had bows and arrows.

2) **The cause of initial conflict may have been Choco's stories about baptismal water and the missionaries' resistance to the ancestral worship, but conflict soon centered on personal insults that was fueled by village rivalries.**
The tale that the waters of baptism were killing children was widespread during the early years, according to the mission accounts. Children who were baptized did, in fact, die at a high rate because they would have been in danger of death for the missionaries to baptize them. Choco's tales about the poison waters of baptism may have had a little more impact in the northern islands, but they really didn't have much staying power, except perhaps among people who had no real contact with the missionaries. After the first year or two, the stories are seldom mentioned in missionary letters.

The missionary campaign aimed at smashing the skulls of ancestors and destroying the shrines to the aniti, or spirits, created more serious problems for the missionaries. This was a crucial point of conflict between the Jesuits and the local people because the destruction of these shrines: 1) seemed to oppose the respect paid to ancestors; 2) attacked deeply held religious beliefs in the efficacy of the ancestors in providing assistance to the living in time of need; 3) threatened the social status of the makanas, who often spoke for the ancestors (as they did in other Micronesian cultures). The makanas, or sorcerers, would have been strong forces in resisting Christianity. It's worth noting that the trouble which broke out on Guam in 1671 was attributed by Garcia to the destruction of the shrines to aniti rather than to poison water stories.

Most of the hostility was generated by personal offense, as was true everywhere in the Pacific. This could include personal insults, but could also include revenge for relatives killed by the Spanish or for property destroyed by the troops. Other people with kin

or other ties to those with grievances against the Spanish were drawn into the conflict. [On Guam in 1671, the arrest of key figures in Agana for the murder of the Mexican boy escalated the reaction of local people.]

In later years, as the composition of the militia changed, reasons for conflict would have included abuses by the soldiers, perhaps extorting food or material possessions from them or making sexual advances toward the women.

All this would be compounded by the inter-village rivalries in the islands: "The enemy of my friend is my enemy", and vice versa.

3) **The policy of Spanish retaliation escalated through the 1670s, only easing up in 1680 and afterwards.**
During the first years of the mission, San Vitores tried to carry out his work without military protection. After the early outbreaks of violence, however, he had members of his "militia" accompany priests to the villages. He believed that the mere presence of the troops would serve to deter attacks on the missionaries. San Vitores seemed ready to pardon the wrongdoers rather than exact justice. No attempt was made to retaliate for the deaths of mission personnel.

By 1674, with the arrival of a new commander, the Spanish take the position that matters will only get worse unless they seek out the wrongdoers and punish them. At first, the Spanish retaliate whenever one of their number is killed, lest the local people think that they can kill with impunity. Then, the retaliation occurs whenever there is an outbreak of violence in a village, regardless whether lives are lost. Soon, the Spanish begin marching on villages that are thought to be resisting Spanish claims to authority, especially those harboring criminals. As this retaliatory policy was carried out, Chamorro resistance seems to have broken down.

By the late 1670s, villages had begun freely handing over "criminals" to the Spanish, sometimes killing these men themselves before handing over their heads to the Spanish. The villages on Guam were politically divided, as always, and their conflict with one another could be legitimized under the new Spanish law making it a crime to harbor a criminal wanted by the Spanish.

4) By 1680, after only twelve years of Spanish presence, the reduction of the Guam population into seven towns was achieved. This was as much due to the cultural attraction of town life as it was to Spanish force.
The Spanish certainly encouraged the people from small hamlets to move into the larger villages, if only to be closer to the church. The Spanish exercised a certain push, as they rounded up people and moved them into town.

But there was also a pull for local people. The attractions included titled positions of authority bestowed on Chamorro leaders, and land in town as well as the right to continue farming their land outside. Once islanders were assured they would not lose their land, they were more easily persuaded to move to town. New crops (especially corn) were introduced and livestock and farm animals as well. Cotton was woven to make clothes and tobacco was grown to be smoked and used as currency.

5) The composition of the military changed for the worse even as their poverty increased, leading to morale problems and abuses on the local population.
The militia of San Vitores might be described as mission helpers more than soldiers. But the composition of the garrison soon changed. As the number of troops grew from the mid-1670s on, many of the new troops were recruited on shipboard. Some were convicts assigned to prison in the Philippines. They were adventurer types, many from Mexico, trying to make a future for themselves in the Spanish colonies abroad.

As the number of troops increased, so did their poverty they were paid a fraction of the salary due them as the force outstripped the number of paid positions (plazas) and as governors chose to pay them off in inflated material rather than in cash. The troops, for their part, began preying on the islanders, even as they chased island women. Their behavior became more of a problem from the mid-70s on, worsened in the 80s (at least if we are to believe Quiroga), and continued to be something of a problem throughout the pacification of the islands. "The scum of the earth" is what one missionary called them.

6) The local population was divided from the beginning over support for the Spanish missionaries, but by the late 1670s, as the Spanish troops went on the offensive, the majority of those on Guam swung to the side of the Spanish.
By the late 1670s, villages had begun freely handing over "criminals" to the Spanish, sometimes killing these men themselves before handing over their heads to the Spanish. The villages on Guam were politically divided, as always, and their conflict

with one another could be legitimized under the new Spanish law making it a crime to harbor a criminal wanted by the Spanish.

The attractive features of the new settlements and the conversion of many to the faith also helped tilt the balance on Guam. The same thing would happen on Rota, and eventually on Saipan as well.

By the mid-1680s, the size of the Chamorro militia under the four Chamorro officers who sided with the Spanish was greater than the size of the colony's Spanish garrison.

7) **The loss of Chamorro life in hostilities throughout the course of the "Chamorro-Spanish Wars" was less than the loss suffered in a single epidemic.**
The number of Chamorro deaths in battle reported in the Spanish accounts is 57, but there are probably about 110-120 Chamorro lives lost in hostilities over a 30-year period. This would average out to 4 a year throughout the entire period 1668-1699.

The Spanish would have lost 12 Jesuits and 26 mission helpers, in addition to some soldiers throughout the same period. The death count for the Spanish party averaged out to about two a year.

By comparison, a single epidemic in 1689, with colds, stomach aches, fever and diarrhea, claimed more than 166 lives before the end of the year. This is more than the number of Chamorro lives claimed during the hostilities with the Spanish throughout the entire 30-year period.

It is clear that the depopulation of the Marianas during this period was due far more to epidemics spread by European ships than to the muskets and swords of the Spanish.

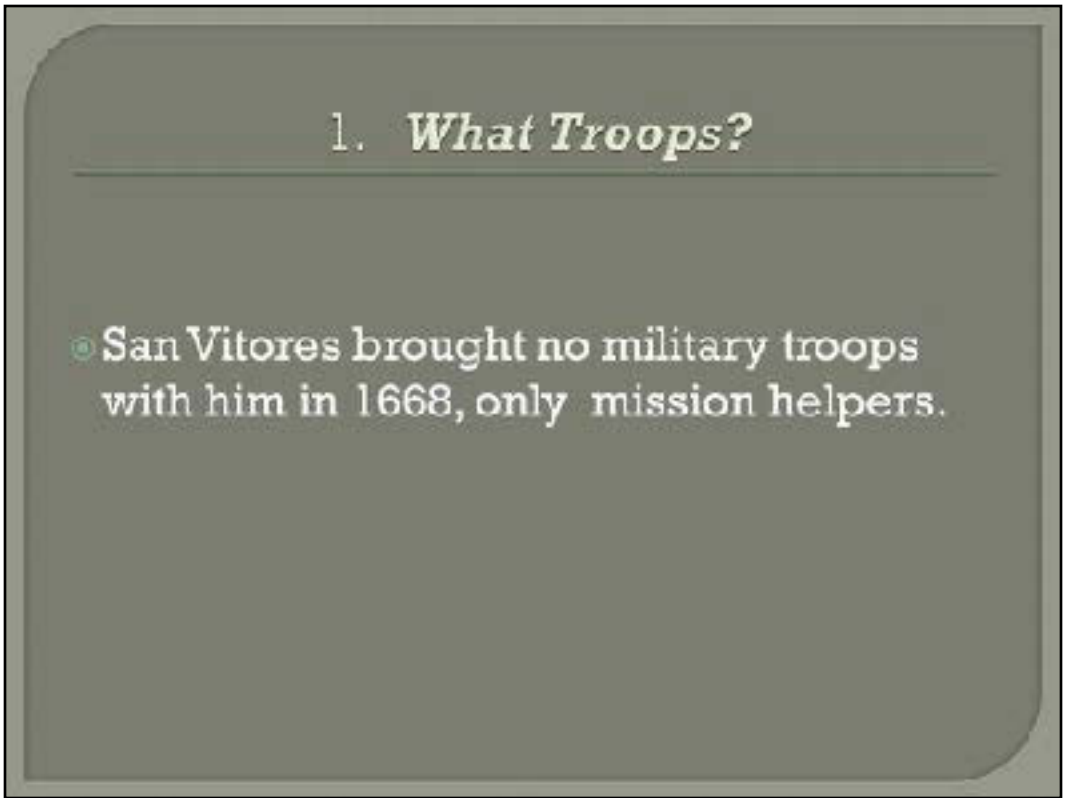
8) **The worst indignities suffered by Chamorros may have occurred after warfare ended as the governor gained control of the economy and turned it to his personal benefit.**
The real sins of the Spanish during their early mission initiative in the Marianas were not the spectacular sort that have so often been attributed to them massive bloodletting, Inquisition-like torments for forcing islanders to accept the faith, and cruel punishments for refusal to submit to the Spanish yoke. The most serious damage

occurred as the governors began to gain a choke-hold on the economy and turn the subsidy intended to support the colony into a personal investment fund.

As violence subsided after 1684, Spanish officials began to exercise an authority that often reduced local villagers and Spanish troops alike to the status of household servants. This had a debilitating effect on the colony and its people for years.

Presentation slides begin on the following page.

Presentation Slides



2. *Why the Trouble?*

The cause of initial conflict may have been Choco's stories about baptismal water… and the destruction of ancestral skulls…

But conflict mostly centered on personal insults fueled by village rivalries.

3. *Spanish on the Attack*

- The Spanish only began fighting back after 1672.
- Retaliation escalated in the late 1670s, but eased up in 1680 and afterwards.

4. *Beginning of the Towns*

- By 1680, only 12 years after the Spanish arrived, the Guam population was concentrated into seven towns.
- This was as much due to the attraction of town life as to Spanish force.

5. *Changing Military*

- The composition of the military changed greatly…
- And they were becoming poorer…
- So their abuse of the local people increased.

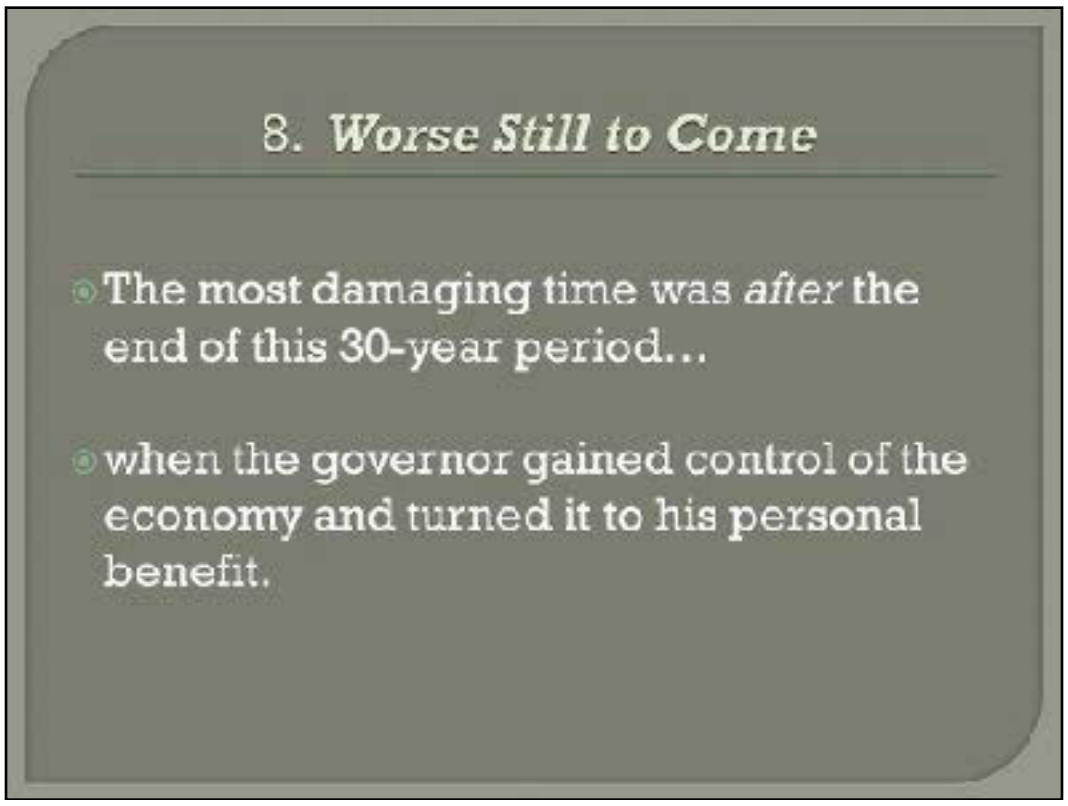
6. *Which Chamorros?*

- Right from the start the Chamorro people were divided…
  - because of village rivalry…
  - and because of response to Spanish missionaries.

By the late 1670s, most of the people on Guam supported the Spanish.

7. *Loss of Life in the "Wars"*

- The loss of life in battle throughout the 30 years of "Spanish-Chamorro Wars"…
  - was about 120 Chamorros and 60 Spanish
  - was less than the loss in a single flu epidemic



Francis Hezel is the former director of Micronesian Seminar and the author of several books on Micronesian history, as well as dozens of articles on economic and political issues in contemporary Micronesia.

The Mariana Islands Militia and the Establishment of the "Pueblos de Indios"

Indigenous Agency in Guam from 1668 to 1758

By David Atienza, PhD
Professor of Anthropology
University of Guam
datienza@uguam.uog.edu

Abstract: *After the death of Blessed Diego Luis de San Vitores, an intermittent and violent conflict broke out in the Mariana Islands. Centuries later this conflict would be baptized as the "Spanish-Chamorro wars". The ethnohistory of the Chamorros traditionally has been considered closed after the defeat of the native forces in 1684 and the final "reducciones" and pacification of the Gani islands at the end of the 17th century. In this paper, I will present some elements that I consider to prove the socio-political continuity of indigenous agency beyond the final Christianization and "Hispanicization" of the island.*

In making apologetics of the missionary activity, the seventeenth and eighteenth century Marianas' Jesuitical historiography[1] will present the near total assimilation of Christianity by the 'poor' Chamorro as a historical fact. This stereotype of the 'poor' Chamorro as eligible, submissive, and ready to receive the Gospel, will be used later by other colonial powers, enemies and rivals of the Spanish Crown, as we have argued before[2], to discredit the Spanish missionary activity, portraying it as violent and fanatic. Some persons labeled the Spanish activity in the Marianas as a 'scandal' [3] that erased the indigenous population, replacing it with a 'mestizo' and abandoned population[4]. This narrative will deny the historical continuity of the Chamorro agency that is fundamental to legitimate the ancestral rights of an actual native population.

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[1] García, *Vida y martyrio del padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, de la Compañia de Jesus, primer apostol de las islas Marianas y sucessos de estas islas*.; LeGobien, *Histoire des isles Mariannes, nouvellement converties à la Religion Chretienne; & de la mort glorieuse des premiers Missionnaires qui yont prêché la Foy;* Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la provincia de Philipinas de la Compañia de Jesus. Segunda parte. Desde el año de 1616 hasta el de 1716.*

[2] Atienza, "La evangelización de las 'pobres' islas Marianas y su uso simbólico en Occidente."

[3] Joseph and Murray, *Chamorros and Carolinians of Saipan*, 11.

[4] Hornbostel, "The Island of Guam and Its People's Tragic History," 80.

Current historiography has coped, in some cases, with this vision of a lack of 'original' inhabitants and a lack of 'authentic' cultural practices[5] placing the origin of this 'absence' of indigenous Chamorro in events like the "Spanish-Chamorro Wars" of extermination[6] and the 'Spanish Genocide' [7], ideas widely popularized by some school manuals in Guam[8]. During this process, some stereotyped narratives have been generated. In them, the Spaniards exterminated 'real' Chamorros after a heroic resistance and substituted them by a mixed hispanicized population. These Manichaean structures threaten the 'emic' self-comprehension of the Chamorro people, endangering their self-history and self-identity that is surely much more complex and dynamical.

Without a doubt, the colonial impact was tragic for the inhabitants of the Marianas, taking the lives of more than 90% of the population by epidemics, violent conflicts, displacement, *reducciones* policies, or lack of births. Nevertheless, this catastrophic contact did not create a passive and submissive population that was totally in the hands of the colonial power. A detailed ethno-historical analysis of the socio-political dynamics of the Mariana Islands invites us to think differently. We find native people making decisions and playing unexpected roles; we find an indigenous agency and a continuity of the Chamorro cultural experience. This concept of continuity makes obsolete the debate on 'authenticity' [9] since there is not a total break with pre-colonial past but a continuous identity that may be reconstructed historically, identifying the pre-colonial elements and the process that has generated actual symbolical structures[10].

Natives of the Marianas, like other indigenous people who faced similar violent colonial processes, were capable of assuming an active historical role incorporating and re-semanticizing previous elements of the contact in a new colonial scenario. In such a way, they gave continuity to a vital experience[11] giving birth to a new way of being in the world, original and owned by the indigenous themselves. This is to say that they indigenized European practices and westernized indigenous elements in a

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[5] Alkire, *An introduction to the peoples and cultures of Micronesia*, 20; Dobbin, *Summoning the Powers Beyond*, 12.

[6] Beardsley, *Guam Past and Present*, 133.

[7] Carano and Sanchez, *A Complete History of Guam*, 17.

[8] i.e. Cunningham and Beaty, *A History of Guam*, 94–108; Sanchez, *Guahan Guam*, 37–45.

[9] see Underwood, "Excursions into Inauthenticity; the Chamorros of Guam."

[10] i.e. Atienza and Coello, "Death Rituals and Identity in Contemporary Guam (Mariana Islands)."

[11] Wilde, "Poderes del ritual y rituales del poder," 204.

complex historical dialogue. The Mariana natives' denial of this capacity of indigenous agency, in spite of the violence of the contact, is a response to a conscious or unconscious ideological strategy. In any case, this denial of indigenous agency threatens objectivity, which is a requirement for social science studies.

Some examples of this strategy are the "Spanish-Chamorro Wars" (1672-1698) and the subsequent 'reduction' policies; processes, which were supposed ethically 'good' or 'evil', are historically well separated and classified. Spaniards is equal to evil; Chamorro is equal to good. However, the reality is much more complex, and sides were not so easily defined. Among the "Spaniards" who arrived to Guam in 1668, more than half of the troops and catechists were Filipinos, many of them Pampangan and Visayan. In fact, the captain of the troops during the early years was a married Filipino blacksmith, not a professional soldier, by the name of Juan de la Cruz Panday,[12] and one of the first catechists to die a martyr was a Cebuano named Calungsod. Among these "Spaniards" were also some from New Spain, Mexico, probably mostly *mestizos*. There were also some peninsular, men from the Iberian Peninsula or Castilians. The first priests were nearly all Castilians, but soon Jesuits began arriving from Belgium, Italy, France and Bohemia. The term "Spaniard" was soon expanded to include even the children of those Filipinos, Mexicans or Castilians who married local women.

Finally, several Chamorros had fought side by side with the 'Spaniards'. These Chamorro soldiers were fundamental for the survival of the colony. The existence of more than a few *'indios amigos'* – friendly Indians among the Christian troops reveals the lack of a centralized power or sense of central identity, and the political fragmentation involving indigenous clans who were probably fighting against each other for better access to power and resources.

For the Jesuitical chronics, the indigenous support was basically caused by sincere ascription to the truths of faith, but probably the alignment of some indigenous with the Europeans interests was more related with inter-ethnic dynamics and the political fragmentation of the clans. Already in 1521, Pigafetta[13] showed his surprise at the lack of indigenous solidarity when, after the killing of seven Chamorro natives, several other Chamorros continued friendly trading with the Spaniards. Meanwhile, on the shoreline, the family of the Chamorro victims cursed and cried for the deaths of their loved ones. Juan Pobre de Zamora mentioned the lack of central power and structure

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[12] A description of the helpers than arrived with San Vitores may be found in ANH 09-02676-04

[13] *Primer Viaje Alrededor Del Mundo*, 233.

and a paramount chief. Even in the religious sphere a lack of centralization existed.[14] Garcia noted that while the Jesuits were burning idols, "other Marianos, who were looking on, laughed also, for not all of them venerate the skulls of their ancestors and cared less when the fathers told them that their souls were burning in hell."[15]

This general fragmentation or lack of central power allowed for individuals or chiefs and clan heads to make freelance alliances. We have several cases of indigenous chiefs establishing coalitions with the colonial forces. The first is Quipuha, principal of Agatna[16] who gave part of his land to build the first permanent mission. He was baptized as Juan 'in honor of Saint John the Baptist, patron Saint of that island [Guam].' Juan Quipuha received the honor reserved solely for people of noble birth 'to be buried in the church, since he had given the ground on which the first church was built."[17] Don[18] Juan Quipuha died six months after the arrival of Diego Luis de San Vitores without experiencing the revolts and fights that followed the death of the proto-martyr. Nevertheless, his clan remained loyal to the missionaries.

Antonio Jaramillo, in a letter to the King of Spain dated on December 20, 1680, explains the appointment of another Chamorro *principal*, Don Antonio Ayihi, as captain of 'one part of the mountains' and 'was invested with a baton' [19] as sign of his office. Ayihi 'granted other indians with the grade of squad corporals for him', and together they 'patrolled the land capturing enemies'.[20] Other Marianos imitated this action and finally the Governor of the Filipinas, D. Juan de Vargas, granted one of the highest military degrees to Don Antonio Ayihi, the title of *Maestre de Campo de los*

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[14] Martinez Perez, *Fray Juan Pobre De Zamora*, 446.

[15] García, *The Life and Martyrdom of the Venerable Father Diego Luis De Sanvitores of the Society of Jesus, First Apostle of the Mariana Islands and the Happenings in These Islands from the Year of One Thousand Six Hundred and Sixty-Eight, to That of One Thousand Six Hundred and Eighty-One*, 188.

[16] Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la provincia de Philipinas de la Compañia de Jesus. Segunda parte. Desde el año de 1616 hasta el de 1716*, Libro IV:10.

[17] García, *The Life and Martyrdom of the Venerable Father Diego Luis De Sanvitores of the Society of Jesus, First Apostle of the Mariana Islands and the Happenings in These Islands from the Year of One Thousand Six Hundred and Sixty-Eight, to That of One Thousand Six Hundred and Eighty-One*, 188.

[18] The title of 'Don' was reserved exclusively to noble people so it recognizes the nobility of the indigenous that use that term. According to the Spanish law principal and nobles indigenous were exempt from paying taxes or military service.

[19] This was already a traditional symbol of power that the Chamorros integrated perfectly. According to Freycinet, "[…] *tinas*, sticks or staffs painted and then encircled at the top with plant filaments and long strips of palm-leaf something like that phallus of the pagans in ancient times. These staffs were carried about during the native festivals as symbols of debauchery in the *ulitaos*" Freycinet, *An Account of the Corvette l'Uraine's Sojourn at the Mariana Islands, 1819*, 33.

[20] Letter of Antonio Jaramillo to the King, Manila, December 20, 1680. (CITA)

indios[21], a recognition that the King of Spain himself later confirmed as "*Maestre de Campo y Teniente de Governador y Capitan General de los suyos*"[22] - *Maestre de Campo* and Lieutenant Governor and Captain General of their own. Many governors, such as Saravia or Esplana, honored him, and he resided at the garrison with the rest of the troops[23]. Don Antonio Ayihi's furnishment of provisions to the garrison during the revolt of Agualin is an exemplary incident demonstrating the fundamentality of Ayihi for the survival of the colony. Ayihi himself entered into combat shoulder to shoulder with the colonial forces and collaborated in the epic conquest and conflagration of Picpuc and Talofofo at the end of 1678[24]. Don Antonio Ayihi's death on April 15, 1701 was a moment of bereavement for the Spaniards. All made a procession of homage, the captains of the garrison carrying the body aloft, the remainder of the village following, and Don Josè Quiroga y Losada at the front. The people carried out the burial with great solemnity[25].

Don Alonso Soon participated in the battle of Picpuc and Talofofo alongside Ayihi. The Spaniards proclaimed Alonso as *Principal y Sargento Mayor de Indios de los Partidos de Agat y Umatac*[26] - Principal and Master Sergeant of the Indians of the Districts of Agat and Umatac. García[27] mentions that the 'criminals' so greatly hated and feared Don Alonso Soon that 'when they heard someone say, "Soon says it", they obeyed and kept quiet'. Even José Quiroga came to send Alonso Soon to lead eight troops in an exploratory journey to the Carolina Islands in 1689.[28]

In order to regulate the Marianas militia and political organization of the *partidos* and *reducciones'*, and also to incorporate the clan structure of the native Chamorros in the

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[21] This grade existed between the offices of Captain General and Master Sergeant. This officer was responsible of a whole *Tercio* in the battlefield. More or less, 3000 infantry soldiers comprised this military unit, the *Tercio*.

[22] ARSI Phil 14 f80 Informe anual Jesuita 1689-1690 por Pr. Bustillo también en Levesque Vol 9 pp. 396-409.

[23] García, *The Life and Martyrdom of the Venerable Father Diego Luis De Sanvitores of the Society of Jesus, First Apostle of the Mariana Islands and the Happenings in These Islands from the Year of One Thousand Six Hundred and Sixty-Eight, to That of One Thousand Six Hundred and Eighty-One*, 481.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la provincia de Philipinas de la Compañia de Jesus. Segunda parte. Desde el año de 1616 hasta el de 1716*, Libro IV:351 355.

[26] ARSI Phil 14 fol77 Informe anual de los Jesuitas 1689-1690 Pr. Bustillo.

[27] García, *The Life and Martyrdom of the Venerable Father Diego Luis De Sanvitores of the Society of Jesus, First Apostle of the Mariana Islands and the Happenings in These Islands from the Year of One Thousand Six Hundred and Sixty-Eight, to That of One Thousand Six Hundred and Eighty-One*, 481.

[28] Hezel and Driver, "From Conquest to Colonisation," 147.

colonial system, the Captain General D. Antonio de Saravia convened the chiefs and '*principales*' of Guam in Agatna in 1681. A pompous military performance, composed of salutes, parading about, a solemn religious ceremony of processions, chants and speeches expounding upon the loyalty due to God and the King of Spain, Saravia installed an oath of fidelity for the principal heads of the clans of the Chamorros. After the oath, the chiefs would be granted the offices of *Maestres de Campo*, Captains, Second Lieutenant, and Bailiffs - *Maestres de Campo, Capitanes, Alféreces y Alguaciles*[29] and receive different signs confirming and displaying their power and responsibility. In this way, the indigenous structure of power was re-semanticized in colonial terms, integrating all structures into a new system. The traditional structure will not disappear, but will be merged and intertwined with Western categories in a complicated religious and military work of social engineering in which the indigenous agency will have a crucial role.[30]

One of the *principales* that received the grade of Master Sergeant of the Marianas militia in 1681 was Don Ignacio Hineti who had grown up in Sinahana [31]. Commanding an indigenous militia consisting of more than fifty Chamorros, Hineti protected the colony from obliteration by the revolt of Yura in July of 1684. The Master Sergeant, 'shedding many tears' over the deaths that the Yura revolt produced, 'offered his person and all his people to the service of both Majesties':[32] the Governor and the King. Some students from the school of *Letran* joined the resistance as well, as did numerous others '*indios amigos*' -friendly indians.

Hineti and his men engaged in combat with the Chamorro rebels on several occasions during the time that the conflict lasted, from July to November of 1684. The conflict ended when, after four months of siege, Quiroga managed to return from Saipan and put an end to the revolt. Ignacio Hineti and his men, all members of the Marianas militia, were considered the real heroes of the resistance and survival of the colony.[33]

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[29] De Morales and Le Gobien, *Historia De Las Islas Marianas*, 251.

[30] Morales/Le Gobien mentioned that Ibid. '[Saravia] Established governors in the main villages of the island, justice agents, and police agents, to maintain severe discipline. He gave these offices to the Chamorris that showed more love to the Spaniards, and as head of the whole nation, he put the famous Antonio Ayihi.'

[31] Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la provincia de Philipinas de la Compañia de Jesus. Segunda parte. Desde el año de 1616 hasta el de 1716*, Libro IV:251.

[32] Ibid.

[33] See "Relacion de los sucesos de las missiones Marianas desde 25 de Abril de 84 hasta primero de Mayo de 1685"

Aside from these individual allies, many '*indios amigo*s' -Indian friends- as the Spaniards called them, acted on behalf of the Spaniards. In all likelihood, some natives acted 'friendly' to the Spaniards out of fear, but many others did it certainly because of shared goals with the colonial agenda and the expectation of some benefits to be given back in a process of reciprocation. For instance, some Chamorros from Rota brought to the garrison in Agatna the dead body of Matapang, the killer of Diego Luis de San Vitores. In the same way, some handed over the murderers of Fr. Antonio de San Basilio from Tarragui. It seems that this time of revolts and conflicts engendered the future political organization of Guam. It is probable that Chamorros did not primarily intend their first step towards the militias, but the militias were later supported by the colonial government and blended, in some way, with the cultural idiosyncrasy of the Chamorro people. In the same way, the Jesuits considered this form of government appropriate in the effort to resolve socio-cultural issues and deal with the highly fragmented structure, inherent to the Mariana islanders. The militias were included in the organization of the *reducciones*, in the *pueblos de indios*.

In conclusion, it looks to me inaccurate to name the series of revolts that followed the death of San Vitores and lasted for almost 30 years, "Spanish-Chamorro Wars". First, the ethnical composition of the two sides was not uniform but actually extensively complicated. Second, the lack of clear sides and the intensity and intermittent flow of the conflict creates a difficulty to talk about them as a regular war. In any case, this conflict engendered a political dynamic that affected the development of the colony. For many years, the Jesuits considered the Marianas a land of frontier and a seedbed of martyrs,[34] allowing the indigenous militias to be present and have an active role in the colonial and missionary development. These militias were not dissolved when the conflict ended, but rather they were integrated in the socio-political organization of the island and continued to act as a channel of cultural adjustment and negotiation of power and representation.

Socio-Political Organization and its Links with the Indigenous Militia

Marianas' people were centrifuge societies formed by different clans with no central state or paramount chiefdom. Non-consensual power was systematically refused and chiefdom rights were received through rules of matrilineal kinship. How did the Jesuits reduce them to villages? Was it possible only by way of a violent process: the "Spanish-Chamorro War", which destroyed native power and kinship structures totally replacing them with colonial Western structures? Without resting importance on this

[34] Coello de la Rosa, "Colonialismo y Santidad En Las Islas Marianas."

extremely violent conflict that we have seen, there are some elements that may help us think in a different way if we allow native agency to exist as part of the process.

As a result of the 1582 Synod promoted by the Bishop of Manila, Fray Domingo de Salazar (1512-1594), the government issued a document promulgating the Real Cédula of 11 June 1598, addressed to the General Governor of Filipinas Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas (1519-1593). This document ordered that:

> *"No es justo que los indios principales de Filipinas sean de peor condición después de haberse convertido, antes se les debe hacer tratamiento que les aficione y mantenga en fidelidad para que con los bienes espirituales que Dios les ha comunicado, llamándolos a su verdadero conocimiento, se junten los temporales y vivan con gusto y convivencia. Por lo cual, mandamos a los Gobernadores de aquellas islas que les hagan buen tratamiento y encomienden en nuestro nombre el gobierno de los indios de que eran señores y en todo lo demás procuren que justamente se aprovechen haciéndoles los indios algún reconocimiento en la forma que corrían al tiempo de su gentilidad con que esto sea sin perjuicio de los tributos que a Nos han de pagar, ni de los que tocase a sus encomenderos." (Recopilación de Leyes de Indias, Libro VI, título 7º, ley 16ª.)*
>
> "[It is not fair that the principal *indios* of the Filipinas would have to be in a worse situation after conversion, but they should be treated in a way that may maintain their loyalty. And together with the spiritual goods that God has communicated to them, calling them to His true knowledge, they may enjoy their temporal goods, and live with pleasure coexisting with us. So, we order to the Governors of those islands to give them good treatment and entrust to them the government of the *indios*, which they were already commanding. And in everything else, they should try to give them some acknowledgement in the same way they had it in the time of their gentility, without losing the taxes they should pay Us and pay to the *encomenderos*.]"

A process that would reach the Marianas a century later began with this *Real Cédula*. This Royal Decree would develop and receive local installation by a medium of laws published by the governors of the Filipinas. The Mariana Islands existed as a province of the Spanish Empire politically dependent on the Filipinas, so it follows that Marianas would adhere to the same laws propagated for the Filipinas, but such did not fully take place until the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1769.

Two government ordinances might have affected Mariana Islands: the ordinances promulgated by Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera in 1642 and the reform of the

Governor and Captain General Fausto Cruzat y Góngora in 1696. A new form of government for the '*pueblos de indios*' arose, incorporating the decrees promulgated by the King but now adapted to a local environment. These new political structures of command will incorporate the *Real Cédula* of 1594, which is an attempt to grant some form of participation for the native *principales*. The new form of command also Law III from the same Title number 7. This law declares that indigenous successions systems, which were considered to be patrilineal in the Spanish way, should be respected[35], but nothing was said about the ritual and religious power that was removed from the indigenous chiefs and transferred directly to the presbyters of the Catholic Church.

In indigenous contexts, normally political representations and power are closely related to ritual expressions in a complex political-religious system difficult to unravel[36]. Also, at least in Micronesia, the access to leadership and positions of political and ritual responsibility is not directly linked to kinship lines of hereditary successions like in Europe, but are negotiated by a complex system that integrate elements like prestige, age, rank, property, and lineage[37]. Besides, in the Chamorro case, rights of succession are received through the matrilineal side, a situation that was not contemplated in the Laws of the Indians, due to the strong patrilineal tendency of the Iberian Peninsula.

According to Petersen[38], Micronesian societies seem to have developed an apparently ambiguous and contradictory socio-political system to access to authority and power positions. This provides to the system the flexibility needed to endure natural disasters like earthquakes, typhoons, wars, and any other sort of calamity. In this way, they have answered successfully to colonial and post-colonial situations. Nevertheless, some scholars have denied this auto-poetical capacity of indigenous agency to the Chamorro people,[39] asserting that Chamorro people suffered a total defeat, destruction, and substitution which led to a complete hispanicization and loss of any trace whatsoever of its Austronesian socio-political and ritual system.

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[35] Wilde, "Prestigio Indígena y Nobleza Peninsular."

[36] ver Wilde, "Poderes del ritual y rituales del poder."

[37] Alkire, *An introduction to the peoples and cultures of Micronesia*; Petersen, "Sociopolitical Rank and Conical Clanship in the Caroline Islands"; Petersen, *Traditional Micronesian Societies*, 125–158.

[38] "Sociopolitical Rank and Conical Clanship in the Caroline Islands."

[39] i.e. Alkire, *An introduction to the peoples and cultures of Micronesia*, 20; Dobbin, *Summoning the Powers Beyond*, 12.

However, in spite of the forced reductions to villages suffered by the indigenous Marianos during the seventeenth century, the socio-political traditional system did not disappear but was transformed gradually. In the same way, the Jesuits did not totally implement the Spanish ordinances affecting the indigenous villages because they understood they were working with a distinct cultural environment from their own. The system developed during the Jesuit period (1668-1769) mixed the practices of the indigenous with the missionary experiences that have created in other places a specific colonial process that Wilde has named 'missionary ethno-genesis' [40]. Jesuits successfully put into practice the indigenous militias in the seventeenth century among the Guarani in el Chaco to face the Lusitanian threat and repel the attacks of non-Christian tribes. They will partially transfer this experience to the Marianas, there implementing the militias mainly as an organizing structure to maintain the socio-cultural cohesion. Using the militias together with Christian Catholicism, they integrated Chamorro's matrilineal and politically fragmented societies into ambilineal *reducciones*, organizing communal work and ritual life.

The Jesuits established the titles of *Maestre de Campo, comisario, capitán, tenientes, alféreces*, and *sargentos* in the Guarani militias, superimposing the authority of these to the power of the traditional Caciques[41]. All of them were bestowed with symbols of power, for example batons, flags, and halberds, for integration in new symbolic structures[42]. The Jesuits in Paraguay did not invent this military organization but channeled an indigenous idiosyncratic structure, considering the high bellicosity of the Guarani who were continually involved in inter-tribal warfare fighting for resources. This characteristic practice facilitated the 'election of adequate leaders' out of which would emerge 'temporary chiefdoms under a powerful Cacique that will be respected by several communities until further segmentations' [43], an occurrence which appears similar to Marianas' political organization.

Observing the accounts of indigenous alliances in the Marianas during the first years of the contact, these coalitions will be established mainly in war contexts and under

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[40] Wilde, "De Las Crónicas Jesuíticas a Las 'etnografías Estatales': Realidades y Ficciones Del Orden Misional En Las Fronteras Ibéricas," 22.

[41] Quarleri, "Gobierno y Liderazgo Jesuítico-guaraní En Tiempos De Guerra (1752-1756)," 103.

[42] Wucherer, "Jesuitas, Guaraníes y Armas. Milicias Guaraníes Frente a Los Indios Del Gran Chaco," 283.

[43] Quarleri, "Gobierno y Liderazgo Jesuítico-guaraní En Tiempos De Guerra (1752-1756)," 103.

occasions of war.[44] Territorial and clan chiefs will reach agreements under the pressure of reaching specific military goals, agreements that would last only for a limited time, as long as the threat or a common enemy exists. Due to each one's circumstantial nature, these alliances will flux and change continuously. Such was the case during the revolts of 1671, 1676 or 1684, with leaders like Hurao, Agualin, or Yula, respectively. It is probably this experience that became one of the causes that led the Jesuits, and some governors like Saravia, to develop and maintain a system of political offices based on the militia and not in the Spanish-Filipino legislation, where there was no reason to maintain military structures. They surely understood the most intelligent way to build stable socio-political systems in the *reducciones* was for different clans, which tended to be dispersive by nature, to live and work together, as it was utilizing traditional tools of the Chamorro nature.

The organization of the indigenous Marianas' militia commenced during the so called "Spanish-Chamorro Wars".[45] Certain Chamorros received military titles like *Maestre de Campo* (Antonio Ayihi), *Sargento Mayor* (Ignacio Hineti) and *Capitan*.[46] The Military Governor Antonio de Saravia (1681-1684) would expand the use of this system to the government of the villages in Guam and Rota, and the system would be inserted in the life of the *reducciones*. The Jesuits will maintain the use of this structure until their expulsion from the Spanish Empire.

For example, on the date of 22 March 1710, four English ships under the orders of the Captain Rogers arrived to Humatac and "entreated the Spaniards to provide them with food, refreshment […] lest they raze the island to the ground along with their inhabitants"[47]. The governor at that time, Pimentel, convened a War Council which he did not attend and eventually negotiated with the pirates. In this context the *principales* Alonso Soón, *Maestre de Campo*, and Antonio Ayo, Master Sergeant of the indian militias 'committed to gather 2000 men from the *partidos* of Hagat, Humatac,

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[44] see García, *The Life and Martyrdom of the Venerable Father Diego Luis De Sanvitores of the Society of Jesus, First Apostle of the Mariana Islands and the Happenings in These Islands from the Year of One Thousand Six Hundred and Sixty-Eight, to That of One Thousand Six Hundred and Eighty-One*.

[45] See Francis Hezel "The So-Called "Spanish-Chamorro War"" in the 2nd Marianas History Conference, Guam 2013.

[46] Morales/Le Gobien noted that "the Government established one captain for every village to govern the people and give account of what was happening in each village" but Driver in "Quiroga's Letter to King Phillip V, 26 May 1720," 101. mentions that this Captains or Mayors were military foremen that supervised farming and livestock activities. See de Morales and Le Gobien, *Historia De Las Islas Marianas*, 247.

[47] Coello de la Rosa, "Corruption, Greed, and the Public Good in the Mariana Islands, 1700 1720," 208.

Malesso, and Inalahan to launch an assault against the English ships.' [48] Pimentel finally rejected this proposal but still this event spoke on the existence and the function of the militia and its leaders.

In the 1758 census, close to the time the Jesuits were expulsed, we may still find a clear military structure link to the indigenous government of the *pueblos de indios*. We find the military grades of *Maestre de Campo*, *Sargento Mayor*, *Capitán* and *Asistente* (assistant) assigned to indigenous people in each one of the 12 *partidos* of the Marianas (eleven in Guam and one in Rota). Nevertheless, going through this census we can observe that two or three *Maestres de Campo* existed in each *partido,* as well as two or three *Sargentos, Capitanes,* and *Asistentes*. This duplication of offices may indicate the existence of *cargos vivos* (active positions) and *cargos pasados* (retired positions); however, this information was normally made explicit in the documents and it is not the case in the 1758 census. On the other hand, among the traditional indigenous cultures of Micronesia it is usual to find chiefs for different levels: territorial chiefs, linage chiefs and 'seniors or high-ranking individuals' [49] who may be considered leaders or chiefs as well.

PARTIDO DE PAGO	
Maestre de Campo	Phelipe Ena
Sargento Mayor	Joan Eo
Capitan	Francisco Guatafe
Ayudante	Pablo Taihaia
Maestre de Campo	Matheo Memis
Maestre de Campo	Pablo Atoti
Maestre de Campo	Mathias Gaion
Sargento Mayor	Luca Ytutup
Sargento Mayor	Joseph Taiguaha
Sargento Mayor	Marcos Mafnas
Sargento Mayor	Clemente Taytinfog
Capitan	Francisco Melo
Capitan	Gaspar Fagani
Fiscal	Bernave Añao

Table 1. Offices from the village of Pago. Source: Census of 1758.

[48] Ibid., 209.

[49] Petersen, "Sociopolitical Rank and Conical Clanship in the Caroline Islands," 369.

This cultural characteristic and native agency or collaboration may explain the Census of 1758 and the transit from dispersed clans to *reducciones*. My hypothesis is that the indigenous chiefdom and leadership was re-semanticized and incorporated into Hispanic military categories to maintain the hereditary clan structures and the native and traditional power system. In the *partidos* (villages) one could easily find chiefs and principals from different clans and levels forced to live together in only one village after the reduction. To make sense of this new situation, to create a coherent socio-political organization, a solution acceptable to the indigenous and for use by the colonial power, the plan was to turn to forms of traditional war alliances that were executed normally with concrete goals and for a limited time. Now the goals were to organize the communal work or *polo*,[50] to maintain the moral order and religious obligations in the villages,[51] and probably to serve as examples of Christian life. The time was now unlimited.

These same structures, which worked well in the socio-political sphere, were introduced also in the religious domain, giving honor seats in the Church to the officials and the early creation of Marian indigenous congregations, since 1690. The Jesuits created the first congregation, for those who were faithful to the Spaniards during the revolt of 1868, and was under the advocacy of *Dulcísimo Nombre de María*.[52] In the Marianas, as in Paraguay, 'the ritual became the transactional context […] where the possibility existed to mix traditional and new elements and to define a dynamic equilibrium' [53].

As Makihara and Schieffelin have pointed out, 'though shaped by asymmetrical power relations', colonial encounters were 'dynamic and complex.' [54] These complexities in the Marianas have drawn a continuum picture that has reached contemporary times, and were the indigenous agency has been always present. Manichean structures cannot represent reality in an accurate way and are mainly ideological: they might be licit into a political fight, but are definitely not historical. Reality is much more rich

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[50] Military terminology associated to communal work and leadership is still in use among some Guarani people like the Mby'a from Misiones. Other indigenous organization on Bolivia are still organize following militia's names like the Consejo de Capitanes Guaraníes de Chuquisaca or Capitanes Chiriguanos from Chaco Combés, among others.

[51] The indigenous principal and Captain Manuel Tayitup from Sinahaña denounced to the superior of the mission the immoral behaviors of some 'naturales' from his village because he said "do not want a be accomplice of their sins' (ARSI Phil 14, fol. 80.)

[52] ARSI Phil 14 fol. 82

[53] Wilde, "Poderes del ritual y rituales del poder," 215.

[54] Makihara and Schieffelin, "Cultural Preocesses and Linguistic Mediations," 14.

and challenging. In 1818 the Russian captain Vasíli Mijáilovich Golovnin, commander of the *Kamchatka,* mentioned surprised that:

> 'All local officials are appointed and promoted by the Governor from among the native inhabitants. I learned about this from the Governor himself in a rather peculiar manner: when he first invited me and my staff to dinner he quietly asked me, before sitting down, whether we would object to eating at the same table with his staff, consisting of natives appointed to their posts by himself, while we were all Europeans appointed to our ranks by our Sovereign.' [55]

I think I have proved enough that it is necessary to have further analysis on the indigenous agency or collaboration during the Jesuitical period or first Christian period of the Marianas. We have a point of departure on 1681 with Saravia's military organization of the villages, and a clear structure on the 1758 census, few years before the Jesuits expulsion from the island. Now we have to do research on what happened in between.

Presentation slides begin on the following page.

[55] Wiswell, *Chapters on Hawaii and the Marianas in V.M. Golovnin's Voyage Around the World*, 81.

Presentation Slides

The Mariana Islands Militia and the establishment of the 'Pueblos de Indios': Indigenous agency in Guam from 1668 to 1758.

By David Atienza, Ph.D.

2nd Marianas History Conference

August 2013

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PARTIDC DE PAGO	
Maestre de Campo	Phel pe Fra
Sargento Mayor	Joan Eo
Capitan	Francisco Cuatefe
Ayudante	Pablo Taitaia
Maestre de Campo	Mathen Memis
Maestre de Campo	Pablo Atoti
Maestre de Campo	Mathias Gaion
Sargento Mayor	Luca Ytutup
Sargento Mayor	Joseph Taiguaha
Sargento Mayor	Marcos Mafnas
Sargento Mayor	Clemente Tayt.nfog
Capitan	Francisco Melo
Capitan	Gaspar Pagani
Fiscal	Demave Afizo

Offices from the village of Pago. Source: Census of 1758.

PARTIDO DE MERIZO	
Maestre de Campo	Casimiro Agiguan
Sargento Mayor	Estevan Taimanglo
Capitar	Santiago Mansapti
Ayudante	Francisco Etagui
Maestre de Campo	Pablo Guasa
Maestre de Campo	Theodoro Aguahog
Sargento Mayor	Pascual Maasi
Capitar	Pedro Dudu
Capitar	Esteban Taimanglo
Capitar	Juan Enon
Capitar	Diego Quechagui
Capitar	Cebrie Tevh lo
Fiscal	Juan Nanagong

Offices from the village of Merizo. Source: Census of 1758.

PARTIDO DE ANIGUA	
Maestre de Campo General	Don Joseph Antonio Muña
sargento Mayor	Francisco Taitaro
Capitan	Manue Joseph Inoo
Ayudante	Miguel Notaynem
Maestre de Campo	Ignacio Joseph Nacta
Maestre de Campo	Fracisco Tajacta
Capitan	Juan Tailaf
Capitan	Ignacio Agfiasina
Capitan	Martin Tainatengo
Capitan	Diego Taipilus
Ayudante	Francisco Macogn

Offices from the village of Anigua. Source: Census of 1758.

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David Atienza received a PhD in Anthropology from the Complutense University of Madrid in 2006. He has taught history, philosophy, anthropology and applied linguistics at different institutions and universities in Spain. Dr. Atienza's research interests focus on Cultural Identity, Ethnohistory, and Linguistic Anthropology. He has authored several publications, including Viaje e Identidad: La Genesis de la Elite Quichwa-Otavalena en Madrid, a product of fieldwork conducted in Otavalo, Ecuador, and Spain, and his latest article in The Journal of Pacific History, "Death Rituals and Identity in Contemporary Guam (Mariana Islands)." Currently, he is an assistant professor of Anthropology at UOG.

Where is the Gold? Silver and Copper Coins from Two of Guam's Historic Sites

By Darlene R. Moore
Archaeologist
Micronesian Archaeological Research Services, Guam
dmoore@guam.net

Abstract: *One of the questions that archaeologists working in the Marianas are asked is, "Are you searching for gold?" This article briefly reviews the Manila Galleon trade with respect to the transport of gold and silver, examines the catalog of items recovered from Spanish Period shipwrecks in the Marianas, and describes archaeological investigations at two Spanish Period historic sites on Guam that yielded one silver and two copper coins. The historic backgrounds of the coins are examined in order to better understand their stories and the contributions they make to our understanding of Guam's history. Although most land-based archaeological projects in the Marianas are not designed to seek treasure, our endeavors often result in the discovery of nuggets of information about the past that has its own intrinsic value.*

Introduction

One of the first questions people ask archaeologists working in the Marianas is, "Have you ever found gold treasures?" While finding gold coins or gold objects is an intriguing idea, it is not the focus of most archaeological research projects. Deposits of gold ore do not occur naturally in the Mariana Islands. If gold, or other valuables, were recovered during the course of a land-based archaeological investigation, most likely it would belong to the government or the land owner, not the archaeologists. Maritime firms have recovered gold and silver items, as well as other valuables, from the ruins of Manila Galleons that wrecked in the Mariana Islands in the 1600s. Galleons similar to those that wrecked, sailed annually at Spain's direction, back and forth across the Pacific Ocean between the Spanish colonies in the Philippines and Acapulco, Mexico from about 1565 to 1815, and they carried rich cargoes that included gold and silver (Schurz 1989; Quimby 1991a, 1991b, 1991c). Perhaps it is information about the riches aboard these vessels that prompt people to ask if we archaeologists have found gold. The archaeologists at Micronesian Archaeological Research Services (MARS) have not found gold during our land-based projects, but three old coins have been recovered.

This article presents a brief section on the background of Spain's Manila Galleon trade, reviews recent underwater salvage efforts on the remains of three galleons that perished in the waters of the Mariana Islands, and describes archaeological investigations at two different historic sites on Guam that yielded three old coins. Background information is provided for the silver coin recovered from the old Spanish village of Pago (Moore 2007) and for the two copper coins recovered from a pre-WWII residence in Hagåtña known as the Rosario House (Moore et al. 1993). These coins are not gold and are not even particularly valuable from a coin collector's perspective due to their worn conditions. Nonetheless, they have fascinating tales to tell. The tales add to our understanding of Guam's history.

Manila Galleon Trade

During the early years of the Manila Galleon trade, China favored silver over gold (Lugar 1990:21). In order to purchase goods from the Chinese merchants in Manila, Spain's galleons carried silver coins from Spain and from Spain's American colonies on their three-month-long westward voyages across the Pacific Ocean from Acapulco to Manila (Fig. 1). The goods mostly brought on Chinese junks from China to the trading center in Manila, included gold jewelry and other gold items, silk and other textiles, ivory, pearls, gems, and porcelain (Schurz 1939). These were loaded on the galleons for the grueling five-to-eight-month-long eastward voyage to Acapulco (Lugar 1990:18). From Acapulco some of the merchandise was transported overland to Mexico City and some went to the east coast port of Vera Cruz where it was shipped eastward across the Atlantic Ocean to Spain.

On their westward voyages, the galleons also carried silver coins from the Spanish Royal Treasury for the support of the Philippine Colony. After 1668, when a permanent Spanish presence was established on Guam, the island's annual allotment of funds was included on the westward bound ships, which were directed to pause on Guam. The annual situado (subsidy) for the Mariana Islands was about 20,000 pesos (del Valle 1991:8). The funds were intended to cover the salaries of the government officials and members of the garrison; another 10,000 pesos was provided to support the Catholic mission (Hezel 1988).

Salvage of the Manila Galleons in the Marianas

At least three Manila Galleons wrecked in the Marianas in the 1600s (Fig. 2). In recent years there have been attempts to recover their cargoes. The lists of items recovered during these salvage efforts provide information about the riches they carried. In 1601,

on her way to Acapulco, the *Santa Margarita* foundered off Rota's north coast. Historical accounts indicate that the Chamorro people took control of the ship, recovered its goods including gold chains which they "hung…to the trees or wore… round their necks..." (Barratt 2003a:80). In 1987 Pacific Sea Resources located the probable wreck site near Teteto Beach where ballast stones, porcelain and stoneware sherds, glass beads and portions of five bronze clavos were found that were thought to be from the ship (Butler 1988:440-441). In 1995 IOTA Partners was permitted to salvage the wreckage, but encountered legal difficulties once their recovery efforts damaged the coral reef (Junco, http://www.themua.org/collections/archive/files, 3/9/2012). Items recovered from the wreck before the salvage ceased included a few gold pieces, ivory, porcelain, and gemstones including garnets (Ty 1995:16-17; http://www.katu.com/news/local, 3/9/2012).

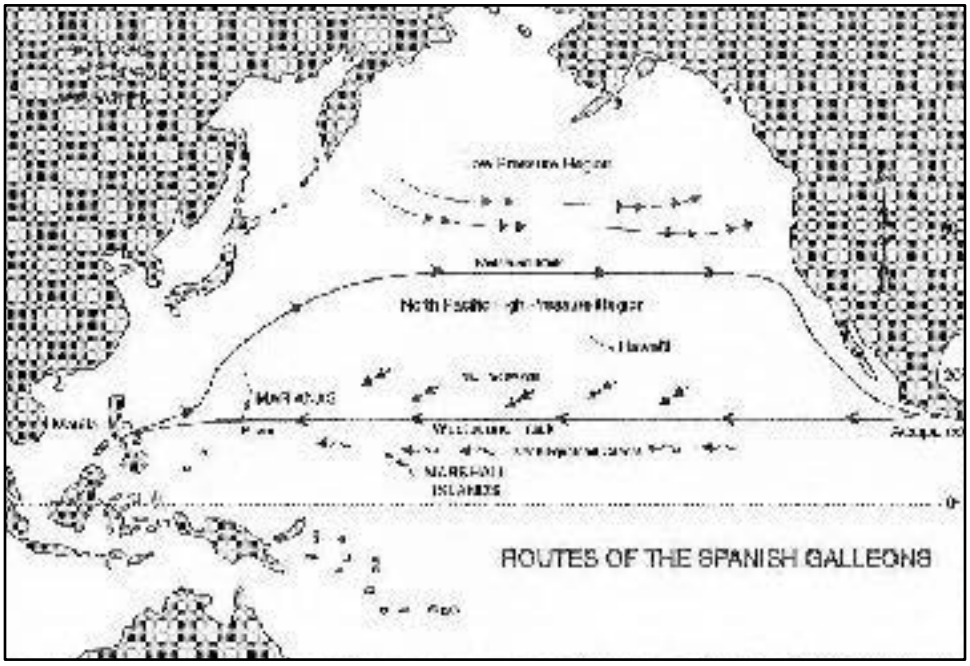


Figure 1. Map of the Pacific Ocean showing the sailing routes of the Manila Galleons from Acapulco on the east to Manila on the west (from Rogers 1995:17).

After encountering a violent storm on her way to Acapulco, the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* wrecked off the coast of Saipan in 1638. Beginning in 1989, Pacific Sea Resources implemented a recovery program, and gold items were among the valuable goods collected from the underwater remains (Mathers et al. 1990). More than "1,300 pieces of 22.5 carat gold jewelry including a variety of chains, rings, buttons, plates and other decorative gold items set with diamonds, rubies, sapphires and emeralds" were recovered (Mathers et al. 1990:529). Some of these treasures are on display in the

Saipan museum. Interestingly, only a single silver coin, in the denomination of one *real*, was among the recovered items (Mathers et al. 1990:532). The lack of silver coins suggests that they were not commonly carried on the eastward voyages. Alternatively, silver coins in the cargo could have been recovered earlier. Salvage efforts by the Spanish in 1684 and again in 1703 were aimed at recovering the bronze cannons which had been aboard the *Concepcion* (Quimby 1991b:40). During these early efforts, other items may have been collected too.

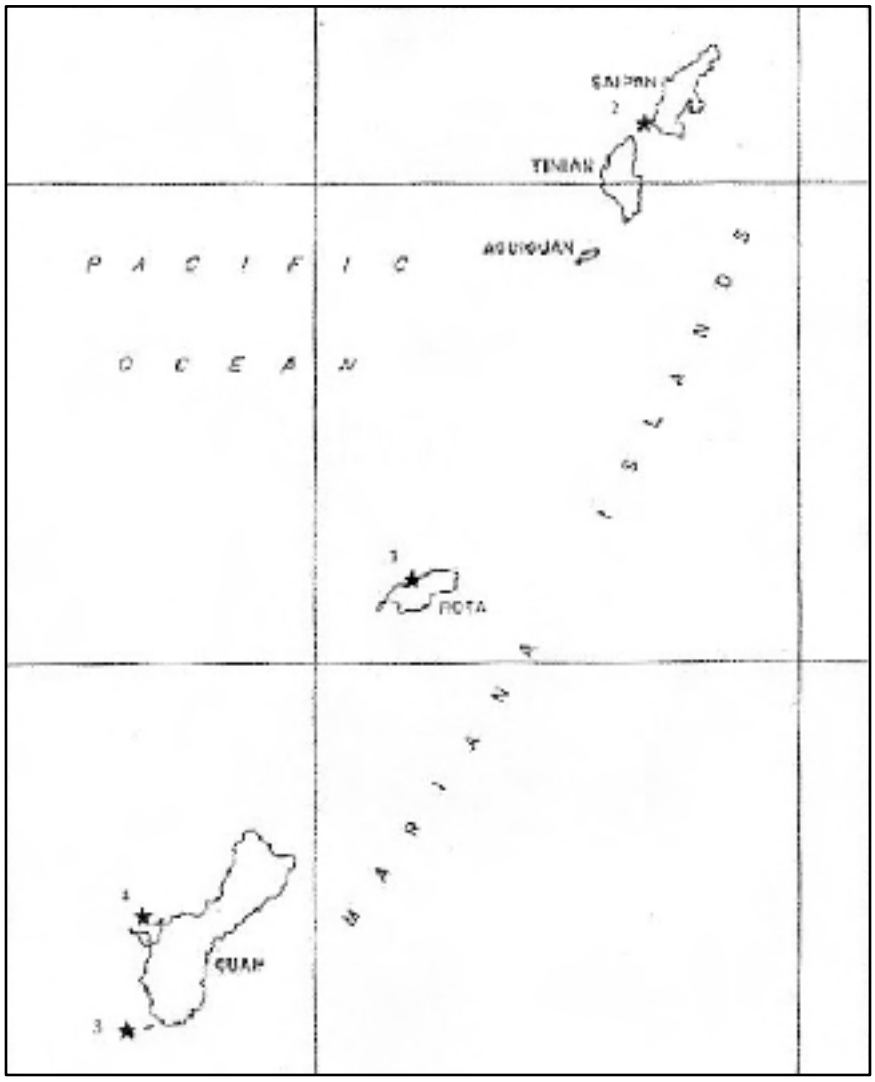


Figure 2. Showing the location of four ships that wrecked in the Mariana Islands during the Spanish Period. 1 is the Santa Margarita (1601), 2 is the Nuestra Señora de la Concepción (1638), 3 is the Nuestra Señora del Pilar(1690), and 4 is a Spanish frigate (1814). (Figure Adapted from Butler 1995:7).

The *Nuestra Señora del Pilar* sank off Guam in 1690 en route to the Philippines. The wreck was partially salvaged in the 1990s. In 1989, prior to beginning their salvage efforts, the Pilar Project located a record in Spain that indicated some 5,000 coins had

been recovered from the wreck shortly after it sank (Junco, http://www.themua.org/collections/archive/files, 3/9/2012). It is likely that most of the coins recovered during this initial effort were silver. The recent *Pilar* salvage work recovered 36 additional silver coins with marks indicating that they had been minted in Mexico City, Lima (Peru), and Potosí (Bolivia). The Guam Museum collection includes some of the silver coins recovered from the *Pilar* (Fig. 3). Iron nails, cannon balls, musket shot, fragments of storage jars and stone ballast were also recovered (Junco, http://www.themua.org/collections/archive/files, 3/9/2012).

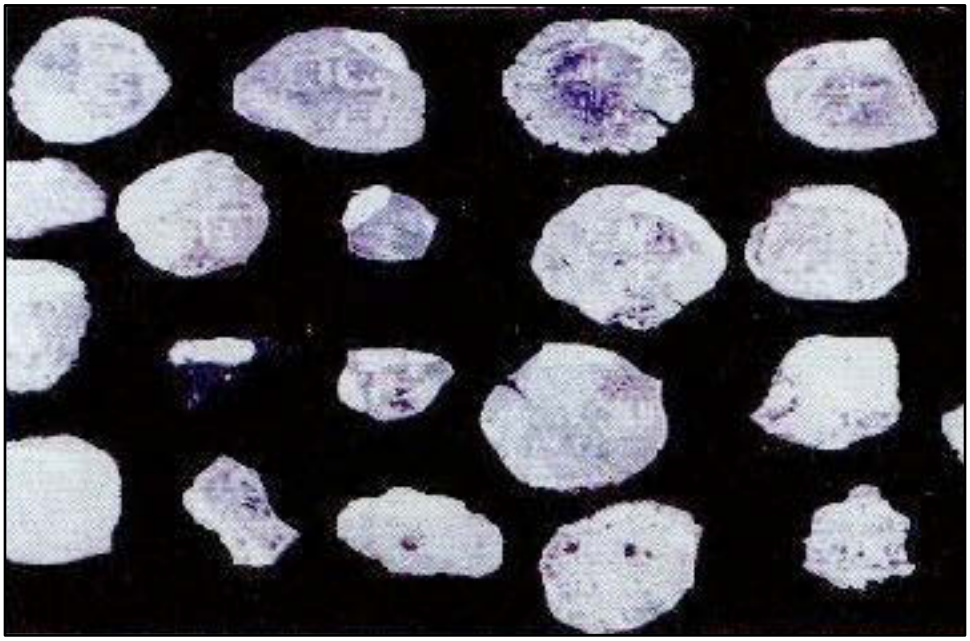


Figure 3. Silver coins recovered from the Pilar. (courtesy of the Guam Museum)

In 1814 a Spanish frigate sailing from Callao, Peru to Cavite, Philippines struck rocks in Apra Harbor, Guam (Rogers 1995:90). She was carrying 500,000 silver pesos. Shortly after she sank, Guam's Spanish governor organized a salvage effort and recruited skilled swimmers who recovered most of the coins by free diving (Rogers 1995:90).

Based on the goods recovered from these shipwrecks and according to the historic accounts, Spain's silver coins were transported westward across the Pacific Ocean, while gold jewelry and other gold objects along with fabrics, spices and other goods were transported eastward. Most of the westward-bound silver originated in the Spanish colonies in Mexico and South America. Some of the eastward-bound gold originated in China and Indonesia, and some originated in the Philippines where nuggets of placer gold had been traded and/or formed into objects of adornment even

prior to the islands being colonized by Spain (Lévesque 1992:173; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Cultural_achievements_of_pre-colonial_Philippines, 6/25/2012).

While gold and silver were transported across the Pacific Ocean during the Spanish Period, it was the westward bound ships that stopped on Guam and left silver coins for the support of the colony. The eastward bound ships carrying gold were not required to pause in the islands. Therefore, it seems likely that any gold to be found in the islands would have had to arrive via the salvage of the wrecks of the eastward bound ships or by some other means.

Old Pago Village Spanish Coin

One silver coin was collected from the ground surface of a newly-cleared access road in Pago Bay, Guam, near Frank Perez Beach Park (Hunter-Anderson and Moore 2008; Moore 2007) (Fig. 4). Pago was one of the six villages established on Guam by the Spanish in 1680 (Lévesque 2002[19]:217). As with the other Spanish villages founded on Guam, Pago's population was made up of people who were forced to move from the surrounding areas to the village. Pago Village was described as a large settlement divided by the Pago River. In addition to the homes of the new villagers, a wood and thatch church and a priest's house were built (Lévesque 1994:361). A census taken in 1710 reports that 404 people lived in Pago Village (Hezel 2003:Appendix 4). At the time, the village administrator was Captain Andres de Arceo (Lévesque 1998[12]:595).

In 1769 the Jesuit missionaries, who founded the Catholic mission on Guam in 1668, were expelled from all of Spain's colonies and a group of Augustinians was sent to replace them on Guam. At some point in the late 1700s apparently a stone church with a palm-thatch roof was built in Pago. It may have been one of several construction projects initiated by the Augustinians (Driver 2005:39-41; 2000:x). A description of the church has not been located, but Haynes and Wuerch (1990:8-9) suggest that all of the churches dating to this time frame had a shape and size similar to the coral masonry ruins of the old Umatac church. Umatac's stone church was completed in 1770 (Driver 2005:40) and destroyed by an earthquake in 1849 (Rogers 1995:65). The ruins of the Umatac church remain visible today. They may provide a possible model for understanding the physical structure of the Pago church.

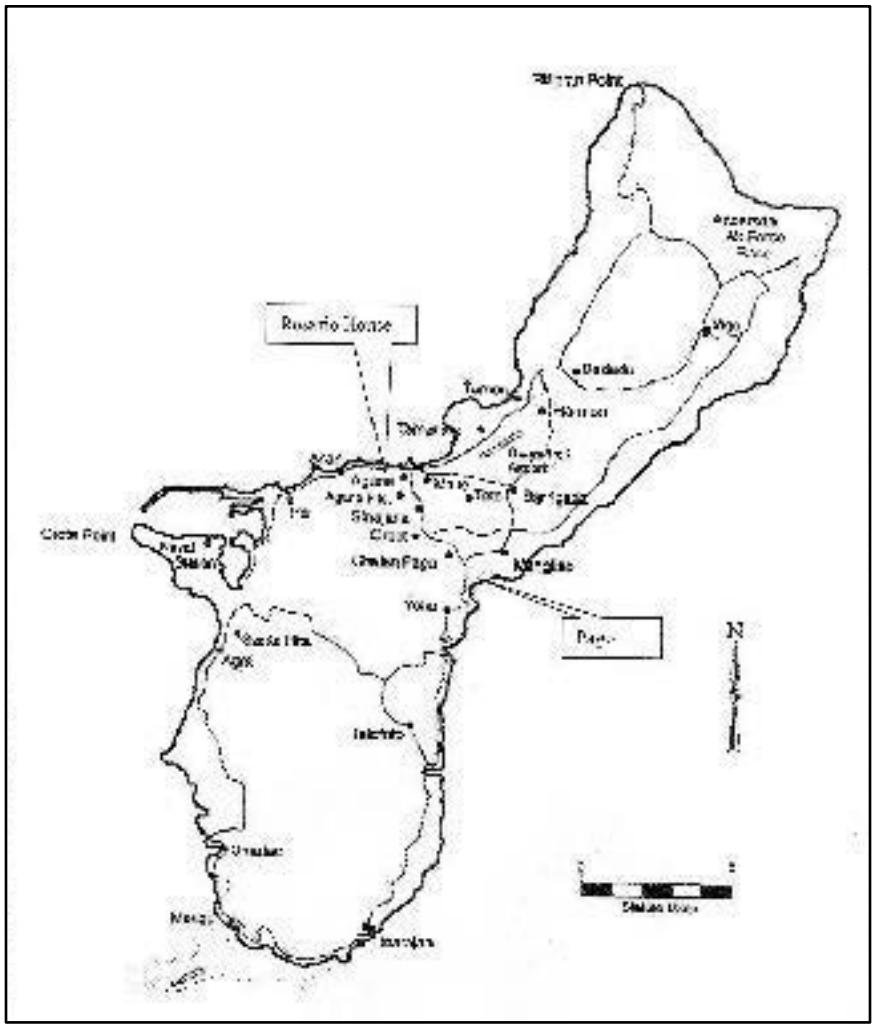


Figure 4. Map of Guam showing the locations of the former Pago Village and the Rosario House archaeological projects completed by Micronesian Archaeological Research Services.

When members of the Freycinet expedition visited Pago Village in 1819, the village had a population of 210, a church, a monastery, a boys' school, a girls' school and a governor's residence (Barratt 2003b:115, 121; Lévesque 2002[19]:366). The illustrations made by the Freycinet expedition include the plan and front elevation of the governor's residence which was built of stone and roofed with clay tiles (Lévesque 2002[19]:124,125; MARC map collection). The Freycinet map of Pago Village shows structures situated on both sides of the Pago River. The actual location of the church and the governor's house are not shown, but it is likely they were among the more numerous structures depicted north of the river.

In September 1855 a typhoon hit the island and destroyed the structures in Pago Village. The governor's residence lost its roof and its walls collapsed (Ibanez et al. 1976:4). The church was damaged to such an extent that its foundation was partially destroyed. It was thought that the center of the storm passed directly over the church (Ibanez et al. 1976:4-5). A smallpox epidemic the following year significantly decreased the island's population including that of Pago. The 1857 population figures report 245 deaths for Pago Village (Driver 2000:37). The village was largely abandoned after 1857 and the remaining parishioners were transferred to Hagåtña (Driver 2000:37). Over the following years information about the precise location of the village and its stone and wooden structures has been lost.

Archaeological investigations completed on the north side of Pago Bay by Micronesian Archaeological Research Services (MARS) encountered prehistoric as well as historic materials, but shaped building stones and foundations of the former stone buildings of Old Pago were not identified. The historic materials recovered include bottles, glassware and porcelain fragments, broken clay tiles, and portions of large kiln-fired storage jars of the type commonly carried on the galleons (Moore 2007). Pieces of three different griddles made of basalt (a type of igneous rock) also were recovered (Hunter-Anderson and Moore 2008; Hunter-Anderson 2007). They indicate that people prepared food on griddles during the time that the historic village was occupied. One of the Freycinet illustrations shows a *kommat*, the Chamorro term for griddle (Topping et al. 1975) after the Mexican term *comal*, being used on Guam (Fig. 5). As illustrated, a flat griddle was placed over a small fire. Supports on either end of the griddle raised it above the flames. Flat cakes or tortillas were cooked on its upper surface.

The griddles were part of the assemblage of items brought to Guam during the Spanish Period. They were accompanied by corn, the three-legged stone *metate* and *mano* (used to grind the corn), and the stone or brick beehive oven, (*hotnu* in Chamorro, Topping et al. 1975; Moore and Steffy 2008). Corn tortillas (*titiyas* in Chamorro) were among the foods cooked on the griddles. On Guam metal griddles, also called *kommat*, have replaced the earlier versions of stone and possibly clay. While archaeologists have not positively identified fragments of clay griddles on Guam, it has been suggested that some very flat pottery fragments could represent plates or griddles (Moore 2002; Spoehr 1957:110).

Figure 5. One of the Freycinet Expedition's illustrations showing titiyas being prepared on the right and cooked on a kommat elevated over a fire (left), courtesy of the Guam Public Library System.

The prehistoric materials recovered from archaeological investigations at old Pago Village include Latte Period pottery, stone and shell tools, bone tools, sling stones, and shell ornaments (Moore 2007). The historical account of Fray Juan Pobre (Driver 1989), who jumped ship when it stopped near Rota in 1602, indicates that Sancho, one of the survivors of the galleon *Santa Margarita* which had wrecked near Rota in 1601, was living with a Chamorro family in Pago. Upon hearing the news that two Spaniards were on Rota, Sancho and other Pago residents set sail for that island. They landed on Rota's north coast at the village of Guaco (also Guata, Guato, see Butler 1988:106) where the Pago people had connections (Driver 1989:30). Given the apparent relationship between Pago and Guaco (which is near Teteto Beach where the probable shipwreck was identified offshore, Butler 1988:440), one might expect items recovered from the *Santa Margarita* shipwreck to be found in Pago village. However, nothing that could be directly tied to the *Margarita* or to the *Nuestra Senora del Buen Viaje* which supposedly sank in Pago Bay in 1754 (Quimby 1991b:44) was identified during the archaeological investigations at Old Pago. The *Buen Viaje* has not been the focus of a salvage project.

The results of the archaeological studies in Old Pago indicate that the Spanish village had been built on a Latte Period village site. Three radiocarbon dates were obtained on material recovered from the MARS excavations. The earliest date, A.D. 870-1020, was obtained from coconut shell charcoal recovered from a fire pit. The date indicates that the area was used near the beginning of the Latte Period. The middle date, A.D. 1290-1420, and the most recent date, A.D. 1440-1640, were obtained on charcoal recovered from other parts of the site, indicating that use of the area continued through the Latte Period and into early historic times (Moore 2007).

According to markings on the silver coin (the "M" with a small circle above it) recovered from Pago's newly exposed ground surface, it was minted in Mexico City in 1779 during the reign of Spain's King Carolus III (King Charles, 1759-1788) (Moore 2007) (Fig. 6). Coins with a portrait of King Carolus III were minted from 1772 to 1789 (http://www.wikicoins.com/ Spanish-Colonial_Reales, 4/19/2012). The coin is a milled bust type, machine-struck on a round planchet (a metal disk to be stamped as a coin). The obverse side (in coin terminology the side with the head or portrait [http://coins.about.com/od/coins glossary/g/obverse defined.htm, 3/12/2012]) displays the bust of King Carolus III (left in Fig. 6). The opposite, or reverse side, displays a pair of pillars separated by a simple shield with lions, castles, a pomegranate, and a crown with three centralized *fleurs-de-lis* (http://www.newworldtreasures.com/milled bust.htm, right in Fig. 6). The diameter of this coin is 2.7 cm (1 and 1/16 inch), and it weighs 6.4 grams. It is worth two *reales*, or 2/8 of a peso.

Prior to A.D. 1732 pieces of silver, called cobs, were hand struck to create the desired image on the coins (see Fig. 3). After 1732 the silver was rolled into strips and cut into round disks known as a planchet. The planchet was then weighed to make certain it conformed to the uniform weight for its assigned value. Then it was placed between two dies and struck to produce a coin. Coins manufactured by this method were called milled coins. The Pago coin, minted in 1779, is milled.

Figure 6. Spanish silver two reales coin, dated 1779, recovered from Old Pago Village. MARS photo by Rick Schaefer.

The Mexico City mint, where the Pago coin was made, is known as the Casa de Moneda de Mexico. In 1536 Spain authorized Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza to establish

the Mexico City mint which was the first to be founded in Spain's American colonies. In 1562 the mint was moved to a large building in Mexico City's central square (www.coins.nd.edu/ColCoin/ ColCoinIntros/Sp-Silver.intro.html, 3/01/2012), where it remains today as the oldest mint in the Americas.

Several denominations of silver coins were minted in Spain's American colonies. One was a silver *peso* worth eight "royals" or *reales* in Spanish, so it was often referred to as "pieces of eight" (Weatherford 1997:117). In addition, silver coins with values of one-half, one, two, and four *reales* were minted (Patacsil 1998). The two *reales* Pago coin is worth one quarter of a *peso.* It is the forerunner of the U.S. quarter (http://www.wikicoins.com/Spanish-Colonial_Reales, April 19, 2012). In today's market, its approximate value on one internet site ranges from $6.95 to $39.99 (http://www.ebay.com, October 8, 2012).

The Pago coin probably was made from silver ore taken from one of Spain's silver mines located in Mexico or South America. Several new silver deposits were discovered in Mexico in 1770 (http://mygeologypage.ucdavis.edu/cowen/~GEL115/115ch8.html, 3/1/2012). It is likely that silver from one of the newly opened mines was used to manufacture this coin. Due to the abundance of the new ore deposits, the number of silver coins produced in the Mexico City mint increased significantly in the late 1700s, peaking in 1804 (Brading 1970).

It is not known when the 1779 coin arrived on Guam, or how it ended up in Pago. It may have been part of the island's annual allotment of funds which arrived on an irregular basis from Mexico due to vessels being lost at sea, or due to unfavorable wind and sea conditions which prevented them from making stopovers on Guam.

Lévesque (2000[16]) lists the names of some of the ships that made the Pacific crossing in 1779 or shortly thereafter. The galleon *San Pedro* left Acapulco and arrived in Guam March 1, 1779 and reached the Philippines on March 11, 1779 (Garcia et al. 2001). The *San Jose* left the Philippines May 1, 1779 and reached Acapulco in November 1779 without stopping at Guam. In 1780 a packet named *San Antonio* alias *el Principe* carrying 150,000 pesos from the Royal Treasury arrived in Cavite, P.I. in April 16, 1780 without stopping at Guam. The *San Jose* left Acapulco in 1780 along with the *Señora del Rosario,* alias *Princesca,* and arrived in the Philippines in June 1780 after avoiding Guam. In November 1780 the *Princesca* left the Philippines and anchored in Umatac, Guam in May 1781 after a surviving a difficult voyage of exploration which took her

south of the equator. She was re-provisioned on Guam, but information about whether she was carrying Guam's *situado* is lacking. However, it is possible that in exchange for silver coins some Guam locals sold produce to the *Princesca's* officers, crew, or passengers. By 1781 some persons on board the ships stopping at Guam may have been in possession of coins minted in 1779. Apparently the *San Jose* had returned to Mexico in 1781 because in 1782 she sailed out of Acapulco carrying 1,846,460 pesos. No record was found to indicate that she stopped on Guam on her way to the Philippines. In October 1785 the *Fidelidad* carrying 300,000 pesos left Acapulco for the Philippines. The packet *San Carlos* carrying another 300,000 pesos left Acapulco on November 27, 1785 for the Philippines. In 1786 the *San Jose* sailed from Acapulco with the *situado* for the Marianas (Driver 2005:50). Guam's newly appointed governor, José Arlegui y Leóz (1786-1794), also arrived on Guam in 1786; both he and the *situado* may have been aboard the *San Jose* (Driver 2005:50). In 1787 the frigate *Astrea* sailed for the Philippines, stopping on Guam on April 26, 1787.

Apparently this nine-year-long list of voyages is incomplete because information about one or more vessel's round trip is missing. Even though the list may be deficient, it is apparent that considerable amounts of silver were transported from Mexico to the Philippines during a period that did not involve many ships stopping on Guam. The Pago coin with its mint date of 1779 could have arrived on Guam during the 1780s, or sometime later.

Explanations for the coin's appearance in Pago are that it may have been paid as wages to the governor (110 pesos per month) or other government official, a member of the military garrison (four pesos per month per man) or as support for the church (del Valle 1991:25; Driver 1999:4; Lévesque 2000[16]:92). Accurately reconstructing the wage scales paid to the men filling the various governmental positions on Guam is not a straightforward task. While the salaries for the various positions were set in Spain, the monies sent to Guam often were not sufficient to cover the actual number of filled positions (Hezel pers. comm. 2013). Even the disbursement of funds, once they arrived, was open to interpretation. For example, in 1711 Spain set the annual salary for a common soldier at 315 pesos a year (Hezel 1988), much more than the four pesos per month, or 48 pesos annually, reported above for a Guam military man.

In any event, it is unlikely that the coin belonged to a private resident of Pago because opportunities to acquire personal income were limited. There was little in the way of private sector enterprises. The economic situation changed somewhat in the later part of the 1700s when Governor Ceraín (1776-1786) issued a proclamation that permitted

"citizens, residents, and natives of the realm to engage freely in trade and commerce...everyone who has products of the land…may buy and sell, not only amongst yourselves, but also aboard the ships when they arrive, buying and selling to your best advantage whatever you can" (Driver 2005:45-46). Possibly the Pago coin arrived on Guam during this era of free trade.

Rosario House Coins

Two copper coins were recovered during archeological excavations at Rosario House in Hagåtña (Moore et al. 1993:47-48) (see Fig. 4). MARS completed the archaeological work in 1988 for the architectural firm, Taniguchi-Ruth-Smith and Associates (now Taniguchi, Ruth, Makio and Associates). Rosario House, situated between Dr. Hesler Place and Chalan Santo Papa, is part of the Hagåtña Historic District. It was placed on the Guam and National Registers of Historic Places on February 8, 1985 (Hunter-Anderson and Moore 2006).

The original date of construction of the house is unknown, but it is believed that portions of it were built in the 1860s or 1870s. The oldest part of the house is constructed of *mamposteria* (Fig. 7). Later additions are concrete. *Mamposteria* is a building technique introduced to Guam by the Spanish. The techniques involved in *mamposteria* construction are described as consisting of a "heavy, hard wood, rough hewn log frame, usually of *ifil* [also spelled *ifit and ifet*, *Intsia bijuga*] mortised and tenoned, or halved together and wooden pinned" (Brooks 1976).

Figure 7. View of the east side of Rosario House in the late 1970s (Photo courtesy Guam Museum).

The vertical side wall timbers supported the roof rafters which carried the roof tiles. The frame and roof were usually completed before the masonry side walls were started (Fig. 8). The side walls were built of coral rocks cemented together with a mortar made of coral sand and lime. The rocks were various sizes that fit nicely into the wall, and the larger they were, the better, because less mortar was required. When complete, the wall's surfaces were finished with a smooth plaster. The lime for the mortar was made locally by collecting pieces of coral or limestone, heaping them in a pile and burning them with a wood fire until they were reduced to lime powder (Brooks 1974).

Figure 8. An exposed ruin of another mamposteria foundation in Hagåtña showing the hole in the corner where the wooden post had been set into the ground before the stone wall was built around it. The photo also shows a dressed limestone block in place on the exterior side of the foundation's corner. The photo stick is one meter long. MARS photo by Rick Schaefer.

Rosario House is one of only a few residential structures in Hagåtña to survive WWII. Edith Rosario Blankenfeld, the daughter of Carolina Duenas Flores Rosario, lived in the house prior to WWII (Moore et al. 1993). She recalled that her mother, born in 1894, inherited the house from her parents who had inherited it from their parents. Mrs. Blankenfeld's father served in the U.S. Navy. According to Mrs. Blankenfeld, prior to WWII the house had a tiled roof, *ifit* wood floors, and screened windows with shutters.

MARS excavated three units placed near three different corners of the Rosario House lower wall or *bodega* (basement). The objectives of the archaeological work were to determine whether previous structures had been built on the site, to obtain a sample of artifacts which would provide information about activity patterns at the site, and to obtain a comparative collection of historic ceramics (see Bulgrin 2010 for descriptions of the historic ceramics recovered during the excavations) and other historic materials.

Three postholes were exposed near the bottom of Excavation Unit 1, located near the southeast corner of the *mamposteria* foundation. A piece of wood recovered from one of the postholes was submitted for radiocarbon dating. It provided a calendar date of approximately A.D. 1750, which would indicate when the post was harvested.

Assuming that the wood derived from a house post set into the hole, it appears that an earlier structure had been erected on the property. Associated with the posthole were fragments of clay tiles, a square nail, and several small pieces of historic ceramics and glass. Materials such as these were introduced to Guam during the Spanish Period.

The date clay tiles first were used in the construction of Hagåtña homes is uncertain, but historic records indicate that by 1747 the local tile factory provided tiles for the roofs of the houses that belonged to the Spanish officers (Lévesque 1999[14]:29). Did a Spanish officer once live on the Rosario House property?

A U.S.-made brass military button was among the items recovered from Excavation Unit 3 (Moore et al. 1993:44). It has an exterior diameter of 18 mm and it is 6 mm thick, with a loop or wire shank on its back. The embossure, or image, on the front of the button consists of an eagle looking down while perched on an anchor. Thirteen stars form a semi-circle around the eagle. The stamp on the back of the button includes the words "HORSTMANN" and "PHILADELPHIA." The Horstmann Company was a major U.S. military manufacturer and dealer from 1816 to 1947 (Bazelon and McGuinn 1990:67-68). This button may have belonged to Mrs. Blankenfeld's father, who served in the U.S. Navy.

Two more radiocarbon dates were obtained on material recovered from Excavation Unit 2 located near the northwest corner of the *mamposteria* foundation. These dates are approximately A.D. 1630 and A.D. 1840. Together, the three radiocarbon dates recovered from the excavations at Rosario House suggest that people have used this property for more than 350 years.

Two copper coins were recovered from Excavation Unit 1 at the Rosario House. One is from the U.S. and the other was not identified as to country of origin during the project. The U.S. coin is an Indian head penny, dated 1907 (Fig. 9). The image on the obverse side is Lady Liberty wearing a Native Indian feather headdress with the word LIBERTY on the headband. The words UNITED STATES OF AMERICA occur around the edge of the penny. The date occurs at the bottom below the profile. The reverse side features the words ONE CENT within a wreath of oak and olive leaves tied at the base with a ribbon and a shield at the top. Pennies with these images were minted from 1859 to 1909 at the Philadelphia mint (Wikipedia). In 1864 the alloy for the penny was changed to 95% copper and 5% tin and zinc, a mixture used until the Indian head penny was replaced by the Lincoln head penny in 1909. In 1907 the total number of Indian head pennies minted was 108,137,143 (www.//coin-collecting-guide-

for-beginners.com, 3/1/2012). From a coin collector's point of view, because so many pennies with this date were made, they have little value today. The current value of this penny ranges from U.S. 75 cents to one dollar (http://www.coinstudy.com, 3/1/2012).

Figure 9. Indian Head Penny with a mint date of 1907 recovered from Rosario House.

The Rosario House Indian head penny was brought to Guam in 1907 or later, probably by the U.S. Navy. It may have been issued as payment or circulated as change from an everyday transaction involving someone living in the house. According to Rogers (1995:119), in 1899 the first wages paid by the U.S. Navy to local Chamorro workers was the sum of twenty-four cents for a day of manual labor.

When Americans arrived to administer Guam in 1898, Mexican dollars (or pesos) were in wide circulation throughout the world (www.coins.nd.edu/, 3/2/2012). After Mexico gained independence from Spain in 1821, the new Mexican government began issuing its own pesos which contained a slightly higher silver content than did Spain's *reales* (Weatherford 1997:119). Mexican pesos were used in the United States and they were used on Guam along with U.S. currency. One of the first executive orders issued by Guam's first U.S. Naval Governor Leary mandated a fine of 100 Mexican dollars (Rogers 1995:119). When a typhoon in 1900 broke the lines and drove the cruiser USS *Yosemite* to sea, the crew of the collier (coal transport) USS *Justin* found the ship, rescued the remaining sailors who were still aboard and transferred some $60,000 in Mexican gold coins to their vessel prior to scuttling the *Yosemite* at sea (Rogers

1995:124). It was not until July 1, 1909 that American money completely replaced Mexican and Philippine money on Guam (Carano and Sanchez 1964:211).

The other copper coin recovered from the Rosario House excavations (Fig. 10) is badly worn and was not identified as to country of origin during the project. No year or identifying marks can be seen on its obverse side. On the reverse, there is a lion standing on its rear legs. The lion is enclosed within an escutcheon, or shield. A curved line of four (or five) asterisk-shaped symbols and a banner (or crown) embellishes the area above the escutcheon and the lion's head. This image appears very similar to an illustration of a *duit*, a copper coin issued by the Dutch East India Company (Fig. 11, left).

Figure 10. The probable copper duit recovered from Rosario House.

Figure 11. An example of a copper duit dated 1737. These coins were minted in the Netherlands from 1724 to 1804 for use in the Dutch possessions. They were not circulated in the homeland. (http://en.numista.com/catalogue/netherland_east_indies-1.html, 3/2/2012).

The Dutch ruled Indonesia from 1602-1799. The Dutch East India Company in the 17th century imported silver coins in the form of the lion dollar, which was minted in the Netherlands as well as the Spanish dollar (the most popular trade coin of the time). The lion dollar circulated throughout the Middle East and English colonies during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, but after 1713 they were no longer minted (www.coins.nd.edu/, 2/22/2012). In 1724 the Dutch East India Company began producing its own copper coins which were minted in the Netherlands and imported overseas in vast quantities during the 18th and into the 19th centuries. A duit had a diameter of about 20 mm and it was worth about a cent. In today's market, the value of a worn copper duit would be about $1.00 (http://en.numista.com/catalogue/netherland_east_indies-1.html, 3/2/2012).

If the unidentified Rosario coin is a Dutch *duit*, its opposite side would have been stamped with the year it was minted and the VOC logo (a large V with a smaller O on the V's left leg and a smaller C on the right leg) that stands for "Verenidge Oostindische Compagnie" translated as "Dutch East India Company." The position of the lion in the image on the reverse side of the Rosario coin indicates that it was struck in Holland rather than in one of the other mints that was locally operated in the Netherlands (catalogue.educationalcoin.com/images/ deluxe/VOC4DUITALB.pdf, 4/25/13). The VOC coins were made for circulation in the Dutch possessions. They were not used in the homeland. The VOC went bankrupt in 1800. If this coin is a *duit* probably it would have been minted sometime between 1726 and 1794

(catalogue.educationalcoin.com/images/deluxe/VOC4DUITALB.pdf, 4/25/13). How and when did a Dutch coin end up in Spanish Guam?

In the early part of the 1600s several Dutch ships passed by Guam on their westward voyages across the Pacific Ocean (Barratt 2003a). The first of these occurred in 1600 when Oliver Van Noort's ships paused briefly at Guam during their voyage around the world (Barratt 2003a:108). Other Dutch ships followed in 1616 and 1625 (Barratt 2003a: 126, 148). But these visits, which involved trading with the Chamorro people in their watercraft, would have been too early for the Rosario coin. Contact had been established, but it could not have involved this coin. While its exact mint date remains unknown, the Rosario coin would have had to arrive on Guam after 1724, the year the copper coins were first minted in the Netherlands.

By the time the Dutch were using this coin, with whom were they trading? Rather than sailing across the Pacific Ocean to reach their headquarters in Batavia (now Jakarta, Java), the Dutch trading ships made their way around Africa and across the Indian Ocean (Fig. 12). The Dutch did not trade directly with Guam or with the Philippines, but it is possible that people working or traveling on ships that stopped on Guam could have picked up a Dutch *duit* in Manila or elsewhere. The *duit* was widely circulated and Dutch ships sailed through the region from Indonesia, because they traded for a time with Taiwan, Japan, and China.

Another possibility is that it came to Guam from the Philippines. From 1762-1764 the Philippine trading centers of Manila and Cavite were captured by the British and briefly administered as a British colony (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History-of-the-Philippines, 3/5/2012). When Spain regained Manila in 1764, the British sailed for Batavia, the Dutch port. If the British, used *duit* while in Manila, then perhaps the Rosario coin came to Guam from Manila sometime after 1762. Beginning in 1765, there were changes in the international shipping routes that enabled some Spanish ships to sail from Manila to Spain around the southern tip of Africa (Driver 2005:44-45). In 1789 access to the port of Manila opened to ships from other nations and they were permitted to trade in Manila (Driver 2005). As a result of these developments, it is likely that after 1765 coins from different countries became more common in Manila and perhaps on Guam as well.

With Mexico's independence, administration of the Mariana Islands was transferred from the Viceroy of Mexico to the Governor-General of the Philippines in 1817 and Guam's annual financial support was reduced to 8,000 pesos (Patacsil 1998; Rodao

1998:30). Thereafter, Guam's supplies came from the Philippines. Beginning about 1820 and continuing to the 1850s, whaling ships often stopped on Guam (Martin 1979; Patacsil 1998) and the crew members aboard these vessels could have possessed coins from various places and used them to trade on Guam. In 1857 a Spanish Royal Mint established in Manila minted both gold and silver coins (see Patacsil 1998). In 1899, when Guam's Spanish treasury was turned over to the U.S. Navy, it contained coins from Mexico, Spain, Philippines, and South America (Patacsil 1998).

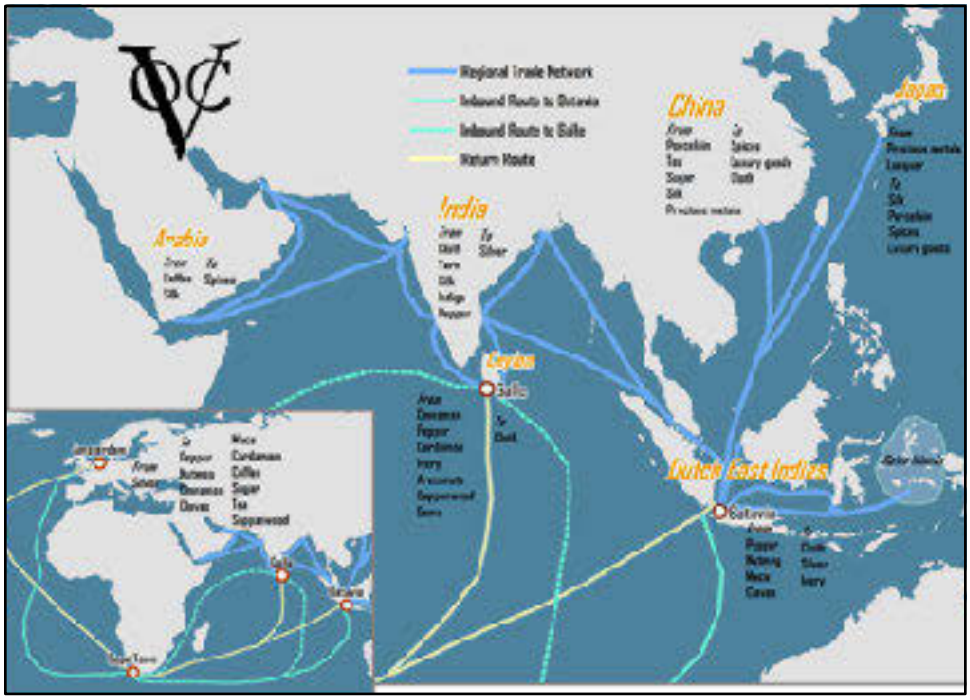


Figure 12. Map showing the trade routes of the Dutch East India company, VOC. (http://people.hofstra.edu/geotrans/eng/ch2en/conc2en/map_VOC_Trade_Network.html)

Discussion

The results of the archival and archaeological research presented here remind us that the Manila Galleons typically carried rich cargoes on their Pacific crossings. The westward bound voyages, which were to stop on Guam, carried enormous quantities of silver coins. The eastward bound voyages, which sailed north of the Marianas, carried various types of gold objects and other riches. Both silver coins and gold objects have been recovered from the underwater ruins of the galleons wrecked in the Mariana Islands. Given the shipwrecks and the historic accounts, it is plausible that silver and gold objects could exist on land. However, archaeologists working on land-based projects in the Marianas rarely, if ever, recover gold or silver items. The Spanish silver and the Dutch copper coin found at two different historic sites on Guam are unique

findings for MARS archaeologists. Coins such as these were widely circulated throughout the world when the two major international trade systems they represent (Spain and Dutch) were operating in the Pacific and Indo-Pacific. The third old coin, the 1907 Indian Head penny, represents the arrival of the U.S. Naval administration to Guam.

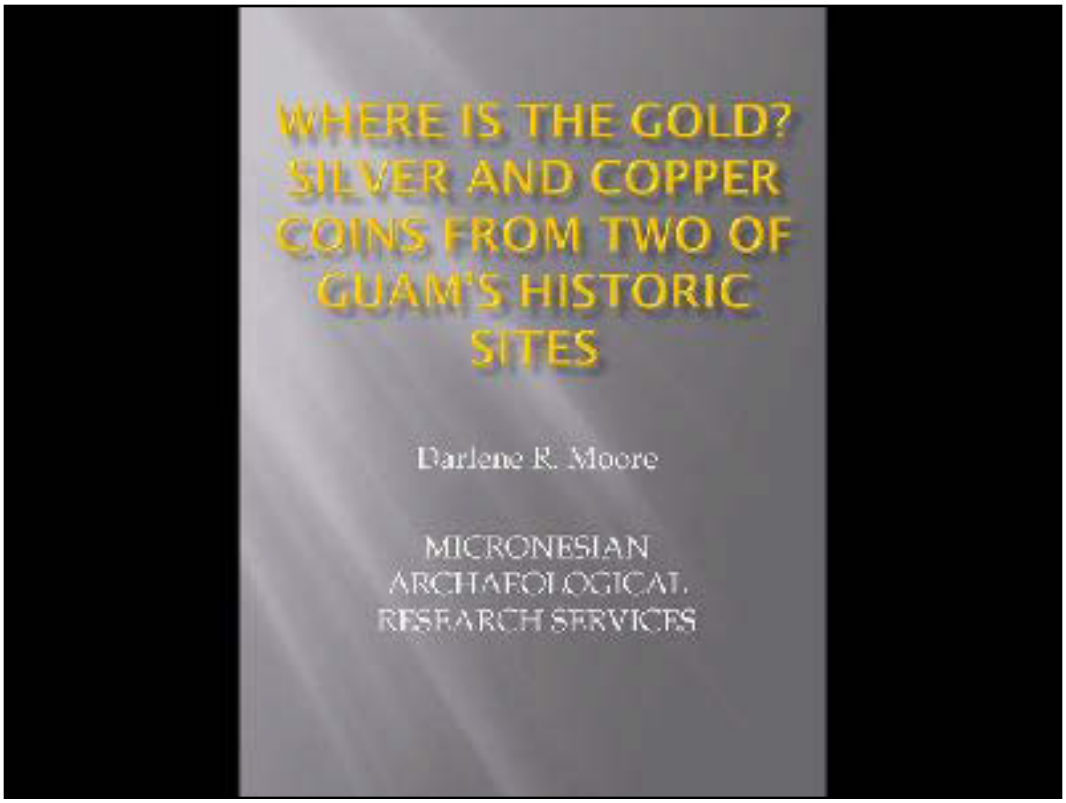
Because Spain regularly deposited Spanish silver coins on Guam for governmental and clerical support, to find a silver coin may not be totally unexpected. However, how and when the Dutch coin was brought to the island remains open to conjecture. It is a reminder that in the past, as now, many broadly traveled folks stopped, or resided, on the islands.

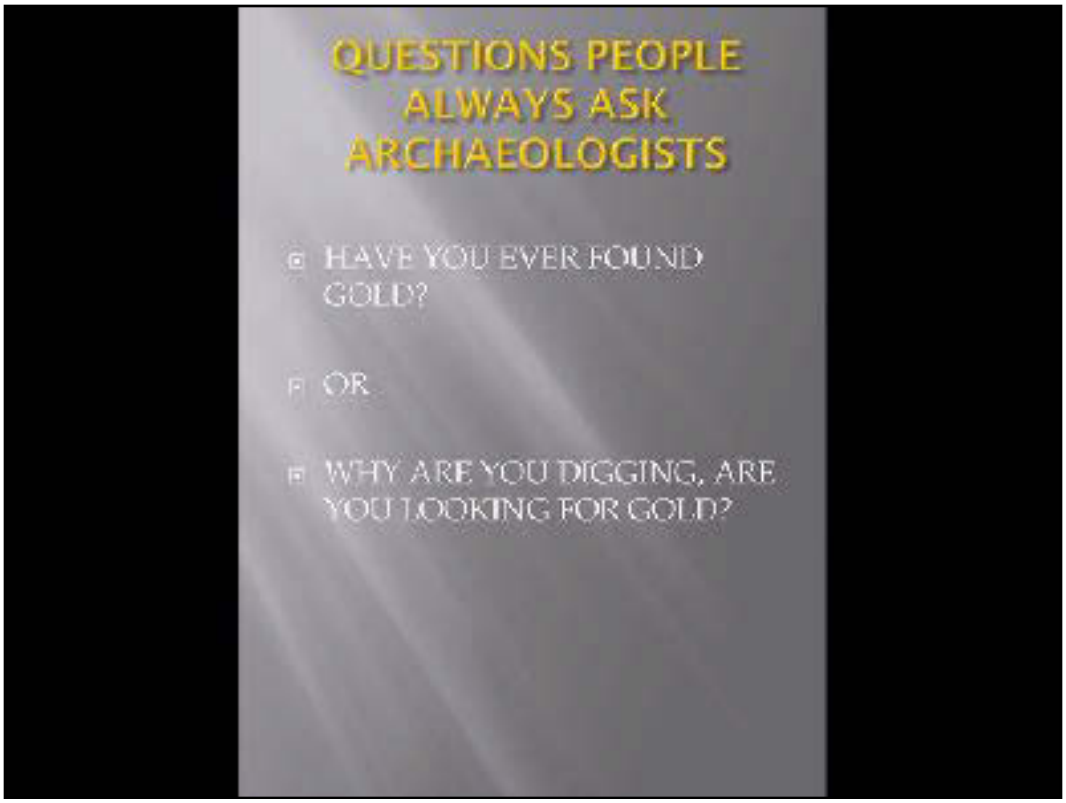
Although abundant gold and silver riches were transported on the ships that sailed across the Pacific Ocean for some 250 years of the Spanish Period, Guam's local population benefitted little economically from Spain's trade network. Neither did it benefit from other international trade networks that operated in the regions west of the Marianas. Throughout the Spanish Period in the Marianas, the local people continued to raise their own food and barter for their needs. They received no monetary payment for working on government projects, labor that was required as a form of tribute (del Valle 1991). Although eventually individuals were permitted to sell goods to passing ships, and/or to collect fees for providing room and board or other services to visiting off-duty seamen, whalers, and/or the convicts and political prisoners that were exiled to Guam during the period ranging from 1860 to 1890 (Rogers 1995), few, if any, private businesses developed as a result. What valuables arrived on island were probably carefully managed, often it seems by the island's corrupt governors, some of whom accumulated a certain degree of wealth before their terms expired and they left the island (Driver 2005).

Based on information presented here, and given the number of archaeological projects completed in the Mariana Islands over the last 40 years, the likelihood that archaeologists will recover gold valuables during land-based projects seems extremely rare, though rumors of buried treasures persist to this day. While gold may elude us, it is certain that future archaeological investigations will yield many more valuable nuggets of information thereby expanding our understanding of the rich history of these islands.

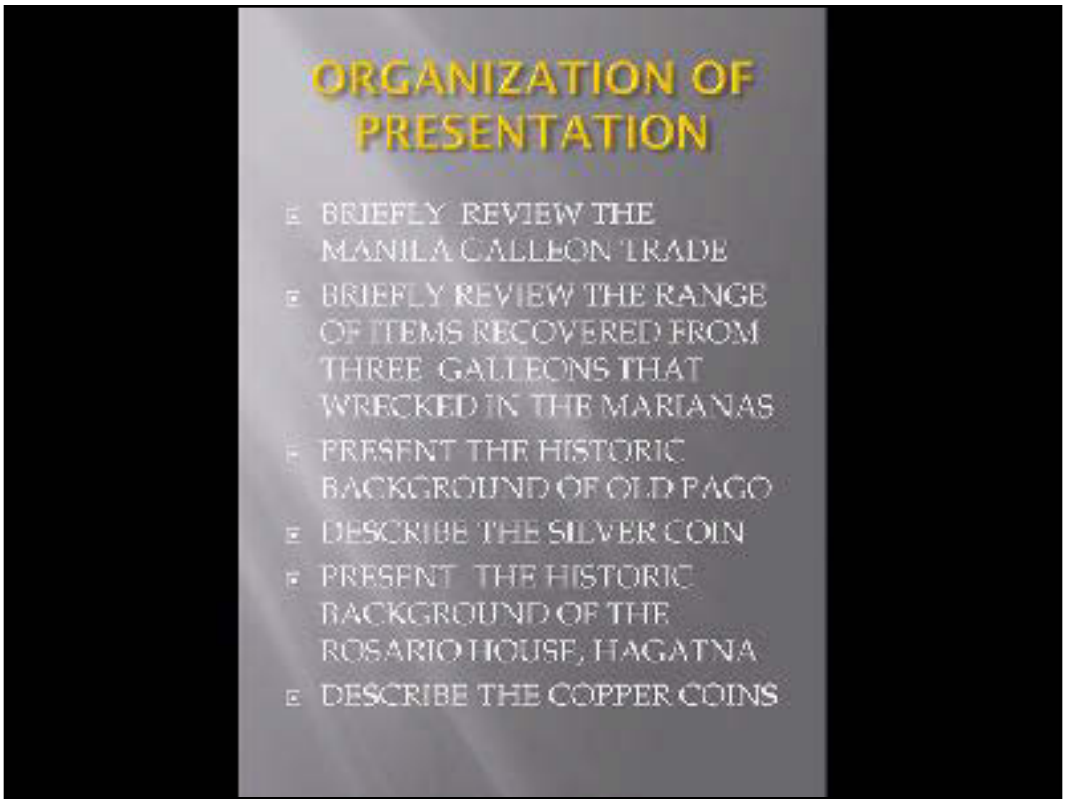
Presentation slides begin on the following page.

Presentation Slides






WHAT VALUABLE METALS HAVE ARCHAEOLOGISTS RECOVERED?
MARS ARCHAEOLOGISTS HAVE NOT FOUND GOLD
NO NATURAL GEOLOGICAL GOLD BEARING DEPOSITS IN THE MARIANAS
MARITIME FIRMS HAVE RECOVERED GOLD AND SILVER FROM SPANISH GALLEONS THAT WRECKED IN THE MARIANAS
PERHAPS IT IS INFORMATION ABOUT THE RICHES ABOARD THE MANILA GALLEONS THAT PROMPT PEOPLE TO ASK IF WE ARE SEARCHING FOR GOLD
MARS FOUND A SILVER COIN DURING A PROJECT IN PAGO BAY, GUAM
AND TWO COPPER COINS DURING A PROJECT IN HAGATNA, GUAM


ORGANIZATION OF PRESENTATION
BRIEFLY REVIEW THE MANILA GALLEON TRADE
BRIEFLY REVIEW THE RANGE OF ITEMS RECOVERED FROM THREE GALLEONS THAT WRECKED IN THE MARIANAS
PRESENT THE HISTORIC BACKGROUND OF OLD PAGO
DESCRIBE THE SILVER COIN
PRESENT THE HISTORIC BACKGROUND OF THE ROSARIO HOUSE, HAGATNA
DESCRIBE THE COPPER COINS

MAP OF THE PACIFIC SHOWING THE ROUTES OF THE MANILA GALLEONS, ADAPTED FROM ROGERS (1995). GALLEON TRADE CONTINUED FROM ABOUT 1565 TO 1815
SILVER ON THE WESTWARD VOYAGE
GOLD, PORCELAIN, SILK, GEMS ON EASTWARD VOYAGE

MAP OF THE FOUR SOUTHERN ISLANDS IN THE MARIANAS SHOWING THE LOCATION OF FOUR SHIPWRECKS

1 – Santa Margarita on Aoba (1671); 2 – Nuestra Senora de la Concepcion on Saipan (1638); 3 – Nuestra Senora de Vida (1662) on Guam; 4 is a Spanish Frigate (1814) in Apra Harbor, Guam

ITEMS RECOVERED FROM THE SHIPWRECKS

1) *SANTA MARGARITA* – ROTA
   Gold chains retrieved by Chamorros
   Ivory, porcelain, gemstones (garnet)
   by ROTA Partners in 1995
2) *CONCEPCION* – SAIPAN
   Cannons retrieved by Spanish
   More than 1300 pieces of gold jewelry and other decorative gold items, gemstones, porcelain, storage jars, a single silver coin by Pacific Sea Resources in 1990
3) *PILAR* – GUAM
   5,000 coins retrieved by Spanish
   36 silver coins, cannon balls, porcelain and storage jar fragments by Pilar Project in early 1990s

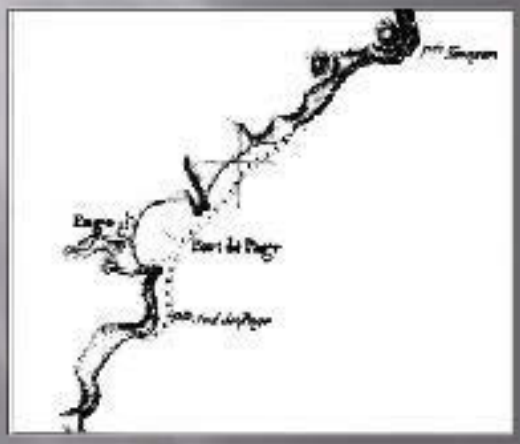
MAP OF GUAM SHOWING THE LOCATION OF THE OLD PAGO VILLAGE AND THE ROSARIO ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECTS

OLD PAGO

- SPANISH VILLAGE OF PAGO ESTABLISHED IN 1680
- PEOPLE LIVING IN THE SURROUNDING AREAS WERE RELOCATED TO THE VILLAGE
- LARGE SETTLEMENT DIVIDED BY THE PAGO RIVER
- IT HAD A CHURCH, SCHOOLS, GOVERNOR'S HOUSE AND ACCOMODATIONS FOR THE CLERGY
- DESTROYED BY A TYPHOON IN 1855, ABANDONED IN 1856 AFTER SMALLPOX EPIDEMIC

PLAN OF PAGO VILLAGE IN 1817

COURTESY MARC MAP COLLECTION



HISTORIC MATERIAL RECOVERED

- PORCELAIN AND GLASS BOTTLE FRAGMENTS DATING TO THE 1700-1800s
- POSSIBLE GLASS CANDLEBASE
- PIECES OF STONE GRIDDLES CALLED *KOMMAT* IN CHAMORRO
- SPANISH COIN WORTH TWO *REALES*

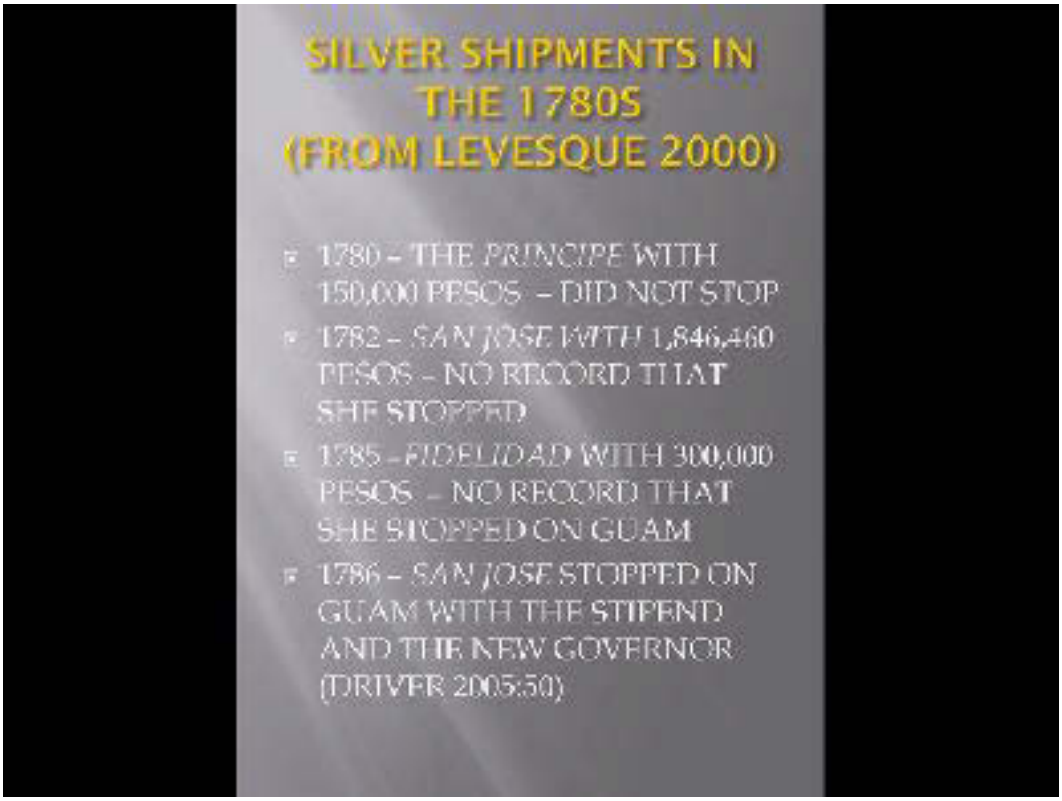
SKETCH FROM THE FREYCINET EXPEDITION IN 1817 SHOWING A PROBABLE *KOMMAT* BEING USED TO COOK *TITIYAS* ON GUAM (ARTEN BARRATT 2002)

MARS' PAGO RADIOCARBON DATES

- A.D. 870-1020 LATTE PERIOD
- A.D. 1290-1420 LATTE PERIOD
- A.D. 1440-1640 LATE LATTE, EARLY SPANISH PERIOD

SILVER COIN FROM PAGO

- MINTED IN 1779 AT THE MEXICO CITY MINT
- VALUE IS TWO *REALES*

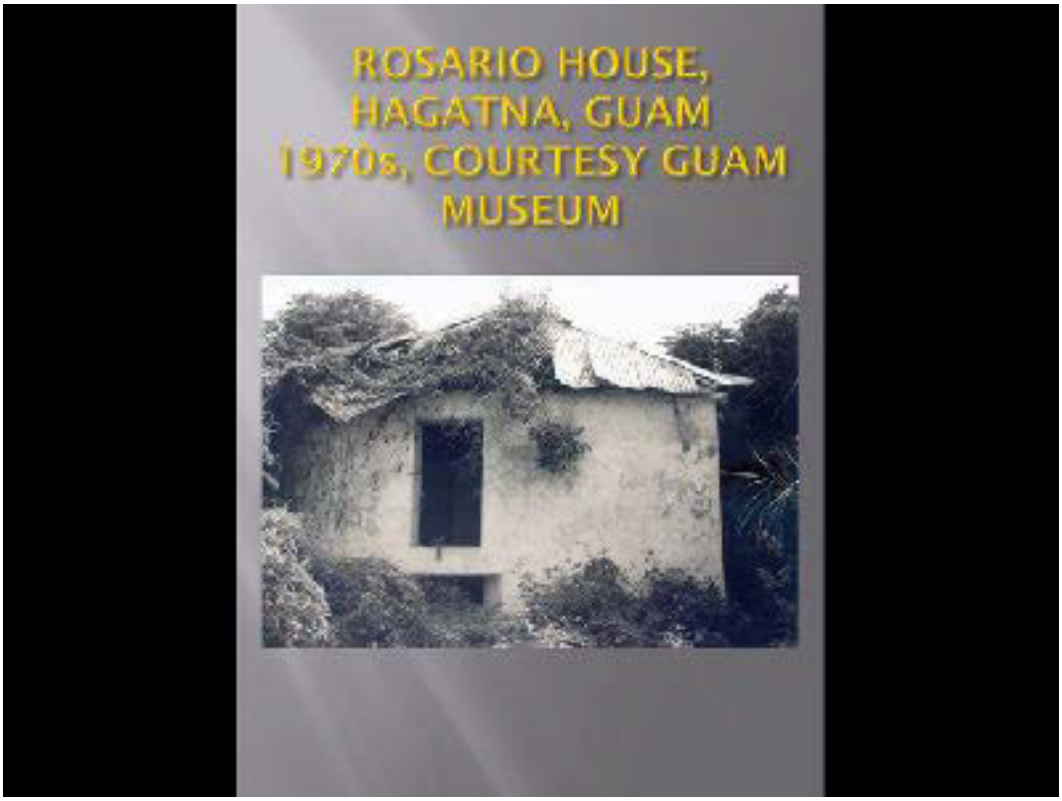

SILVER SHIPMENTS IN THE 1780S (FROM LEVESQUE 2000)
1780 – THE *PRINCIPE* WITH 150,000 PESOS – DID NOT STOP
1782 – *SAN JOSE* WITH 1,846,460 PESOS – NO RECORD TI IAT SHE STOPPED
1785 – *FIDELIDAD* WITH 300,000 PESOS – NO RECORD THAT SHE STOPPED ON GUAM
1786 – *SAN JOSE* STOPPED ON GUAM WITH THE STIPEND AND THE NEW GOVERNOR (DRIVER 2005:50)

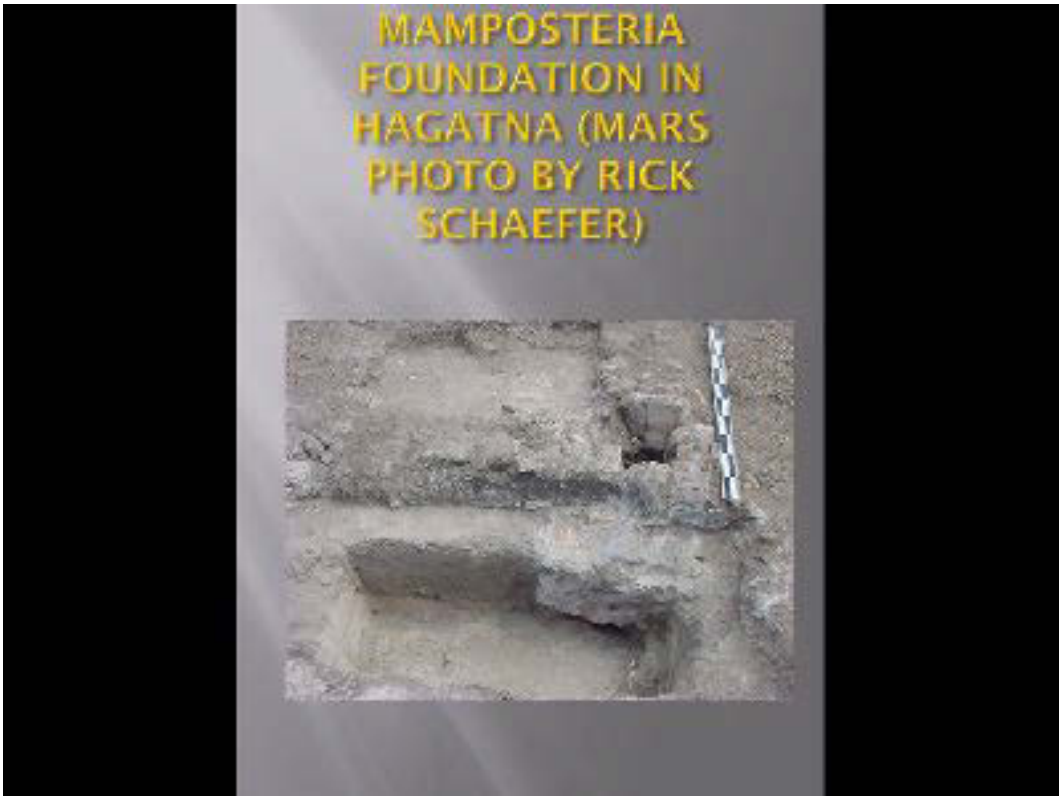

WHO LOST THE COIN IN PAGO?
BELONGED TO THE GOVERNOR WHO WAS PAID ABOUT 110 PESOS A MONTH
BELONGED TO A SOLDIER OR VILLAGE ADMINISTRATOR (SOLDIER PAID 4 PESOS A MONTH)
BELONGED TO THE CHURCH
BELONGED TO A PRIVATE CITIZEN. IN 1776 GOVERNOR CERAIN PROCLAIMED THAT GUAM'S RESIDENTS COULD TRADE WITH THE SHIPS WHEN THEY ARRIVED, BUYING AND SELLING GOODS

ROSARIO HOUSE, HAGATNA

- CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUE IS KNOWN AS *MAMPOSTERIA*, INTRODUCED BY THE SPANISH
- POSSIBLY BUILT IN THE 1800s
- ONE OF A FEW HOUSES IN HAGATNA THAT SURVIVED WWII
- ITEMS RECOVERED INCLUDE FRAGMENTS OF PORCELAIN, GLASS, CLAY TILES
- TWO COPPER COINS

MAP OF A PORTION OF OLD HAGATNA WITH MODERN OVERLAY IN RED SHOWING ROSARIO HOUSE VICINITY


ROSARIO HOUSE, HAGATNA, GUAM 1970s, COURTESY GUAM MUSEUM


MAMPOSTERIA FOUNDATION IN HAGATNA (MARS PHOTO BY RICK SCHAEFER)

ROSARIO HOUSE

- THREE RADIOCARBON DATES
- A.D. 1630
- A.D. 1750
- A.D. 1840

U.S. INDIAN HEAD PENNY MINTED IN 1907

PHILADELPHIA MINT

PENNIES WITH THIS IMAGE MADE FROM 1859 TO 1909

68,137,443 PRODUCED IN 1907

IN EARLY 1900s NAVY PAID 24 CENTS FOR A DAY OF WORK (Rogers 1995)

POSSIBLE DUTCH EAST INDIA *DUIT* FROM ROSARIO HOUSE AND A PHOTO OF A VOC *DUIT*

ROSARIO HOUSE

INTER NET
(en.numista.com/catalogue/netherland_east_indies-1.html)

MAP SHOWING THE VOC TRADE NETWORK AND SAILING ROUTES

(people.hofstra.edu/geotrans/eng/ch2en/conc2en/map_VOC_Trade_network.html)

CONCLUSION

- GIVEN THE SILVER COINS PAID TO GUAM DURING THE SPANISH PERIOD MAYBE IT IS NOT THAT UNUSUAL TO FIND A SILVER COIN ON THE ISLAND
- HOW AND WHEN A VOC COIN ARRIVED REMAINS OPEN TO DISCUSSION
- THE VOC COIN SERVES AS A REMINDER THAT THEN AS NOW MANY WIDELY TRAVELED FOLKS ARRIVED IN THE MARIANA ISLANDS

THE END

- GOLD MAY ELUDE US, BUT FUTURE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS WILL REVEAL MANY MORE NUGGETS OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE RICH HISTORY OF THE MARIANA ISLANDS

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Darlene Moore has been an archaeologist with Micronesian Archaeological Research Services (MARS) since the consulting firm was incorporated on Guam in 1992. Prior to that, she worked with the historic preservation section of the GovGuam Dept. of Parks and Recreation, on archaeological projects undertaken by the Micronesian Area Research Center at UOG, and as a sole proprietor providing archaeological services to clients. MARS has completed archaeological projects on Guam, Rota, Tinian, and Saipan, and some of the other Micronesian islands. Moore completed her BA and MA degrees at the University of Guam specializing in the analysis of Mariana Islands pottery.

A Poster Presentation, 2nd Marianas History Conference 2013 Guam

Kunsidera i Fina'pus-niha i Man'antigu na Mañainata sa' i Estorian-niha Estoriata Lokui' (1670-1695)

Breaking the Silence: Remembering the Chamorro-Spanish War (1670-1695)

By Genevieve S. Cabrera, Kelly G. Marsh and Monica Dolores Baza
[1]Cultural Historian and Cultural and Historical Consultant, UIU Micronesia, Inc.,
[2] History of Guam Professor, University of Guam
[3] Cultural Artist, Chamorro Artists Association
kgmarsh@gmail.com

Abstract: *Torn from the land, lives lost, an indigenous way of life forever altered–yet the battle sites of the decades long Chamorro-Spanish wars and those who fought upon them are silent within the realm of public recognition and commemoration. This poster promotes having these battles as a part of the communities' consciousness by crossing modern political divides and working together to understand what the elders, landscapes, and archives have to say regarding this seminal time.*

Genevieve S. Cabrera's deep-seated interest in ancient Chamorro history began as a girl when the elders told and retold old stories. Cabrera's varied interests are culturally based, particularly focused on the archaeology of the ancient Chamorro people and preservation of the unique cultural heritage of the Northern Mariana Islands. Cabrera holds a BA in Art History and has authored articles and field survey reports on the history and archaeology of the NMI. While working as the staff historian for the Division of Historic Preservation, she published The Historic and Cultural Sites of the CNMI: The National Register Sites. 15 2nd Marianas History Conference 2013.

Kelly G. Marsh earned a BA in history and anthropology and an MA in Micronesian studies from the University of Guam. She was the former vice-chair for the Guam Historic Preservation Review Board and worked as a History of Guam instructor at the University of Guam and at the high school level. Marsh has also authored the Guam Year-in-Review for The Contemporary Pacific: A Journal of Island Affairs for several years. She recently completed her doctorate work in cultural heritage studies in the School of Environmental Sciences at Charles Sturt University, Albury-Thurgoona, Australia. Her dissertation explores the presence of Indigenous values in Micronesian heritage and conservation efforts.

Monica Baza turns to drawing and painting to express the beauty around her, striving for clarity and truth regarding Guam's history and origin. She is a founding member of the Chamorro Artists Association (CAA) and owns and operates Baza Designs, Inc. with her sister, specializing in artistic productions that interpret our unique island lifestyle through contemporary eyes. She has participated in the Pacific Festival of the Arts, CAA Art Exhibits, various Chamorro Month exhibits, and Creative Hands 2013 and has permanent collections at Coast 360 Federal Credit Union, Hotel Nikko Guam, and Pacific Modair TNK. Monica attended the University of Guam before earning her Bachelor's Degree in Fine Arts from Concordia University in Montreal, Canada, 1987.

Kunsidera i Fina'pus-niha i Man'antigu na Mañainata sa' i Estorian-niha Estoriata Lokui' (1670-1695)

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I Asuntu, *The issue*

Public historic and commemorative sites present our peoples' history and culture to others as well as to ourselves. Many consider maintained, registered, and public sites as embodying the complete story about a people and their place. Thus, efforts for identifying, nominating, registering and/or developing public sites are by their very nature never-ending as historical knowledge is 'uncovered' or re-examined, fields such as history and cultural and historical preservation evolve, and society changes over time.

Though Chamorros were torn from their ancestral lands and thousands of lives were lost while their traditional way of life was forever altered, the battle sites of the decades long Chamorro-Spanish war and those who fought upon them are virtually silent within the realm of public recognition and commemoration. As such, our most-visited public sites present an imbalanced, incomplete, and misleading story about our islands and our people to our communities, youth, and visitors.

Those battles and salient related events should become a part of the communities' consciousness by working together across modern political divides and listening to what our elders, our landscapes, and the archives have to say regarding this seminal time in our history.

Håfa Gimagahit Masusedi, *The silence: Absence of the Indigenous Narrative*

While Guam and NMI communities and government agencies have been active in ensuring that Indigenous sites have a relatively strong presence in our landscapes and on our historic preservation registers, other political time periods, war stories, and life experiences currently dominate our registers and the public narratives told at our more accessible visited sites.

Tours meant to showcase our islands' histories and cultures offered to visitors, new residents, and our children commonly center around our maintained, registered, and public sites. Yet, gaps exist in what sites are maintained, registered, and public. Even when a site is recognized, the import of Indigenous history may not be present and thus remains silent. At this point in time, loud and clear are aspects of World War II and of foreign activities undertaken during colonial administrations. Relatively silent are the two decades of battles that led to the presence of those colonial administrations in the Mariana Islands.

Håyi Tumungu' Kabålis Håfa Masusedi, *The impact*

Continuing this silence impacts the economic, physical, and mental health and well-being of our communities. It distances our communities and our children from understanding the people, places, and events of this period in time; a period of time that led to the socio-political and cultural circumstances of today. It also denies visitors and new residents a richer experience, connection, and understanding of our home and our people.

Håyi Para Ufan'na'i Pätti Nu i Sinisedi'n-niha i Antigu na Mañainata, *Setting the story straight*

The story of the Chamorro-Spanish war is multifaceted. Varied motivations and goals spurred the involvement of Chamorro men and women on both sides of the battles as well as of others present in the islands—Carolinians, Filipinos, and Spanish representatives. Consequences of the war impacted the islands and island life in far-reaching ways, changing our islands forever. This complex time in history deserves further examination, deliberation, and public space.

Working together, as one culture and one people, in partnership with our communities and government agencies, we can give voice to the many facets and factions of this silenced portion of our shared history. We can rediscover, reconnect, remember, and raise our communities' consciousness. Elders, historical documents, and the land itself have knowledge to impart.

The names of those villages destroyed and the clans who lived upon them can be heard again. The feats of unsung heroes and others can be sung. Together we can identify the locations of rousing speeches; where hundreds or thousands rallied and where offenses and defenses were staged; which places served as refuge; where people were funneled to; where lives were lost; and where the final battle occurred.

With this knowledge, a more complete story of the Mariana Islands and its Indigenous people will be told. The public presentation of the islands' narrative will be more balanced. The events and sacrifices of this seminal time in our history will be honored. Our youth will have better opportunity to remember the story of our ancestors, and those new to our islands will have access to a more complete understanding of our homelands.

Contacts

Genevieve S. Cabrera, UIU Micronesia, Inc., pututt6837@gmail.com
Kelly G. Marsh, Charles Sturt University, Albury-Thurgoona, Australia, kmarsh@csu.edu.au
Monica Dolores Baza, Baza Designs, Inc., bazadesigns@guam.net

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El Camino Real

Guam's Spanish Period Infrastructure

By Nicole Vernon, MA, RPA
Archaeologist
GANDA
nvernon@garciaandassociates.com

Abstract: *El Camino Real, "The Royal Road," was a road constructed under Spanish authority in the late 1700s to improve communication and military control between the villages of Agaña and Umatac. Research was conducted to reconstruct the road's original route based on historic maps and documents, extant historic sites, and topography. Findings indicate that El Camino Real was a dynamic feature that evolved over time in response to interaction between indigenous and Spanish cultures, as well as the development of the Spanish Colonial Empire.*

Nicole Vernon serves as a Senior to Supervisory Archeologist at GANDA's Hawai`i office. She has archaeological field and laboratory experience in the Pacific, Midwest, and Caribbean, and has received academic training in remote sensing and the application of GIS. Ms. Vernon has been instrumental in developing innovative approaches to cultural resource management at GANDA, including the use of spectral analysis to create predictive models for archaeological site location and the documentation of archaeological features using photogrammetry. In the Mariana Is-lands she works on both academic and cultural resource management projects at sites dating to the earliest human occupation through the post-WWII period.

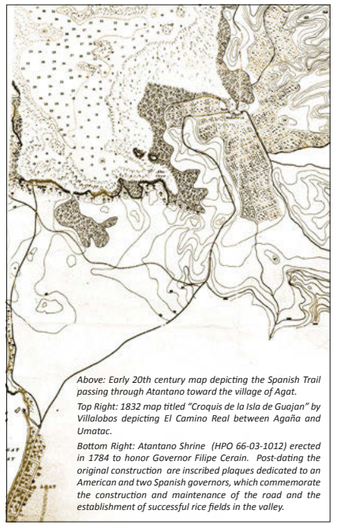
Reconstructing El Camino Real

the Evolution of Guam's Spanish Trail from Agaña to Umatac

Talayfac Bridge in Agat, Guam

Author: Nicole I. Vernon, M.A.
Archaeologist, Garcia and Associates

El Camino Real, also known as the Spanish Trail, refers to a coastal trail or road used during Guam's Spanish occupation that connected the villages of Agaña and Umatac. Research indicates that the route existed as a footpath passing through traditional villages prior to the Spanish Period. After Spanish colonization, the trail was improved with the installation of bridges, causeways, and parapets. A reconstruction of the historic passageway's evolution was achieved through archival research and GIS-based methods, including map regression analysis, historic photograph analysis, and inventory of cultural and historic properties along the route.



Above: Early 20th century map depicting the Spanish Trail passing through Atantano toward the village of Agat.

Top Right: 1832 map titled "Croquis de la Isla de Guajan" by Villalobos depicting El Camino Real between Agaña and Umatac.

Bottom Right: Atantano Shrine (HPO 66-03-1012) erected in 1784 to honor Governor Filipe Cerain. Post-dating the original construction are inscribed plaques dedicated to an American and two Spanish governors, which commemorate the construction and maintenance of the road and the establishment of successful rice fields in the valley.

prepared by:

GARCIA and ASSOCIATES

NATURAL & CULTURAL RESOURCE CONSULTANTS

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El Camino Real during the Spanish Period on Guam

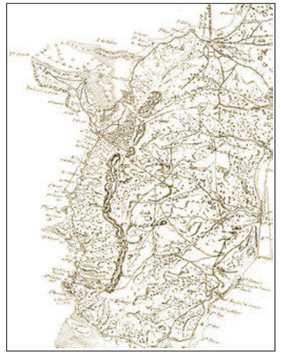
Prior to the formal existence of El Camino Real there were pathways connecting villages along Guam's west coast. An early reference to a road that was likely a portion of El Camino Real concerned the murder of Spanish missionaries: "This apparent state of peace was disturbed by the murder of Padre Esquerra and five companions on the road between Cetti and Fouha on February 2 1674" (Cox 1917:34). It was incidents such as these that contributed to the Spanish seeing a need for an improved road network that would allow better military movement to control the local population.

During the Galleon Trade the capital was in Agaña, however, historic documents indicate that the governors spent much of their time in Umatac, and many suggested the capital would be better located in Agat. At this time Umatac was the best port for ships. In 1792, Captain Alejandro Malaspina reported that he found Apra Harbor unsuitable for anchorage and preferred the port of Umatac. A geographical problem with Agaña, beyond the distance from the port of Umatac, was the rugged terrain and need to circumnavigate the wetlands surrounding Atantano River. Before the road's completion through the swamp, it is likely that most people traveled by boat from Piti to Umatac.

The completion of the passage through the Antantano swamp was a crucial improvement for El Camino Real. Prior to this, portions of the road are described from Agat to Umatac and Agaña to Apra. The area between Agat and Apra was swamp, and traveling by land required an extreme detour inland. In 1784-5, Governor Felipe Cerain commissioned the construction of bridges through the swamp, thereby shorting the journey between villages. Governor Captain Francisco Ramon Villalobos (1831-1837), who oversaw the construction of many roads and bridges on Guam, described the causeway and its military potential (Villalobos 1833:22):

> *The causeway of Atantano constructed over a deep swamp from 1793 to 1795 by Governor Felipe Cerain has 16 openings, approximately three rods wide for the passage of the surrounding waters and for the overflow of the high tides. These passages are covered transversely by very consistent boards placed on the rubble-work masonry. This causeway is approximately two rods wide, all of it except the vertex at the angle, in built inside a forest of mangroves and reeds so that, if the boards were retrieved it would in itself be a fortification and defense against the enemy.*

According to some sources, and in line with Spanish colonial practice, road improvement work to connect all towns was to facilitate military movement, particularly during times of dissidence, rather than improving conditions and ease of communication for the local population (Cox et al. 1917:37).



Left: Parapet at Spanish Trail remnants (HPO 66-02-1005) (photograph provided by Oliver Bordallo).

Bellow: Possible pavement remnants or retaining wall at Spanish Trail (HPO 66-02-1005) (photograph provided by Oliver Bordallo).

Current Conditions

The connection between Agat and Umatac was the last portion of El Camino Real to be affected by Second American Period or modern road improvements. Today this passageway contains the majority of extant cultural resources associated with El Camino Real, including *mamposteria* (stone and mortar construction) bridges and stone alignments or parapets.

From Agat to Umatac traveling the road could be very difficult during the rainy season as it passed through sandy and swampy terrain, mainly along the beach or slightly inland through jungle. The *mamposteria* bridges built over streams and rivers can be seen today at Talyfac and Sella Rivers.

With the exception of bridges, the most visible remnants of El Camino Real are portions of the trail at Fouha (66-02-1005) that were once paved with stone or *cascajo* (gravel), and had stone parapets in difficult areas (De la Corte 1875). The road bed is no longer present, but remnants of retaining walls can be seen along ridges.

Left: Sella Bay Spanish Bridge (HPO 66-02-1002) was constructed in the late 1700s. The bridge measures 94 ft long by 9 ft wide. It is a double-arch structure over the Sella River and is located in a forested area just inland from the beach. The bridge is in fairly good condition.

Bellow: Approximate route of El Camino Real during the Spanish and First American Periods. The trail connected the capitol Agaña with the southern village of Umatac, while passing through the villages of Asan, Tepungan, Piti, and Agat along the coast.

Reconstructing the Historic Trail

A map illustrating El Camino Real was created using multiple resources and logical speculation. To begin, First American Period maps were used to create a basic route. Then historical descriptions aided in determining passageways, as did topographic features that appear in the historic maps. From this point modern data was employed. This included the locations of known cultural resources along the trail, such as Spanish bridges. Also of use was a digital elevation model (DEM). A slope map was derived from the DEM to allow more precision. For example, at points where the trail appeared to ascend or descend a very steep slope or cross a cliffline, the route was altered to naturally follow the landscape. These changes were also corroborated with historical descriptions and maps. The final map produced is intended to be verified in the field during future work.

Conclusions

The reconstructed El Camino Real corridor follows closely with modern Route 1, 2A, and 2 between Agaña and Agat. From Agat to Umatac, El Camino Real was notoriously difficult to pass, which is likely why the current road was built inland. The original purpose of El Camino Real was found to vary between sources. Some said it was a road for dignitaries to travel, others identified it as a road to move artillery or a road to facilitate troop movement. Based on the dearth of firsthand accounts commenting on whether these actions occurred, it seems more likely that despite the above mentioned intentions, that the road was used by local inhabitants and the occasional explorer. This scenario seems to correspond with the common descriptions of the lack of Spanish Period road maintenance between Agat and Umatac.

REFERENCES AVAILABLE UPON REQUEST

Social Realities and Legal Regulations

A Snapshot of Guam in 1886 as Seen Through the Bando General by Governor Olive

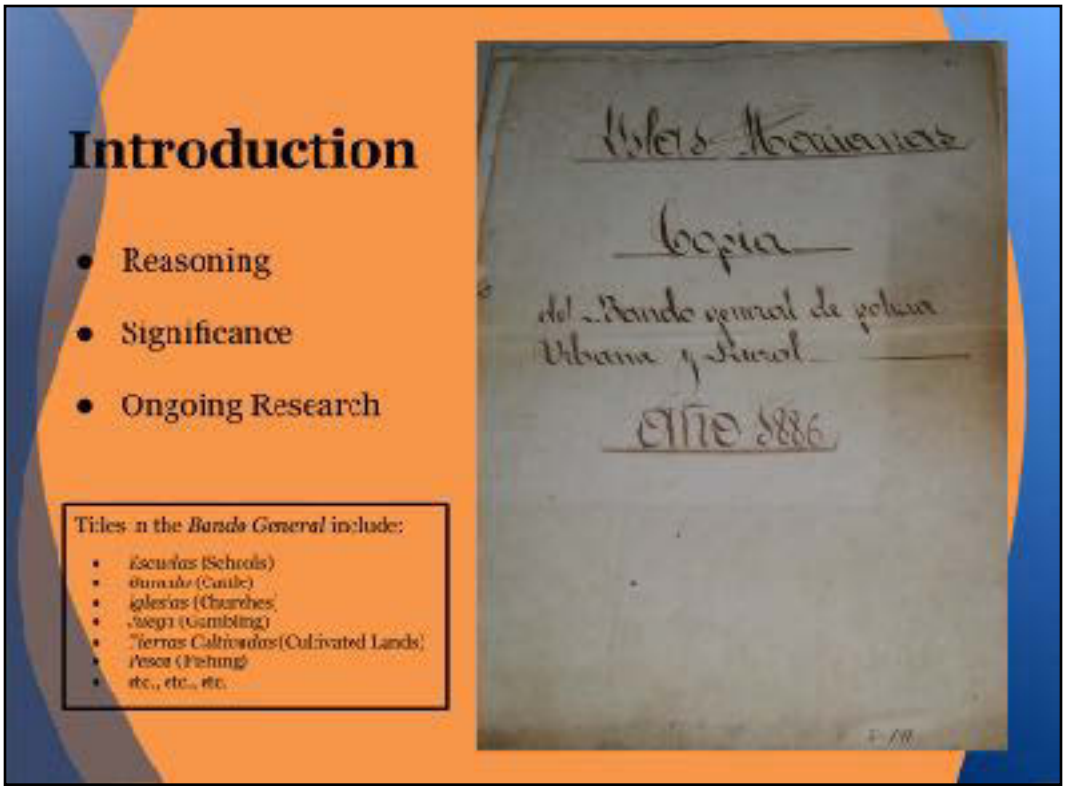
By Mariana Sanders, Francine Clement and Carla Smith
[1]Anthropology and History Graduate Student, University of Guam
[2] Secondary Education Graduate Student, University of Guam
[3] Micronesian Studies Graduate Student, University of Guam
marianasanders.671@gmail.com

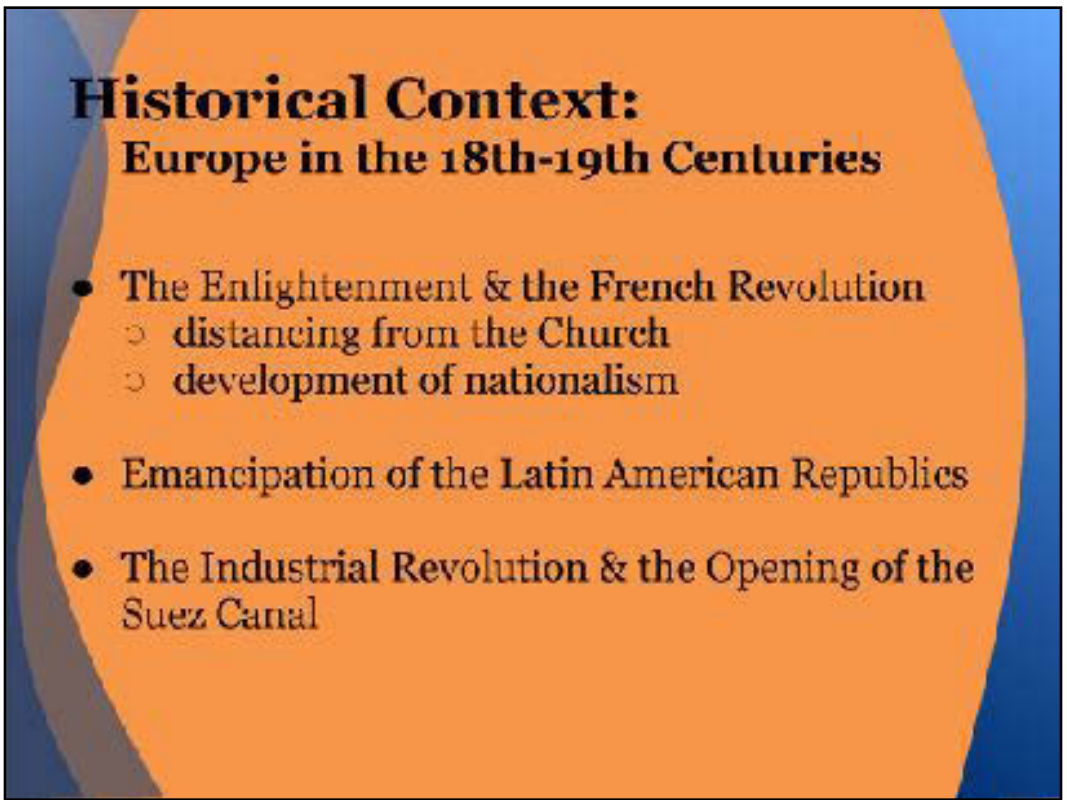
Abstract: *This presentation, by UOG students in Dr. Carlos Madrid's History 450: Topics in Pacific History (Primary Sources for the History of the Mariana Islands) summer 2013 class, assesses select sections of Spanish governor Francisco Olive's Bando (General Edict of Urban and Rural Policy for Guam, 1886). The document addresses issues including land ownership, cattle, parties and entertainment, and traditional medicine. This presentation situates the document as the colonial government's response to the assassination on Guam of Governor Angel de Pazos in 1884, as well as a preventive measure against the growing interest in Micronesia of other foreign powers. Through the Bando of 1886, Governor Olive attempted to regain the trust, obedience, and patronage of the Mariana Islanders. As such, the document is revealed as a magnificent tool through which social realities, economic challenges, and indigenous responses in the late 19th Century Marianas can be read.*

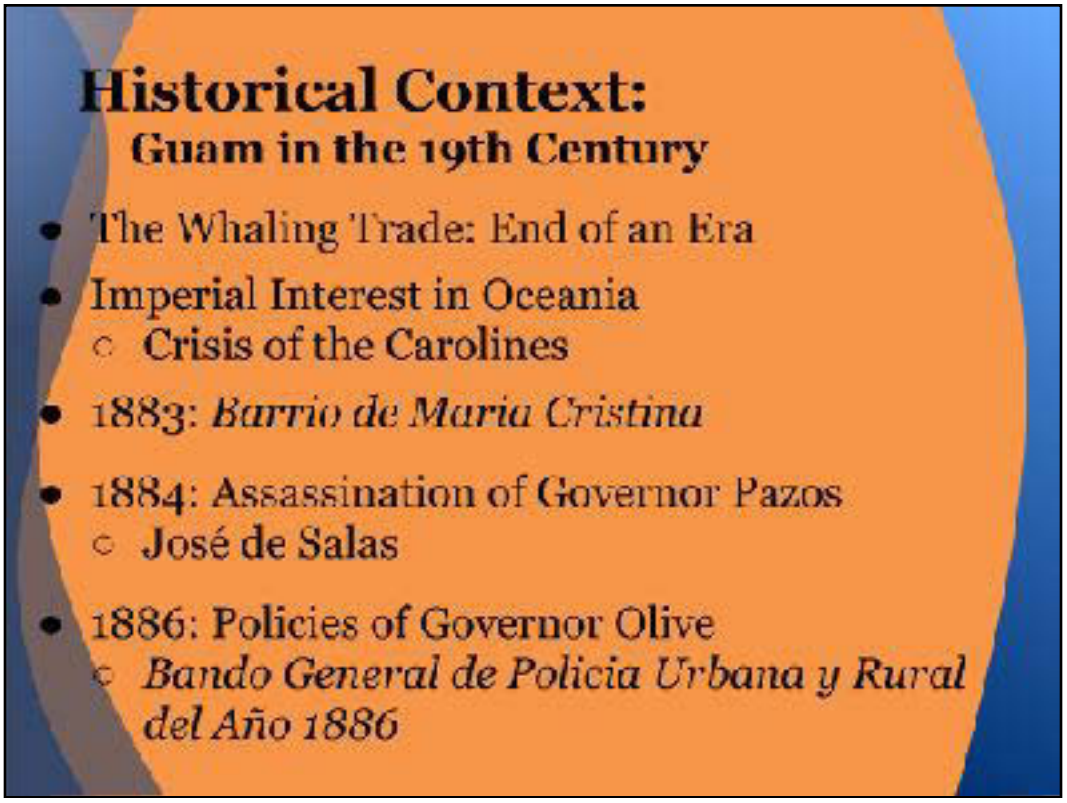
Editor's Note: This paper, presented at the Marianas History Conference, was not made available for publication.

Presentation slides begin on the following page.

Presentation Slides




Historical Context:
Europe in the 18th-19th Centuries
The Enlightenment & the French Revolution
distancing from the Church
development of nationalism
Emancipation of the Latin American Republics
The Industrial Revolution & the Opening of the Suez Canal


Historical Context:
Guam in the 19th Century
The Whaling Trade: End of an Era
Imperial Interest in Oceania
Crisis of the Carolines
1883: Barrio de Maria Cristina
1884: Assassination of Governor Pazos
José de Salas
1886: Policies of Governor Olive
Bando General de Policia Urbana y Rural del Año 1886

Content

I. Traditional Medicine

II. Communal Bathing

III. Sanitation

IV. Housing

Traditional & Western Medicinal Practices

- Traditional healing practices of *suruhanos/suruhanas* continued within the Marianas all throughout the Spanish Era.
  - use of massages, herbs, prayer, *amot*
- Western medicinal practices also utilized
- This widespread use of traditional medicine in the late 19th century supports the idea of the existence of a distinct identity.

Surahanas

Photos courtesy of Google Images

Social Realities

- *Bando* provides some evidence of widespread use of traditional medicinal practices across all segments of society up until 1886.
- Governor Olive: "... even wealthy families resort to quack doctors."
- "Charlatans/quack healers"
- "male or female healers"
- "**... necessity** seems to have **always** made **them indispensable.**"

Colonial Response

1) based on ignorance/lack of money & Western doctors

2) unsanitary and detrimental to health, life-threatening

3) not authentic and lacking merit

4) practitioners were "charlatans"

Colonial Response:

Article 1 of the Bando mandated that:

"All residents declared as poor are entitled to free medical assistance, and to such effect the householder has the duty to notify the attending physician, because if someone dies without the proper assistance for failing to take that requirement, the householder shall be punished in accordance with the case."

Colonial Response

Under the title *Asistencia Facultativa* ("Medical Assistance"):

"... must be constantly monitored by the local authorities to prevent, to the extent possible, the use of both harmful medicines or practices for curing the sick."

"Article 2: There will be prosecuted and punished in accordance with the law, male or female healers who take charge of a patient."

Communal Bathing

- Nudity and communal bathing were commonplace inspite of Christian dogma.

Social Realities

- Christian taboos against nudity & communal bathing

Colonial Response

Under the Title *Baños* ("Bathes"):

"... men are required to wear pants or undergarments and in no way *bajaque* when on the walkway. As for the bathrooms, as established separately by preference, so it is done in the following specifications, to be observed by Carolinians as well, the current Island residents must be subject to our customs after living with us for such a long time."

Article 1:

"It is prohibited under the fine of 0.25 pesos [25 centimos], for men and women to bathe on the beach or river, in one place or within sight of each other."

Sanitation

- Hygiene is recognized as being among one of the most important aspects of life
- Increased use of resources and imported goods creates accumulation of trash, resulting in the need for designated sites for the dumping and collection of trash.

Colonial Response

Under the Title *Basuras* ("Trash"):

"One of the main hygienic requirements is cleaning the towns, both in the streets and in houses and in the immediate vicinity of the villages, trash should be removed (from the homes and streets) on a daily basis to a place conveniently located out of town, where they can take the opportunity to set the trash on fire when it is dry."

Article 1

"Littering is prohibited on public roads or in any site of the home, because [trash] must be placed at the public dump, which is the designated site for [trash] under the fine of two *reales*."

Article 2

"Equally prohibited is the pouring of dirty water in the streets under the find of the offender."

Housing

Extended family living continued two-hundred years after Spanish colonization in the Marianas.

Social Realities

Under the title *Casas* ("Houses"):

> " In order to prevent the agglomeration of many people in one house and with greater motive, when there is more than one family living together, and it must be considered that the houses do not meet sanitation and have limited capacity."

- Shortage of houses
- Crowded living conditions
- Extended family living

Colonial Response

Under Article 1 of Casas:

". . . it is prohibited that more than one married couple live together, therefore the head of the family, must begin construction for separate houses."

Indigenous Agency & Nationalism

- The fact that indigenous and Western customs coexisted until 1886, after over 200 years of Spanish governance is evidence of a distinct identity within the Mariana Islands.

Conclusion

- There is more to come!
  - Only 30 out of almost 200 pages of documentation from the *Bando General* have been considered and examined today.
  - Further scholarly research needed to reach an appropriate level of understanding.

Mariana Sanders is a UOG senior double-majoring in Anthropology and History, while Francine Clement and Carla Smith are UOG Graduate Students Francine pursuing a Master's degree in Secondary Education, Social Studies, and Carla pursuing a Master's degree in Micronesian Studies.